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The Pachamama Worldview in the Ecuadorian Urban Ayllu Network: Mashi Identity and Resistance in Early 21st-century Quito

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by

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ABSTRACT

The Pachamama Worldview in the Ecuadorian Urban Ayllu Network:
Mashi identity and resistance in early 21st century Quito

By

Cosme F. Caal

Political mobilization by Ecuadorian mashikuna or indigenous pueblos and nations culminated nationwide in the 1990 uprising, which overthrew the Ecuadorian president. This political maneuver was orchestrated by coalitions of different sectors of Ecuadorian society. Mashikuna national networks mobilized effectively to block transportation and commerce, backed by mestizo elite and working sectors, and military leadership, with the help of rank and file soldiers. Rising national discontent with neoliberal policy implementation in the late 1980's fueled alliances against corrupted political leadership.

Shifts in national political and cultural identity fueled popular projects of interculturalism whereby linguistic, ethnic, and ideological differences were encouraged and openly observed. As of 2007, the Ecuadorian constitution officially acknowledges the concept of mother earth (Pachamama) as a living being. It also recognizes Pachamama worldview concepts such as sumak kawsay, or well-being, as underpinnings of a sustaining and sustainable way of life. Better chances at self-determination and communal development for mashikuna became available during these social shifts in Ecuador. As their migration to

Quito and other large cities continued in this century, ayllu networks grew dramatically in predominantly mashi districts like San Roque, just south of Old Town Quito.

San Roque ayllu networks have enabled mashikuna autonomous political, economic, and spiritual development. Findings in this thesis demonstrate the ability of mashikuna to achieve a high degree of sumak kawsay or well-being through communal banking, political solidarity, and spiritual development beyond the Catholic Churh. San Roque mashikuna have shown a high level of creativity to overcome a long history of prejudice and exclusion, continuing millennial practices of solidarity like Sawary Raimy whereby ayllu networks coalesce and expand. In the 21st century ayllu the practices of sumak kawsay, mashi identity, and resistance against inequality takes place within an empowered position unparalleled in recent history.

Findings also show that despite migration to urban centers, outside cultural and technological influence, religious shifts, and continuing racism, Quito mashikuna live in solidarity with one another, according to the Pachamama worldview. The San Roque network in Quito is an example of how Ecuadorian urban ayllu networks acculturate while maintaining a core identity that entails complex political, economic, and spiritual ties. The complexity of sawary raimy and political mobilization is explored and analized in this thesis.

Finally, findings show that to understand the practice of sumak kawsay it is essential to understand Ecuadorian indigenous identity and political mobilization in the 21st century. Sumak kawsay provides political, spiritual and economic support for ayllus that otherwise have little or no government support. The importance of sumak kawsay in the life of mashikuna explains and enables their unwavering resistance against neoliberal projects of individualism and the destruction of the environment for profit.

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Chapter 1: Mashikuna Political Mobilization in Ecuador

Introduction

The political turmoil that enveloped the Andean region as the 20th century came to an end provoked an immense intellectual and political interest by academics, resulting in a growing literature on the subject (Becker 2008; Clark & Becker 2007; O'Neill 2005; Postero & Leon 2004; Van Cott 2000; Van Cott, 2003; Van Cott 2008; Zamosc 2003). The successful political mobilization by Ecuadorean indigenous *pueblos* and nations (who call themselves mashikuna), a sector of Andean society deemed to have all but disappeared from political activity and society's public realm, surprised Andean governments and historically powerful mestizo sectors alike, as they marched into Quito, with clear demands for much needed economic and political changes.

The five-hundred-year-old image of docile mashikuna[1] communities fast disappeared as the 20th century came to an end, replaced with that of well-organized ayllukuna[2] systems that brought Ecuadorian economy and society to a halt in the now well-known 1990 *levantamiento* or uprising. Mashikuna are politically active runakuna. Runa means human in Kichwa. Runa has evolved to mean indigenous people by both runakuna and mestizos in Ecuador. I explore the concepts of mashi, runa and ayllu in more depth in the next chapter.

Ecuadorian mashikunas' ability to synchronize their struggle across a vast geographical and cultural diversity gained them the attention and respect of Ecuadorian

[1] The addition of kuna to nouns in Kichwa denotes plurality. Mashikuna translate mashi as compañer@ which means comrade in English. The @ sign signifies gender inclusion as there is no gender specification in Kichwa.

[2] The ayllu is a corporate system of political, socioeconomic, and spiritual interconnection that encompasses mashikuna pueblos and nations. Ayllukuna are intertwined across geographical space, linguistic differences, and religious diversity.

politicians, mestizo society, and international observers as they, along with allies, overtook Palacio de Carondelet (the seat of Ecuadorian Government in Quito) in 1990 and peacefully overthrew a government that had, until that point, sold Ecuador's natural resources to the highest transnational bidders, and allowed the dollarization of the Ecuadorian economy, pauperizing hundreds of thousands of Ecuadorians overnight. Rapid economic downward spiral of hundreds of thousands of Ecuadorians brought Ecuador to the brink of collapse as the sentiment of civil unrest spread across the three main regions, bringing together sectors of society which have historically been divided along cultural and class lines (Gerlach 2003).

Early analyses by intellectuals and scholars of the Ecuadorian political shifts of the 1990' rightfully focused on the roles indigenous identity played in the uprising itself, and the subsequent sequence of uprisings and efforts to make structural change in Ecuador's economic and political structure (Alonso 1994; Van Cott 1994; Hale 1994; Kearney 1995). The fact that the 1990 uprising led to the successful overthrow of the Rodrigo Borja government sparked an exploration of the historical and cultural basis for the claims of mashikuna leadership who sought political and economic changes through the promotion of alternative worldviews to Christian mestizo reality (Gerlach 2003).

The 1990 uprising seemed to outsiders, including North American academics, an anomaly, a unique action that did not fit any reliable knowledge regarding the history of indigenous Andean peoples and their struggles against economic and political inequality. In fact, part of the increasing interest outside scholars took in the region was due to their puzzlement regarding the political success of a sector of Ecuadorian society that had been disregarded as politically irrelevant, economically insignificant, and culturally invisible.

As the mashikuna mobilization continued beyond the initial 1990 uprising, there was further and more careful exploration of political shifts (Saint-Upéry 2001; Van Cott 2005; Glidden 2011). One important branch of this exploration has been the role of mashi identity in relation to their political goals and their legislative aims to revamp the Ecuadorian constitution and confront environmental destruction, as it is understood in the runakuna[3] *Pachamama* worldview[4] and *sumak kawsay* ideology (Becker 2011; Walsh 2009). In part I define *sumak kawsay* as a valued way of life that requires a balanced existence between humans and all living things in every aspect of life all over the world.

Research in the Ecuadorian mashikuna's political mobilization in the 21st century has expanded. Their centuries-old history struggle against mestizo repression and political and economic exclusion is considered important historical context to understand their contemporary resistance. This resistance against mestizo repression and control since the 16th century, when the Spanish overran and divided the culturally and linguistically diverse Inca Empire is now well known among influential investigators (Becker 2008; Mannheim 2011; Van Cott 2000). Due to space limitations, I cannot expand on this history of resistance in the last five centuries. However, it is important for me to point out that the magnitude and momentum of their contemporary mobilization and everyday resistance is a force that has been building since roughly the 1960's when indigenous peoples in the American continent

[3] Both mashikuna and runakuna live within the Pachamama worldview. Reticent political involvement on the part of runakuna does not bear significant in their life within the Pachamama worldview or the practice of sumak kawsay.

[4] A millennia-old system of relations that guides a balanced and reciprocal relationship between humans and the Earth to ensure balanced relationships of production and reproduction, embedded in community, family and the material world.

began to demand their own space to define themselves, explore forms of resistance, and map out alternative projects of social development (De la Cadena 2000).

The successful political coalition and mobilization of the Ecuadorian ayllukuna networks composed of nations and pueblos in 1990 and onward forced the Ecuadorian ruling class to address their demands. For example, critical tenets of the Pachamama worldview like sumak kawsay were incorporated into the 2007 constitution after a national referendum. The concept of interculturality has been officially observed as well, especially in national and regional projects of economic inclusion, political representation and independence, and cultural shifts that are currently contested, incorporated, and transformed with varying degrees of influence on the Ecuadorian society (Walsh 2001).

Thus the1990 uprising has become an important reference point among observers who attempt to explore and understand important shifts in the relations between the Ecuadorian government, Ecuadorian mestizo society, and Ecuadorian runakuna (and mashikuna). This uprising is now understood as the contemporary decisive and pivotal moment for mashikuna political leadership through organizations like CONAIE and Pachakutik[5] to influence fundamental points of the current Ecuadorian constitution which acknowledges the Pachamama worldview, sumak kawsay, and the role of humanity in the protection of nature, and all living things.

The 1990 uprising was also a national-level organized response to the attempt by economic and political elites to incorporate a neoliberal economic project in Ecuador. The

[5] CONAIE stands for the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador). Pachakutik is the political arm of CONAIE. Pachakutik means new wave or new beginning in Kichwa.

dollarization of the Ecuadorian currency created havoc in the economic structure as many middle- and working-class Ecuadorian were thrust into abject poverty overnight. The 1990 uprising was also an organized response to the ongoing destruction of the environment by foreign industries in their petroleum extraction projects, particularly in the rural Amazonian regions. Finally, uproar against massive corruption in government also brought Ecuadorians together to voice their frustration of their deteriorating standard of living, and the enrichment of a small pocket of Ecuadorian society (Gerlach 2003).

Unlike 20th century violent political struggles in Latin America like Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua or Peru, the Ecuadorian mashikuna uprising was a peaceful coalition of resistance with a surprising level of success. Foreign and Ecuadorian observers were equally surprised by a mobilization that required no violence and was not met with state-sponsored violence. The 1990 uprising itself is a prime example of the possibilities and gains of sumak kawsay in human strive for equality, justice, and the protection of the earth.

The current relative political success of the mashikuna movement, despite consistent disagreement with Rafael Correa's presidential administration regarding economic and environmental development projects, takes place in the context a growing mashhikuna mobilization in the Andean region (particularly in southern Colombia and in Bolivia). Their success is notable in relation to past attempts for structural change and also because they have taken place without armed violence. In contrast to their successful peaceful mobilization are failed armed failed struggles like the Shining Path in Peru. This mestizo armed struggle resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Peruvians, the majority runakuna from the southern part of the country who found themselves caught between the revolutionary forces and the Peruvian state.

Another example outside the Andes is the Guatemalan ladino[6] armed struggle that similarly resulted in the deaths of over 200,000 thousand Mayans from rural regions, also caught up between revolutionary forces and the state. As in Peru, non-indigenous leadership led a violent struggle against the state that excluded Mayan understanding of resistance and change (Van Cott 2003). This civil war achieved very little political shifts or economic equality for Mayans and instead was a catalyst for the migration of tens of thousands of Mayas into Mexico, the United States, and Canada (Popkin 1999).

Unlike the armed struggles in Peru and Guatemala, the Ecuadorian mashikuna mobilization is based on their understanding and practice of well-being and brotherhood among humans, and finding strength in unity and dialogue. I argue that these practices within their successful uprising form part of the core of their Pachamama worldview, sumak kawsay practice and mashiakuna identity, regardless of geographical location.

Focus of dissertation: mashikuna identity and mobilization at the local level

There is an existing body of literature focusing on the Ecuadorian indigenous political mobilization of the last two decades. As stated above, much of the literature addresses progressive legislative shifts, constitutional revamping, and intercultural projects of dialogue across ethnic and cultural differences (Alvarez and Escobar 1998; Becker 2011; Becker and Mark 2007; Glidden 2011). There have also been theoretical discussions of the development of Andean indigenous (runakuna) identity in relation to political mobilization, identity as understood by indigenous leadership, and identity in relation to environmental protection, particularly in the Amazonian region (Perreault 2003; Valdivia 2005).

[6] Ladin@s are Guatemalans who consider themselves partly European.

However, there has been scant research in Ecuadorian mashikuna identity at the local level, as influenced by local involvement in national political mobilization, and by the intercultural projects promoted by the Correa administration. The focus of this dissertation is to explore and analyze the economic, political, and spiritual basis of their identity as experienced in a migrant ayllu that extends from the highlands of Riobamba to the San Roque ayllukuna network in Quito, which is in turn part of the nationwide Ecuadorian ayllukuna network.

My exploration of the everyday life of one urban ayllu helps us better understand Ecuadorian mashi identity particularly by shedding light on its political and economic bases. Such an ayllu is Runa Wasi, which means Human House or Indigenous House. An ayllu is a community, numbering approximately two hundred people, organized and held together by complex political, economic, and spiritual bonds. The concept of ayllu is somewhat difficult to translate and will be explored in great detail below. My exploration takes place in the context of nationwide Ecuadorian mobilization in order to analyze the ways that such mobilization influences mashikuna identity in 21st century urban Ecuador. I argue that cultural and spiritual aspects of their identity remain intact due to the political and economic basis of the ayllu structure and network which forms the basis of their identity, very much tied to the Kichwa language, the Pachamama worldview, and 21st century resistance.

In this analysis of mashikuna identity I also explore the ways that Runa Wasi takes advantage of recent politico-cultural gains in the struggles for respect for their language, their way of life and their worldview, as written into the 2007 intercultural Ecuadorian constitution. Exploring and analyzing the success of Runa Wasi members in asserting their identity and resisting discrimination in a rapidly changing Quiteño society, is important to

better understand their identity in the 21st century. Successful relocation and settlement of rural migrant mashikuna in Quito is equally influenced by their ability to continue their life as within an ayllu structure and by their ability to resist and overcome discrimination, racism, and exclusion by the greater mestizo Quiteño society. It is therefore important to explore the mashikuna experience at the local level, away from the national politics that has been the greatest point of focus among researchers.

Finally, I chose an ayllu that has been politically active for generations in rural Riobamba and in Quito, especially during the 1990 uprising and thereafter. It is important to understand the complex place of political involvement in mashikuna identity because the nationwide ayllukuna network has been involved in the mobilization even though not all network membership has participated. The political, cultural, and to some extent, the economic gains that Ecuadorian runakuna experience are the product of a struggle as a whole. Let us keep in mind that mashikuna are politically active runakuna. Contemporary participation in protests and marches has dwindled in comparison to the initial struggles of the 1990's. Nevertheless, there are influential ayllu, like Runa Wasi, that continue the resistance and dialogue with institutions at the local level, benefitting ayllukuna that are not politically involved, but with whom they are immediately related to through marriage, businesses, solidarity.

Ecuadorian Runakuna migration and identity in the 21st century

The introduction of Ecuador into a global capitalist system in the 21st century has influenced and triggered the migration of entire rural ayllukuna into cities like Quito, Cuenca, y Guayaquil. Neoliberal policy, the economic backbone of global capitalism, has demanded the shift in Ecuadorian government from spending on small level farmers to

investment in non-traditional products produced by large-scale farmers (Kyle 2000; Larrea and North 1997). The lack of government support for small scale farmers amid increasing drought periods in rural Riobamba, for example, made them unable to compete in the price-setting system in the marketplace, and unable to sell their products to make a stable living. The inability to produce at large scale and compete in the market place has pushed many rural Riobamba mashikuna to migrate to Quito in search of alternative ways to make a living.

Their migratory experience to urban life can be difficult in the absence of a government structure geared to assist their recent waves of internal migration. But despite the absence of government assistance to find employment in the cities and the overwhelming cultural differences and discrimination, the chances of survival in the city are greater than in rural regions or the small towns that pepper the Ecuadorian countryside. To their advantage, they rely on their ayllukuna network system for relocation, resettlement, and employment. This corporate system of economic and political interrelations between families and entire communities provides housing, employment, and capital for investment in whatever project is necessary to make a modest living.

The ayllu is part of their identity and their lifetime devotion to its existence and strength and that of the entire network is a reality they live and never take for granted. The absence of government assistance is thus not an impediment to relative success. The ayllukuna network is simultaneously the necessary vehicle for migration and relocation, the structural political and economic basis for identity, and the foundation of spiritual being, as these three experiences do not exist detached from one another. Hence in the 21st century, the political and economic basis of mashikuna identity that foments their spiritual well-being as understood and practiced in sumak kawsay can be visible to the careful observer in their

migration experience, settlement and adjustment success in Quito. Our understanding of this migratory phenomenon helps us better understand the underpinnings of Ecuadorian runakuna identity as experienced and lived by them.

A long history of Andean migration

Andean migration dates back more than 15,000 years under different circumstances and rulers. More historically recent and culturally pertinent to this dissertation, their migration in the last one thousand years has spanned from what is now southern Colombia to the north, to southern Chile in the south, and present day Bolivia in the east. This vast expanse formed the Tawantinsuyu or Inca Empire. During the brief Inca rule entire populations that formed part of this Twantinsuyu or ayllu network were relocated within the empire according to imperial economic and political interests (Turner et al 2009).

The Tawantinsuyu encompassed a geographical diversity that yielded an equal diversity in food, labor force, and raw materials (Turner et. al 2009). The diversity in climate created a specific production of food limited to geographical regions. This dynamic created interdependence among Andeans of different regions and required a constant commerce that defined the twantinsuyu. During the brief unified Inca rule extending from present-day Quito in the north to Cuzco in southern Peru, there was a need to relocate entire ayllukuna that proved rebellious and unwilling to live under Inca rule. They were sent to the cultural centers of Cuzco for re-education and incorporation into the Tawantinsuyu. From the same centers of power others were sent to the repopulate the regions left vacant by the relocated rebels in order to establish and maintain Inca rule (Ogburn 2008)

There were also great migration flows during and after the arrival of the Spanish in the Andean region. Francisco Pizarro's armies came down from present day Nicaragua and Panama to the northern region of the Andes in the late 1520's and took with them hundreds of thousands of Andeans from present day Quito and Ecuador's Sierra region for his conquest of the Tawantinsuyu further south (Powers 1991). After the Inca Atahualpa's kidnapping and assassination the uprooting of entire ayllukuna networks further south along the Andean mountain range was necessary to explore gold and silver mines, and conquest of the rest of the Inca Empire ensued.

For example, Pedro de Valdivia continued his explorations and conquests further south into present-day Chile. He took approximately 100,000 Andean soldiers from the Quito region, of which none returned. Usurping entire ayllukuna from the Quiteño region for the Spanish conquests became commonplace and a formal complaint to the Royal Spanish Crown by Spanish settlers in Quito was presented arguing that not enough *indios* were left in the region to work the haciendas. The Crown, in turn, put a limit on the numbers of Andean that could be taken away for further expeditions (Robinson, 1990).

Quito became an important center of Imperial Spanish control in the northern Andean region and was declared the Real Audiencia de Quito. All surrounding land with runakuna living in it was granted by the Crown to ruling class criollo *hacendados* or landowners. Further migration from Europe tapered off. Spanish conquest expeditions further south in the Andes required the usurping of indigenous communities in those regions as well. Meanwhile criollo *hacendados* living in Quito became the majority of the city's population who shunned runakuna to the outskirts of the city or to the haciendas that for four centuries surrounded what is now Old Town Quito. Otherwise hacendados only kept them within the city as

servants and field hands. Nevertheless, pockets of runakuna such as the Kitu Karakuna remained in segregated sectors such as the San Roque district. Kitu Karakuna had lived in Quito before the arrival of the Spanish, and later remained in an almost underground status, maintaining an unofficial system of order, justice, and self-governance among the ayllukuna in Quito and the surrounding regions (Powers 1991; Robinson, 1990).

Despite their relocation during Inca rule and later during the Spanish colonial period there has also been a continuous runakuna presence of in Quito, particularly San Roque. Unable to establish themselves within mestizo mainstream society, they have resorted to the economic, political, and spiritual stability afforded by the ayllukuna network. This is the main reason San Roque has flourished into the unofficial runakuna hub of Quito where a separate, almost underground system of government, spirituality, and corporate interconnections have protected them from mainstream mestizo Quiteño society. During waves of runa migrants to Quito, San Roque has been the point of arrival and adjustment. A world in itself San Roque is often unknown and unexplored by to the rest of Quito.

Migration in the last thirty years

In the 1980's migration from rural Chimborazo to Quito increased. For the most part these were runakuna men who moved to Quito in search of work. Since the 1960's there has been a steady flow of temporary migration by Chimborazo runakuna men—particularly from the outskirts of Riobamba—unable to support their families from their crops or those who simply wanted to augment their cash flow with temporary work in San Roque. For decades this rotational flow of temporary migration remained strictly available to men (Kyle 2000).

The jobs available were restricted to hard labor in the enormous Mercado San Roque that has supplied Quito with products from all over Ecuador for two hundred years. These

jobs consist of transporting heavy loads of goods within the Mercado. Today one can still see runakuna men with their leather harness and padded shoulder straps, offering their services for a few dollars, ready to carry loads as heavy as three hundred pounds to places as far as five city blocks, from one end of the market place to the other. The segregation of runakuna men into this type of work continues today. New generations of young men work in the modern supermarket chains that have sprouted in the north of Quito to compete with traditional mercados in Quito.

The migration of entire families into San Roque was well underway in the 1990's. Unable to produce a livelihood from their farms, families began migrating to Quito while maintaining ties with their ayllukuna networks in the rural Sierra region. The hope of finding employment has drawn thousands of families into Quito and other large cities. The inability to find jobs in an increasingly wage work-based society makes staying in the rural ayllukuna networks unappealing for younger generations. Uninterrupted contact between urban mashikuna and their relatives who stay behind is also a source of cultural influence that propels migration. For example, most Runa Wasi members still travel back to Gulalag, Riobamba biweekly, one a month, and during regional celebrations. Each time they bring back with them new cultural traits they have acquired in Quito, including technology (high-end cellular telephones, portable computers, iPods), cars, popular branded clothing and hair styles, and the Spanish language. This cultural influx creates great curiosity and a powerful incentive for young mashikuna who still live in rural Riobamba to move to Quito.

Runakuna migration in the global context

Runakuna's welfare has not been a priority by the Ecuadorian government in the past. It is not surprising that their wellbeing has not been considered by Ecuadorian economic

elites as they struggled to stay a float during Ecuador's introduction to the global economy. Runakuna's survival through the detrimental socioeconomic consequences of neoliberal policies depended on their own economic structure and the political solidarity of the ayllukuna network. While historically influential runakuna like Otavaleños of the Imbabura province have hardly been affected by neoliberal policy thanks to their well-known transnational commerce ties, many ayllukuna networks in rural Chimborazo were devastated by economic shifts.

Runa Wasi and the rest of the San Roque ayllukuna network originally from Chimborazo and Cotopaxi began migrating to Quito in the late 1950's. Men, married and single, first came in the decades following World War II. Entire families began migrating into San Roque in the early 1980's. By the 1990's entire ayllukuna were established in San Roque. The coming together of diverse ayllukuna into San Roque district created networks that span the entire Sierra region, transforming this district into a node of political influence in Quito and originating regions. As we shall see in the following chapters, diverse political alliances that ensure economic growth and political alliance are continuously created in San Roque through marriage, business contracts, language and a shared Pachamama worldview. The San Roque ayllukuna network continuously expands due through business growth that encompasses the Sierra region, reaching the outer Amazonian region, and increasingly the coastal south in Cuenca and Guayaquil.

After the late 1970's, Runa Wasi families were no longer able to produce enough quantities of farm products to sell in the Riobamba Central Market as they had done for centuries. Many opted for work in Riobamaba. However, Riobamba was soon saturated by many of them looking for work. Unable to find sustaining work with an effective source of

cash income, most Runa Wasi members able to work decided to migrate to Quito. We will see that the political and economic base of the ayllukuna network provides the necessary tools and provisions to migrate to Quito, secure provisionary and long term shelter, and necessary connections to find. This safety network helps ameliorate the brunt of discrimination, political and economic exclusion, and rejection of their culture and language.

The Catholic Church also contributes to this transitional experience with housing, if under severe conditions. The assistance of the Church to Runa Wasi creates a political and spiritual context explored in subsequent chapters. The Church provides housing units large enough to enable an entire ayllu to stay within geographic proximity as it is practiced in rural life. For example, Runa Wasi taita leadership applied for and received a ten-year *incomodato* lease on the property they lived in from 2000 to 2010, and were able to extend the lease to 2012. Incomodatos are land or housing leasing contracts with the Catholic Church to ayllukuna and mestizo communities that are heavily involved in religious devotion and who adhere to Catholic membership. The main condition the Church imposes on mashikuna leadership is the intervention and eradication of potential conversion of any ayllu members to other Christian religions. The Church also requires priests be involved in many of the mashikuna spiritual practices.

Methods: ethnography

This dissertation relies on a twelve-months ethnography in Quito, the capital of Ecuador. The main site was the Runa Wasi ayllu in the San Roque Parish (referred to here as a district). San Roque (as it is commonly called) is located southwest of Quito's Casco Antiguo (Colonial Downtown), the largest and most heavily populated of the city's districts. San Roque is also one of the oldest districts, dating back to before the arrival of the Spanish.

For the last sixty years San Roque has become the largest settlement of runakuna in metropolitan Quito, prompting me to make it the site of my ethnography.

The population make-up of San Roque has changed in the last five centuries. Runakuna were displaced or driven underground during the Spanish Conquest by wealthy criollo landowners throughout much of the colonial period (Powers 1991). Working class mestizos later moved into San Roque as landowners begun building exclusive neighborhoods in northern Quito, which still stand today. In the late 19th century and throughout the 20th century runakuna began to migrate to San Roque from rural Ecuador and mestizos migrated further south and began expanding their own neighborhoods that today comprise the relatively new sprawling southern Quito.

With the help of faculty and mashikuna graduate students at FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales)[7] in Quito, I contacted the taita (leader) council of the Runa Wasi ayllu in San Roque. I was told by my FLACSO contacts that Runa Wasi was one of the most influential ayllu in San Roque, whose council leadership were actively involved in mashikuna political mobilization in Quito and the rest of Ecuador. Unfamiliar with the Andean culture or Quiteño society, and the runakuna worldview, I contacted the council and shared with them my academic background and goals, my intellectual and personal curiosity about their struggles and reality in Quito, and my willingness to help in their community in any way I could.

The ethnography lasted from January 2009 to the end of January 2010. From January to April was a trial period where I functioned as an English teacher to junior and high school students. Although I was invited to weekly religious and secular meetings, I was cordially

[7] Social Sciences Latin American Faculty

excluded from financial and political communal voting and decisions in these initial months. During this time I was also not invited to sumak kawsay ceremonies that involved Runa Wasi and other ayllukuna in San Roque, nor was I invited to accompany the council to regional political meetings that sometimes involved CONAIE, the Catholic Church, or Pachakutik. Runa Wasi taita Manuelcha Pilamunga explained to me that the council had agreed that I was not trusted to listen in these important meetings because they knew very little of me.

It was quickly evident to me that there was an element of distrust towards me among the taita council. Through early conversations I came to understand that the reasons for this distrust were well founded, given the infiltration tactics carried out by the Ecuadorian government after the 1990 uprising. This distrust was not evident in my young students or their friends. Their curiosity won them over. My students' parents were also more open to brief conversations that became more personal as we got to know each other more intimately. They addressed my initial questions about life in Quito in general. I shared with them my first impressions of the city and of the Andean people in general. My genuine curiosity in the Kichwa language, Pachamama and Andean life quickly put them at ease and soon I made many friends in Runa Wasi.

Nevertheless the council made it clear to me that recorded interviews with anyone in Runa Wasi were forbidden. They allowed me private conversations at the discretion of Runa Wasi members. I could attend events and meetings that progressively became more intimate and political, but I could never, under any circumstance, recordings them. My approach to fieldwork was to take notes right after conversations or meetings, or during events. At times I was able to take notes on my portable computer that made it easier to record details and parts

of conversations. Other times I had to wait until I left Runa Wasi, or a meeting or event to be able to make notes.

As I built rapport with the Runa Wasi council I was invited to important regional meetings with institutions like the Catholic Church *Pastoral Indigena*. I became an official note-taker and had access to these notes. During this time I was also able to video record important sumak kawsay events such as weddings (whose political importance I will discuss in detail), *mingas*, regional meetings, consensus meetings, and *convivencias* (regional political and spiritual celebrations). Eventually, when I officially became a member of Runa Wasi, I was assigned to record part of the oral history of the community, its involvement in the mashikuna political mobilization in Ecuador and of the experiences of members in Quito since they had begun migrating in the 1980's. I rely heavily on the notes on my experience as a Runa Wasi member. Even though I was not able to carry out recorded interviews, I was able to acquire an insider's perspective, and experience in my own person the challenges Runa Wasi face every day as an ayllu and as individuals in the larger Quito society.

Membership as ethnography

As a self-proclaimed indigenous man with political ideology of resistance against inequality, I became an official member of Runa Wasi. This membership opened windows into the everyday political, economic and spiritual life of Runa Wasi and the San Roque ayllukuna network. In my commitment to contribute to their resistance and struggles I became a politically involved member, despite intellectual disapproval from academic research protocol and against the protocol of Rotary International, the organization that funded part my research in Ecuador.

Once I gained the trust of the Runa Wasi taita council and other taitas from the San Roque ayllukuna network I was exposed to very intimate and well-guarded aspects of mashikuna life such as their economic interconnections, their political alliances, and their own structure of law and justice. The more I experienced in this new realm of the ayllukuna the more my personal and professional opinion was asked by taitakuna. As these conversations progressed, taitakuna saw in me a source of information regarding history and political development in the Andes and beyond the region, particularly in the United States. They also became very interested in the struggles and experiences of other indigenous peoples in Latin America.

I designed a series of workshops for taitakuna covering political and economic sociology in the United States from a Marxist and Weberian perspective that I learned in my graduate studies. I also covered my knowledge and understanding of the Zapatista Movement in southern Mexico, the current struggles of the Maya in Guatemala, and the experiences of the introduction of Central America into a neoliberal global economy and its detrimental consequences. We also discussed at length the devastating consequences the Sendero Luminoso terrorist campaign had on their runakuna brothers and sisters.

Giving these types of workshops is reason enough for a foreigner to be arrested and tried for terrorism in Ecuador. However, the risk seemed appropriate and fair at the time, considering the level of intimacy and solidarity shown by Runa Wasi and other mashikuna from San Roque. They were also taking a great risk by trusting me and taking me as one of their own in a country with a long history of state betrayal and infiltration. After much thought about my own safety and what I stood to learn personally and intellectually I decided

to make the workshops a component of my methodology because sharing my knowledge as they were sharing theirs was necessary and fair.

I took notes on the working conditions of Runa Wasi mashikuna who work in the streets of Quito, catering to tourists in exclusive sectors where they are not always welcome. I spent many weekends and afternoons peddling a great variety of cheap sun glasses which are very popular with tourists. Peddling these products was not always safe because it has been criminalized by the "tourist friendly" campaign of Quito metropolitan police.

I spent many weekend working along Runa Wasi mashikuna who have outlet clothing stores in different swap meets in Quito. I learned to haggle for the highest price on jeans, jackets, t-shirts, underwear, shoes, hats, and socks—all imported from Colombia and Peru. I also spent about one month in the internationally known Otavalo Market Place in Imbabura, working with mashikuna who own souvenir shops there. These two ethnography sites were the safest because the shops are legal. It was while working at these shops that I also got to practice much of the spoken Kichwa I learned.

Participants

The Runa Wasi ayllu in the San Roque ayllukuna network was the primary focus of my ethnography. Runa Wasi is made up of 33 families with an average of 5 family members. The ayllu is made up of approximately one hundred and sixty five members. There are three generations in Runa Wasi. Ten taitakuna make up the fourth generation. The taitakuna, the parents, and grandparents generation are migrants from Gulalag, a small ayllu in the outskirts of the city of Riobamba in the province of Chimborazo. About 90% of the youngest generation was born in Quito.

All Runa Wasi members live in Quito. Occasionally teenagers are sent to Gulalag when school is out to help harvest crops, but this practice is rapidly tapering off. About six of the families spend their weekends in the northern province of Imbabura in the Otavalo marketplace attending to their shops there. There are caravans of three or four families that make their way to Gulalag once a month to visit family members, keeping a constant line of contact between Runa Wasi and Gulalag.

There are 78 minors in Runa Wasi. Sixty-eight of them attend school full time and help their parents financially in the afternoons and on the weekends. In general, as youngsters approach legal adulthood at eighteen years of age, they leave school and seek full time work. A major reason for this trend is the very limited access to higher education for working class Ecuadorians. Although there are mashikuna in San Roque who attend the national public university, this is not the case in Runa Wasi. I worked with twenty-nine teenagers in English and computer skills courses for the first six months of my stay in Quito.

Part of my ethnography also included taking university courses at FLACSO. Because this was my first time in Ecuador, I found it important to have an intellectual understanding of its history, its people, and its current political events. Although there are very few mashikuna or Afro-Ecuadorians in FLACSO, those I met taught me a lot about their perspective on political and social issues that affect their country. My experience with mestizo students at FLACSO also gave me a frame of reference for their segregation from the runakuna population. I also experienced the racism that is prevalent in the upper-middle-class mestizo Quito society as I was ignored or looked down upon by some of the student body. My experience in the classroom also provided me with a rich frame of reference for understanding the ongoing struggle among the upper-middle-class Ecuadorians who strive

for equality and intercultural dialogue among the different sectors of Ecuador. I met well-informed graduate students and faculty who were invested in academic investigation of runakuna reality and of their experiences in Quito. Overall, attending FLACSO helped me to create a broader understanding of Quito society.

Another source of information to gain a broader social frame of reference of Quito society was my interaction with Rotary Club members from Quito. As part of my Rotary Ambassadorial Fellowship I was required to give presentations to different Rotary Clubs in Quito of my teaching programs in Runa Wasi. I met wealthy Quiteño mestizos who have been Rotarians for decades and whose families have been influential in Ecuadorian society. Our conversations about political developments in Ecuador and the Andean region and their perceptions of the mashikuna mobilization allowed me to further understand the complexity of intercultural relations in Quito.

The neighborhoods, clubs, and social networks that Rotarians belong to are unavailable or off limits to most Ecuadorians. Rotarians, like many upper-class Quiteños, attend college in Europe, the United States, or Asia and learn to speak English, French, and Portuguese. It is a golden rule among Rotarians to be apolitical, at least publicly. Therefore interviews regarding political developments in Ecuador were not available. I took notes of my conversations and interactions with Rotarians instead. Being invited to Rotary functions, meetings and members' homes let me realize the great geographical, cultural, and economic differences between them and Quito runakuna and working class Quiteños in general.

Towards a theoretical framework of mashikuna identity

Mashikuna's ability to endure the rise and fall of two empires and the creation and development of an Ecuadorian mestizo republic lies in their ability to sustain sumak kawsay.

Despite the trauma of conquest and relocation, and the imposition of new ideological, political, and spiritual hegemonic frameworks, they have been able to persevere. Although today is common practice to separate them into different linguistic and cultural groups with respective names (usually the name of the language they speak), the common cultural denominator continues to be their Pachamama worldview. Since the 1960's mashikuna have appropriated this linguistic classification, identifying as distinct pueblos and nations. Unfortunately, this classification often leads outside observers to misunderstand them as societies that are different and separate from each other, yet brought together by similar political motives and interests, rather than to grasp the long historical reality of their cultural, political and spiritual unity.

A historical context of more than fifteen hundred years of uninterrupted practice of sumak kawsay, intrinsic to Andean reality, helps us explore a better understanding of their identity in the 21st century. Such context helps us understand and explore the interplay of runakuna identity as a practiced worldview withih cultural and political imposition and dominion. For example, reciprocity and unity among the ayllukuna as practices of resistance in times of European invasion, and later, as practices of survival under mestizo rule, have formed the core of their identity as a worldview in practice to this day (de la Torre). This particular understanding of worldview as a daily practice of identity is difficult to understand with a lack of historical context.

A common approach to runakuna identity has been one that departs from the outsider's perspective. For close to one hundred years now mainstream understandings of indigenous identity have taken place in the academic, intellectual realm, with little input from runakuna themselves. The names of the nations and pueblos have been those of the languages

they speak, and understandings of their identities have been premised on this separation of diverse linguistic groups. Explorations start from this point forward (Walsh 2001, 2009).

Runakuna identity has been understood almost exclusively in contrast and in relation to mestizo governance and identity. This is a limited and misplaced point of departure for discussion and exploration. If we begin by referring to the runakuna as Kechwas, Otavalos, Sáchilas and so forth, we refer simply to their different languages rather than to how they understand themselves as people, which, as discussed thus far, begins from their common practice of the Pachamama worldview.

A discussion of runakana identity shaped only by language difference that categorizes them into pueblos or nations is limited. Ecuadorian mashikuna know and understand themselves and each other as runa, which simultaneously means human and indigenous. Runa literally means human in Kichwa, but now it also means indigenous because in the mestizo imaginary only indigenous people are runa. Furthermore, runa means indigenous (in the singular) because a daily reality of living within the context of the ayllu and practicing sumak kawsay as way of life is also what distinguishes them from the mestizo world.

While runakuna understand themselves as runa, they rarely refer to themselves and others in this way. Instead, they often make reference to the name of their ayllu, geographic origin, or the names of their taita council. This is particularly true hen another language other than Kichwa is spoken in a particular ayllu. The core of identity in the runakuna imaginary and reality is the practice of sumak kawsay and the rest of Pachamama worldview, which is assumed of all ayllukuna. By definition, any person, family or community who no longer practices sumak kawsay is no longer considered runa or part of the ayllukuna network. The identity dissolves once this practice no longer forms part of their everyday lives. Even if they

respresent themselves as runa in ways familiar to the outside world (clothing, language, political affiliation), their lack of practice separates them from the network.

Mashikuna Identity as daily practice of Pachamama worldview

I propose Hill's (1996) concept of ethnogenesis to explore Ecuadorian mashikuna identity. Whether in times of subjugation or during hegemonic shift, their identity remains constant because it is intimately related to and informed by their worldview and daily practice. The difficulty in my proposition of an alternative understanding of their identity is to successfully get across the fact, that regardless of what names they adopt, reclaim, or have been imposed upon them, or what political mobilization they initiate or take part in as a response to their political reality (Inca empire, Spanish colonization, mestizo republic or nation-state), their identity and worldview continues because it is born and exists in the practice of a worldview that defines a specific way of life. This particular way of life has been formed by and is maintained in a specific ecological Andean reality that dates back more than ten thousand years.

Hence, even if the runakuna learn languages other than their own, if they adopt western clothing, if they migrate beyond national boundaries (even beyond the Andes; the Otavalos discussed by Portes (1996) are an excellent example), or become technologically proficient, their identity remains, if influenced, because its basis is a practiced worldview that strengthens the political and economic complexity of their ayllu. As long as sumak kawsay remains in the spirit of the runakuna, they will always enjoy the complexity and happiness of their ayllukuna, a reality only remotely understood outside the Andes. It is only when symbiosis between runakuna and the environment, reciprocity, and the communal self embedded within the ayllu disappear that they will be no more. The interaction between

sumak kawsay practice and being runakuna is evident in their political mobilization against further destruction of Pachamama as all living things, including humans. Their current political mobilization is at once an expression of their identity and a struggle for their survival and that of the Andeas.

The destruction of sumak kawsay signals not only the destruction of the runakuna identity and the ayllu structure and network, but also the environment, and consequently, the world. The accuracy and despair of this reality lies in the fossil fuel needs of an increasingly global capitalist system, seemingly unable to develop and incorporate alternative sources of fuel and energy. We are currently experiencing an incessant destruction of the Andean environment and the world. The neoliberal social requirements of individuality and perseverance in the face of poverty as policies also negatively affect sumak kawsay. Individual responsibility and lack of human reciprocity are also encouraged by neoliberal theory and practice, perpetrated by the same transnational forces (Brysk 2000). Hence the meddling by outsiders in the Ecuadorian political process today seeks to block a successful shift in Ecuadorian society towards sumak kawsay as a national developmental goal, necessary for the continuation of the protection of the Ecuadorian and Andean environment.

New challenges and hopes

The historical success of runakuna in living by and continuing sumak kawsay points to the continuation of their worldview, identity, and existence despite different systems of domination. Their resilience promises an existence as runakuna during and beyond the Ecuadorian nation-state as a system of political and economic control. By the same token, the continuing success of transnational corporations in the on-going destruction of the environment presents new challenges and courses of political action. This is an important

point, considering the current trend towards transnational political regions within a global economic system. The emergence of global and regional alternative economic powers like China and Brazil does not necessary mean a more democratic reality for Ecuadorian runakuna. However, there are a few examples of somewhat progressive policies towards regions and peoples who have been abandoned by neoliberal models.

For example, China, Japan and Brazil's progressive investment in infrastructure in most Latin American nations has become an alternative policy to the United States' detrimental policies. Whatever the outcomes of geopolitical power shifts that will define the transnational influence in Ecuador, it is becoming clear that runakuna will have to confront old and new forms of domination in the 21st century. Whatever these forms are, we will see the importance of maintaining sumak kawsay as the core of their identity through periods of change and discontinuity.

Runakuna Identity in the transnational in 21st century context

Like most societies around the world in the 21st century, the Ecuadorian runakuna centuries-old worldview and culture is influenced by the stupendous global social changes that have taken place in the last two decades (Brysk 2000). Mashikuna have successfully carved their own spaces of action and expression through their decisive role in these changes. Constant contact and dialogue with outside cultural influences take place in these spaces, where the core of sumak kawsay as communal reciprocity and ecological symbiosis remains intact, and positive influences that can strengthen the ayllukuna are welcome.

For example, through programs of historical exploration led by institutions like CODEMPE[8], mashikuna have learned to situate themselves within a continuing history

[8] Consejo de Nacionalidades y Pueblos del Ecuador (Council of Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador).

dating back millennia, increasingly concretizing their abilities as pueblos and nations in plurinational Ecuador. Through their own Andean historical consciousness they connect to the broader history of global capitalist development in the 21st century. Traditional oral narratives about their origins and continuation are placed within an Andean historical continuum, revealing the strength in preserving and practicing sumak kawsay and the rest of the Pachamama worldview.

Today, runakuna are in closer geographical proximity to mestizo society and reality and to the rest of the world through the Internet, television and the cell phone. This relatively new proximity requires confrontation with and analysis of external cultural influences, including mestizo civic and political culture and practice. This situation influences the fluidity in their identity, sometimes including part of the mestizo worldview core, and from the top-political mashikuna representational level to the local ayllukuna bases, especially in the cities. The unity of different Ecuadorian runakuna pueblos and nations has created a matrix of knowledge of their varied historical and present realities vis-à-vis the mestizo world, trasnationality and global society. This matrix is fueled, for example, by the experience of new generations of runakuna youth who practice sumak kawsay in the cities.

The experiences of some taitakuna, born into an outright racist and intolerant Ecuadorian society also fuel this matrix, generating a complex understanding and interrelation with 21st century mestizo society. The fluency in intercultural dialogue that is the result of this matrix of knowledge is now a key component of runakuna identity. This is particularly the case with politically active mashikuna. In the intercultural runakuna understanding of mestizo identity, it is no longer understood as rigid or permanent but as

contested and fluid. This is the prodigiously complex and ever-changing context in which runakuna identity is lived today.

Runakuna Identity in Ecuador

The integrity and continuation of the ayllu rests on runakuna's ability to continue and practice sumak kawsay. The accomplishment of this requirement has led them to the forefront of political activity in Ecuador in the 21st century with an increasingly transnational consciousness throughout the Andes among national and local leadership. For example, political mobilization and transnational consciousness have also emerged in Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Brazil, contributing to this transnationality.

In fact, Warren and Jackson (2002) argue that indigenous people in Latin America are transnationalized, urban, proletarian, border crossing, bilingual and trilingual. Their description befits Ecuadorian runakuna. The interconnection that has long existed among the ayllu networks along different geopolitical divisions shows that the mashi political mobilization is transnational from birth (Brysk, 1995). It is the public rhetoric that needs to reflect the transnational purview among the leadership to better fit the transnational nature of their mobilization. Transnational NGOs' leadership understood this dynamic from the beginning, making possible their contributions to the movement (Brysk, 2000).

Recognition of runakuna communities as specific pueblos and nations, located in specific geographic spaces shed light on the importance of territory as a crucial foundation for self-determination (Alvarez et al 1998). This is specifically the case of the Shwar in the Amazon. The importance of representation at the top levels of government to protect these geographic spaces has led to the formation of so-called ethnic political parties as alternative

to the historical hegemonic parties (Albó 2002). Plant (2002) further proposes that runakuna identity needs to be understood within an environmental context.

The appearance and mobilization of urban mashikuna also breaks away from the stereotyped dichotomy of the urban, modern, mestizo versus the rural, traditional, runakuna. The blurring of this dichotomy has given way to ayllukuna that are neither entirely modern nor entirely traditional (Kearney and Vanesse 1995). The wide range in between these two poles of ayllukuna in their historical relationship with the Ecuadorian state and the geographical proximity and cultural exposure to other societies and cultures influence where they live, what languages they speak besides Kechwa (or other runakuna language), and how they present themselves to outsiders.

Otavalenos can travel throughout Europe, Asia and the United States selling their handicrafts has greatly influenced their ayllukuna and culture (Portes 1996). Their reality is very different from the San Roque ayllukuna network, whereas some Runa Wasi members make a living selling Chinese handicrafts in the touristic sectors of Quito, others buy rental properties through the communal savings of their own bank. The Otavalo are in general distant from the fervor or political activity in Ecuador, whereas Runa Wasi and the San Roque ayllukuna network have been at the forefront of political mobilization in Quito. The relative economic stability of the Otavalos (particularly the members of their transnational ayllukuna networks) tends to attenuate their political mobilization, while the ayllukuna in San Roque strive for political inclusion and economic stability.

Self-essentializing is a key tactic in demanding rights and spaces specifically necessary for runakuna (Rubin 2004). For example, despite economic differences, both Otavalos and Runa Wasi members take on a form of runakuna identity in tune with foreign

conceptualizations in order to play in the tourist market place. However, self-essentialization also has objectification isues, especially for women, who are often presented as the bearers of runakuna identity. De la Cadena (2000) explores this experience among women in Peru who are portrayed as more rural, traditional in their clothing, and more fluent in Kechwa than their male counterparts. Given the stereotypes of these traits as backward in the mestizo imaginary, women are often considered second-class citizens. Mayan women are also portrayed this way, as bearers of a traditional identity, perpetually sequestered in the realm of static tradition (Nelson 1999).

The problem with the imposition of women of an identity void of dynamicism, is risking unequal access to outside influences that might benefit their struggle the way these have positively influenced runakuna men. Ecuadorian runakuna women face this same challenge (Radcliffe 2000), particularly in urban spaces where men can more easily transition into western clothing, but women are often scorned for trying to do the same. While Runa Wasi men can disregard the traditional poncho and hat, the women are continuously encouraged to wear traditional clothing in public, especially the younger generations born in Quito, who yearn to wear Colombian styled jeans, or Peruvian style short cut blouses or knee high boots. There are, however, women like the lawyers in the Inti Nan law firm that who work with Runa Wasi, who defy this double standard and playfully combine traditional and western clothing to express the different worlds in which they live and feel a part of.

Taitakuna and older mashikuna in Runa Wasi and the San Roque ayllukuna network are increasingly tolerant of young women alternating between traditional and western attire. The requirement of standard uniforms in schools in Quito helps attenuate the friction between generations. It is more common for both men and women to wear traditional attire in

special occasions such as weddings and assemblies. This intergenerational dialogue is part of the fluidity of Ecuadorian runakuna identity that includes a shift toward gender equality where women are developing a voice against the objectification of their bodies to serve the greater good. At the same time, essentializing tactics can still be used to frame runakuna women's goals for equality.

The incessant dialogue between the genders within the ayllukuna is part of the fluidity of runakuna identity in the 21st century. In one moment women make their voices heard, negotiating and demanding equality, while in another they stand in solidarity with the entire ayllu, dressed in their best traditional clothing at public rallies and marches. This seeming contradiction questions the categories of identity neatly arranged by outside observers (Wilson 1995; Speed 2002). This dialogue also now takes place in the context of urban and global cultural influence.

Conclusion

The mobilization of Ecuadorian runakuna in the last two decades has opened new opportunities for resistance against inequality. This mobilization, combined with global economic and political shifts, has also brought a new set of challenges for the survival of their languages, their ayllu system, and their Pachamama worldview that are all bases of their identity. In this dissertation I will explore how these opportunities and challenges influence runakuna identity at the local, urban level in the 21st century.

The migration experience of my case study, the Runa Wasi ayllu, will be used as a geographical and cultural context in which runakuna identity continues along with the political context in which Ecuadorian society continues today. Moreover, the local

experience of Runa Wasi will also help us explore and analyze in what ways and what progress they have made in reproducing identity and their worldview in Quito.

At the same time that mashikuna political leadership like CONAIE continues their struggle against current Ecuadorian mestizo governmental leadership bent on developmental policy detrimental to Ecuadorian society, there are also local struggles, resistance, and histories of success. Whatever amount of success mashikuna leadership have within the Ecuadorian government, there is a wave of resistance and struggle for change that happens at the local level with different consequences for the overall mashikuna movement. I aim to explore these local struggles and measure their success.

Chapters Summary

Five chapters and a conclusion follow. In chapter 2 I introduce and explore the Pachamama worldview and key concepts such as sumak kawsay, sawary raimy, the communal individual, mashikuna and others. The information for this presentation, the translation of the concepts from Kichwa to Spanish to English are my own and are the product of long discussions with Runa Wasi and the San Roque ayllu network members. In chapter 3 I introduce the Pachamama worldview within an Andean historical context, covering in part the Tawantinsuyu, the Spanish Conquest, and the Ecuadorian nation-state.

In chapter 4 I introduce the concept of the communal individual, discuss its role in identity as daily practice, and its influence in political solidarity and economic unity that provides communal strength, presenting examples from my field work in sawary raymi, congregations, and other social events. I discuss the importance in understanding the concept

of the communal individual that is antagonistic to individuality in self-understanding and presentation, as well as individual self-interest.

In chapter 5 I explore the creativity Runa Wasi mashikuna with which they resist prejudice and inequality while making a living and expressing their identity. I rely on participant observation of gafeteros, or those who make a living working in the Mariscal Sucre. Finally, in chapter 6 I introduce and analyze mashikuna women's resistance against inequality in the Runa Wasi ayllu. I explore the different paths mashikuna women take to remain in solidarity with the ayllukuna network while demanding equality in political representation, economic stability, and cultural representation.

Chapter 2:

Pachamama Worldview and Sumak Kawsay in the Long Andean Historical Context

Introduction

To better understand the role the Pachamama worldview plays in the mobilization of mashikuna in Ecuador (and the rest of the Andes) in the twenty first century it is important to briefly explore its long historical background. Without this historical context, one risks assuming that their contemporary political trajectory is an anomaly in Ecuador's political development. The limitations of space in this dissertation do not allow for an extensive and detailed review of Ecuadorian runakuna history before and after the arrival of Europeans. However, I will offer a historical context to grasp the long life of the Pachamama worldview and the concept of sumak kawsay among the runakuna.

To know and understand their contemporary perseverance in the preservation of their worldview is to know the role of Pachamama in their present mobilization interrelated to their identity as mashi and their commitment to the ayllu network, and the survival of the runakuna as a whole. A brief trajectory of Andean history, covering Inca times, Spanish Conquest, and the creation of nation-states and national borders, shines a light on mashikuna's success continuing and practcing the Pachamama worldview, the ayllu network despite European and white/mestizo projects of assimilation, forced labor, and eradication.

Exploring mashikuna's political mobilization in the second half of the twentieth century within this historical context helps us see how survival as much as identity and worldview propel further their resistance in the twenty first century. This long historical context also helps us understand that there is a fervent everyday way of life at the local level, that is often underestimated, but that defines mashikuna political development in Ecuador and the Andes. It is this resistance at the local level where the Pachamama worldview lives and that, through the ayllukuna network, spans across political borders, linguistic diversity, and geographical distances. Knowledge of the Pachamama worldview, a grasp of Andean history, and participant observation are key tools to best appreciate contemporary mashikuna spiritual and political unity, localized resistance, and their strive for economic independence from mestizos in Quito.

Pachamama in the long Andean history

The breathtaking beauty of the biodiversity and exceptionally elevated geography of the Andes has promulgated a reverence and co-existence among Andean societies that have existed in the region for thousands of years. A necessary commercial interdependence among societies has been a tangible reality with a four-level division of food production, with

specific types of food produced at each elevation (Salomon, 42). These different four elevations create an economic and political interdependence. A balanced diet can only be achieved through consistent trade and commerce between different communities at each of these elevations (Fagan 95). For example, coastal societies have depended on societies in the Sierra region for legumes, grains, and water. Societies in the Sierra and Amazon region have depended on coastal people for salt, spices, fish, and access to coastal roads to sidestep the Andean cordillera (Salomon, 70).

This necessary interdependence among Andeans has existed since humans first colonized this part of world. Such interdependency cemented a shared veneration for balanced and reciprocal relationships between humans and the Andean environment (Karen 32). Despite times of internecine struggles that occurred during times of war, the necessity for constant trade to ensure a balanced diet has been an incentive for long lasting relative peace among Andean people (Karen 49). Commercial and dietary interdependence have been the strength source of economic and political domination for imperial projects like the Tawantinsuyu. The Incas incorporated dietary interdependence as a major economic and political tool of domination and expansion. A tributary system that required the sharing of all foods produced (and precious metals) with the Inca ruling class as well as those who produced them was mastered by the middle of the fifteenth century (De Leon 83).

Pachamama worldview during Inca expansion and rule

The Incas' co-optation of the Pachamama worldview into their imperial religious-political system helped positioned themselves as part of the continuum between Inti (the sun), Pachamama (the earth), and all runakuna in the Tawantinsuyu. The powerful political and spiritual influence of this Inca system is better appreciated by the realization that at that

time the Tawantinsuyu was believed to encompass the entire world. Tawantinsuyu literally means the four corners of the world. This geopolitical and spiritual hegemonic position allowed the Incas to claim to offer and deliver the balanced Andean system of life that already existed before them and continued after their demise.

An incentive for Andean societies to become part of the Tawantinsuyu was opportunity to expand commerce in the Andes as far as the imperial ayllukuna networks would take them (Salomon, 153). By the 1470's the Incas were briefly able to incorporate a vast portion of the Andean cordillera into an interdependent empire where the provision of food was guaranteed. This guarantee was presented as a gift by Inti and the Incas themselves, allowing them to extract a tributary tax from their Tawantinsuyu without disturbing the balance of the system, itself a product of sumak kawsay and other Pachamama principles (Salomon 169; de León 76). Thus sumak kawsay as part of the ayllukuna networks provided Inca rule with economic and political stability that strategically strengthened their empire.

Despite Garcilazo de la Vega's description of the Tawantinsuyu as a benevolent empire and the Incas as kind and generous rulers, he provides a sober and cruel reality of Inca Empire building in the 14th century. The indomitable spirit with which the Andean runakuna resisted Inca invasion was met with a savagery and cruelty that deserves description to highlight the enduring power of sumak kawsay and the long history of resistance among Andean people. Unsatisfied with their conquest of present day Chile, the Incas began their imperial expansion north. Various Incas according to De la Vega repeated the cruelty described below, whenever they were confronted by societies unwilling to surrender. The longer conquests would take, the more savage and cruel the Inca's tactics.

> The Incas did nothing more than wait for hunger and other desperations of war to defeat them. In the fields and in the towns they would find homeless abandoned

> women and children, whose men, who were warring, could not take them along. The Incas would take them in feigned kindness and fed them. They would take in as many as possible, and instruct them to go to their men and their fathers so they could see they would also be taken care of. They [the Incas] wanted the warring me to see that they meant to civilize them in law and ways of life. This was considered astute military approach…because the affliction of their children would crush their will more than their own affliction, and the cries of their women would soften the warring men, and made them lose their courage and ferociousness and completely surrender (977).

The Tawantinsuyu imperial armies would bring all necessary provisions from every corner of their vast domains to succeed. Entire armies and mímatcs[9] were rotated to ensure morale. The Incas would not care whatever length of time or magnitude of investment these tactics took as long as their empire expanded.

> Twhis way [the Incas] forced this desperation on their enemies five or six months, until hunger and death found the most fragile and emaciated, women and children…and this way, by common agreement among captains and soldiers, each within their fortresses, chose ambassadors who with all humility went to the Incas and asked for forgiveness and offered obedience and offered allegiance" (978).[10]

For thirty-six succinct chapters el Inca Garcilazo de la Vega tells of the invading wars the Incas invested their entire Tawantinsuyu in. Their hegemonic cooptation of sumak kawsay and their imperial religion that deem them as the bridge between the Inti god and themselves informed their unrelenting expansion at the cost of destruction and terror.

In contrast, by the 14th century, Andean societies outside the Tawantinsuyu had also incorporated an intimate and balanced relationship with Pachamama as a worldview, a non imperial relationship between all living things into their social and spiritual reality (Homer, 88). This relationship required a balance between humans and the rest of the world and was

[9] Mítmac was a royal loyal society devoted for indoctrination of conquered ayllu networks. They were often transplanted from Cuzco into new lands, taking over conquered ruling classes.

[10] This is my own translation of de la Vega's work. His candid story telling remains more vivid in the original.

an important underpinning of Andean identity, reality, and practice in everyday life. This human-environment relationship also influenced their spirituality. Despite Andean linguistic and cultural diversity, societies like the Kingdom of Quito enjoyed this complex relationship where this diversity was respected and appreciate it.

Garcilazo de la Vega describes the cultural diversity within the Kingdom of Quito, often referring to these ayllukuna as barbarous, wild, and without enough civility to understand the supremacy of Inti and the Incas as supreme descendants of the sun. By the middle of the 15th century Túpac Inca Yupanqui arrived at present day Cañar and unleashes once again their horrid warring tactics. Their overall goal was the Kingdom of Quito.

> [Túpac Inca Yupanqui] kept the war going and kept wining the kingdom little by little, always offering peace and friendship which the Incas always offered in their conquests; but their enemies, who were rustic people, badly dressed and with no political savvy, never wanted to embrace it (1410).

Realizing the indomitable spirit of the ayllukuna in the Kingdom, his assigns this long term venture to his son, Huaica Cápac, who conquered most of present Ecuador, arriving in Quito in the 1470's (1,393).

> Five years the war lasted against Quitu, and it would have lasted longer if their king had not died. He died of affliction seeing most of his kingdom die at the hands of the Huaina Cápac's war techniques, unable to protect what was left, and unwilling to surrender to the Inca's promise of clemency, or accept his conditions for peace. Decimated in spirit and his people pushed to desperation, the Quitu king died and his captains surrendered to the Inca who received them with much affability and mercy (1,393).

Desperation and destruction was brought to all the societies north of Quito. It mattered little to Haina Cápac that, beyond the earth, the role of celestial beings like the sun and the moon in climate cycles on earth were well understood in these societies. The Incas sought that these balances be venerated during imperial Inti Raymi and tributes be paid to the Tawantinsuyu. Pachamama as a worldview and as mother earth became imperial property. The decisive

influence of Pachamama on the fate of humanity was unquestioned all along this part of the Andean Cordillera before the arrival of the Incas.

For example, the abundance of food, the balance experienced in the observation and celebration of life in relation to agricultural cycles, were believed to be to results of the importance of Pachamama and their sumak kawsay, not of imperial rule. This is precisely why they refused to become part of an imperial tributary system. The gifts of abundance supported relative copacetic political ties. As long as sumak kawsay was maintained both abundance and peace reign in the Andes without the need for Inca rule.

This was the Andean world the Incas encountered and forcefully incorporated into their Tawantinsuyu as they expanded beyond Cuzco. The obligatory use of Kechwa (the royal language) throughout the empire in newly conquered territories helped them overcome linguistic diversity, but it was the need for violence that ironically was a threat to the Pachamama. To be fair, in a twist of historical fate, the establishment of Kechwa as official language throughout the empire also eventually resulted in the intimate relationship between it (and all its derivatives such as Kichwa) and the Pachamama worldview (de la Vega, 132). But it was the sociopolitical and cultural affinity of sumak kawsay among the diverse conquered societies that was the decisive underpinning of imperial success and their expansionist projects.

The Incas thus relied on Pachamama and sumak kawsay to understand and present themselves as divine rulers of the masses. Their conviction in their burden to forcefully civilize Andean societies and incorporate them into the Tawantinsuyu was made clear by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's account of the oral history as presented to him by one of his imperial uncles.

> Our Father Inti (the Sun), seeing the bestiality of men had mercy on them and sent from the heavens one his sons and one of his daughters to teach them to worship him so that they can learn reason and urbanity, to live in a civilized world. (23)

This hegemonic royal account conveniently ignored the existing practice of sumak kawsay. Instead this mythology proposed that these two descendants began their walk through the Andes from nearby Lake Titicaca, only able to begin a settlement where they could bury a golden staff on the ground with one try. This place became known as Cozco in southern Peru, which they declared the capital of their Empire. From this geographic point, the descendants of Inti set out outwardly onto the four corners of the world to expand the Tawantisuyu, to worship the Sun and abuse the Pachamama for their gain.

The Incas used mítmacs to defuse rebellions, indoctrinate conquered societies, and guarantee tributary payments. Mítmacs permanently displaced local ruling classes who were sent to Cuzco. Mítmacs enforced the adoration of Inti, and the Inca as its direct descendant and ruler on earth. Mítmac leadership also ensured proper systematic inventory of wealth and taxation, the application of Inca rule and law, and of course, the growth of the imperial ayllukuna system (de la Vega, 1633).

An exclusionary religious claim of divinity by the Incas sustained their hegemonic governance. However, it was the Pachamama worldview of a ecological-cultural-political matrix that preserved a balanced system of production and reproduction for everyone within the empire. The accomplishment of food abundance was a product of an established cultivating and harvest systems measured by the solstices, all societies under the Kingdom of Quito had developed. The Incas co-opted this ancient system and portrayed such abundance and distribution as a semi-divine gift made possible by them. Their tributary system of food was supervised and carried out by the Kurakas in every corner of the vast Tawantinsuyu (De

Leon, 1995). Kurakas were direct or distant relatives of the Inca ruling class who themselves ruled over extensive territories. However, they did not claim a divine existence on earth. Thus it was their own way of life that made possible the continuation of ayllukuna networks after the conquest of the Incas.

By the 1480's, the consolidation of the Tawantinsuyu encompassed hundreds of societies with their own language and culture, who nevertheless shared the Pachamama worldview and Kechwa. But they were not altogether willing subjects of the Inca and uprisings did happened. For example, towards the end of the 15th century Huayna Cápac waged a massive campaign to put down the Kitu Kara uprising in the former Quito Kingdom. By this time the Karas themselves had been conquered by the Kitus, coalescing into an influential society in the region known as the Kitu Karas (Salomon, 145).

Kitu Karas were skillful in war and indomitable which proved a costly imperial expansion project for the Tawantinsuyu. Huayna Cápac was only able to fully incorporate Quito through savvy political maneuvering. He married the Kitu Kara princess Ñusta Pacha (Princes of Time) with whom he begot Atahualpa. This way the Incas ruled supreme as demigods in the most northern region of their empire. Unfortunately for the ayllukuna networks, this strategy resulted in further massive wars two decades later. Huayna Cápac's two sons, Atahualpa (based in Quito) and Huáscar (based in Cuzco) eventually waged war against one another for the supreme rule of the Tawantinsuyu.

By 1532, after devastating atrocities committed on both sides, Atahualpa won a ravaging civil war at a great political, economic, and spiritual cost throughout the empire. The Tawantinsuyu began crumbling beneath the surface as different sectors of the ruling class and ayllukuna networks throughout the empire took sides. This civil war also took a toll

on military resources. As fate would have it, that same year, the Spanish conqueror Francisco Pizzaro, traveling down from the Berú Empire (present day Panamá), came upon a weakened and divided Tawantinsuyu, took military advantage of its political and military fracture that facilitated his own conquest.

Official Continuation of Pachamama and sumak kawsay under Inca's cruel rule

Despite the seemingly benevolence of the Tawantinsuyu, imperial military and political requirements demanded violence and cruelty against insurgency. In essence, resistance emerged from the need for a balanced localized system of production without the burden of tributes to the Incas. In this sense identity was understood and lived in the Pachamama worldview continued even under imperial oppression. The Incas in return met this resistance with violence and destruction. One example of Inca reaction to resistance, which remains strong in the memory of most Ecuadorians today, is the slaughter of the Karanki and Kayambi at the Yawar Cocha (Lake of Blood) in Ibarra. The Karanki people refused the burden of tributes as their lands often barely produced for their own sustenance. Their independence still fresh in their memory drove them to rebel and seek it once again. The Karanki proved indomitable and ungovernable, so Huayna Cápac decided to massacre most Karanki men to demonstrate his power and wrath. Tens of thousands of men were massacred and their bodies thrown into the lake (Alchon, 21). It is fascinating to hear this story from the descendants of the Karanki today who continue to live around Yawar Cocha.

Obviously, the violence unleashed against insurgency in the Tawantinsuyu was a direct contradiction of the political and spiritual balance experienced in sumak kawsay. Violent repression was localized. Only those ayllukuna networks that were the focus of imperial wrath were affected. However, the civil war unleashed on the entire empire

threatened the underlying structural influence of sumak kawsay. Inca civil war robbed sumak kawsay of its political and economic influence, obtained from stability and unity, the same forces that had fueled its imperial power and success.

It was life as structured in the Pachamama worldview and sumak kawsay that gave the Tawantinsuyu the strength and influence the Incas used to expand their empire. Periods of political and economic stability allowed geographical expansion, the Pachamama worldview reigned, even if co-opted. It was during this time that Huayna Cápac's Tawantinsuyu achieved overall balanced relationships. But it was an encompassing system of domination for the dominated societies and was short lived. The success of the mitmaq approach to acculturate resisting subaltern regions derived from sumak kawsay itself. By the time the Inca Empire was consolidated, the Pachamama worldview had become a hegemonic tool of governance and a source of political and economic balance.

The appearance of the Spanish invaders in the Americas and their subjugation of the Tawantinsuyu stunted further imperial economic and political development by the Incas. Although the Inca Empire was debilitated by civil war, it was the Spanish Conquest that brought its demise as it became a hellish experience by all peoples of the Americas. The Pachamama worldview and sumak kawsay became obsolete in the emerging European political and economic system while it simultaneously became a lifeline for the surviving runakuna societies that survived the savagery of Spanish conquest. It was at this point that Pachamama became an underground worldview considered a backward religion at best, or as a sacrilegious and demonic practice by the Catholic Church for the next five centuries. It was at this time that sumak kawsay continued within the hermetic reality of oppressed ayllukuna networks, becoming a lifeline of survival and continuation.

Pachamama and Sumak kawsay under Spanish Domination

One of the unintended outcomes of the Tawantinsuyu was the enduring introduction of the Pachamama worldview and sumak kawsay as understood in Kechwa and all Kichwa derivatives among the ayllukuna networks. The demise of the Tawantisuyu only meant the demise of the religious vestiges of the hegemonic Tawantinsuyu-Inca-Pachamama relationship. The breakdown of this relationship was completed by the time the last Inca, Túpac Amaru II, failed in a runakuna uprising in 1780, attempting to expel the Spanish and their descendants to reestablish Inca rule (Galindo, 145).

The hellish invasion of the Spanish proved a most horrific genocide Andean ayllukuna had ever experienced. Their use of terror knew no boundaries. Any time they encountered a new society the following was read in Spanish.

> I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall powerfully enter into your country and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of Their Highnesses. We shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as Their Highnesses may command. And we shall take your goods, and shall do you all the mischief and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey and refuse to receive their lord and resist and contradict him (Stannard, 66).

By the fifteenth century Spanish society had been shaped by the savage wars during the Crusades against Islamic domination of Western Europe that lasted almost four hundred years. The Crusades were militarily and economically important but also religiously driven. By 1492 the Spanish successfully expelled all Muslim and Jewish people from their territories. This military and religious victory greatly influenced the belief among Christians of their superiority over other societies and their worldviews. It also informed their ignorance and savagery. Stannard quotes Bartolome de las Casas thus

> By other massacres and murders besides the above, they [the Pizarro brothers] have destroyed and devastated a kingdom more than a hundred leagues square, one of the happiest in the way of fertility and population in the world. This same tyrant [Francisco Pizarro] wrote that it was more populous than the kingdom of Mexico; and he told the truth. He and his brothers, together with the others, have killed more than four or five million people in fifteen or sixteen years, from the year 1525 until 1540, and they continue to kill and destroy those who are still left; and so they will kill the remainder (81).

Disease followed or anticipated the arrival of the Spanish. Entire populations were decimated within a few years.

> For the Andean society as a whole ... within a century following their first encounter with the Spanish, 94-96 percent of their once-enormous population had been exterminated; along their 2000 miles of coastline, where once 6,500,000 people had lived, everyone was dead (91).

The Spanish Conquistadors encountered American indigenous peoples with self-perception of linguistic, religious, and cultural superiority. The Conquistadors and the hordes of Spanish adventurers that followed confronted the vast number of different American indigenous societies, from empires such as the Aztecs, Mayans or Incas, to the smallest and most isolated communities, with the same fear, hatred, and violence. Their well-being and their overnight enrichment came at a monstrous cost.

> By the time the sixteenth century had ended perhaps 200,000 Spaniards had moved their lives to the Indies, to Mexico, to Central America, and points further to the south. In contrast, by that time, somewhere between 60,000,000 and 80,000,000 natives from those lands were dead (Stannard, 95)

Contact between Catholic Conquistadors and American indigenous societies was also defined by differences in worldviews, understandings of material wealth, and governance. Conquistadors reacted to cultural and spiritual difference with violence, death, and slavery. The life of the Spanish in the Americas was defined by greed and cruelty.

> [the Conquistadors] demanded great displacements of populations (runakuna) which disarticulated communal agricultural units; not only did it distinguished great numbers of lives through forced labor but, indirectly, demolished the collective agricultural systems. [Runakuna] were forced into the adits, forced to hand over their lands they were made to abandon. Along the Pacific coast, the Spanish destroyed enormous communal plantations of corn, yucca, beans, plantains, peanuts, potatoes of all types. The desert quickly devoured great land tracks which had been brought to agricultural life by runakuna and the Incas through their irrigation systems (Galeano, 25).

Their drive to decimate all vestiges of Andean life was relentless. As early as 1509 the Spanish developed systematic ways to decimate Andean worldviews and Andean languages. As Fossa (2005) points out "Evangelization was the main justification for the Spanish colonization of the Indies, but it could not be carried out without a common language." (3). The Spanish focused on converting the children of caciques and lords to Christianity and Spanish to ensure rapid conversion of ayllukuna (6). They believed that their Christian god should rule supreme through the decimation of all alternative religions, gods, and worldviews. But land, gold, and free labor were also the tangible incentives for the Spanish to destroy all forms of indigenous governance. The amount of natural resources, precious metals and free labor found in the American continent created in the Conquistadors' minds the necessity to dehumanize its people in order to justify the atrocities they were committing from the first moments of encounter.

The military superiority of Conquistadors such as Francisco Pizzarro and the magnitude of cruelty shown to the Tawantinsuyu population provided them with further evidence of the superiority of their God and of themselves over the runakuna. Their victory in the Crusades signaled their superiority as humans, which was further proved as they destroyed the Incas and enslaved the ayllukuna networks. To Conquistadors being Spanish and Christian was a crucial difference that defined them as civilized. To be runa was a

symbol of sub-humanity, and enough reason for mistreatment. The wretchedness the runakuna suffered at the hands of Christians was understood by the latter as punishment by their Christian god, rather than cruelty and savageness on their part.

It was under these military and spiritual circumstances that the Pachamama worldview lost its hegemonic position vis-à-vis Christianity. The Pachamama worldview became a lifeline. The diversity of Andean languages, the gifts of the Pachamama worldview, and their political systems became obsolete under subsequent colonial rule (Ramon, 1987). Because Christian doctrine demands that the Christian God reigns supreme above all other belief systems and gods under severe penalty to the contrary, a systematic destruction of all vestiges of Tawantinsuyu spirituality was carried out. Even when entire ayllukuna networks became Christians in order to survive, they remained racially different and inferior to Spanish, criollos and mestizos.

The Tawantinsuyu was divided among the Conquistadors. These divisions called mita, included land, natural resources, and entire ayllukuna networks. They were required to become Christians but even the Christian god could not save them from the misery they suffered. Greed for land, precious metals, and free labor laid bare the real economic and political motives of the Spanish and their descendants. The acquisition of lands in the name of the Spanish crown required a political and ideological structure that permanently denied humanity to runakuna.

The Andean runakuna were confronted first with genocide and their surviving descendants with political invisibility. This invisibility facilitated the usurpation of their Andean spirituality, at least in the public space. Miscegenation between the Spanish and runakuna through rape or strategic marriage blurred visible physical lines. The Spanish and

their descendants devised a system of written identity to prove their lineage and their rightful ownership of lands and resources (Martos, 111). An emergent European racial worldview, spearheaded by the Spanish, and later developed and re-defined by British migrants to northern America (which ironically later excluded the Spanish and their descendants) designated all indigenous societies as one inferior race (Smedley, 135). This designation made it easier for the Catholic Church to coerce surviving runakuna into Christianity.

Religious indoctrination facilitated political and economic, rather than ideological and spiritual control. For the surviving runakuna sumak kawsay kept them alive. Whereas Spanish and mestizos saw humility, they were simply practicing survival as sumak kawsay. Unlike in times of Inca rule, guided by sumak kawsay, Christianity bestow upon them a lifetime of wretchedness, compensated in an afterlife. This was nothing more than a rationalization for their desolation at the hands of invaders. That Christians themselves were the source of sorrow for runakuna was beside the point. After the destruction of the Tawantinsuyu the Spanish and mestizo focused on erasing the history of their invasion from the runakuna imaginary.

That the imposition of Christianity was a great threat to sumak kawsay, a historical runa consciousness of a tangible relationship between humans and all living things was not understood by the Catholic Church, nor was it of great importance. Christian hegemony led to a conviction among Catholic Andeans that runakuna spirituality was mere superstition, devoid of any tangible nourishment. In fact, this is a belief that persists today among Andean Christians. Christianity became a spiritual threat to sumak kawsay that also posed a threat to the very survival of the ayllukuna networks. As sumak kawsay became a runakuna lifeline of survival, its eradication would rob them of that very lifeline. However, to the Catholic

Church, indoctrination meant the salvation of runakuna souls and the civilization of their societies (Ogburn 2008, Mannheim 1984).

But the homogenization and indoctrination of runakuna led to their political, economic and spiritual underdevelopment. The necessity of sumak kawsay for their survival under precarious circumstances such as mining, or wasi punku limited from development further. Forced to hide the spiritual force of sumak kawsay from the Catholic Church, runakuna's political and spiritual balance was limited. Their wretched conditions were designated as their identity. Their suffering became a bona fide component of their reality when in fact their survival was at once their identity and their expression of sumak kawsay. Runakuna identity throughout the last five centuries has been their strive to survive genocide. Under Ecuadorian nation state rule the mestizo world developed in relation to the Andean region and human developments beyond, the runakuna were forced into a state of spiritual, political, and economic stagnation as its core was focused on survival.

For example, runakuna Christian indoctrination generated a gender inequality that is prevalent and necessary in western societies. The patriarchy experienced within the Catholic Church and in Catholic societies is in direct contradiction to sumak kawsay political and economic gender relations. In chapter 6 I explore and discuss the detrimental influence of Catholicism on sumak kawsay gender relations and the wave of resistance against it that takes place today. For now, it is important to point out that as European and mestizo hegemony took roots in the Andean region, gender inequality unfortunately became perceived as natural among Catholic runakuna themselves. The homogenization and Catholic indoctrination of the diverse ayllukuna networks facilitated the dismissal of Andean political and economic systems as exemplified by the Inca's Tawantinsuyu (Manheimm, 1984).

Indios without civilization, uprooted runakuna without self-determination

From Tenochtitlan, through the various Mayan kingdoms, to the Tawantinsuyu, Spanish conquerors imposed themselves as the superior and civilized, against societies they saw as subhuman populations. Despite the vast cultural and political diversity of the societies they encountered, the Spanish simply called them all *Indios*, beginning a racial homogenization process that continues today. Many indigenous religions, gods, and worldviews were destroyed, and people forced to choose between the Catholicism and death. No matter what spiritual, political, or economic contributions these indigenous religions and worldviews may have had to offer humanity, the Spanish believed their own religion and worldview superior (Fossa 8-14).

The cruelty with which the Spanish treated American indigenous societies is well documented (Stannard 1992, Galeano, 2009). Their dehumanization facilitated their decimation, and later their uprooting and displacement. The Conquistador Pedro de Alvarado forced the mobilization of tens of thousands of Mayan warriors from as far north as present day Yucatan and Guatemala to the Andes to aid in the Spanish conquest of the Tawantinsuyu. None of these soldiers saw their homeland again. Entire ayllukuna were taken from the Kingdom of Quito to present day Chile to subjugate the Mapuche people (Robinson, 1990). The disruption of their societies created by their forced migration was of no interest to the Spanish, much less the abrupt disruption of their worldview practices and spirituality.

Once violent take over subsided, the Spanish and their descendants began to establish their political and economic systems that further disrupted the ayllukuna interconnection. For example, the practice of mita (the distribution of land along with ayllukuna) transformed the political and spiritual alliances. Almost overnight runakuna were cut off from their ancestral

networks under Inca rule. But their spiritual and material wellbeing afforded by sumak kawsay continued. In this sense their identity as mashikuna continued, not in the form of resistance but of survival. The core of their civilization became their self-determination to continue under horrendous oppression. Their survival became their identity. Sumak kawsay continued as they themselves continued. The savage machinery of exploitation and warring that created a hellish world of wretchedness for them, was overcome, even when they suffered starvation and total control.

Gone are the Inti temples and the practice of balance between all living forms, celestial beings, and humans. This balanced as part of runakuna identity was disrupted for centuries, as their own survival became the core of their being. A forceful veneration of statues, crosses, and churches overshadowed their identity as survivors, though not its actual being. Runakuna continued and so did sumak kawsay. Kichwa as the language of sumak kawsay continued as well.

Pachamama worldview in Colonial Andes

Privileged Inca classes like kurakas and mítmacs survived the Spanish conquest. Although eventually kurakas lost all political and spiritual influence, they managed to stay afloat of Spanish subjugation. In fact, kurakas helped the Spanish in the process of mita distributions, betraying the unity in sumak kawsay. The mítmac ayllukuna also took advantage of their cultural and political clout throughout the crumbling Tawantinsuyu. As nodes of Inca acculturation programs, the mítmacs served as intermediaries between extensive ayllukuna networks and conquistadors who were few in number and ignorant of Andean linguistic diversity. Their struggle for survival furthered the break-up of the ayllukuna network in the Tawantinsuyu.

In other others as the Incas were decimated the runakuna were betrayed by their ruling class. Rather than to unity for survival the kurakas and the mítmac ayllukuna converted to Christianity and helped colonization. Their betrayal ruptured all of their ties to the runakuna and sumak kawsay. During centuries of colonial rule runakuna relied on each other without regional leadership. Excluded from education under mestizo rule they relied on oral history as they had for millennia. Unable to escape enslavement and indentured servitude like their former Andean rulers, their identity remained unknown to the outside world, beyong the ayllu and Kichwa.

Some Incas strove to save their lineage and sociopolitical position by marrying into Spanish royalty and converting to Christianity, leading a formal denunciation of the Pachamama worldview. This spiritual shift also contributed to the destruction of the Tawantinsuyu and the establishment of European hegemony. One prime example is the story of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega himself. He is one of the greatest Andean historians. His magnum opus *Comentarios Reales de Los Incas* was up to par with Herodotus historical accounts and his Spanish as influential as Miguel Cervantes' *Don Quixote de la Mancha.* El Inca Garcilaso's work was so influential during Túpac Amarus' uprising that King Charles III of Spain banished it from the Andes.

But El Inca Garcilaso's success also signals the level to which he assimilated and ignored the realities of this people. He was one of Atahualpa's nephews. His mother, Inca princess Palla Chimpu Ocllo married the conquistador Sebastian Garcilaso de la Vega y Vargas. Although well versed in the Pachamama worldview, the sumak kawsay way of life and Inca history, El Inca Garcilaso was born into Christianity, served in the Spanish royal court, and wrote extensively on the superiority of Catholicism and Spanish rule. He was

unable to write down his knowledge of Andean spirituality, well-being and alternatives to Spanish hegemony. It is from his writings that we have a glimpse of the Tawantinsuyu and Inca rule prior to European invasion.

Túpac Amaru was the last Inca to attempt the liberation of the runakuna in the 1780's. Their solidarity even after mestizo rule had been cemented in the Andes can be understood as a demonstration of identity and resistance. To this day politically conscious Andeans look to Amaru's uprising as an example of solidarity. The magnitude of his influence was not lost in the Viceroy. Fortunes were promptly invested in weaponry and soldier power to hunt him down, quarter his body, and send it to the last four points of what had once been the Tawantinsuyu. His death represented the end of the Tawantinsuyu, and the seemingly disruption of the ayllukuna network. Sumak kawsay would be believed forever gone by outsiders to the ayllu networks until the 21st century, when mashikuna come together to resist foreign political and economic invasion once again.

Both El Inca Garcilazo and Túpac Amaru were descendants of an imperial ruling class that had once governed most of the Andean cordillera. The Inca Garcilazo had truly believed in the benevolent rule of the Incas and later of the Spanish as extensively exemplified in his *Historias Reales*. Túpac Amaru understood the tyranny of Spanish and Criollo rule and cruelty against the runakuna. He lived and died in his conviction that he could once again establish the Tawantinsuyu. The Spanish robbed them both. El Inca Garcilazo never returned to Peru for fear of his life and died poor in Spain in 1560. Túpac Amaru died a martyr of a brief revolutionary war.

After Túpac Amaru's uprising a mestizo/white ruling class governed. Outside ayllu sumak kawsay and the Pachamama worldview was all but abandoned. Kichwa remained

within the ayllu also and Spanish as an official language ruled. Runakuna assimilation became prevalent as a tool of survival (Silverblatt, 1987). These runakuna became mestizos and tried to procure political and economic benefits. It was not so much the acquisition of Spanish or Christianity as much as their abandonment of the Pachamama worldview and Kichwa that granted them a mestizo identity. With the practice of an Andean worldview and language, life within an ayllu was impossible.

The homogenization of the runakuna by mestizos in cities and rural areas left little room to escape political and economic subjugation. Most runakuna lacked the clout to portray themselves as privileged. Their subjugation as a class ironically pushed them to continue to live and reproduce sumak kawsay. This subjugation created a precarious everyday reality. They endured mistreatment of mestizo landowners, the Catholic Church and government. Freedom from domination lay beyond the grip of the state in remote areas like the Amazon for centuries. Amazonias were considered savages by mestizos, just as the Incas had done before.

Thus the birth of the Ecuadorian nation as a Christian mestizo society took place in the context of runakuna's plight and their struggle to keep the Pachamama worldview. This persecution fueled eradication of runakuna spirituality and identity. The prosperity of landowners, the hegemonic position of the Catholic Church, and the imposition of western values developed as reciprocity, spiritual solidarity, and sumak kawsay went underground. Christian faith superseded the tangible benefit of living in synchronicity with environmental cycles, political unity, and well-being. Even with the necessity of the sun for the sustenance of all life, the need of the earth for the production of food and a balanced human relationship

among humans, Christians drove the Pachamama worldview underground. Death was often the punishment for heresy.

The Ecuadorian Republic required a division of mestizo and runakuna realities. Economic and political inequality informed these realities. Runakuna as an underclass relied on a spiritual reality that defied inequality for survival. Therefore, political and economic inequality and separation was also spiritual separation. The Pachamama is a worldview based on tangible realities of reciprocity and political solidarity within a context of tangible equilibrium. Christianity is a spirituality based on faith of the intangible. Christians have a long history is of cruelty and genocide. The tangible requirements of the Pachamama worldview influence political and economic solidarity among runakuna. This solidarity has always presented a threat to the hegemony of Christianity in the Andes, and the political hegemony of white/mestizo ruling classes. This threat has therefore created the necessity to keep runakuna subjugated, and spiritually separated.

The Incas co-opted the Pachamama worldview and imposed Kechwa as the imperial language. The degree of tolerance they showed, despite the political, economic, and linguistic requirements, were it tune with spiritual and economic affinities shared by Andean societies. The Spanish, on the other hand, destroyed all imperial religions in the Tawantinsuyu and attempted to eradicate the Pachamama worldview by imposing Catholicism and the Spanish language. Unlike the Incas, the Spanish upheld and imposed a worldview system with very few if any spiritual or cultural affinities with the newly conquered Andean ayllukuna networks (Ibarra, 1992).

The Pachamama worldview in the Ecuadorian nation state

Not without irony, the development of the mestizo/runakuna dichotomy in republican Ecuador propelled the preservation of the Pachamama Worldview and sumak kawsay in the ayllukuna networks as tools of survival. Mestizo subjugation of runakuna proved merciless, especially in rural areas. During the Ecuadorian nation state formation the ayllukuna networks were shunt to the periphery of mestizo society geographically and culturally. The geographic separation of runakuna allowed them to remain culturally and linguistically hermetic where sumak kawsay was practiced (Yashar 1996). Had sumak kawsay been decimated, the runakuna would have been wiped out. As a concept of reciprocity and balance, it continued to provide spiritual strength even when runakuna faced atrocious everyday life under mestizo rule.

Fundamentals of the Pachamama worldview remained central to the spiritual and everyday survival of runakuna living in the cruelty of the huasipunku system[11] for example, or in invisible and segregated communities in Quito, Riobamba or Cuenca, or as forgotten savage societies in the Amazon. Whereas reciprocity and balance between humans and Pachamama had been once been hegemonic tools of Andean political stability, survival became the primary way life. Despite centuries of rupture from the Tawantinsuyu, the continuation of the Pachamama worldview has proved to be the underpinning of runakuna collective survival all the way to the 21st century.

Mestizo society in the Ecuadorian republic developed vis-à-vis the rejection of Andean ancient worldviews and knowledge. The same way Conquistadores and their

[11] Under the huasipunku system, runakuna worked for mestizo landowners under inhumane conditions. Instead of pay, runakuna were assigned small parcels to produce meager sustenance. They were only to work on them after serving landowners. This created a work system of up to twenty hours of daily work, without time off.

Catholic counterparts destroyed Inca sun temples and built Catholic churches on the very same places, their worldview was imposed at a great cost to the runakuna. This violent imposed transformation also resulted in the Pachamama worldview shifting away from a religious practice into a spiritual and political survival within shunt ayllukuna. Andean sufficiency and reciprocity as fundamentals of runakuna reality were transformed into slavery, hunger and illiteracy as forms of mestizo domination.

Mestizo ruling classes tried to erase all forms of potential runakuna developmental contributions in Ecuadorian nation building projects. These nation-building projects required the erasure of runakuna long Andean history from the mestizo historical imaginary. Runakuna cultures, languages and worldview became irrelevant to Ecuadorian mestizo political leadership, scholarship and society in general. From the birth of the Ecuadorian nation, runakuna were reconstructed as rural, illiterate peasants, who were to perpetually remain away from a dynamic urban influence of the Andes and the world. This urban-mestizo/rural-runakuna dichotomy that formed and continues to form part of mestizo Ecuadorian ideology was the strongest in the first half of the twentieth century. The hegemony of this construction of the runakuna in the minds of mestizos can be measured by the shocked reaction of Ecuadorians and foreign observers alike during the 1990 uprising.

The Pachamama Worldview in the 20th century

In general, runakuna's horrendous subjugation remained the norm in Ecuador for most of the 19th and 20th centuries. The conditions under which the runakuna lived under the huasipunku system epitomize the cruelty of Ecuadorian white and mestizo ruling classes and the complicity of the Ecuadorian nation state. The huasipunku system kept runakuna disenfranchised from ayllukuna networks and bound to hacienda owners perpetually. Their

dehumanization made possible the wealth of hacendados and contributed to their political invisibility from the Ecuadorian mestizo imaginary. Rampant undernourishment, illiteracy, and disenfranchisement defused any uprising attempts. It was not until the land reforms of the 1940's that emancipated runakuna. The continuation of sumak kawsay even after centuries of horrible suppression is exemplified in the fact that it took them only decades to recuperate, unite, and mobilize. Runakuna identity as lived in the sumak kawsay was definitely expressed in their survival, continuation and peaceful rebellion, even after centuries of dehumanization.

Given that at least half the Ecuadorian nation is runakuna, its birth, reality, and continuation cannot be separated from the oppression of half its population in the 20th century. This dynamic marked the underdevelopment of Ecuador. The hegemony of Spanish has a great cost in the suppression of an internal Andean linguistic diversity. Catholicism hegemony exists at the cost of suppressing an Andean worldview that developed in tune with Andean reality. The hegemonic political and economic control of Ecuador's production undermined the potential of an Ecuadorian society. In the 20th century runakuna's development was limited to their use by the state as food producers. With a few exceptions such as the Otavalo, they were barred from education, economic prosperity, political representation, or spiritual freedom.

In the 20th century completion of the South American nation-states cemented the partition of the ayllukuna network system that once thrived in the Andes. The runakuna were forced to an underdevelopment greatly defined by the nation in which they lived. Ecuadorian runakuna simultaneously suffered the huasipunku system and took advantage of the lack of war and terror experienced in Peru. Ayllukuna division within nation-states stunted further

spiritual, political, and economic integration, as once achieved under the Tawantinsuyu. The total conquest of the Andean runakuna seemed all but complete in the 20th century. Mestizo understanding of runakuna identity was all but lost because their organization despite nation-state division became openly evident in their peaceful mobilization in the last three decades. The diverse development achievements of different Andean nation-states allowed different forms of runakuna self-expression. For example, while Peru and Bolivia became officially bilingual societies, Ecuador remains officially monolingual to this day.

In the 20th century Ecuador was ruled by a small political and economic ruling class that remained large urban. For the ayllukuna that remained in Quito for centuries the urban reality was often just as harsh. Although the poor in Quito faced inferior education, were denied a democratic process, and poverty, the runakuna faired even worse. The Church protected poor Ecuadorian mestizos as long as they remained loyal to Christianity. Quiteño mestizo homeowners and renters created a well-defined class protected by the state. Quito's mestizo poorest and middle classes were not invisible to in Ecuadorian society. But as a homogenized group, runakuna remained in the periphery of Quito's society and political imaginary. Compulsive primary education for Quiteño mestizos allowed them the possibility of upward mobility. Compulsive illiteracy of runakuna guaranteed their control.

The invisibility of runakuna in Quito guaranteed mestizo hegemony. Ayllukuna networks of political and economic solidarity then evolved into a urban safety net just like in the huasipunku rural system. Kichwa and sumak kawsay, along with survival in the proximity of mestizo were signifiers of runakuna identity in 20th century Quito. Opulent Quiteños lived and reproduced the hegemonic culture and spirituality in Quito. Runakuna reality remained invisible to them and nonexistent in their everyday life. For them, the

runakuna existed as symbols of this social stratus, only acknowledging their presence as maids, cooks, or gardeners, or nannies. In Quito, the opulence of well-to-do Quiteños existed at the expense of runakuna's economic and political oppression. Segregation made this reality possible in a city where sprawl is impossible due to geographic constraints.

Quito, a narrow, long valley wedged in between steep mountains and hills, limited the ability of all Quiteños to remain segregated from runakuna. Poor mestizos were often forced to share social and geographical space as it happens today in San Roque and contiguous neighborhoods. It has been in these shared geographical spaces where mestizos have felt the most threatened by runakuna mobilization. As expressions of sumak kawsay and Kichwa are more prevalent which translate into relative economic success, mestizo identity as a privilege class is the most fragile.

Quito's population exploded in the second half of the 20th century and the struggle for geographical separation within an increasingly shrinking buffer space became a focus of identity among poor mestizos. Continuous contrast to runakuna culture, language, and spirituality can no longer be avoided. Whereas separation was always demarcated by the ridicule of runakuna identity and spirituality or Kichwa, or by geographical separation, the increasing success in their professions, education, or political mobilization makes this almost impossible.

Exclusion from Quiteño education, political participation, or national development projects did not prevent runakuna from their own philosophical, political, and economic development within the ayllu in the 20th century. Despite paternalistic control by the Catholic Church, they relied and continued the Pachamama worldview for historical knowledge and philosophical nourishment. Contrary to common Quiteño folklore, runakuna

have remained in solidarity throughout their networks despite poverty and exclusion. Excluded from participation, the Quiteño runakuna of the 20th century began to explore their sumak kawsay knowledge and spirituality for political mobilization. Their invisibility actually afforded Quiteño runakuna opportunities to explore ways to reconnect to their long Andean historical ties to the land, the Pachamama worldview, and the Andean ayllukuna networks beyond the Ecuadorian borders.

Migration and the expansion of sumak kawsay in ayllukuna networks

The Ley de Comunas of 1937, which abolished the huasipunku system was a major opportunity for runakuna's geographic mobility in Ecuador. Although white-mestizo power structure remained and continues today, the Ley de Comunas freed runakuna from an imposed rural life. Mobility allowed runakuna to share explorations of the Pachamama worldview and its application in economic and political self-determination. Freedom from the huasipunku system also allowed them to seek and reconnect with ayllukuna networks beyond Ecuador. Thess alliances are created and nourished at the local level.

In the 20th century Mestizo intellectuals attempted to explore indigenous identity and their potential contribution to Ecuadorian society to national modernization projects. But these intellectual attempts resulted in assimilation projects because the role of Pachamama worldview in the ayllu was little understood (Stavenhagen, 151). The mestizo conceptualization of *indio*'s culture and material reality as *indigenismo* became an assimilation industry in the American continent. The hegemonic mestizo frame of reference impeded a better understanding of runakuna reality and their identity as survival.

Conclusion

White-mestizo violence against indigenous peoples has been an integral part of Latin American history. This violence continues in the 21st century. However, Ecuadorians were spared the atrocities of civil wars led by mestizos in other countries in the 20th century. In fact, Ecuadorians pride themselves in the relative peace among the diverse societies that make up their nation. This peaceful Ecuadorian history, however, ignores the relentless repression of runakuna. Ecuadorian official history also ignores that such peace is an intrinsic reality of sumak kawsay. This history also ignores the fact that runakuna have been focused on their survival for roughly five centuries. It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that Ecuadorian society confronted the real meaning of runakuna identity and their resistance against inequality through peaceful mobilization.

For example, when ayllukuna networks were liberated from mestizo control in the Haciendas or from landed mestizo neighbors and their unlawful extraction of surplus, migration to Quito, Ambato, and Riobamba resumed or intensified (Thurner, 52). As we see in chapter 4, Runa Wasi began their migration along with many other ayllukuna into San Roque in the 1950's and 1960's.

Runakuna political mobilization interconnected the Ecuadorian ayllukuna networks, coalescing demands for environmental respect and that of the Pachamama worldview. National and international intellectuals began efforts to understand runakuna within this unexpected context. Runakuna mobilization in the late 20th century which continues today has question the stability of western individuality, Christianity and global capitalism. In the 21st century further runakuna political, economic, and spiritual development takes place in the context of questioning previous mestizo hegemony. While western intellectuals and governments in Latin America addressed the "Indio problem", runakuna/mashikuna

transformed sumak kawsay as unity, mobilization and identity, a main source of successful resistance of the 1980's whose prime example is the uprising of 1990.

Sumak kawsay as political unity and identity in the Andean ayllukuna network has played an important role in the mobilization of mashikuna from southern Colombia to northern Chile, and east in Bolivia and western Brazil. To experience life in the politically active ayllukuna networks is now necessary to better understand runakuna/mashikuna identity in Ecuador in the 21st century (Yashar, 1996). Invoking the meaning of Pachakutik as cycles of fundamental change, they have introduced the Pachamama. Whereas sumak kawsay was a system of survival for four centuries, from the 1960's to today it also represents a core of their political and economic strength.

In subsequent chapters I argue that migration, external cultural influence, and local everyday resistance are the core of runakuna/mashikuna identity in the 21st century. I argue that these changes and new contexts do not fundamentally alter or reconfigure the Pachamama worldview, the runakuna/mashikuna identity or the structure of the ayllu. On the contrary, this new playing field has allowed them (to various degrees) to expose themselves to continuing human development that today has achieved global levels.

Chapter 3: **Andean Worldview, Mashikuna Concepts of Identity and Resistance**

Introduction

Language influences what is perceived, experienced, and vocalized about immediate and historical reality. In a spectrum of fluency and limitation that is not always consciously perceived, language can either facilitate or restrict what is communicated about reality and experience (Hill and Mannheim, 1992). This influence is more pronounced in a setting where two or more languages are used and when speakers can express their reality more fluently in one language than another. Which language is more appropriate to use is not always a simple choice, however. There are political and cultural influences that often contribute to determining the language used even if the language chosen is limited in its capacity to express differing and alternative worldviews and realities (Joseph, 2004).

In regions with a history of military and political conquest, the official language enjoys hegemonic status. All other surviving languages are relegated to subjugated or obsolete status. However, this subjugated position does not take away the capacity and use of the language to verbalize and communicate a worldview and reality that continues alongside, if underneath, a dominant colonial reality (Joseph, 2004). The users of these subjugated

languages — who also experience unequal sociopolitical situations — have a clear understanding of the different worldviews that each language conveys.

On the one hand, they understand the hegemonic position of the official language and the reality it represents. They are fully aware that the rules and laws of the status quo society use this language. They are aware of the worldview this society operates under and that they are forced to abide by it. However, they also know that their own worldview and language are often misunderstood or altogether ignored by the same society. They learn early in life that their language is ridiculed and learn to hide it or deny it altogether. Those who want to fit in and strive to be accepted by the dominant society can learn to ridicule it themselves. They eventually also learn that the loss of this subordinate language signals the loss of a worldview and a particular way of life (Henze and Davis 1999).

The dominant class that enjoys hegemonic status is aware of the existence of subjugated languages and worldviews but there is little interest to learn or acknowledge any potential import. Their privileged position allows them to only care and master their own language, with which they can understand and share their worldview and reality (Kramsh, 2004). Their perpetuation of the use of only the dominant language also ensures their dominant political and economic position (Auerbach 1992).

A hegemonic language also helps a dominant class understand—to a limited degree—subjugated worldviews and realities. But in general, such class can only intellectually grasp worldview concepts that are lived and constantly reproduced by subordinated groups and are articulated in the subordinate language. The end product can be a borrowing and grammatical deformation of words in the subordinate language that refer to concepts marginally important to the hegemonic group, resulting in the loss or distortion of meaning. Yukio Tsuda (1986)

proposes “the examination of distorted communication inevitably leads to the uncovering of the dominant relationships, power structure and underlying ideology that facilitates such relationships and structure” (13).

Thus subjugated languages have corresponding economic and political dynamics of inequality and exclusion. The invisibility of a subjugated language has a corresponding political invisibility experienced by the subjugated group that uses it. In general, this is the experience of indigenous peoples in Latin America. They learn very early in life to navigate two worldviews with two different languages that correspond to dialectic economic, political, and spiritual realities. For the Ecuadorian runakuna this is the reality of Kichwa and Spanish, Pachamama and Christianity, mestizo dominant society and the ayllukuna network. Although poverty and political exclusion affects a significant portion of the Ecuadorian society, it is in the runakuna communities where political and economic inequality runs parallel with the rejection of their languages and worldview.

Ecuador is a country with a high rate of poverty that is visible in neighborhoods sprouting in the north and south of the metropolitan area of its capital, Quito (Davis, 129, 2006). The degree of poverty is felt in all sectors of society, particularly in the mestizo and runakuna communities. A culture of familial individuality and inability to influence their government positions mestizos in a dire situation of poverty with few venues for improvement (Vos and León 2001). The runakuna, on the other hand, rely on the ayllu system for structural communal structure safety in the economic, political, and spiritual safety realms. However, mestizos readily reject any part of runakuna culture, including communal economic systems, based solely on the idea that no matter how poor and disadvantaged a mestizo can be, he or she is at least not a runa (Radcliffe 1999). The

rejection of runakuna culture, language, and worldview in Quito points to the hegemonic position of Spanish, Christianity, and mestizo superiority ideology. This ideology encumbers everyone's possibilities for a truly intercultural dialogue that can potentially spark an interconnection of worldviews as has been suggested in Ecuadorian intellectual circles, academic literature, public rhetoric, and the Ecuadorian plurinational constitution.

Language, inequality and double consciousness

Runakuna navigate this double consciousness in Quito and wherever else in Ecuador they live side by side with mestizos. For W.E.B. Dubois (1994), double consciousness is a "world which yields [a person] no true self-consciousness…[a] sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (124). Runakuna experience the Pachamama worldview through Kichwa as it dictates an ayllu and sumak kawsay way of life for themselves, their families, and their ayllu. Their consciousness arises simultaneously from the Pachamama and from its rejection in the larger mestizo society. Historically, they have had their ayllukuna as their political and spiritual center and point of reference for their everyday survival. Runakuna understand their struggle for democracy from these two opposing dynamics, themselves and mestizo reality, at the local, national, and regional levels (Lucero, 2008).

The runakuna who live in and reproduce the ayllukuna network experience a double consciousness where they know, live, and reproduce a worldview that gives precedence to their communal reality and relationship to other people and the world. In this double consciousness Pachamama is at once a worldview and a physical entity—the earth and all the

sustenance that it gives—that has to be protected by any means possible. Simultaneously, the outer context of their world, expressed in Spanish, with economic and political structures that are antithetical to their conceptualization and practice of ayllu and sumak kawsay, is also present in their everyday life—particularly in cities—but its overall influence on their ayllu networks is always kept on the margins.

In other words, the dominant, Ecuadorian mestizo society imposes its worldview on subjugated sectors like the ayllukuna network, ignoring Kichwa, their political and economic needs, and the Pachamama worldview via their own hegemonic language and control. The reality experienced, expressed, and shared in Kichwa is altogether ignored. Spanish speaking Ecuadorians are only aware of their own reality, verbalized in Spanish, and are likely to assume runakuna to experience it as well. The advantaged sociopolitical position of Spanish and the mestizo reality with it is made official by its use in all structures of Ecuadorian society like the nation-state, Christianity and official history.

The alternative reality of runakuna becomes more encompassing and richer than that of mestizos' for important reasons. Ecuadorian mashikuna not only know speak Kichwa but also master Spanish, especially the Quito generations. This bilingual reality provides them with not only a superior linguistic capacity, but also an understanding of different realities and worldviews. While Kichwa remains an intricate part of everyday life and experience, used at home, with family, and the ayllukuna network, the Spanish remains on the periphery, often necessary only when dealing with the mestizo world.

In general, runakuna consider Spanish a tool to navigate the larger society outside the ayllukuna network. That Spanish is necessary to succeed in Quito is not denied and this is why runakuna strive to learn it, especially those who live in Quito. They use Kichwa and

Spanish to connect with communities separated by geographical distances now that the internet connects them more than ever before. Even when runakuna have beena historically subjugated, they have been able to grasp Spanish. The geographic proximity between themselves and mestizos in Quito has created a greater necessity to know it, but also master it to maximize political and economic success, and resistance.

This is the language dynamic that exists in Quito. This dynamic is very similar to the supremacy of English over Spanish in California. In Ecuador Spanish has been the official language in the last five centuries since the Spanish arrival. During the Tawantinsuyu Kechwa and Kichwa were imperial languages that the Spanish pushed aside and relegated them to a subaltern status. This is the present situation in Ecuador despite the fact that at least 45% of the Ecuadorian population speaks Kichwa (Von Gleich 1994). Despite the influence Kichwa has had in what is known in the Andean region as *la realidad Andina*, or Andean reality, Spanish is the official language nationally. *La realidad Andina* is a widespread romanticized cultural belief that Ecuadorians are peaceful due to the influence of the runakuna peaceful and humble ways.

Spanish is the official language of Quito even though it is located in the sierra region of the country that has for centuries been the location of most runakuna communities in the country. Runakuna communities have been present in Quito since Inca times and their presence has been constant since (Gerlach, 2003; Mannheim 2011). However, Quiteño mestizos have always considered runakuna outsiders or transients. Kichwa is outright rejected and resented. Because of little phenotypical differentiation, the rejection of Kichwa is one basis mestizos use to consider themselves separate and superior to the runakuna.

But the rejection goes beyond linguistic distaste and prejudice. Spanish as the official language also represents the mestizo worldview as ubiquitous and only official reality, rejecting all other worldviews expressed in any other language. A dynamic that develops here is that two conflicting worldviews reside side by side. The reason for conflict is simple but important: Spanish is a European language embedded in a Christian and capitalist worldview. Kichwa—the most commonly spoken runakuna language in Ecuador—is an Andean language that historically has nothing to do with Christianity and the individuality encouraged in private property.

The differing two worldviews each embedded in its own language are increasingly becoming the center of debate in the national forum in Quito in particular, and in the rest of the country, especially in the Sierra and Amazonian regions. This is increasingly the case as Ecuador is further introduced to and integrated into a global capitalist economy and becomes a member of regional economic and political coalitions. This integration represents further western capitalist realities that runakuna have to learn to deal with and confront in order for Kichwa and the Pachamama worldview to survive.

The language and worldview dynamics that exist in Ecuador can be briefly compared to those of California in regards to English and Spanish. Although the monolingual English-speaking community is in fact a numerical minority, it is nevertheless the one that controls politics and a major sector of the state economy. The rest of the Californian population is multilingual. Most are bilingual Californians who speak English and another language, in general Spanish. But an important difference in this comparison is that both English and Spanish are European languages. In terms of culture, it is safe to argue that in general

Californians and United are not aware of alternative worldviews other than the reality afforded by these languages.

Similarly, the complexity of Kichwa and the expression of reality it offers have been lost to monolingual Spanish-speaking Ecuadorians for centuries. Few foreign scholars and tourists are aware of it. What I concluded from my two decades of learning the English language in California was that, given the political and economic position of the United States on global terms, it is almost impossible for US citizens to conceive of a alternative realities other than their know. Monolingual English-speaking US citizens (usually white) look out the window anywhere in the world and see the influence of western ideology on the world for the last five hundred years as the best and only way possible for history to unfold and continue. The fact that wherever they go, there is always an English-speaking neighborhood with private security that excludes local people where they can feel "at home" tells them that little by little the world is stable or improving because they feel comfortable. Quito mestizos experience a very similar reality in terms of Spanish and Christianity. The Quiteño mestizo reality as expressed and shared in Spanish does not allow for alternative realities, even when they live in proximity to runakuna.

The description of Quito political and spiritual reality above is necessary to put into context the necessity to explain the meaning of Pachamama concepts that I will use throughout this thesis. I use these words in Kichwa to maintain a linguistic and conceptual consistency because they are not readily translatable into English. The limitations of translation lie in the fact that these concepts are in a language embedded in a worldview in opposition to the realty afforded by the English language. The English equivalents I offer are products of western realities.

Pachamama concepts in Kichwa define and determmine important points of life for the ayllu communities. Both the Pachamama and these points in life are lived and transmitted in Kichwa. Therefore, it is important to address them in the original for the reader to see their translation and influence in the Pachamama worldview. Continuous runakuna practices in Quito provide a contrasting context where the necessity to understand Kichwa concepts without translation becomes clear.

I rely heavily on my field notes, personal conversations and formal Kichwa classes during my ethnographic work for these translations. These are terms used in this thesis. The translations presented here are the product of discussions with my Kichwa instructor in Quito and conversations with mashikuna I worked with. I developed definitions for the more complex terms from discussions with mashikuna and from my participant observation of everyday life, including my experience of how these concepts are lived as everyday practice. These definitions have also been influenced by my own experience in the process of becoming a mashi and the required practice of them. I combine my own experience with these concepts with definitions and analysis provided in academic research. I also rely on previous definitions offered by previous research.

Fundamentals of Pachamama

A worldview is in essence a system of meanings constructed and lived/reproduced by humans. Audrey Smedley (1998) defines worldview as a

> culturally structured, systematic way of looking at, perceiving, and interpreting various world realities…[an ensemble of] decisions [that] become incremental parts of the cultural order [and] reflect specific understandings of the world and its environmental and social realities. They provide explanations for, and often a means of controlling, social and natural forces...They may even achieve the state of involuntary cognitive processes, actively if not consciously molding the behavior of their bearers (1998, 59).

I define the Pachamama worldview as a millennia-old system of relations that guides a balanced and reciprocal relationship between runakuna (humans) and the Earth (all aspects of the environment, including humans) to ensure balanced relationships of production and reproduction, embedded in the ayllu, family, and the material world in all its expressions. These relations bind runakuna to simultaneously ensure sumak kawsay or well-being of their ayllu and the environment, as these two cannot be separated. These relations also bind runakuna to communal commitments in everyday life that downplay individual self-interest despite an individual or a family's status. Individual self-interest is antithetical to the integrity of the ayllu in the Pachamama worldview as expressed and lived in the Kichwa language. This linguistic embedding ensures an enduring existence of the worldview in the minds of those who acknowledge it and perpetuate its existence through their way of life.

Linguistically Pachamama exists within an epistemological context. This context is constant and its different dimensions are observed or take precedence under different circumstances. These dimensions encompass all levels of reality of the Andean world. For example, hanan Pacha refers to the world above like Inti (the sun), sunrays and their heat energy, the moon, the stars, and rainbows, which are considered essential for the existence of life. Kay Pacha refers to the tangible world we experience amid all living creatures, including humans. Ucu Pacha or Urin Pacha refers to the world below like the dead, nontangible spirits, and diseases. Pacha itself means the earth, the ground, or the source of life. Literally Pachamama means the life and the mother that sprouts from the earth that in turn is the source of all energy.

Pachamama as a worldview consists of codes of conduct or fundamentals that are reproduced in everyday life. These fundamentals guide everyday decision-making for the

runakuna and play an important role in the way they make sense of the world and their role in it. Up until the 1990's Pachamama fundamentals had been practiced within the ayllukuna, unknown by the larger Ecuadorian mestizo society. However, starting with the uprising of 1990 these fundamentals have increasingly taken center stage in the everyday reality of Ecuadorians (Korovkin, 2006). One reason for the exposure of Pachamama fundamentals to the general Ecuadorian population is their constitutional recognition in 2008 (Gudynas, 2009). Another reason, in the case of the minga for example, is that it has been necessary in the political mobilization of the national ayllukuna networks in moments of resistance.

Mashi/Mashikuna

Mashi roughly translates into the English concept of brotherhood and sisterhood. A more politically accurate translation is that of a comrade, in the socialist sense. Comrades, like mashikuna, strive for communal alliance and equality. The absence of gender embedded in Kichwa makes the concept of mashikuna (plural of mashi) more ideologically inclusive. Mashikuna interrelationships exist in political alliance and mutual spiritual reliance, whose entire life focuses on her or his solidarity with the ayllu, sumak kawsay, and Pachamama, regardless economic or political status. They are active in different expressions of resistance against inequality, prejudice, and injustice. To understand the concept of mashi as a central part of runakuna life is important to experience the process of becoming one. Of course, for most mashikuna this is a process that begins at birth, or when their ayllu becomes involve in political mobilization.

The life experience of mashikuna rests on the practice of communal loyalty, solidarity, and reciprocity. The systematic rejection and subjugation of the ayllukuna

throughout the Andes in the last five centuries, despite linguistic and cultural diversity, created a need for even greater unity and reciprocity. Hence their everyday reality is that of continuous and unified community. This is the historical background of the mashi concept and contemporary necessity and reality. Although, in general, runakuna are members of one ayllu or another, not all are mashikuna. The experience of mashikuna is gained through a lifestyle vis-à-vis their communal, and recently, regional and national political goals in defense of the ayllukuna network and the Pachamama.

The complex interpersonal and inter-ayllukuna networks into which mashikuna are born or become part of gear their life to be essentially devoted to the well-being of the network, however complex and politically involved it might be. A mashi is seldom physically separated from other mashikuna. They travel in groups or at least in pairs because individuality is avoided as much as possible. Responsibilities to family and ayllu, collaboration in communal projects (mingas), contribution to a communal bank system, and/or political mobilization are some of the mashikuna responsibilities.

There is also commitment extending beyond mashikuna's ayllu that is geared towards the wellbeing of the national ayllukuna network. Although this networking commitment is centuries ancient, the political mobilization of the mashikuna in Ecuador in the last twenty years has become a clear example for outside observers of how the network can function (de la Cadena 2010). For example, every mashikuna in Ecuador turned out to the Panamerican Highway to block it with rocks during the 1990 uprising. Taitakuna or elders were assigned the task of ensuring that every mashikuna in their network took part in this political mobilization. This was a national level example of a minga. And as in all mingas, mashikuna

who did not want to participate could excuse themselves by paying a small monetary fee, or engagement in future mingas.

Contemporary political shifts in Ecuador have provided spaces of expression and action for allies to earn mashi status. Mashi also has a connotation is related to dynamics of in-group and out-group recently born of their political mobilization nationwide and shifts toward intercultural communication across historically divided sectors of Ecuadorian society since the 1990's (Cott, 2008). Mashikuna put into practice the Pachamama worldview as required in their mobilization for equality and the protection of the earth. This commitment is taught to willing outsiders. Their curiosity for Kichwa is necessary, as is the practice and application of the Pachamama worldview in their everyday life. Success is revealed in a commitment to resist political exclusion, racism, and in the contribution in any way possible for the protection of the Pachamama as worldview and as the earth.

It is strictly the decision of taitakuna or elders to consider an outsider a mashi but the consensus of the majority membership is also required. This decision takes months if not years depending on the level of commitment to the ayllu, Kichwa, and Pachamama. The political commitment of an outsider is heavily considered if the ayllu is politically involved. Even when infiltration by the CIA and the Ecuadorian state into mashikuna political apparatuses such as Pachakutik has made them wary of outsiders, solidarity with ayllukuna exists which still leaves an opened door for cooperation and intercultural dialogue. My own experience as a United States citizen and a Mayan working for Runa Wasi in San Roque is a prime example of their willingness to welcome outsiders, even if risking infiltration. A continuing openness to outsiders is in tune with sumak kawsay.

The non-runa mashikuna I met while living in Quito understood this reality. They have taken different paths and time spans to become one. I myself took seven months to be able to devote a significant part of my everyday life to tasks new to me in their overall communal goal. But I also saw an understanding similar to that of Andean mestizos. Andean Spanish is very much influenced by Kichwa structure and grammatical rules that express the Pachamama worldview. Concepts in Spanish have developed and are used in everyday life of Andean mestizos. "Vecino" or neighbor in Spanish takes a meaning in Ecuador that comes close to the meaning of mashi. Although segregated into their own neighborhoods, vecinos and vecinas are friends and allies to the ayllukuna in Quito. A civility and unity demarks the relationship between them. The intrinsic meaning of mashikuna is the peace that is embedded in "brotherhood" and that has guided most of the history of Republican Ecuador to this day. The popular histories of detailing the violent death of a national hero such as Eloy Alfaro in 1897 provide cultural significance in the civic Ecuadorian imaginary but obscure the relative peace that has existed in Ecuador unlike in most in Latin America, and in stark contrast to Colombia and Peru.

Ayllu/Ayllukuna

There is an urban context in which the ayllu exists in Ecuador today, primarily in Quito. In the 21st century yllukuna networks expand across provinces, from rural towns to the urban sprawl. New generations of runakuna are born and raised in cities like Quito and Guayaquil who confront different sets of linguistic, political and economic challenges. The ayllu and Pachamama worldview are often hard to envision in cities like Quito where urbanity and modernization are visible and encroaching. The power of urban sprawl can be

evidenced in hundreds of rivers that once crisscrossed Quito that have been buried or piped underground to give way to housing, buildings, avenues, and highways.

The ayllu is the structure of familial and inter-communal relationships that unites a runakuna community. Historically this system of relationships has also involved the stewardship by the ayllu of land. The practice of land stewardship has been influenced by large-scale internal rural-urban migration in the 21st century. For example, the runakuna cannot own land in cities but can collectively own buildings, businesses and banking systems that bound them together. Given their communal commitment, entire ayllukuna have migrated to Quito to remain free of underpaid wage work. For example, the ayllu Runa Wasi, has developed a system of compulsory savings for every single mashi who works that helps increase the reserves of their own communal bank.

The money generated has been used to purchase an apartment building that they administer. The profit from this property investment, and continuing savings allow them to make small loans to mashikuna and runakuna from other ayllukuna at low interest rates. They have also bought land in the south of Quito to build the necessary thirty-three houses for the ayllu. This structured system of self-sustenance is impressive given their low levels of formal education.

The ayllu practices a system of conflict resolution alternative to the Ecuadorian state in Quito. Minor conflicts or disagreements can often be resolved without the assistance of taitas or other elders. One interesting feature of the ayllu is the ability—learned very early in life—to defuse conflicts by immediately bringing them to the attention of as many mashikuna as possible for an open discussion and search for amicable resolution. Many times

the involvement of one representative taita and the people concerned in a specific dispute is the only necessary involvement of mashikuna required in minor issues that arise in daily life.

In cases of more serious disputes or conflicts the involvement and intervention of taitakuna from more than one ayllu is necessary. A good example is the issue of infidelity of two married people from different ayllukuna. In such an instance the reputation of all members of each ayllu is at stake and the issue at hand needs to be addressed with seriousness and with all the tools available to maintain sumak kawsay. Such serious cases are treated on the individual basis and often merit some time to resolve due to the potential effects on the ayllukuna involved.

The structure of the ayllu also remains associated to land stewarship through continuing relations to rural communities whose members are related by blood to those in Quito. Although increasingly sporadic, and sometimes limited to regional celebrations, these ties remain throughout generations. For example, Runa Wasi mashikuna maintain close relations with members of the Gulalag ayllu, who have remained in Riobamba. Gulalag is the birthing place of Runa Wasi. These mashikuna, often elderly, stayed in Riobamba to oversee the stewardship of the land left behind by those who have migrated to live in Quito.

We see in later chapters the different ways mashikuna from Runa Wasi and Gulalag maintain communication across geographical distance. Their interconnectedness and solidarity continues through the exchange of goods and intermarriage despite geographical distance, and constant exposure to urban and transnational cultures. Runa Wasi members still participate and contribute to important celebrations related to the solstices, marriages, and convivencias (political gatherings) that still take place in the outskirts of Riobamba rather than in Quito. Participation in these events signals a continuing interconnection important for

sumak kawsay within the ayllu so that future generations born and raised in the city can have a contextual understanding of their life, their community and their worldview. I discuss the specifics of a *convivencia* I participated in where I was also introduced and officially recognized as a mashi of Runa Wasi.

Sumak kawsay

Sumak kawsay is a valued way of life that requires a balanced existence between humans and all living things in every aspect of life. Sumak kawsay (buen vivir in Spanish) loosely translates into well-being in English. Sumak kawsay is an uninterrupted flow that forms from a unified reality in the ayllu and ayllukuna network. It can only be maintained when the integrity of Pachamama as the mother earth can provide the sustenance necessary for all living things to survive. This integrity requires a constant and balanced relationship between the local and the global that cannot be disrupted. Sumak kawsay involves all realms of reality including political, economic, cultural, and spiritual realities and developments. In theory, this relationship is achieved when the sustenance produced by humans is shared communally. Although this might sound like an ideal rather than a material reality, it is often practiced in the ayllu in mountainous regions of Ecuador and in the city. Among the runakuna food and other resources are always shared because it takes their concerted effort to produce them.

At the local level, every member of the ayllu maintains the ayllu's integrity by creating a communal base for decision-making. In the Pachamama worldview a required consensus guarantees the well-being of the whole. For example, while in the western world education is considered a required step for success, in the ayllu it can be considered a dangerous tool that prompts division and promote self- interest. Any developmental project

has to germinate from within the ayllu, according to a consensus agreement that whatever project is to be executed is mindful of Pachamama's and the ayllu's well-being.

This consensus requirement exists in local, national, or regional ayllukuna networks. Such a communal way of life has been and continues to be regarded by the Ecuadorian ruling class as backward and an impediment to modernization in Ecuador. This misunderstanding lies in the fact that Ecuador is situated a raw materials source region within global capitalism, so modernization projects are always geared towards further destruction of the earth to extract resources (Martin and Wilmer, 2008). In such modernization projects, capital gains remain among a few powerful Ecuadorians, while the ayllukuna are left with a degraded land and community, an outcome that is fundamentally in opposition to sumak kawsay.

The well-being of the ayllukuna and the larger society is a goal that requires a concerted participation of all Ecuadorians for the well-being of their part of the planet, which implies the well-being of all living things within. But when in reference to sumak kawsay in general, it makes no sense to think of it in national terms. The analogy of the Amazon as the earth's last lung, Pachamama as mother earth implies a conception of wholeness rather than distinct regions or nations cared of by their respective human populations. We can understand sumak kawsway as a goal and way of life practiced by Andean runakuna for a balanced relationship between themselves, the larger Ecuadorian society and mother earth. As a human practice, sumak kawsay can be practiced by any other society, outside the ayllukuna networks and beyond the Andean region.

The Minga

Orquestrated, communal, pooled and unpaid runakuna labor known as *minga* is a critical feature of sumak kawsay in the ayllu. The minga is a practice dating back thousands

of years. In the 21st century the minga is still a practice in urban ayllukuna. Every able-bodied member of an ayllu is expected to provide her or his labor for a specified project upon request by the taitakuna. The myriad of potential projects range from performing hard physical labor such as building someone's house to assisting in the running of someone's business if members of a family are sick or in dire need of monetary assistance. Common events that require mingas are weddings, burials, and celebrations preparations. In a twelve-month period I witnessed and participated in six weddings, one burial and seven house-building minga projects.

In each of these instances the principal goal was not only to provide all necessary labor and logistics but also to ensure the absence of financial duress, especially when death and burial costs can be beyond the financial means of most ayllu members. At the same time, the minga reinforces the importance of communal effort for the well-being of the ayllu and the increase in solidarity when ayllukuna become interrelated through marriage and communal work.

Mingas are also necessary during political mobilization. These instances are examples of the solidarity and abilities of the ayllukuna to carry out projects at the national level. One example is the mobilization of all the ayllukuna that are CONAIE members (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador). During Ecuadorian mashikuna mobilizations to influence national issues that affect them and the environment a national minga is called. The contribution of every mashikuna to participate is expected.

Despite internal turmoil and strong disagreements within CONAIE, particularly in 2011, the concept of minga and the pursuit of sumak kawsay are not affected in any meaningful way. Even if CONAIE loses national level influence to mobilize the ayllukuna

networks, similar mingas can be mobilized should appropriate leadership rise to the challenge. The Pachamama worldview continues in the everyday life of the ayllukuna at the local level, even with the ups and downs in the national political arena.

Pachamama in the political realm

The relationship between the runakuna and Pachamama, according to the Pachamama worldview was a hegemonic Inca way of life (Firestone, 1988). At its peak, the Tawantinsuyu (the four corners of the world) or the Inca Empire extended from what is now southern Peru to Quito and southern Colombia in the north and to Bolivia in the east. The Tawantinsuyu was broken apart and colonized by the Spanish in the 1530's, stalling further development of this particular relationship between humans and Pachamama. But even before the arrival of the Spaniards the Tawantinsuyu had suffered massive internal warring that had already divided ayllukuna into two warring camps led by two Inca princes fighting to control it after the death of their father Inca Huayna Capac. Huáscar and Atahualpa believed they were legitimate heirs to the empire and fought a savage war to make this possible (De la Vega, 1994). The Spanish found an almost moribund political and economic system ravaged by internal conflict and the consequent disruption of a balanced relationship among the runakuna and Pachamama.

The runakuna have been divided ever since through different governing projects led by a white/mestizo ruling class. The Spanish crown established three viceroys to control the extraction and transportation of precious metals for which they used force runakuna free labor. Two of these Viceroys were in South America, the Viceroy of Nueva Granada (present Colombia, Venezuela, Panama and Ecuador) and the Viceroy of Peru (present Peru, Chile and Bolivia). A smaller scale governing system was created as the Real Audiencia de Quito

because its geographical isolation made connections to the crown arduous and precarious. This isolation historically allowed the space for internal conflict and dissent from the crown in this Andean region.

The decimation of the runakuna societies within the Viceroy of Nueva Granada had been completed by the end of the 16th century. These societies had been for the most part agricultural and did not develop armies to oppose expanding imperial projects. Thus they could not withstand the cruelty and military power of the Spanish conquerors. This was in stark contrast to the Viceroy of Peru and the Real Audiencia de Quito, which had been the geographical heart of the northern Inca Empire. The density of the population and the strength of the Inca hegemonic worldview survived despite the death of hundreds of thousands of runakuna in the mines and internal wars between the conquerors (de la Vega, 96). In fact, Kechwa (of which Kichwa is a linguistic geographical derivative) had to be recognized as a necessary language for governance in the Viceroy of Peru and a standing order to assassinate the entire Inca class was put into effect.

This system of colonization remained for over two and a half centuries until the white/mestizo class in Latin American fought for independence from the Spanish Crown. Calls for unity against the Crown were given to every single able man to fight regardless of class, status, or racial position. This included the runakuna and the free African population who had created communities away from the Viceroys and lived independent of them. Many went to war with the promise of equality and land. They saw the opportunity to unite with the white-mestizo class for a more democratic system of governance. However, at the end of revolution against the Spanish empire, the ruling class united against their temporary allies and began an internal colonization under the rubric of democratic, Christian republics.

The creation of European nation-states made official under the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, recognized and adopted the world over today. Geographical territories were formed, seemingly divided along lines of identity, language and culture. Simon Bolivar's vision of a united territory composed of what is now Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Peru fell apart because of conflict among ruling elites after the independence of the American continent from Spanish rule in the 1820's. Instead separate nations were born that complemented the economic and political interests of a white-mestizo ruling class. Colombia and Venezuela became mestizo nations, where almost all vestiges or influences from the runakuna societies have disappeared.

Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia had greater runakuna populations which guaranteed the survival and practice of Kichwa and Kechwa, their internal communal structure, and the Pachamama worldview. The existence of the runakuna in these three nations remained ignored by the ruling white/mestizo class for much of the twentieth century. It was not until the 1980's and 1990's that their participation in the public arena was acknowledged and addressed by their respective governments. A transnational capitalist goal to privatize water in Ecuador led to what is known as the water wars. In Ecuador this uprising is known as the 1990 uprising.

The tactics of mashikuna resistance during this uprising were conceived and carried out within the tenets of sumak kawsay with surprising effect considering their weak political position at the time. Rather than armed conflict, civil disobedience in the form of highway blocking proved fruitful. Peaceful but effective concerted mobilization is in tune with sumak kawsay. A minga was called from every politically involved ayllukuna in Ecuador. One rock per runa was the basis of this minga that blocked the flow of goods and food in all of

Ecuador. Any violent confrontation with the Ecuadorian armed forces was forbidden and whenever possible dialogue was encouraged. The Ecuadorian soldiers sent to the sierra region to crush the blockade had no option but to put down their weapons and sit by the roads waiting for further instructions. Ecuadorian mestizos were surprised by this seemingly sudden and definite success of the runakuna in rolling back the privatization of water.

An analysis of the repercussions of this successful runakuna uprising for the rest of the Andean region and the world helps us understand the role of geographical sovereignty in the continuing destruction of Pachamama in the twenty first century. This analysis helps us understand the role that transnational entities such as corporations and the World Bank have in this destruction and how they use the nation-state model for their gains. Although the uprising is often understood as a strictly Ecuadorian phenomenon, the victory of the runakuna concerns everyone else in the Andean region and the world. The inability to privatize water later led to the inability of the Ecuadorian ruling class to enter a free trade agreement with the United States. The runakuna of Bolivia later used the same tactics as their Ecuadorian counterparts with similar success. More importantly it brought awareness to the mestizo population in the Andean region and the rest of the world of the importance of the runakuna as the guardians of their territories.

Because water is a natural resource necessary for life, every Ecuadorian regardless of class or status has benefited from the water wars. Sumak kawsay involves a concerted effort by all communities with the benefits to be shared by all. In wider regional terms the relatively recent political participation of the runakuna in the Andes has resulted in the reconsideration by leftist South American governments of the neoliberal development projects spearheaded by the United States (Escobar 2010). For now the water in the Andes

remains in the hands of national governments. The recent plurinational Ecuadorian constitution guarantees that water is available to every Ecuadorian and will not be controlled by foreign forces.

The Andean region, especially the Amazon, is also geographically strategic due to its abundance in other natural resources such as oil, natural gas and medicinal flora. For example, Ecuador is home to a massive twenty seven percent of the world's biodiversity. The Andean Amazonian regions are also considered one of the last untouched regions of the world that holds the balance in the world's climate cycles. Unfortunately, the disruption and outright destruction of habitats in the Amazonian regions continues to be understood in national geographical terms. The absurdity of this conceptualization is clear when we consider that nation-state geographical divisions are social constructions that cannot realistically be applied to the flow of rivers, the air, or the climate.

The contamination of water sources in the Ecuadorian sierra region or the destruction of the Amazonian habitats has dire consequences for all life on the planet that scientists are only beginning to understand. In this sense, sumak kawsay as a goal for survival is an issue that should interest not only the Andean region but also the entire world. The utter relevant reality of the runakuna is their unity lived through their Pachamama worldview despite the different geopolitical divisions in the last five hundred years. The recent political mobilization of the ayllukuna in Ecuador has been a reaction against the powers that threaten to divide them but also that threaten the Pachamama. The runakuna identity embedded in their Pachamama worldview guide their mobilization and the tactics they use.

The struggle of the runakuna for sumak kawsay continues today. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, transnational and national elite interests and coercion have forced

current President Rafael Correa to continue the exploration and extraction of natural resources, particularly from the Yasuni region. There has been violent repression on the part of the government to defuse any blockade in this region by the runakuna. Fortunately, the importance of protecting the Pachamama in Ecuador has been brought successfully to the attention of mestizo Ecuadorians, who have begun to understand their position in the global warming issue. Their awareness has prompted them to take action in the protection of their natural resources against foreign intrusion.

Conclusion

The ubiquity of nation-state sovereignty is also self-evident in the current border and political conflicts in the Andean region (Macdonald 2002). These conflicts are fueled by nationalist ideologies of difference and capitalist interests in the control of territories rich in exploitable natural resources. A good example is the Ecuador-Perú Chaco conflict of the 1990's, a decisive short-lived war that made Perú the victor and controller of a substantial portion of the Amazon previously controlled by Ecuador. The public rhetoric employed by both governments in their aim to rouse the public to join in the war was one of national pride and the urgency to protect the nation. Despite the many other cultural aspects shared by either population, the sentiment of national sovereignty as manipulated by ruling elites was powerful enough to pitch one society against the other.

On the other hand, Colombia and Ecuador currently struggle to find political and economic stability amid United States influence and their own nationalist ideology. The civil war in Colombia now affects the lives of the runakuna who live in the southern region, bordering Ecuador. Although the ayllukuna that reside there are in direct contact with those of Ecuador, the Colombian government considers any aid of the latter an act of aggression.

At the same time, the protection of lands rich in natural resources is considered a strictly internal Ecuadorian affair even though their destruction will affect Colombians who live in the southern states.

The relative weak political position of the runakuna in regional political affairs puts them at a disadvantage. Persistence exclusion from influential regional summits organized by Latin American nations continues to stagnate their participation from developmental policy making. They do not have yet the necessary hegemonic position to begin a dialogue focused on the complex interconnectedness that exists between the populations of these nations through the threat of the decimation of protected lands. As long as a dialogue between these nations regarding the protection of important lands for the wellbeing of the planet does not materialize, their destruction and eventually that of the world remains highly possible.

The recent human disaster on the Gulf of Mexico is a parallel example that may resonate better for North Americans. Large-scale pollution produced in the United States affects the climate changes we are experiencing around the world. Although the United States is a main contributor to the deterioration (often beyond repair) of the environment within its borders and increasingly around the world, it continues a hegemonic ideology of superiority, and hence a necessary border separation from Mexico and the rest of Latin America. However, it is clear that the damage and unknown consequences in the indefinite future done in the Gulf of Mexico will not stay within the United States's borders. Given that the gulf is a layover point for migrating creatures in tune with migration cycles from around the world, the destruction of their habitats has global consequences that scientists do not fully understand. At the same time, the oceans are connected the world over through the currents

that connect them. The oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico does not stay geographically bound but has no consequences the world over we do not yet understand.

Today it is almost impossible for most sovereign societies to conceive of the earth beyond the concept of geographically bounded nation-states. The fact that natural resources, especially water, are rapidly becoming scarce is not lost to governments around the world. While civil societies in general erroneously continue to conceptualize Pachamama cartography in terms of national boundaries, nation-states of the developed world have freed themselves from the legal limitations of this conceptualization in the 21st century with potential disastrous consequences.

Despite the national and global scope of environmental issues, mobilization and resistance germinates and is nourished at the local level. The experience of the Quito mashikuna is an example of this localized reality. In the chapters that follow I immerse into an exploration and analysis of the daily experience of Runa Wasi whose life in Quito is shaped by ongoing prejudice, but whose well-being is nurtured by the ayllu system, mashikuna political mobilization, and whose identity is informed and nourished by Kichwa, the Pachamama worldview, and the urban and technological transnational twenty first century experience.

Chapter 4: The Political and Economic Role of Sawary Raimy in the Spirituality of the Communal Individual and the Ayllukuna Network

Introduction

In the chapter 3 Pachamama worldview concepts were introduced to delve into the everyday life of runakuna as they practice sumak kawsay, political involvement, and resistance in the ayllu in the Quito context. For this purpose I explore my case study ayllu, Runa Wasi. I analyze the interconnection between the ayllukuna network in San Roque, Quito in the context of local resistance and self-definition. I carried out my ethnography in the Runa Wasy because it is a very influential ayllu in the San Roque network which extends to the Riobamba highlands.

In chapter 2 a brief historical overview of the Andean region to propose a historical context to understand the Ecuadorian runakuna in the twenty first century is offered. It is proposed that only when we are aware of the historical trajectory of runakuna in the last five centuries can we understand the role of Pachamama worldview in their identity as it is lived and as it informs and ignites their political mobilization. In this chapter I delve into important moments of mashikuna (politically active runakuna) life as they resist inequality, strive for political and economic equality, and continue to live within sumak kawsay in Quito.

The illustrations of such everyday life practice are taken from my own ethnographic research, my conversations with participants, and my own interpretation of events. These illustrations are from times during my ethnography when I had a better understanding of Kichwa, was newly introduced to the political and economic life of Runa Wasi, had earned their trust, and have been accepted as a bona fide mashi. The raymi illustrations were taken from my ethnographic notes, when I had gained the trust of the Runa Wasi and San Roque network mashikuna.

In this chapter the argument that identity involves the practice of the Pachamama worldview, an Andean phenomenon dating back centuries, even before Inca rule is discussed further. It is argued that, despite drastic structural political, economic, and cultural shifts in the Andes (in this case Ecuador), in the last six centuries, important spiritual and political practices of the Pachamama worldview such as sumak kawsay and sawary raymi have remained alive among the runakuna. These practices are lived, passed down, and constitute the core of runakuna (and mashikuna) identity in the twenty first century and they take place primary at the local level, before they are used for regional or national political mobilization. For example, the practice of sumak kawsay or well-being remains a core practice and way of

life among runakuna from which political unity, economic strength, and spiritual balance emanate. A continuing practice of sumak kawsay in its various forms is a continuous catalyst among politically active ayllu networks in Ecuador.

In this sense, mashikuna political mobilization is intimately related to resistance against assimilation to foreign cultural influences that threaten sumak kawsay. The eradication of everyday Pachamama practices means the eradication of runakuna identity, and ultimately themselves and their ayllukuna networks. At the national political level, the disappearance of these networks means the end of mashikuna influence and contribution to Ecuadorian resistance against globalization. Everyday resistance against prejudice is itself a form of resistance against assimilation and self-definition as runa and mashi. Resistance against prejudice at the local level is in turn geared towards national resistance against neoliberal policy because it is fundamentally racist and destructive.

Runakuna's uprising then cannot take place without resistance at the local level, especially in Quito. If Ecuadorians as a nation are to successfully resistance neoliberal policies in the twenty first century, runakuna (and mashikuna) identity as practiced in the Pachamama worldview is necessary. Quiteños have to realize that further encroachment on this worldview and the sumak kawsay practices will only facilitate foreign economic and political invasion. Hence I share some of these practices continued in Quito at the local level and which cement political, economic, and spiritual solidarity. Their disruption risks an end to runakuna/mashikuna and the ayllu and will diminish Ecuadorians' ability as a nation to repel foreign control and the destruction of their environment (Lucero 2006).

The Pachamama worldview praxis in the urban context

It can be disorienting to participate in the raymi in Quito. The modernity of cars, trolleys, office buildings, and tourists exist in stark contrast to mashikuna street celebrations, carrying roasted pigs and potatoes out in the open, singing, dancing, dressed in their best clothes to celebrate different raymi. In a city of suits, latest western fashions, traditional runakuna exhibition of sumak kawsay is impressive. The existence of the first world in the third and vice versa is this century materializes in this stark contrast (Robertson 1995).

Although Ecuador is still considered part of the developing world, Quito can be as modern and cosmopolitan as Los Angeles or New York. Like other Andean capital cities, Quito is economically and technologically connected to the rest of the world, with spaces for global exchange of ideas, cultures, and languages. Even parts of Quito, like San Roque, which appear to be have been left behind by global modernization is easily connected to the rest of the world through Internet cafes and cell phones. With the advent of social media the raymi can be shared in real time, from Quito to Chimborazo or Riobamba, with the click of a button. They are available to the world to see in a way never experienced before. Traditions of sumak kawsay and modern technology coexist in the lives of Quito mashikuna.

Past forms of geographical or cultural separation between mestizos and runakuna have been partially torn down by cyber social spaces available on chat rooms, blogs, Facebook, Sonico, and MySpace. Recent improvements in Quito's public transportation system such as the efficient Trole and Ecovia systems bring Quitenos closer together. El Trole is an electrical trolley system that runs north-south and cuts through the heart of Quito, crossing scores of diverse neighborhoods in its path. The Ecovia is an elongated bus system with its own lane that also runs north south, but runs west of and parallel to the Trole. Both systems bring Quiteños together, breaking down geographical segregation.

At any time of the day, one can ride either system and appreciate the diversity of riders that get on and off along their routes. It would take effort and diligence to remain separated from this daily public reality, often achieved with the use of a private vehicle. Despite continuing segregation in Quito, the success of public transformation increasingly makes it harder to remain confined to specific and exclusionary spaces. The Trole and Ecovia system bring together Old Town Quito with San Roque.

This is the urban context in which San Roque runakuna practice the raymikuna. As soon as one enters San Roque one enters a city within a city. Although San Roque is considered poor and dangerous, exploring the district can diffuse this misperception. Mashikuna use of public transportation also helps defuse this misperception. Kichwa becomes the official language is the San Roque. Spanish is still used but is often unnecessary among runakuna. The use of Kichwa in San Roque gives one the sensation of being in another Quito.

The same happens in the cyber space as produced in San Roque by runa teenagers who chat, blog and post in Kichwa. They reach out beyond Ecuadorian borders to other Andean mashikuna, using the structural similarities between Kichwa and Kechwa, on-line translators, chatting in Spanish, or practicing written English. This happens while they speak Kichwa to each other. It remains to be seen how the Pachamama worldview and practice will benefit by these technological shifts. For now the cyber space downplays geographical distances and language barriers. Let us delve into some localized sumak kawsay practices.

Sumak kawsay in 21st century Quito

In the Pachamama worldview humans live within an interconnected continuum with all living things, which require a symbiotic relationship with each other and the environment

for balanced sustainability. In the urban ayllu communal reciprocity continues to ensure a balanced interconnection among mashikuna, their networks, and the Quito mestizo world. The 1990 uprising created spaces for mashikuna democratic action at the government and local level. This action took the form of demanding the inclusion of sumak kawsay and official recognition of the Pachamama in the Ecuadorian constitution and the official declaration of Ecuador as a plurinational nation-state (Becker 2011). At the local level, these spaces were opportunities for demanding respect, economic inclusion, and political visibility. All of these actions combined helped pursued a more symbiotic relationship between Quito ayllu networks and mestizo society (Jameson 2011).

The significance of the uprising at the local level was that the contribution of runakuna in Quito could no longer be ignored or downplayed. For example, Runa Wasi occupation of the Santo Domingo de Quito Cathedral during the uprising was a well-played dangerous political gamble. The notoriety of the leadership as bold and driven gave them a voice with local authorities, which were forced to pay close attention to their demands. Because their demands were confined to San Roque district, local autorities were able to simultaneously address these demands, and assuage mestizo fear and potential violence.

Runa Wasi successfully attained a scale back of police military style patrol of the district, and a greater role of mashikuna self-policing. For the first time in history, they were allowed to work side by side with mestizos in modern shopping centers like Ipiales in the heart of Old Town Quito. Bilingual education became compulsory in the district and in a few public schools in contiguous neighborhoods. The Catholic Church, represented by local priests with a long history of paternal relationships with the district ayllu networks, were stripped of most of their unofficial power over them.

These agreements between local Quito authority and the ayllu network benefited both parties. The mayor was portrayed as a progressive political leader able to put into practice intercultural ethnic relations to ensure sumak kawsay in the historically cherished bastion of mestizo power and rule. But more importantly, these concessions also exemplified the local political capabilities of ayllu solidarity, amid national mobilization. The takeover of the San Francisco Cathedral demonstrated the valor of Runa Wasi leadership, and their ability to lead the San Roque ayllu network.

Through these 1990 concessions mashikuna created spaces for resistance against prejudice and discrimination. A chance to achieve sumak kawsay in the urban space was now more possible. Symbiotic human-environment relationship and communal reciprocity were now an acknowledged part of their reality. Able to profit from businesses in Ipiales, fund small ventures, and practice raymi openly without police harassment were some of the signs of sumak kawsay practice that fueled their political mobilization and economic independence.

Thus the 1990 uprising signaled the open continuation of their worldview and necessary way of life to continue as ayllukuna network into the twenty first century in a new urban terrain. Rather than a lifeline, sumak kawsay has become a way of life that guarantees material progress necessary for independence. In Quito communal reciprocity among mashikuna is essential in an environment that encourages individuality, materialism, and the degradation of the environment (Scarlato 2013).

Along these local political gains, Quito also presents new challenges. Potentialities and challenges for sumak kawsay exist side by side. Individualized work, like individualized family housing, is ubiquitous. Communal investment in small ventures is practiced in San

Roque to protect against the risks of individualism and the use of cash. For example, many runakuna work in the informal economy. They buy and sell imported clothes, beauty accessories, handicrafts, fruits and vegetables, prepared food, and tourist trinkets. This type of work requires initial cash overhead that is covered by family and ayllu investment. Everyone shares the risk. Cash pooling for overhead or cancellation of a loan is covered by a minga investment. Communal protected cash investments ensure prompt loan repay of even if the investment fails.

Another challenge is housing. A ubiquitous mestizo single-family framework determines house sizes in Quito. There are a number of ostentatious houses with up to a dozen rooms each. They are, in general, part of a tourist historical façade in the Historic Center and close-by contiguous colonias. Many times they are converted into individual apartment or condominium units. This single family-housing infrastructure represents a challenge for runakuna because it is difficult for them to live as a communal ayllu in the same household. Although recently more property owners are willing to rent these large properties to ayllukuna in San Roque, many still face this housing challenge. Runa Wasi taita leadership negotiated a contract with the Catholic Church. They reside in a 35-unit structure in San Roque[12] under a ten-year contract. This living arrangement provides them an intimacy and independence. Here the network is free to celebrate and maintain a communal intimacy within an urban individualistic reality.

After the 1990 uprising, further migration to San Roque has brought cultural diversity to the ayllu network, and political growth for influential ayllukuna like Runa Wasi. San Roque affords a geographical proximity among ayllu migration from different points of the

[12] The practice is known as *Incomodato*, where the Catholic Church leases property to ayllukuna for a determinate amount of years—in exchange for loyal service and devotion.

Sierra region (Mcdonald 2002). Historically divided ayllukuna now form urban networks that extend throughout Ecuador. The cultural diversity produced by this proximity has fueled local and regional political, economic, and spiritual solidarity. Human-environmental urban symbiosis takes the form of intermarriage among ayllu, independent banks like the one ran by Runa Wasi, and self policing. Ayllukuna solidarity meets the city challenges, like the individuality in employment, generational-cultural gaps, and local and global outside cultural influences (Lucero 2006).

The continuing practice of raymi as part of sumak kawsay is also crucial for runakuna urban identity, and the recreation and continuous ayllu network solidarity. For example the achievement of communal-individual[13] wellbeing through marriage is a practice that protects mashi spirituality and brings socio-political unity. Raymi is also important to pass down the practice of sumak kawsay. Therefore, its practice is essential to teach and achieve communal-individual wellbeing and must take place. Communal-individual sumak kawsay is the first adult spiritual-political transformation for runakuna because it is simultaneously the core of identity and of well-being, and the basis for political and economic unity. This local practice in turn fuels mobilization at the local, national and regional level. Transformation through raymi reintroduces the runakuna as whole beings, as part of the ayllukuna network, whose responsibilities and obligations extend as far as the networks extend. For politically active ayllu like Runa Wasi, this transformation culminates in the mashikuna.

In the Pachamama worldview an incomplete individual can only reach wholeness (sumak runa) through unity with another incomplete individual. The unity must take place inside their own ayllu network to ensure the necessary spiritual nourishment and economic

[13] Communal-individual is the closest concept that explains the runakuna reality where individuality and individual existence is unimportant and unhealthy, often considered detrimental to sumak kawsay.

and political strength. The achievement of sumak runa is an underpinning of runakuna identity. It is obvious that a human being can live outside of the Pachamama worldview but it is almost impossible to understand this person as a runa (much less as mashi).

The role of sumak mashi in spiritual well-being

Mariage and parenthood are important in runakuna life and necessary for the continuation of the ayllu. Although born and raised in a communal reality, single runakuna are believed to exist in a state of spiritual (and physical) incompleteness, until they unite and procreate. From the time of birth until unity preparation, the life of a single runa is considered a period of gestation and learning. During this time, they learn the prerequisites for a successful and prosperous marriage. They learn ways to best contribute spiritually, economically, and politically to their ayllu and network according to their capabilities and status. Up until this point in life, the incomplete individual enjoys spiritual (and physical) sumak kawsay through the care, guidance, and love of the ayllu.

Single life is considered a time of spiritual and physical fragility that requires communal supervision and care. It is only after marriage that the incomplete individual becomes a whole person, a complete and communal being with a voice in communal decision making, with the ability to hold office. A transformation into communal individuals through marriage guarantees that their labor, contribution, and solidarity are devoted to their new family and their ayllukuna network. After unity, two communal individuals become a source of economic, political, and spiritual strength.

Communal unity or marriage thus ensures a life path defined by sumak kawsay as a lifetime goal and practice. Specific ayllu goals, challenges, and rewards define sumak kawsay. Communal individuals as such set a path for their own children to be born and raised

within the milieu of the ayllu and the Pachamama worldview. In their future as parents, their obligations include inculcating Kichwa and the Pachamama worldview to their own and other ayllu children. Complete individuals play parental roles many times over their lifetime, perpetuating sumak kawsay. For example, Runa Wasi political and economic leaders constantly recruit young, single individuals for training in leading future generations. Many times this training can take years.

The deliberate incomplete individual

Life as a deliberate incomplete individual after reaching full potential for marriage is considered unnatural and unproductive in the Pachamama worldview. Individuals who choose to remain single are believed to reside in a state of spiritual and energetic wastefulness, entropy, and unhappiness. Regardless of social standing, profession, religion, location, or education level, the incomplete individual must marry in order to explore reality as a communal individual and contribute to the communal good. If not, the individual is believed to begin a physical and spiritual withering who that translates into economic and political invisibility.

The belief that the deliberate incomplete individuals are progressing invalids is unwavering. Their well-being becomes a communal preoccupation and responsibility. Because they would never be abandoned by the ayllu, they can become a spiritual drain rather than a source. The communal contribution to their spiritual and economic well-being is never resented but the unusualness of this dynamic is never lost on the runakuna. The deliberate individual can eventually become a permanent spiritual and political invalid.

The power of marriage and procreation enjoyed in the ayllu everyday reality is much more evident in its absence. This unfortunate situation happens to runakuna who have

reverted to incompleteness for reasons beyond their control. Luckily, a Runa Wasi widower who abused alcohol was the only unfortunate example I witnessed. Unable to re-unite with another runa for reasons I never fully understood, he drank often, especially during festivities. Sometimes I thought his inability to re-unite was related to his alcohol consumption. In any case, although he was the father of an important Runa Wasi taita, his care and wellbeing provided by the ayllu was the result of their love and alliance to him rather than his family political status.

Successful marriage requires the incessant involvement of the ayllu. The importance of unity in spirit and in life is evident in everyday communal reality. Nonchalant public announcements of the availability of single men and women are common during official communal gatherings are common. Political or economic status is downplayed during these announcements, focusing instead on the spiritual strength of their ayllu.

Sawary raymi and ayllu network expansion

Runa Wasi businesses are handled by Inti Ñan, a law firm ran by mashi lawyer Marta and Veronica Gilon. The bulk of Inti Ñan clientele are San Roque mashikuna. The practice of pooled monies to cover fees is attractive to working class mestizo in San Roque that creates a steady flow of their businesses. But the backbone of Inti Ñan remains the network constant business growth. Marta and Veronica do not officially belong to an ayllu. They are considered independent of the network but at the same time are important contributors to their economy and political machinery. Their independence allows Inti Ñan to provide services more objectively and mediate between ayllukuna.

Marta Gilon is often invited to facilitate workshops on new political developments and consult on legal matters. She oversees the complexities of Runa Wasi's bank growth and

expansion, rents, and legal contracts in the San Roque network. The Gilon sisters have successfully pioneered private practice in Quito for more than a decade that often requires dealing with the racism intrinsic in city hall. Mashi Marta is a single mother with fabulous political success. Being single is an issue always addressed by the San Roque leadership, especially among very old taitakuna who disregard all manners of professional success that they deem dangerous to sumak kawsay. Her presence during meetings is always an opportunity to present her as a single woman who can potentially find a partner in San Roque. Her introduction during Runa Wasi meetings is often a mixture of seriousness and playfulness. She does not take these introductions as violations of her privacy but rather as part of runa culture and genuine concern for her well-being. Below is an example of how Mr. Pilamunga introduces her into a network meeting in Runa Wasi

> *Mashikuna it is time to settle down and give our attention to mashi Marta Gilon. She will speak on new developments regarding our land purchases in the south and our rights as homeowners in the future. She has information about how to pay your property taxes at the end of the year. By the way to those mashikuna who remain single, remember mashi Marta is still single, strong and beautiful. So stop wasting time and go to school because she likes educated mashikuna* (July 7th, 2009).

Everyone is amused by this introduction. Runa Wasi men tease each other in hushed voices. Young women tease them about their unsuitability and lack of intelligence to go to school. Everyone laughs. Mashi Gilon thanks Mr. Pilamunga for his introduction and assures everyone love and money is more important that education level. Everyone roars. She waits for them to settle down and puts her serious, professional face and proceeds with the legal business at hand. No young mashi in Runa Wasi would approach Marta Gilon with romantic purposes. She is many times the only woman in taita meetings. This intimidates them. Her suitors are often other mashi lawyers with private practices. But her experience in her last marriage has made her aloof to male love.

Marta Gilon remains simultaneously single and in solidarity with the ayllu. She is deliberately single but her independence keeps her from being considered a burden. Spaces for expression and action created in the 1990 uprising have given mashi women like the Gilon sisters the ability to self-define according to their well-being as they understand it and as it is shaped by their profession, life experience, and independence. They exercise their loyalty to the ayllu network, performing an extremely important role as mashi lawyers who keep the network's legal independence from the mestizo legal structure intact and strong. Not even the taita leadership can sway their self-determination, and their own expression of sumak kawsay.

Mutual attraction is primary to potential economic and political alliances between ayllukuna. Marriage between two incomplete individuals is possible amid a densely diverse possibility of interconnections. Most single mashikuna understand their forthcoming unity not as pressure to conform but as a much-anticipated step to wellbeing, and contribution to their network. Their role as intergenerational links in Quito is important. Their own success is tied to their contribution to their new families and ayllu. New political alliances their marriage creates also helps the constant outward growth of the San Roque ayllu network. Unlike the Gilon sisters, most San Roque mashi become linked in a complex ayllu network with defined responsibilities and duties.

Wholeness and well-being through communal unity and strength

From the very first moments of mutual attraction, courtship is a communal affair. It is virtually impossible for two individuals to begin and carry out a romantic courtship without it becoming public knowledge in San Roque. Love is communal. Courtships disapproved of by parents or taitakuna are discouraged promptly to diffuse political complications. Common

reasons for disapproval can be excessive alcohol consumption, little communal involvement, or individuals who did not belong to an ayllu, but who had runa background. Although alcohol use exists among some runakuna, casual use is not allowed in the San Roque network. In general, alcohol is only permitted during celebrations that are far in between or during grueling mingas at high altitudes. Casual alcohol consumption is considered foolish, wasteful, and conducive to spiritual deterioration.

Approved courtships that end up in marriage involve the contribution of the ayllu. Parents on both sides try to find out as much as possible about each other's family and their ayllu, if they come from different ones. Although most mashikuna know each other in San Roque, scrutiny becomes important. Geographical proximity in San Roque brings diverse ayllu together through marriage. Hence careful selection is also important. Formal introductions of the families to their respective ayllu and permission celebrations are held. Taita councils from ayllu other that those involved in the marriage are invited to weigh in their opinion and approval and their participation in their sawary raymi is a greatly appreciate it sign of prestige and solidarity.

Unity through marriage is a happy and decisive moment of communal transition for everyone. The involvement of so many mashikuna in a sawary raimy and the celebration itself is a spiritual and political ritual of communal wholeness and sumak kawsay. A married couple becomes whole in their unity and ability to procreate. They are re-introduced and reconnected to their families and their ayllu network as whole (or complete) communal-individuals as *warmi* (complete communal woman, or wife) or kara (complete communal man). Their unity is the core of communal alliance and political strength that is perpetuated

and reinforced by all future unities. Their well-being is the well-being of the network and vice versa.

Sawary raimy are occasions to celebrate the beginning of life as whole beings, to remember the importance of communal unity, political solidarity. They reinforce the role of ayllukuna communal production of spiritual, economic, and political reciprocity and strength. They are the official welcoming of new contribution to the ayllu. The high number of sawary raimy in San Roque attests to the magnitude of political solidarity and spiritual strength generated and their importance in sumak kawsay. The Runa Wasi taita council attends an average of five weddings per month. They also attend those held outside San Roque at least once a month. Their attendance attests to their political influence beyond the network. Their participation ensures exposure of single Runa Wasi mashikuna to the opportunities beyond San Roque. This exposure also ensures potential geographical expansion of political, economic, and spiritual connections for Runa Wasi.

Transition into communal individuals in the Sawary Raymi

Sawary raymi no longer coincides with harvest celebrations in the city but with synchronizing the availability of all participants for a four-day celebration. Whereas harvest provided food abundance in the past, reciprocity and solidarity in the city ensure such food abundance today[14]. Catholic priests only make themselves available to runakuna on Sundays. Family and ayllu members from afar arrive over the weekend. Civil matrimony can only be done Monday through Friday. Sawary raymi—held Saturday through Tuesday—includes *Mañay raimy*, Catholic mass, civil matrimony, *Waikay* (abundance) *raimy* and *Tuminay*

[14] Abundant food is very important in all raymi. Such abundance represents continuation and *hermandad* (brotherhood and sisterhood). The contribution of food abundance requires everyone's participation, from purchase, to transportation, to cooking it, and serving it. Food leftovers in a raimy does not happen. Everyone must take home all the food any way they can.

(capital) raimy. The Sawary raymi I share took place between Runa Wasi and Puka Shunku. Puka Shunku's family ties go back to the Guamote Canton, the poorest in the Chimborazo Province and in Ecuador.

The celebration begins happily with *Mañay raimy*, a "requesting celebration", in which an entourage of family and friends, led by the groom's ayllu taita council and his parents, sets out to the bride's abode. The groom's entourage takes enough food to be consumed by the roughly two hundred participants present. The availability of great quantities of food is very important at every step of the entire celebration as it represents the insurance of well-being, solidarity, and happiness.

We make our way in San Roque in a cold Quito night in the middle of July. The women in the groom's entourage sing songs of fertility and ask Inti and the Catholic god for their help. His friends tease him about last minute doubts and joke about the scantiness of his food offerings that we carry on our shoulders. "Was this the smallest pig at the marketplace?" asks a young man, who claims he can carry it all by himself. Another friend asks me if I think we bring enough provisions. I only laugh in response. We hike one and a half miles in San Roque until we make it to our destination.

We are greeted at the door by Puka Shunku runakuna who thank us for the food, take the load off our shoulders, and lead us inside. We are given chairs, benches. They bring us non-alcoholic chicha, coffee, and soda in hard plastic cups. A song in Kichwa blares from a DJ system; a man sings of his happiness in the wholeness his warmi and his wawakuna (children) provide. We make way for the taitakuna and the parents of the soon to be wedded couple to greet each other and perform a crucial step in *Manay Raimy*. Although this step is

important for political strength, economic solidarity, and sumak kawsay, it is carried out in jest and camaraderie.

The bride's taitakuna and her parents sit in a row at the far end of a crowded patio. Guests are huddled in small groups, invested in hearty conversations, catching up in small talk. Older mashikuna speak in hushed tones. Hostesses do their chicha rounds. Political and spiritual support is felt amid this noisy sea of solidarity. One by one, the groom's parents and taitakuna kneel in front of each of the bride's parents and taitakuna. On their knees, they thank their counterparts for the warm welcome and their acceptance of what they claim to be scant food offerings.[15]Still knelt, they ask them if the groom and their ayllu are worthy of their consideration for alliance. If not, they ask if there is anything they can do to change their mind. The bride's parents and taitakuna laugh in humility, assuring their counterparts that they are in fact honored by their alliance request. The groom's parents and taitakuna finally ask if their counterparts will provide their strength and friendship with the rest of sawary raimy.

The last question hangs in the air as the taitakuna and parents trade places. On their knees, the bridal counterparts ask the same questions, offering a feast of their own which is promptly served to everyone, beginning with the groom's ayllu. Then, rising to their feet, they tell their counterparts they are delighted to unite the two incomplete individuals and forge an alliance. They embrace, laughing and joking, a sign for everyone that an alliance has just been forged, and that the groom, the bride and the ayllukuna are on a solid path to wholeness and well-being.

[15] This is a gesture of humility of course considering it took about thirty people to carry all the food to be consumed in this night and that many of the participants have brought their own to-go containers, knowing there will be leftovers.

Everyone rejoices and partake in the feast. Friendships interrupted by work and other responsibilities are rekindled. Old friends introduce each other to new ones, often from new ayllukuna. New friendships are made, and the exchange information creates potential economic ventures, communal events, or unity courtships. Men and women pass out business cards, and exchange cell phone information. Their newly allied counterparts approach the invited taitakuna, thank them for their presence which, depending on local or regional political status and economic influence, and raises their own status. They strive to make alliances through potential businesses. They are followed by the future married couple and by men and women of their ayllu introducing themselves, pay their respects, and invite them to the rest of the sawary raimy.

Sawary raimy as a minga and ayllu communal solidarity

The bride and groom do not sit together because they are not married yet. They each sit with their parents, their taita, and friends on opposite sides of the patio. This symbolic separated sitting is temporary and brief. As the lowest status runakuna pay respects, everyone else venture to the opposite side, greeting old friends, forming conversation groups defined by gender, age, and occupation. The manay raimy, or communal planning and delegation is the first part of this minga project carried out. Tasks are assigned, delegated based on different abilities and means. The necessary preparations for the rest of the sawary raimy—the Catholic mass, civil matrimony, waikay raimy and tuminay raimy—are one minga.

The next three days of celebration represent the first instance of communal work and solidarity among two united ayllu. These days of celebration mark the spiritual and social context in which two incomplete beings enter a new life as communal individuals and are introduced to the privileges and responsibilities they inherit and will eventually pass down to

their children. Although they both have participated in many sawary raimy before, this is their first one as united communal individuals. The communal spiritual strength and political solidarity strengthens as sawary raimy continues.

Spiritual wellbeing in political solidarity and economic reciprocity

There is a disparity between Runa Wasi and Puka Shunku economic well-being and political involvement. Puka Shunku is not politically invested and many of its members struggle to make a living. Although some mashikuna speak of their contribution to the 1990 uprising, their involvement was temporary and a compulsory contribution to the national minga. In contrast, Runa Wasi taita leadership has been involved in politics for over four generations. Manuelcha Pilamunga has been politically active since the age of fourteen in his native Riobamba and in Quito. He played a leading role in the 1990 uprising, organizing and mobilizing the San Roque network. In May 1990, at the age of 24, taita Pilamunga participated in the takeover of the Santo Domingo de Quito Cathedral, an unprecedented and dangerous symbolic act or resistance. Quito has a history of violence against rebellion (Mayer 1994). But the takeover symbolized the shifting nature of runakuna resistance.

While the national success of CONAIE materialized in the 1990's the San Roque network taita leadership, spearheaded by Runa Wasi mobilized to make Quito officials aware of their needs and concerns. Their unrelenting pressure resulted in the improvement of the education system (opening bilingual Kichwa/Spanish programs), training police officers to curtail aggressive discrimination, and include San Roque in the revitalization projects taking place in Quito at that time. For example, Quito's mayor at that time Rodrigo Paz granted the San Roque network a land track to build the first intercultural marketplace. Unsatisfied with merely able to work along mestizos in the El Tejas commercial center in the heart of Old

Town Quito, the network demanded as space of their own to promote runakuna diversity besides that of mestizo/runakuna dynamics.

Roughly twenty years later Runa Wasi taita council is a well-known and influential leadership in the San Roque and Riobamba ayllukuna networks. Younger generations of political and spiritual leaders train under their supervision. Mr. Pilamunga is often asked to consult in San Roque public matters by the Quito parish. Runa Wasi council vote in CONAIE represents half the San Roque network and a substantial portion of Riobamba rural networks. Mr. Pilamunga is a consultant to the Catholic Church Pastoral Indígena and CODEMPE[16]. Barely forty-five he is bound to become the first high-ranking runa civil leader in Quito. Political pressures and responsibilities to Runa Wasi and the San Roque network have kept him thus far from pursuing office in the mestizo political realm.

Runa Wasi's influential political standing and relative economic success under the leadership of Manuelcha Pilamunga and his taita council differs from that of Puka Shunku. The majority of the runakuna in Puka Shunku are recent migrants from the rural Guamote Canton in the Chimborazo Province. The Guamote Canton suffers extreme poverty, high illiteracy levels, and economic isolation from Riobamba and other political hubs. Although Puka Shunku participated in the 1990 uprising along with the Chimborazo ayllukuna network, their current taita council and the younger generations have concentrated on finding an economic equilibrium in Quito in recent years, away from political involvement.

Economic and political disparities as source of strength in sumak kawsay

[16] CODENPE (Council of Development of Nations and Pueblos of Ecuador). The Pastoral Indígena is the branch of the Catholic Church in charge of investigating and maintaining good standing relations with Ecuadorian Runakuna.

The relative urban inexperience and lack of political involvement of Puka Shunku members give room for training by Runa Wasi taita leadership and business owners. Puka Shunku taitakuna feel fortunate to be bound to Runa Wasi through this first sawary raymi. As Marcos Tene, one of my high school students explains

> Many of these runakuna are new to Quito and to modern ways of life. We have to train them and teach them to become financially independent of mestizos and other runakuna. I myself need two helpers in my shop. My father needs a new driver for his business. We also need more bodies for the housing minga. Many are young and strong so we can train them to work in some of our businesses. There are some wambrakuna (teenagers) who will definitely go to school as well [September 3, 2009].

Taita Pilamunga foresees further economic and political potential. Every working Puka Shunku member is a potential customer at Runa Kawsay bank that specializes in micro loans. The growing magnitude of these loans helps Runa Wasi's lending and borrowing power. Once the two ayllukuna unite, Puka Shunku will not be able to seek loans elsewhere. Although there is no written contract to ensure this, it is an unspoken truth. Puka Shunku unity with Runa Wasi through a sawary raimy essentially means they will remain loyal in finances. Other runa banks cannot make banking business offers to Puka shunku. But Runa Kawsay guarantees their business deals in the network. In turn, Puka Shunku must advertise the bank services to future business partners and to friends beyond the San Roque network.

Moreover, all Puka Shunku members can be called upon to contribute to potential political projects. For example, Runa Wasi leadership attends regional conventions that happen away from Quito. The ayllu must pool money to cover travel, room and board costs. Sometimes the ayllu hosts the conventions and hosting costs are high and must be covered by the network. Contribution is always required of a newly integrated ayllu to relieve the

network of the burden. Puka Shunku's monetary contribution allows them exposure and introduction to the network political process.

Sometimes two ayllu that belong to two different Christian denominations can unite through a sawary raimy though it is not common. In this case Puka Shunku mashikuna are Catholic. Their first required contribution covered expenses incurred by Runa Wasi leadership attendance to two Pastoral Indigena conventions in Guayaquil three months apart. This is a substantial investment for them. Ten Runa Wasi representatives attended both conventions and many Puka Shunku mashikuna are still adjusting to Quito life. The Catholic Church requires the conventions. They are also spaces for advocacy by ayllukuna throughout Ecuador.

Present representatives can contribute to on-going dialogue between the Church and diverse networks from Ecuador in these conventions. Attendance and participation in different workshops is a chance for influence within the Church structure by taita leadership. They are a political as much as a spiritual space for communication with Church representatives. Puka Shunku's contribution assures their future representation that will almost be impossible to accomplish on their own. They also contributed to cover taitakuna Manuelcha Pilamunga and Jose Tene's trip to a Catholic Church summit in Aleman, El Salvador. This summit is of the transnational equivalent of a Pastoral Indigena convention.

From their introduction, Puka Shunku some mashikuna will pursuit political training, others will focus on economic gains, and others on gaining status by combining both. Younger generations, particularly those growing up in Quito, befriend Runa Wasi youth, learn a trade, or attend bilinguals schools like Colegio Nacional Diez de Agosto, perfect their Spanish, and pursue university education. Success in the urban world is within their reach.

Their contribution to the network is maximized from the very beginning. The reciprocity of the network contributes to their success. Political and economic support through sumak kawsay continues uninterrupted in this way.

Economic and political differences are not obstacles for alliance through *sawary raimy*. In fact, there are advantages for the network in this disparity. But there is also a level of intimacy that I equate with spiritual connection. Mashikuna from both ayllukuna socialize and share chicha cups. Solidarity is forged as Runa Wasi mashikuna introduce their new comrades to the Runa Kawsay banking system and political projects. Young Puka Shunku mashikuna are drawn to their potential economic success as partners, and pay close attention to their new political duties. Runa Wasi urban generations weave together runakuna and urban reality is a lifestyle newcomers are curious and anxious about. Chicha circles are spaces of intimacy that denote a welcoming trust.

> The fact that Manuelcha Pilamunga sits among young men (married and with children) from Puka Shunku is an important symbolic act of respect. All invited guests take this action as a sign of acceptance and approval of their political and economic potentiality. This is an opportunity for each of them to approach Mr. Pilamunga, introduce themselves and show their humble respect. Other taitakuna and married men from Runa Wasi join in the circle and converse about business and political developments in San Roque. Puka Shunku women come by and serve chicha to the men. One person at a time is served with the very same cup, a sign of intimacy and trust. I am called over to introduce myself and take pictures. I am the official photographer of the raymi and through this service I am encouraged to socialize with all of them and to take note of this act. I have had to ignore my distaste and concern for sharing a cup from which everyone has drunk chicha. I drink it and realize fully the intimacy and trust of such an act. I suppress concerns of mouth uncleanliness and feel bad about such thoughts. I hope profusely that the concerns that jingle inside my head do not show in my face. I am paranoid that my body language is misunderstood. Will they think of me as not trusting them if they can read concern in my face? Do they already know that I will think these concerns? (San Blas notes. September 3, 2009.)

Runa Wasi leadership shows sincere solidarity with Puka Shunku through the intimacy of the chicha circles. The nonchalance of the circles is definitely an acquired cultural practice. The

ability to share in the intimacy of sharing a chicha cup in one of these circles is a clear declaration of spiritual solidarity. It is a moment of new beginnings. Only men share in the circles but everyone else in the raimy understands that union within the two ayllukuna has been sealed in every level. The network has definitely accepted Puka Shunku. The rest of the sawary raimy sheds light on the social context in which two runakuna unite as one family become part of a network.

The minga: Strength through solidarity necessary for material and spiritual wellbeing

The sawary raymi is a minga project that will last until Monday. Saturday is food preparation day for Runa Wasi and Puka Shunku. They have to feed about seven hundred people throughout the raymi until Monday afternoon. Food abundance and its consumption are very important practices for the creation of happiness, strength and solidarity. Food abundance and sharing is also a sign of sumak kawsay and prosperity. Invited ayllu members arrive to San Roque from Gulalag, Riobamba, and Guamote and have to be accommodated with different families. Taitakuna do their best to guarantee the priest's assistance for the Catholic mass.

> One thousand and fifty chairs have to be brought over from a rental place in the north of Quito. Women adorn the church for mass. Musical instruments are taken from Runja Wasi and set up in the church. One thousand plates, one thousand glasses, and thousand bowls are brought over from Puka Shunku. Kids from Runa Wasi have to paint a P and an S on the bottom of each bowl for collection and counting by Monday night. About ten men and five women work hard cooking the food for tomorrow. My job is to be the official photographer and to help my students peel two thousand potatoes [September 5, 2009].

Waikay Raymi (abundance celebration) takes place after mass on Sunday. Tuminay Raymi (assets celebration) takes place on Monday after civil marriage at city hall. Both celebrations serve a practical, economic, and spiritual purpose for the newlyweds. For both celebrations three servings of food and non-alcoholic chicha are to be consumed by everyone present.

In waiky raymi anyone financially able shares some money to ensure the young couple a well-being beginning. The couple, now considered two unified spiritually whole beings, stands with their parents at the end of a patio[17]. Participants form two lines, one for the warmi (whole woman/wife) and one for the karu (whole man/husband). Each participant, representing her or his family and friends, offers a gift of abundance. The gifts include furniture, a refrigerator, a stove, cooking ware, clothing, glassware, silverware, beddings and food. None of the gifts bear a name. Two empty rooms are quickly packed with the gifts.

The new warmi and karu's parents and their taita thank everyone with a great deal of emotion and intonation. They instruct the warmi and karu to remember this act of reciprocity and solidarity and to try their best to participate in as many sawary raimy as possible in their life as whole beings. No matter how humble some gifts might be, they represent the love and support they have been offered by both their ayllukuna. After these offerings have been put away food is once more served to everyone present and offered to take home until it is all gone. Runakuna break into groups and continue their celebration until late at night, anticipating the rest of the celebration.

Finally, tuminay raimy takes place on Monday afternoon after civil marriage at city hall. Civil marriage does not hold much importance in the runakuna conception of unity, wholeness, reciprocity and well-being. Rather, in general, it is regarded as a legal requirement to claim official partnership in business or other legal matters. However, tuminay raymi is a very practical and relevant celebration in the growing number of ayllukuna in cities like Quito. In the urban world paper money is essential, rather than

[17] They are considered whole beings in a spiritual unity whose rituals I cannot elaborate in this limited space. Their unity is understood within sumak kawsay rather than under Catholic spiritual beliefs.

bartering or other type of exchange. The proceeds from tuminay raymi are used to open savings accounts, pay rent in advance, or invest in a business.

On Monday only the newlyweds, their parents, and a few of their taitakuna show up to city hall. Everyone else awaits their arrival at Runa Wasi to celebrate their spiritual bounding. Official mestizo laws and rituals are of very little interest to runakuna

> I show up wearing jeans, a white long sleeve shirt, and a navy blue tweed jacket. I had thought back in my apartment I should dress as casual as possible. The warmi and karu look a bit odd and out of place, along with their parents. They are dressed in western clothes. The karu wears an ill-fitted tie. The warmi has a dress one size too big. Only Mr. Pilamunga looks familiar with his dress pants and shirt, as if he is conducting business as usual. This part of sawary raimy feels out of place. We are here for a marriage license. Everyone looks overtly serious. Too serious. As if acting. We are acting. I want it to be over so we can head back to San Roque and continue with sawary raimy. I feel silly in these clothes. Do they feel silly as well?

By noon everyone is back at Runa Wasi and food is served to everyone. A sound system is set up to play a specific genre of Kichwa music celebrating runakuna identity, unity and happiness. Anyone is welcome to take center stage and the microphone. Public acknowledgements are given to those who have traveled from afar for the celebration. Youngsters jokingly announce a friend's interest in a young man or woman. Others advertise their business and welcome everyone to check out their establishments and their products. Mashikuna introduce me to taita who have come from the highlands of Chimborazo as the mashi from the north. They seem very impressed with this information and do not seem to care that I need a translator. It is impressive to hear my students' fluency in Kichwa dialects and the respect they show for the taita.

Finally, everyone has eaten and prepared their to-go bags to take food home. It is time for tuminay raymi. This last practice is the economic aspect of sawary raymi. Weddings cost a significant amount of money, as do all beginnings of married life. The contribution into a

money pool for the newlyweds is expected of all working mashikuna, although no one is obliged to contribute. The newlyweds sit in front of a large, empty table accompanied by their taita councils. The participants form one line in front of the table. Participation is simple. Each of the roughly 120 mashikuna gives about ten dollars to partially cover the costs of a healthy and strong beginning. From this money the couple contributes in part to the cost of the sawary raymi as they see fit. However, they will contribute very little of this money because Runa Wasi has provided a large portion of what was needed.

The roughly twelve hundred dollars collected in *tuminay raymi* is a significant amount considering that the average Ecuadorian worker makes ten dollars for a full day's work. Because Runa Wasi requires all members to have savings accounts in Runa Kawsay bank, a significant amount of this money goes into a specific account for newlyweds. The size of this account is up to them, but a substantial portion is advised to show solidarity and trust. Many times investing in a first child is the primary investment, a choice that is highly encouraged. Other mashikuna invest their tuminay raymi money on a new business venture. Although one thousand dollars might seem a relative minuscule amount in the first world, it is a significant start up cash when added to a micro credit loan from Runa Wasi bank. Whatever decision they make, they can rely on the network for economic support to start a new life. Economic well-being is ensured.

Bank Runa Kawsay as economic sumak kawsay

Unity to the San Roque network through sawary raimy is a stepping-stone to economic well-being in Quito for many runakuna. Political involvement or mashikuna status is not required, although it is almost impossible to escape it given the often calls for minga projects. Direct marriage into Runa Wasi is not necessary to establish micro loan credits from

Runa Kawsay bank. Runa Wasi benefits from having exclusive access to the network itself. The bank is a well-known and influential institution in San Roque and Riobamba. Its assets are not guaranteed in any way by Ecuadorian national banks or any officially established institution. Their investments and assets are guaranteed by the solidarity of the entire network itself, which covers all links between Quito to Riobamba.

Unity to Runa Wasi through sawary raimy nonetheless affords bigger loan possibilities and shorter waiting times for loans to be approved. This is an unspoken preferential treatment that gives Runa Wasi the upper hand. When asked about this practice some taita pointed out that equal access to loans is still possible for everyone else. As of 2009, Runa Kawsay investment solvent base was estimated at 700,000 dollars. Property based solvent net worth was estimated at 1.4 million dollars that included a 25-unit apartment building in San Roque and a land track divided into thirty-three smaller units for housing in south of San Roque.

Runa Kawsay customer base resides in San Roque but micro loans are also available to runakuna outside the network. Sometimes mestizos business partners with the network can take out loans but this is rare because they do not have a community base guarantor. Mashikuna guarantee loans communally to avoid disruption in economic sumak kawsay. Large purchases like land tracks are done as network investments through Runa Kawsay, for example. Individual ayllu purchases are possible Runa Wasi is capable of doing it so far. Significant purchase capacity is available to ayllukuna that are bound through sawary raimy.

Runa Kawsay's solvent net worth is astounding given the seemingly austere life they lead. But the structure of the network alliance makes this success possible. The San Roque network is made up of about fifty ayllukuna. Each ayllu holds on average fifty to sixty

families. The network then expands beyond San Roque along alliances created through sawary raimy and business deals extending south. These alliances run in the hundreds. Their exact number is hard to find out because direct involvement through businesses only happens between partners and taita. This way the network extends south to Riobamba through Runa Wasi Catholic leadership and influence with the Church and the many business deals that emerge. All working mashikuna from this network contributes weekly into their compulsory savings accounts.

Bank contracts are binding on mashi terms. Although contracts are written within mestizo legal system, it is the actual network verbal agreement that prevails. Disputes are always settled within the network, with legal mediation provided by Inti Ñan. In part, Runa Wasi political influence in San Roque stems from this form of responsibility and loyalty with all of their loan holders. Their relative success also serves as an example of success and goal setting. The hope remains in many San Roque mashikuna that Runa Kawsay can help them make attain similar success in exchange for political and economic solidarity. Spiritual well-being is therefore provided through this matrix of economic and political reality and practice. In the 21st century, urban mashikuna's identity entails being part of this matrix and network.

In the event of national mobilization like the 1990 uprising, Runa Wasi can call out a minga that will require every single member of the network into action. At the same time Runa Kawsay cannot exist without the ayllu network. The leadership of Runa Wasi exists as long as they remain in solidarity with everyone of the San Roque mashikuna. Even when Mr. Pilamunga holds significant leadership experience and influence, his power is communal, contingent upon reciprocity. Unlike national level representation like CONAIE, Runa Wasi and their banking system remains bound to the local everyday practice of sumak kawsay.

Even when contracts between the banks are bound through mestizo law, it is the communal reciprocity that produces the existence of Runa Kawsay.

Sawary raymi as resistance in Quito

The urban context in which sumak kawsay is practiced is influenced by mestizo prejudice and rejection. Mestizo ignorance of the history, significance, and purpose of raymi fuels mestizo derision (Tipanluisa and Fernando 2012). Mestizos think of the raymi as "*cosas de indios*" or Indian things, without the slightest curiosity or open-mindedness. From a Catholic perspective raymi is pagan superstition. Priests consider the raymi sacrilegious practices to be tolerated in the name of interculturality (Calapi and Clemente 2006). The average Catholic mestizo is unable to understand it beyond a seemingly ritual and as such it has no value because it is not centered on the Christian god (Ochoa 2009).

San Roque mashikuna are aware of these perceptions. Their practice of raimy can be simultaneously a practice of sumak kawsay and of resistance against prejudice and invisibility (Lucero 2006). The 1990 uprising and localized mashikuna mobilization has made possible an open expression of their life everyday life but it has also triggered fear and hate. Open raimy celebrations are considered by many mestizos rural practices, not part of urban identity. Their existence in Quito can be considered antithetical to Catholic hegemony (Moreno and Figueroa 1992).

Mestizos feel runakuna presence in San Roque and many working class Quito neighborhoods pose cultural and geographic invasion. For now the raimy remains an open practice confined to San Roque. But as Quito population grows new neighborhoods made up of ayllukuna networks expand in the south. Here the raimy gains momentum as a normalized practice. This is a new experience of cultural and geographical proximity for mestizos who

have also migrated from rural Ecuador to Quito. At the same time, the city council has made structural changes in Quito landscape that has eroded mestizo privilege.

For example, the reconstruction of Old Town Quito as a tourist hub has required the relocation of informal mestizo businesses that had existed for decades. Runakuna presence in this touristic Quito image is welcome only in so far as it is momentary, as extras in a movie, transient and always on the move. This image requires that important spiritual and political/economic practices like raymi be packaged as part of the tourist industry that the mashikuna refuse (Ochoa 2009). The presentation of the runakuna as uneducated, provincial, and needy is one readily accepted by mestizos and the tourist industry.

The reality of open sumak kawsay practice, use of Kichwa, localized political mobilization, and professional clusters are images openly rejected by mestizos, the Catholic Church and the tourist industry. These empowered realities lived by mashikuna are contradictions to a long-standing hegemonic urban image. Thus mashikuna 21st century urban identity exists within a constant practice of raimy, resistance against negative imagery, and rejection of their public presentation as tourist attraction.

National mashi mobilization has also resulted in local economic independence from a mestizo-controlled urban economy. This independence is also considered by urban mashikuna as part of their 21st century identity. Some San Roque network taitakuna consider independent spiritual exploration beyond Christianity also part of mashi identity. This exploration is resistance against the Catholic Church continuing meddling in their social development, specially the raimy. One direct approach to this meddling is the coerced practice of Catholic mass in the sawary raimy. Mass is an institutional tool to maintain a presence in the network by the Pastoral Indígena in the urban space.

The possibility that taitakuna seek and explore alternative spiritual philosophies prompted the Church to create new ways to infiltrate ayllu intimacy. Overseeing nuns and priests in the Pastoral gather information on potential spiritual and philosophical explorations and development of taitakuna beyond Christianity. Their intentions are clear to mashikuna. Their resistance is extremely subtle but determined. I came to understand this when Mr. Pilamunga instructed me to not share with the nuns our workshops regarding the history of Christianity. Ecuadorian Catholic leadership is aware of runakuna venturing into other Christian denominations (Kanagy 1990). Local priests who have abandoned the ayllu and sumak kawsay to become priests are aware that spaces to openly live the raymi and other alternative spiritual and political practices lead away from Catholic control.

Sumak kawsay practice in Quito as resistance and as spaces of alternative development is also part of their identity in the 21st century. Economic independence, political solidarity, and spiritual alternatives in the network are part of everyday mashikuna resistance and identity. For the rest of this chapter I briefly describe how saway raymi practices are political and spiritual grounds where San Roque mashikuna increasingly resist institutional intervention and prejudice. To understand this resistance is to understand mashikuna identity. Mashikuna identity is now in proximity to mestizo larger urban society while maintaining strong ties to rural Ecuador. The existence of the network and its growth through the sawary raimy make this possible.

Resistance to obligatory mass during sawary raimy

Spiritual domination by the Catholic Church in the ayllu exists since the Spanish invasion. Required exclusive use of Spanish among runakuna was instituted as part of indoctrination among a crumbling Inca elite. This spiritual domination continues to this day.

None of the four mestizo priests I met in San Roque who preside over sawary raymi mass speak Kichwa. Their explanation for this linguistic deficiency was that it is not their culture. They elaborately praised runakuna "costumbres" or practices, openly admiring their unity, their devotion to marriage and their continuing devotion to the Christian god.

These priests showed an elaborate deep regret for their inability to speak Kichwa and their inability to stay for the entire raymi. However, when asked, all of them admitted to have never taken a Kichwa language course in their life, and that they understood the sawary raymi as superstitious rituals. The mestizo priests' modus operandi was the same: they showed up late, sometimes for hours, presided over the sawary raimy mass, received payment (always in cash) and left. The only runa priest who sometimes presided over sawary raymi mass was the only one to show up on time, stayed for the entire ceremony, and partook in the celebrations afterwards. But he was never allowed in bank meetings, minga projects because he really believed in the supremacy of Christianity and everyone knew he worked for the Pastoral Indígena.

Mashikuna displayed aloofness to the priests' presence that was reasonable in my opinion. The fact that the priests believe sawary raymi is nothing but runa superstition is not lost on mashikuna. Everyone is polite to the priests and attend mass because it is clear that this part of the raimy cannot yet be discarded. Everyone knows Catholic priests have contempt for the raimy. They never stay longer than mass and are always late. Mashikuna patiently attend mass and tolerate the unwarranted deference their taitakuna show priests. The priests have no political influence in the ayllu network, their presence is tolerated unbeknownst to them. They neither know, nor care about mashikuna economic needs or

political goals. Mashikuna conscious tolerance for the priests' presence in the raimy shows the shift in political and spiritual dynamics.

Catholicism is tolerated and accepted as part of Quito life, not the raimy. Mashikuna tolerance is mandated by their taitakuna and they oblige because it is the easiest way to keep the Church at bay, giving an illusion of submission. Runa Wasi must adhere to this approach because they live under an incomodato contract with the church that runs out in 2012. But the younger generations can be cynical and lose respect for this political necessity. I understand this cynicism as part of their resistance. Resistance fueled by realization is understandable.

Creativity and resistance as part of mashikuna identity

Unquestioned asymmetrical relationship between the Catholic Church and the ayllukuna has existed for much of Ecuadorian history. The defeat of the Tawantinsuyu bears a parallel control and manipulation of runakuna's spirituality by the Catholic Church. In the Ecuadorian society mestizo spirituality exists at the cost of mashikuna spiritual freedom. For centuries the Catholic Church, and lately other Christian denominations have had access to the most intimate runakuna practices, ensuring direct information and control of ayllu spiritual and political development. Although the infiltration of the Church in today's ayllu networks is pernicious, it is nowhere as oppressive as in the past. From colonial times up until the 1960's Catholic priests demanded a percentage of all runakuna harvests. This extraction was extorted, not with the threat of damnation, but with the threat of loss of land, denial of bank credit, or even jail time that included beatings. The priests were always present whenever punishment was administered to a rebellious runa so that communities would not forget their wrath (Clark 1994).

Carlos Marcha, one of the oldest mashi from Runa Wasi remembers his experience with Catholic priests as a child in his native Gulalag in the Riobamba highlands

> We were taught as children to fear the padrecitos' (priests') wrath. We learned to give them the best of our crops each harvest. 'It is the way God wants it" they would say during their mass at each harvest. They never worked! They ate from our labor. I knew god had nothing to do with it. So did many mashikuna[18]. But we could not do much. We feared their wrath and that of mishukuna in Riobamba who were friends with the police and the soldiers. We gave them our crops and stayed out of their way. We listened to their mass and moved on [August 13, 2009].

To the runakuna the coercion of food was the more barbaric because the priests took advantage of their military influence. Spiritually, the coercion of food by priests violated and stood in stark contrast to sumak kawsay. Catholic intervention at harvest times (Inti raymikuna) or sawary raimy was necessary to keep runakuna in line. Today the enforcement of mass is an attempt to reinforce Christian hegemony over mashikuna spirituality. The Catholic Church has had a relentless oversight of the runakuna. The 1990 uprisings was a major shifting diminishing moment for the Church.

Diminishing influence of priests in the San Roque ayllukuna network

The extortion of food from ayllukuna by Catholic priests has all but disappeared from Ecuadorian society, particularly in Quito. The political dynamics between the Catholic Church and the Ecuadorian runakuna has been altered since the 1990 uprising (Moreno and Figuero 1992). Despite the practice of mass during different San Roque raymi and the existence of the Pastoral Indigena, mashikuna have continued independent spiritual and political exploration under sumak kawsay. Mashikuna resistance includes questioning the role of priests in their intimate celebrations. They increasingly take a more authoritative role in their raymi, economic development and political alliances.

[18] Mishu is a mestizo influential person. Mishukuna is plural.

Respect is demonstrated during the sawary raymi by all mashikuna present, but not reverence to mass. This difference in attitude is important as it demarks a shifting loyalty towards sumak kawsay in the 21st century. Respect and tolerance for mass and priests is an example of interculturality, the idea that Ecuadorians must live side by side with respect for alternative cultures and worldviews. However this practice is not always reciprocal. Priests show up late, preside over mass, take their payment, and leave. There is no deviation from this process. Mass is always in Spanish. Language barriers prevent the eldest mashikuna from full participation. The sermon, consisting of advice to succeed as husband and wife, is lost in the elderly mashikuna who sit impassively throughout.

The Quito mashi generations have learned to view this tolerant yet aloof attitude towards Catholicism as normal. They are vocal about their taitakuna's deference to the priests. They balance their practice to carry themselves as equals to mestizos while they witness taitakuna deference during sawary raymi. Taitakuna influence in San Roque and other networks in the Sierra region is at once contrasted with taitakuna deference to Catholic priests. As a consequence, young mashikuna balance tolerance and disregard for the priests' religious message. They can be polite and deferent to the priests and but can also be inattentive during mass. This is specially the case for young women, who are not allowed to excuse from mass as much as the young men.

For their part, the taitakuna do not openly scorn them, even though they do not approve of this demonstration of disrespect. Only when the presiding priest notices this behavior do the elder bring the young back into focus. Young mothers take every opportunity to walk out of the church when their babies cry or are in the slightest flustered. It is fascinating to witness this obvious yet subtle behavior. This type of behavior can be

considered mundane in Catholicism but it is a great deviation by runakuna who have been coerced into religious submission for five centuries. The political repercussions and cultural shifts are important as expressions of resistance and mashi identity in the 21st century.

I present and explore a convivencia to further illustrate this new shift in mashi attitude. Convivencias (co-existing) are mashi spaces for political coalition and spiritual development that incorporate Catholicism under different conditions. Convivencias are well-synchronized events for urban mashikuna to return to their ayllu of origin, reaffirm and strengthen old and new network alliances, explore sumak kawsay as it develops in contemporary Ecuador, and emphasize independence from the Catholic Church.

Runa Wasi organized the first San Roque network convivencias in the late 1980's. Today other convivencias are organized by ayllukuna in Quito. The necessary resources for a convivencia are provided by mashikuna themselves. They do not accept donation from the Catholic Church to ensure independence. However, mashikuna allow mass to be presided by a bishop. The Riobamba bishop presides over all convivencias in Chimborazo. Riobamba convivencias are politically significant for two reasons.

The Riobamba Bishopric is one of the most influential in the northern Andean region. It holds the highest number of runakuna members dating back to the Tawantinsuyu. The other reason is the successful downplay of the Bishopric influence over mashikuna convivencias. Taitakuna leadership is demonstrated during the convivencias. On the surface, the presence of Catholic priests or even an archbishop represents continuing Church involvement. However, during the convivencia mashikuna demonstrate increasing autonomy.

Urban resistance in the rural context in the 21st century

The following event is the 2009 Runa Wasi convivencia in Gulalag, Riobamba. I

attempt to convey the cultural, political, and geographical context in which mashikuna, influenced by national political mobilization and local rural and urban experiences, create a secular spiritual space, resist Catholic intervention in rural Ecuador, and reaffirm their identity in the 21st century. This event demonstrates the urbanity of the ayllu networks and their ties to rural Ecuador. Convivencia brings to light the extent of the networks.

> The Gulalag ayllu is a collection of houses that pepper the hillsides south of Riobamba city. The houses are separated by small farming patches, big enough to grow potatoes, kinua, and raise pigs, goats and chickens. All the houses are made in the traditional adobe walls with thatch roofs that are very efficient to keep the rough, bone chilling, Andean cold out throughout the night. The furniture is humble and essential, consisting of beds, bureaus, a table and chairs. In most houses the beds, the stoves and bureaus look relatively new in comparison to the houses. Most of these newer furniture were family gifts from young couples who married in Quito and had more sawary raimy furniture than they needed. A small river runs on the side of Gulalag. My students tell me its origin is in the heart of Inti. It is amazing to see and touch the water flows that come from the Andean mountain range beyond and higher than Gulalag. The water is delicious and pure, I almost feel bad boiling some of it and bath in it. I had heard in Quito my students talk about the water from here and wondered if they were nostalgic or embellishing their stories. But I am happy that they were doing neither. The water here is everywhere there is one deposit. The water is free for everyone who contributes to keep the deposits clean and who helps the elders carry it to their homes on the weekly basis. The distances from the deposits to the houses are not very far but incredibly arduous due to the hilly geography. The narrow, dirt roads that cut across Gulalag run up and down hill as much as sideways. Most roads have a considerable steep vertical portion. I was very happy to have walked for months in Quito without a car because I can keep up with my students and local runakuna almost 100%. They were impressed with me. I was happy they were impressed with me. They said I was becoming not only runa but also an Andean. This made me very happy and feel accomplished. (August 26, 2009. Day notes).

The quiet of this place is surreal to urban people like me. At such elevation, life becomes a game of essentialities. The closest hospital is twenty miles below, in Riobamba. There are no police or military personal. Law is communal as is livelihood.

> The first day that most of the Runa Wasi had gotten to Gulalag my students took me on a wonderful trip to visit the neighboring communities. They were all within five hundred meters from each other, often separated by a steep climb or a small hill. The runakuna communities on the outskirts of Riobamba seem to go on forever on the

> Andean distance all the way to Chimborazo. It is such a spectacular view to feel so removed from modernity and urbanity and be so high in the mountain range and realize that there is so much life and cultural diversity up here. [I have all my ethnographic material for this part from the videos]. Smoke stalks are visible as far as the eye can see right before sunset as most runakuna are back home from working the fields and are preparing their dinner. I realized up here that there is definitely a different Andean reality attached to the particular altitude, the way that geography influences reality and worldview in the desert, or along a river in the Amazon. (August 26, 2009. Afternoon notes)

I can better appreciate the remoteness of Gulalag if I successfully imagine how long it would take anyone to get down to Riobamba without a car. Likewise, I try to image what reasons would prompt anyone from Riobamba to venture up into this mountain range. This seclusion helps me understand the geographic and cultural context in which Runa Wasi mashikuna lived for hundreds of years. The uninterrupted continuation of time and space, of culture and worldview also helps appreciate the significance of the convivencia in the 21st century. Mestizo Riobambeños call this region *tierras del runa* or runa land. Most of them have never ventured this far onto the cordillera. They call runa land without appreciating the political and spiritual implications of such a title. They fail to understand and appreciate the complex relationship runakuna have with the Pachamama or the environment as practiced for centuries. The communal solitude up here is context that can be best appreciated with one's own presence and interaction with the Pachamama and runakuna.

> There are no strangers up here. "Imanalla mashi" (All good to you) or "ayuyachu mashi" (Are you happy mashi?) or kayamakan (go in good health) are universal phrases of encounter and departure. There is no other language but Kichwa and the Pachamama becomes as real as the thick oxygen, with the complex relationship of language, tangible reality and worldview, as the Andean range, the crystal clear water, the simplicity of sumak kawsay in spiritual unity, and the space to be themselves without a bigger cultural context other than the one created in the rural ayllukuna network. With the exception of cell phones, amped speaker systems, cars and dollar money, the urban runakuna reality dissipates and remains so for the duration of the convivencia. I see Manuelcha Pilamunga and other taitakuna wear their runa hat and poncho with a pride I had not seen before. All the female

> mashikuna wear their balleta and anaku [female runakuna clothing]. I learn a practical appreciation for the poncho, very much associated with the runakuna identity by outsiders, understanding more its geographical relationship to their history in these mountain ranges. It is cold up here, but a very specific kind of cold. The wind at night will sneak into you through any opening it finds, no matter how small. The incessant cold subdues anyone and everyone. At night, in the dark that envelops any space away from indoor hearths I learned of the importance of the poncho to stay alive. The Andean cold will crawl through any opening on your outer layer and crawl deep into your heart and your bones. The cold both inspires and forces you to trance and connect with your surroundings in a way that is hard to explain. The familiar squatting position of runakuna, wrapped in their ponchos suddenly makes sense to me as much as breathing to stay alive. This squat position is the most appropriate for an individual to stay warm and not trance. The blue poncho made by Otavaleños is the priciest, most effective to keep the Andean cold at bay, and the most coveted by runakuna up here. I am lucky my student Marcos lends me his poncho for special occasions. I feel lucky that it would be an offence to reject his offer and I am asked to wear it often as a symbol of gratitude. He is happy that I accepted it and he tells everyone that it looks good on me because he has good taste (August 28, 2009. Night notes).

The young and adults mashikuna who have come from Quito for the convivencia acclimate rather quickly without much effort. My students and other teenagers keep warm by playing various games or biking throughout different ayllukuna that pepper the mountain range. Runa Wasi mashikuna become different out here. They speak only in fluent Kichwa and are reverent and observant of life out here. I have seen Joshi and Pedro Telesaca out by the ravine edge, singing to Inti in the mornings. They are too brothers who play the guitar in church events. I had no idea of their reverence and singing to Inti. However, it is towards the Gulalag mashikuna who have stayed that I direct my attention, finding ways to be near them physically in the hopes of exposing myself to how they enjoy their surroundings

> At night I gravitate towards the taitakuna huddled in the dark where I enjoy the sound of fluent Kichwa with hardly any Spanish words in the conversations. Slow responses emerge, far in between from a question, suggestion, or observation that are thrown into the air for anyone to engage. Conversation is slow out here. Andean time. By now I know the common first conversation about me when I approach a group and greet them, I hear my name and Guatemala, in faraway lands, that I am a mashi from Quito, working with Runa Wasi and Manuelcha Pilamunga. That I live in the USA. I

> am impressed with myself. Jaja. I am happy to understand the nuance of who I am: Cosmesita Guatemalapimi kani. (I was born in Guatemala.) Payka United Statespimi kan. (I live in the United States) Paika Kituta kawnsani ahora. Cosme yankamita Manuelcha Pilamunga. (I live in Quito and work with Manuelcha Pilamunga). I wish I could understand more. In a way I sometimes feel as much an intruder as a mestizo priest … The taitakuna speak in a very calmed and relax manner. I hear someone in the dark reassure everyone they can speak of ayllukuna matters because I am a mashi. That I am fluent enough to follow their conversation. Not a true statement. I cannot follow beyond a few remarks that are made about the convivencia and lose my way. However, I soon hear the name Marlon Santi (CONAIE president), Mr. Pilamunga, growing strength. I hear my name and the fact that I live in the United States, I hear FLACSO, the mishu place of learning. An old man lays down, sings, wrapped in his poncho, appreciates the bright, crispy stars above. Points out it makes sense that I come from such place. I work for Mr. Pilamunga and makes sense he brought me to work for him. He goes back to singing to the stars in Kichwa. (August, 28, 2009. Night notes.)

The convivencia lasts from Thursday to Sunday. Between Thursday and Saturday talent show competitions took place. Runakuna from these highlands competed through elaborate dances and songs they had prepared. It is impressive how many taitakuna know each other by name. They sing praises to Inti (the sun) disguised as Christian songs dedicated to Jesus, the Christian God or the Virgin Mary. The competitions are very lively and create an effervescence I enjoy very much. All day Thursday mashikuna from the area came to pay their respects to Runa Wasi. Personal information is collected for further business deals.

We spent all day finishing the last preparation for the convivencia. Friday was reserved for political workshops, bank advertising, and planning. I was not excluded from any of the workshops. I even invited my student Marcos Tene to interpret for me. Thursday and Friday are strictly mashikuna. It is evident Manuelcha Pilamunga and his council have considerable influence in this region. My students took me further up the mountain range, to one of the highest points, so that I could see some of the communities in the far distance from which leaders and representatives came to pay their respects.

> Mashi Sula runs her workshops. I am sleepy. Tired. Cold. I am in charge of sound. Of bread and coffee distribution with Marcos Tene. He sleeps behind me. Hidden in the hay. He does not care for politics. Mashi Sula drives home the concept of economic freedom. Most mashikuna here are elder. Men and women. Children sleep around them. Some old men sleep openly. Andean way Marcos says. No offense. Mashi Sula continues. One mashi one vote. Communication and minga for CONAIE must not die out here. Passed out business cards for Inti Nan. Everyone will come tomorrow for dancing and raymi. Many walked here for two hours.

On Thursday afternoon we drove down to Riobamba with the taitakuna council to advertise the convivencia and urge mashikuna to join us. We stopped by the Pastoral Indígena in Riobamba to formally invite the bishop and the nuns. I had to simmer down my frustration at the fact that we had to wait two hours to be attended. Apparently, this was our punishment for the bishop hearing about the convivencia over the radio before the council official invitation. Mashikuna simply laughed it off and sent me to the market to buy fruit for everyone. When I come back everyone laughed at me because they knew I would be distracted by the market place. The behavior of church leadership is of little concern to mashikuna. Their goal is to ensure Runa Wasi political leadership in the region, and workshops on new forms of runakuna identity and worldview expression vis-à-vis greater social mestizo context. Invitation to the bishopric is only a formality.

By Friday morning the nuns and a priest show up to Gulalag before 9AM to take confession from adolescents and children who will do their first communion and confirmation on Sunday. Some confide they have made up sins to confess because the priest would definitely share their true transgressions. None of the adults confess, pretending they do not speak Spanish. Workshops are suspended as long as the priest and nuns are up here. This disregard for Catholic sacraments continues until Sunday when the Riobamba bishop holds a general mass. Teenagers and children from San Roque and Riobamba networks do their first communions and confirmations. This is the most important Catholic event in the

convivencia. No political workshops or businesses are conducted. Mashikuna respect Catholic practices, accommodate outsiders in Spanish, and show reverence to the bishop and the nuns. By now all the material covered in workshops and forums have been disseminated and discussed. The long-term San Roque network political goals have been laid out. Support and alliance have been ensured from all the councils who have attended throughout the week.

Mass on Sunday is reassurance among mashikuna that alliance with the San Roque network can be trusted. Many up here are still Catholic and see it this mass as demonstration of spiritual solidarity because many have heard about Runa Wasi' secular tendencies. Every mashi in attendance has left their contact information with Runa Kawsay bank representatives the previous days. They can inquire about any services they might need. This is a pool of approximately five hundred potential clients. The most elderly taitakuna councils are impressed with Runa Wasi's success in Quito and their political and economic agenda.

Mass is no longer a simple practice of runakuna submission and routine. Some of the elder mashikuna have lived long enough to witness the success of mashikuna struggle. New generations have been exposed to the political and economic caliber of their council, and the spirituality involved in independence and self-definition. They see how the adults deal with the archbishop and the nuns during the Sunday mass. They have been introduced to future Catholic Church-mashikuna relations. On Saturday night it was announced that the final celebration would take place sometime around noon the next day, exactly when Inti is above the Pachamama.

We were told there was no way to know when the Riobamba archbishop would arrive to Gulalag but the celebration would begin around noon. When the bishop shows up at 10:45AM many mashikuna are nervous and curious about what will happen next. The bishop

is visibly irritated because most mashikuna are still at home taking care of last minute preparations. The nuns and small children trek up the hills, calling them to come down to the church for mass. The bishop demands a microphone and berates everyone. Some of the elders begin to congregate and nervously smile in his direction. He stands on the stage where all the events have been taking place. Everyone around looks up at him and sits in obedience.

Manuelcha Pilamunga graciously takes the microphone from the bishop. In clear Spanish he instructs everyone to take their time, to remember that Mass will begin around noon, when Inti is directly over Pachamama. He repeats the announcement in Kichwa. The bishop tries to conceal his rage and surprise. He looks over at Mr. Pilamunga and the taita councilmen in clear disbelief. Mr. Pilamunga instructs someone to bring food and drink for the bishop. He explains to the bishop his timing is perfect because there are still mashikuna coming from far away. He explains that this is a good time for the two men to converse and prepare for the Mass that is in fact an Inti celebration.

The Riobamba bishop heads for his car, followed by the nuns. He is visibly upset. Mr. Pilamunga and a few taitakuna stay on the stage and watch him as the nuns speak to him rapidly. We cannot hear what they are saying but we can see them pointing towards the hills. We turn back and see the mashikuna trickling out of their houses and down the hills toward us. In my mind I want them to hurry down and for the bishop to get out of his car at the nuns' insistence but remain as impassive as the taitakuna seem. This is the first time in my life I witness an indigenous leader openly challenge a bishop's command and remain calm in the aftermath anger. My mind works rapidly and I imagine the many negative consequences of Mr. Pilamunga's transgression but I am also inspired by his courage and his intelligence. I, like the taitakuna and the rest of the mashikuna, trust his leadership and strategy.

The Inti celebration begins at 12:13 on Sunday August 31, 2009 with a Mass officiated by the Riobamba bishop. Some Runa Wasi teenagers and children joined other teenagers and children from Gulalag and other surrounding ayllukuna in the Catholic first communion ritual. There are also about twelve baptisms. These baptisms and first communions are a mixture of Catholic rituals done in Spanish and of mashikuna songs and praises to Inti done in Kichwa. The lyrics are complete adorations to Inti, the mountain range, the wind, and water flows of the Andean region and the Pachamama. Neither the bishop, nor the nuns, or the priests who are present are aware of this sacrilege against the Christian god because none speak the Kichwa, let alone the Kichwa strand that exists in these highlands. The word Taita Dios (God leader) is peppered throughout the songs so they can at least hear it and assume the songs are in fact Catholic and in adoration to the Christian God. There are only two Kichwa songs that are Christian, one is sung during the blessing of the wine and bread and the other one during the baptisms. These were the only two times the Catholic songbooks in Kichwa were used.

As soon as Mass is over the bishop briskly prepares to leave despite invitations by many Riobamba taitakuna to stay and join in the festivities. He turns down the sacred kui. Kui (guinea pigs) are considered a delicacy, offered only to well-regarded guests during important events. To turn it down is a symbol of total rejection of friendship with runakuna. However, Runa Wasi taitakuna thank him for Mass. They let Riobamba taitakuna invite him to stay. Somehow Runa Wasi mashikuna knew the bishop would not stay. Surprisingly the nuns decide to stay in join in the rest of the convivencia that by Sunday has turned into a kind of Inti Raymi. The Mass lasted an unusually two hours given the combination of First Communions and baptisms, and the Inti adoration singing mixed in it.

A break is in order after Mass after which celebrations I had never witnessed before begin to take place. My students and other young people head for the highest points and sing songs I have never heard before and dance to them. The mothers with small children headed to the water ponds and explain the power of water to children, the blood of Pachamama flows they explain. Taitakuna formed groups on flat parts of the hills and sang and offered poems and chants to Inti. The nuns and I witnessed first-hand the veneration of Pachamama as mother earth and living things by runakuna. To this point I had only read about such adoration. I am overwhelmed to see Runa Wasi taitakuna engrossed in reverence as they sing and chant to the sun, the sky, the mountains, the wind, and the water flows. This is a great learning moment for me. The runakuna identity amid these high mountains is revealed to me. This is the opportunity to appreciate the fluid nature of this identity, as we have distanced ourselves from the urban space with its specific features of technology, worldview diversity, and individuality.

The adoration of Inti and Pachamama went on for about two hours, until the sun began to set. Although the mashikuna were in different places, each group adoring in different ways, there was a clear feeling of unity, apart from the rest of the world. The nuns remained close to the church and whenever I passed by on my way to enjoy different groups and witness their adoration of Inti, they tried to ask me to explain to them, the meaning of what they were witnessing. In half honesty, I told them I did not know and moved on. I did not want to be interrupted by their questions because I knew preaching would soon follow. They could tell the mashikuna were clearly engaged in adoration of Inti but would not say it aloud. I knew they considered the entire celebration sacrilegious, especially because it had been preceded by a mass given by a bishop. This part of runakuna identity, the one removed

from Christianity will always be regarded as suspect I realize. This is the point of having the nuns here I decide. Runakuna identity that includes resistance and political involvement is the mashikuna identity that can and will question mestizo religious hegemony.

The only individuals up there during that convivencia were the nuns, the priests and I. While I had been officially taken in as a mashi during this convivencia, I knew and could not deny that it would take years, perhaps the rest of my life, to fully incorporate my mind, body, and spirit into an ayllu and mashikuna network. But I took great pride and joy in being up there in Gulalag and witness the complexity and challenges of a mashikuna/runakuna identity in Ecuador in the 21st century. The consistent collection of clients and ayllu network members is one decisive feature of economic independence and political strength.

The integrated day-to-day life reconnected to the network that comprises the urban-rural span and all in between is also a feature that goes hand in hand with political mobilization. These features and their resistance against being treated like children or as supervised hordes are also part of this identity. In the next two chapters I explore and analyze the internal and external challenges to the mashikuna/identity as it is currently developing in Quito. I also explore and analyze the potential positive side of some of these challenges for further development of the Pachamama worldview and sumak kawsay in the 21st century, urban and global context.

Chapter 5: Beyond the Ayllu in the Urban Context: Mashikuna Creative Resistance in Segregated Quito in the 21st Century

Introduction

Segregation and inequality in Quito take place in a geographical context that does not readily reveal itself to the transient visitor. To truly appreciate their intricacies one must travel north –south or vice versa for some time to witness racial prejudice. Quiteños born and raised in Quito are well versed in the intricacies of exclusion and rejection and avoid entire sectors they consider dangerous. They limit their life within their own segregated neighborhoods where they feel safe (Swanson 2007). This is specially the case for the upper middle class. Poor migrants and poor Quiteños often have to travel long distances across metropolitan Quito to reach their unincorporated colonias on the outskirts of the city from their jobs located in the metropolitan area. In this chapter I explore the rich creativity with

which Runa Wasi mashikuna resist socioeconomic inequality imposed on them by geographical segregation and prejudice, and the creativity with which they strive to remain economically and politically independent to live in urban sumak kawsay.

Newcomers to Quito quickly learn of a racial cartography (Swanson 2010). Mestizo and white Quiteños are extremely distrustful of outsiders to their neighborhoods. It is not sufficient to have the right socioeconomic background or have a familiar last name to be able to rent in Quito. Someone known to both parties to rent an apartment, a house, or a room in a house must recommend outsiders. However, no amount of money will help a runa (including Otavaleños) or an Afroecuadorian rent in exclusively mestizo or white neighborhoods (Rahier 1998; Chong and Ñopo 2007). But renter's mentality is pervasive in Quito, with a history as old as the city itself, and the right amount of money will sometimes persuade even the most distrustful landlord to rent to some outsiders. It did not take me long to find an apartment in San Blas, the gateway colonia (neighborhood) to Old Town Quito. Well-to do Ecuadorians, United States whites, and Europeans have heavily gentrified Colonia San Blas. From my second night in Quito I gravitated towards United States Americans and English-speaking Europeans. The owners of the hotel I was staying at noticed this and recommended me to a few house owners, who were drawn to my ability to pay overpriced rent that is off-limits to most Quiteños.

Socioeconomic discrepancies in Quiteño colonias are thus heavily marked by the requirement of recommendations of outsiders, especially in Old Town Quito (Gomez and Ricardo 2009). Besides this socioeconomic dynamic discrimination against runakuna and Afroecuadorians keep colonias segregated. Even the wealthiest runa from Otavalo will find middle and upper middle-class colonias unwelcoming. Discrimination against runakuna is

upfront and without reservation, despite their socioeconomic diversity; a tactic that teaches them they are not welcome as competitors for business or neighbors (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1998). The police use violence to maintain this racialized cartography of prejudice and exclusion. This structure of oppression also affects Afroecuadorians. However, there is not enough space to explore this dynamic. I only provide a brief overview of their experience as part of a racist context in Quito.

Towards a cartography of inequality in Quito

The efficient segregation in Quito is impressive given the limited geographical space available. Quito rests on a narrow, long north-south valley. In the last three decades the city has expanded north-south and east-west. The haciendas that once flanked central Quito have given way to new colonias. To the north new middle and upper middle-class colonias now hold sprawling shopping centers like Quicentro, supermarkets like Maxi or Super Maxi, luxurious apartment buildings, condominiums, private schools and private universities like FLACSO. But the significant geographical expansion has been on the far north and south valleys of unincorporated Quito. Many working class colonias on these poles have come to life (Gomez and Ricardo 2009). Exorbitant rent in metropolitan Quito, increasing crime, and housing saturation have pushed runakuna, poor mestizos, and Afroecuadorians to carve out a space for themselves on these two geographical poles (Riaño 2001).

Segregated cultural, economic, spaces can be seen as one travels along the entire north to south length of contemporary Quito. The most northern colonias like Comité del Pueblo exist beyond the periphery of metropolitan Quito, populated by Afroecuadorian communities from Esmeraldas and working class mestizos. It takes roughly seventy minutes

to get from Old Town Quito to Comité del Pueblo by trolley, plus two different bus lines. Metropolitan Quiteños avoid Comité because it is considered dangerous.

South of Comité, just outside metropolitan Quito, are mestizo working-class colonias that gradually give way to affluent ones like La Pradera and Rizabal. Opulence is visible like upscale hotels, exclusive office space, embassies, and imposing shopping centers. Here wealthy white Quiteños share space with foreign political workers, European and North American migrants, tourists, and wealthy university students from all over Ecuador and neighboring countries. Late model chauffeured European cars, expensive motorcycles are parked in scores of condominiums and upscale apartment buildings, mansions, upscale hotels like Hotel Quito, upscale hostels and B&B's, museums, state of the art movie theaters like Metro Ocho, and extensive upscale private office space (Del Castillo 2014).

This affluent part of metropolitan Quito is marked by a particular Latin American reality: electrified fences atop high walls, private police (often dark skin men) hole up outside buildings or in cars cruising round the clock, close circuit cameras. These men are equipped with shotguns, pepper spray, and batons, ready to defend tenants and patrons with their own life. It is one of the requirements of voluntarism that is required of private police in Latin America (Ungar 2007). It is only in this part of Quito that one witnesses such level of private security. In general, people who live in these colonias have a strong sense of security while outsiders have a clear understanding that they are being watched at all times.

The Mariscal Sucre—a well-known affluent tourist sector—divides wealthy Quito north from the colonias that make up metropolitan Quito. The center houses the oldest colonias in the city and it is here that we see the average Quiteño. The Mariscal Sucre houses scores of hostels, small hotels, bars, clubs, restaurants, internet cafes, gyms, and high-end

liquor stores which cater to white tourists passing through Quito. There are many shops offering "indigenous" wares, clothing, and adornments that are owned by Otavaleños. Runakuna in the Mariscal peddle their Chinese import merchandise on the streets. Affluent Quiteños, university students, and Andean foreigners are permanent residents in La Mariscal. Mestizos who live in the colonias surrounding the Mariscal are strictly middle-class who own beautiful houses.

The political structure of Quito is situated just south of the Mariscal Sucre. Three universities serve as geographical symbolic buffers between the affluent, white side of Quito from the south. The Universidad Central lies to the west, and the Universidad Católica del Ecuador and the Universidad Politécnica Salesiana lie to the east. The Universidad Central is the first geographical space where mestizos, whites, runakuna and Afroecuadorians of different socioeconomic backgrounds share space and sociocultural affinities shaped and influenced by university life, education, and urbanity. The other two universities are private and remain off-limits to the poor. However, an atmosphere of tolerance in the nearby public spaces and small colonias that surround them exists.

South of Parque El Ejido, which lies in between these universities, is the Quito that has existed for centuries. Most of the houses here are opulent adobe structures, rising three stories high, often with as many as ten rooms. Walking south through Alameda Park one passes imposing government buildings like the Palace of Justice and the National Assembly. From here one enters Old Town Quito, a place of architectural beauty, with contradictory themes of modernity and colonial design, in a matrix of great socioeconomic discrepancies kept hidden from tourists and outsiders. This imposing architecture is a message of subjective

mestizo power embodied in these government buildings, as part of Quito's renovation during the 1990's (Del Castillo 2014).

Old Town Quito is a conglomeration of neighborhoods that are home to working class mestizo Quiteños who rent a room, or part of a house that has been converted into small apartments (Jones 1996). Most landlords have moved away into gated communities on valleys outside Quito such as Valle de Los Chillos. The Mercado Central, just northeast of Carondelet Palace is the hub of everyday working class Quiteños who work there or have affordable lunches. Affluent Quiteños or tourists do not venture into this part of the city. Here poor mestizos and runakuna share everyday space and life. It is in this part of town that both groups transport and sell goods from the rest of the country.

Further south is Palacio Carondelet, the national palace that is surrounded by at least a dozen cathedrals that are tourist magnets. The plazas around Carondelet and the cathedrals are contested spaces for runakuna, poor mestizos, and the metropolitan police who strive to keep them out (Middleton 2003). This is the only space in Quito where white tourists, politicians, poor mestizos, and runakuna share space day and night, if not always copasetic. All political marches end up in front of Carondelet. Whether mashikuna who walk from Riobamba, or mestizo workers' unions based in Quito, or police officers on strike for better wages, their voices resonate throughout the walls Old Town Quito.

The plaza in front of Carondelet is a cultural zona franca where Ecuadorians feel their voices can be heard through loud speakers, bringing awareness of their plight to whomever that wants to listen. Incessant political activity, a cultural trait of Ecuadorian life, especially in Quito, mixes with the sounds of expensive cameras worked by tourists from around the world who excitedly catch glimpses of superficial Andean political life.

South of Carondelet is La Ronda, the last stronghold of tourist Old Town Quito, a well-known tourist point for rich locals and foreigners. La Ronda is a tiny but excellent example of Roland Robertson's the global in the local (29). Guarded strolls from Carondelet to La Ronda Thursdays through Saturdays are very popular for people who enjoy a blend of Andean culture mixed with USA and European influences. Street artists line the stroll route, sharing notorious Ecuadorian melancholic songs of lost love, eateries with Italian food, hamburgers, and Kentucky Fried Chicken. Small cafes offer lattes, cappuccinos, and Ecuadorian pastries. The stroll ends in La Ronda, an almost underground street packed with stores, more cafes, a Greek auditorium, and tiny bars resembling those found in any popular strip in the United States. La Ronda is packed on the weekends, especially during music concerts at the theater. During these times armed guards enforce the division between white-mestizo from runakuna Quito. It is here that the mestizo-white Quito south side ends.
La Ronda is the geographical/cultural barrier between white-mestizos and runakuna. As soon as one reaches the end of La Ronda, San Roque begins. The cultural and economic shift is sudden and jarring once one walks beyond the guarded barrier. La Ronda Street runs east-west, parallel to two main plazas in San Roque that separate it from the rest of Old Town Quito. Westbound La Ronda leads uphill onto these plazas. La Ronda is visible from the plazas but not vice versa. It is necessary to walk to the west end of La Ronda and up a paved hill to see the plazas. Private security guards stand at this end all night for the safety of tourists. Sam Roque lies beyond, perceived as a constant and eminent threat.

Once in the Plazas, San Roque opens up and the Quito socioeconomic disparity is exposed. Beautiful but neglected buildings line both sides of the plazas. These are eighteenth and nineteenth century houses, three stories high, with as many as a dozen rooms. The outer

walls are pocked marked with holes, where abode is exposed, sometimes with collapsed rooftops. These houses line block after city block that run from San Blas, at the north end of Old Town Quito, through Carondelet, La Ronda, and into San Roque. What sets them apart is the varying degree of renovation and care. While most of Old Town Quito was renovated through at the turn of the century, San Roque remained untouched (Middleton 2003).

The progressive dilapidation of buildings in San Roque goes hand in hand with the increasing presence of runakuna in houses, shops, plazas, and the streets. An increasing linguistic transition from Andean Spanish to Kichwa also occurs, accompanied with traditional runakuna clothing, particularly among women. San Roque becomes a runakuna city within Quito (Avila et al 2012). The Metropolitan police have very limited presence and authority here. Runakuna law rules here. Trials, punishments, mediations, and restitutions happen within the intimacy of the ayllu, with direction of the San Roque network taita council (Montero 2002).

No foreigners live here. Very few mestizos call San Roque home. San Roque is safe place for runakuna to express themselves. Raimy are celebrated here without risk of confrontation, ridicule, or police crackdown. On weekday afternoons it is common to see runakuna students trade their schools uniforms for their traditional clothing. Music in Kichwa blares from house windows, stores, and cars. Groups of elder mashikuna gather at the plazas. Their cultural diversity is evident in the intricate difference in the patterns and colors of their runakuna clothing.

Marital status among young women is evident in the colors and patterns as well. Taita meet at the plazas or in front of businesses. Their intricate hat designs indicate their rank. Thus this is the part of Quito unknown to the tourist, and rejected by mestizo Quiteños (Avila

et al 2012). Traveling books in English and Spanish recommend tourist to not go beyond La Ronda. Mestizo Quiteños see San Roque as the antithesis of their mestizaje, a place of contrast and contempt (Montero 2002).

Criminalization of the non-mestizo: a context for resistance in Quito

The influx of Afroecuadorians has triggered a negative and sometimes violent rejection by mestizo and white Quiteños who perceive them as threats to their safety and quality of life (De la Torre 2002). Afroecuadorian migrants from the Esmeralda province, Guayaquil, or from southern Colombia are unofficially forbidden from mestizo and white neighborhoods after sunset. San Blas, the northernmost point of Old Town Quito is a buffer zone between Old Town Quito and surrounding middle-class colonias.

San Blas a site for hands-on police brutality against young Afroecuadorian men. It is five minutes away from San Roque on the trolley or a twenty-five minute walk. Almost all the houses in San Blas are two hundred years old or older. Many mestizo Quiteños have lived here for generations or have rented for decades. Within the Old Town renovation fever that has taken over, a violent and racist sentiment against Afroecuadorians and runakuna has been reorganized and redefined.

This twenty first century racism in Old Town Quito is complex. It can be violent and extreme against young Afroecuadorians, or paternalistic and extremely subtle against runakuna, particularly women. The notion that Afroecuadorians are thieves, rapists, or murderers is pervasive among mestizos and whites, especially in Old Town Quito (De la Torre 2002). This powerful notion triggers fear that ignites rage. The perception of runakuna as docile, ignorant, and malleable individuals, good only for servitude, who pose no harm, but who nevertheless must live outside mestizo and white neighborhoods is still alive in

Quito. These perceptions are balance with Quito's tourist image of tolerance, diversity, and interculturality. Police brutality against young Afroecuadorians lies in contrast with the paternalistic approach towards runakuna which they enforce segregation. The metropolitan police and tourist security in Old Town Quito maintains centuries-old segregation.

Police brutality and night segregation

My second floor apartment in San Blas faced Gran Colombia Avenue, one of the three main roads that lead into Old Town Quito from the north. I had a clear view of the trolley, bus, and metro bus stops. My window was a perfect observation spot. I spent many afternoons sitting on a high stool, drinking coffee and studying Kichwa on flashcards, contemplating the continuous bustle at the stops. A tiny grassy knoll sits between Gran Colombia Avenue and the stops where people often sat and waited for their ride. Mestizo men often drink moonshine after work and pass out on the grassy knoll. Mestizo pickpockets pass by, patiently go through their pockets, take their shoes, their hats, their bags, and nonchalantly move on. Such is the reality of San Blas.

The advantageous location of my apartment also let me to witness police brutality. One night around 8p.m, I went to a small restaurant around the corner from my apartment. I did not hear any commotion outside so I freely open the door and stepped out. I was taken aback when I saw two police officers beating an Afroecuadorian teenager with long, thick wooden batons they call bondoles. The young man had been waiting for the bus with other people but the police singled him out. The other people moved away and pretended not to see. "Chucha. No te queremos ver aquí negro" echoed the officer's voice in the colonial, narrow street. "Shit, we not want to see you here nigger" the officer said.

They looked up and greeted me when they saw me. “We are just doing our job”, their body language said to me. I waved back and went my way. I walked away feeling horrible. I could not do anything to defend the young man. I asked for my dinner to take home so I could return to the corner. But the officers were already inside their truck and pulling away when I got there. The young man sat on the sidewalk crying, complaining to someone that the officers were evil and had beaten him for no reason. All I could do was to go inside my apartment and pretend I had not seen assault.

At the same stop, a week later, I saw three officers beat two Afroecuadorian men with such savagery that it made me cry. Their crime was to be at the bus at night. The officers made them lie on the ground and they beat them with bondoles. This happened around midnight. There were no visible witnesses. The commotion woke me up and I was astute enough to leave the lights off. I watched in horror from my window feeling helpless and somewhat like a silent accomplice. I was in no position to involve myself. To be on the wrong side of law enforcement in Latin America is precarious.

These police assaults reinforce segregation. In a fascinating and distressful way they kept mestizo San Blas segregated, myself included. The police who assumed I was a middle-class mestizo from San Blas treated me with respect and civility. Unlike the militarism of police in countries like Guatemala, Quito police never asked to identify myself. They were courteous and sometimes deferent to me. This was a fascinating experience that stood in jarring contrast to that of runakuna and Afroecuadorians in Old Town Quito. This personal frame of reference allowed me to see how police brutality affects identity as resistance. It was surprising for me to walk home at night wearing a suit and tie after meetings with Quito Rotarians. The metropolitan police would sometimes pull alongside and ask me if I needed

escorting home. I would politely decline and walk home feeling guilty and upset. Racism and segregation dictates police training and performance in Old Town Quito.

Runakuna are welcome in Old Town Quito and contiguous colonias as long as they behave with deference. The enforcement of their segregation is not done with overt hatred and violence as done against Afroecuadorians. To mestizos runakuna identity is defined by a mixture of traditional clothes with western attire, especially among women. For men, the "runa hat" is often taken as a symbol of runakuna identity. Mestizos demand that runakuna remain a docile individual, a poor immigrant without education that will work for a pittance. Simultaneously, their presence conjures a sense of embarrassment and rejection among mestizos. The beliefs that runakuna are culturally backward and an outsider remains in Quito. It is not uncommon to hear mestizos refer to mix breed dogs as "half runa and half something else", an expression that might be appalling to an outsider but commonplace in Quito.

Runakuna's presence in Old Town Quito and contiguous colonias plays a complex role in the mestizo imaginary. They embody the tourist industry imaginary of diversity, inclusion, and progress. During the day, some runakuna women work as maids, store attendants, or as hired help in the central market and stores. Others work as street vendors and are victims of police extortion. But their informal work is a necessary component of a tourist runa representation. Runakuna' presence is also a symbol of backwardness in the mestizo imaginary that must be kept at a distance. This complex ideology is lost to the outsider but real and commonplace to Quiteños.

Not all runakuna are street vendors or maids. Harassing them can be a dicey gamble for the metropolitan police. A mashi walking through Old Town Quito can in fact be a powerful political leader who can summon hundreds of mashikuna within minutes.

Therefore, they are not harassed during the day. But at sunset runakuna and Afroecuadorians must abscond. Ironically, runakuna are relatively safer in the Marical Sucre as long as they are not street vendors. Runakuna are served with the despicable disdain in small restaurants, cafes, and eateries in Old Town Quito.

Owners know for a fact they would go out of business without runakuna patronage but do not seem to care. I witnessed how rude servers can be towards mashikuna I met during meetings. The servers smiled at me but treated them curtly. Situations like these were opportunities for me to practice shuk shunku (one heart) to find the strength mashikunua rely on for sumak kawsay in such a hostile environment. Runakuna are regulated by an expectation of deference and resolution in these situations. This is the other Quito I experienced in the company of San Roque mashikuna.

This is significantly a different experience racial experience for me than the colorism and featurism I was born into and learned in Guatemala City. Ladinos, the Guatemalan equivalent of mestizos, create clearer points of difference and segregation in Guatemala. The ladino ruling class, bureaucrats, and upper middle-class are in general light skinned in comparison to the darker Mayan or Afroguatemalan (Hale 2004). This Guatemalan experience was my frame of reference for Quito mestizo prejudice. In general, western clothing use does not ensure a Guatemalan mestizo identity. In Quito a patron with a suit and tie is addressed as “mi senor” or ‘sir’. Myself as a patron in regular jeans a t-shirt resulted in attendants’ impatience and patronizing tones. A runa in Quito wearing a tie and a suit can be treated as a respectable mestizo. A more fluid racial categorization happens in Quito. But mashikuna refuse to give in to this assimilation for the hope of respect. The assertion of their clothes as identity is a form of resistance.

Venturing beyond San Roque to make a living

Although there is commerce within the San Roque network, runakuna have to venture into the rest of Quito to make a living. There are no shopping centers in San Roque, besides the San Roque Market. Runakuna who import goods from Otavalo and Guayaquil have to open stores in shopping centers owned and controlled by mestizos. Since there are no tourists in San Roque, runakuna who make sell sunglasses and other small goods must venture to the Mariscal Sucre tourist sector every day.

Every morning by eight o'clock Runa Wasi women walk their carts north beyond San Roque, beyond Old Town Quito to sell their merchandize. Other mashikuna attend their stores in shopping centers like El Tejar, just northwest of Carondelete. Those assigned to mingas in different parts of the city aboard trucks or vans and drive away for the day. Those who work in Otavalo leave at four in the morning.

A few families make the daily trip to the most northern and southern colonias of Quito. They have stores in mestizo or Afroecuadorian mercados. They cater to the poorest Quiteños on the periphery of the city. They are considered courageous and sometimes reckless because the police do not protect them and are apt to extreme prejudice and sometimes robbery. But the necessity to make a living in Quito encourages them (or coerces them) to go beyond the protection of the San Roque network. They must remain creative to survive. Elderly women and men stay behind, and take care of children too young for school or work. Childcare is a daily minga.

Resistance and self-assertion in everyday work

Runa Wasi mashikuna make a living in construction, housekeeping, micro loan agents, transportation, and as street vendors. I worked entire shifts for a few weeks with

gafeteros. They are street vendors who peddle cheap Chinese imitation glasses, baseball caps, and other trinkets in the Mariscal Sucre. Gafas is a colloquial term for sunglasses. Those who sell them are called gafeteros. Unlike other workers, the network does not protect gafeteros. To protect them against police abuse could cause political complications on the network.

Gafeteros risk everyday harassment and theft from the Metropolitan police and thieves. The police can confiscate their merchandize any time. When they lose their merchandize Runa Kawsay bank only forfeits interest on the loan principle. The loan is not forgiven. Should a gafetero not be able to repay a loan, the debt is transferred to the family and ayllu. When their merchandize is lost gafeteros are welcome to take out another micro loan, which is accrued to the outstanding principal. Some of them have taken out a third and final loan before venturing into a different venture. The precariousness of a gafetero's profession is compensated by their freedom from a boss and the potential to make as much as four times the amount of money paid in traditional menial jobs in Quito. These are the two main incentives for runakuna to give gafeteria as many tries.

Gafeteros who venture into the Marical Sucre transcend racial, cultural and geographical segregation, exposing themselves to discrimination, police corruption, and sometimes violence. Financial need is a strong incentive to work under these conditions. Many give the Mariscal Sucre a try but most cannot withstand the spiritual and physical strain for very long. Most gafeteros give up after the first confiscation of their merchandize. The morning gafetero shifts begin no later than eight thirty. Arrangements like childcare, cook meals for the day, or absence from assigned mingas must be made by seven o'clock that morning. Neither the trolley nor the bus let them travel with their merchandize.

Gafeteros use customized carts with welded racks and small metal wheels that they push along with ease wherever they go. These carts are approximately four feet tall and five feet across. They take too much space according to trolley and buses drivers. Gafeteros have no choice but to walk two and a half miles each way from San Roque to the Mariscal Sucre. There are potential buyers on their way to and from work but they are not worth the risk. The real buyers, able and willing to pay worthwhile prices for the sunglasses, hats, or watches are US or European tourists who hang out at the Mariscal day and night.

Gafeteros face harassment the moment they step out of San Roque. On their way to the Mariscal Sucre through Old Town Quito, they walk always on the lookout for the metropolitan police who can stop and accuse them of loitering or selling stolen merchandize. This is a common practice around the Carondelete Palace. Ambulant sales are prohibited in Old Town Quito since the tourist renovations began (Middleton 2003). Even when they are simply passing through Old Town on their way to Mariscal Sucre, gafeteros have no way of proving it, and face citations, or outright confiscation of their merchandize. Thieves sometimes approach them and shake them down for one or two dollars but the police can ruin a gafetero with confiscation.

Police harassment and confiscation happens in this route. But it is in the Mariscal Sucre where creativity, unity, and strength become essential for gafeteros to successfully make a living. Perseverance and a positive outlook become lifelines as Joshi Tene, one of my students explains.

> There is no time for anger mashi Cosme. We must focus. Anger gets in the way. If we lose merchandize today we ask for a new loan from Runa Kawsay bank tomorrow morning. All of us have lost merchandize to the police. All of us have been shaken down by hoodlums. But in the end we carry on. We do what we can. There are not many of us. There are many police but we have strategy. We have honesty. We win. (conversation notes August 15, 2009).

Gafeteros work in strategic teams to stay ahead of the police and protect themselves from thieves in Mariscal Sucre. Young men take the first lookout spots at the corners while women sell to early tourists who venture out of hostels and into their daily tourist activities. The women aptly offer sunglasses and hats to hung over tourists, who struggle against the strong Quito sun while nursing a hangover. These early bird customers are likely to buy them both for ten or twelve dollars. This amount is pocket change for them. For gafeteros this is twice a day's pay in a service job. The men who are lookouts during these early morning hours know the women have small children and need the money more.

The sales are hasty, and the women must remain on the move in case a patrol cruises by. The lookouts have very little time to warn them with their secret whistles. They cannot use cell phones because they cannot hide them from thieves and the police often confiscate them. The women walk along streets that host small breakfast joints where tourists gravitate before eleven in the morning. They target first and foremost breakfast spots with outside seating because technically they are not loitering when chatting with customers. Most establishment owners do not like gafeteros to come into their businesses. Once engaged, a potential customer is presented with the priciest choices. Their quick showing starts with twelve-dollar sunglasses in case the customer is too tired to haggle. If the initial offer fails, the showcase moves down to cheaper glasses, culminating with the sunglasses and "hat special" for nine dollars.

Joshi and his sister Manuela Tene work six days a week. She is a young mother of two. Her oldest child stays back in Runa Wasi. She often has to bring her baby along. Her baby, and all runakuna babies, is used to being carried on their mother's back from birth. They can contentedly spend long periods of time riding behind their mothers, looking out at

the world. This ancient form of carrying offspring before they can walk and keep up with adults suits gafeteras very well. With their babies safely secured runakuna women have their hands free to push their cart along and showcase their merchandize. They are also able to be quick on their feet in case they hear warning whistles from the lookout corners. Runakuna men do not carry babies in this form and are not as burdened as the mothers. However, solidarity is maintained and all opportunities for work are creatively formed as Manuela explains:

> Life is hard, mashi Cosme. We must use our head to make a living. We are not criminals. We work hard. To the police we are criminals. We are targets. To the criminals we are easy prey. We must stay together. Shuk shunku (one heart), mashi Cosme. My brother Joshi helps us a lot. He is single and young. He has a lot of time to work and save still. He is blessed. You see him free as a bird. Selling only expensive glasses. Three pair he sells and he is done for the day. But he stays all day and sells as much as possible. Never before ten in the morning. He is our lookout in the early morning. Shuk shunku mashi Cosme. My brother Hoshi is blessed. We make a good living because we have the early hours and he is our lookout. (Conversation notes. August 21 2009).

In general, small restaurant owners do not mind gafeteros or other street vendors making a quick round at the tables offering their goods to tourists. However, there are business owners, including Otavaleños, who do not care for gafeteros or other street vendors near their stores in the Mariscal Sucre. Their argument is that gafeteros and other street vendors are panhandlers who bring down their prestige. Some Otavaleños claim they diminish the self-respect of Ecuadorian ayllukuna network. Nothing can be further from the truth. On any given day, ten women and seven men from Runa Wasi work approximately eight hours a day in the Mariscal Sucre, to make an honest living. They earn beyond the national daily wage that keeps them free of hard labor and mistreatment by unscrupulous employers.

Creativity of Action: Making use of stereotypes

There is a general perception among tourists in the Marical Sucre that most runakuna are destitute people desperately eager for a handout. To buy glasses from gafeteros makes tourists feel good about themselves because they see the transaction as a charitable and benevolent act. In reality tourists buy gafas so they can put their expensive sunglasses away. It is wise of them in the Andes to opt for gafas because they are bound to lose them or have them stolen in the city. Tourists share this knowledge around at hostels, hotels, and bars in the Mariscal and Old Town Quito.

In general, tourists see themselves as contributing to the Ecuadorian economy. In fact, they contribute to an informal economy that employs marginalized groups. Tourists entertain the idea that their presence benefits everyone (Dachary et al. 2009). In fact their disposable income becomes a lifeline for runakuna who invest it in micro loans that is one of the fastest growing forms of global investment. In general, tourists understand runakuna are underdeveloped people willing to smile for a picture for free, rather than humans who use creativity and courage to survive. I shared this knowledge with Joshi, Marquito, and Pulga, three of the most successful Runa Wasi gafeteros. They were not bothered by it. They laughed at the tourists' perception of them.

> Mashi Cosme it helps us a lot for tourists to feel generous. They are generous. Look at my car! I have a car in Quito. Do you know other wambras (teenagers) to have a car like mine? I have my accounts at Runa Kawsay bank. I want a sawary raimy that will be remembered in the entire ayllu from Riobamba to Quito. We do not care that they think us beggars or desperate. We care to sell quality and that we make money. The mashi women who work with us are free of abuse. They spend all the time with their babies. Let them think what they want. We only have to worry about the police and the hoodlums. (conversation notes with Joshi. August 23).

The reality of aggression against gafeteros

Police confiscations do happen. They are hard to witness without being able to intervene. Owners of small restaurants, coffee shops, or delis have made gafetero sanctuaries

of their business in the Mariscal Sucre. They have made friendships of solidarity with gafeteros. These friendships are a form of resistance against police abuse. Some of these business owners know the gafeteros from friendships with Runa Wasi, commerce in the San Roque market, or services from the Inti Nan law firm, or have been befriended by gafeteros themselves. They are aware and understand the police/gafetero dynamic that happens in the Marical Sucre and unite in solidarity. Mr. Miguel Angel Santino, a Colombian store and restaurant owner is a mashi to gafeteros.

> Cosme, our country is upside down. The rich sell our country to the Yankee and Europeans. The rich treat the Indian brother and sister worse than the outsider. You know Cosme Quiteños are extremely prejudiced against outsiders. But they go out of their way for Yankees. And it is more than just business. It is in the mind of Quiteños. Treat Yankees as superiors, they are in the middle, and the Indian brother and sister at their feet. As a Colombian I am with the Indians. We will always be outsiders to Quito but at least I am Colombian. That is why they [gafeteros] can come into my store any time. They can come and hide here from that damn metropolitan police. I call my friend at city hall if they try to be uncivilized in my store. I will never understand how this police can rob young mothers in daylight. I tell you, Cosme. We are very confused in this country (August 2, 2009).

On a Saturday afternoon, I decided to tag along with gafeteros during the Fiestas de Quito. These fiestas are a month-long celebration in November commemorating the establishment of Quito five centuries ago. We worked in the Mariscal Sucre. We worked amid flowing multitudes that showed up to enjoy the preparations, parties, and street performances took place day and night. Gafeteros and all kinds of street vendors take advantage of these fiestas to make money to carry them through Inti Raimy and Christmas and New Year celebrations. There were so many people celebrating in the Mariscal Sucre and all over Quito and so many street vendors, it seemed unlikely the Metropolitan Police would harass anyone but belligerent drunks and thieves.

I had joined Manuela Tisalema, her sister Maria Josefina Tisalema, and Martina Tene, three seasoned gafeteras. Joshi and his girlfriend trailed happily behind us. He was only halfheartedly working that day, focused on his girlfriend and looking out for us. There were so many people, that the streets had been closed off to cars and gafeteros had difficulty walking in the crowd. We were about half a block from Mr. Miguel Angel Santino's restaurant. I assumed that was where we were going to stop for lunch. I walked chatting with Manuela not paying much attention to my surroundings. Suddenly I heard the faint sound of Joshi's lookout whistle. The warning had come too late. We turned to see the Metropolitan Police was on us.

A Metropolitan Police officer grabbed Manuela by the baby carrying sling with one hand and her cart with the other. He thought I was a buying customer because he told me to move on. Maria Josefina and Martina Tene ran to Mr. Santino's restaurant, adeptly pushing their carts in the crowded streets. Three Metropolitan police officers, two men and a woman, chased them with their batons drawn. Joshi, who was only carrying a backpack, came to my side and told me to not intervene. He told me to walk towards Mr. Miguel Angel Santino's restaurant and let him handle the situation with his sister. I walked away reluctantly.

There was a furious commotion outside the restaurant. Maria Josefina and Maria Tene were struggling with the police on the sidewalk by the restaurant front door. They almost made it inside but the two male police officers had grabbed Maria Tene just as she was going inside. The police did not care that she was carrying her baby on her back and that she had relinquished her gafetero cart. They wanted to arrest her because Maria Josefina was safe inside the restaurant. Maria Tene cried and pleaded for her baby but the officers would not let her go. They kept pulling her, trying to get her to let go of the doorframe. It was

disconcerting to see people walk by without as much as glancing and moving on. The officers yelled profanities at Maria Tene laced with racist banter.

Someone went to get Mr. Santino who came out and confronted the officers. He asked them to let Maria Tene go. He asked them to think of the baby she carried and to please respect his business with a familiar Colombian accent and tone of confidence that can be very persuasive. Joshi and his sister walked up to the restaurant. Manuela had been visibly crying. The police officer that had grabbed her walked up to the officers who held Maria Tene and whispered something to them. They let Maria Tene go and walked away nonchalantly. Joshi had to give them sixty dollars he had with him. The police had been looking for a quick buck. He thanked Mr. Santino and led us away into the crowd.

I wanted to talk to Mr. Santino but Joshi told me we had about ten minutes to make it out of the Mariscal Sucre before the police officers come back and try the whole scam again. I was so angry I wanted to cry. We walked away, heading south of the Mariscal Sucre. The Metropolitan Police had in fact robbed the gafeteros in broad daylight, in front of passersby and would do it all over again in ten minutes. I tried to make sense of our situation as we walked away fast, trying to disappear in the sea of festive Quiteños. We were not part of this great celebration. We were outsiders and had been reminded of it in the worst way possible.

Joshi walked with his sister, consoling her in Kichwa. Maria Tene and Martina walked in silence. I walked behind them in a daze, no longer interested in the celebrations around me. I kept going back to the men pulling on Maria Tene and their disregard for her child. I wondered what would have happened had Mr. Santino not come out and talked to the officers and Joshi not surrendered his money to them. I tried to remain within a circle of anger inside of me and not fall into despair. I thought despair would be an unproductive

reaction. I was focused on my ring of anger. I was startled and shocked by the sudden burst of laughter from Maria Tene and Martina.

Their laughter came deep within themselves and deafened all the sounds around me. We were walking along the Carolina Park by now, almost out of the Mariscal Sucre. They spoke fast in Kichwa and I could not follow. I heard my name and a burst of laughter. Suddenly Joshi and Manuela joined in the laughter. Joshi came towards me and put his arm around me

> Mashi Cosme, do not be angry. We are saying we wish we had a mirror for you to see yourself as Maria Tene danced with those policemen. She danced well, don't you think? Even with the wawa [baby] on her back. Mashi Cosme, do not be sad. We are okay. They only took money and gafas. Those things are just things. Now we have a story to tell for a while. Tomorrow we are back here again. I hope you come. We can see the anger in your face—that is why we laugh. We think it is not necessary, Mashi Cosme. Shuk shunku [one heart] remember. We are shuk shunku. You have to be happy like us. Do not let dishonest men make you dishonest. Any mashi will tell you that. Shuk shunku, mashi Cosme. We are well. (Field notes. Fiestas de Quito)

At first I was confused. Then realized I had a long way to be shuk shunku with mashikuna within sumak kawsay. Joshi, Manuela, Maria Tene, and Martina laughed hard as they made fun of each other and walked south towards San Roque. The police had just robbed us and they were making jokes about it. They had a story to tell for days in Runa Wasi. The fact that Joshi had just lost a week's worth of work did not seem to affect him. He played with the baby as he rode on his mother's back and made him laugh. Shuk shunku I repeated in my mind, over and over, looking for the strength and happiness they shared. I admitted to myself I was still in the periphery of the sumak kawsay world.

Creative Resistance: Socioeconomic Success Under Disguise of Poverty

In general, many people in Quito believe runakuna are destitute people without formal education, profession, or economic success. This is, in great part, a belief that fuels

their rejection from mestizo Quito society. A mestizo ideology of cultural superiority informs the mestizo everyday life in Quito vis-à-vis runakuna. This ideology influences segregation but also works to the benefit of runakuna. Mashikuna have not succeeded in structural shifts towards equality. Their success remains localized (Faust and Arbers 2012). Runa Wasi and the San Roque network must be creative to achieve economic independence and resist against prejudice and abuse whenever they venture beyond the protection of San Roque.

Creativity emerges and is necessary in mashikuna resistance the moment they step outside their safety zones. Many wear their traditional clothing while working as storeowners in shopping centers, as political leaders, nurses or lawyers in Quito. Other times they wear traditional clothes as a political statement of solidarity, pride, and identity. In Runa Wasi there is an understanding that to abandon traditional clothing is almost synonymous with rejecting mashi identity. However, it is often the women who embody identity and resistance through traditional clothing because it is not always optional as it is for men.

The everyday statement of identity through clothes rests heavily and unevenly on women. As expected, it is women who also shoulder the burden of prejudice and harassment because they are readily seen as runa (Kearney 1995). Another way runakuna are identified is their accented Spanish. It is a Spanish influenced by five hundred years of Kichwa context. Even in Quito, Kichwa is their primary language. Spanish remains a necessary language to deal with the world beyond the ayllu.

Regardless socioeconomic diversity, runakuna face similar prejudice and oppression in Quito. They are aware and opt to take advantage of this situation. When advantageous, they let mestizos live in their superiority complex and worldview. They go along with these stereotypes of destitution and being uneducated to avoid confrontation. The situation is more

complicated for professional mashikuna who strive to be recognized as equal citizens without having to sell out. For example, the Sula sisters who are lawyers take a stand against a centuries-old legal system rampant of racism and sexism.

They too learn to use negative stereotypes to their advantage in private practice and in the Quito state apparatus. They represent the interests of the San Roque network in a vast bureaucratic system set up against them. They must take a stand against sexist banter and outright racism in order to uphold the law in their benefit. They have to play a docile role to bureaucrats who are made to address their needs by law who nevertheless treat them with disrespect and contempt. But even in this sea of oppression they find allies who help them out and ally themselves to the Quito mashi resistance. Of course this extra work takes its toll spiritually and physically, especially for beginners.

For example, mashi lawyer Marta Sula remembers her experience when she first began to work as a lawyer and build her law firm in Quito

> I would cry myself to sleep out of anger and the loneliness I felt when I came to study law in Quito. It was worse when I began to work as a lawyer. I could not believe people would ignore me to my face. They would laugh to my face because they did not believe I was a competent lawyer. It was until I worked with Runa Wasi that I met mashikuna and their mestizo allies and they helped us. Later they introduced us to allies with whom to work in city hall and not waste time with other people. It was then I could focus more in my profession and learn to deal with the Quito mestizo world. (Conversation notes, July 5, 2009)

Mashi lawyer Marta Sula legally represents Runa Wasi in businesses outside the San Roque and Riobamba ayllu networks. She is the only female Runa Kawsay bank committee member. She also oversees the education of taita leadership in micro loan bank laws and rights, and workshops dealing with political and economic awareness and rights. Her story of struggle and resistance against prejudice of mestizos is both instructive and inspirational. Her creative and empowering resistance is very effective and in tune with sumak kawsay.

Mashi Marta Sula invests in top of the line Otavaleño and Riobambeño runa clothes, and imported shoes from Colombia and Chile. I was impressed when I understood her investment in clothes and shoes was a maneuver to display wealth among men, mestizo and runa. This attention to attire is pervasive in Quito. At the same time, she always dressed humbly in San Roque and during convivencias in Riobamba. No amount of money will buy her equality and respect in Quito mestizo professional circles. She has learned to live with that reality but is not deterred from finding ways to make the same system to work to mashikuna's advantage. For now her services to Runa Wasi and the San Roque network has paid her well. To make money professionally and contribute to the resistance are the two main reasons she became a lawyer in Quito.

Mashi Sula's reality is common among runa professionals in Quito. When mashi men speak and their accents define them as runa, they face prejudice. They learn to work with pride and confidence under these circumstances without disclosing their economic success or political influence (De la Torre 1999). The more successful mashikuna are, the more learn to hide it, particularly when doing business or competing with mestizos who can feel threatened or invaded upon. Some mashikuna like Manuelcha Pilamunga or Marta Sula complain about this need to appear humble but they too use it to their advantage.

In the remainder of this chapter I discuss a few innovative paths some mashikuna have taken to achieve economic independence and political influence in the network. These new adventurous paths have stemmed from the increasing necessity to diversify ways to make a living. These paths are influenced by urban and upcoming Quito mashi generations. The relative new ability to attend university or trade school have inspired mashi parents to inspire their children to pursuit professional work. They teach their children the possibility to

remain within the ayllu, practice sumak kawsay, and lead a prosperous urban life.

Life in Quito influences economic success and loyalty to sumak kawsay

RunaWasi taita leadership as and most parents understand the necessity for their children to learn to remain economically independent and politically united in the ayllu network. While levels of educational attainment and political involvement vary in Runa Wasi, a continuing communal sumak kawsay effort is clear. Mashikuna strive to succeed in their own professional, personal, and family path in the context of their ayllu. Depending on how long they have lived in Quito, their network interconnections and influence, educational level, and profession, Runa Wasi mashikuna strive to make sure the Quito generations succeed. There are various venues for economic success that afford them dignity, status, and stability. They work hard for their children to attain them. I conclude this chapter by presenting a few of these venues made available during and after national political mobilization of the 1990's.

Carlos Cholan, a father of two teenagers, decided to focus on their academic success before accepting a seat in the Runa Wasi taitakuna leadership. He shared with me his plans for his children's education that he hoped could be a guide for other Runa Wasi teens born in Quito. He believed his children and other youth who gravitated towards education and technology could become future leaders in the Quito ayllu networks. Carlos Cholan and other parents who understand better the urban political culture, in which they live, allow their children to explore the different realities of Quito, striking friendships across race and ethnicity, and alternative ways of life. His businesses in Quito and Otavalo keep him busy and allow him to share with his children a greater sense of Ecuador and runakuna identity as ever expanding businesses and ayllu political solidarity.

> I work hard, mashi, so that my wambras make their mark and continue our runa world in Quito. They see that I work in San Roque and in Otavalo and that our people is in San Roque and that I work hard to be respected. Not only me, not only them, but everyone here in Runa Wasi, and the mashikuna in San Roque, in Riobamba, in Quito, in Ecuador. My wambras know about computers and the internet, mashi Cosme. They have to know for us their parents because we do not know. They have to learn to do these things in the city that we do not know but they have to share with us. That is why we are attentive about what they learn and what they should not learn. That is why they study more than me. Read more than me. See more than me. And I let them because they have to fly. Like the rest in Runa Wasi. But now we fly in the city. And they live in the city. We take care of them with our beliefs, our ayllu because we are ayllu, with sumak kawsay because we runa have to unite and that is the part of education that it is never taught in school. You learn it at home. (Conversation notes. October 23. Night).

The options of first generation Runa Wasi mashikuna in Quito are more limited than the Quito generation. Having lived in Gulalag, Riobamba until their early teen years, their educational options reached their potential in the sixth grade. The best options after that were to work in the fields, get married and migrate to Quito, or start a small vegetable and fruit stand in the Riobamba mercados. Almost all Gulalag teenagers chose to marry and migrate to Quito. With pressing necessity to quickly acculturate themselves to the economic urban realities in Quito there is no real possibility of continuing education. Most invest in small credit loans to start a modest business.

The experiences of extreme poverty in Gulalag often led to indentured service in Riobamba and have become part of Runa Wasi oral history that emphasizes the importance of economic independence in Quito. The stories of virtual imprisonment and dependence on mestizos told by elders have become an impetus among urban generations to seek relative economic stability and political solidarity with Runa Wasi, the San Roque ayllukuna network, and beyond. Education has become a tool for this stability and independence in the twenty-first century.

Education as sumak kawsay among the Quito mashi generation

There is a wave of Quito born Runa Wasi wambrakuna (mashikuna teenagers) generation who opt for university education as an investment. They have been exposed to many alternatives of professional work. Despite continuing prejudice and discrimination, Quito has been influenced by mashikuna political action, and offers job opportunities for them in law, teaching, civil engineering, technology development in rural areas, micro loan banking systems, nursing, electric systems maintenance, and network system management.

These are some options for wambrakuna like Carlos Cholan's children. They have been taught business ownership, knowledge outside Ran Roque, and the space to compromise ayllu responsibilities and obligations with innovated professional life. In the 21st century, young urban mashikuna are challenged by the ability to balance a western higher education and the continuing practice of sumak kawsay. This balance includes a continuing rural/urban interconnection through the ayllu networks.

For example, wambrakuna who opt for university education as a communal investment must compromise the timing of the sawary raimy and relatively early parenthood to be able to and immerse themselves in mestizo society and worldview. Mastering university level Spanish takes years as it does to graduate. Professional network building also takes time. It takes longer for professional mashikuna to achieve these goals given the prejudice and exclusion (De la Torre 1999). A long history of corruption and nepotism greatly minimize mashikuna's chances for scholarships. Their education is a family and ayllu investment. Working while in school is a reality mashikuna learn from young age.

Higher education and necessary cultural compromises is not novel for Ecuadorian runakuna. But it is a new experience in Runa Wasi and requires ongoing discussion, understanding, and compromise among the leadership. Gender inequality must be overcome

as well because Runa Wasi women do not hold an equal political voice in the network. Higher education can sometimes be held in suspicion among the taita leadership who feel their influence might be jeopardized by young women desire for university training. Quito born female wambra have question gender roles and expectations they sometimes consider unfair. This is a gender dynamic I discuss in chapter 6.

Professional mashi women like the Sula sisters inspire Runa Wasi youth to pursue a university education. Their success, contribution to Runa Kawsay bank, and the network are examples for parents and taitakuka of the possibilities for their children born in Quito and for future generations. Carlos Cholan shares his understanding of university education as an investment:

> The idea of university makes sense. It is just such a foreign idea to many mashikuna in Runa Wasi and in San Roque. Not a new idea. A foreign idea. But we understand the concept. Now we have to wait for our wambrakuna to prove themselves worthy of such investment. The hard part is to convince taita in Runa Kawsay bank of the slow returns of the loan. Other loans are paid quickly because they are about working right away. University takes time. That is why my wife and I save a lot. Look at my old clothes, mashi Cosme. I have to save. If Runa Kawsay does not help us we have to do it ourselves with our families. Maybe you open a scholarship, mashi. (Conversation notes. October 23. Night).

Seven of my students seriously consider university education as goal after high school. Four of them are young women who work with their parents whenever they can and have savings accounts destined for university costs. Maria Luz Cholan (Carlos's daughter) is seriously invested in her studies and her goal is to get scholarships. Two of these young women are her first cousins whose parents share the same idea of investing in education as Carlos Cholan and his wife. The fourth student is their best friend. The three young men also work with their parents and are saving for university costs. It made me happy whenever they asked me about my own education experience in the United States and how much they looked up to me

for inspiration. Leadership allows a dialogue space about such an unusual investment, despite the cultural compromises required, especially for women. Not every all adults agree and my students have had to create this space with the support of their parents. As Maria Luz Cholan explained to me the issue of compromise and identity

> The old people do not always understand life in Quito. They work and work hard. That is good. But like you say, one must also work smart. I know that from my parents and their siblings. I prefer to listen to them and not the other people who just say I must marry and have children to be runa. I want to be runa my way. Not selfish but how my mother and my aunts say I should be. Like mashi Marta. A professional. But not a lawyer. I want to be a nurse. I want to help people with their diet, their health. I work hard to save. I am lucky. My family helps me and my cousins. We are all going to university. You have to come to my graduation. (Conversation notes. October 23. Night).

Juan Jose Cholan, Carlos's youngest brother and Maria Luz's uncle also has plans to go to university and become a civil engineer. He considers himself one of my students even though he has no time to come to class. He has his own business in Otavalo, helps in his brother's businesses in Quito and goes to school full time. It is inspiring to hear Juan Jose talk about the necessity for both men and women in Runa Wasi to become university trained professionals. He respects the different ways his mashikuna make a living but he also believes there is room to venture into professions as a way to continue sumak kawsay in Quito. His other brother Jose Manuel Cholan who lives in New Jersey helps him with his savings and shares with him what he learns in community college in New Jersey.

> My brother told me only to go to school. He sends me money to save. But I have to work. I love to work. I like my humble store in Otavalo. I like to travel between here [Quito] and Otavalo. I think of myself as a businessman even though I am a wambra. Many elders do not understand. I do not like the religious meetings. You get very little from that. Women on one side, men on the other. That is not what should be. University life I see it is all together. Men and women. We should be like that. I like mathematics. I pay a private teacher. He says I am almost ready for university mathematics. I will build roads in Gulalag, in Guamote. In all of Ecuador. Then find a wife who loves math like me (laughs). (Conversation notes. October 23. Night).

Besides university education as economic independence and political solidarity, there are other venues of success explored, which give quicker returns. They are pursued by Quito born and young migrant mashikuna. Their goal is a combination of solidarity, economic success, and political influence within the San Roque network. The complexity of the goal is a novelty among older Runa Kuna generations.

Banking to the network top

Young mashikuna can hustle with fervor to remain independent and dignified. After a couple of years successfully running their business they pay back their credit loans, save for new ones, or prepare for their sawary raimy. They seek new ventures to produce larger income and a job they enjoy. Young men, who are diligent and punctual on their monthly payments, remain solvent, and show desire to increase their income are approached by Runa Kawsay with offers to be a prestamista or loan officer. They are trained to maximize the complex interconnections of the network, using Runa Kawsay backing. They learn to seek out potential mashi borrowers beyond San Roque, Chimborazo and Riobamba.

Opportunities to find new borrowers are vast within the runa networks. Economic independence as part of sumak kawsay is a powerful incentive among to ensure a startup micro loan. Continuing projects in the networks like sawary raimy also require bigger loans taken out by an entire ayllu, paid in a relative short period of time. Other mashikuna take out micro loans to expand their businesses, or open new ones for their children or relatives. The market is open to tap into a network of at least 5,000 potential customers in San Roque alone.

The loan officer job requires ayllukuna economic solidarity to insure repayment and make a potential loan a reality. The borrower must have family and ayllu support to decrease likelihood of defaulting. The officer assesses the potential principal and interest based on

family and ayllu history with Runa Kawsay and solvency. Family or ayllu collateral is not as important as their ability to help the borrower repay. Ayllu reputation is important and it affects all members. Ability to repay a loan is an important part of this reputation in San Roque. Financial fallouts affect political dynamics. Liquidation of assets like appliances, cars, or property is not in tune with sumak kawsay. To dispossess mashikuna to repay a loan is unheard of in San Roque. The ability to ensure a communal guarantee on a loan is therefore extremely important part of loan officers training.

On average, seasoned loan officers make one hundred dollars a week. This income is generated through commissions accrued in interest percentage points of their existing loans, finder's fees, and opening new accounts. Loan officers seldom spend time in Quito during regional celebrations in Cotopaxi and Chimborazo. They comb entire ayllu networks advertising Runa Kawsay services, using their reputation as San Roque influential leaders.

Communication with cell phones connects the most remote ayllukuna. Electronic deposits are available in most Ecuadorian towns. These two technological advances extend the opportunities for lending. Loan officers working in the Riobamba or Cotopaxi rural areas can have long distance conferences to get loans approved from Quito. The physical presence of Runa Kawsay taita is not necessary many times. Loan officers spend considerable time in San Roque sawary raimy utilizing their extensive ayllu network connections to sign up loans. Depending on their social status or reputation, they sweep businesses away from other runa communal banks. This practice is always encouraged almost without reserve. Other times, their own reputation precedes them and potential clients seek them out to inquire about business. Attendance at many sawary raimy also allows them to make considerable network interconnections that extend to the southern

colonias, to where many runakuna are migrating, extending to Riobamba and Cotopaxi, and Latacunga. The network loan officers can amass plus their own reputation can give some of them high status and respect which gives their voice influence in Runa Wasi decision making. They also exposed themselves to the extensive cultural diversity that exists in regional ayllu networks united through Kichwa and sumak kawsay. This knowledge is important for Runa Wasi and the San Roque network leadership in understanding the strength of the mashikuna network and alliance in Ecuador. At any one time there are roughly ten loan officers in the Runa Kawsay bank. There might be more but due to the fact that Runa Kawsay is a run in secrecy and behind closed doors, some mashikuna were never upfront about their function in the bank. When I approached mashi lawyer Marta Sula to point me in their direction to investigate the loan officer profession she told me she could not break her clients' confidentiality agreements. This secrecy lies in part in the fact that more than half of the loan officers are descendants of the original bank founders. In reality, they are the only ones who know the true worth of Runa Kawsay and its extensive clientele. In any case, their success is readily visible in the zest with which they speak about their job as Joshi's brother Santiago explained

> There are two things I enjoy about the job. I make good money and I get to meet so many people. I love to meet people. I get to see what they are up to in their ayllu. I see them improving their life. I help them. I make money from that but we are a mashi bank. We help each other. I like to get out of Quito and see mashikuna in Cotopaxi, Chimborazo. I see my family in Gulalag often because I go way up there to look for clients. Some make fun of me. Call me greedy. But they do not know my heart. I drive way up there in my truck and I think of the day my taita walked down in their burro on their way to Quito. I make them proud. I make Runa Wasi proud. (Conversation notes. Riobamba. August 29, 2013).

After I learned who were some of the loan officers in Rusa Wasi I realized why at some sawary raimy and other celebrations, older men, sometimes taitakuna, these young men with

reverence and overt displays of friendliness. These young men sat far off in a corner, away from celebrations and crowds. Older mashi with their families came by and conversed privately. These young loan officers were hard at work, practicing sumak kawsay, extending the influence of Runa Wasi.

Family owned business in the age of information

Some Runa Wasi youth do not care for university education. Their goal is to own their own but technology and information hardware stores and Internet cafes. They have worked from a very young age, are used to making their own money, on their own terms. Their parents instilled in them the importance of business ownership but not of higher education. Many took out their first loan by the time they were twelve or thirteen years old and have extensive experience in running a business.

Raised in Quito, most have at least a tenth-grade education, are savvy with computers, mobile phones, and the cyber world. Some of them started out as gafeteros, have helped out in their families stores. They have decided technology and information is the right business venture for them. Internet cafes have opened all over Quito, virtually in every colonia. The need to keep in touch mobile phones, chat rooms, and interface programs like Skype and Facebook has created a great demand for them. Mestizos are not willing to open Internet cafes in San Roque or colonias like El Comité del Pueblo. This has left open an untapped customer base of tens of thousands of potential users who can afford one dollar an hour on the daily basis. Students use Internet cafes to do homework that requires Internet research, color printing, or to cyber socialize.

Runa Wasi youth teach other computer skills beyond basic school training. They have access to Runa Kawsay micro loans. They have a great opportunity to provide computer and

Internet services to many runakuna in San Roque. Joshi, Carlos Cholan, Marta Sula and I came up with the idea to advertise Runa Kawsay throughout Ecuador using Facebook and Myspace. This innovative idea made an impression on Runa Wasi taita who encouraged them to promote investments into this promising, nontraditional business.

Beyond the San Roque network: perils of independence from the ayllu

There is a sizable black market in the Colombian-Ecuadorian-Peruvian regional economies. It is common knowledge among traders, retailers, and customers that this black market provides access to goods unaffordable in the legal economy. There is weekly sensational news of police busts in different shopping centers in Quito where black market operators are busted. This is strictly a publicity stunt because many stores that trade black market products housed in affluent centers like Quitocentro are never busted.

For example, Ipiales shopping center is three blocks east of Centro Comercial El Tejar in northern Old Town Quito. Ipiales is a conglomeration of contiguous colonial houses turned into an informal shopping center. El Tejar is a prime example of a shopping center built to attract tourists and wealthy locals. Property owners have turned adjacent houses into locals for rent. Many Ipiales merchants cannot afford the costs of a local in El Tejar, or the rests on adjacent locals. When street vendors were removed from Old Town, El Tejar and later Ipiales became the only options for these merchants to continue make a living, often with black market products.

But the municipal police periodically carry out raids only in Ipiales, confiscating black market clothing smuggled from Colombia or Peru. The police also raid video stores stocked with pirated movies, video games, and computer software. These raids are always televised in local Quito news and in the rest of the country. The busts have become a

successful public image booster for the municipal police that they have become routine.

The raids cost merchants thousands of dollars because most often they do not recoup their merchandize. They lose their investment capital. The police confiscate pirated videos, games and software, state of the art hardware that are not returned to the owners. Since 2010, Ipiales vendors have united against the raids, clashing with Quito's riot police. The vendors have voiced their frustration with what they consider unjust and unequal focus on their establishments. A large number of vendors in Ecuador, even in prestigious shopping centers, do business in the black market due to excessive import costs that yield low profits.

The rule in Runa Wasi is that no mashi will venture into the Quito black market or anywhere in Ecuador. They are forbidden from buying black market merchandise, regardless of tempting offers, even those made by runakuna they know and trust. Runa Wasi cannot regulate mashikuna from the rest of the network but this rule is not negotiable for them.

> Imagine, mashi Cosme, the embarrassment I would endure if one Runa Wasi mashi goes to jail for trafficking. Runa Wasi would be considered a black market ayllu. We would lose important friendships. We cannot have that. A few more dollars are not worth problems with the police. What would be worse would be having a bad reputation. If any mashi gets caught dealing in black market they would have to go. They would not be welcome. (Manuelcha Pilamunga. June night notes)

There are, however, Runa Wasi mashikuna who have opted to leave the ayllu in search of greater financial yield for their investments and work. These young, adventurous young men expose their warmi to the potential benefits of pursuing alternative paths to economic independence and a chance to explore Ecuador. Mashikuna who decide to deal in the black market must leave Pichincha altogether because the Runa Wasi council make sure no one makes deals with them in the entire provincial ayllu network.

> Runa Wasi taitakuna never told me to leave. They explained to me that there was not much gain in the black market compared to possibilities in Runa Wasi. But I also

> want to travel and live in Guayaquil. I have panas [friends] there and my wife is also excited to go. I will miss everyone here but I have faith my little brother and his wife will come next year too. My parents are sad but they understand how it feels to be curious about a new place. We all came from Gulalag. I am a pioneer into the coastal region. (Jose Manuel Caiza. November 22. Night notes).

It is inevitable that some mashikuna decide to venture on their own, beyond the ayllu. The lure of material wealth is almost irresistible for young men and their wives. However, the perils of migration and instability are a reality never very far from their life. They are driven by a desire to escape poverty but also because they want opt out of the ayllu influence and their council rules. The decision to migrate outside the ayllu is a desire of independence much more than by economic necessity.

Conclusion

The local context of discrimination and resistance in mashikuna life is important to understand in the urban context of Quito in the 21st century. The political mobilization of the 1990's have provided social spaces whereby they strive to remain independent of mestizo economic and political control. This independence is necessary for mashikuna to explore and carry out their own socioeconomic and spiritual development in the twenty-first urban Quito context. Their everyday resistance against prejudice is a reality they balance with their continuing practice of sumak kawsay.

Their everyday life is a localized contemporary continuation of the 1990 uprising that is progressively forgotten in the Ecuadorian imaginary. Despite the common believe perpetuated in the media and public space that the runa movement is dead, I have tried to present here the contrary. The interconnected relationships they live under which cuts across geographical distances are their local networks of unity and alliance that have been called

upon for national mobilization. Runa Wasi and the San Roque network links in a greater, intricate national network.

Mashikuna have taken advantage of the political and social spaces created by their mobilization. They resist inequality on their own as ayllu networks. Although the political structure they created together at the national level has suffered instability, positive developments at the local level are real. It is important to explore this reality in the urban and global context as they strive to succeed with what is available to them as in the case of Chinese imports and micro banking. Their creativity for resistance and action with the tools available to them are important aspects of their identity in the 21st century.

The same type of explanation can be used in other Latin American indigenous communities and societies in order to grasp an informed understanding of 21st century indigenous identity. In the 21st century the combination of the rural-urban migration, political mobilization, legislative and cultural shifts have provided localized spaces for action. In this case mashikuna have taken advantage of the opportunity to find a place in their society within economic independence from the state and dependency from unequal relations with mestizo societies, through their practice of their corporate political and economic communal systems like the ayllukuna network and sumak kawsay solidarity.

Chapter 6: Resistance against Gender Inequality in the Runa Wasi Ayllu in the Urban Quito Context

Introduction

Up to this point in my dissertation I have used an inside (mashikuna resistance)—outside (structural inequality) framework to explore and analyze mashikuna identity in the political, economic, and spiritual realities of Quito in the 21st century. Mashikuna are politically conscious and active runakuna in Ecuador. Although in general, most runakuna have some political consciousness, mashikuna's identity is significantly influenced by political action and solidarity in their everyday resistance against inequality. This framework has helped us understand how their identity is intimately tied to their political action, economic solidarity, and spiritual well-being in the ayllu, and resistance against racism and inequality in the urban context of Quito.

This chapter explores and analyzes women's resistance against gender inequality within the ayllu. Gender inequality within Ecuadorian mashikuna society exists and cannot be ignored if we are to better understand mashi identity in the context of political

mobilization and resistance in the 21st century urban context. In fact, it is fruitful to detail important economic and political points of inequality within the ayllu, and the creative ways that mashi women resist while simultaneously remaining in solidarity with sumak kawsay and the ayllu network.

There are spaces for women to express their discontent and resist gender inequality in the political, economic, and spiritual realms within the Runa Wasi ayllu and the San Roque network. They can take different trajectories for change. These spaces are the result of rural-urban migration, mashikuna's national political mobilization in the last three decades, and the experiences of living in Quito. Practiced interculturality that continues to gain momentum in post neoliberal Quito has also contributed to these spaces (Becker 2011; Gudynas 2011; Lind 2012).

The concepts warmi and warmikuna are used to refer to female mashi who participate in this resistance. Warmikuna have contributed as much as their male counterparts to the development projects in Ecuador. In Quito they contribute incessantly to the betterment of the San Roque network. I propose that resisting gender inequality is itself a crucial contribution by warmikuna for political, economic, and spiritual development for the mashikuna as a whole.

It is also imperative to understand (as we explore in this chapter) that warmikuna resistance against gender inequality in the ayllu is an essential component of a dynamic mashikuna identity as it is lived and asserted in the urban space (Lind 2005; Hamilton 2000). The advancements of their own rights, those of Ecuadorian mashikuna as a whole, and outside influences contribute to their identity. As the ayllu is able to achieve gender equality

mashi identity continues to evolve. Hence mashi identity is shaped by warmi action as much as men. As lived in sumak kawsay mashi men identities exists vis-à-vis warmi.

Important historical shifts have given western gender inequality hegemony under which mashikuna live. This has significantly defined gender inequality in the ayllu and must also be covered in our analysis. Like all structural inequalities, mashikuna gender disparities have a history and are impediments to their political and economic development (O'Connor 2007; Radcliffe and Pequeño 2010). It is necessary to include the larger mestizo Quito context to better appreciate the struggles of Ecuadorian women for equality that parallel warmikuna resistance. To offer this context I share conversations and discussions during social events of mestizo friends and colleagues in Quito. These professionals and government workers whom are separated geographically and socially from the San Roque network, but I argue that their discussions, life experiences, and struggles against inequality and Christian spiritual domination are part of a greater shift in Ecuadorian society towards gender equality. I show that there is solidarity between Ecuadorian mestizo women and warmikuna in their resistance against male domination and gender inequality even when they are geographically and socially disconnected.

Progressive Mestizo Quito context

Access to upper middle-class intelligentsia circles in Quito through university networks was a successful tactic. There are private universities in Quito with curricula structured along the lines of systems like the University of California. This structure makes private universities attractive to wealthy Ecuadorians and to foreigners from the Andes, Europe and the United States. Exorbitant fees attract foreign intellectuals for competitive pay but keep average Quiteño students away. Working-class runa and mestizo Quiteños attend

the public Central University. This public University is off limits to most foreigners who must attend expensive, private institutions. Hence public central universities in Ecuador better reflect the population in racial terms.

I attended FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales) in Quito for two quarters. It was a great opportunity to explore a part of Quiteño society that was both fascinating and instructive in my research of mestizo reality vis-à-vis the mashi world. In general, undergraduate and graduate students are upper middle-class. Their families tend to own businesses, land, have a long tradition of state employment, or are intellectuals and professors. Many of these students attend FLACSO while working in different government ministries, do fieldwork in runakuna and Afroecuadorian communities, or are on their way to graduate programs abroad.

FLACSO faculty is made up of Western Europe or USA trained Ecuadorians trained, or are visiting scholars from these places. There are three quarters per year with an additional optional summer section. Graduate and undergraduate courses are offered in English or Spanish. Visiting scholars, high-ranking officials from the Ecuadorian government, and sometimes judges offer workshops or regular courses throughout the year. FLACSO is located north of the Mariscal Sucre, hence; armed security guards guard it at all times.

It is in this geographical and intellectual environment where I met most of the mestizos I befriended while in Quito. With introductions by classmates and faculty, I frequented circles of friends and comrades whose focus of conversation and exploration was contemporary political and cultural transitions in Ecuador and the Andes. Progressive research projects some graduate students carried out are impressive. But I was more drawn to the circles of professors, technocrats and their colleagues who often met on campus and

gravitated towards the Mariscal Sucre or someone's house or apartment for drinks and dialogue. At these hang outs we carried continuous intimate and passionate discussions of contemporary cultural and political shifts in Ecuador. Their extensive experience as professionals, and their candidness in the consumption of alcohol and food, and their taste for dancing made my participation crucial and more fruitful than hanging out with students.

Mestiza/o intellectual networks in Quito

Struggle with theory and praxis are a continuing reality among scholars, technocrats, and professionals in Quito. This is more evident for people from this privileged stratus who continue their intellectual explorations of equality, which leads to the history of mashikuna struggles, and their contemporary political resistance. In Ecuador, as in Guatemala or any Latin American country with a significant indigenous population, the influence of mashi worldview on mestizo worldview is inescapable (Postero et al 2004; Bebbington 1993; Korovkin 2001). The structure of the ayllu, the differences between communal mashi reality and mestizo western individuality are known among these Quiteño circles, and it is within this context that many discussions take place.

For example, concepts and practices of gender equality were discussed within a framework of mashi culture and ancestry. "Almost all of us are runa one or two generations back" assured me Gilda Guaman, an influential Quito lawyer. She works closely with Quito's Universidad Católica and consults for the Department of Economic Development in the last ten years (August 15, 2009, Conversation notes). "Sometimes the more runa someone is the harder they are with them" she enlightened me (August 15, 2009, Conversation notes).

According to Guaman, some middle class mestizos' grandparents or great-grandparents still live within the ayllu. The closer some of these mestizos feel to the

runakuna experience the more they tend to reject it. This rejection fuels anti runa sentiment (Huarcaya 2010; Valdivia 2009). I took her observation as a lens with which to participate in later discussions. The following excerpts from my field notes exemplify these discussions.

> We drank all night. We started in the Mariscal Sucre and moved to Gilda's condominium to save money and avoid being robbed. Good idea. I am fascinated by how much Mr. Cleber and Mr. Marin open up about their runakuna background. I had no idea. They do not look it. What does a runa look like anyway? They do not think I pass. Mr. Cleber understands sumak kawsay the way I understand it. I understand his tears later on as we shared a cigarette on the balcony. "No mas runa compa Cosme. No mas runa" he kept saying. I feel bad for him. At work he seems so comfortable with himself. This hang over is killing me. Mr. Pilamunga would not approve. Is it to be mestizo to drink so much in the Andes? (August 28, 2009. Morning notes.)

Being introduced as the mashi from the USA eventually became official for me in Quito. It worked as a tool to impress friends and colleagues and an icebreaker that always prompted discussions of identity and geography. This introduction left the impression on friends and acquaintances that we could discuss issues of identity and nationality during intimate hangouts. We see above that Mr. Cleber is very open about his sense of runa identity. In a society where superficiality sometimes denotes identity, Mr. Cleber is treated a mestizo when in his heart and mind he carries a history, an identity, a worldview he no longer practices.

In the reality of the incomplete individual or the absence of an ayllu live I can sympathize with Mr. Cleber. Divorced and estranged from his ex-wife and two grown daughters, he works at a Quito law firm that specializes in national commerce contracts and regulations. He travels frequently between Quito, Cuenca and Guayaquil, spending most of his life on the road, on his own. I have explored the United States and the Andes and continue to be a deliberate incomplete individual.

Neither one of us formed part of or practiced shuk shunkulla (one heart), shuk maquilla (one hand) or shuk yuyailla (one thought), principles that define mashi lifetime

unity. We were two relatively successful (indigenous) men well versed in the mestizo world, drinking and sharing our laments of a world we knew well but had not practiced or had not been part of for many years.

In this sentiment of identity exploration amid cultural loneliness, Gilda Guaman discusses the issue of gender inequality. She fills with nostalgic inaccuracies of runa equality and enlightenment the gaps of her knowledge of the mashi world. However, she successfully intersects racial prejudice with gender inequality, and the importance of exploring sumak kawsay as a guide for change.

> Runas do not beat their women. You men do. Mestizo men do. I was beaten in the name of love. Many times. Pregnant even. And he said I was just an Indian. Guaman es indio. Sure. Sure. But why do we deserve such violence? Because I was a woman? Because I was a runa? Soy runa. Pero tambien mujer. I came to Quito to escape my family and their horrible wealth. But could not escape it. I went to the Catholic University. Felt the hatred from men like you. Horrible. An object. I learned to feel like an object. India, they said to my face. I was eighteen. I had my condominium. In front of campus. I met Isabel's father. I was different he said. Then he beat me. In the name of difference? This is sad. I am drunk. I must call a taxi. I am depressed. (August 27, 2009. Night notes).

Whereas Mr. Cleber and I lament our seeming loss of identity and community, Guaman's experience of her own loss is laced with violence and subjugation as a woman. Her last name Guaman, is an old runa last name, dating back to colonial times. Gilda Guaman has bitterly resisted subjugation as a mestiza derided for her runa "looks" and the exploitation of male colleagues, lovers, and her ex-husband. Raised in Bogota until the age of nine, she was thrust into the hateful world of Quito, where mestizos regulate access to wealth and education, often pushing runakuna into cultural and political subjugation.

While in private university she realized Ecuadorian women suffer at the hands of men who swear allegiance and loyalty to Christianity. To be Guaman and privileged in Quito only worsened her reality. For most of her adult life she has resisted the subjugation of women

and of runakuna. She exposed to us our privilege as men and as passing mestizos, a reality often denied to her, despite her professional success that surpassed our own.

Mr. Cleber in return shared his views about the religious origin of gender inequality in Ecuador and the rest of the Andes.

> We must listen to the runa. The runa has ancient knowledge. They too beat their women. Some. Compa Cosme says they pay the price. Sure. Sure. But they beat them. Maybe it is because of Jesus. Jesus has no mother. The virgin is not his mother. God denied her that right. He only has a father. A vengeful one. I had a father like that. Yes. I learned to beat my ex-wife from my ex-father. Lo excomunique. I have sinned. Well, there are no sins. I denounce the Christian god. Now, I am simply a man with mean habits. I must beat no more. We must teach the new generations to listen to the runa. (August 27, 2009, Discussion notes.)

Like Gilda Guaman, Mr. Cleber idealizes gendered runa experiences. Nevertheless abuse among married couples in the ayllu is almost impossible given the propinquity in which mashikuna live. The structure of ayllu communal intimacy keeps women and children relatively safe because the abuse of one translates into the abuse of family and community.

It is instructive to see Mr. Cleber's linking of the absence of a female counterpart or mother in the Christian worldview and a male culture of violence against women. His interpretation of gender inequality's origins in Christianity and how it defines the mestizo family structure as subjugated women was new to me but one they have discussed in the past. Simultaneously, Mr. Cleber takes responsibility for his own actions and alludes to his father's teachings of abuse and women's subjugation. His ability to take responsibility for his abusive behavior is paired with his understanding of the need to teach future generations about equality between men and women.

Although our conversations were as enlightened when sober, they were much more honest with alcohol and food. Guaman has not overcome the trauma of being treated with hate and rejection in Quito because she looks "runa". Her marriage felt apart from her ex-

husband's physical and mental abuse that could not come to terms with her wealth and independence. Her story was instructive and full of hope. It was instructive about the struggle against of gendered abuse in Quito. These colleagues understood that a shift towards gender equality in order for Quito to progress politically and spiritually. To hear mestizo men denounce the Christian god and elaborate on the role of Christianity in gender inequality was an intellectual leap that I found empowering. It led me to explore its religious and political influence mashi gender inequality.

Western influences on gender inequality in the Americas

Women have played influential roles in Ecuadorian history. The concept of a female earth has informed female spiritual power, political influence, and economic egalitarianism in Andean societies (Gero 1992; Silverblatt 1997; Salomon 1986). Andean female spiritual-political power contrasted with western concepts of private ownership and male hegemony. Catholic indoctrination of Andean people required the subjugation of women in most realms of society (Silverblatt 1997). A symbolic example is the Pachamama understanding of the earth as mother of all life, contrasted with the Christian belief of a male god creator, with a son, without a wife or daughters (Mills 1997). The dynamic is also tangent, the control of land and people.

A historical framework, focused on points of encounter between peoples of the Americas confronted by Europeans in North America, helps understand spiritual and political shifts that took place in the Andes. This framework helps us see the material and political basis for the control of women disguised as religious leadership. Marx and Engels quote Arthur Wright, a missionary who lived among the Iroquois in his testimony of their family structure.

> The female portion ruled the house; the stores were in common, but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pack up his blanket and budge; and after such orders it would not be healthful for him to attempt to disobey. The women were the great power among the clans [gentes], as everywhere else. They did not hesitate, when occasion required, to knock off the horns, as it was technically called from the head of the chief and send him back to the ranks of the warriors (735).

Marx and Engels further propose that the importance of descent according to maternal line had to be overthrown in order for men to dominate women.

> How easily [this overthrow] can be accomplished can be seen from a whole number Indian tribes, among whom it has only recently taken place and is still proceeding, partly under the influence of increasing wealth and change of methods of life (transplantation from the forests to the prairies), and partly moral influence of [western] civilization and the [Christian] missionaries. Among the Shawnees, Miamis and Delawares it has become the custom to transfer the children to the father's gens by giving them one of the gentile names obtaining, therein, in order that they may inherit from him (736).

Marx and Engels argue that "the overthrow of mother right was the world historic defeat of the female sex" a feature of Western civilization (736). They also propose that the western structure of monogamous heterosexual relationships has its historical material roots in the Roman society where "famulus means a household slave and familia signifies the totality of slaves belonging to one individual" (737).

Material wealth controlled by men gave birth to monogamy as far back as in Athenian and Greek societies (738). This monogamy, later a core gender dynamic in the Christian religion, is

> based not on natural but on economic conditions, namely, on the victory of private property over original, naturally developed common ownership. [T]hus it appears as the subjection of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of a conflict between the sexes entirely unknown hitherto in prehistoric times [l]asting until today, in which every advance is likewise a relative regression, in which the well-being and development of the one group are attained by the misery and repression of the other (739).

To be sure the relationships between mashi men and women waukikuna do not extend to such an extreme of degradation and control. The preservation of the ayllu through sumak kawsay for the last four centuries has allowed them to not be decimated as happened in North America. However, the influence of Catholicism on gender inequality was inevitable and persists today. For example, I have explained earlier that the structures of communal banking, political solidarity, and spiritual strength within sumak kawsay and cemented through the sawary raymi prevent such extremes. However, it is through the hegemony of Catholicism that taitakuna succeed in remaining in control of the network, the bodies and destinies of the warmikuna, and of gender inequality (Htun 2000).

Gender inequality as challenge in Runa Wasi

The insightful discussions of racial hatred and gender inequality Mrs. Guaman and her colleagues explored and broke down during our party discussions were part of what I consider intellectual development in a Catholic Quito society. Their struggle is against five centuries of western religious influence. They propose an exploration of sumak kawsay to achieve gender equality. Presently it remains a challenge in Quito society to tackle the structural bases and history of gender inequality. In my opinion, the analysis of Christianity as a cause of gender inequality remains an intellectual exercise among upper middle-class intellectuals whose university education remains a privilege denied the rest of society.

To understand the political and spiritual role of Christianity in the subjugation of warmikuna, it is required to explore and analyze the social construction of gods and religions, which Runa Wasi leadership forbids. My brief workshops on the first ten of Martin Luther's theses against Catholicism, and discussions of Marxist political economy were well received among them. Although there were a few who walked out, those present appreciated the

discussions. Mr. Pilamunga and taitakuna Padrecito and Rosario Tene encouraged me to continue the workshops, and some of my conclusions. They enjoyed our discussions of Luther's first ten theses because it helped them understand better the influence of Protestantism in the history of the United States and lately of many ayllukuna in Ecuador.

The Runa Wasi leadership also experienced a divide between the theory and praxis of gender equality. This is perhaps a reality of most communities consciously aware of well-being goals and the struggles to achieve the necessary shifts. I consider this theory-praxis divide part of a continuous development towards equality. Various degrees of achievement can be appreciated in Runa Wasi in relation to outside mashikuna who have achieved more progress in gender equality practice.

I use the case study of the Sula sisters as a frame of reference for Runa Wasi. The sisters are university-educated warmikuna in Chimborazo. They work closely with Runa Wasi but their political and spiritual reality is, in general, very different. I will also explore specific situations in Runa Wasi that make salient the political and spiritual control of warmikuna by the taita council that has economic consequences.

Gender inequality in the Runa Wasi Catholic rhetoric

I was surprised to be told Juana Cajilema was pregnant and was getting married in a month. At first I took it to be a joke on me. I thought perhaps my students wanted to get a reaction from me. I promptly took the news in jest. However, after a few absences from my classroom, I asked about her whereabouts. Maria Tene, one of my brightest students, reminded me Juana was going to get married. She could no longer attend my class. She was busy preparing for her sawary raimy with her family and that of her future husband. I asked other students who ensured that, in fact, her sawary raimy plans were in progress.

They told me to not make further inquiries because this was a different type of sawary raimy. Inquiring further would make many adults uneasy. There was a disagreement in Runa Wasi about whether it should take place at all. The Runa Wasi taita council (all men) had decided that Juana was to be married because she was pregnant and could not become a mother out of wedlock. Her parents had died in a horrible car accident two months before. She was only thirteen years old and her family had no influence on the council. Her fate was decided to protect the council image even though they claimed it was to protect her well-being and that of Runa Wasi. The fact that adults were divided on the issue made this distinction clear.

Juana Cajilema's sawary raimy was indeed different from any I attended before or after. The entire celebration took place in Nuevos Comienzos, an abandoned community way up in the Andean mountains outside Riobamba, higher even than Gulalag. Juana's future husband was a nineteen year-old Runa Wasi mashi. He had acceded to the marriage under duress. Everyone knew of a threat of expulsion but no one spoke about it. The entire sawary raimy took place the same day, on a gloomy, rainy Sunday.

There was no marriage license. Mestizo law was ignored. There were many runakuna from the surrounding communities who were happy for the sawary raimy and genuinely celebrated it. But for many Runa Wasi mashikuna, especially the younger generation, the event was not a moment of celebration. Juana Cajilema cried throughout the day while her husband remained stoic but friendly.

> This whole thing is not good. I know Mr. Pilamunga does not believe he is doing right. Not after all we have talked about gender and power. I am upset at everyone. I have no right to judge. There was not the usual singing and jesting on our bus ride from San Roque to Riobamba. The day is overcast and the driving way up here was depressing. Juana is crying. The mass was presided by a local priest who looks particularly decrepit to me this day. Here I am with my stupid camera. Camarografo

> de nada. It is my responsibility to record. I must record but I would rather take a walk and smoke a cigarette. Stop all this singing. It is not true what they sing. Juana is not happy. (bus notes, Gulalag. October 17, 2009)

Juana Cajilema's future was decided for her at such a young age, not by her parents or her family, or even her ayllu as a whole. Her sawary raimy took place because of fears among influential Runa Wasi men that word would get out she had gotten pregnant out of wedlock. They considered her pregnancy a smear on their reputation and that of the Runa Wasi women.

Sadly, she was not pregnant after all. If her husband was ever reprimanded or fined in any way I never knew. However, it never left my mind that she paid a high price for their transgression. Juana took on the role of a warmi, working along her partner and his family. She dropped out of my class and of school altogether. Now her job was to contribute as a warmi to her new family and Runa Wasi. Her husband gained a young wife who cooked for him, did his laundry, and kept him company. It seemed as if Runa Wasi continued on as a large pond and Juana's sawary raimy had been but another ripple. But discontent and discussion among some of my students continued. They would not drop the matter easily. Juana's sawary raimy had been an important lesson in their young life.

In search of mashi gender equality

After Juana Cajilema's sawary raimy conversations about gender equality were a touchy subject to explore with Runa Wasi taitakuna. Previous to it, we had explored the influence of patriarchy and Christianity in the misfortune of women in the Andes. We had even contemplated such influence in the San Roque network. After this sawary raimy, Runa Wasi taitakuna took a different stand, with quite a different attitude towards the issue and sometimes, I felt, towards me.

It was surprising to hear Mr. Pilamunga and other taitakuna tell me that Runa Wasi had to adhere to the Catholic teachings on acceptable sexuality and marriage. Juana's sawary raimy had taken place way high in the Riobamba Mountains away from San Roque and Riobamba. This geographical shunning had been an act to impress on everyone the fact that one woman's transgression affected the entire network, and would be dealt with by such severity, if she wanted to remain in Runa Wasi. Her sawary raimy would be a reminder to all young Runa Wasi warmikuna that such behavior would not be tolerated. There were only two ways to atone: marriage or expulsion.

Juana Cajilema's sawary raimy was an instructive example of the intricacies of voting representation and decision-making in Runa Wasi. A few of my female students were open about their frustrations with what they understood to be an unfair approach to their situation as warmikuna. One main complaint was that a vote had not been called on the issue of Juana's pregnancy and sawary raymi as the only solution. The taita council decided her future behind closed doors. Even though my students work alongside their parents and contribute to the Runa Kawsay bank, their opinion was never sought. They felt they had a right to vote. Maria Tene put it this way.

> Lice Cosme, the taita are doing wrong. They know our opinion. That is why they do not ask us. They say one heart, one hand, one thought. It is not like that. We are invisible. Lice you won't tell. Poor Juana. She is younger than us. She doesn't even know how to read that well. She was not even pregnant. The young men here have tasted some of our friends. Everyone knows that. But because they do not get pregnant, no one makes them marry. (October 29. Night notes)

I could not openly agree with my students. My deliberate silence guaranteed some neutrality. I also feared my dismissal if word got to the taita council of my opinion on the matter. To this day I have felt I let my students down because I did not help them explore understandings and conclusions further. Many times I heard unmarried young men brag of

their encounters with some runakuna females in San Roque. Not once did I suggest against this behavior. Only a couple of times did I suggest that gentlemen do not share when some students tried to tell me of their adventures. But I never made it a topic of discussion in class. A double standard was visible and with my silence I unwillingly contributed to it, but young warmikuna resisted it.

Young Warmikuna Question Unfair Taitakuna Leadership

Juana Cajilema's forced sawary raymi opened a space for young warmikuna to question taitakuna wisdom and fair leadership. Education in Quito has exposed them to knowledge and points of views that can clash their taita guidance. Although external cultural influences must be regarded with care, it cannot be denied that there is a potential for its positive contribution to their strive for gender equality and its complexity. For example, Maria Tene took me by surprise when she established a conversation about women's free choice during Juana Cajilema's sawary raymi preparations.

> Mashi Cosme usted que piensa del aborto? What do I think abortion? my student Marta Tene asks. I was stunned. I had to bite my tongue. I knew the answer. Maria Tene answers that it is necessary. Sometimes. The other students tell me they think I agree with them. I do. But do not tell them so. I do not want to get in trouble. I concentrated on peeling the potatoes. Mashi Cosme, no queremos casarnos. We do not want to marry. Why not? They want to go to university. I inspire them, they say. I am happy for them. I am sad. Their possibilities in Runa Wasi are minimal. Maybe in another ayllu. But here it will be hard. They are angry about Juana's wedding. She was not even pregnant (October 16. Night notes).

They understand the power of education and the importance to delay cultural obligations. This realization is both reassuring and worrisome to me. Their understand that an injustice was done to Juana gave me hope and worried me about ideological differences in the ayllu. I held a policy of honesty and truth in my classroom. My students knew of my solidarity with

them and my obligations to the ayllu. They trusted I would not betray them to their council. These young warmikuna had gotten as far as contemplating abortion to remain free. This was a substantial leap, given the immense ideological Catholic influence in Runa Wasi.

My solidarity was unspoken. I did not want it to reach the ears of the council. My seemingly neutrality was intact. This became clear one afternoon Mr. Pilamunga engaged me in a conversation regarding warmikuna free agency.

> Of course they can divorce. If they want to. But it is not the same as if they should. Maybe many cannot. You know this mashi Cosme. I have never seen it. But I see what you mean. They should be free. But what of sumak kawsay mashi? It is easier to fix the problems and not divorce. Maybe in Quito it is different but not in San Roque. Would you divorce? I would be a good man first. I believe him. He is a great leader. (October 22. Afternoon notes).

But it was hard for me to accept he actually believed in the freedom of choice for warmikuna. His rhetoric simply did not match his actions regarding Juana. Runa Wasi council is a talented mashi leadership in San Roque and Riobamba but the disparities between themselves and their warmikuna revealed themselves with time. From this time forward I suspected he knew of my doubts. His assured my freedom of expression, except on certain topics.

> Mashi Cosme you can discuss anything you want with the wambras. Talk to them about the history of Inti, of capitalism, of the Tawantinsuyu. It is okay. We want them to learn from the outside world. Do not speak of abortion mashi. It is murder. Do not speak of divorce. It gives them ideas. Talk to them about California and the sadness of individuality there. They have to know. Divorce is emptiness mashi. Warmi is warmi. Wauki is wauki. Complete. (October 22, 2009. Afternoon notes.)

New boundaries were drawn for me from this point forward. Council workshops were suspended permanently. My interactions and conversations with my warmi students lost all privacy. I had ears everywhere, meaning they kept tabs of everything I said. I was a mashi but I was also a deliberate incomplete individual. I had not seen myself reflected that way but now it was almost impossible not to, especially among the adults. To my warmikuna

students, I provided a space for dialogue of alternative views. There were even some adult warmikuna who were in solidarity with me but remained silent in Runa Wasi.

They remained in solidarity as Runa Wasi. It was both fascinating and distressing to experience it. This oscillation continued for the rest of my ethnography. Yet I still found solace in this situation. By this time I had made other friendships with mashikuna outside of Runa Wasi who worked with them, or who knew of them but did not work together. Through their encouragement and sharing of their life I learned of vibrant shifts towards gender equality happening outside the scope of Runa Wasi and the San Roque network.

Warmi independence within the ayllukuna network

I have previously discussed Marta Sula and her law firm Inti Ñan. Here I elaborate further on her role in alternative sumak kawsay practices. Marta and her two younger sisters live an unusual mashi life. They are not incorporated into any ayllu in Quito or Chimborazo. Although they are politically conscious and active in the San Roque and Chimborazo networks, they acquired freedom from their parents to live independently to be able to succeed in their careers on their own terms. They practice sumak kawsay on their own terms that grants them a freedom seldom experienced in most ayllu bound warmikuna. The following experiences sheds lights on this particularly liberated warmi reality.

Mashikuna share an intimate interconnection in Quito. The news that I had been invited to San Jorge Las Flores in Chimborazo took me by surprise. I was simultaneously elated and weary of this invitation because I was to going with Veronica Sula, mashi Marta Sula's youngest sister. Mashikuna never travel alone. Individuality is banished even during trips. I understood that but I not why Runa Wasi and Inti Ñan would trust me to take the bus with Veronica Sula without a chaperon. We had taken the teleferico up to the Pichincha

volcano a few weeks earlier, and hiked three miles further up to the top without supervision. The only contact during that trip had been a phone call from Mr. Pilamunga and Jorge Miran's presence at the teleferico ground stop before we left. He is one of Inti Ñan lawyers.

"Mashi Cosme, please take care of Verito. We know you are a gentleman and will take of her. Call me when you get back" (Night notes, March 12, 2009). Mr. Pilamunga told me that morning over the phone. Until that moment I had no idea he knew we were going on this trip. Mashi Veronica Zula did not live in San Roque and neither did her sisters. In those first months in Quito I had no idea of the extent and intimacy of the San Roque network and the level of communication they maintained. At that time, my mashi status was only symbolic, without political or spiritual base. I mentioned Mr. Pilamunga's message to mashi Veronica who laughed and asked, "did he tell you not to kiss me? They might send someone on the teleferico with us, all the way to the top of Ruku Pichincha," she said jokingly, but my facial expression gave her concern (Night notes, March 12, 2009). It was a joke she assured me. She told me too was puzzled.

She assured me we were going to be watched when we went out on the city. Her safety and well-being were a personal concern to the Runa Wasi taita leadership. They have a strong business relationship with Inti and her father. Mr. Sula is an influential landowner on the skirts of the Chimborazo volcano, and a contributor to Pachakutik who chooses to remain behind the curtain politically. When we got to the teleferico ground station Jorge Miran was sitting at a table in one of the cafes. He called us over and offered us breakfast. We obliged. Food cannot be refused and mashi Veronica wanted me to see the subtlety with which the network functions. Mashi Miran expressed his admiration that I was going on the teleferico and hike the volcano with mashi Veronica.

"No le mentire, mashi Cosme. Vine a censorarme que llegaran aqui…mashi Cosme que cuide a mashi Verito. Es nuestra hermanita] (March 12, 2009. Night notes). Jorge Miran told me he was there to make sure we had actually made it to the teleferico. He asked me once again to take care of mashi Veronica. She is the San Roque network's little sister but could not command her actions. But they could still monitor them. Our trip to the Ruku Pichincha had been known in Runa Wasi. Jokes of a future marriage were incessant. I felt a bit uncomfortable but mashi Veronica told me to enjoy it and learn. She assured me our trip was unusual and unheard of in San Roque. She thought perhaps it had allowed because she and her sisters were independent of the ayllu network but not from the intimacy of their interconnection.

Therefore, I was excited to go to Riobamba to meet mashi Marta Sula's parents. I wanted to learn first-hand how it was possible for these sisters to be independent while in solidarity with the San Roque network. I was traveling alone with Veronica Sula again. Mashi Marta, Veronica's sister waited for u at the Cumanda southern bus station in Quito. I realized we had no chaperone. I had thought that Jorge Miran or someone else from Inti Ñan would accompany us on the four-hour ride to Riobamba. But Marta assured me it was only the two of us. I assumed their father had decided to heed the messages relied through the San Roque network of my trustworthiness with his daughter and my work in San Roque. "Do no worry if you get dirty looks. They do not know you but they know you are traveling with Veronica. They will think you two are a couple and were not invited to the sawary raymi," mashi Marta told me as she tried to put me at ease (bus notes, April, 22).

Mashi Veronica's mother was waiting for us at the Riobamba bus station. Her father met us later at another of Veronica's sisters' house. She lives in a three-story house two

blocks away from Riobamba's central plaza. Her house and its location impressed me. As far as I could see they were the only runa living in this sector. There is a deposito[19] on the first floor that sells to mestizos and runakuna. Everyone in the household wears runa clothing and speak Kichwa, which is surprising considering mestizos are the majority in Riobamba. Mr. Manuel Sula shows up in a late model truck. He comes over and calls out to his grandchildren who run outside to hug and kiss him and announce our arrival. He speaks to them in hushed tones and the children promptly go to the back of the house. We sit in the front part of the deposito.

"How are you" he asks in Kichwa. I answer in Spanish. He speaks more Kichwa but I cannot follow. I am embarrassed I cannot follow. He laughs and tells me in Spanish he has been thinking about Veronica and I all morning. People were talking about our trip. He asks if I can believe people who were in the bus with us were calling his family in Riobamba to tell them mashi Veronica was in the bus with a stranger. These callers were puzzled because they had never seen me before. He says maybe I will have to marry mashi Veronica after all to assuage the gossip. Everyone laughs except Veronica and I. He says we are to go to his farms after lunch and that I should go to the market and buy rubber boots, a scythe, wool socks, and a poncho. I realized later the importance of these items when I worked in his lands, by the Chimborazo volcano.

An arduous intimacy between runa (human) and Pachamama (earth) exists in rural Andean life. Like in San Roque, warmikuna work along men and contribute equally to sumak kawsay. A variety of potatoes and habas (a type of lima beans) are two main crops the Sula grow on their lands. Their potato and haba tracks can extend for at least half a mile. They

19 A deposito is a wholesale grain warehouse that caters to ranchers and farmers.

also have two smaller tracks of land to grow pine trees to invest in high-end furniture. These pine trees are long-term investments. They are not very proud of this investment because it requires killing the trees for a furniture industry that is taking off in Riobamba.

Mr. Sula considers killing these beautiful trees wasteful but admits to the profitable returns of the investment. He only showed me this land once. H never mentioned them again in our conversations. His pride and joy are the vast potato and habas fields, some of which were ready for harvesting. Potatoes and habas have a long history in the Andean diet (Brown 1993). Their harvesting is an arduous process that provided for me a new context and experience for the Pachamama-human relation and human interdependence.

> We are up at 5a.m. every day, from the very first day. We go down to the kitchen where mashi Veronica has already cooked breakfast for everyone. Potatoes, eggs, and roasted chicken is our breakfast. As many cups of coffee as we want. I am sore. Have been since the first day of field work. I look down at the rows of potatoes ready to be dug up, collected and sacked. My sack in my hand is a reminder of the physical pain. The first day I felt foolish when I hurried to fill the sack with potatoes and wasn't able to pick it up and take it back to the truck. I guess it made sense to only fill it up to the weight I was able to carry. Now I know better. Harvest the potatoes and carry the sack back to the truck. Leave it and pick up an empty one and return to the spot where I left off. I have respect for the mashikuna out here. They seem to be happy with their work. I am miserable. Have been. But I did promise I was going to tough it out. Maya style. Fool I am. I am a city slicker. Maya urban. I have learned to hate the wawa potatoes. Those last, precious jewels one has to squat down and dig for. I am dog tired. (April 28. Night notes)

There is very little gender difference in the contribution of labor in the fields. Mashi Veronica stays behind to take care of the kuis (guinea pigs) and house chores because she also has lots of homework. She travels to her parents' house every other weekend to help them out while enrolled full time. Mrs. Sula works as much as her husband with the exception of the tractor. He is the only driver. The division of labor for the rest of the ayllu is very similar. I see men who stay behind with children for different reasons while women attend the fields.

> I miss Quito. My lower back hurts. My feet hurt. I have blisters on them. My shins and my calves are sore. The tips of my fingers have small blisters that have calloused. I only take solace in the thoughts of the warm kitchen and Verito's company and our conversations at night. I have sucked at tending to the grass for the cows. I have failed at transporting the food for the cattle and transporting the cattle itself. The dogs help. I love shepherd dogs so much now. I am relieved that I can harvest no matter how slow I do it. Even the kids do it twice as fast as. But I will not give up. I was reprimanded by Veronica's mother for not harvesting the haba trees to the fullest. I learn to use as much tact in my fingertips as my eyes. That part is awesome. I think of Seamus Heany's poem 'Digging' and appreciate writing as a profession so much more. I love the beauty of Pachamama out here but to communicate with her through harvesting is hard on my body and sometimes on my mind. I have great respect for mashi Veronica's parents because they work along their workers. (Night notes. April 29)

Physical strength is required of men and women up here that influences spirituality. Physical strength from years of distance running, hiking, or jujitsu helped for a very limited time. To establish a relationship with the fields in high altitude requires a redefined physical condition, that also reshapes the spirit. A relationship with Pachamama working in the Andes is well defined that requires flowing with it. Mr. Sula seems uninterested in teaching me. Mrs. Sula laughs at me while she teaches me and tells me to be patient in her broken Spanish. To do my part as best as I can is the overall lesson. To realize that the contribution of both men and women is essential is a lesson I take with me.

Alternative alliances that prompt alternative solidarity

An intellectual contribution and alliance to the network exists that is exclusive to most Runa Wasi mashikuna. Mr. Sula is a prime example. He is a well-known businessman to Riobambeno mestizos in the farming and food business and food. He is also well known to runakuna in Riobamba and the networks in Chimborazo. However, he maintains a very low profile. He maintains a neutral and uninvolved image. Mr. Sula is a hard-working man in his sixties. He works along his wife on the land he was born in. He works twelve hours a day, always in his worn-out clothes, and easy to assume he is another worker on the cordillera.

But when engaged in conversation one is surprisingly humbled by his extensive knowledge of Andean history, his vision for the mashikuna future in Quito and Riobamba, and his opinions of the Pachakutik movement. Mr. Sula keeps up with world news in Spanish and Kichwa from a radio he keeps in his truck. He is attentive to his daughters' discussions of law, businesses in Quito, and their struggles with racism. He keeps an open mind, and a burning hope for change. He practices oral history incessantly.

> Mashi Cosme the runakuna of the earth have suffered. From before mashi. Since the clouds first cried, since Inti first smiled, and since Pachamama gave us life, we have worked our lands. Then outsiders come and say they are our bosses. We don't have weapons. Only potatoes and habas. We don't have books here, only Kichwa. The Pachamama worldview. We search for her womb to continue life. There will always be Andes. Always. There will always be children. Always. I have no choice but to help Verito and Marta. Help the mashikuna in Quito. I want nothing more than to work and help. It is my duty. All my life. To live and to work. Now my daughters say taita we are going to Quito. To fight. Alright I say. Good. I was also young. There is no alternative. My warmi cries and I say you should not cry. Work, I tell my warmi. Smile. Pachamama continues. Here, in Quito, all over the Andes. Now you come from far away, from Maya land. Life continues because you continue. I continue. We all continue. (April 29. Night notes).

Mr. Sula's support for his daughters is impressive and inspiring. His sumak kawsay practice is different and aligns with Veronica and Marta in their independence from men's authority and control. His solidarity with Runa Wasi remains at a distance. He does not agree with religious domination. Mr. Sula is wealthy and contributes financially to sawary raimy that promote political strength in ayllu networks. He does not care for political life. He is influential and uses it to encourage and help his daughters. He understands the importance of mashikuna unity, and decides to tolerate how some subjugate their warmi counterparts. Although I worked very briefly with the Sula family, it helped me understand why their daughters have succeeded in Quito independently of any ayllu control, as professional warmikuna, in solidarity with the San Roque network. In his view,

> Other taitas want to make warmi servants. They want their labor, their money. They want wawas. They say god says so. They say, warmi must be silent and follow. Not true. Not god. Men. I hear about Runa Wasi taitakuna. I understand them. They are runakuna. I have known mashi like that all my life. I do not judge them. They say warmi you work. I say to my warmi you work. But my warmi is my mashi. My Verito and my Martita are my mashikuna. If warmi are servants then we mashikuna are only half strong. This is not smart. But you will see, mashi Cosme. I am one of many mashikuna who do not agree with Runa Wasi taitakuna. But we must respect. You must respect. We see. We hear. We learn. My daughters say you do this well. (April 29. Night notes.)

Mr. Sula is part of a shift from Christian gender domination to secular strive for equality between mashi men and women. His disengagement from open political involvement allows him independence from Catholic influence and intellectual freedom, two dynamics he considers crucial in his position. His focus on his businesses keeps him successful and able to contribute indirectly by supporting his daughters' success and their own work with the San Roque network. His ability to define his own relationship with the mashikuna movement defines his daughters' independence. His participation in sumak kawsay remains as well as his independence and his ability to explore alternatives to religions domination. The Sula family approach to ayllu solidarity and to sumak kawsay contributes to gender equality.

Sumak kawsay as a powerful gender bridge

The structure of inequality in Quito still affects successful warmikuna like the Sula sisters (Torre 1999). Despite their father's support they cannot escape the abuse of men in their life. Marta Sula found herself in an abusive relationship with an opportunistic man who was keen on her family's assets.

> Mashi Cosme, my daughter's father never hit me. He would tell me I was dumb. That he never loved me. That he only wanted my father's inheritance. He would say it with a smile. He was mean. Do not marry a soldier my daddy would tell me. But what could I do. He was handsome. A soldier. Tall. But I did learn. No more husband. Only my little daughter. Verito learned too. She does not want a husband. She wants a career and money. That is what my daddy says. With money you do not need a husband, only boyfriend. Mashi Pilamunga will never understand. His daughters are

> prisoners. Never tell him, Mashi Cosme. My dad and mashi Pilamunga are different. This is how the runa is. Diverse we are mashi. (Afternoon notes. August 2).

Although mashi Marta did not take her father's advice, he remained supportive during and after the relationship ended. She claims Mr. Pilamunga would not understand. She believes Mr. Pilamunga's daughters live under his subjugation. However, Mr. Pilamunga remains supportive of the Sula sisters in other ways. Runa Wasi and Inti Ñan have had great economic success and are strong political allies. Inti Ñan has been a great influence in Runa Wasi success in Quito. Mr. Pilamunga's support for the Sula sisters free agency and his control of his daughters exemplifies the complexity of alliance. His seemingly contradictory behavior represents the solidarity in sumak kawsay in which there is always room for progress and self-defined development within the ayllu (Farrington 2012). The economic interests of the San Roque network prompt the male leadership to make concessions to gender equality in professional relationships while they maintain control in the private space.

Even though her husband betrayed her, mashi Marta Sula remains independent but in spiritual and political solidarity with her father and the San Roque network. Her colleagues and male friends have helped her overcome her decision to marry a man who betrayed her. As a divorcee she is an incomplete individual not deliberately but as consequence of her individual choices. Nevertheless, she is an inspiration to many teenage mashi in because she is well educated, successful, and contributes to their sumak kawsay. Perhaps her individualistic choice to marry a soldier had consequences that affected her life. Yet, the solidarity shown to her by mashikuna is an example of the powerful sumak kawsay.

Resistance against catholic discipline

It is not my intention to berate Catholicism from an intolerant perspective or downplay any of its spiritual import, whatever that might be. Rather, my point is to lay bare

the patriarchal structure that makes possible its existence, and its success. In the momentary contemplation of the chauvinistic nature of Christianity, in the absence of a Goddess and of women's spiritual and political leadership, we can understand the hegemonic foundation of its existence that has subjugated Catholic women (Maldonado 1993). From this standpoint we can proceed to intersect this structural reality with the racism western worldviews born at the moment of contact between conquistadors and the indigenous peoples of the Americas that continues today.

When Catholicism hegemony erodes under a growing religious pluralism in Latin America, runa spiritual alternatives, derived from Andean worldviews, and alternative Christian creationism are not tolerated (Hagopian 2009). To impose and maintain this hegemony, Catholics tend to denigrate, ridicule, or violently attack alternative worldviews (de la Cadena 2010). The historical violent reaction of Catholic ruling classes in Ecuador against all Andean worldviews helps us appreciate this racism, which dates at least from the invasion of 1492 (Andrien 2001).

Hegemonic censorship in the ayllu blocks serious discussions of human spiritual development alternative to Christianity. This censorship limits almost all possibilities to see the relationships between the need to resist political structures of racism and gender inequality and liberation from Eurocentric intellectual and spiritual hegemony (Taff 1998). Mashi leadership benefits from this censorship, even when they themselves continue to suffer racism from priests, nuns and any other Catholic leadership.

But there are also mashi men who remain in solidarity with mashi women, who resist Catholic gender inequality at the same time that they strive for spiritual independence from Christianity. Their own search for alternative spirituality in sumak kawsay informs their

solidarity with women in the ayllu. They strive for gender equality in the mashi reality is part of their mashi identity.

Mashikuna in Runa Wasi and the San Roque network now question long-standing leadership Catholic practices by taitakuna. Today part of their urban acculturation experience includes an exposure to alternative leadership ideologies beyond those that Catholic ritualism and regulation. The communal banking system in San Roque has helped warmikuna become successful in their right. Hence taita leadership sees the necessity to innovate their leadership beyond the influence of Catholicism.

For example, the Runa Wasi taita leadership is confronted with the visible contradiction of their political and economic influence in their ayllu network and their deference to local Catholic leadership (Lyons 2001). The San Roque Quito generations understand this contradicting deference as undue and resent it. Constant exposure of these urban mashi generations to outside knowledge beyond the ayllu fuels their abandonment for Catholic ritualistic practices that demand their deference. This is a serious challenge for taita leadership who must successfully and continue a copacetic relationship with the Church, while maintaining sumak kawsay.

This challenge is compounded by the taita leadership search for their independence from the Catholic Church without the threat of political backlash. In searching their own spiritual independence mashi men contribute to the liberation of their warmikuna. Taita leaders like Manuelcha Pilamunga spearheaded potential solutions to this complex challenge.

> We want to finish building our houses in the south as soon as possible. Only then can we be free of the [Catholic] church's grip. Only then can we choose to go with the Anglican Church and priests. They are willing to build a church on our property. They say we can be mashikuna and Christian with them. We can be runakuna and still love taita Dios. The mashikuna of Runa Wasi want us to choose now but it is not that easy. Some mashikuna do not understand that we will never be welcome in the

> Church political circles once we go. Once we go we are worse than dead to them. We will be traitors. (Afternoon notes. November 29).

Runa Wasi taita leadership has also taken radical and controversial approaches to achieve their independence as an ayllu. Because he was trained as a deacon as a teenager, Mr. Pilamunga has an intimate knowledge and experience of Catholic leadership official position regarding mashikuna spiritual and political leadership

> The Church knows mashikuna have to find a warmi and have a family. They know no mashikuna will renounce this truth. So they use it to say I cannot be a priest. I will always be a deacon. But you tell me mashi. Can I be just a deacon all my life? It is like saying I will be wambra all my life. I am a taita now. But in their mind I am just a runa, a kid. I cannot afford that in my position. (Afternoon notes. November 22).

Runa Wasi leadership supports Mr. Pilamunga but also concede the tactic is risky and worrisome. All of them are older than him by at least twenty years and still remember the punishment of acting outside submission, instilled in them since childhood by landowners and priests in Gulalag.

> Mashi Pilamunga has the right idea. The priests come give their mass and go. I don't have anything against them but why can't he be a priest? If he was we would have our own church. Everyone would be welcome but it would be a mashi church with mashi priests. The problem is that we do not know how the Catholic Church will react. Sometimes I worry about other mashikuna who might not understand that we are Christian. We just want to be runa always. (Night notes. November 29).

There are also mashikuna who understand the significance of Runa Wasi's independence from the Catholic Church but who are also aloof to the process, giving much more importance to the significance of sawary raimy and other aspects of sumak kawsay. In great part this is a result of a political ideology that thrives in Runa Wasi. Mashi parents teach their children to be proud of and practice mashi identity. Quito mashi generations grow up in this mashi ideology. For them, Catholicism is an obligation to Runa Wasi taita leadership who has a political obligation to the Church, rather than a genuine spiritual solidarity.

There are three required meetings every week in Runa Wasi. These meetings are opportunities for young men and women to update each other on communal events and their life. Many do not see each other outside these meetings during the week due to work and school responsibilities. Here taitakuna update each other on minga assignments, business matters, taxes, and monthly payments on their communally own land and properties. Church leaders are not invited to these meetings. When they show unannounced the meetings are automatically suspended.

Although the meetings involve Catholic rituals, they are secular in content. The complexity of religious leadership and secular demands for gender equality are sometimes visible in these meetings. My student Marcos Tene offers his own analysis of Runa Wasi's leadership and religious independence.

> Mashi Pilamunga is a smart leader. He does not believe in god himself but uses the [Catholic] leadership to guide us in the goals we have. Do not tell him I said that. If we go with the Anglican Church that would be chévere (cool) because we can say we have a runa church. I have never heard a mashi say that before. But you know it would be better if we didn't have to go to church anymore. Do you know what I mean? It is boring and pointless. I see you yawning in there mashi Cosme (Marcos Tene. September 11, 2009).

Overall Runa Wasi mashikuna understand the importance of finding a political balance between sumak kawsay reality and Christianity. The spiritual influence of Catholicism in their everyday life remains open to individual reality and fervor. Without doubt, the importance of sumak kawsay, ayllu alliance, and mashi solidarity are indisputably important for them to maintain. Institutional independence from the Catholic Church ultimately benefits taita leadership first and women second. For now, this is the development they have achieved towards gender equality. Mr. Pilamunga potential ability becomes a Christian priest will catapult him politically and spiritually. But because he can only achieve this outside

Catholicism, the shift also has potential venues for warmikuna to seek spiritual and political independence from historical Christian control.

Resistance against gender inequality

Resistance against the control of warmikuna by men through structured religion is also evident in other ayllukuna beyond San Roque. Across various ayllu networks warmikuna increasingly voice their discontent and resistance (Corr 2003). For me to be able to work closely with the Pastoral Indigena was at first a privilege and a great ethnographic opportunity. Only trusted mashikuna participate in their national conferences. However, I soon learned these conferences were led men for their own agenda. Nuns merely facilitated workshops for taita leaders, priests, and bishops.

The presence of nuns and warmikuna gave the appearance of gender inclusion. The last conference I attended in Guayaquil was a pivotal point in my understanding of the gender dynamic. I met Catholic ayllu warmi spiritual-political leaders who attended to give their reports and demand a more involved role by Church leaders to improve warmikuna life. A leader from Napo, she was open and candid about her views.

> Mashi Imelda Caranga voiced her frustration about lack of involvement by priests in the immediate needs Napo runakun. Priests ask for favors (minga) but do not care about education. About food and health. She cries in frustration. She stands at her seat. She did not go to the front. She spoke to the bishop from her seat. I wish she did not have a runa accent when she speaks Spanish. Maybe they do not take her seriously because of it. Maybe cause she is woman. Doubtful. All mashikuna have expressed the same concerns. Church disregard. Bishop is polite. Does not care either. This is the truth. We all know this. Frustrating. What does it feel like to have to be reverent? (Night notes. August, 2013).

Mashi Imelda claimed the priests Napo continue to ask for mingas which take time away from housework, especially for warmikuna. Men do not help at home and prefer to work in

the church mingas because they see it as men's work. She sees the importance of education and later tells me that it liberates young warmikuna from ignorance. The church disagrees. The overall message in the meetings is that women must obey men because they are the household leaders. When it was time to further discuss important concepts of communication like interculturality a farce became evident to me.

> Interculturalidad was written in little pieces of paper. Ways to improve church relations as examples of interculturalidad was written at the top in bold. But other suggestions like mingas for churches were discussed at length. Not interculturalidad. 'Later' said the nuns. 'Later' said the bishop. We are already into the third day. No discussion of interculturalidad at all. I see now. It is a farce. No point in dialogue for warmi with church. This is an opportunity for male leaders to meet. Taitauna and priests. I am so inspired still! Warmi delegates from Napo! From Guayaquil! Interculturalidad happens within Ecuador ayllu networks. Warmikuna meet among themselves at night, after workshops. Mosquitos fly by. It is hot. A warmi from Zucumbios leaves. 'No need to be here' she says. 'Nothing has changed.' (Night notes. August, 2013).

Runa Wasi leadership was given ample space for presentation and discussion. The bishop was given ample space to reinforce the supremacy of the Christian god. But interculturalidad and women's issues were left untouched. Although I had expected this, it became clear that warmi structural subjugation has well-established religious underpinnings. The fact that Runa Wasi did not have one warmi delegate pointed to their religious and political control. But the facts that there were warmi delegates from Zucumbios and Napo led me understand that there is a diversity of gender relations and equality in different ayllu networks in Ecuador.

Economic equality with political and spiritual subjugation

Runa Wasi members have the right to a vote in most matters that affect the ayllu. They earn this right by contributing to mingas, make weekly compulsory deposits to their Runa Kawsay savings accounts, and contribute to their ayllu sumak kawsay in any way communally required. However, there are matters in which a vote is not taken and in the end,

decision-making lies with the taitakuna. There are also instances when women's voices are ignored in the name of the greater good of Runa Wasi, according to the taita leadership. Many times, these instances require curtailing warmikuna's freedom of expression or choice. Taitakuna instruct mashikuna to sway their wives' to vote to their satisfaction. Because this maneuver is likely to be carried out in privacy, a seemingly general agreement is maintained. A good example is Juana Cajilema's sawary raimy.

Other times, mingas are organized which require the majority of the ayllu's labor. On sawary raimy mingas, for example, warmikuna's participation is crucial for sumak kawsay, yet their economic leadership remains limited at the ayllu and network levels. The absence of warmi loan officers in Runa Wasi illustrates this point. The fact that there are no warmikuna in the network taita counsels is another unfortunate illustration. Weekly compulsory deposits into Runa Kawsay savings accounts are enforced through late fees. These accounts are a form of a Runa Wasi minga project to constantly increase the bank's lending power. Other ayllukuna can formalize contracts with Runa Kawsay to set up compulsory savings accounts for all of their working members. These savings minga projects require the contribution of men and women. Women, as much as men contribute to the economic success of their ayllu and the Runa Kawsay bank. But there is a double standard because the warmikuna's voting power can be curtailed at the council's discretion, at any time.

Unequal access to political leadership, the all-male council veto powers exist while structural economic demands cannot be sidestepped. A shift towards gender equality is necessary for further political and economic development in the Ecuadorian ayllu system (Lynd 2012; Thomson 2011). These shifts or lack thereof will definitely become part of mashi identity and the practice of sumak kawsay in the 21st century. Gender equality is

definitely necessary in Runa Wasi if the council wants to continue to remain as San Roque and regional network leadership. Their success in achieving gender equality will translate into the strengthening of sumak kawsay as far as they influence the ayllu networks.

There are signs of shifts towards gender equality in the ayllu networks. Taita spiritual and political leaders, independent of ayllu network obligations have achieved a greater balance of sumak kawsay requirements with warmi political representation. These leaders have had to seek independence from ayllu networks like the Sula sisters in order to pursue alternative ways of sumak kawsay inclusive or warmi voices and choices. Unfortunately, for now, they remain estranged from Runa Wasi and the San Roque taita leadership because their approaches are treated as threats to standing practice. Nevertheless, they remain examples to Runa Wasi and San Roque leadership in the various possibilities to achieve greater access for warmi political influence while remaining within the structures of Christian religions. These pioneering taita leaders remain hopeful that their approach contributes to sumak kawsay in successful and influential ayllu like Runa Wasi. They understand gender equality as further political strength for ayllu networks in Ecuador.

Some taita leaders have pioneered gender equality and the subversion of Catholic requirements to compromise sumak kawsay with their Christian faiths. They must pioneer independently of ayllu networks and sometimes clandestinely according to rigorous Catholic law. This chapter closes with a brief introduction of mashikuna who have ventured outside Catholic dogma and ayllu requirements to pursue alternative sumak kawsay to remain in solidarity with warmikuna and their own self-definition. These mashi have remained within Christian spirituality while simultaneously strive for a sumak kawsay for their warmi. They

support this space to support their warmi's own contribution to mashi identity, political development, and maintaining their own political freedom, and spiritual self-definition.

These mashikuna continue their own resistance against Catholic domination that is an example of alternative forms of ayllu political solidarity for warmikuna in the 21st century. Their approach to resistance and compromise are promising examples of the possibilities for mashi self-definition vis-à-vis gender equality in the sumak kawsay away from Christian control. Their approach signals a rupture of spiritual-political control of the last five centuries. Although for now they are shunned by some ayllukuna in Quito, their solidarity in rural Chimborazo has been reciprocated because they do not seek political gains. The solidarity of rural mashikuna is a signal of their approach eventually emulated and incorporated into sumak kawsay as part of 21st century mashi identity.

Rebellion: necessary for mashi self-definition

Catholicism requires celibacy of all priests, without exception. The break of this requirement results excommunication. Celibacy is understood as individuality and incompleteness in the Pachamama worldview. As I have explained, deliberate incompleteness block runakuna from full participation in ayllu life and perpetuate an impossibility of their contribution to its sumak kawsay. Rather than only a spiritual difference, celibacy has also political and economic contradictions with sumak kawsay and mashi identity. In this situation two choices remain. A mashi who wants to be a priest must remain incomplete in the Pachamama worldview, renouncing the ayllu politically and economically, which entails spiritually as well. A mashi who follows sumak kawsay can never become a priest because he cannot live in celibacy.

This clash affects mashikuna who want to remain simultaneously devoted to Christianity and loyal to sumak kawsay. Devout Catholic mashikuna choose to become priests and also have a warmi, hidden away from Church authorities but not of their mashikuna. They live dual lives as complete individuals and as Catholic priests. Other mashikuna opt for more inclusive Christian sects like the Anglican Church because celibacy requirements do not apply. I offer two brief case studies to illustrate each case. These two mashikuna have been creative in being Christians and remaining loyal to sumak kawsay. They have also chosen to stay away from political life. They contribute to the ayllu network on their own terms, resisting the subjugation of their warmikuna, whom they serve as spiritual leaders.

Mashi Adalberto Ituaza is a Catholic priest, born and raised in Riombamba. He was educated in the Catholic Church since he was a teenager. He is devoted to his Guamote Parish mashikuna, south of Riobamba in Chimborazo. He is an anthropologist trained at FLACSO. He was my first contact when I began my ethnography in Ecuador. I met him first as an anthropologist and later; he slowly revealed the fascinating complexity of his private and professional life. He introduced me to the Guamote ayllu network and briefly shared with me their challenges of poverty and political exclusion. Guamote is one of the most impoverished parishes in Chimborazo (Radcliffe 2002). Padre Ituaza has been working with the network for over a decade. We met often at FLACSO and emailed each other regularly. When in Riobamba, I accompanied him and other priests in their visits to different ayllukuna during celebrations where he gave mass. These were the only times I saw a mashi give mass in Kichwa, observing many sumak kawsay celebrations.

It was during one of these visits that Padre Ituaza invited me to have dinner at his house. He lives in Guayavi, a runa colonia right outside Riobamba. He introduced me to his warmi of seven years. I realized that professor Ituaza was a mashi despite being a Catholic priest. I said very little at dinner, letting professor Ituaza and Gloria Ituaza share their life. It was a privilege to hear their intimate world.

> Now you know I am a still a mashi. And you already know me as a priest. And as a mishu[20] scholar. But I do not think the Church will care much for my creativity which is not all that novel. I am sure you have heard of married priests by now. Maybe one day we priests can have a family and teach god's rules. But I cannot wait for that. I live in the now even though we [Catholics] are preoccupied with the afterlife a lot (he laughs). My warmi is my life. She must not live in the dark. But I am a servant of God. I do what I can. (Riobamba. September 15, 2009).

For now mashi Ituaza must live in the shadow of disobedience necessary for him to remain in sumak kawsay. The empowerment of this dynamic is that his wife lives "in the dark" or hidden away from Church authorities but with the full support of Guamote and Riobamba mashikuna. Professor Ituaza and Gloria Ituaza provide spiritual guidance to the Guamote network, which makes up part of his congregation. The Guamote ayllu leadership has been introduced to the realities of an empowered warmi who lives an alternative life with a mashi priest. The Guamote warmikuna have an example of warmi empowerment within Catholicism, even if it entails breaking Catholic rules. But the fact that they work together in solidarity demonstrates professor Ituaza's political contribution to the network for the possibilities of gender equality as part of sumak kawsay.

The Ituazas' contribution is political and spiritual. Catholicism. It was never clear to me if Church officials are aware of professor's Ituaza's private life. Gloria Ituaza works

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20 A mishu is a mestizo professional.

freely alongside him in Guamote. She is held in high esteem in the network. She often sets university studies aside to contribute in any way she can.

> I love Beto. He is very smart. He is very devoted. When we met I was sad we could never have a sawary raimy. But he pointed out that love for each other and for others was just the same without it. Now we work together. I only live in the dark with the church, not with our mashikuna. I will never be a priest. I do not care. My goal is to be a lawyer and a social worker. There is so much work in Guamote. My family understands. All of Guamote knows and understands our love. Our life. That is the meaning of sumak kawsay for me. (September 15, 2009. Riobamba.)

Fluent in Kichwa and Spanish, the Ituazas are the bridge between the Catholic institution and devoted runakuna who enjoy the spiritual guidance of a Catholic priest they see as one of their own. Padre Ituaza gives mass in Kichwa, offers spiritual worship to runakuna deities of life such as Pachamama or Inti. During the different raimy in Guamote, sumak kawsay rather than Christian concepts like the holy Trinity or the holy spirit take center stage. Most impressive and inspiriting during these raimy is that one has to understand Kichwa to realize that runa Catholic mass is often devoid of Christian worshiping.

Gloria Ituaza keeps inventory of new babies, baptisms, and first communions. She advices warmikuna on the many difficulties they confront with their families in Guamote. On the few times I accompanied, I realized that it takes a strong spirit, an immeasurable love for others, and to endure such poverty and to commit a lifetime of assistance. The Ituaza's loyalty to their congregation is devoid of political reciprocity that exists in the San Roque network. Gloria Ituaza must remain on the periphery of the ayllu, while simultaneously contributing to sumak kawsay. Her freedom to live within Catholicism and as a mashi represents one potential future of runak Christianity and mashi identity in the 21st century, as influenced and informed by gender equality and freedom.

For professor Ituaza resistance against inequality does not always mean resistance against Christianity. He believes a Catholic practice can incorporate greater social shifts in culture and spirituality like mashi self-definition. The importance of sawary raimy among taita leadership is a crucial shift he supports and understands. He is also aware that structural limitations like celibacy require creativity. The importance of female leadership is tied to the importance of mashikuna self-definition.

As a trained anthropologist Professor Ituaza understand the importance of gender equality from a political perspective. He strives to be a scholar, teach the importance of gender equality as a part of 21st century mashi identity. He is one of the very few mashikuna seen at the FLACSO campus teaching or attending meetings. He pays close attention to political developments in the local and regional ayllu networks. However, he prefers to stay close to his community and his family. Political influence is not important to him as much as spiritual and intellectual contributions to sumak kawsay. His approach has created clashes with other leadership approaches of which he does not approve.

> Mashi Pilamunga will never concede that he uses his ayllu. He has a bank, he has political influence. But it is thanks to the minga. He uses the minga to have power. Here we do not have influence, only god's hand. Mashi Pilamunga does not accept that we hide our warmi. But we do not use the minga and politics. He has not understood. It is not time. If the warmi is less than the wauki, he will not come from under the church's foot. It is better to focus on the mashikuna who need spiritual support. A smile. A hope. (September 15. 2009. Riobamba)

The ideological divide between Professor Ituaza and the Runa Wasi leadership represents the dynamic diversity that can exist in sumak kawsay. Both approaches to self-definition are fronts of resistance against western spiritual and ideological domination. The fundamental divide lies in the difference of available space for warmi self-definition, a shift bound to happen in Runa Wasi and the San Roque network.

Beyond Catholicism to find mashi gender equality

Mashi Eduardo Maza is an Anglican priest who shies away from debates concerning national political issues. He understands the political and economic dynamics of the San Roque network. He is a friend of Professor Ituaza's, whom he knows intimately. They grew up together in Riobamba. His main spiritual and professional goals are to provide alternative spiritual spaces for Catholic runakuna who want to pursue a more balanced Christian/mashi life.

Mashi Maza believes that a secular mashi identity is far into the future. He strongly believes that Christian faith has existed long enough in the runa reality to remain in the mashi identity process of the 21st century. But like Runa Wasi taita leadership and Professor Ituaza, he understands the necessity to liberate themselves from Catholic spiritual and political subjugation. This realization unites them as mashi, even though their leadership differs as we have seen. For mashi Maza the social spaces made available by Andean mashikuna mobilization provide spiritual exploration that can compromise Christianity, with mashi identity and gender equality. He thinks this process must begin locally, within individual ayllukuna, given the diversity of political and economic diversity they live by.

Mashi Maza believes that a spiritual shift towards equality within Christianity is possible in the Anglican Church in Ecuador. Mashi Maza considers himself an alternative to the political/spiritual unity that potently creates great ideological divides among runakuna. He sees himself as a source of spiritual guidance as an Anglican priest and as a mashi

> Mashi Pilamunga is an old friend since we were teens. I also know other taitas. But with time we separated. I do not like to use the minga for political reasons. Mashi Pilamunga is intelligent. He knows about the Anglicans. He knows he can have a warmi and children. But he does not want to be Anglican. There is no power in it. Only spirituality of taita Dios. That is why I am no longer Catholic, mashi Cosme. I did not renounce it like you did. I do not hide like mashi Ituaza. I do not fight like

> mashi Pilamunga. I simply left like an ungrateful son. Now I am only Anglican and I share god's word. My warmi is free. We live under Inti's eye. (September 17. Riobamba. Night notes).

That warmikuna could Anglican priesthoods and be political and spiritual influential in their ayllu is a shift that will take some time in Ecuador. For now, the possibility of mashi Anglican priests is a step forward in mashi self-definition within Christianity. To be Anglican and mashi is a tremendous example of interculturality within sumak kawsay. It is also a step in the right direction for mashi gender equality. Mashi Maza' courage has opened a route for other leadership who remain faithful to Christianity and who want to openly practice sawary raimy and sumak kawsay as complete individuals.

For now, this shift remains rare but it exists nevertheless. The Anglican Church as an institution understands the powerful potential of understanding, respecting, and encouraging sumak kawsay as practiced by mashikuna in Ecuador in the 21st century (cite). Their ability to practice Christianity and sumak kawsay simultaneously remains in direct contrast to other Christian sects such as Mormonism that requires the renunciation and abandonment of syncretism and alternative worldviews.

What is important to keep in mind in these religious/political developments is that the ability to practice sumak kawsay within Christianity is crucial for the continuation of the mashi identity and the achievement of gender equality in the 21st century within the ayllu. The hegemony of five centuries of Christianity in the American continent makes it almost impossible for mashikuna and most indigenous peoples to abandon it in the near future. However, the fact that they have been able to practice and keep alive syncretism signals an optimism towards the continuation of mashi identity and gender equality within the ayllu, both a threat to Christian hegemony and spiritual/political domination in the 21st century.

Conclusion

The main goal in this dissertation has been to present a snap shot of urban mashikuna everyday life in the San Roque District, Quito. Mashikuna, are politically active runakuna, referred to as part of the Ecuadorian indigenous peoples in English speaking social research. The ethnography analyze here argues that mashikuna identity exists in their everyday practice of sumak kawsay of which the political, economic, and spiritual realms are a part of, and informed by. Sumak kawsay is part of the Pachamama worldview, one that is practiced every day. The argument here is that mashi identity exists as long as mashikuna practice sumak kawsay.

Understanding urban mashi identity this way helps outsiders realize that, regardless of processes like bilingualism, urbanity, atheism, advanced technology, or transnational political mobilization, there is a core mashi identity that springs from the Pachamama worldview. A focus on local, everyday life, away from national-level representational politics is necessary to understand and contribute to the mashi resistance against inequality and their active role in their ayllu human development in the twenty-first century. It is at this local level that mashi identity is lived, embodied, and reproduced, constantly and without interruption, regardless of national political ebbs and flows.

The Runa Wasi ayllu network in San Roque, Quito was chosen to demonstrate the on-going existence and development of mashikuna ayllu in the city to dispel the common misunderstanding that "indigenous" life and identity is almost exclusively rural. A brief historical background is shared also to show that mashi presence in Quito dates back before 1492. A historical understanding of their practice of sumak kawsay and an exploration of this practice itself help outsiders understand that urban realities are not new to them, and that regardless of outside cultural, political, or economic influences, mashi identity continues.

This brief snap shot into the life of the Runa Wasi ayllu will contribute to the understanding of "indigenous" identity and resistance in Quito. The reader can realize that Ecuadorian national level mashi politics is only one contribution to their resistance and identity in the 21st century. As it is often the case in the study of political mobilization, much attention is given to leadership, focusing on gains and losses, at the cost of understanding the people at the local level. There is a lot to learn in terms of political gains at the local level because it is here that resistance against inequality, self-assertion, and progress is experience, modified, and tried repeatedly for as long as there is a community. In the case of the San Roque ayllu network, their everyday resistance amid political gains of the 1990's is lived every day, in their family, their community, within the larger Quito context.

In the context of ayllu life and the Pachamama worldview lived everyday ethnography was the best tool of exploration and analysis. Sumak kawsay requires cooperation so everyday life participation is necessary. To understand the life of sumak kawsay constant practice is necessary as it is to learn the accompanying language. To live a life was intimately communal, as that experienced by mashikuna requires a friendship and

trust for the outsider that takes time, dedication, patience, and love. Ethnography of one year provided a brief experience of such a life among Quito mashikuna.

Limitations

But regardless of the overall goal, this ethnography had shortcomings that should be briefly discussed. Mashikuna are extremely weary of outsiders. This is understandable. They gain very little from a graduate student learning about their life. They have a lot to lose if someone successfully infiltrates their network. Co-optation and spying are two issues mashi communities constantly struggle against. This dynamic prevented my full participation in their political action networks in relation to Pachakutik, CONAIE, and CODEMPE. Although I met Marlon Santi and Lourdes Tiban at a Pachakutik conference in April of 2009, it was clear they shrugged me off as an unusual outsider from the north.

I was not successful at living within they ayllu or become fluent in Kichwa. These two shortcomings are interrelated. I did not move into Runa Wasi even when I gained their trust and could live within the ayllu at least on the second half of my ethnography. I could not overcome my uneasiness at living so intimately with so many people. This inability restricted immensely my opportunities to practice and understand Kichwa much more than I accomplished. The same way, Runa Wasi mashikuna never quite understood how I could be a mashi if I lived alone in an apartment in San Blas. Although I lived within walking distance of San Roque and in proximity to Old Town, my western life style prevented me from an intimacy I witnessed in the ayllu.

Reality of human relations

Towards the end of the ethnography I fell out of favor with some Runa Wasi leadership, particularly Mr. Pilamunga. Whether it was a specific incident I discuss below, or

if they used this incident to expulse me of the council has never been clear to me. Mashikuna form leadership within age groups. As in the taita council, teenagers select their leadership. Juan Carlos Tene, Marcos Tene, and Juan Manuel Mazalema are such teen leaders. They approached me about re-starting the San Roque soccer league that had been dormant for some years. They thought it brilliant to approach me for financial support to buy gear and uniforms for two teams. As a sportsman myself, I had encouraged them for us to play soccer in the San Roque fields on Tuesdays.

Perhaps the error was to not consult the taita council about our project. Juan Carlos and Marcos confided in me that they wanted to impress everyone with this project and present it as a surprise. San Roque mashi teens were very excited about our league project and signed up for teams. In two weeks we had roughly fifty players signed up, all very excited about the league. We began to shop around uniforms in San Blas. The Santa Barbara Rotary Club was very supportive of this project when I brought it up and suggested I look for donations from Quito clubs which they would match.

The project never got off the ground, at least not with our contribution. Runa Wasi taita leadership accused me of circumventing their authority and inciting disobedience among the young men. They forbade the creation of the league and refused the uniforms. They refused to approve and support the leave even after we explained how the project had germinated, and that every young man who had signed up was waiting for their approval. Although I was not officially excluded, I was no longer invited to meetings. Although parents told me they did not approve the council's actions, the council ruling stayed. A few young men from the network, not from Runa Wasi suggested we donate the uniforms, soccer balls,

and nets to their teams. We declined because such donation would exacerbate an already compromised situation.

The unofficial expulsion was devastating and surprising. The council's decision was swift. On the positive side, the council's decision let me understand an undercurrent dynamic in the ayllu among taitas and other influential Runa Wasi mashi. This undercurrent had been kept away from me. This made sense to me the more I saw it because it was a divisive dynamic. Mashikuna will not disclose divisive issues to outsiders. My unofficial expulsion was triggered by a division among mashi groups that go beyond matters of soccer teams, decision-making protocol, and hurt egos.

Juan Carlos, Marcos, and Juan Manuel are part of a group of families who no longer agree with the taita leadership. The council's reliance on Catholic congregations, total control of the Runa Kawsay bank, and little room for women's voice had taken its toll on influential women. They understood this control as coercive, unfair, and unproductive. The inability to include women into the Runa Wasi council or to have a system of fair representation in voting issues had exhausted mashi women who strive for spiritual, political, and economic equality within the ayllu.

Solidarity amid ayllu split and future research

Runa Wasi split into two new ayllukuna. Unable to re-structure the taita council, the ayllu went through an extended dialogue to best begin two new ayllu with differing ideologies of gender, voice, and empowerment. The Cajilema sisters, their families and mashi allies successfully seceded from Runa Wasi with the help of the Sula sisters and Inti Nan. The Inti Nan law firm benefited from having two new partnerships each with specific needs, which, although ideologically different, remain in political solidarity with each other

and the San Roque ayllu network. This solidarity is in tune with sumak kawsay. Their differences do not rupture their solidarity through identity and history.

Runa Wasi remains a Catholic ayllu because the leadership benefits the most from their relationship with the Church than from allying themselves with an emergent Anglican Church in Ecuador. By moving south and starting anew as the Runa Kawsay ayllu, Mr. Pilamunga and the council have consolidated their economic and political influence in San Roque, extending their network further south as they incorporate new ayllukuna, and in Riobamba where they have become even more active.

The overall success of the 1990 uprising has given Runa Kawsay unparalleled influence in Quito's city hall, successfully pushing for the Trole route to reach way down south to their new ayllu headquarters. In less than two years Runa Kawsay was able to build thirty houses that make up their ayllu, making a name for themselves with local mestizo authorities and the ayllu networks in the area. Local Catholic leadership parade the success of Runa Kasway as a clear example of the potential existing in Catholic faith and loyalty among mestizos and runakuna alike.

Meanwhile the Cajilema sisters and their allies remained in San Roque and founded the Casa Unida ayllu. Mashi Marta Sula was able to mediate a settlement for them from Runa Kawsay bank. They have bought one house in Quito and one in Otavalo with the proceedings from this settlement. Their ayllu is small, made up of twelve families who alternate in between these two houses. Carlos, Maria, Juan Jose, and Marcos Tene are now full time students at the Central University and help run shops in Otavalo and participate in their new council meetings. Being full time business people, they have been able to get into businesses

with Otavalenos who welcome their secularism and commitment to education and entrepreneurship.

The Sula sisters now share all the legal work involved with the ventures of the two new ayllukuna. They take no sides and benefit from doing business with both taita leadership. Nevertheless the Sula sisters have remained in solidarity with Casa Unida because they need support. As an unusual up and coming ayllu, counseled mostly by businesswomen, Casa Unida faces challenges. The major aspect of the Runa Wasi split that required legal mediation was the distribution of the money accrued in Runa Kawsay bank. Although the issue was cleared among the network, it is not clear how much influence Runa Kawsay has had on business dealings with Casa Unida ever since.

It is necessary to continue ethnography of this ayllu dynamic of split and multiplication among mashikuna. It is important to learn and understand how mashi women are able to maintain solidarity while simultaneously strive for political and economic equality with their mashi male counterparts. It is important also to explore and understand how this splitting experience and the reasons behind it, affect university bound, Quito born generations from Casa Unida. We might be able to better understand Ecuadorian mashi identity in this century.

My friendship with my students flourished through Facebook and Skype after my ethnography. It makes me very happy to hear from their scholastic progress and the challenges they face as they continue with their education and life in Quito. They face the same struggles, but it is clear they have obtained necessary tools to resist, and remain in solidarity with the mashikuna mobilization. These young mashi born and raised in Quito are

the first generations of mashi who thrive in a cyber-world and make use of it in various endeavors.

These Quito mashikuna generations assert and recreate mashi identity in ways that need further exploration and analysis. Young mashikuna all over Ecuador have opened thousands of Facebook accounts. Mashikuna cyber networks expand everyday as they find each other and befriend each other and ultimately communicate in real life through via telephone or in person. Even taita leaders have learned to use social media to reach other beyond confines of geography. They advertise their convivencias throughout Ecuador and the Andean region through Facebook.

A brief glance of these accounts shows that these cyber networks are much more compacted and interrelated than pages created and maintained by institutions like Ecuarunari, CONAIE, or CODEMPE. It remains to be seen if this cyber interconnection correlates in real life. Besides interconnection, the expression of culture in the cyber world, and technological influence in new Quito mashi generations remains to be seen. The rapid interconnection among ayllukuna in Ecuador through the Internet is now clear. We must explore how technology influences identity and resistance and its potential role in future mashi mobilization. Will technology be rendered obsolete during mobilization among peoples who have practiced communal communication for thousands of years?

Will new urban generations of mashikuna be successful in their use of the cyber world to call out national level mingas? How will the state react to these new types of mobilizations? These are new and exciting lines of research that should be addressed.

My own practice of sumak kawsay

It was not hard to remain in solidarity with Runa Wasi despite my fall out with the leadership. It was an opportunity to practice solidarity despite diverging views and practices. After my ethnography, many of my former students created Facebook accounts. Facebook in Latin America supplanted Sonico and Myspace.

I soon found many of my mashikuna on Facebook and shared with them how to use it for business. For example, a few new taita leaders from Runa Kawsay participated on on-line discussions about how to promote their bank on line in Kichwa and Spanish. This idea has been successful because so many mashi all over the Sierra now have Facebook accounts. The webpage is in Spanish, but the comments and connections in the inbox and chat are done in Kichwa. Other ayllu networks have done similar banking ventures on Facebook. I got no financial gain from the idea from the workshops. The movement continues and I have made many friends in Ecuador to whom I will call on when I begin teaching in Latin America. It is important to keep communication through social media using our languages to keep others from peeking and destabilizing.

La Quema del Año Viejo is an Andean tradition whose roots lie in the Pachamama worldview but is practiced virtually by everyone in Ecuador. This tradition, the Burning of the Old Year, involves the creation of an effigy with combustible material housed in a burning shack. This tradition is carried out in jest from beginning to end. The effigy is created after the image of an actual person or persons, and its burning often carries a social message. During the month of December one sees all over Quito the effigies outside store fronts, in front of houses or police stations, tied to the hoods of cars, or walked by intoxicated men asking for donations to finish its burning shack. The collected donations are used to finish decorating and buy moonshine for the actual end of the year celebrations. In front of

supermarkets effigies of store managers are placed sitting with a bottle of booze and the effigy of a lover next to him. This means the manager is a down to earth individual who enjoys extramarital relationships and liquor for he let his workers build the effigy.

The midnight effigy burning on the last day of the year is a ritualistic and symbolic message to persuade the manager to abandon this inappropriate behavior, a point seemingly agreed upon by his loving staff. At midnight thousands of effigies burn in Quito as thousands of Año Viejos burn and people celebrate in an attempt to leave behind sorrows and pain and welcome a new year full of hope, love, and health. If the store manager thought his private life was off limits to his employees or unbeknownst to them, he will have to reconsider his ways. His secrets are in the open in the store and the neighborhood, where everyone saw his effigy and that of his lover for a week before their infernal and celebratory end.

In Runa Wasi the effigies are usually of the taita council members whom mashikuna believe have transgressed and need to make amends and rectify their behavior. The Burning of the Old Year is in no way a sign of disrespect or rebellion, however, mashikuna who build the effigies attempt to remain anonymous. Teenage mashikuna help with the anonymity attempt by building effigies of past lovers with their new partners, a teacher they do not particularly like, or a drunken Catholic priest. In the last week of the year, when the effigies remain in display or are carried around San Roque to collect donations, the taita council members effigies are mingled with the others so that a vision of community representation becomes apparent rather than a direct message to the leadership. For the message and to whom it is direct can sometimes be serious, even when delivered in the form of the Burning Old Year depending of its weight in truth and urgency.

The Burning of the Old Year in 2009 was that of Manuelcha Pilamunga, taita Padrecito, taita Jose Manuel Caranja, and a Catholic priest, among effigies of past lovers, a police officer, a mishu (a mestizo man in a suit), all under an intricate shack that represented wealth. The effigies of the Runa Wasi council were in full view until the very last night of the year. For almost a week Runa Wasi teens had had fun parading the effigies of past lovers and the mishu pretending to lament their lost love and their poverty, asking for donations in San Roque. It was quite fascinating to tag along and witness how runa teens go through a cleansing and healing process of lost love in the ritual of Burning of the Old Year. They were laughed at, consoled, and offered new love prospects everywhere they stopped and asked for donations. When I showed up at Runa Wasi at ten at night on the last day of the year I was taken aback when I peeked inside the shack and saw the effigies of Runa Wasi taita.

"You will not say anything of who made any of the effigies mashi Cosme" student Marquitos Tene warned me. This information was confidential among Runa Wasi mashikuna because there was a clear message and critique for their taita leadership. The effigies of the taita were seated next to that of the priest. They were holding a basket of plastic fruit, instant soups, rice and quinoa. They were seated in the middle of the shack. The rest of the effigies were seated at their feet, holding old sunglasses, old purchase receipts, some food, and crosses. At first I was uneasy about the Burning of the Old Year Runa Wasi had created. I thought of leaving because I did not want to be considered part of the project even though I had walked San Roque asking for donations. But the mashikuna who were out in the street celebrating would not hear of it and instead invited me to witness their celebration. I was amazed at how much the taitakuna laughed at the effigies when they went up in flames and

how much of the celebration they had been throughout the night and until this point. The Burning of the Old Year was really as space of symbolic criticism that everyone understood.

Out of the entire year, La Quema del Año Viejo is the only occasion where alcohol consumption is allowed, and drunken mashikuna are tolerated drunken behavior in its various expressions. La Quema del Año Viejo is a combination of runakuna and western celebration and concept of time. As is tradition in many American indigenous communities, the old must be burned in order to reemerge new, changed, a form of tabula rasa of life. This concept is different from the burning of foods as offerings for family and friends who have moved on to other forms of existence after death. For example, there is the burning of clothes after a loved one has died. The burning of clothes represents a departure from sharing life with this person to that of remembering them, another form of sharing life, continuance. The burning also symbolizes a new, different way of life onward. The burning helps understand and come to terms with the reality of their departure and to focus on an altered life.

The last day of the western calendar year also holds a transformative meaning for western people. The old year is left behind in order to focus on what lies ahead. Celebrations of New Year are full of hope and resolutions, providing people with an opportunity to improve, to meet goals and to find further happiness. The ubiquity of western New Year reaches around the globe as societies embrace a new beginning on a continuum of time. The artificial break of time is hardly noticed by many, focusing instead on the embracing of hope on a new chance of 365 days. For the runakuna, as it is for most indigenous Americans time is a continuum whose partition is artificial and they are conscious of it because they have kept alive celebrations of important transitions and new beginnings that are not synchronized with mainstream society.

Such is the case for mashikuna during New Year. Runa Wasi takes advantage of the splurging that accompanies end of the year celebrations by stocking in goods that are popular during these times such as clothing, Christmas adornments, foods, new clothing, and music. There is no sense of yearly transition for San Roque runakuna in general, and definitely not for Runa Wasi, especially among the elder generations. Christmas and New Year time is an opportunity to for runakuna to make money, working ten to twelve hours a day the half of November and all of December. Only the elder who take turn taking care of babies and toddlers stay at home at Runa Wasi, everyone else is out and about hustling from Quito to Otavalo to Riobamba, closing deals, taking out merchandize on credit, selling it and cancelling debts. There is an imperative need to make enough income to pay off debt and achieve an extra bit of money for the incoming year, for example, parents who must invest in the expenses of a new scholastic year.

Quito Runa Wasi generation has learned to celebrate burning the Old Year as much for the fun of making an effigy of someone in the community, begging for funds, the party during the burning, as much to use it to send political messages. This was my last celebration in San Roque. It was a jarring experience to witness some of the runa young men drunk in the street along with many people all over San Roque and the rest of Quito. The men danced around a burning fire and the women watched from close by. When it was time to burn the effigies, everyone cheered and laughed. The effigies burned and some of the kids helped fuel the fire with dried hey and gasoline.

The plastic food burned as the shack collapsed. The message was clear. There were mashikuna who felt their leadership was being unfair to the ayllu and resources were not being distributed equally. The effigy of the priest represented the colluding of the taita

leadership with the Catholic Church. Mr. Pilamunga's absence from the burning only fueled the underlying sentiments represented in the effigies. Runa Wasi spoke one last time before the year was over. Their voice clamored justice. The taita leadership had been relayed the overall ayllu sentiment.

The inability of Runa Wasi to pay heed to indirect message from the ayllu fueled the split that happened later in 2012. Runa Wasi mashikuna have been extremely successful in finding political and economic independence in Quito. The success of their various projects like their Runa Kawsay bank, their financial network, and spiritual leadership is inspiring. Yet, work towards internal gender equality still remains. The intellectual, political, and spiritual tools necessary to accomplish it already exist in their worldview. It remains to be seen when a rupture with structural gender inequality will take place for the new founded Runa Kawsay ayllu. It remains an issue of when rather than if. For now, we must cherish the concepts of sumak kawsay as lived in the concepts of communal solidarity, spiritual strength, and political alliance that exist within the Ecuadorian mashikuna. It is through these concepts of community solidarity and strength that they have been able to survive genocides, displacement, and racism in a country built out of the ashes of the Spanish Conquest and the theft of their lands and the attempt to destroy their spirituality, worldviews, and life itself.

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