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Guaman Poma’s Legacy: Snapshots of Globalization, Identity, and Literacy through the Urban Amazonian Indigenous Intellectual Lens

by

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my father, Leonidas Rogerio Villamar Sisley, who was my source of inspiration in life and continues to be my source of inspiration from beyond, to my mother Mercedes Romero de Villamar, whose constant emotional support made it possible for me to finish my dissertation, and to my family: my sister Mylene Villamar de Spanos, my nephew Andreas Spanos Villamar, my niece Hortencia Spanos Villamar, my aunt Rosita Souza de Quiroz, my uncle Fernando Romero, and our Susanita Pari Velasquez. I love you all!
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Abstract

This dissertation initially utilizes the analogy of an Andean intellectual’s *magnum opus* of resistant visual art and text created in the 1600s, to explore the impact of current global influences on the identity of Awajún and Wampís Amazonian students residing in Lima, the capital city of Perú. The participants in this study are urban Amazonian indigenous intellectuals applying to enter, currently studying in degree programs, or pursuing graduate degrees at local universities of Lima. Using an amalgamation of Photovoice and Photo-Elicitation components, digital photography, open-source applications, and computer technology, participants creatively expressed through their visual discourse what it means to be an Awajún or Wampís citizen of Perú during difficult times of conflictive global interests and unattended local needs. Between the time of preliminary fieldwork in the Amazonian communities in 2008, and the final interviews in Lima of 2010, violence erupted during a local road blockade in the Amazon that claimed the lives of Awajún/Wampís citizens and mestizo police officers alike. It is in that convoluted context where the dissertation delves into the views of the students and professionals regarding their own indigenousness, nationality, and “new” literacies, languages, and technologies that should be considered by the mestizo population and governments in order to make Perú a safer and more inclusive place for indigenous peoples from the Amazon.
Chapter 1
Una Imagen que Cuenta la Verdad (An Image that Tells the Truth)

Introduction: The Legacy of Guaman Poma

Long before illustrious Peruvian mestizo intellectuals like José Carlos Mariátegui addressed what became labeled as the “indigenous problem,” and announced true Marxist class consciousness to fight the excesses of landowners in the Andes (Mariátegui 1971), that is, long before local adaptations of a European language and ideology could be turned into books to be read, there were the *originarios*¹ (originarian peoples) who championed change, truth and justice for their own using their particular literacies. They did so orally, like the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui who recalled the crimes committed by the Spaniard Conquistadors and dictated them to his mestizo scribe Martín de Pando (Yupanqui, et al. 1992[1570]), or visually, like Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala², whose line drawings and captions (Figure 1) arranged in a European-style manuscript were meant to be delivered to the king of one of the global powers of the times, Spain. Guaman Poma’s visual and multilingual texts, among other things, expressed his contempt for the abuses committed by the crown, and recommended a “good government” that amalgamated dominant Spanish culture with local practices (Frye 2006). He used images to tell his truth. By the same token, his illustrative text manifested an identity that accommodated local and European traditions (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1615), and acknowledged local literacies that his intended elite European audience was not aware existed (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1615). In that truth of “new” literacies that he eloquently illustrates with drawings, the idea of belonging,

¹ The term was used by some people interviewed during fieldwork to refer to themselves as first peoples on the land.
² Exact dates for his birth and death are not known, but Frye (2006) estimates Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala was born between 1535 and 1550, and died sometime after 1615, which is the year he finished his chronicle.
his identity as a person, as an intellectual, and as a member of an indigenous group, are also implied. After more than five hundred years, that idea of belonging is as valid for the indigenous peoples of Perú today, as it was for Titu Cusi Yupanqui or Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. In this dissertation, I delve into what that “belonging” may mean in practice (Hall and Held 1990:173-88) to the indigenous intellectuals who utilized digital images they captured with cameras in order to have a conversation about identity with me. As I elaborate below, the key questions that drove my research (which are elaborated in Chapter 2) focus on how these student intellectuals define and negotiate/redefine their identity, and how the proliferation of literacies in a global context influences their sense of indigenous identity.

The images the Awajún and Wampís students and professionals captured with their cameras for my dissertation research are in some senses analogous to those created by Guaman Poma in the 1500s, in that they provide insight into questions of identity and belonging. However, nowadays these images should be seen in the context of a world in which there is an abundance of digital images captured by cameras everywhere.

Members of ethnic groups choose to belong as citizens, but that action of choosing is not always accepted. Indeed, it is not that optional after all, if we consider the structure of governments or dominant groups that have their own interests (Rosaldo 2006). That is, there is a constant interplay between agency and structure in the negotiation of an identity (Nagel 1994). According to Giddens (1984), agency is the capacity of a person to make a difference to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events. If a person loses the capability to make a difference, “that is, to exercise some sort of power,” he or she ceases to be an agent (Giddens 1984:14). It is the agency element of ethnic identity that is the main interest in this dissertation. I
will explore the agency of Awajún and Wampis intellectuals (technical institute, university students, and professionals), as they captured visually what they considered to be their indigenousness and the influences of globalization on their culture. Thus I emphasize a visual form of expression as a form of literacy. I will stress the importance of visual text as a “new” literacy that is usually taken for granted, or seen as a marker of “non-literate cultures” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006:16-7) in this globalized age of ubiquitous visual stimuli. Text in this context
of digital images will depart from its usual printed media environment, and we will see it as anything produced in a communicative process that has meaning for a particular social context; included in this definition of text we will find “symbols” and “pictures” (Phillips and Hardy 2002:4). Of course, the social context in which the dissertation research occurred was one in which politics could not be avoided.

**The Devil’s Bend: The Bagua Incident**

One particular incident, which happened as my research began, unintentionally permeated my work; the issues raised by this incident became relevant throughout my work, framing the discussion of indigeneity and the role of images. This incident started with images, live images on TV, and later with a very disturbing picture. Popular wisdom claims that “a picture is worth a thousand words;” my research might suggest rather that “pictures and words together are worth a thousand truths.” Sometimes pictures are powerfully deceiving too, and we have to be aware of that fact, as we will see in the ethics section of my methods chapter. The example of the power of pictures that coincided with my research illustrates the significance of how news images may frame stereotypes of indigenous identity – which then become the context in which my indigenous participants consciously try to reframe that identity.

This incident happened in 2009. It was a time in which indigenous Amazonian populations of Perú were in turmoil due to government policies that aimed at selling their land to transnational North American oil and mining corporations. On June 5th, after a violent confrontation between Peruvian police officers and indigenous Awajún and Wampis demonstrators who were blocking a road called la Curva del Diablo (The Devil’s Bend) in the Amazonian town of Bagua, 35 people were killed. One police officer ended up unaccounted for,
and his body was never found. His family claimed he was still alive but kept captive by the Awajún and the Wampís. Popular versions had it for a time that he had decided to stay in the Amazon to avoid the publicity and humiliation. However, a year later, all of a sudden, an anonymous picture came up with sensationalist headlines in all the newspapers of Perú. One of the least sensational of those headlines, accompanied by a full color photograph occupying an entire page of the most important newspapers in the country simply read, *Una imagen que cuenta la verdad* (An image that tells the truth). The photograph was taken by a passerby, most likely by an Awajún or Wampís participant with a cellular phone, but it was a disturbing image. It showed a mob of Awajún and Wampís protesters parading the bloodied missing police officer during the day of the incident. The Awajún and Wampís young protesters shown in the picture were defiantly looking at the camera with spears in their hands and proud gestures of victory. The officer was at their mercy, shown being totally submissive, exhausted, hurt – probably agonizing, and a victim of the violence of that day. That image told a truth of that moment, and graphically and painfully real, and it came to define the indigenous struggle for many in the country. But it did not tell the entire picture of that struggle, which is as old as the attempts to colonize the Awajún and Wampís territories since the times of the conquest. The struggle involved negligence and prejudice by passing governments to the indigenous peoples of the Amazon. The struggle is one of thousands of indigenous citizens claiming their identity as such and demanding their rights to belong to their nation. That was missing from that picture.

**Political Context and Government Policies**

In addition, the broader political context in which my research took place requires some attention, because it provides the globalized background for the research interests discussed
throughout the dissertation. First, I will mention the unexpected actions from the Peruvian president and congress on behalf of national and globalized interests in the territories of the Peruvian Amazon (in large part Awajún/Wampís territories). Second, these actions produced dramatic local reactions from the indigenous populations who live in those territories, and there was extensive visual media coverage of these events in Lima, the Peruvian capital. Finally, we can discuss the government’s one-sided educational policies publicized to ease the conflictive situation they created. These events illustrate the globalized conditions that affect this dissertation, and thus become the current context that affects the values, ideologies, and culture of the students I interviewed; that is, the “building blocks” of the ethnic identity (Nagel 1994:152) that urban Amazonian indigenous intellectual participants of this research will (re)define using visual tools.

According to Peruvian historian Gerardo Renique (2009), the current problem the Awajún and Wampís have with the Peruvian government started with presidential decrees and congressional laws that involved their ancestral territories. It became a critical matter in 2008 when two presidential decrees that went on to congress in order to be passed as laws caused local angry rallies and road blockades organized by indigenous peoples of the Peruvian Amazon. These rallies and blockades were masterminded by the Peruvian pan-Amazonian indigenous organization – AIDESEP or Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de La Selva Perúana (Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest). Among other things, the presidential decrees introduced to congress were meant to take away the collective-property regime of highland Andean and lowland Amazonian indigenous communities in order to make these territories appealing for global private investment like logging, mining, and oil of transnational corporations (Renique 2009).
Plenty of visual and written local media coverage that sensationalizes the dramatic events that happened a year after the 2008 road blockade in the Amazon is evident. Things calmed down for a while, but in 2009, congress failed to vote for the derogation of Law 1090, called *La Ley Forestal* or the Forestal Law (El Comercio 2009a:A6). According to AIDESEP’s President Alberto Pizango, again this law would give the Amazon and its wood away to private corporations so that they could exploit it at the expense of the indigenous groups who live there (El Comercio 2009b:A2). During rallies and a road blockade at the Devil’s Bend on June 5th, shots began to be fired by the police officers in charge of controlling the demonstrations, and machetes and spears were used by the Awajún/Wampís who lived in the area of conflict (El Comercio 2009c:A2). Many people died, and years later, there are still unresolved issues like the fate of the police officer captured by that cellular phone camera (El Comercio 2010c:A10). These photographs illustrate the power of visual and written media to define events and make public accusations against indigenous people claimed to be responsible for the death of a police officer.

Finally, the government’s actions deserve some attention here. There were three important policy developments while all the events mentioned above were happening: (1) a reactive, as opposed to proactive, law that claimed to allow inclusion of the voices of indigenous peoples affected by global economic policies; (2) the publication of the national educational policy objectives; and (3) the expansion of the Internet in hard to reach areas of the country – including the Amazon.

First, because of public pressure and the influence of the massive media discourse regarding the rallies and their dramatic consequences, congress approved a law that requires the government to inform indigenous populations prior to the implementation of any type of policy
that could affect the Amazonian territories where they live. However, this law at first did not
require the consent from the indigenous populations involved, unless it was a case of danger to
the integrity and survival of the group involved (El Comercio 2010a:A6). The debate over this
law caused discomfort among indigenous Amazonians once again (El Comercio 2010b:A7).

Also, in 2008, the Diseño Curricular Nacional de Educación Básica Regular (National
Curriculum Design for Basic Regular Education) was published, with 11 objectives until the year
2021 specified in the document. It was all greatly publicized. Among these educational
objectives, emphasis was placed on the growth of a personal, social, and cultural identity for a
democratic, intercultural, and ethical society in Perú; the mastering of Castilian Spanish to
promote communication among all Peruvians; the preservation of the mother tongue (native
language) and the promotion of its growth and practice; the knowledge of English as an
international language in the framework of globalization; and the mastering of information and
communication technologies in order to promote an autonomous learning process throughout an
individual’s life (Ministerio de Educacion 2008:21-30).

It is in the latter educational objective where we can also see recent government actions
to provide the necessary infrastructure for the expansion of information and communication
technologies throughout the country. After the deaths of police officers and Awajún/Wampís
villagers in 2009, some sectors of public opinion claimed that these deaths occurred because the
Amazon had been forsaken and forgotten by Peruvian society. By then the government had
already negotiated the BAS project. The government’s BAS project – el Proyecto de Banda
Ancha Satelital para Localidades Aisladas (Satellite Broadband Project for Communities in
Isolation), is a joint venture signed in 2009 (February 27th) with a major telephone company of
Perú aiming at providing more than 3,852 isolated communities with the telecommunications
infrastructure and services they need (Luna 2010:A12). In the words of the Minister of Transportation and Communications of Perú at the time, Mr. Enrique Cornejo Ramírez, this will be “an instrument of modernity and integration with the rest of the country and the world” (FITEL N.d.).

In the midst of such a politicized educational and infrastructural context, my dissertation research took place. In that globalized context, considering English as an international language being implemented as educational policy in local Amazonian schools, those of us who have visited the communities know the difficulties involved. In 2008, I interviewed an Awajún English teacher in a community school. He did not speak a word of English, but taught it anyway to comply with the school curriculum design. By the same token, I have seen firsthand the reach of the Internet in Awajún community schools even before any government agreements were signed. Some of these communities sometimes have as a main access “road” the river. Nonetheless, they use one official teléfono comunal (communal phone), but keep three private businesses in the form of Internet cafes with at least ten computers each. Messing (2007) has explored indigenous identity when she studied the effects of modernity on discursive practices of Nahuatl-speaking communities in Mexico (Messing 2007). I find it intellectually appealing and anthropologically necessary to delve into the effects that some massive global influences (e.g., English and the Internet) may have on the indigenous identities of urbanized Amazonian intellectuals in Perú.

The Awajún and Wampís in the Ethnographic Record

The Awajún and Wampís are among many Indigenous peoples that belong to the Amazon Basin. According to the latest census figures there are 332,975 indigenous people in the
Amazon. The ethnic groups that have the greatest concentration of population are the Asháninka with 26.6% (88,703 inhabitants), and the Aguaruna (Awajún) with 16.6% (55,366 inhabitants). The remaining ethnic groups, according to those figures – as reported by the Chief of the INEI, or Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (National Institute of Statistics and Informatics), Mr. Renan Quispe Llanos – reach less than 7.0% (INEI 2009). The Awajún are considered members of the “Jívaro language family” (Brown 1985:27), along with “the Shuar, the Huambisa, and the Achuar (also known as the Achuará or Achual)” they inhabit upland tropical forest regions in eastern Ecuador and north-central Peru. Awajún populations “are found in the southern and western reaches of this area, along the Alto Río Marañón and its tributaries and, in lesser numbers, along tributaries of the Rio Huallaga” (Brown 1985:270).

The Awajún (Aguaruna) and Wampís (Huambisa) have a unique place in the classical anthropological literature, as well as in popular perception, largely because of the image that has been constructed of them as fierce warriors. Well-known ethnographies have exoticized this warrior tradition and culture, with particular emphasis on traditional head-shrinking practices and use of hallucinogens (Harner 1972). According to academic circles, that are contested by at least one ethnographic oral history (Rubenstein 2002), they are categorized in the same Jivaroan linguistic family (Pozzi-Escot 1998) because they share similar cultural traditions and languages with each other and with other groups such as the Shuar (Jívaro), and “Achuales” (Harner 1972:13; Lathrap 1970:109). The communities of these closely related groups have expanded over the southern and northern borders between “Ecuador and Perú,” respectively (Brown 1985:27; Harner 1972:14). Anthropologists have studied their linguistic categorization of colors (Berlin and Berlin 1975), mythological aspects of their culture (Descola 1996; Hendricks 1993; Perkins and Chumpi 2001), and have given accounts of shamanism and the hallucinogenic plants
they use (Harner 1973). Most of these studies have been carried out in the twentieth century. The exception here would be a publication by Green (2009a) that delves into Awajún identity, but shows in the front cover (of the Spanish version) a photograph of the dramatic manifestations of 2009. Nonetheless, he gives his disclaimer that the book is not about those events, but about other aspects of Awajún identity and culture.

On the other hand, Latin American social scientists have written extensively in Spanish about similar aspects of the Jivaroan cultures. Pellizzaro published a book about the Shuar mythology (Pellizzaro 1990). Seymour-Smith wrote about what she calls the *tribus Jivaras* (Jivaroan tribes) and described the Shiwiar or Mayna ethnic identity in her ethnography (Seymour-Smith 1988). She further asserts that most of these groups are aware that these names they adopt have been used by the mestizos, a term coined by the Spaniards of the 18th century to label the mixture of people who have Spanish and “Indian” descent (Yelvington 2005:261), and the Jivaroan tribes utilize them themselves to deal with non-native bureaucracies (Seymour-Smith 1988). It is also interesting to note that many of the most complete ethnographic and historical publications on the Awajún and related groups have been sponsored by research organizations founded by Catholic priests. Some of the ethnographic work of this type narrates the resistance of the Awajún, Wampís and others to incursions, first from the Andean Incas, and then by the Conquistadors later (Guallart 1990; Guallart 1997); the magic, myth and religion of the Awajún (Guallart 1989; Regan 1993); and history of the educational systems implemented by Catholic missionaries (San Román 1994). Protestant missionaries with linguistic interests, such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) have also contributed with their historical accounts of Amazonian education and their pedagogical contributions to official bilingual education programs in the Amazon (Larson and Davis 1981). However, the Awajún and Wampís gained
their popular appeal locally in the prose of 2010 Nobel Literature laureate, the Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, when he wrote *The Green House* (Vargas Llosa 1968). In his novel we find the exoticizing of the customs and traditions of these two groups as they encounter the mestizo populations of Santa Maria de Nieva in the Marañon. The Awajún/Wampís nowadays are affected by many of the problems that affect other indigenous groups in the world, most centrally, globalization and the invasion of their territories by the non-indigenous modern world interests. In addition, they have to contend with the long tradition of stereotypical academic and media images that present them as exotic tribal warriors, thus creating particular challenges of identity in the contemporary world.

**The Research Questions and Why**

My research questions are a direct consequence of the contexts described above. In 2008, during exploratory fieldwork, and after conversations with a friend who was at the time the president of the CAH or *Consejo Aguaruna-Huambisa* (Aguaruna-Huambisa Council)\(^3\), I was invited to the annual meeting of *apus* (chiefs) in the Awajún village of Urakusa. It was a great honor because I was probably one of fewer than four mestizos\(^4\) at the meeting. The meeting had an agenda, and coincidentally, also had a purpose of which I was unaware. Later, I found out what the immediate problems were. There were heated debates about incursions into the Awajún villages by transnational oil and mining corporation executives and workers. There was also a power struggle within the Awajún/Wampís organization that had weakened the current

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\(^3\) The name Aguaruna is the Spanish version of Awajún. The name Huambisa is also the Spanish version of Wampís. In this dissertation, we will mostly use the name the Awajún and Wampís use when describing themselves, which is the version in their languages. Official versions or descriptions by organizations or third parties will use the Spanish versions Aguaruna and Huambisa, respectively. The organization has a similar role that the one AIDESEP has for the Pan-Amazonian indigenous peoples in Perú. The CAH or *Consejo Aguaruna-Huambisa* (Aguaruna-Huambisa Council) is the one that represents the Awajún and Wampís in official matters and decisions.

\(^4\) Mestizo or mestiza (feminine form) are the terms in Spanish to refer to people of mixed indigenous and European descent.
president’s position in it. I was supposed to introduce a possible pilot program of English
instruction and preparation for local high school students to apply to scholarships in the U.S. Had
it been accepted by the *apus*, it is my guess that it would have improved the president’s position
within the organization as well. That pilot program in the local high schools was something I
believed in at the time, but even though I was not aware of it, it was very difficult for the Awajún
and Wampís while trying to expel incursions from North American corporations, to accept a
doctoral student from a North American university in a pilot program that would affect their
youth. I was later told by the president of CAH that the pilot program had been rejected because
“son los universitarios lo que no quieren. Ellos son los que se resisten” [The university students
are the ones who do not want this. They are the one who resist]. At the same time, it was the
established practice to speak Awajún during public deliberations. At one point during verbal
attacks on my alleged intentions in working on this project, a young *apu* started a comment in
Spanish saying, “Somos indígenas, y ellos no pertenecen…” [“We are indigenous, and they do
not belong…”]; motioning toward my presence there. Right at that moment, the Awajún/Wampís
audience immediately reacted, saying in unison, “Awajún, Awajún…!” They were asking the
*apu* to code-switch to their own language so I could not understand, since my Awajún is very
limited.

My curiosity started kicking in. Putting aside disappointment or pride, I was really
interested in who these university students were, what was their perspective on being an
Indígena (indigenous) during these complicated times of globalized projects and invasions, and
their idea of literacy as bilingual individuals influenced by globalized educational policies. That
is what spurred my interest in the three research questions that guide this dissertation: (1) How
do the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima define their identity? (2) How do the Awajún/Wampís
students in Lima use their adaptive agency to (re)define their identity? And (3) how does the proliferation of literacies in a global context influence the indigenous identity of the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima?

Adaptive agency is a concept from Kottak and Kozaitis that involves the reinterpretation and tailoring of “global cultural influences to maximize resourceful, safe, and meaningful ways of life at the local level” (Kottak and Kozaitis 2008:298). A good example of adaptive agency would be the practical application of computer technology and the Internet by members of a local indigenous village to create official community documents and send them to government agencies. After some library research I also realized that no studies so far have focused on indigenous Amazonian intellectuals. Some anthropological attention has been paid to urban indigenous intellectuals in Perú. Locally, there is documented indigenous scholarship on the survival and adaptation of the Andean Aymara in the capital city of Lima (Suxo Yapuchura 2007; Suxo Yapuchura 2008). Likewise, among landmark anthropological publications that delve into indigenous issues and identity, we can find de la Cadena (2000), who has argued that Quechua intellectual production of the twentieth century included traditional dances and disagreements over what was considered authentic folklore for tourists who came to the city of Cuzco. According to de la Cadena, indigenous intellectuals were not only an educated indigenous elite, but also local leaders at the grassroots level (de La Cadena 2000). Garcia (2005) added the influences of globalized technology and languages on the Quechua identity of the 1990s, and discussed the way local indigenous “intellectuals” perceived these influences (Garcia 2005:133-60). Nonetheless, all of these treatises focus on Andean intellectuals. The space has yet to be created for a discussion of urban Amazonian indigenous intellectuals and their views on globalization, its influences, and identity. These are the circumstances that developed my interest
in Amazonian intellectual indigenous perceptions on globalization (English and Internet technology as part of those global influences) as it filtered into national economic and educational policy, and how this may affect their very dynamic indigenous identity.

**The Relevance of Visual Methodologies**

I will discuss the use of visual methodologies in more detail in my next chapter. However, I offer here three personal vignettes that point to the value of visual approaches, and how these could be effective as a way to explore indigenous identity in a globalized world. In 1995, when I visited the Awajún Marañon communities in the north of Perú for my master’s thesis fieldwork, among other responsibilities given to me in the community where I lived, I was asked to become the photographer of the village. Awajún leaders complained to me that a multitude of other *apâch[i]* (mestizo) and *Gringo* (American or European) investigators – as villagers called us mestizos (persons of mixed Spanish and indigenous descent) and foreign visitors, respectively – always come and go, take picture after picture of the Awajún as if they were animals in a zoo, but the Awajún never even get to see those pictures. As it turned out, I became the family photographer during my stay in the village by their request. I took pictures of many families posing together, and I was glad to develop those pictures (in years previous to the digital camera revolution) to send them back to the families who posed for them. During those months, I “belonged” to the community because I acquired a functional role and an identity that was meaningful to the villagers, in a way that many visual anthropologists have noted (Collier 1957; Collier and Collier 1986). They also “belonged” to the world outside somehow because they now possessed a family picture like those they told me they had seen in the backpacks of so many anthropologists and scientists that had passed through the village.
The second experience happened years later when I was an English teacher in the capital city of Lima. I was amazed by how much information we could get from photographs in order to assess our students’ progress. I was unaware at the time, but I started using an innovative (innovative then) social science visual data-collection methodology to do my class evaluations. As my students did not say much during what we labeled “oral exams,” which were nothing but a rigid and intimidating oral questionnaire, I would ask them to bring a photograph to class so that they could talk about it while showing it to a small group of students and to me. I was amazed by the way these photographs motivated people to talk and share information even in a foreign language at all levels of the learning process. The stories from those photographs became an effective way of learning about what the students wanted to share with me and of evaluating their progress in class. I remember at least three of these students who were Andean Quechua, but did not speak a single word of Quechua. I learned about their backgrounds because during the oral evaluations, they brought pictures of their families dressed in traditional attires and involved in traditional events in the Andes, and the students vividly explained what was going on in those pictures. When I asked them after class why they did not speak Quechua, they all responded with basically the same answer: their parents wanted them to “belong” to the mestizo world in Lima. As children, their parents never spoke Quechua at home. Their Quechua parents wanted them to learn Spanish so that they would not be discriminated against in the capital. By the time I met them, they were already learning English to have better opportunities for a job, or to travel abroad to study.

My last inspiration to use visual methodologies to explore identity involves a three-year old Awajún child and the creative agency of people. In 2008, I visited the area of the Marañón river in the Amazon to see if I could carry out my research among the Awajún in their
communities. During that exploratory visit to the Marañon, the family that gave me shelter had a little three-year old who always wore shorts, a Nike t-shirt, and kept running and playing around the house. At one time, when her godmother wanted to send pictures of handcrafted earrings and traditional beads to an NGO founded by her sister in France, she asked me to take the pictures of these earrings and beads. However, she wanted to use an Awajún model in a traditional dress wearing those earrings. She looked at her godchild, grabbed a table cloth, and a couple of the earrings, and wrapped it all around the three-year old child. The girl looked gorgeous and very traditional, but she was only wearing a red table cloth wrapped around her and a set of earrings hanging around her neck. She asked me to take the picture and I did. At some point this picture would end up on the NGO’s webpage to publicize their traditional handcrafts. I marveled at how creative we can get to define ourselves through actions and images. Gauntlett reminds us about creative methodologies, such as visual methods and Lego play in order to understand how people reflect on their own identities (Gauntlett and Holzwarth 2006). This was fascinating for me and got me hooked on the importance of visual data. Then, I realized that it is not only an image that tells the truth, but there are myriad ways in which images can tell truths. The images that introduce the following chapter begin to tell one of those truths that indigenous Amazonians face on a daily basis, and this dissertation is one attempt at seeing those different ways, and those different truths.
Chapter 2

Figure 2. Ferry-bridge to Santa Maria the Nieva (2008). Awajún villagers charge a fee to help cars cross the river.
Introduction

The picture above (Figure 2) shows snapshots (in a sequence) from a current daily social interaction scenario between Awajún villagers and the mestizo of Perú. The mestizo come from the modern global city of Chiclayo, and cross the river to trade or do any other type of business transaction with the Awajún in their communities. The ferry-bridge featured also helps the Awajún and Wampís to return home after a long trip from the mestizo towns of Bagua, Chiclayo, or any other coastal destinations. The small Awajún village shown is half an hour away from Santa Maria de Nieva (the last town where the mestizo should travel freely in Awajún territory). The photograph also shows how local villagers adapt to a changing world by adopting a cash economy, and using their knowledge and mastery of the local environment (local literacy practices), negotiating a modern and independent indigenous identity in the process. Without the assistance from the Awajún in that village, no mestizo would be able to reach Santa Maria de Nieva since that river is the only point of entry from Bagua or the coastal cities where the mestizo live. When we arrived in the village, we paid a fee, and then drove the car to the wooden platform. Some men in the village jumped to the water to push the ferry while a couple pulled the ropes by swimming ahead and securing them across on fixed poles in order to pull the embarkation. When we got to the other side, a villager aligned the wooden rails by placing them in front of the car tires, and we were back on the road again in no time.

The road referenced here is the literal infrastructure that permits transportation in this difficult terrain. But it also serves as a symbolic ethnographic allegory to guide the passage through some of the dense forests of our two worlds (Indigenous and mestizo). The actual road
sometimes gets engulfed by the forest for large stretches of land. It is a dirt road that the closer to Bagua that we get, the better structured or paved it becomes; conversely, the farther away from Bagua or the coast that we get, the muddier it gets. When it gets muddy (which it does often as seen in the pictures above), it traps motorized vehicles and forces their occupants into highway adventures of push and pull until they are able to free their vehicles and drive away. In this dissertation, I attempt to open the symbolic cross-cultural road of misconceptions and stereotypes. For us as mestizos in Lima, and everyone else in the world to be able to make that cross-cultural connection respectfully, we need to reassess our valuation of the rich diversity of indigenous belief systems and approaches to life in the Amazon. Thus this dissertation is about the indigenous identity of the Awajún and Wampís as seen through the eyes of students and professionals who temporarily live in a globalized Latin American capital city (Lima), and thus must negotiate identities on a daily basis. Lima, to the Awajún and Wampís who reside there, becomes another muddy road of instability and struggle. The temporary nature of their stay in the capital rests on the fact that they are preparing to study at the Universidad Nacional Major de San Marcos (San Marcos Major National University – also known as San Marcos), are already studying there, or have graduated from the university and are pursuing a graduate degree (in San Marcos or elsewhere). This dissertation draws on data collected through the images (photographs) captured by these Awajún and Wampís participants. They creatively used these images to visually and linguistically narrate to me, what it is like to be an Awajún or Wampís Peruvian citizen in their daily interactions, how they see the Awajún and Wampís identity, the global forces that influence them as indigenous citizens, and the literacy practices (local and global) that help them negotiate that identity and survive as modern Amazonian indigenous
Peruvian intellectuals. Thus, this chapter addresses the theoretical foundation of my argument guided by my research questions.

There are three related inquiries in my research that try to deconstruct indigenous intellectual identity in the context of globalization. First, I am interested in how the Awajún and Wampís students in Lima define their identity on a daily basis. Second, and related to this first research interest, I explore how the Awajún and Wampís students in Lima use their adaptive agency to (re)define their identity. Finally, I am also interested in the different literacy practices the Awajún and Wampís students in Lima have been exposed to, locally and globally, and how those practices influence their identity as Amazonian indigenous intellectuals. Personally, as a mestizo social scientist, whose actions have and will affect indigenous individuals, I think these questions are also a reflection of my own search for identity in a country that is exposed to both local ancient, and global modern cultural forces. As a starting point, I introduce one of those ancient cultures, as seen in the ethnographic record.

**Jivaroan Culture to Us, Anthropologists: The Outsider’s Academic Gaze**

I was trained as an anthropologist in North America while going to college in New Jersey, but I had learned about the Awajún and Wampís in Perú as a child through my father’s and uncle’s bedtime stories. I was exposed to ethnographic work related to Jivaroan groups in America during those college years too, but when I first went into the field in the 1990s no Awajún I met knew about those classic ethnographies I had read. Now, I am back in North America, writing a dissertation by situating my research in a western anthropological paradigm, which again will not mean much to the Awajún and Wampís once I return to their communities in Perú. The only significance of my academic history here in the United States to the Awajún
and Wampís upon my return will be in what I do in my practice, and how determined I will be to help as an *apách[i]* (mestizo) ameliorate the problems in which they find themselves just because of the place where they live: the Amazonian rainforest.

The Amazonian rainforest now has become a crossroads between aggressive world corporate interests and indigenous local survival strategies. Everyone wants the Amazon and what it offers to the world, and there is one easy way to acquire its resources. Governments and multinational corporations can claim this rich land of fossil fuels, gold, and an abundant (not unlimited) supply of wood, by dismissing those who inhabit it as illiterate people who need “development.” The problem is that when that “development” arrives, the assimilation or recruitment of the local indigenous communities who live there into the global armies of extremely poor people, will be inevitable. The corporate world, and the so-called modern world influenced by it (all mestizo Peruvians included), know about the Awajún and Wampís both through media sources that portray them as fierce warriors who traditionally shrank the heads of their enemies, and through classic ethnographies that did no better, when they romanticized the *Tsantsa* (shrunken head) ancient tradition, and the magical, hallucinogenic, and warrior nature of their ancient culture. While I have briefly outlined this point in the previous chapter, it is important here to review in more detail the main ethnographic record related to the Awajún and Wampís.

The ethnographic record places the Awajún and Wampís among the other members of the Jivaroan linguistic family such as the Shuar and Achuar or Achual (Brown 1985; Greene 2009b; Harner 1972; Villapolo and Soldevilla 2010). Some also include the Mayna as members of the Jivaroan family (Harner 1972), and others the Kandozi (Villapolo and Soldevilla 2010). For the past few years, through my experience in the communities, listening to indigenous leaders on
national TV and radio programs, and through my conversations with friends and youth during the classes and interviews, I have learned that the Awajún and Wampís prefer to use these names, as opposed to Aguaruna and Huambisa, which are the Castilian Spanish equivalents, respectively. By the same token, the Wampís participants of my study consider themselves Shuar, or do not make a cultural distinction between themselves and their neighboring Ecuadorian counterparts, the Shuar. Many of them have family members in Ecuador. However, my years of conversations with Awajún or Wampís friends and acquaintances show that if anything, they would probably refer to themselves as *li aents* (the people).

Aguaruna (Awajún) or Huambisa (Wampís) ethnographies from the Marañon, Cenepa and Santiago rivers or the *Departamento de Amazonas* (State of Amazonas), if we want to be more inclusive, are rare in the American anthropological literature. There are a few reasons I can suggest for this. First, the names used in western scholarship to refer to groups of that region in the Amazon emphasize the Ecuadorean members of the same Jivaroan linguistic group to which the Awajún and Wampís belong, who are known as the Jívaro (Jibaro) or Shuar (Harner 1972; Karsten 1935) of the Western Amazon. Consequently, there is an overgeneralization of all these groups with the noun Jívaro or the adjective Jivaroan as preferences. I will probably be an apple that doesn’t fall that far from the tree in that respect as I discuss main features of Jivaroan culture. Second, if we find ethnographic treatises related to the Awajún (rarely about the Wampís), they will be using the appellative Aguaruna, which is the proper name used in Spanish; not the name Awajún, which is the one the people use (if any) to describe aspects of their own culture and lifestyle. The third and final reason for the lack of Awajún and Wampís ethnographies coming from the Amazonas region is the isolation of the area where most of the Awajún (some Awajún live in the southern state of San Martín) and all the Wampís live. This
region does not have paved roads, lacks basic services that the mestizo enjoy in urban towns, and
is located in a historically disputed Peruvian-Ecuadorean borderline that has witnessed at least
three armed conflicts in the twentieth century; the last of these in 1995 when I visited the field
for the first time. Recent ethnographies on the Aguaruna (Brown 1985; Greene 2009a; Greene
2009b) come from fieldwork in more accessible areas of the **Departamento de San Martín** (State
of San Martín), which is the state located to the south of Amazonas. However, the Wampís that I
have talked to, although they distinguish themselves from the Awajún in some linguistic aspects
(regional dialect) and material culture (e.g., headdress styles), do not mind the overgeneralization
when it comes to tackling global issues that affect all their lives in the communities of
Amazonas.

Jivaroan groups traditionally occupy upland tropical forest regions in eastern Ecuador
(Shuar) and north-central Perú (Wampís, Awajún and Achual). The Wampís communities are
situated mainly along Río Santiago and Río Morona in the Peruvian-Ecuadorean border area.
The “Awajún populations live in southern and western reaches of this area, along the Río
Marañon (state of Amazonas) and its tributaries, and in lesser numbers, along tributaries of the
Río Huallaga” (Brown 1985:27). Figure 3 below shows the general area of these large
indigenous populations of the Peruvian Amazon. One of the tributaries of the Río Huallaga is the
Río Alto Mayo in the state of San Martín, which is a field site that gave origin to relatively
current publications on traditional Awajún magic practices (Brown 1985), and the influences of
modernization on their lives (Greene 2009a; Greene 2009b). As reported in the introduction of
this dissertation, the Peruvian census (INEI 2008) lists the Awajún as the second largest
indigenous group in the Peruvian Amazon. According to the latest census figures there are
332,975 indigenous people in the Amazon. The ethnic groups that have the greatest
concentration of population are the Asháninka with 26.6% (88,703 inhabitants), and the Aguaruna (Awajún) with 16.6% (55,366 inhabitants). The remaining ethnic groups, according to those figures – as reported by the Chief of the INEI, or Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (National Institute of Statistics and Informatics), Mr. Renan Quispe Llanos – reach less than 7.0% (INEI 2009). The Resultados Definitivos de las Comunidades Indígenas (Final Results of Indigenous Communities) from the 2007 National Census of Household and Population indicate that the Awajún number 55,366, with 50.4 percent being male and 49.6 percent female. The Wampís report a population of 10,163 -- 49.7 percent male and 50.7 percent female. According to the same census results, if we include the Achual, the Candoshi-Murato (Shapra), and the Jíbaro-Achual, the total number for all the Jivaroan groups in the Peruvian Amazon is 79,871 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2008). That number comes very close to the number of Asháninka cited by the INEI in their census results.

Figure 3. General area of territories where Jivaroan groups live in the north of Perú.
The fertile soil by the river banks of a tropical rainforest presented an ideal scenario for a lifestyle that was traditionally dependent on the abundance of fish and the utilization of those banks (and sometimes river islands) for planting crops in gardens. The gardens or *chakras*\(^5\), which is the Quechua word for plow lands (Ladrón de Guevara de Cuadros 1998), were the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jivaroan groups. Harner says that they provided, “in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet” (Harner 1972:47). One of my roles during my first stay in Awajún communities, due to my lack of hunting skills, was to help my elderly host and the women in weeding, harvesting, and planting yucca and plantains in their *chacras*. Harner also gives detailed descriptions of the crops planted by traditional Jivaroan societies, and these include sweet manioc (yucca), sweet potatoes, different varieties of potatoes, plantains, maize, squash, gold bananas, pineapples, sugar cane, tobacco, achiote, gourds, cotton, various fish poisons, medicinal plants, and hallucinogenic drugs (Harner 1972). Gardens are planted using the slash and burn technique used by most horticultural societies of the world. These “shifting gardens” (Harner 1972:48) strategy works only if you change *chacras* every three to five years. For horticultural societies to function, there needs to be enough land available to replace overused gardens. Because of “soil exhaustion or a thick weed cover,” horticulturalists abandon their plots, “clear another piece of land, and the original plot reverts to forest. After several years of fallowing, the cultivator returns to farm the original plot again” (Kottak 2012:89). The abundance of land in ancient times allowed the effective use of these planting strategies. Harner also acknowledges how shifting gardening “is made possible by the plentiful supply of land” (Harner 1972:48). During my visits to the Marañón in the 1990s, as well as in this century, Awajún villagers have commented to me, that the scarcity of land is due to the

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\(^5\) This is the word used by the Awajún around me and other *apách[i]* or mestizos when they talked about the gardens. In the Ladrón de Guevara’s dictionary (1998:102) it is spelled in Quechua as *chakras*, but it is also written as *chacras*, which is the Castilian-Spanish spelling of it. The latter is the spelling I will use throughout this manuscript.
number of *apách[i]* (mestizo) coming to their territories. Brown (1985) already noticed this as a factor in the 1980s when he talked about the way the traditionally dispersed Awajún village layout in the Río Alto Mayo region has been reduced. He recalled,

> In every community I visited, there were one or two households of people who preferred to live at some distance from the village so that they could enjoy greater privacy and easier access to gardens and game. The need to defend community lands against appropriation by non-Indian colonists has also contributed to a centrifugal movement of households in recent years. After consultation with other community residents, household heads build a house near the community’s boundaries so that they can keep a careful watch on neighboring colonists who might be tempted to establish themselves on Aguaruna land. [Brown 1985:42]

We cannot leave out the importance of meat and fish as main sources of protein (Harner 1972). Seymour-Smith (1988), who did fieldwork among the Shiwiar, believes that emphasis on meat and fish as sources of protein must be thought of as a consequence of cultural preferences rather than ecological limitations. It is true that nowadays game is scarce, but if a respected community member accumulates enough social capital he or she may replace a successful hunt with a very productive afternoon neighborhood visit. Game was not always available in the communities where I spent months in the 1990s, so we would visit neighbors every afternoon, and because of the social capital the visitor had (my host was a centennial elderly *apu* or chief), he would always be welcomed with a bowl of *masato* (manioc beer) and meat or fish that the host had obtained from a hunting expedition. There was always someone who had game to share in the village, and a good afternoon visit would contribute to our protein intake during bad days. Below, I share some of what Harner (1972) provides as animals the Shuar consume from nature, supplemented by my own observations from living among the Awajún. Harner talks about the hunting experience and lists among other things,

> Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their
skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins. […] Stalking is the chief hunting technique, both for arboreal and ground-dwelling creatures. Monkeys and large birds are usually stalked with the blowgun and darts poisoned with curare (unpoisoned darts suffice for small birds). A poisoned dart is notched around its tip so that it will break off if a monkey tries to remove it. […] The blowgun is not considered satisfactory for hunting ground-dwelling creatures, which are killed instead with shotguns and old Winchester .44 carbines, loaded either with shot or, rarely, in the case of the latter weapon, with bullets. [Harner 1972:56-57]

In my time among the Awajún, I saw blowguns being used by children in their daily playful adventures hunting small birds. For children it was a playtime practice, but adults would bring game or tree mammals home using 12 caliber shotguns. I always needed to be careful while chewing food since some of the ammunition still remained in the animal tissue even after cooking. Hunting is more of an activity carried out individually or with only few male companions, but most of what characterizes Jivaroan life in tropical rainforest environment requires a well-balanced social life.

Social life in Awajún and Wampís culture implies living in accordance with norms for “the good living” or Tajimat Pujut (also known as Pegkeg Pujut and Shin Pujut). This is a complex and comprehensive philosophy that makes sense for a life of harmony with nature and other humans or aents. “Bikut significa Baikua, que da vida a la persona, es el espíritu del Buen Vivir” [Bikut means Baikua, which gives life to a person and it is the spirit of the Good Living] (Torres Guevara 2013:15, emphasis added). According to Torres Guevara, we can see what the vision of Bikut was,

La vision de BIKUT: Formar niños y niñas Awajún con una cultura propia, con justicia de valor, manejando dos idiomas perfectamente, competitivo, industrioso frente a la demanda hacia el conocimiento de occidente. En la cultura Awajún, los niños y niñas no
eran castigados con maltrato físico; el niño y la niña crecieron con mucha disciplina, respeto y amor, con mando vocacional (chichabai). [Torres de Guevara 2013:15]

The vision of BIKUT: To raise Awajún boys and girls with their own culture, having justice as their value, handling two languages perfectly, being competitive, industrious with regards to western knowledge. In Awajún culture, boys and girls were not punished physically; the boy and the girl grew up with a lot of discipline, respect and love, with vocational orientation (chichabai). [Torres de Guevara 2013:15, personal translation]

The philosophy of Bikut guided the harmonious Jivaroan existence with other community members and nature. The late Gerardo Wipio Deicat (1981), Awajún teacher and intellectual who worked among SIL linguists when bilingual school programs were introduced, explains in detail what this education meant in ancient times,

The Aguaruna lived for centuries without knowing about schools. They received the wisdom of their ancestors from their fathers by means of a system called jinta ainbau, meaning “follow the trail made by our forefathers.” This consisted of drinking tobacco juice and the hallucinogenic drugs, called ayahuasca and tué, and sleeping alone near a waterfall beside the tomb of a mun (great leader). In this way they practiced the philosophy of the great thinker Bikut, who formulated laws for the Aguaruna to obey and predicted all that would come to pass among the Aguaruna.

To obey the laws that Bikut had prescribed and to see the fulfillment of his predictions, the young men had to complete certain tests and obey certain prohibitions. The tests consisted of drinking tobacco juice and hallucinogenic drugs off and on until the age of twenty-five or thirty. If a young man failed to do so, he was considered incapable of being a warrior, he would not have a long life, and he was not to be considered a great person, respected by society.

The prohibitions specified not having sexual relations before marriage, not sitting on the seat reserved for the women, not associating with or playing with girls, and not using anything perfumed. The young men were to walk in front rather than behind the girls, who wore perfumed necklaces that could be detected from a distance. All the young men who obeyed these rules were considered to be pure of thought, disciplined, worthy of respect by the Aguaruna society, and destined to be valiant warriors. [Wipio Deicat 1981:67-68]

Contrary to what it may seem from the description above, women do have a very important role in Awajún and Wampis societies because of their direct link to Nugkui, the child god of soil. It is
because of Nugkui that the women gained their expertise and diligence in working the land and harvesting yucca and plantains, primordial sources of food and drink in Jivaroan societies. Nugkui is the “Diosa de la huerta” [Goddess of the garden], and Nugkui gave the Awajún “el conocimiento que obtuvieron de la agricultura de chacra y que los hizo pasar, de la condición de cazadores-recolectores errantes, a la de horticultores-cazadores selváticos” [the knowledge of the garden agriculture they obtained, which made turn from the condition of hunter-gatherers to the one of jungle horticultural-hunters] (Guallart 1989:82). As Guallart (1989:82) would emphasize, Nugkui would appear to Awajún women “…cuando van a sembrar sus chacras o cuando trabajan en ellas de cualquier forma. Ella les dará, como en tiempos antiguos, cosechas abundantes y sanas y, por extensión, bienestar alimenticio doméstico y niños sanos y felices.” […in any shape, when they go to plant or work in their gardens. She will provide them, as in the old days, with abundant and healthy crops, and consequently, domestic nutritive wellbeing and happy and healthy children].

Jivaroan domestic life, guided by spiritual or religious beliefs, in traditional times, revolved around their subsistence strategies. And the horticultural nature of their activities, required polygamous marriage arrangements that helped ensure they would plant as much of the tropical soil as they could get their hands on. The more wives, the better the household productivity, the more manioc beer available, and all this surplus production allowed adequate entertainment of visitors from other households (Harner 1972). We know from the anthropological literature that there is no single explanation for polygamous marriage arrangements, but some of the common explanations include the need to increase the “household productivity. Men and women with political and economic ambitions cultivate marital alliances

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that serve their aims” (Kottak 2012:158). In Jivaroan societies, men are the head of households, protect wives and children, hunt, fish, clear forests for garden plots, and cut and bring fire logs. “Women are responsible for the majority of agricultural tasks,” cooking and manioc beer preparation, pottery making, tending the children and chickens (Harner 1972:79). In Awajún cosmology, there is a separation between masculine and feminine spirits, and these spirits influence what we see as the traditional male and female roles during daily activities in community life (Regan 2003; Villapoló and Soldevilla 2010). Nowadays, traditional roles remain similar to the way Harner described them years ago, but external influences also have an effect on traditional roles. In 2008, while I was staying in a local community of the Amazon, I watched Awajún and Wampís women line up in front of the local municipal building the final day of the month. I wondered why, and a man explained to me that women receive monthly monetary incentives from the government in exchange for attending government-sponsored family planning talks, and for sending their children to school. According to his comments, with the money received, women buy their food in stores, and abandon their gardens sometimes.

The Awajún and Wampís groups recognize bilateral kinship relationships; that is, in terms of consanguinity, they see themselves equally related to their mother’s and father’s kin (Brown 1985; Brown 1984b; Regan 2003). Both Brown (1985) and Harner (1972) agree that there is the inclination to pay more attention to kindred and affines than to village life as a whole. There is a lot of respect and compliance with community norms and rules, but for instance, relations of affinity play a major role in extending alliances and reducing traditional inter-village raids or animosity. This was the reason for houses to be “usually isolated a half-mile or more from the rest” (Harner 1972:78). This was the usual house arrangement unless the houses belonged to close relatives.
The political organization of Jivaroan life did not necessarily involve a leader in the community during pre-contact times. “En las actividades de la vida diaria, el grupo local no tenía un jefe o apu” [In daily activities, the local group did not have a chief or apu] (Regan 2003:18, emphasis added). Every head of household took care of his family (Harner 1972; Regan 2003). There was a village headman or the kakájam (Brown 1985; Regan 2003), which including Awajún and Wampís dialects also uses the labels, kakáram, wájiu or wáriu (Regan 1993). This headman still needed to establish his authority, and that depended very much on the number of kinsmen in his village and his charismatic qualities (Brown 1985; Regan 2003), as well as his courage, strength and healing skills (Villapolo and Soldevilla 2010). These factors helped him gain and maintain the social and cultural capital he needed to remain as the headman. From the 1950s on, after influence from the SIL and the Peruvian Ministry of Education, bilingual teachers gained more authority (Brown 1985), and also changed a lot of the cultural features previously described. Nowadays, when dealing with outside or government agencies, the Chief or apu is now the one who makes decisions after a general assembly in the community (Regan 2003).

Traditional childrearing practices of the Awajún aimed at making “the heart strong,” and “the thoughts ‘straight’ or correct.” (Brown 1985:19). It was essential in developing that kind of character in the individual to be able to accomplish the practical activities by which the Awajún define themselves as human beings. In the process of accomplishing these activities, people would employ ways that are not common happening in the western world. For instance, they would sing songs to attract animals and help their gardens grow, alter their diets not to interfere with their daily activities, or try to manipulate the emotions of people by using animals. These activities are classified in the west as magic. In Jivaroan mentality, what we call magic does not differ from practical activities or instrumental actions (Brown 1985; Brown 1984a). Their human
agency was guided by their beliefs, as it usually happens in all human groups, but the difference is that we do not think of it that way. In the west, we believe we are guided by reason and logic. Guallart (1989) in his book *El Mundo Mágico de Los Aguaruna* (The Magic World of the Aguaruna) also explains how spirits and beings of the forest can be influenced by songs or *anens* (spells) so the people can carry out daily activities successfully, and how hallucinogenic-induced visions using plants like *Datem* (Ayahuasca), *Yaji*, *Baikúa* (Tué), and *Tsáag* (Tobacco), or any other “dreams” can affect daily activities of those who have them (Guallart 1989:31). There is a practical reason for everything they do, which involves what we label as magic, and the practical reason is closely linked to the teachings of Bikut and the philosophy of “the Good Living.”

While the *apách[i]* or mestizo may dismiss those traditional beliefs as passé or belonging to a forgotten era, the Peruvian Jivaroan leadership, scholars, and intellectuals continue to officially uphold their local beliefs with pride. In 2012, the *Comisión Permanente de los Pueblos Awajún Wampís – CPPAW* (Permanent Commission of the Awajún Wampis Peoples – CPPAW) published an official document where they ratify their beliefs in “the Good Living,” or *el Buen Vivir/Tajimat Pujut/Tarimat Pujut*, but they also associate *Tajimat Pujut* with their commitment to the conservation of the Peruvian Amazon rainforest in their ancestral territories as natural reserves for the country and the world, and their collective rights to protect themselves and their territories against the disorganized expansion of extractive activities without local consultation (CEPPAW 2012:4). As unfortunate as it is, that expansion in Awajún and Wampís territories is not just something that we can blame on globalizing policies of current times. That expansion has a long narrative of failures and successes for outsiders, but it also has a long narrative of local struggle and pride as we will see in the following paragraphs.
The Awajún and Wampís territories have a long history of incursion attempts by pre-Columbian cultures and Spanish conquistadors who came along with their Jesuit missions. The historical record is rather hazy on the details of whether those incursions were successful at all, but contact was made, and this contact influenced the local populations. It is clear from the current relatively “independent” nature of the Awajún and Wampís that the ruggedness of the territories was and continues to be a factor that serves as protection from outsiders’ interests in their land. Harner (1972) explains his views on the geographical features and how they impeded outsiders from coming in during the time of the conquest:

But the rapids are more than a geophysical feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted exploitative penetration of the Jívaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is the home of the Jívaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and culture of an American Indian tribe more than four hundred years after Cortez and Pizarro. [Harner 1972:12-13]

Nevertheless, diffusion has always played a role influencing the Jivaroan groups of the region in one way or another. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, a logical first influence one might be tempted to assume, would be the Inca and his conquering Imperial armies. Yet as powerful as the presence of the Inca emperor Huayna Capac was in the conquest of the Tahuantinsuyo after having defeated the “Chachapoyas” (Del Busto Duthurburu 1983:66), when he tried to lead an army to conquer the Jivaroans of Bracamoros in 1527, he had to “flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated.” Some historians say that “he explained his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of the Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects” (Harner 1972:17). Events such as this have created a historical precedent that places Jivaroan groups among few with such an undeniable courageous warrior
traditions (Villapol and Soldevilla 2010). In addition, evidence from the archaeological record seems to suggest that there were prior contacts with coastal cultures before the Inca tried to subdue the Jivaroans in the 1500s. As archaeologists Carcedo and Kauffman note (Villapol and Soldevilla 2010:46), “los hallazgos confirmarían la relación entre los pueblos Jíbaro y Mochica. El parecido y coincidencias entre algunos mitos awajún con algunas expresiones de la iconografía mochica sugieren contactos entre ambas culturas desde casi 2,000 años.” [the findings would confirm the relationship between the Jíbaro and Mochica peoples. The similarities and coincidences between some awajún myths with some expressions in the mochica iconography suggest contact between both cultures since almost 2000 years ago].

The Quechua words *awax* and *runa*, which mean “to weave” and “man,” respectively, indicate a type of linguistic influence coming from Andean Quechuas who – as we have seen – were never able to conquer Jivaroan groups. However, diffusion always played a role. It is believed the Spaniards pronounced the words *awax* and *runa* together as Aguaruna, and by similar strong linguistic predisposition of the Jivaroan groups to adapt foreign lexica to a local *sistema fonético* (phonetic system) the Aguaruna appropriated the term as Awajún, which sounds more affine with their own pronunciation rules (Villapol and Soldevilla 2010:45)\(^7\). Awajún is the name the *aents* (people) use when talking to outsiders about the realities of their communities.

Juan Antonio, an anthropology student and main Shuar cultural consultant in my research, gave me a similar example of Quechua influence that not only ratifies the one cited above, but also shows how language influences the perceptions of our realities (Whorf and Carroll 1989). Juan Antonio explains,

\(^7\) See Regan (2003:5-6), who talks about similar explanations for the origin of the word Awajún and Wampis. He also emphasizes the Quechua influences that played a role in the denomination Aguaruna.
En Awajún, por ejemplo, no existe el término jefe; frente al Español donde sí existe, no? Diferentes terminologías y eso tiene que ver con la concepción del poder, no? La concepción del poder político. Una sociedad que es jerarquizada en el mundo de los occidentales no? Cada uno, como dicen los filósofos, tiene un árbol plantado en la cabeza, no? Tiene que conseguir todo en jerarquía, no? Dios, sociedad, jefes y todo esto. En cambio, nosotros pensamos el poder en términos horizontales y por lo tanto no tenía, no había un ser superior a quien llamar jefe, no? Cuando vienen a implantar las primeras escuelas, no había jefes, entonces lo único que dijeron es “tomamos el nombre *apu* que está en Quechua, designamos a una persona ahí para que haya una comunidad, y hacemos esta especie de organización.” Esto a mí me ayuda bastante, no? A entender diferentes mundos.

In Awajún, for instance, the term chief does not exist; as opposed to Spanish, in which we find that term, right? Different terminologies that have to do with the conceptualization of power, right? The conceptualization of political power. Westerners in their world have a hierarchical society, right? Each person, as the philosophers say, has a tree planted in their heads, right? Each person has to acquire everything in a hierarchical order, right? God, society, chiefs and all that. On the other hand, we think of power in a horizontal manner, and consequently, there was no superior being whom we could call a chief, right? When they come to impose the first schools, there were no chiefs, so the only thing we said was, “let’s take the name *apu* in Quechua, assign one person to take that role, so we can have a community, and we’ll create this kind of organization.” This, helps me so much, you know? To understand different worlds. (Juan Antonio, Shuar cultural consultant and anthropology student from UNMSM, in discussion with the author regarding language and culture on April 24, 2011 in Lima – Perú).

The most significant and durable of the influences in the history of Awajún and Wampís contacts with outsiders is the influence from the Europeans. First, it was the conquistadors, then the missionaries, the rubber boom adventurers, and now the corporate-influenced governments and multinational corporations that want to extract gold, timber, and fossil fuels from Awajún and Wampís territories. There are reports that, starting “in 1549,” the Spaniards entered the Jívaro territories at about the junction between Río Upano and Río Paute. Hernando de Benavente found local populations hostile to his incursions and retreated to the Ecuadorean highlands (Harner 1972:17). It has also been recorded that Diego de Palomino founded the city of Jaén (in the current Peruvian Departamento or state of Cajamarca) in 1549. Contact with Spaniards was
usually not friendly because the Jivaroan groups soon realized Europeans only wanted to send the indigenous populations to the Spanish *encomiendas*\(^8\) and make them pay tribute in gold (Descola 1996; Villapoló and Soldevilla 2010). In the late 1500s, Spaniards and the abuse of tributes caused a bloody rebellion that ended in the death of Spanish officials, another retreat from mining ambitions in the area, and a focus on tobacco plantations instead (Brown 1984b).

Men of the cloth and their spiritual ambitions of converting indigenous populations were also part of these incursions. Brown mentions (Villapoló and Soldevilla 2010:48) that in the “16\(^{th}\) and 17\(^{th}\) centuries,” the Spaniards tried to defeat and colonize the Jivaroan groups accompanied by the Jesuits missionaries, but they also failed. This caused the withdrawal of the Jesuit missions from the Jívaro territories in 1704. Regan (1993:31-37) writes about the Catholic religious orders that started coming to Amazonian territories since the 16\(^{th}\) century, and also reports about officials abusing the *encomienda* system by making indigenous local populations work for free and causing rebellions by the Maynas and other local groups. The Jesuits and Franciscans had contact with the local populations along with the official Spanish system, but the Jívaro kept repelling incursions from Spanish soldiers for many years until the late 1600s when missions became more stable. In the late 1800s, Dominican and protestant missionaries entered regions occupied by Shuar populations, but were also abandoned soon after because of the modest success they had had.

The primary goal of all incursions was always the exploitation of local peoples and the abundant natural resources available in the area. Harner (1972:30) explains that rubber also started becoming an attraction for outsider incursions in the “late 1800s” because of its usefulness in Europe and North America. After the independence from Spanish rule in the early

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\(^8\) According to Descola (1996:154) sixteen-century conquistadors would confer an *encomienda* upon their soldiers, or “commission them to ‘civilize’ and convert and Indian village or group of villages, a mission which those soldiers would then shamelessly turn to their own advantage by proceeding to extort tribute from the villagers.”
19th century, the new republican state of Perú was affected in the borderline Amazonian areas by the rubber boom between the years 1880 and 1914, and the caucho (rubber) patrons abused and killed many indigenous people in order to obtain their prized extraction. In 1904, the Awajún rebelled against these abuses and freed many of their people from that type of exploitation (Guallart 1997). Villapolo and Soldevilla (2010:49) sustain that following this incident, the “beginning of the 20th century saw a more peaceful period” of interactions between the Awajún and western Peruvian society. On the Ecuadorean side, there are accounts of “the gold rush” era that influenced local life in the late 1930s (Harner 1972:32). However, the most violent time in the 20th century was the introduction of Western style warfare in Jivaroan territories. Perú and Ecuador had disagreements over borderline territories that involved the natural areas where all Jivaroan groups (Shuar, Achual, Awajún, and Wampís) live. In 1942, a brief war that violently affected Jivaroan groups from both sides of the border broke out (Harner 1972; Villapolo and Soldevilla 2010). Disputes over border areas between the two countries were never solved and both countries were involved in brief but violent military conflicts once again in “1981” and “1995” (Palmer 1997:114). I entered the field in the Marañon area for the first time during the 1995 conflict and became friends with a Chayahuita veteran (see Figure 4) who had lived for years among the Awajún, and had served as a scout for the Peruvian army months before. Many times he would tell me stories about how he had to fight Shuar brothers from Ecuador in order to help protect and rescue wounded mestizo Peruvian soldiers.
In the years after the 1942 war between Perú and Ecuador and during the 1950s an important outside influence was making its appearance in the area as well. The Summer Institute of Linguistics or SIL, is a faith-based nonprofit organization created in 1934, and according to its own mission it is “committed to serving language communities worldwide as they develop the skills and capacity necessary to preserve and revitalize their languages” (Summer Institute of Linguistics N.d.). The SIL government-sponsored program that started in the 1950s would later become the model of bilingual education and literacy programs that remain as the foundation of all bilingual programs that exist in the Peruvian Amazon today. In 1947, a couple of years before the firm establishment of Jesuit missions in the Amazon, the SIL had made an agreement with the Peruvian government to “do educational work with the natives and translate the bible to the Awajún language” (Villapoló and Soldevilla 2010:50). In 1981, Larson and Davis (1981) reported on their work after 25 years of a very successful bilingual education program in the Peruvian Amazon where SIL had cooperated with Peruvian governments in a bilingual literacy
program (Larson 1981). Larson and colleagues (Larson, et al. 1981) explain the importance of the program through the years of Peruvian Amazonian involvement:

Each succeeding government has endorsed and promoted the program, so that from a small beginning with eleven bilingual teachers in eleven communities, in six language groups, teaching approximately 270 pupils in the school year of 1953, the number in 1977 had grown to 320 teachers in 210 communities in 24 language groups […], teaching approximately 12,000 pupils. [Larson, et al 1981:38]

The very successful program from SIL reached indigenous peoples not only from Perú but also from Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia and Brazil. Their main tenets of the program in the words of Larson and her associates are: “(1) the teachers are Indians who speak the native language of their students; (2) the students are first taught in their native language; and (3) the students then learn the national language in order to interact with fellow countrymen from other groups and to play an active, intelligent role in the affairs of their country” (Larson, et al. 1981:38). I corroborated this information and the lingering influences of the SIL programs when I traveled to Santa Maria de Nieva in 2008. I talked to two Awajún bilingual school teachers, Alfredo Velasquez and his wife Livia Pebas. Alfredo indicated the way bilingual education works in the communities by drawing a graph on my notes (Figure 5) where L1 or Awajún is taught at the primary school level from the 1st to the 6th grade, and L2 is used at the secondary or high school level. Livia also volunteered her concern about requirements for a teacher’s certificate nowadays involving the prior learning of English and Computer Science, which reflects the national educational policies of preparing children for the demands of a globalized nation.
Gerardo Wipio Deicat, a school teacher and intellectual who worked with the SIL, also wrote about the problems the Awajún faced prior to the introduction of schools in their communities. Wipio Deicat recounts the life of Awajún society prior to the introduction of schools. The Awajún “were illiterate and did not know how to keep accounts” (Wipio Deicat 1981:70). During the time of the rubber boom, *patrones* (landlords) would always keep Awajún owing more rubber than the actual amount they owed after trading guns, shells, cloth, mirrors, and aluminum pots for rubber (Wipio Deicat 1981). The *patrones*, who knew how to read and write, never wrote down the rubber balls received from Awajún traders, but still demanded that the latter bring more rubber than what they really owed. The frustrated Awajún would respond, “‘*Tauwa! Parjunka, wi uwejan makichik amua shijigkan itujuamjama!*’ (‘That can’t be, Patrón. I have brought you five balls of rubber’). ” Wipio Deicat’s narrative about these dilemmas also includes the local lament when those things happened, “If I could only read and write I’d know what my accounts really are! The *patrón* is robbing me of my rubber and keeps asking me for more” (Wipio Deicat 1981:70).
The story of post-contact encounters with Jivaroan groups these days is one of situations that have not changed much from the one described by Wipio Deicat above more than 30 years ago. Nowadays, Awajún and Wampís Peruvians know about their legal rights. They know they are indigenous citizens with rights to have their own land, languages, and culture, and they try to avoid being exploited by abusive globally-oriented corporate/government interests. Nowhere else is this point better illustrated than in the massacre that took place in Bagua, Amazonas on June 5, 2009. Awajún and Wampís villagers had already been protesting for days by blocking part of the Fernando Belaunde Terry highway at a section called La Curva del Diablo (the Devil’s Curve or the Devil’s Bend). They were protesting against governmental policies and decrees that were meant to open up Amazonian territories for multinational corporations to exploit local land and resources without consultation. As mentioned briefly in the introduction, Renique (2009) describes how these decrees had already been causing problems since 2006 when former President Alan Garcia took office and officially promoted the expansion of a middle class of “knowledgeable and financially sound property owners,” to replace the “uneducated poor farmers.” Garcia also “identified the [indigenous] communal property regime as Perú’s main obstacle to development and modernization” (Renique 2009:5). Journalist David Dudenhoefer (2009), based in Lima at the time, details what happened on June 5, 2009,

The police were equipped with assault rifles, armored vehicles, and helicopters. The protesters had only wooden spears, but when the police started shooting, some protesters wrestled rifles from them and returned the fire. By the time the teargas cleared, at least 11 protesters and 13 police officers were dead (some investigators claimed that more Indians died, but police removed their bodies from the scene) and nearly 200 protesters were injured. The tragedy continued at an oil pipeline pumping station to the north of Bagua, where a group of Awajún Indians responded to radio reports of the violence by taking 36 police officers hostage. The next morning, as government troops launched a rescue operation, the Awajún killed 10 hostages in an act of revenge. [Dudenhoefer 2009:22]
The official report that 24 policías y 10 civiles perdieron la vida (24 police officers and 10 civilians lost their lives) was printed in local newspapers (El Comercio 2009), and alarmed the nation. Peruvian anthropologist Federica Barclay during an interview for a popular North American science TV program declared that after the Bagua incident, the “people of the cities realized that native people were not just a remnant of the past, but that they were a people with their own ideas about development, and they gained sympathy from very wide sectors of the population” (The Real Avatar 2011). Four years after the events of Bagua, the problematic, pro-corporative decrees and laws have not been passed, a law for local consultation has been passed, there are more channels of communication open with indigenous populations – more social and political roads to explore, and there is more attention paid to local needs and issues in the Amazon and Andean rural areas, but the aggressive attempts to privatize the Amazon remain, and slow progress has been made at the official level. Presidents have changed, but official government positions and ideologies do not change much when it comes to policies to exploit the natural resources of Perú in indigenous land. Alan Garcia himself, right after the Bagua events took place, when addressing the situation and the indigenous populations involved, declared publicly, “These people are not first class citizens, if 400,000 [sic] natives can say to 28 million Peruvians ‘you can’t come here.’ That is a very grave error, and anyone who thinks that way wants to take us on an irrational and primitive retreat into the past” (Dudenhoefer 2009:22).

In Perú today, the non-apologetic official mestizo approaches to handling indigenous issues continue to involve neutral Western-style literacy projects that always seem locally beneficial and aim to turn the “primitive” state of the Amazon rainforest into a modern globally “developed” region that will improve the nation and the lives of 28 million Peruvians. This was the approach used by the Peruvian president during the time of the incident at Bagua, Alan
Garcia Perez. President’s faces and their discourses might change, but never the intentions of exploitation. By the same token, the identity of the local indigenous Amazonian populations involved might change in terms of approaches that are more in tune to respond to aggressive outside biased projects or programs, but their proud indigenous Jivaroan identities, however globally informed and locally savvy may be, will always remain Awajún and Wampís identities. In the sections that follow I will delineate a framework to discuss identity, globalization, and literacy in the context of the current dissertation research.

**Identity through a Contextual Interpretive Visual Narrative**

Identity is a term that can be problematized from many different angles. My first research question asks how the Awajún and Wampís students in Lima define their identity. I have already looked at some of the traditional aspects of Jivaroan identity and the historical processes that influenced Awajún and Wampís identities living in their own villages in the Amazon. It is true that there is little in the anthropological record about Jivaroan migrant groups or their intellectual activities, but the discussion has already been started and provoked. Rubenstein (2004) discusses typical tendencies of Westerners to imagine global cultures that distinguish “savages” from civilized people. He also talks about the way that Jivaroans disassociate themselves from long-gone times of shrinking heads and war raids on neighboring tribes that even Shuar migrants in New York themselves do not recognize. Greene (2009b) in his intellectual exercise describing what he sees as the difference between Aguaruna and Aguarunia, the former being persons “identifiable” as such, and the latter being the “material and metaphorical spaces” they occupy, discusses not only the two Peruvian departments (states) of Amazonas and San Martín mentioned previously in this chapter, but also the departments of Cajamarca, Loreto, and as he
puts it, “the small population living in urban Lima, mostly activists or university students and their families, and even a smaller handful of Aguaruna living internationally” (Greene 2009b:35). He calls the Lima students *sanmarquinos* (Greene 2009b:36), which in Spanish literally means *San Marcos* University students.

The small group of Awajún and Wampís *San Marcos* students, *sanmarquinos*, and professionals with whom I talked, was enough to start the conversation about what identity is for indigenous individuals who are daily exposed to the all-engulfing globalized tentacles of world peoples, languages and ideologies, technologies, the media, and all sorts of economic greed and interests. The ubiquitous nature of the exposure called for a diffused approach that opposed rigid essentialist interpretations or false claims of objectivity, and as anthropologists entering the teen years of this 21st century, we already know the primacy of our subjective selves as researchers in the field. Nevertheless, I should start framing my approach next before moving forward with my theoretical analysis.

As Geertz (1973) notes, we may view culture and every intricate part of it as texts that are everywhere, and should be interpreted symbolically. The people at the center of my study live in a complex world in which they are in close contact with both nature and tradition, and also with modern global languages and technologies. They are exposed to different kinds of texts that go beyond reading and writing abilities. They are people who speak two or three languages because they are part of ancient neighboring traditions and also a modern nation-state. They plant yucca in their gardens and grow up eating what they harvest and the game their parents obtain from their ecosystems when very young, but later on in life – even in their Amazonian communities – spend sweaty afternoons chatting online in a hot, non-air-conditioned Internet café for S/.1.00
It is my position here that we need to interpret their opinions through their different cultural texts (e.g., written, oral, and visual) without the need to come up with an all-encompassing theory of indigenous identity, but more of a need for a “theory” of non-generalizable, non-theoretical opinions and links of ideas that will take the readers into different scenarios depending on their own positionalities. The “truth of objectivism” has lost status and given room for conversations about “truth of case studies,” that are relevant to local contexts, and likewise, “shaped by local interests, and colored by local perceptions” (Rosaldo 1993:21). Along the same lines, I am inclined to looking at anthropological issues in more of a public and humanistic orientation that values the rich diversity of the human experience (Geertz 1992; Kottak 2012; Rabinow, et al. 2008), than from an academic perspective that pursues “truthfulness” and generalized theories essential for humanity (Ervin 2005:3). In the case of my orientation to valuing the rich diversity of the human experience, for my dissertation, I imply the rich diversity of Awajún and Wampís intellectual takes on their identities as seen in their own local context.

Local context and local knowledge here are an unavoidable starting point for the theoretical framework of the current dissertation. Geertz (1992) illustrates his preference for local knowledge by contrasting it against the universalities that we value as social scientists in a brief but interesting riddle that invokes a river and knowledge. “Who knows the river better,” Geertz asks, “the hydrologist or the swimmer?” Then he warns us that we first must understand what we mean by “knows.” And what we hope to accomplish. His answer is one that leaves it open to the readers to respond according to their own inclinations and meanings of “knowledge.”

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9 This is, of course, my biased opinion based on my exploratory field trip to Santa Maria de Nieva in 2008. I used those Internet cafes myself, and waited in line for hours, sometimes, to be able to use one of the computers Awajún teenagers left vacant. Some of these teenagers were wearing school uniforms some of them were not, but all of them used the Microsoft Messenger chat rooms still available in those days.
Geertz says, “Put as which sort of knowledge we most need, want, and might to some degree conceivably get, in the human sciences anyway, the local variety – the sort the swimmer has, or, swimming, might develop – the sort the hydrologist has, or claims method will one day soon provide. It is not, again, a matter of the sweep of thought, but of its vocation” (Geertz 1992:134). In the same line of thinking following Geertz’s preferences, if we go back to the river-crossing story in the introduction of this chapter, and think about the river we needed to cross to get to Santa Maria de Nieva, we would all probably think that the sort of “knowing” the Awajún have is preferable in that particular location or circumstance to the one you or I may have of rivers, swimming, floating, physics, wheels, social protocols, or even walking under water and driving. The kind of symbolic expertise to embrace from the Awajún in Amazonas, or the sanmarquinos in Lima, is one that favors context and local situations. The kind of contextual knowledge where people define or redefine themselves and construct their realities for the practicalities of everyday life, takes precedence over any other type of knowledge we may academically or professionally hold about identity, globalization, or literacy, for that matter.

Geertz’s interpretive approach does not explain everything, though. One of the strongest criticisms against his interpretive paradigm comes from William Roseberry. Roseberry (1982) makes the valid claim that Geertz’s book, The Interpretation of Cultures (Geertz 1973) came at a time when there was a theoretical debate between materialists and idealists. What he calls, the “antinomies between explanation and interpretation” (Roseberry 1982:1014). What Geertz did with his eloquent writing style, somehow seduced the anthropological community, distracting them from the fact that his analysis of “culture as text” was far “removed from the material process of its creation,” and ignored the “historical process that shapes it” (Roseberry 1982:1027). Social context, status, history, and the relationships of power, were not explicitly
dealt with at the time the interpretive paradigm became a fashionable part of the anthropological
milieu. Nevertheless, being aware of those weaknesses in his paradigm, I would argue that there
is no complete essentialized approach or explanation for the complexity of the human
experience. No one has a perfect solution, as I will argue in my analytical framework for this
dissertation at the end of the chapter. The fact that I favor Geertz’s approach has probably more
to do with the way I sense it gets closer to the local feelings of individuals, groups, their
languages and communication strategies – which is what I probably care about the most, than
well-established institutionalized intellectual voices would with their possible essentialized
structural approaches that tried to explain the human experience through universal theorems.

In the interpretive anthropological paradigm, paraphrasing LeCompte and Schensul
(1998), we see a predilection for the “affective, as reflected in shared meanings and as expressed
in common language, symbols, and other modes of communication” (LeCompte and Schensul
1998:49). We could expand those modes of communication to include visual text (e.g.,
photographs), what people do (actions or human agency), and “what occurs in local situations,”
or their “constructed” cultural contexts as “people interact with each other and participate in
shared activities” (LeCompte and Schensul 1998:49). In this interpretive milieu that I favor here,
the researchers “stick close to local meanings and find it difficult to tell only one ‘story.’ Instead
they tend to present complex accounts as polyvocal texts, or stories told in the voices of many
different people or constituencies” (LeCompte and Schensul 1998:49). I would further argue that
the nature of the approach also favors polymorphous texts; meaning, more complex texts that
range from the linguistic and metalinguistic or behavioral, to the interactive nature of our actions
in which our identities are performed daily.
Considering that contextual polyvocal and polymorphous textual interactions are used to express our (cultural) identities, it is difficult not to appropriate ideas from the field of linguistics in order to apply them to ethnographic metalinguistic cultural scenarios. This personal inclination is due to the realization of the close link that exists between language and culture, which has already been established elsewhere (Agar 1994; Greymorning 2004; Whorf and Carroll 1989). But we still need to establish the link between culture (i.e., through cultural performance or actions and other metalinguistic components) and discursive processes and narrative in identity construction. Phillips and Hardy (2002), supporting an interpretive paradigm; although setting themselves and their discourse analysis methodologies apart from ethnographic approaches, maintain that social and cultural reality is produced and made real through discourses. In tandem with them, Foucault emphasizes that social interactions and processes that express identity cannot be totally understood without the “discourses” that originate them and give them meaning. (Foucault 1978:17-35; Phillips and Hardy 2002:3). However, an important ingredient of Phillips and Hardy’s approach is their acknowledgment that those discourses are embodied in many types of texts, including “written texts, spoken words, pictures, symbols, artifacts,” and other forms (Phillips and Hardy 2002:4).

In this dissertation, I am exploring text, not only in its linguistic sense, but also as seen in its metalinguistic and cultural contexts, as delineated above by Phillips and Hardy (2002), and in the interpretive fashion of Geertz (1973). Following from what has been previously defined then, social processes, interactions, creative actions (Gauntlett 2007; Gauntlett and Holzwarth 2006), performances and images will be analyzed as textual components of complex discursive

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10 Discourse, according to Parker (Phillips and Hardy 2002:3), is defined as “an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being.” Discourse analysis then explores how texts are made meaningful through these processes and how they contribute to the constitution of social reality by making meaning (Phillips and Hardy 2002:3-4)
practices that define and redefine cultural identities. As De Fina and colleagues (2006) note, in its social constructivist tradition, identity is neither a given nor a product, but a process that takes place in specific interactional occasions (e.g., narratives\textsuperscript{11}), yields “constellations of identities” instead of essentialist individual constructs, does not simply emanate from the individual, but comes from processes of negotiation and entextualization that are social, and it all becomes part of a discursive framework (De Fina, et al. 2006:6).

The social dynamics of the identity negotiation process has also been theorized outside the discursive domain and in the field of identity politics and ethnic identities. Nagel (1994) discusses the negotiated status of ethnic identity as part of an interplay between external ascription and individual self-identification; that is, the construction of cultural and ethnic identity is the result of both structure and agency, or a dialectical relationship between the individual and collective ethnicity and the larger society (Nagel 1994). Of course, the entire social constructivist paradigm in the studies of ethnicity began with the seminal work of Fredrick Barth in the 1960s. Barth started seeing ethnicity as a product of a social process rather than a cultural given that is taken for granted, and also as something made and remade depending on the circumstances, rather than ascribed through birth (Barth 1998; Wimmer 2008). However identity may have been studied and written about as something that is negotiated (Kondo 1986; Nagel 1994), there are other factors that emphasize the representation instead of the negotiation aspect of identity in ethnographic work that has been influenced by linguistic anthropologists.

Having just mentioned classic studies that discuss ethnic identity, and before delving into factors that favor representation over the negotiation of identity during textual social interactions in a very assymetrical world, I should address one final question related to identity: why consider

\textsuperscript{11} Reynolds (2007) gives a very good example of the process nature of daily interactions. Narratives are seen as situated activities in which the narrators and their audiences become co-authors of their social realities during the linguistic, social, and performative processes that take place at the time of those interactions.
identity as a valid concept? Identity, just like literacy, as we will see further down the chapter, is a heavily loaded term. As anthropologists, we are used to finding explanations for it as if it were a neutral concept that all peoples from all cultures should understand the way we do. The truth of the matter is, we fall into a western hegemonic discussion that more often than not perpetuates the fallacy of its universality. For instance, we analyze it in terms of static nations, and political maps “uniformly colored,” and “enclosed by an unbroken dark line” (Handler 1994:29). In reality, peoples of the world do not necessarily conform to our western paradigms of individual or collective identities that form nations and create maps. Looking at cross-cultural conceptions of identity, we find that there are different worldviews. Some of them are worldviews in which “human personhood, human agency, and human collectivity are imagined” differently, and do not presuppose “the oneness, continuity, and boundedness of the person, agent, or group” (Handler 1994:31) we are so used to reading about. Along the same line, identity has also been criticized as a concept that has become much too ambiguous by going between soft social constructivist stances and more essentialist perspectives. It has been put into question whether or not it still is a valid concept to analyze peoples or groups’ particularities, or if better yet, social scientists should start looking for better terms to work with (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). In the end, it all boils down to who uses the term and for what purposes. The Awajún and Wampís intellectuals I interviewed, knew how to navigate the western academic paradigm because of their exposure to the national educational system through the university. They are aware of the assumed neutrality of concepts like development, education, literacy, or identity. They also consciously appropriate their indigenous identity as a politically relevant tool to protect themselves and pass the message of Amazonian indigenous survival and revitalization along. However, it is only through their interactions with the apách[i] (mestizo) who listen (like the one
who is writing the current dissertation), that they feel they can perform their indigeneity. The power differences are always there, and the performative nature of their indigenous identity for the researcher who interviews them (or anyone who listens) is a valid way for them to lure us into their worldviews, utilizing the academic traps of essentialist concepts that we created ourselves. Their worldviews and local opinions utilize some of the cultural expectations we have of them (Conklin and Graham 1995). Thus, this is one way in which they exercise their agency to adapt and survive their local, national, and global worlds where they live. In this dissertation, the Awajún and Wampís students and professionals interviewed show how they exercise their agency in finding ways to create a productive interactive space for oral, written, and visual text. By creating these spaces, the Awajún and Wampís intellectuals can let their voices be heard, and talk about a more just representation for their people in the Peruvian nation.

There is an approach where representation takes precedence over negotiation, and local context yields to wider contexts in which identities are produced and imposed upon individuals and groups through dominant discourse practices and ideologies. Here the point is not to ignore how power struggles and wider social circumstances frame the way identities are perceived during social interactions (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000; De Fina, et al. 2006; Fairclough 1995; Gee 2008). Under this perspective, it is believed that “not all texts are created equal” (Silverstein and Urban 1996:12), and the practices in which we engage on a daily basis against a background of social and institutional forces are viewed as central to the processes of identity formation or transformation. We become agents of change or stasis and the concept of human agency plays an important role. In general, we understand that humans are not passive recipients of culture who follow traditions like robotic machines. Agency refers to the “actions that individuals take, both alone and in groups, in forming and transforming [their] cultural identities” (Kottak 2012:29). In
considering [human] agency as a catalyst for defining and redefining identity, we always have to keep in mind that individuals and groups have different degrees of power and influence depending on their gender, age, ethnicity, class or any other social variable that is relevant. There is a relationship between the individual and the system or cultural context, and relationships of power are also part of this affiliation (De Fina, et al. 2006; Kondo 1990; Ortner 1984; Ortner 2006).

Needless to say, in spite of my interest in individuals and their agency of creating discursive texts to negotiate their identities, I cannot ignore (and indeed I emphasize) the importance of structure and history in shaping human lives. In that context, it is easy to appreciate Sherry Ortner’s circular paradigm for the interpretation of relationships between individuals and their cultures. Following the statement “history makes people, but people make history” (Ortner 2006:2), Ortner delineates an interesting dialectical framework of analysis that takes into consideration structural forces that dominate people, including culture, which is internalized to constrain and enable people at the same time. It becomes a hegemonic process of domination, power differences, and resistance. According to Ortner, we have to keep in mind what she calls the “historic turn” (Ortner 2006:8). Our anthropological counterparts (i.e., cultural consultants and local participants) during our fieldwork experiences, are not timeless individuals. Thus, they need to be situated within the historical processes that affect them. There is an articulation of practices of an individual in his life “with larger events in the world” (Ortner 2006:9). In the case of the Awajún and Wampis there are multiple levels that could be analyzed in this sense, but two influential aspects are crucial for the purposes of this dissertation. One is to consider the structural forces that affect my participants internally as members of their group,
and the other takes into account the structural and historical influences that affect their articulation with their fellow Peruvians of the larger apách[i] society.

My dissertation research participants are somehow privileged in that they are able to study for a degree at the oldest university in America (i.e., San Marcos University) located in Lima, Perú. Most of the young people in the communities cannot afford anything like that, or lack the means to even travel to the city. This fact is in itself an empowering one. Then, because of the power differences, things sometimes change at the local level when the university students return home. It has also been documented that there are social control mechanisms that level up differences created when some local members acquire power and prestige outside their communities (Brown 1986; Kottak 2012). Accusations of witchcraft are common in some of these cases, causing people to remain as outcasts in the village they were born. I have seen this happening to friends of mine who do not live in their villages anymore, but among the apách[i] instead. Of course, this is not always the case, as the reader will see during the discussions in the results chapters. By the same token, the reader will also be able to appreciate during my description of participants in the chapter on methods (Chapter 3) that most of the students or professionals I talked to were male (only three participants were female). Women have a very important traditional role in Awajún and Wampís cultures. That role is closely linked to local subsistence strategies, and Awajún creation stories reflect this relationship (Brown 1985; Villapoló and Soldevilla 2010). This causes women to be more dependent on the communities in which they live, and there is social pressure on the female Awajún and Wampís population to remain bound to the territory. Harner (1972) has also described another practice that put additional pressure on women of traditional Shuar society. This was the practice by men of “reserving” a wife who was pre-puberty age. Traditionally, once the agreement was made with
the father, the man would have taken the girl to “raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage” (Harner 1972:80). There were also consensual agreements with girls of post-puberty ages, but in any case, this practice has not been completely eradicated. I have personally observed the effects of this practice on two occasions. In both cases observed, I met the girls who had run away to a different village in order to avoid marrying older men they did not love. One third time in the 1990s when I was visiting a community, a village man who was regarded by my interpreter as the “hombre mas pobre en esta comunidad” [poorest man in this community], offered to give me his eleven year-old daughter so I could raise her and educate her. I was saddened and shocked by the offer, and of course respectfully declined. Prior anthropological research on Awajún society (Brown 1986) has documented the relationship between high rates of suicide among Awajún women and unequal power relationships. The structural forces and cultural elements of traditional Awajún society constrain women more than they do men. On the one hand, we find mechanisms of social control that try to level up the social differences created when individuals leave their communities and have access to the apách[i] world and their material possessions; such is the case of the witchcraft accusations on men and women. On the other hand, we find the cultural forces that constrain women, which are linked to Awajún mythology and some of the traditional gender inequalities. As a consequence, women do not leave their communities with the frequency that the men do. This is the reason for me to find only three female participants in Lima who were able to become university students (there are definitely more, I just did not find them). Along the same line, two out of my three female participants, do not believe in preparing or drinking masato (manioc beer), or using Ayahuasca to obtain visions, which are very traditional practices that the reader will see later, are still highly regarded by the Awajún and Wampís. It remains to be seen in further research with a
more representative sample from the female population, how other women who are students (at the high school and university levels) feel about all these practices.

In terms of the Awajún and Wampís students and their articulation with the larger Peruvian *apách[i]* (mestizo) society, it is also a complex historical context. The “historic turn” (Ortner 2006:8) in this case started with influences from Quechua speakers and then the European invaders and ended up in a collective unconscious where the Andean Inca past has been glorified for the construction of a mestizo Peruvian nation-state, but it has also been internalized by indigenous Andeans as a nation of defeated people (Quijano 2005). Some of the Awajún and Wampis participants of my study embraced this glorification of the Inca past in Perú, while some denied it and tried to maintain their distance from Andeans. Nevertheless, all of my dissertation research participants claimed the right to create their own space as indigenous Amazonians waiting to be fully recognized as citizens of Perú. In the same vein, my participants believed that their agency in resisting the corporate and government abuses that led to the incident at Bagua was justified. They did not like what happened there or the fact that people died, but they felt and feel their human agency is imperative in trying to create that space for themselves and their people in contemporary Perú.

Human agency is of great importance when it comes to negotiation or representation locally or with outside groups; in particular, as it relates to power relationships. Things we do or say, become part of this exercising of our own agency as much as things that we omit during social interaction scenarios where power is involved, and that is also a matter of taking control, or attempting to take control of local lives and decisions. The text utilized in such interactions
contains frames\textsuperscript{12} (Entman 1993) that include salience and omissions of certain types of words, phrases, or stereotyped images. Silences (Huckin 1995) or omissions\textsuperscript{13} are also multimodal in overlapping ways. They can be auditory (pause) signals as linguistically theorized, discursive strategies, the realization of a taboo, tools of manipulation, part of a listener’s interaction strategy, or expressions of artistic ideas\textsuperscript{14} (Jaworski 1997a). Silences are also fundamental in the discursive constructions of identity (De Fina, et al. 2006). Studies of narratives that define and redefine identities where silences play a role, have already been carried out in educational settings (Johnson 2006), childrearing practices (Bell 2006), migration and settlement (Baynham 2006), and in cross-cultural settings (Jaworski 1997b). Again, although mainly studied in linguistics and discourse analysis, I would agree with Jaworski that the same frameworks of analysis can be applied for “nonlinguistic silences” because “cultural systems are to a great extent, communicative systems,” and language is only “one of” many “communicative (sub)systems.” Studying silences as phenomena related to other “cultural-communicative systems opens new ways of studying socially motivated language use in general and of silence in particular” (Jaworski 1993:xi).

Another aspect of agency and power relationships that can be looked at when studying identity negotiation and representation is intertextuality. Intertextuality has been studied and

\textsuperscript{12} According to Entman (1993:52), to frame “is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.”

\textsuperscript{13} Huckin (1995), says that linguists pay more attention to “what I said or written,” or “to graphics or other semiotic symbols.” But Silences do occur, and we all “know from personal lived experience, much of the communication that takes place in everyday life is not articulated as such but occurs in implicit, unspoken ways. Indeed, this is one of the benefits of ‘belonging to a culture’: one doesn’t need to spell out everything one needs” (Huckin 1995:76).

Omissions, according to Entman (1993), are part of everyday frames. If frames “call attention to particular aspects of the reality described,” then the logic that follows is that “frames simultaneously direct attention away from other aspects. Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience” (Entman 1993:54). In this dissertation, we are looking at silences and omissions as being the same thing.

\textsuperscript{14} Jaworski (1993:140-165) shows how silence may be viewed not only as a linguistic category but also as a mode of expression in the arts or visual media.
interpreted by many different disciplines, ranging from semiotics to linguistics. Bakhtin (1981) talked about co-presence of texts and voices of individuals from previous texts, but Kristeva (1980) coined the term. My appropriation here, comes from linguistics, but is applied to ethnographic settings and cultural contexts very generally. Intertextuality assumes that no text is original. They are “snatches of other texts,” (Fairclough 1992:84). Intertextuality is the “presence of actual elements of other texts within a text – quotations” (Fairclough 2003:39).

From the previous paragraph here, and what we are intertextually appropriating from Fairclough, we also have to add that what is said or expressed in a social interaction through text, is said “against a background of what is left unsaid” (Fairclough 2003:40), which I will interpret as those silences or omissions described above. Said or expressed, unsaid or omitted, we always have to take into consideration that power and differences dictate how identities are going to be represented or negotiated locally. Under that scope, intertextuality can also be seen as a postmodern concept of rewriting text, and considering postmodernism as being of such critical nature, the rewriting that happens is aggressive towards the “source-text, but also depends on it” (Forsyth 2009:3).

In that postmodern deconstructive light, intertextuality, concerns about social differences, concerns about particulars being represented and accepted as dominant universals (e.g., hegemony), and the importance of “ideologies” (Fairclough 2003:40-41), all become salient and necessary traits of linguistic or metalinguistic (i.e., images) texts to be analyzed. By the same token, there is a “dialogical turn” that takes place. We need to remember that intertextual interactions not only repeat information from past sources, from whom the link in “the chain of speech communion” remains, but also anticipate responses from future audiences (Bakhtin, et al.

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15 We have to keep in mind the loose culturally contextual usage of the term text, drawing from Philips and Hardy (2002) to refer to linguistic and metalinguistic elements (including images, and interactions) that construct realities, and the Geertzian tendency on the part of the current author to see everything as text (Geertz 1973).
1986:94; De Fina, et al. 2006:11-12), which makes those interactions worthwhile studying; in particular, when it comes to measuring the future effect of power relationships caused by our agency as individuals and groups. As mentioned in the introduction, Giddens (1984) reminds us of the logical connection between agency and power. According to him, to be an agent in the flow of daily activities, is to be able to deploy a whole range of “causal powers.” To have the capability of making a difference, is to “exercise some sort of power” (Giddens 1984:14) in our daily communicative meaningful interactions where negotiations of difference take place, the “moral order” of our lives has different interpretations that are also negotiated, and power is both our “transformative” capacity through agency depending on the resources available to individuals and groups, and the capability to secure outcomes that depend on the agency of others as well (Fairclough 2003:41; Giddens 1993:104-113). There is negotiation of every single daily process of the identities we represent, and acknowledging differences, moral views, and power relationships has to be a very important first step of the process.

I should make one final note about intertextuality and identity in this analytical paradigm I am creating here. This final argument involves another appropriation from linguistics, the narrative form. Nations, governments, organizations, movements, ethnic groups, and individuals, all, construct their own narratives about history or histories, and the “narrative turn,” which means “sequence and consequence,” and where “events are selected, organised, connected, and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience,” takes good distance from positivistic approaches and metanarrative forms that essentialize positions and try to give grand explanations of social phenomena (Riessman 2005:1). Also, we have to acknowledge that there are other performative metacommunicative (Bauman 2004) forms that, according to Riessman (2008), precede spoken and written discursive forms of narrative. These include, “gestures, body
movement, sound, images,” and they are all involved in the repertoire people use to tell stories (Riessman 2008:141). Intertextuality fits into this narrative performative scenario because the text we appropriate from prior text, is decontextualized and recontextualized according to the needs of the situation. This manipulation of text is called entextualization. Reynolds paraphrases Bauman and Briggs (1990) to define entextualization as the “act of rendering text extractable from one situated, interactional setting and ‘insert’-able within another” (Reynolds 2007:439). Our agency of “decontextualizing” text and “recontextualizing” it somewhere else to (re)negotiate our identities, or the entextualization of discourse, if you will, is in itself an act of control (Bauman and Briggs 1990:76; Reynolds 2007:441) that reinserts itself in the milieu of power relationships.

A few relevant examples from the field can be cited here regarding intertextuality in this context. Brown (1985) recalls how in the late 1970s, the Awajún, being aware of their warrior tradition and the impact that image had on the apáchi (mestizo) who invaded their territories, “decorated themselves in feathers and paint (something that they do only rarely now) to scare off Andean immigrants who had started to make agricultural fields on Aguaruna land” (Brown 1985:44). The Awajún (Aguaruna) summoned “their reputation for ferocity” (Brown 1985:44), decontextualized it from their warrior past and recontextualized it then to take control of their lives and claim their territories. Using this perspective, this is something that could also be claimed about the Awajún and Wampís who got involved in the incident at the Devil’s Bend on June 5th, 2009. We can relate it to people’s actions to take control of their own lives from the oppressive forces of corporate powers and ethnocentric governments. Anna Marie Trester (2012), who suggests that entextualization “turns intertextuality into an empirical research programme,” investigates how framing dictates meaning and interpretation of entextualization.
She concludes that people are very familiar with intertextuality, even if they do not label it as such, they know how to use it, and that “intertextuality demonstrates community reaffirmation” by reincorporating earlier material into the local story (Trester 2012:238). The Awajún and Wampís students’ performative nature in creating images and narrating them with allusions to artifacts, events and places in my own research tempts me to claim truth to this latter point raised by Trester. Among my research participants, I found a strong tendency to entextualize traditional Awajún and Wampís customs without their even being able to define what they were doing. They are well aware of the importance their performance of a warrior past has in their present struggle and their future survival as a group. The three year-old Awajún girl I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation is a case in point. Her godmother wrapped her in a red tablecloth we had previously used to display earrings, necklaces, and other Awajún artifacts. She had her posing for a picture that was going to be emailed to Europe to promote Awajún traditional artifacts on a web page built by their local women’s association (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. (Left) Awajún earrings placed on tablecloth for me to take a picture of. (Right) Picture I took of a three year-old Awajún infant wearing the same tablecloth and traditional artifacts around her neck.
There are multiple layers of arguments to be made about the little girl’s picture above if we want to discuss identity, agency, and outside influences, but to conclude this section on intertextuality, we will delve into the image of the three year-old girl as a social interaction process where narrative spaces are created and identities are performed and negotiated using artifacts to take control of situations. How would an identity be created or recreated during that complex discursive process where speakers and audiences shape a mutual narrative? To answer that question we could look at the creative process of portraying the Awajún identity by using accessible artifacts, decontextualizing them from their daily functions of serving as dining instruments (i.e., tablecloth and table), and recontextualizing them into images of a romanticized past (i.e., a girl wearing an Awajún attire in an Amazonian rainforest setting). The day I took the picture of the little girl during my photo session of Awajún cultural artifacts, my host came up with an idea. After moving all the cultural paraphernalia I had previously photographed from the table, the girl’s godmother (my host) grabbed the tablecloth, positioned the little girl on top of the table while the little girl smiled in amusement and we all laughed, removed the Nike t-shirt she was wearing, covered her body with the tablecloth by wrapping it around her in the traditional way, and placed all the necklaces and earrings around her neck. When I photographed her, I became part of that newly created space, of that complex visual narrative process. We both created an artifact (or two, or three, or four if you consider the tablecloth, earrings, necklaces, even the setting, along with the digital camera and the photograph) that intertextually told a story of traditional Awajún life. This process had the purpose of generating profit for the local community with the money they could earn selling cultural artifacts (i.e., agency to generate power as well), and they wanted insiders and outsiders (i.e., through the web page) in the world to think about a proud indigenous group in their natural state, untouched by western civilization.
This new space, for those who accessed it, became the identity of the contemporary Awajún indigenous group. Intertextuality played a big role in this process by summoning indigenousness from time immemorial into an uncertain present and future plagued by corporate-government harassment, sending a message to unseen audiences, aiming at cultural survival and revitalization.

The creation of spaces of dialogue such as the one illustrated above, involves objects or artifacts. Memories of objects are powerful “pulls on identity.” Sometimes objects or artifacts are the embodiment of a lived experience. It may not have value for others outside the immediate circle, but locally in the everyday interactions that take place, it represents relationships and events that matter. “Artifacts (objects) can be handed down from generation to generation, we can take them with us, we can leave them behind” (e.g., places), but they are special, and they tell stories (Pahl and Rowsell 2010:1). Artifacts act as powerful objects because they are “infused with identity,” and through narratives it can be glimpsed. When people tell stories, their identities can be transformed or mediated since they present to an audience a retold version of themselves (i.e., intertextuality). “Stories” themselves can become “artifacts of identity” since a retold story can be one in which someone finds himself or herself and becomes transformed (Pahl and Rowsell 2005:107-109). Human agency again becomes part of the interactional discursive process. I call this process the artifactual agency of identity. Agency again gets called upon when discussing identity as a discursive process that utilizes text to negotiate identity, and it is also pivotal when it comes to looking at larger influential forces, as we will see in the section below.
Globalization, Agency, Languages and Technologies

Larger influences arrive from outside Awajún and Wampís communities, and they come with force in the form of governmental-corporate policies, ideologies, languages and technologies. My second dissertation research question (closely related to the first) addresses how the Awajún and Wampís students and professionals in Lima use their adaptive agency to (re)define their identity. The students and professionals in Lima are part of a small group of relatively privileged intellectuals who live in two very different worlds that are far apart: Their peaceful homelands in the Amazon, that they visit as frequently as possible, and the rat race daily experience in the globalized Latin American capital city of Lima. How they handle those differences in approaches to life, and how they feel those influences affect their indigenous identities, is the matter of this dissertation. Globalization can be looked at in two ways. First, it can be seen as fact, meaning, “the spread and connectedness of production, communication and technologies across the world” (Kottak 2012:284). In this light, approaches like Arjun Appadurai’s framework of “global cultural flows” or “scapes”16 are useful, since they acknowledge Marxist approaches of consumers and producers, but also find them inadequate to do a thorough analysis of what goes on in the world due to the “fundamental disjunctures” between economy, politics, and culture that exist today (Appadurai 1996:33). On the other hand, globalization can also be looked at as ideology and policy. As such, “efforts by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and other international financial powers to create a global free market for goods and services” (Kottak 2012:284) and the injustices created at the local level by those aggressive financial forces are the ones that are observed.

16 Appadurai’s (1996) “scapes” imply how fluid and irregular are the shapes of these global lanscapes. The ethnoscapes are people who are not static but in constant migration, the Technoscapes are the technology moving across physical boundaries, financescapes are the disposition of global capital, mediascapes are image-centered narrative-based accounts of partial realities, and Ideoscapes are also image-based ideologies of states and counterideologies of movements that are part of those states (Appadurai 1996:33-36).
These two ways of analyzing globalization are not mutually exclusive. They merge at times, and human agency again plays a significant role in these processes. Language and technology are two considerable influences that may fit into Appadurai’s framework of analysis as part of the scapes that become the context for Amazonian indigenous intellectuals. Kottak and Kozaitis deconstruct agency in its different forms that go from the elite agents to what they call “popular agency” (Kottak and Kozaitis 2003:292-3). However, it is one particular kind of agency that is relevant here, which is the one related to our dissertation topic: globalization. Regarding agency and globalization, Kottak and Kozaitis argue that “adaptive agency” allows people to reinterpret and reshape global influences to make them useful as a local meaningful resource (Kottak and Kozaitis 2008:298). In this light, we could look at ideologies, languages, and technologies as examples of things that may be tailored to fit local needs of nonelite intellectuals, such as Awajún and Wampís students and professionals.

Gramsci (1971) makes an interesting contrast between those who can make a difference and those who can’t when it comes to contesting cultural hegemony. Intellectuals can serve the needs of those in power by perpetuating values, customs and traditions of dominant groups. To contest those status quo intellectuals, and that type of domination, “the man of letters, the philosopher, and the artist,” are ideal representatives of the new type; those who call themselves, “the true intellectuals.” These individuals are not necessarily eloquent or belong to sophisticated circles, and they do not care much about superficial momentary passions that lead nowhere. On the contrary, they just need to have “active participation in practical life, as constructor or as an organizer, and as a “permanent persuader,” not just as an orator (Gramsci, et al. 1971:9-10). There aren’t that many active participants that come from the Amazon, or Amazonian indigenous groups in Perú, who have been able to publish documents in which they communicate their
stance or position regarding their lives, but some, along with social scientists who worked in Perú, or other peripheral relevant places, have been able to present some local narratives of indigenousness. These narratives are part of that human agency that serves to persuade others about the relevance of indigenous life to the global world context.

Indigenous or grassroots intellectual agency has been found in very few publications related to Awajún or Wampís issues, but it has been found in issues related to Quechua and Aymara populations of Perú. Moisés Suxo Yapuchura, an Aymara scholar, describes identity in its relation to language. From the variety of identities situationally available, he methodologically opts for a cultural identity where indigenous self-definition is considered. This self-definition includes (but is not exclusive to) language ideologies. Here, even during a migratory process from rural areas to major cities, indigenous languages and other cultural elements “reconstruct, redefine, recreate, and hide” themselves according to circumstances (Suxo Yapuchura 2007:100-5). Published work on indigenous intellectuals mostly involves researchers that come from outside indigenous communities. Work on South American urban and indigenous intellectuals includes Garcia (2005), de La Cadena (2000), and Luykx (1996), but the research areas are mostly Andean-based settings. As mentioned in the introduction, de La Cadena (2000), asserted that Quechua intellectual production of the twentieth century included traditional dances and disagreements over what was considered authentic folklore for tourists who visited Cuzco. De La Cadena implies that indigenous intellectuals were not only an educated elite, but also local “leaders” at the community level (de La Cadena 2000:272-84). Garcia (2005) contributed with her writings about the influences of globalized technology and languages on the Quechua identity of the 1990s, and delved into the manner in which local indigenous “intellectuals” perceived these influences (Garcia 2005:133-60). Garcia says that mestizaje is seen by some
indigenous intellectuals as an “instrument of social mobility” (García 2003:73), while others find it convenient to appropriate a “millenarian” past and culture (Silverman 2002:881). For instance, attitudes of community members and parents vary from rejection of bilingual programs to the importance of learning Spanish, so that it becomes easier to learn “a third language” like English (García 2003:79) in order to move up the social ladder. Thus, community involvement, known to be an important “contribution” to indigenous intellectual production (de La Cadena 2000:275), also plays an important local role in the education of Peruvian “indigenous children” (García 2003:77). *Mestizaje* as a national discourse in Perú embraces an all-unifying “mixture” of peoples into one nation (Espinosa de Rivero 2003:77) that parallels the idea of the “multicultural” melting pot in the United States (Baumann 1999:31). *Mestizaje* can be analyzed under the outsider’s lenses in a historical Latin American context (Yelvington 2005). It can be studied in countries with lots of contact history, such as Mexico in the Latin American context (Alonso 2004). *Mestizaje* can also be looked at in the bicultural, bilingual context of the Mexican-American “borderlands,” including the gender component in its analysis (Anzaldúa 1987). Marisol de La Cadena analyses the historical racist ideologies that under the label of *mestizaje* have influenced dominant classes of Latin America and Perú (de La Cadena 2000). *Mestizaje* can also be interpreted by local Peruvian scholars as a dichotomy of the indigenous vs. the European identities in struggle (Seraylán Leiva 2006). It can be seen as an instrument of social mobility (García 2003), or the contrast of two discourses: the one of the defeated Inca Empire descendants (Quijano 2005) against the one that prides itself on a millenarian past (Silverman 2002). García (2005) also describes how indigenous intellectuals see an illogical ambiguity in the Peruvian mestizo since they proudly glorify the “Inca Empire,” but at the same time reject their indigenous identity (García 2005:136). In a similar observation de La Cadena
(2000) explains how indigenous intellectuals are “hybrids,” but not in the sense of moving from a lower indigenous evolutionary stage to a higher mestizo stage. Their hybridity implies an endless process of “de-indianizing and dignifying” their practices using what they consider a mixture of their most authentic rural and urban traditions (de La Cadena 2000:276). For the Awajún and the Wampís intellectuals, the mestizo or apách[i] is the person they have to deal with every day of their lives, whether it would be in their communities of the Marañon, Santiago, Cenepa, or Alto Mayo rivers, or in the jungles of carbon dioxide and traffic jams around the campus of San Marcos University in Lima. Indigenous agency does not always associate itself with mestizaje, though. From the Amazonian background in Perú, from indigenous areas that are close to where the Awajún and Wampís live, and from other parts of the world, there have been attempts at creating indigenous paradigms for some time. The Awajún leader, Evaristo Nugkuan Ikanan (1994), has talked about sustainable development for years. Luis Macas has proposed and implemented an indigenous educational paradigm in Ecuador (Macas 2006), and in New Zealand, the Maori researcher, Linda Tuhiwai Smith designed an indigenous research paradigm that has become a landmark in postmodern academic circles (Smith 1999). Indigenous adaptive agency, if the term from Kottak and Kozaitis can be applied to previous globalization eras, has happened in one way or another since the time of the conquest. Frye (2006) theorizes about Guaman Poma’s appropriation of dual identities that suited him so that he could pass his message of protest with drawings and written text along, and Regalado de Hurtado’s thesis (1992) about the strategy of disimulo\(^\text{17}\) (dissimulation) acquired from the Spaniards by Titu Cusi

\(^{17}\) Titu Cusi Yupanqui, according to the introduction to his chronicle by Liliana Regalado de Hurtado (Yupanqui 1992), promoted the modality of disimulo (dissimulation) among his Andean subjects. This modality implied the superficial acceptance of modern Spanish customs along with the continuance of ancient Andean traditions in order to avoid violent confrontations and further abuses by the Spaniards.
Yupanqui to prolong the Inca dynasty’s survival in the years following the conquest, fit right in with the definition of adaptive agency.

Globalization as process and ideology can be analyzed by starting with the state apparatus through languages and technologies as elements that transcend states and move through most if not all those scapes mentioned above. Other theorists do not divert from the “scapes” framework proposed by Appadurai (1996:33). Lewellen (2002) defines globalization in terms of the increasing flow of trade, finance, culture, ideas and people. He argues that globalization is introduced by the sophisticated technology of communications and travel and the worldwide spread of neoliberal capitalism. Lewellen also adds to his definition the local adaptations to and resistances against these flows (Lewellen 2002). Inda and Rosaldo (2002) talk about globalization as the intensification of global interconnectedness where there is plenty of movement, mixture, contact, linkages, and persistent cultural exchange. They argue that the snapshots of a culture in motion have “eroded” the traditional “connection between culture and place” (Inda and Rosaldo 2002:2-11).

The state as place where power and stasis take place has also lost its influence. Perry (1996) argues that since states arose five thousand years ago, they persistently, requiring large numbers of people, regulate important economic activities and access to resources in a dynamics of constituencies that keep them (states) alive. There is internal differentiation of power and wealth and “interest groups;” some powerful groups and some weak groups appear. Powerful interest groups influence events in ways that are favorable for their own group. Indigenous groups fall within the bounds of these state formations (Perry 1996:5-8). Das and Poole (2004) claim that the privilege that anthropologists have to focus on practices that undo the state allow for the analysis of organizational conflicts within the state. In the workings of the everyday, we
see the reshaping at the margins, inside and outside. And those margins are seen as “spaces of creativity where practices do not submit to forced conditions passively” (Das and Poole 2004:4-19). Gerth and Mills (1953) do not talk about the power of the ruling classes or the state. They do, however, equate power with influencing “the conduct of others even against their will.” In addition, to them the state is the political order and the legal authority (Gerth and Mills 1953:193-5). Foucault (1980) finds the state apparatus repressive, but subordinates this repressive power to “other existing power relations; “a whole series of power networks that invest the body, sexuality, the family, kinship, knowledge, technology and so forth” (Foucault and Gordon 1980:122). It is in these power networks where I would draw a parallel line between Foucault’s perception of “power networks” and Gramsci’s concept of hegemony to introduce agency again. When Foucault (1980) describes Bentham’s Panopticon as an instrument of power, he contrasts it with modern societies that are “much more numerous, diverse, and rich;” where different principles of surveillance and visibility “govern” different technologies of power (Foucault 1980:148). It is in this rich and numerous diversity where we can merge Foucault’s conceptualization of power instruments with a novel interpretation of Gramsci’s hegemony to introduce agency. Roseberry (1996) talks about a “hegemonic process.” One in which we can talk about state “projects” rather than state “achievements.” Under this conceptualization, national events can take local meaning, contestation and struggle can occur constructing a “common discursive framework,” and subaltern “languages of contention” appear (Roseberry 1996:80-2). On the other hand, Turner (2004) deconstructs the state and argues that “transnational networks of corporate production, commodity exchange, and financial transactions,” are “linked across state boundaries.” It is an “emergent chronotope” where the nation-state has lost its “role as assimilator of heterogeneous ethnic and cultural elements into a
uniform national identity” (Turner 2004:194-5). In this “emergent chronotope,” concepts like power and agency take interesting meanings.

Languages and technologies are also means by which ideologies, policies, and attitudes are expressed. Indigenous languages and technologies and the local identities of indigenous peoples are affected by exposure to dominant ideologies, languages, and technologies. Foucault (1978) recognizes the power of discourse in shaping the reality of human activities. He argued that there is a “polymorphous incitement to discourse” when it comes to regulating and shaping, or exploiting a human activity (i.e., sex) (Foucault 1978:34-5). In addition, discourse can be seen as the means through which “ideologies are reproduced” (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000:450). However, Foucault himself recognizes the futility of utilizing the concept of ideology because of ideology’s polymorphology; that is, ideology relies on discourses that are “neither true nor false” (Foucault and Gordon 1980:118). On the other hand, McLellan (1986) talks about ideology as a two-folded concept: One side is the ideas that are born out of the basic human needs and desires, and the other side is one in which ideology is based on the “making of truth” (McLellan 1986:6-9). For John B. Thompson (1984), ideology, power, and language cannot be separated. Language is not simply used for communication but it has historically been “embroiled in human conflict” (Thompson 1984:2). Thompson adds that there are two forms of ideology. The one in which it is considered descriptively neutral “as systems of thought,” and the one in which asymmetrical power relations are sustained, and it is used to maintain domination through language (Thompson 1984:3-4).

It is precisely from Thompson’s usage of the concept of ideology where we can begin our discussion of language ideologies. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) claim that language ideologies are significant to social and linguistic analysis because they are linked to group and
personal identity. They add that language ideologies are also significant because their links to aesthetics, morality and epistemology emphasize on “fundamental social institutions, inequality among groups of speakers, and colonial encounters” (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994:55-6). Cummins (2000) provides an excellent illustration in the debate over bilingualism vs. monolingualism in California. Institutions and historians propose assimilationist policies hidden under racist motives. One of these is the claim that monolingualism (i.e., English) “opens doors to the world” (Cummins 2000:x-xii). According to Cummins, policies of exclusion and assimilation try to make “subordinated groups invisible” (Cummins 2000:xi-xii). Rosina Lippi-Green (1997) claims that in everyday practices the “point of gatekeeping” is the accents that individuals have when they talk or interact because people are not legally allowed to exclude what she calls “the other.” That way, racism is concealed under such everyday practices (Lippi-Green 1997:64). Kroskrity (2000) explains that the concept of language ideologies comes out of the union between “two neglected forces: the linguistic awareness of speakers, and the (nonreferential) functions of language. These forces were marginalized by institutionalized approaches to language that amputated it from its context. Now, the “anthropological perspective” has changed this attitude (Kroskrity 2000:5). The forced assimilation that Cummins (2000) talks about can also be historically documented as in the case of Catholic missionaries and their effects on Native American children (Heavy-Runner 2004), and the important role that schools played in the assimilation of Native American children (Spolsky 2002). Mildred Larson (1981) argues that language ideologies in South America changed with the creation of States. In colonial times, “antagonism between vernacular and prestige languages arose” because of the pressure to learn a language that symbolically represented the sovereignty of the state (Larson 1981:9). Conversely, Hermes and Uran (2006) argue that it is not the uses of English or
indigenous languages in the classroom that affect the identities of children, but the use of critical approaches by educators (Hermes and Uran 2006).

Cook (2004) claims that when we start thinking about communication globally, there is a need to explore more, linguistically and anthropologically, about the relationships that exist “between language use, language status, language ideologies, and new technologies” (Cook 2004:104). According to Cook, new communication technologies may be seen as a way to subvert “social boundaries such as race, gender, and ethnicity through text-based media that withhold certain identity markers.” These new technologies and media may also be seen as promoting economic equality, social justice and democratic values, but what they do for sure is “alter our ability to represent ourselves, develop new hybrid forms of interaction, or increase the speed at which we exchange information…” (Cook 2004:104). It is in these hybrid forms of interaction where I will start the discussion of what I will call the nativization of the human global experience. Appadurai (1996) explains that this phenomenon occurs as forces from many metropolises become indigenized in the places where they are introduced. This happens with “constitutions, architecture, science, terrorism, and music” of course (Appadurai 1996:32). A case in point is Hip Hop around the world, as it creates its own diversity at the local scenes (Alim, et al. 2009; Cook 2004). In this context, we can discuss what happens when new forms of technology and languages become nativized in that global scenario. Under this nativization perspective, with the Internet as a new form of technology or as a new literacy and indigenous languages, Spanish or English take on interesting meanings.

Niezen (2005) argues that the relationship of the Internet to indigenous politically isolated communities is similar to literacy, and that it is advantageous for dealing with state bureaucracies. These new “computer literati” reshape status hierarchies, resistance strategies, and
conceptions of collectivity in the “so-called traditional societies” (Niezen 2005:532-3).

Landzelius (2006) describes a campaign to save the Colombian rainforest by activist groups that supported the U’wa whose images were shown in the Internet as posing “ready to commit mass suicide” to save their tropical land from transnational oil companies invading them (Landzelius 2006:112). Belausteguigoitia (2006) documents how the women of the Zapatista movement in Mexico made use of the Internet to create the space necessary to claim gender equality within the movement (Belausteguigoitia 2006). The nativization of the human global experience is something that has already been theorized or applied in areas as influential for “westerners” as research (Appadurai 2000) and postmodernism (Esteva and Prakash 1998), or as politicized for indigenous peoples as education (Macas 2006; Prakash and Esteva 1998; Smith 1999).

Spanish and English are global languages that can be indigenized or nativized. English is a language that might be considered global because of the numbers of people who speak it around the world, but not all the speakers of English utilize it as their first language. English has also been nativized in the human global experience of the twenty first century. Gonzalez (2000) talks about “600 million English speakers” in the world, including those who speak it as a second or foreign language (Gonzalez 2000:xxix). Sonntag (2003) adds that there may be “more learners of English in China today than there are native speakers of the language” (Sonntag 2003:xi). She also suggests that there is a “plurality of Englishes” with political and cultural consequences. Globalization, hegemony, resistance and identity all play a role in this phenomenon (Sonntag 2005:14). Human agency, interaction, and relationships of power result from a political and cultural contestation in a “global-local” (or glocal) context (Sonntag 2005:14). Crystal (2003) defines global languages (i.e., English) for that matter, as languages that have gained prestige in every country in the world. He adds that it has more to do with “the power of the speakers of the
language” than with the number of speakers, and adds that language dominance is always related to economic, cultural and technological dominance. Crystal further claims that political and military power play an important role in this dominance as well (Crystal 2003:7-9). Contemporary examples of the prestige perceived by people using English as a global language can be seen in Labassi (2008) as he documents how Tunisian teachers in trade unions use English to seek support from around the world (Labassi 2008), or in El-Or’s account (2004) of how traditionalist “Sephardic Jewish women” in Israel use English to improve their local “status” (El-Or 2004:209). Jessner (2006) equates the term Global English with “English as a Third Language,” and recognizes its spread due to the mobility of people because of migratory movements, the role of English as a lingua franca, and the presence of former colonial forces (Jessner 2006:1-2). Nunan (2001), however, discusses how the spread of English in the world may lead to the denial of “the right of children to be educated in their own language,” and asks the question, “to what extent is access to English a mechanism for determining who has access to economic advancements and who does not?” (Nunan 2001:605-6). Finally, Kachru (1992) argues that global English is justified on the numeric strength of its non-native speakers. The localized function that English has developed in various domains and its dominance in business, tourism, technology, and scientific research adds to the advantage of “English as a global language” (Kachru 1992:355).

There are some positions antagonistic to one another regarding the uses of English in the world. Among these it’s worth mentioning the “linguistic neutrality” versus the “linguistic domination” theories (Lysandrou and Lysandrou 2003:207). Phillipson (2001) talks about the “diffusion-of-English paradigm” versus the “ecology-of-language paradigm” (Phillipson 2001:185). Others like House (2003) find the benefits of using English in the world as a “lingua
Some of the Awajún/Wampis students and professionals that I know in Lima have unofficially expressed the benefits they see in learning English in this globalized world, reason for which they requested the English classes in the first place. Most of these colleagues and students are bilingual already, so they are learning English as a third language. They or their parents spoke their native languages in their communities and then migrated to the city. Consequently, they are true bilinguals and know what it was to be forced to learn a dominant language (i.e., Spanish) when they were in school. We can see in the literature on bilingualism how Ruiz (1984), for instance, sees different orientations in language and its role in society. The first orientation regarding language is seeing “language-as-problem,” which along with the “language-as-right” orientation have significant input on language policy formulation. The third orientation is “language-as-resource” (Ruiz 1984:17-28). Similar orientations are seen in May, Hill and Tiakiwai’s report to the New Zealand government regarding the situation of English immersion schools with indigenous groups (May, et al. 2004). They describe three types of bilingualism: “additive or elective bilingualism,” “circumstantial bilingualism,” and “subtractive bilingualism” (May, et al. 2004:8). Going back to bilingualism with indigenous populations in the Amazon, as shown before, Larson (1981) narrates how the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) worked with the government of Perú in order to design and implement bilingual programs in the schools (Larson 1981). However, Ziegler-Otero (2004) asserts that those same fundamentalist missionaries affiliated to SIL had close and friendly relationships with the “oil companies” exploiting the Huaorani territories in Ecuador (Ziegler-Otero 2004:4-5). Literacy programs can be seen as neutral or ideologically impregnated, as we will see in the following section.
New Literacies and the Creation of Third Spaces for Dialogue: The Dilemma of Human Narratives

The third and final research question in this dissertation research is my concern with literacy and learning. Literacies as local and global influences affect the lives of young and adult Awajún and Wampís intellectuals (students and professionals) who live in Lima. How does the proliferation of literacies in a global context influence the indigenous identity of the Awajún and Wampís students in Lima? To answer this question, first I need to clarify a few points. By the proliferation of literacies in a global context, I imply that literacies are not only global or national ideological inputs, but also local ones to which indigenous intellectuals are exposed; their situational practices that go beyond basic abilities of reading and writing. Second, I am considering the context of a large Latin American capital city, Lima, to see how indigenous students and professional who live there incorporate or reincorporate those local and foreign elements in their everyday interactional practices. The visual literacy to which I expose them with the digital cameras, is one of those factors to look at.

As discussed in the initial section of this chapter, discourse as “text” implies more than the written and spoken text. Kress (2000) suggests that the semiotic modes of writing and image are distinct. Image is based on “the logic of display in space,” while writing and speech are based on “the logic of succession in time” (Kress 2000:339). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) recognize that children learn to write and draw, but “the writing ability is coached while the drawing ability or visual literacy is seen as something that we all learn by ourselves,” and only as adults, if we choose to, we specialize in it (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006:16). They further argue that “Western culture” is characterized by its bias on writing and reading as synonyms of education. “Non-literate cultures” are those whose traditions are founded on oral practices. They conclude
by saying, “[n]o wonder that the move toward a new literacy, based on images and visual design, can come to be seen as a threat;” as a sign of decline of “culture,” and a reason for conservative rallying (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006:17). “New literacy studies,” (NLS) as championed by Brian Street (2003) pay attention to these biases by promoting multiple literacies that not necessarily impose “western conceptions of literacy on to other cultures” or within a country impose “those of one class or cultural group onto others” (Street 2003:77). Kim (2003) acknowledges the importance of Street’s work, in twenty years of examining literacy as acquired by members of various cultures in relation to structures of power and authority. However, we are warned in Kim’s work about the limitations of NLS in applying its concepts and empirical studies to real pedagogical practices and policy-making without becoming part of the dominant “autonomous model, ” and in not giving concrete suggestions for classroom teachers (Kim 2003:118-9). It is interesting for the purposes of this dissertation research how NLS can also be applied to literacies that are part of family and community relations (Barton 1994; Barton and Hamilton 1998). Maria Teresa de La Piedra also documents her application of NLS concepts to a study of what she calls “hybrid literacies” in an indigenous Andean community of Perú (de La Piedra 2009:110).

Photography can be considered as new literacy in education and social science research, but we have to first acknowledge the fact that photography is not new as a focus of anthropological studies at all. Collier (1967), as far back as the 1960s struggled with the idea that he had to educate the scholastic community about the “qualitative advantages” of using images in his study of an “Andean market” in Perú (Collier 1967:67-71). Photography as text contributes to identity studies as a modality of discourse. Burgin (1982) suggests that photography simultaneously depicts “a scene and an spectator’s gaze; that is, an object and a
viewing subject” (Burgin 1982:146). Hirsch (1997) adds that there is reciprocity in that photographer and viewer collaborate on the reproduction of ideology. “Eye and screen” are the main elements of that ideology. Our expectations “circumscribe and determine what we show and what we see” (Hirsch 1997:7). Photos usually have captions, but even if they do not have them, they are traversed by language” when they are “read” by viewers. As Burgin again explains, photographs are texts that can be called “photographic discourse,” and like other discourses, engage discourses beyond photography (Burgin 1982:144). Rose (2003) makes the interesting observation about the importance of the messages that photographs give, for instance, in the family photos context where she describes how the “there” of photographs could evoke “loss” of a loved one; that is, the “there of photographs, their status as evidence, evokes both presence and absence” (Rose 2003:12). Rose adds, based on her research on family photography, that the evocation of the “there-then,” of the past can also be a reminder that there will be future things to appreciate in photographs, and that this is done in the “here-now.” They become “different spaces and times brought together” in the family context (Rose 2003:14-5). They shape an identity in a visual discourse. The main idea gathered from these authors for the current dissertation research is that photos carry messages, and this type of discourse is as important and diverse as that which is carried in written or spoken text. There is a lot more to be explored in looking at this type of visual text in the context of local practices. As Geoffrey Batchen (2003) argues, we have to remember that “there is a need for many histories of photography, just as there are still many photographies for which histories have yet to be written” (Batchen 2003:B9).

Photographic practice as a new literacy forms just part of the paradigm being shaped by situated interactional practices other than written and oral discursive activities. We can also look at the environment around us as a significant influential literacy. There is a social nature to
literacy and a multiple character of literacy practices in real social contexts (Schieffelin and Gilmore 1986). The idea of the neutral literacy with a capital “L” and a single “y” is no longer acceptable, and literacy has become one type of communicative practice (Street 1995:2) where identities are expressed. The idea of situated practices in this sense, would come from Lave and Wenger (1991). Situated learning for them is the process of engaging in ‘communities of practice.” These authors talk about learning as “legitimate peripheral participation.” By this they mean that learners, by definition, cannot avoid participating in communities of practitioners, and in order to master a skill or knowledge, learners must be full participants in the sociocultural practices of the community. Only then can we see the relationship between those who taught, before or teach now, and those who learn, and so the “activities, identities, artifacts, and communities of knowledge and practice” become part of a relevant discussion (Lave and Wenger 1991:29). Individuals and cultural communities change and continue their practices all the time. Rogoff and her colleagues have been able to notice in indigenous communities of the Americas how learning takes place by observing and “pitching in” to ongoing activities that are important in the community. They call this process “Learning through Intent Community Participation” (Rogoff, et al. 2003; Rogoff 2012; Rogoff, et al. 2007).

Participation and learning through social interaction and community shared practices as opposed to merely acquiring literacy (i.e., reading and writing) in schools echoes the importance that New Literacy Studies researchers place on what they call the place in-between the school and homes. This is a place of significance to the development of practices and identities that will be reinforced throughout an individual’s life as long as these individuals maintain their traditions and beliefs. And this applies to indigenous peoples who are exposed to all kinds of literacies, local and global. Pahl and Rowsell open up a theoretical space of significance in a person’s
formative years that they call a “third space.” They borrow Wilson’s (2000) concept of the “third space” as the “‘in-between’ literacy practices of prisoners, who write to the outside world drawing on an ‘in-between’ space, neither the prison, nor the outside world” (Pahl and Rowsell 2005:65; Wilson 2000). Pahl and Rowsell come up with an interesting adaptation of Wilson’s theory and apply it to an individual’s educational process. They see the individual’s home, popular culture, and the multimodal texts that they are exposed to among those of their immediate circle of family and community members; they also acknowledge the school setting where writing, speaking, and listening literacies are acquired, and finally pay attention to an important “third space,” a “meaning-making” space, or an “out-of-school literacies” space where children – in the case of their examples – draw or write using home and school literacies. Third spaces can be after school clubs, meetings with friends, or even drawing or writing in either school or home settings, where literacies from the one place are borrowed at the other (Pahl and Rowsell 2005:66). Third spaces are interesting concepts to be applied to indigenous identity issues because they provide a more “embodied” understanding of literacy (Pahl and Rowsell 2005:66) that is more inclusive. By the same token, the idea of third spaces developed by Pahl and Rowsell can be merged with Homi Bhabha’s postcolonial concept of “third space.” In Bhabha’s conceptualization, first there is the warning about the fact that cultural diversity implies the ability of the “cultured” or “civilized” to be able to appreciate cultures in a musée imaginaire; only to make them transparent or maintain prejudices and racist ideologies that are still latent. In a different light, if we look at “cultural difference,” in line with post-structuralist approaches, a position of “liminality” exists and becomes a productive space for the construction of culture as difference. In that space, we are more in tune with the spirit of “alterity or otherness.” (Bhabha 1990b:208-210). Here Bhabha applies his concept of “third space” as one of
liminality and translation, and where identity and community are realized through language and enunciation, a space where oppressed and oppressor are able to come together momentarily, free of oppression, and embodied in their distinctiveness. Spaces of interaction, enunciation, language, discourse, and textual exchange such as these ones, are better suited to deal with the seriousness of identity issues that shouldn’t be essentialized or defined with static definitions that only favor an oppressive status quo.

Posts-structuralist approaches contribute to the creation of such spaces of narratives and multimodal discourses where possibilities exist for different, hopefully new paradigms, to surface in order to build a more humanistic world. Jacques Derrida (Derrida 1997; Derrida, et al. 1981) is probably the one who champions the creation of spaces in this light. He favors undecidable spaces where binary oppositions, which westerners favor so much, are disregarded as meaningless and essentialist prejudices. Undecidable spaces for Derrida are possibilities for human agency. They create a framework of possibilities for ideological spaces, philosophical practices, and human activities, where binary oppositions are “undermined,” and a true dialectic process can take place (Derrida 1997:116,148; Derrida, et al. 1981:43). Finally, Lyotard (1984) delves into a postmodern condition in which among other things, there are two types of knowledge -- narrative knowledge and scientific knowledge. The former is that of traditional societies, based on storytelling in its different forms (e.g., ritual, music, dance), and it implies legitimization in itself because of its timelessness; the latter claims legitimization and excludes every other narrative. They are essentialist meta-narratives or grand narratives that try to explain everything undermining local traditions and narratives.

It is by customizing these theoretical frameworks just presented where another commonly disregarded quandary may be advanced; namely, the dilemma of human narratives; a dilemma
that involves anthropological problems and possible solutions. This final quandary can be illustrated with an analogy related to language structure, but does not necessarily mean it serves only as a framework for language analysis. On the contrary, my proposed idea intertextually builds on those ideas mentioned above, and signals the possibility of adding new spaces of creative knowledge and dialogue, where biases and prejudices are meant to be minimized or eradicated completely. The analogy of language comes from the function of conjunctions. Conjunctions in language structure (i.e., specifying English being the language for the analogy to be presented) serve the purpose of connecting sentences, clauses, phrases or words of equal weight at times, or unequal weight at some other times. For instance, following the language analogy to be generalized to the entirety of the human experience, we may draw on the Derridian dilemma of binary oppositions, and say something like, “it’s either primitive or civilized.” Here we imply things are either one way or another in the complexity of the human daily experience and essentialize them to become two extremes that are mutually exclusive. By the same token, we look at things coming from an enlightened tradition of linear progress that always views something from less to more – considering the Lyotardian dilemma of grand narratives that universalize the human experience versus local narratives that legitimize themselves because of their timeless nature. Taking into account this dilemma, we always find “a beginning and an end,” a “starting line and a finish line.” We could diagram the first essentialist proposal as a horizontal line with two extremes that are mutually exclusive (i.e., separated by or). We could also diagram the second one as a vertical line that has a bottom and a top, implying the bottom (A) is the starting point of a linear trajectory that has a beginning of primitive complexity, and the top (Z) is the finishing point of advanced complexity (i.e., separated by linear stages where and serves as the eternal connector between each stage). But, Derrida (1981), and Lyotard
(1984) under that post-structural tradition, have made it clear for us how defined those categories are in our western existence. I propose a diagonal line to represent the *dilemma of human narratives* (Figure 7), suggesting that we need to break up with those enlightenment traditions. We need to defy the representation of what it actually is in our biased worlds to see something as mutually exclusive or linear in progress. The diagonal nature in our representation implies a space for creative dialogue, a creative space where paved roads in the middle of an Amazonian rainforest do not necessarily mean progress, or muddy connections and dirt roads, where our tires get stuck in the rainy Amazonian season, do not necessarily mean, primitive or regressive stages. They are all a reality, where human creativity can play a big role in solving misunderstandings and proposing solutions to problems that affect local or global dispossessed peoples. The synthesis of such a never-ending problematic in human narratives is one in which we realize there are dots connecting the straight diagonal line. These dots connect not only to the main trajectory dictated by powerful forces and narratives, but sideways, collateral, parallel to it, or any which way where human discourse, narrative, communication and interaction may lead in creative conversations (Figure 8). There is a place we can create where ferry-bridges, indigenous leaders, villagers, educators, fees, floating cars, and swimmers, along with mestizo researchers, drivers, traders, educators, or government officials can creatively come up with solutions to the complexity of problems they face; problems that are so intrinsic to our human species.

The photo project in which Awajún and Wampís students and professionals participated for my dissertation research, may be one way of addressing the *dilemma of human narratives*. The narratives and conversations where photographs, places, artifacts, technologies, languages and events were discussed, are such vehicles in which third spaces are created. By using those
polyvocal and polymorphous narratives, by utilizing those means, in those spaces my participants conceived, they were able to create worlds that were at times ideal, and at times not so. They were able to decontextualize themselves from other times and locations, only to
recontextualize their identities in a Peruvian reality of the 21st century, without necessarily feeling part of the linear historical process assigned to them by dominant forces. Many of them believed in the dialogue they were being part of. They were very new to that kind of interaction, but enjoyed the attention paid to their voices and images, but most of all, my participants experienced their own agency in authoring their identities as they wanted to do it, through their creativity. Some showed Andean visions, some admired mestizo opinions, some loved American technology and educational opportunities and languages, but absolutely all of them, were proud of their indigenous Awajún and Wampis heritage, and were also willing to talk about the importance of that identity in their lives and in the lives of the modern mestizo nation. The chapters that follow represent my dissertation fieldwork and the record of those narratives during that fieldwork. Hopefully, they will serve as examples of third spaces of creative agency that will help revitalize an indigenous identity neglected for years because it did not fit an emblematic grand narrative of the national Inca identity.
Chapter 3
More of the Outsider’s *Gaze*: “Like Animals in a Zoo…”

Introduction

Although I have been in direct contact with the Awajún/Wampís on and off only since the 1990s, before then, mine had been more of an emotional involvement with them through childhood stories heard from my father about rare Awajún contacts in the Amazonian port city of Iquitos. However, as seen in chapter 2, the Jivaroan people’s story of contact with outsiders dates all the way back to the first attempts made by the Inca, and then the Conquistadors to subdue them; unsuccessfully of course (Harner 1972; Regan 1993). Attempts as such, the later Catholic and Protestant missionaries’ more successful incursions into their territory (Larson and Davis 1981), and the current wave of official and NGO incursions of today (Garcia 2005), will definitely create in the Awajún and Wampís who live in the Amazon now, a feeling of distrust and a natural negative reaction toward visitors who come to their communities, equipped with cameras and notepads, or ask personal questions about their private or public lives and customs. We, as anthropologists, become the main source of distrust at times since we are always staring, and taking notes of everything we see or hear. This is a very understandable rejection of the current “limited” academic observer’s “gaze” (Trouillot 2003:104).

Professionally, the hardest experience of contact for me was my first time in the field in 1995. My first day in an Awajún community, I was asked to present myself to the council of elders in the village in order to explain and justify my presence there. At the time I thought I did a great job by talking about my “willingness” to help spread the word about the Awajún, their
culture, and their struggle. Of course, I was not able to sell my message to them. I did not even know I was supposed to. I was anthropologically naïve enough to think that what I was doing in the field would ultimately “help” them. Their answer to my little speech was loud and clear, “you anthropologists come and go, watch us like animals in a zoo, make money out of it, and we never see any changes in our communities. No improvements come for us out of what you do. We are not going to let you do any research here!” Back then, those words hurt, but even at the time, I totally agreed with them because they made me see their perspective; their own “gaze” of what the “anthropologist” does. It was well said and honest. I may have had good intentions, but good intentions were and are not good enough. What I would have to say about them was not as important as what they could say about themselves or about me, the anthropologist.

Nevertheless, I somehow managed to complete my research in that community. I would like to think that I made more friends than enemies too, but that would only be my speculation. However, the words of the múuns (elders) have been “tattooed” in the back of my mind. I always visualize them as a constant reminder that when we think we know things, most likely we lack knowledge, and we have to be humble enough to learn every day, in and out of the field. I cannot claim to have been able to do any better this last time in the field in terms of “help” to the Awajún/Wampís, but there are a couple of things that I tried to do differently. Making things more collaborative and reciprocal would at least make the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima I worked with feel more fulfilled in terms of their contact with the anthropologist, their time, and their contribution to my project. The data were literally “accessible to the gaze” of the Awajún/Wampís students this time, and some of that “native voice” (Trouillot 2003:104) is there. At least, that is the basis for the way I rationalize my methods and how they relate to my research questions.
My research questions came out of my 2008 “exploratory” trip to Santa Maria de Nieva, an Awajún-mestizo town located on the banks of the Marañon River. While staying there, I met old friends, local school teachers, and *apus* (chiefs). One of the latter in particular, the current President at the time of the CAH or Aguaruna-Huambisa Council (the regional indigenous federation), got me temporarily involved in local politics, which is not at all what I had initially planned. My background as student advisor and English as a Foreign Language teacher in Perú did not go unnoticed. Neither did my willingness to get involved professionally with the Awajún and Wampís. Sooner than later, I was trying to explain and justify my presence among them again. However, this time I did not go to a circular council of eight local elders, but in front of 161 *apus* from all the communities along the Marañon, Santiago, and Cenepa rivers. It was an honor, it was surreal, but it was also insane. I had stumbled upon the annual meeting of Awajún and Wampís *apus* and women delegates. This was probably a consequence of a combination of more than a few bowls of *masato* (manioc beer), *cerveza* (beer), and pencil sketches and conceptual maps on paper. The President of the Aguaruna-Huambisa Council and I had agreed on what we called “an excellent” program of English Language training for high school students who live in a community called *Yumigkus*. The school in this community was remote but, due to political campaigns of a former Peruvian president, was well-equipped with some sort of satellite Internet access. The current National Educational Curriculum promotes the learning of a globalized language like English, so it made sense to “improve the quality of the teaching;” that is, if I used the exact words of the *apu* and other school teachers I talked to in Santa Maria de Nieva in 2008.

Because of the remoteness of the region, and my distance from the news, I was not fully aware of the fact that some members of an Awajún local village had attacked a group of
employees from a multinational mining corporation who walked in uninvited. Neither was I notified of the tense local political environment right before the annual meeting of apus. There was a gradual power shift taking place during those days, and became noticeable at that meeting. Conversations ranged from agitated verbal attacks on multinational corporations, to the needs of the Council to renew and change local leadership. The president of the council had enemies. Of course his guest, a Peruvian mestizo coming from an American university and talking about an English program in Yumigkus, did not have much of a welcoming reception either. Many things were said about it, some of which my translator kindly spared me the details of, and our English pilot project was effusively rejected. When I asked the president of CAH what had just happened, he just shook his head in disapproval and said, “son los universitarios lo que no quieren. Ellos son los que se resisten” [The university students are the ones who do not want this. They are the one who resist]. Those words left me thinking deeply about the changes taking place, and started my interest in the intellectual youth of the Awajún and the Wampís. I wanted to learn more about indigenous students and professionals, how they saw themselves, and their own agency in this new era of global incursions. By the same token, I thought I had learned the lesson before, but as we will see later, it does not take once, not even twice, but three times to learn lessons about my personal involvement with my Awajún and Wampís brothers and sisters. Nevertheless, the entire process – conversations, debates, and accusations included – brought my attention to what ended up being my research questions to address Awajún/Wampís intellectual identity, and the influences of globalization and literacies on that identity.

My research questions were molded from that initial indirect and agitated encounter with Awajún/Wampís intellectuals during that meeting of apus that took place in the community of Urakusa in 2008. Due to the massacre of the Devil’s bend (Bagua) on June 5th, 2009 that I
described in the previous chapter, and the warnings received about how unstable the Marañon communities were afterwards, I decided to do my research with the Awajún/Wampís university students residing in Lima. This chapter describes the methods I utilized and the rationale behind them in order to answer the following research questions: 1) How do the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima define their identity? 2) How do the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima use their adaptive agency to (re)define their identity? 3) How does the proliferation of literacies in a global context influence the indigenous identity of the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima?

Research Setting

My research questions evolved from that uncomfortable presentation during the meeting of *apus* in 2008, but they were further influenced by my research setting and participant observation while teaching an English course for Awajún/Wampís youth and professionals in Lima at the *Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Perúana* or the Inter-Ethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest (AIDESEP) headquarters. I became increasingly curious about the way the life of a university student in Lima influenced the indigenous identity of the Awajún and Wampís who had migrated there to obtain a college degree. My research setting involved two locations. The first place where I had a chance to interact, observe and participate directly as a teacher in an educational context with Awajún and Wampís students was AIDESEP in the district of Santa Catalina (Lima). The second location became the neighborhood where my research participants lived and studied: El Cercado (Lima). El Cercado was the district where their university was located. I rented a basement gym there for my Photovoice/Photo-Elicitation hybrid data-collection exercise. Both of these locations allowed me to see my participants at play in the capital city, and to learn how their exposure to the
foreign language I was teaching, their formal undergraduate education, the technology of a big modern Latin American city, and the participatory and somewhat technologically complex methodology I used, all as global and local literacies, influenced their lives as Awajún or Wampís citizens of a modern nation-state. I taught the English course for about a year. After the embarrassing presentation of the pilot program in the Marañón, I never thought I would get involved in a voluntary language program again. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, it took three times to learn my lesson about personal involvement. And even now, I don’t think I have learned that lesson well enough, since I am planning on working with some of my Awajún/Wampís friends in creating an academic setting to support indigenous youth in their search for a degree. It is easier said than done, of course, but it is the goal after my return home. Although the initial pilot English project in the communities described previously was not entirely my idea, this last time, I thought it would be an interesting opportunity to get to know some of the indigenous university students and graduates through a course designed specifically for them. Likewise, I saw it as an excellent opportunity to create my space for the type of participant observation in an academic setting I needed for my dissertation.

During my dissertation fieldwork, I used mainly three methods: Participant observation, and a collaborative data-collection strategy that had two parts; the first part was the one in which the participants took pictures of themes to later discuss them with me; and the second part was a final Photo-Elicitation interview in which we discussed the themes that came up based on a framework of photo-taking activities I designed for them. In 2008, I had traveled to the Amazon for a couple of months to explore the possibilities of doing my research in the communities, but after the incident at Bagua, safety issues were a concern, so I decided to do most of my research in Lima with the students available. Nevertheless, the 2008 trip, and the conversations I had with
school teachers and community members there, shaped a lot of what the reader will see in this dissertation.

**Participant Observation: Cities of the Saints**

*Santa Maria de Nieva, Condorcanqui – Amazonas (2008)*

My participant observation experience started in 2008 in the Amazon. In order for me to be able to participate in that meeting of *apus* I mentioned before, I had to be invited back to the communities. I knew people from the area for years, and kept contact with them through e-mail. In 2008, I got the opportunity to travel to Santa Maria de Nieva, which is the capital of the Province of *Condorcanqui*. This town is located in the department of Amazonas. A department in Perú is the equivalent of a U.S. state. Santa Maria de Nieva is a bilingual town with the majority of the population being Awajún. The trip to Santa Maria de Nieva was possible because I volunteered to carry a computer all the way from Lima for a friend who worked at an NGO with links to France. They sold Awajún handicrafts in Paris, and the profits came back to the communities. The town had Internet cafes, and she had the plan to get Internet connectivity with the computer I was giving her at her own place to improve the business. I stayed at her place in an *asentamiento humano* (human settlement) across the river. The name of the settlement is Juan Velasco Alvarado (JVA), and I stayed there for about two months. From there I was able to talk to the mayor, and the president of the Aguaruna-Huambisa Council who happened to be a friend of mine. The idea of the English pilot project came out of those conversations with the latter. I was also able to talk to school teachers and hear what they had to say about literacy in the communities. The initial plan for my dissertation research was to carry it out in the communities.
around this area, but due to the problems that arose after June 5th, 2009 I had to change my research setting. Suddenly, my beloved Amazon was not such a welcoming place for a mestizo like myself. There were other logistic considerations as well.

An additional reason I carried out the final phase of the research in a modern urban setting (Lima) has to do with the fact that the technological and logistic exigencies of the participatory analyses sessions require the use of software and infrastructural tools that would not be available if the research were to be carried out in the Marañon communities. Although I had seen the reach of computer technology and the Internet in towns and villages as far as Juan Velasco Alvarado, which is located at 4° 35' 35.76" S, and 77° 51' 44.99" W, elev. 190 m. (Google Earth 2010), it would not be an easy task to carry a projector, a screen, and a computer with me for interviews, or to have individual sessions with interviewees without the influence of other villagers. In Lima, however, I was always able to have a conversation with a laptop at a café or a soda shop, which would let us enjoy some privacy in a public place. A situation like this one would be close to impossible in a village setting having family members and neighbors as bystanders during the interviews.

San Eugenio Ave., Santa Catalina – La Victoria (2010)

Participant observation during my time as a language teacher at the Pan-Amazonian indigenous organization (AIDESEP) would eventually help me triangulate observations with my main methodology: the Photovoice/Photo-Elicitation hybrid which will be discussed below. The strength of participant observation is that you “as a researcher, become the instrument for data collection and analysis through your own experience (Bernard 2006:359). You learn “through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the research
setting” (Schensul, et al. 1999:91). It is a methodology that even allows casual conversations to become important informal interview components at times. As Spradley notes, “informant interviews may even be conducted casually while doing participant observation” (Spradley 1979:32). It may even involve stronger commitment at times. French anthropologist Didier Fassin, who carried out fieldwork in the French Banlieues and in South Africa, defines participant observation as becoming “more and more often in [his] own practice observant participation, given that [he is] often engaged as an actor in the domains [he studies].” This practice “is characterized by its informality. It blurs the boundaries between research and life. Fieldwork is everywhere” (Fassin 2006:523).

The participant observation that I carried out in the field was probably blurring those boundaries between research and life since I was already totally involved as a volunteer in lecturing classes on Language and Culture to indigenous Amazonian youth. I had endless appointments with representatives of the binational center sponsored by the U.S. Embassy, and Fulbright representatives on behalf of my Awajún and Wampís students, and kept informing my students about U.S. university fairs and opportunities for scholarships in Lima and abroad during the time I was teaching. I introduced one of my initial cultural consultants of 2008 to a U.S. Overseas Adviser who became interested in his applying to a scholarship program for an English course at the binational center. He did apply but lost interest along the road and abandoned the process. Some of these university students came from the Asociación Indígena de Estudiantes Universitarios de la Amazonia Peruana – AAUPI (Indigenous Association of University Students from the Peruvian Amazon – AAUPI), which is the grassroots organization for indigenous Amazonian university students who live in Lima. Other students were indigenous professionals who cooperate and work with the grassroots indigenous organization, AIDESEP.
By teaching those English classes at the headquarters of AIDESEP, and advocating for my students in Lima in 2008 and 2010, I was able to establish rapport and become acquainted with some of these young students and professionals that I would later end up interviewing.

An Awajún friend of mine, who is a junior leader at AIDESEP, and I came up with a strategy to recruit students. We sent an e-mail about English classes that would take place at the AIDESEP location.\footnote{I had initially contacted the Ministry of Education, and with the help of the Director of the Bilingual Education section of the Ministry, I had started teaching at a faith-based institution of higher education. This worked only for a couple of weeks. Although the President of that institution of higher education agreed to do it for free at the beginning to be in good terms with the Ministry officer, he immediately started asking us for money, and leaving the doors locked so that we could not enter. AIDESEP from the very beginning had offered their location through my friend and main cultural consultant, but I had kindly declined due to how politicized it was a year after the events in Bagua (the Devil’s Bend). In the end I had no other option if I wanted to stay in touch with the Awajún/Wampís youth or get involved with them in an academic setting.} We had an initial list of forty students. It was all set up, and the AIDESEP location was in Santa Catalina, an urban town inside of the capital, Lima. The AIDESEP location had a press conference room, which was large enough to house at least one hundred people at a time. The set up of this large room was convenient because it had plenty of metal folding chairs leaning against the walls, a TV set with cable access, a DVD player, and a dry erase board -- all the materials that a language teacher could dream about in order to have an effective class. The connection with my friend who worked for AIDESEP helped me have the room available every Saturday for a whole year. They would always open doors for us, and it was also a good way to establish rapport with youth that visited, as well as with the leaders of the grassroots organization. This relationship would also eventually help me get a letter from the president of the organization authorizing me to do my research with members of an Amazonian indigenous community: the Awajún and the Wampís. This is the letter that IRB asked me for and approved soon after they obtained it.

The classes started strong, and I had the great help from a pedagogy student from the *Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos* (San Marcos Major National University) in Lima. I
could not have taught this course without her. She is an Amazonian mestiza\textsuperscript{19} from Bagua who contributed in the design of the course, and worked with us until the very last day of classes. She helped me teach, organize the class, and contributed financially when we had to buy snacks and soft drinks for our students too. She was always very devoted to the course, and cooperated with our project since the early hours of the morning. Our classes started at 8:00 in the morning, and continued until 12 noon. Because of the intensity of the lessons, sometimes we tried to bring chips, cake, sandwiches, and soft drinks to take breaks. The number of students varied. The first months, there were times when we had forty students at a time, but in the final months of the program we ended up with very few dedicated students. One of the explanations for that has to do with the fact that my friend who worked at AIDESEP obtained a government job, and had to travel to the Amazon halfway through the program. He was the person who made jokes in class, and was well respected by the youth who attended. Another reason that was brought up to my attention by some of the students was the bus fare. Since the location was far from where most of the students lived, they needed more than the usual amount of money for bus fares. We could not afford paying for the bus fares at that time. One final reason I would argue here as well is the lack of official certificates after the completion of our course. I was not an institute or represented any official institution as a teacher. This was a voluntary course designed with the help of an Awajún professional and a pedagogy university student to reinforce our participants’ knowledge of English as a foreign language so that they could try their luck with the scholarship programs they wanted abroad. Some students asked about the kind of certificate they would get after completing the course, and seemed disappointed with my answer. These three factors decreased the number of students who came to our classes.

\textsuperscript{19} Mestiza is the feminine form of mestizo in Spanish. My assistant was a former student of mine from the time I was a teacher at the binational center in Lima, and loved the idea of the course since she was from the same Amazonian region and studied bilingual education at the university.
The importance of the AIDESEP location revolved around its authority as a nationally recognized Amazonian indigenous organization. It was a source of support and identity for our students, and other Amazonian indigenous peoples who needed assistance or guidance in the capital city of Lima. As a nationally recognized organization, AIDESEP includes 65 federations, representing 1,500 communities that host 650,000 indigenous men and women from 16 linguistic families in 64 different ethnic groups. Important objectives of AIDESEP include representing Amazonian indigenous peoples and looking for their best interests; the preservation and development of the cultural identity, territory, and values of each one of the indigenous peoples of the Peruvian Amazon; ensuring the exercise of the free determination of Amazonian indigenous peoples within the legal Peruvian and international contexts of obligations and rights; and promoting the sustainable development of the territory and the human resources of Amazonian indigenous peoples (AIDESEP Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana N.d.).

Many of the university students did not know me, but trusted the institution and its purpose in being there. Through questioning my cultural consultants, and by personal experience, I learned that AIDESEP also functioned as a shelter; or the first house for many Awajún, Wampís, and other Amazonian indigenous peoples who came to Lima for one reason or another.20 Our classes were being in an indirect way “sponsored”21 by AIDESEP, and that meant a lot for our young students. In terms of my research purposes, this grassroots organization also introduced me to the youth and intellectuals of the Amazonian indigenous communities, the Awajún and Wampis included. The downside of the experience was that the AIDESEP location was not such a good idea geographically due to the fact that most of the students lived near the

20 Also, halfway through the program, a couple of visitors from a community used our classroom to sleep at night. They had been instructed to leave the classroom on Saturday mornings, and come back after we finished our classes, at around noon. This also made us uncomfortable since because of our classes, this couple had to wake up early, leave their shelter, and come back later.

21 They provided the infrastructure and electricity.
*Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos* (San Marcos National Major University); their university. On campus, and around the university, students live in small rooms or apartments that they share with fellow Awajún/Wampís or family members. Unfortunately, it is only a year later, when the classes had already finished, that I was able to find what could have been a more convenient location for our English course to take place. This location was in the same neighborhood of San Marcos University. The classes had already finished, but not my research, so it was somehow a “late” but convenient accident when that happened because due to having access to this new location I was able to reach more students, some of whom had not even come to our classes. The Photovoice/Photo-Elicitation hybrid data-collection exercise took place in 2011 at this location.

My participant observation during the time I taught English at the AIDESEP location consisted of lecturing classes that fluctuated between 40 to 5 students at times, for the reasons noted above. The classes were promoted in the inner circle by Awajún or Wampís AIDESEP officials by word of mouth. All these students were interested in learning English in order to apply to scholarship programs in the United States or European countries. I established rapport that way and got to know many of the leaders of other youth grassroots organizations. Benedicto, who was a friend and main cultural consultant – as I previously mentioned – also worked at AIDESEP at the time, and he helped me organize the classes along with the mestizo pedagogy student from San Marcos University who was from Bagua. The latter helped me teach the classes too. She had been my student from the U.S.-Peruvian binational center where I taught and advised students before I traveled to the United States in 2006.

During the year I taught Awajún and Wampís students, I was hoping to find out more about their academic practices, how they accessed information, and what types of technology
they utilized for that purpose. I recorded all the data I gathered in my fieldnotes after each session once I arrived home, not to be intrusive or distracting during the sessions. I also became sort of a cultural broker since I kept trying to arrange meetings between my students and Fulbright officials, and other American Embassy or binational center officials who were in charge of English courses, administration of international exams (i.e., TOEFL, GRE, and GMAT), international exams preparation courses, and scholarships to study in the United States. I was able to get one of my students in the process of application, and scholarship officials were very interested in this candidate, but he dropped out from the process after a while because of lack of funds to continue his course with the institution that offered the English course for the Fulbright Commission’s scholarship program. There were college fairs organized by these American-sponsored institutions or by the Embassy, and I invited my students to attend whenever these events were available. At one point, a main advisor from the Fulbright commission and I talked about the possibility of holding the classes at the Fulbright location in Lima. There were many networking opportunities or spaces that were created while teaching these classes, and I was able to get insightful information about academic and professional interests of my students when I attended indigenous student events or pro-indigenous activist events and conferences.

The Photography-Interview Experience on Santa Paula St., Pando – Cercado de Lima (2010-2011)

The location where I interviewed my participants was the basement of a six-story building that had been modified to become a gym. During the early morning and evening hours the gym was used for aerobics classes, but during the day starting at 9 AM, I was able to rent it
for my meetings and interviews. Some of my interviewees were not able to come to the morning interviews because of university classes or work, so we also had to make arrangements to have them come during the evening hours that the gym was available. Again from the initial list provided by my main cultural consultant, my list of students, and a recruitment strategy, I was able to get at least forty possible participants, some of whom initially agreed, but later changed their minds. The most important leaders, at least a couple of whom had been in the media, agreed to participate, but later changed their minds due to other engagements they had. The location at Santa Paula was an excellent location since it was right in the neighborhood where my participants lived or studied; fewer than ten blocks away from San Marcos University.

Three of my most important cultural consultants had been in contact with me for a year. My friend Benedicto was an Awajún economist; he was probably the most important contact who had helped me make the English classes possible. He was the one who worked at AIDESEP and knew everyone there. Hortencia was a journalist who had Awajún and Wampís background. She was working actively as a photographer for a news-related website who provided information about indigenous issues to the nation. She was also instrumental in helping me recruit participants. Finally, the most important recruiter for the interview part of my research became one of my students who completed the English course. Her name was Socorro. She was an Awajún linguist who attended every single class, and even during the duration of the course, had to go to Bolivia for a graduate certificate; later returning to our classroom to finish the course. These names and others you will see in the subsequent chapters are all pseudonyms created to protect their identities. Before our interviews took place I gave my participants a consent packet in a manila envelope. In that envelope, I enclosed consent and photo-release documents, but I also wrote on the label of the envelope “pseudonym,” and left a space for them
to fill out. I explained to my participants that they could choose their names if they wanted to. None of them cared about the names I used because of the consent documents they had signed, and the conversations we had already had about my protecting their anonymity. They trusted I would do so. I finally decided to use Spanish names for their pseudonyms because Awajún and Wampís first names are for the most part no different from those used by the mestizos nowadays. Rubenstein (2002) explains that prior to colonization the Shuar used only one name, but later missionaries encouraged them to “take on Spanish names as well” (Rubenstein 2002:xxi). I knew this since the 1990s when I first entered the communities. Back then, my elderly host’s son explained to me that they all used the name of their father as their last name, but had Spanish names as first names.

**Participants & Recruiting Practices: An Attempt at Reciprocity**

My three main cultural consultants volunteered for my research interviews. Additionally, I informed them about a bonus (in the form of money) for every person they would be able to recruit for me. I expected only former students of mine would be volunteering for this final process of the research. However, new participants also showed up. According to Socorro, this had to do with the fact that most of the students lived in the areas around the university. They had not been able to come to the classes before because of the distance of their homes from San Eugenio Avenue, and lack of money for bus fares. This time I was prepared for that. I would provide bus fares and a stipend of S/. 100.00 (one hundred soles in local currency), which is an equivalent of $35.00. Socorro is the person who came up with most of my participants, followed by Hortencia and Benedicto. As we will see in the next section, we met three times for the interviews, and each time I met my participants, I gave them round trip bus fares, even though
most of the students lived at a walking distance. They were very honest and would let me know that in advance. We met three times and each one of those times, the students would get a round trip for coming. The day of the final interview was the day they received the stipend of $35.00. Most of the interviews were during the mid-morning hours or at lunch time. I provided two sandwiches I made myself and a coke for every participant. They would spend an hour or two talking to me during this final interview, and seemed to enjoy the brief lunch or dinner and the conversation about the pictures they had taken.

Another factor that I believe influenced how comfortable they felt with the interview process was the style of the interviews. They talked about something they had produced creatively by themselves: photographs. They created that third space different from any space they were familiar with. Although this will be dealt with in one of the following sections, it is important to take notice of the control they had over the data they produced. The fact that they were the ones who took pictures of what they wanted to talk about, allowed my participants to feel more at ease with the interview process. Most of them, however young they may have been, knew about these types of interviews, and knew about what an anthropologist does. One way or another in their communities or through the organizations they were in touch with, they had familiarized themselves with the role of the anthropologist, or at least with the stereotype of an anthropologist.

**The Outsider’s Gaze: My Positionality**

I was to most of my research participants, the outsider, the stranger who was interested in the *Indígena* (indigenous person) and his or her way of life. This was nothing new to them; during our conversations and interviews, the word “anthropologist” was a common occurrence
that came up as someone who they always knew through their relationships or experiences in the communities and in Lima. They would talk about one or another anthropologist they had met, or priests who practiced anthropology, helped them and guided them. I did introduce myself as a Peruvian and Amazonian by tradition. I did my best effort to inform them that my family is from their area. My mother comes from the Department of Amazonas where most of the Awajún and Wampís live, and my father comes from the Department of Loreto; the city of Iquitos which can be reached following the Amazon to the east, in about fifteen days by *peque peque* (motorized canoe). Of course, none of that would impress them for two main reasons: (1) I was a mestizo, and (2) I was a mestizo-looking *gringo* because I came from an American university. Both reasons did not help me much in the beginning; in particular because of the tense situation after the massacre of June 5th, 2009. It had been only a year since the event, and Awajún/Wampís-mestizo relations were not at their best. One year after the course I taught at AIDESEP had finished, most of the participants in my research knew about me directly or indirectly. I was the English teacher who volunteered at AIDESEP, and who was brought in by a very popular young leader, Benedicto.

I never made the Amazonian background stick, however. I knew about the region, I talked about the Amazonian things I knew, but I was still the outsider, the one who would come to “watch them like animals in a zoo.” Those words kept haunting me every time I had to meet one of my students in class, or my participants during my research. Nevertheless, none of them ever said anything like that either in 2008 or 2010-11. I was now someone who somehow acted on issues, with a very low profile. I was the English teacher, who claimed Amazonian

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22 *Peque peque* is the main form of transportation along the rivers Marañon and Amazonas for most people. They are cheap and convenient for the transport of food or people. However, they do not move very fast. The name onomatopoeically describes the sound made by the engine while traveling along the river. The information about how long it takes to travel to Iquitos was given to me in the ‘90s and also in 2008 during my exploratory visit.

23 The word *Gringo* in this sense would mean someone who comes from North America, Europe, or represents them.
background, and was working on a dissertation for a North American university. I was the one who had the limited vision of a single “observer’s gaze.” I was completing the trilogy that Trouillot talks about when referring to those of us who complete our dissertations in places afar to comply with the institutionalized “monographic tradition.” I was doing my “ethnographic trilogy” that included, “one observer, one time, one place (Trouillot 2003:104-105).” The work described in this dissertation is based on that limited “observer’s gaze, and includes the “silences” produced in the data that Awajún and Wampis students and professionals kindly shared with me.

The Photovoice/Photo-Elicitation Hybrid Data-Collection Exercise: The Interviews

Photovoice was the main data-collection tool I was interested in using for this research, but it ended up being a combination of Photovoice strategies and Photo-Elicitation Interviewing (Clark-Ibanez 2004; Epstein, et al. 2006). Based on a list obtained from the AIDESEP indigenous employee of about 40 possible participants who go to technical institutes or universities in Lima, after IRB approval, an initial meeting was scheduled with those interested in participating. There was an initial discussion of cameras, ethics, and power issues. In terms of cameras, Holga cameras with black and white film were considered first because they are cheap, but unfortunately were not available locally. Another option is Instamatic or disposable cameras that allow for low-cost double prints at the time of processing. These types of cameras facilitate “reciprocity” since they provide participants with photographs to give back to people they had photographed (Wang and Redwood-Jones 2001a). I finally used Vivitar Vivicam 5.1 and 7.1 MP digital cameras for the value of under U.S. $60 each since they were available locally as well as in the U.S. These types of cameras facilitate the downloading and quick management of photos.
and images; I bought seven, which was a logistically ideal number. Individual interviews replaced the traditional focus group sessions characteristic of Photovoice projects.

I gave up on an initial idea of doing focus groups because Socorro and Benedicto strongly advised me against it. People at the time had too many mixed feelings about the matter, and were afraid to speak publicly pro or against one indigenous leader or the other. There is a strong sense of witchcraft and animosity among members who seem to have too much in terms of wealth or prestige. The low profile one-on-one interview would work best at the time. Once participants returned the cameras after taking their pictures, they went through their interviews and another set of participants used the returned cameras for their own image capturing (Castleden, et al. 2008). It is also important to point out again that the creative potential of using digital cameras to stimulate youth in educational endeavors that not only facilitate, but also motivate learning (i.e. writing) is uncontested (Zenkov and Harmon 2009). This means that having young people of technical institute and university ages, and young professionals – who are used to writing assignments and reports – as participants in the sessions, added to the potential of obtaining interesting results. Another advantage of using cameras (analog or digital) is the rationalization behind the study of Castleden and her colleagues (2008) when they worked with indigenous populations. That is, some of the participants might not always be fluent in the dominant language and culture, as it happened in a couple of instances. Unlike traditional interviews which may be intimidating, participants in this type of research feel more comfortable with oral and visual forms of communication in which they lead the interview with the themes that they have created just as indigenous groups in the study by Castleden and colleagues do (Castleden, et al. 2008).
Technical instructions on the use of the particular cameras utilized in the project were given by the facilitator (researcher) during the initial session. Issues of power were discussed. The power balancing effects of Photovoice were introduced in the workshop as participants discovered that a sense of ownership was created, trust is fostered, capacity is built, and cultural preferences are considered (Castleden, et al. 2008) when the control is in the hands of the participants, and not the researchers. This part of the process, I believed made things more reciprocal.

Finally, a list of three framing topics was distributed to participants by the researcher on a sheet of paper. These “framing topics” were based on my research questions and were used by participants as guidelines for them to take their pictures and discuss or generate further themes of interest to their communities during the interview (Palibroda, et al. 2009:56-7). Framing topics or questions could either generate “themes” in a limited fashion (Wang 1999:188) and sometimes are “not applicable” to how participants want “to represent their photographs” (McIntyre 2003:53). It depends on how flexible the research and analysis designs are. In either case, conversationally framing the topics is necessary to guide the photographers in their picture taking activities. My design was directed toward three frames related to influences my participants had as Awajún or Wampís, influences they had as a Peruvian citizens, and local and global influences they experienced as well. However, there was flexibility during the interviews based on what frames the participants had used to take the pictures. Some participants had their own frames that guided them in their picture-taking activities, and during interviews, I let them guide the conversation to where they wanted to go. In general, during the interview process, the photographs they took facilitated the theme elaboration process, so that a true “praxis” of further reflection and action among participants took place in a participatory style (Freire 2003:87) and
more themes came up. The difference between a regular Photovoice project and the research I carried out was that I had a defined set of research topics or questions, and I was using Photovoice mainly as a data-collection tool, and not as a methodology that aimed primarily at “changing policy,” or that had a set of framing topics generated entirely by participants (Wang 1999:188). Nonetheless, it was an essential goal of my research to make participants aware of the potential that this “methodology” has to “change policy” and therefore the “lives” of individuals and community members (Wang, et al. 2004:911-13). In the case of the Awajún and Wampis participants of my research, this “potential to change policy” could imply the simple realization by participants that the topics and issues that they generated during the interviews could empower them and give them arguments to make educational policymakers (i.e., officials at the Ministry of Education) aware that the latter need to be more inclusive of local needs.

The final stage of the training involves discussion of the three stages of Photovoice in analyzing the pictures the participants took: (1) Selecting, which involves choosing the photographs that reflect the participants’ concerns and assets; (2) contextualizing, which involves telling stories about what the photographs mean; and (3) codifying, which means identifying the issues, generative themes (Freire 2003), or theories that emerge (Wang 1994). Again, these three stages take place in a participatory manner that aims at engaging participants in insightful conversations during interviews. These individual or group sessions were digitally recorded (audio) to ensure the accuracy of the information that was being produced. As the facilitator involved in this process, I tried to maintain my input at a minimum in order for the group of participants to be able to produce knowledge that was significant to them without much of the researcher’s bias, except for the framing topics I had provided. An informed consent form was signed by participants for me – as the researcher – to be able to use the information produced and
recorded during the interviews or group sessions. This will be discussed in the ethical considerations section that follows.

I was the facilitator (investigator) in charge of the interviews. I am a fluent Spanish speaker and was able to handle individual or group sessions with the Awajún and Wampís students from technical institutes or universities who participated. Twenty participants were interviewed. Since the nature of the study is qualitative, in common with most Photovoice or visually oriented studies shown in the literature, there is no agreed-upon ideal number of participants. In previous participatory photographic experiences, the numbers of participants range from 17 to 62 (Foster-Fishman, et al. 2005; Wang, et al. 1996). At the same time, because of the limited number of Awajún and Wampís citizens who live in the city as students or professionals, it would be considered advantageous to be able to sample at least from the group of students I taught during the summer and fall 2010 at AIDESEP; that is, the Awajún and Wampís-speaking students who know enough Castilian Spanish in order to pursue a technical certificate or university degree in Lima. Considering the number available of these students in Lima, the final recruitment of 20 participants was ideal. In the chart below (Table 1), I describe the basic personal and academic information of each one of my participants.

Likewise, as stated before, because I had only seven cameras available during the process, I decided to have individual interviews. Focus groups allow for a collective critical conversation to take place and generative themes to emerge. However, the same effect has been documented in Photovoice projects with one-on-one interactions or individual interviews at any stage of the process (Castleden, et al. 2008; Zenkov and Harmon 2009). The timeline and the days allowed for image capturing with the cameras could vary depending on the nature and
needs of the project, but in our case we limited the number of pictures students took for each one of the three framing topics (i.e., five pictures for each framing topic = 15), and thus the number of days necessary to take the pictures (i.e., seven days).

One important point during the final interview process that could add to the technological complexities of my interview was the use of an open source software program that we used to talk about the photographs and the themes that came up from them. The software program is PhotoScape (PhotoScape N.d.). It allowed us to bring up a photograph from a folder where the participant’s photographs were, group them up by topics, and also write captions on them at the end. I will elaborate on the final interview with images and the writing of captions using the software PhosoScape in the paragraphs below. All my participants managed to do well in the old laptop I carried with me to the gym. It was an excellent software application with simple features but powerful utility for my conversation with photographs. This application also gave me insight
into how Awajún and Wampís students handled other literacies not included in their daily routines. They had to use my laptop, upload their own pictures, group them up by themes, and finally write captions inside the application. They did magnificently in every step of the process. In addition, it was understood from our conversations and interviews that all my research participants knew how to use computers and constantly used email and Hotmail messenger to communicate with family and friends in the Amazon; even those who did not speak Spanish fluently.

My main visual data-collection activity with 20 participants combined elements from the methodologies described above, but was customized to fit the needs of my particular dissertation research project. I adapted it according to the circumstances. For instance, in common Photovoice experiences, the involvement of local policymakers in the photo-taking activities or at the reporting stage is very important for them to have a sense of what life at the local level is like (Wang, et al. 2004). Although I started contacting and meeting high officials from the Peruvian Ministry of Education, I later abandoned that idea. This was due to the hostile top-down opinions and comments these officials volunteered about the indigenous grassroots organization, and the potential for bribery-related interactions I had already perceived, this latter being the main reason for my decision. Having opted to keep policymakers out of the research or analysis of themes ruled out any possibility of labeling my dissertation research methodology Photovoice. I did use framing topics (see Appendix C) that are also common in participatory visual methodologies, but mine were very specific and were not generated by the participants, which is what normally happens in a Photovoice project (Wang 1999). This also limited the photo-taking activities to the areas of my research interests.
I gave each of my participants an envelope with the packet that included the informed consent documents, photo-release documents, a participant personal information sheet for them to fill out and return, a digital camera, and a sheet with three framing topics. The framing topics were: (1) “Sírvase tomar fotos que capten, ilustren, o representen lo que significa para Ud. ser Awajún/Wampís” [Please, take pictures that capture, illustrate, or represent what it means to you to be Awajún/Wampís], (2) “Sírvase tomar fotos que capten, ilustren, o representen lo que significa para Ud. ser Peruano” [Please, take pictures that capture, illustrate, or represent what it means to you to be Peruvian], and (3) “Sírvase tomar fotos que capten, ilustren, o representen influencias locales (Awajún/Wampís o mestizo) y exteriores (nacionales o internacionales), con las que creció en su comunidad y su escuela y aquellas con las que vive ahora en Lima (o cualquier otra área urbana)” [Please, take pictures that capture, illustrate, or represent local (Awajún/Wampís or mestizo) and outside (national or international) influences that you had growing up in your community and your school, and those you have now living in Lima (or any other urban area)].

As briefly mentioned before, I asked my participants to take five pictures per framing topic for a total of 15 pictures. I had initially piloted the photo-activity with Socorro using the initially designed ten pictures per framing topic for a total of 30 pictures (see Appendix C). However, after more than three hours of an exhausting final interview with Socorro, we agreed it would make it easier on them and myself as the facilitator to reduce the number of photographs they had to take. It is also customary to do focus groups (McIntyre 2003; Wang 1999), which I included in my initial research design, but this practice was strongly discouraged by my main consultants Socorro and Benedicto due to the very delicate politicized situation among
indigenous leaders. This has also been documented (Castleden, et al. 2008) as being an effective strategy at times in doing research with indigenous populations.

The seven digital Vivitar ViviCam cameras I purchased could capture images in five megapixels. I acquired four of those cameras in the states, and the rest in Lima. Knowing the cameras were available in Lima made me feel comfortable in case I needed to replace any of them. Again, with 20 participants and seven cameras, I had to work out the logistics of using cameras, returning cameras, downloading images, and redistributing them again. I had three groups of participants; each one of them met me three times. We met a first time for me to introduce myself, the research, the ethical and power issues involved in using cameras, and for participants to receive the informed consent packet. The participants were urged to think about it and not sign anything right away unless they were sure they wanted to participate, but they were also reassured of their anonymity throughout the entire process, and of the fact that they could excuse themselves from the research at any time they felt they did not want to participate anymore.

My first group included seven participants, my second group also included seven participants, and my third group included six participants. I gave each group of participants seven days to take pictures based on the framing topics provided. The logistics worked well. The second time we met after seven days, my participants returned the cameras, and that gave me the rest of the day to get prepared for what followed. I downloaded the photographs from the cameras to my laptop, I prepared for the semi-structured Photo-Elicitation interview (Clark-Ibanez 2004; Epstein et al 2006), prepared snacks and drinks for the occasion, and I also copied the photographs each participant took from the cameras to a CD for them to keep. The day of the
semi-structured interview for the first group of participants was also the day I would normally meet the next group of participants with the cameras ready to start the whole process again.

The third day I met each group of participants was the day of the final interview. I had the photographs ready in a folder in my computer, and with the help of the free app mentioned before (PhotoScape N.d.), after instructions on how to use the app to combine pictures and write captions on them, we proceeded with the interview following a semi-structured interview protocol (see Appendix C). I digitally recorded all the interviews after participants gave me their consent. During the final section of my interview, I also encouraged my participants to choose five of their photographs and write captions on them to express what those photographs meant to them. For this final process, they also used PhotoScape and my laptop to write the captions. The reader will be able to appreciate some of those pictures and captions in the chapters that follow.

In terms of power issues, I explained that I was an apáchʃɨj (mestizo) researcher with Amazonian background, but was doing research for a Ph.D. program at an American university. This sometimes confused a few of my participants who asked me about it, but after an explanation they seemed satisfied, and we continued our conversations. However, most of them knew about me directly or indirectly because of the classes I had taught for many months at AIDESEP. Students and professionals in Lima trusted the officiality of the grassroots organization, and my temporary affiliation with AIDESEP created the trust we needed to have an open conversation about topics that affected indigenous peoples without any suspicion on their part. They knew I was not there to undermine Awajún and Wampis cultures in any way whatsoever.

The photo-activity period and the final discussion with photographs went well for the most part. It seemed to be a place and time for productive exchange and friendly open-ended
conversations, even when dealing with tense topics such as the incident at Bagua or discrimination by the *apáchif[i]*. However, it is always good to think about pros and cons of doing research with cameras, and in particular to consider those aspects of my methodology that worked well or did not work that well during my research.

Wang and Burris (1997) assert that there is “a creative approach that enables people to identify, define, and enhance their community according to their own specific concerns and priorities” (Wang and Burris 1997:374). One advantage of doing this type of research that utilized pictures was exactly the fact that it enabled my participants to get very creative with their pictures. I encouraged them to be creative during the initial session, and I also wrote it on the sheet with the framing questions that they should challenge themselves to try to capture abstractions using their creativity. My main concern was that, because they were not in the Amazon at the time of the picture-taking activities, this would be an excuse not to find anything to photograph when it came to defining their indigenousness.

However, that was not the case. Many participants took pictures of themselves, of other pictures, and of Internet images to negotiate their indigenousness in ways that allowed to me look at the visual intertextual appropriations they used. That fact in itself became a source of great information for my analytical framework. Cameras gave participants motivation and a sense of community pride, as they always do in these type of visual approaches (McIntyre 2008). While the participants of my study were talking about the issues we discussed, they also shared a sense of independence and control over the conversations we had. Sometimes, they did not cover the topics delineated by the framing sheet, nor did they take pictures guided by the framing topics. This decision on their part enriched our conversations with a diversity of issues and opinions. I let them take me wherever they wanted to take me with their visual discourse. It also
proved advantageous to have a one-on-one final Photo-Elicitation process that stimulated participants to look at pictures and talk about the topics based on those images. They felt a lot of freedom from peer pressure during our one-on-one discussions that could have otherwise compromised their political orientations had they shared the room with other participants. This was very useful in avoiding animosity during the discussion of difficult topics, or when my female participants expressed their opinions. They sometimes talked about politics, or Awajún and Wampís indigenous public figures. I believe all these conversations would have been very difficult to have if a focus group or any other type of student group meeting had been arranged.

Finally, the collaborative nature of this research was important. The possibilities of utilizing participant-generated images had no limits, in particular for a dissertation research that aimed at identifying literacy practices at the local level. In theory, university applicants, undergraduate and graduate students, or professionals would be well versed in reading and writing in the dominant language. In the practice, they all knew how to read and write Castilian (Spanish), but their fluency in the language varied. Some had been raised in mestizo towns, some had been raised near Spanish-speaking populations, but most had been raised in their communities. Conversations were easier when using images participants created because they guided the dialogue themselves. Also, their images helped them capture literacies that did not necessarily involved reading or writing (e.g., cooperation). By the same token, there were a couple of global literacies they had already mastered by the time they became participants of my dissertation research: digital cameras and laptops. As a matter of fact some taught me how to download PDF books or acquire programs for free online.

The freedom created by the one-on-one sessions also introduces some of the disadvantages of doing the final photo-activity conversation without other peers involved. For
starters, the strategy of using a laptop and a free app would not have sufficed if we had decided
to do a focus group. The logistics would be totally different. We would definitely need a
projector, and a viewing screen. When it comes to group discussions, the possibility of
experiencing heated debates related to political orientations would always be there. However, the
group dynamics would also help participants compare photographs and create additional themes
related to their identity as indigenous intellectuals in the city. As I mentioned before, Socorro
and Benedicto strongly advised me against group activities because of the incident at Bagua, and
the divisions it created among the Awajún and Wampís in general. Another possible
disadvantage was my lack of fluency in Awajún and Wampís. I knew some words in Awajún,
and was able to understand conversations during my months living in the Marañón in the 1990s,
but a long time had passed since then. I believe our conversations would have been very rich had
they happened in the native language of my participants. They did use words in their language
that they were aware I recognized, and that helped me incorporate some of them in my
dissertation, but that is one literacy I need to acquire myself if I want to get really insightful
information from the Awajún and Wampís populations in the future. Also, the initial plan of
doing this research in the communities of the Marañón never materialized for mainly logistical
reasons. Had this same research been carried out in the Awajún and Wampís communities, I
would have been able to see the effects of globalization in situ. Most of the radical changes (i.e.,
Internet and cell phones) are happening there, and while university students can only be found in
coastal cities, high school students would have been extremely valuable sources of information
regarding Awajún and Wampís identities of the 21st century. As mentioned before, I also guided
their photo-taking activities with my research questions. That is, by my giving them the guide
(i.e., framing topics), my participants limited their topics to what they thought I wanted to hear
about. Even though, some participants took pictures of topics they believed important regardless of my framing topics. I wonder how different the results could have been if the participants had just been given a more general topic; one that offered them much more freedom to visually capture more comprehensive issues. Finally, the time (i.e., one week) I gave my participants to take pictures has been documented as enough (McIntyre 2008), but in most cases the relationship between participants and facilitator would go on for months so that more than a discussion can take place and themes become solidified. I did not have the luxury of time during my dissertation research since I was not being sponsored by any type of grant. Nevertheless, regardless of the limitations acknowledged, I managed to obtain valuable information that informed my dissertation, as is apparent in the chapters that follow.

At the end of the entire data-collection process, I ended up with notes from informal interviews and conversations of my time in Amazonas in 2008, my participant observation as an English teacher at AIDESEP in 2010, and my Photovoice/Photo-Elicitation Hybrid Data-Collection Exercise, which produced 345 photographs, 105 photographs with captions, 20 interviews that averaged an hour and a half each, and a convenience sample of newspaper clips from two major Peruvian newspapers collected between 2007 and 2011, just to keep myself informed of reactive measures or policies after the incident at Bagua in 2009.

**Ethics**

As vital as the ethical aspects of my research are, we should first look at the rights of indigenous peoples to give informed consent for the utilization (by states) of their land, territories and resources. This right moves to the forefront of any ethical considerations by
nation-states in negotiations with transnational corporations that want to exploit territories owned by ancient peoples in the Amazon or any other indigenous peoples in the world.

In order to prevent abuses by the states, the United Nations adopted the “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” in September 2006, and in it we find provisions that discuss the obligations of states to consult before adopting and implementing legislation that affects indigenous peoples and the need to obtain their “free informed consent” prior to any such legislative action (United Nations 2008 Article 19:8). Also acknowledged in this declaration is “the right of indigenous peoples to own, use and develop their territories and resources” (United Nations 2008 Article 26:8), and to the “conservation and protection of the environment and productive capacity” of these territories or resources (United Nations 2008 Article 29:11). Likewise, other important articles from the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples involve the one that emphasizes the “right to cultural revitalization” (United Nations 2008 Article 11:6), “language Revitalization” (United Nations 2008 Article 13:7) and to an “autonomous indigenous education” (United Nations 2008 Article 14:7). As a consequence indigenous peoples have the “right to determine their own traditional identity” and at the same time “maintain the citizenship of the states where they live” (United Nations 2008 Article 33:12), developing “their own contacts and relations nationally or across borders” (United Nations 2008 Article 36:13), and accessing “financial and technical assistance from States or from international agents” (United Nations 2008 Article 39:13).

As essential as it is for me as an anthropologist and as a Peruvian citizen to emphasize the need for us all as citizens of nation-states to acknowledge the rights of indigenous peoples prior to any personal involvement with the Awajún and Wampis, I must also point out how crucial it becomes for me as a Peruvian researcher to be conscious of the “rights of indigenous peoples to
their dignity, diversity, cultures, traditions, histories, and aspirations” (United Nations 2008 Article 15:7), as well as to “contribute professionally and personally to the promotion of tolerance, understanding and good relations between indigenous groups and the other segments” of (Peruvian) society (United Nations 2008 Article 15 #2:7).

Wearing the anthropologist’s hat and with regards to diversity as well, the Society for Applied Anthropology, in statement two of the six that form part of the Statement of Ethical and Professional Responsibilities adopted by this organization, clarifies the importance of diversity in what we do as anthropologists. The statement points to the fact that while conducting our professional activities, we should always keep in mind that to the communities affected by our involvement, we owe respect for their dignity, integrity, and worth. Likewise, we should always recognize that human survival depends on the continued existence of a diversity of human populations (SfAA 2010 Statement #2). By the same token, the Society for Applied Anthropology additionally acknowledges in its Statement of Ethical and Professional Responsibilities that the only acceptable participation of people in our research activities is when they do it on a voluntary basis and in a research activity that discloses in full its goals, methods and sponsorship (SfAA 2010 Statement #1). The Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association adds to that the relevance of “confidentiality” (AAA 2009 IIIA #3:3) and “informed consent as a dynamic process” (AAA 2009 IIIA #4:3) in our professional activities.

In the current research, we have an additional degree of complexity by adding the visual component in the possibility – not the necessity – of photographing individuals using cameras as our main data-collection tool. Informed consent and photograph release forms take on a whole new dimension here. Important consent forms were signed by participants in order to start with
the data-collection process. First, a signed consent form was obtained from the participants who wanted to take part in this study. This form outlined their rights and responsibilities, and was developed based on the principles of respect for persons, beneficence, and justice. Second, another signed consent form (release form) was obtained by participants from their photograph subjects giving permission to take the pictures. This release form was signed by participants expressing their willingness to permit any photographs taken, or only certain photographs, to be published or used as part of the project (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001b). More specifically, respect for participants’ privacy should consider four kinds of invasion: (1) Intrusion into one’s private space, or into one’s privacy when in a public space if one has not consented to be photographed; (2) disclosure of true but embarrassing facts about individuals; (3) protection against being placed in a false light by images that distort the truth or create false impressions of one’s intentions, character or actions; and (4) the use of a person’s likeness that results in depriving that person of some commercial benefit, or making a profit at that person’s expense (Gross, et al. 1988). All these ethical considerations were discussed during the first study visit (first Photovoice activity) with potential participants. By strictly committing to obtaining these consent and release forms from individuals participating in this research, I wanted to make sure that no individuals were photographed without their willingness to participate. It was an ethical commitment on the part of this researcher to carry out respectful and responsible data-collection activities that could provide insightful results. Hopefully, the chapters that follow with the results of this study can shed some light – under a different angle – on identity and the influences of globalization that in the end involve not only indigenous Amazonian and mestizo Peruvians, but also people in the entire world.
Chapter 4
Exploring Undecidability in the Agency of Identity: Tales from the Field

The word undecidability might be easily understood when we picture people not being able to make decisions about any matter. However, the definition of that word takes a completely different twist in our appropriation of the term for the context of identity. While respectfully doing this, the appropriation of the term undecidability in this context comes from Jacques Derrida’s usage and my adaptation to what I have been able to understand from my fieldwork with the Awajún and Wampis students and professionals. Derrida talked about how undecidability cannot be confused with simple indecision or paralysis. On the contrary, undecidability is more like the condition of a “possibility” of acting and deciding, and is pragmatically determined in particular situations (Derrida 1997:116,148). Hence our appropriation of the term to emphasize agency in that possibility of action. By the same token, Derrida’s undecidability works within binary oppositions, while undermining them because the very nature of these oppositions is not able to come up with a third term as a solution based on a “Hegelian dialectic process” (Derrida, et al. 1981:43). For our purposes, it is in the solution of this third term or synthesis that I emphasize with the creation of what I will label third spaces (Pahl and Rowsell 2005:97-112). Most of these instances of third spaces were created in my interviews by the capturing of images with a camera. It is here where the agency of my participants plays an important role not necessarily in defining, but more like in creating and recreating their own non-binary identity as appropriate. Hence, my simplistic application of Derrida’s terminology.
Originarios e Indígenas [Original Peoples and Indigenous Peoples]: The Professional Strangers

I remember prior to the Bagua incident of June 2009, during the annual meeting of *apus* and women delegates of 2008, there was an angry debate about the incursion from oil drilling workers and multinational executives into community areas, and concomitant loud and proud comments about the fact that the local Awajún villagers were able to repel them with spears and arrows. But I also remember that their anger focused on the abuse and discrimination from the government, multinationals, and particular individuals (mestizos), but not on the national symbols placed in the room. As people stood up and voiced their complaints to the president of the Aguaruna-Huambisa Council (CAH), not a single time were the Peruvian national flag flying in front of their long room, the national seal standing up by the door, nor the flag that covered the table of the elder *apus* in front, desecrated or taken out. I also recall during an interview in 2010 with my friend Benedicto, who is an economist from San Marcos University, how he expressed his concern about one of those national symbols; namely, the Peruvian flag. Benedicto reported that when he traveled back to the community of Shushug – his community – for the Peruvian Independence holidays (starting July 28), no Peruvian flags were flying outside any local home. He was saddened by the situation because he felt the government should have done something about closing the wound created by the Bagua events and their reactive manipulative decrees and laws of consultation. He said, “Sometimes I feel like they treat us, the *originarios*, the *Indígenas*, as strangers in our own land. Some people care, and the people in Perú care, but I am sorry that in the communities they do not want to know anything about the flag these days.” By utilizing their own human agency regarding those national symbols, the *apus* in the meeting of 2008, and
– according to Benedicto – the villagers of Shushug in 2010, created that non-dichotomous third space of expression about their discontent with the situation affecting them at that time, and both of these scenarios had totally different forms of expression around Peruvian national symbols. These two courses of action do not have to be at opposite extremes of the spectrum, but simply two ways of pragmatic actions at two different times. Both give life to an identity in a constant process of negotiation, and could be considered a start for that process of communication or dialectical exchange.

Revisiting the Artifactual Agency of Identity

Later in 2011 during my fieldwork, by using photographs and some drawings, the Awajún and Wampís students and professionals I interviewed also created a “third space” (Pahl and Rowsell 2005:65) through their photo-taking activities. They used artifacts to create or recreate their identities: digital cameras, the photographs these produced, and their selection of images. There was an artifactual nature to their creation of that “third space,” (Pahl and Rowsell 2005:65) where identity was being crafted by images for that particular space-time. The national contextual space, created by historical backgrounds, stereotypes, public opinion, and the media, has relegated the indigenous populations of Amazonia to the backroads of the nation. There is also the fixed, unreachable space of nostalgia and glory reserved for the great Inca Empire and their descendants, the Quechua speakers from the Andes. Peruvian mestizos see and hear local commercials, the words of politicians, and the general discursive ambience of the Peruvian Inca symbolic capital. It created the national space where pride in Inca glory and Spanish descent glorified a mestizo nation and neglected indigenous peoples beyond the Andes, such as the Awajún and Wampís students I interviewed. They know this more than anyone else, because
they are part of the educational system of the capital city. Nevertheless, the use of cameras and the images these produced, created a space for expression producing a visual artifact of identity for them to express their needs and concerns, their ethnic pride, and their on-going identity negotiation process. Juan Pablo, an 18-year old student who came from the community of Chipre, Imaza, looking for his mestizo father, in order to meet him for the first time, and to see if he would help him study computer science, struggled with his Castilian, but managed to tell me during an interview, “I am happy to have been able to talk about this. No one has ever cared about my people or my culture. It is the first time someone has ever been interested in asking me about my life as a person and as an Awajún.”

Foreshadowing the Analysis: Meanings of National Identity

Through the photos they chose to make, several participants spoke to the issue of their identity as Peruvians. Juan Pablo was one of those participants who were able to describe what it meant to be an Awajún citizen of Perú. He commented, “the flag…also…you know…it can’t be changed, right? Because it represents our flag, our country. We, as Peruvians can’t…shouldn’t use another flag. It is also important to have it there because it represents our national symbol…you know…” He had taken a picture of the Peruvian map filled in with the colors and patterns of the Peruvian flag. This was a Peruvian flag from a poster on his wall (Figure 9).

Juan Pablo also made an interesting comment related to Peruvian glorification of the ancient Inca past and its legacy in the language and culture of the Andes. He mentioned visits to
Machu Picchu (Figure 10) among the things that he, as an Awajún and Peruvian citizen, would like to see changing in the country. He said, “it [the Machu Picchu ruins] doesn’t have many, how can I say, many changes to improve, and…so that tourists can come and visit, right? To have more people visiting, to attract more people…and bring more income, right? We have to take care of it. It is an important tourist attraction, right?”
By focusing on images as artifacts, interesting narratives of identity can be discovered. In the case of my Photo-Elicitation interviews, the narratives come from the visual text my participants decontextualized and recontextualized from somewhere else because of the distance from where students actually felt their culture was. This is the case of Juan Pablo and others during our interviews. They not only focused on the artifactual nature of their identity, and used their agency in creating those spaces with their images, and talking about place, specific objects and actions, but also used what I will call visual intertextuality. I am borrowing that word from textual analysis. Intertextuality is basically “the relation of a text to the texts surrounding it.” It can be analyzed by looking at the relation of a statement to the sea of statements where it may have come from. In my case I am analyzing visual statements, and considering them
intertextually, which helps me learn how my participants are themselves represented, made sense of, and given identity through visual “intertextual” resources that characterize the space they create (Bazerman and Prior 2004:84). If we look at the pictures Juan Pablo took of the poster and the Machu Picchu postcard we can see how he goes to those places to create his own space of narrative about what it is to be a Peruvian Awajún who focuses on national symbols and tourist attractions. When he described his own Awajún identity, he knew his father was a mestizo from Lima, which made him a mestizo too, but he always described himself as an Awajún who did not speak much Spanish, but wanted to learn and be able to study at the university in Lima. He said he dreamed of walking during his graduation wearing a traditional headdress and apron, to be respected and admired by his people.

Tomás, an Awajún law student from San Marcos University, created a similar space, but with different opinions. He described what it meant for him to improve his life as a Peruvian Awajún using the picture he took of a family photograph where many children were dressed up in traditional Peruvian costumes; meaning, those costumes worn by peoples of the different regions of the country (Figure 11). He chose his words more specifically geared toward his field of expertise as he described it, along with some colloquialism. He remarked,

Como le digo acá, solamente lo utilizan para fines turísticos, fines económicos oye...dicen...oye miren acá...hay esto no? Como se dice este...como...peon de ajedrez...? En el tablero internacional como dicen...política...política. Lo mismo se utiliza, y eso es lo que, por ejemplo...hablemos de derecho en sí...es plurietnico, dice no...la divinidad es el fin supremo y así...Diversidad y todo eso. La pregunta va...bajo este lineamiento, cual es la política de educación para los pueblos indígenas? Hay materiales para los pueblos indígenas? No hay. Ahora, la constitución de alguna forma subsume bajo el principio de universalidad no? De que todos tienen que saber, no se que...osea las diferencia que existen en la sociedad es subsumido bajo una norma. Política del estado. Un libro para todo...osea, un estudiante indígena sabe mas de oso polar que su Gallito de Roca no? Osea, eso es lo que a mi personalmente jo...incomoda...jode...

As I say here, we only utilize this for touristic objectives, to make money they say...hey, they say, look at this...they have this right? How do you say that...how...like a pawn on a chessboard...? On the international board like they say...politics...politics. The same thing they use there, and that is what, for instance...let’s talk about law...it’s pluriethnic...they
say right…the divinity is the supreme being and like that…diversity and all that. The question is...under that framework, what is the educational policy for the indigenous peoples? Are there textbooks for the indigenous peoples? There aren’t. Now, the constitution in some way includes that under the principle of universality right? That everyone has to learn, and I don’t know what…meaning that the diversity in our society is included under a single norm. State policy. A single textbook for everybody...meaning that an indigenous student knows more about a polar bear than about his local Gallito de Roca (local bird), right? Meaning that is what I personally find ann...makes me uncomfortable...annoys me...

Figure 11. A picture Tomás took of another family picture. He labeled it "Cultural Diversity" prior to our conversation.

One important foreshadowing of the dissertation analysis here is the idea of literacy as a neutral universal skill versus local literacies, such as those situated in their context Tomás mentions being more important than learning what a polar bear is. This point was discussed in chapter 2 and will be dealt with in depth during the discussion of the following chapter. The analysis throughout this chapter will look at the creation of these all these spaces under a non-
binary perspective. The fact that Juan Pablo and Tomás look at the international gaze with two different perspectives as indigenous Peruvians, does not necessarily mean they are talking about two different things. My analysis of the indigenous identity of the Awajún and Wampís, their own takes on what it is to be a Peruvian citizen, and the opinions about the literacies they are exposed to locally and globally will have this undecidability ingredient in which the dialog based on their own artifactual production of text (images and writing) creates that third dialectic space where they hope good things will flourish.

**Visualizing Indigenous Identity: The Awajún and Wampís Intellectuals**

It becomes relevant at this point to mention the first of my dissertation research questions dealing with indigenous identity: How do the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima define their identity? We can start to address the identity issues in the question, by looking at agency. Artifactual indigenous agency, as introduced earlier in this chapter, implies the creation of spaces for dialogue utilizing visual artifacts (photographs) as narratives, along with linguistic narratives (oral and written) to emphasize the relevance of material culture, places, or performative interactions that locate the current identities of my study participants and their intellectual perceptions of the Amazonian indigenous identity as affected by current local, national, and global forces. However, the human agency portrayed in the pages that follow, not only represents the actions that “transform” or redefine the “identities” of the agents, per se (Kottak 2008:28-29), but also the realization and measurement of the “forces that constrain them,” whether it be in “family and community circles or the structural power relationships” that surround them (Ortner 2006:130-1). These pictures and the dialogical spaces created below, constitute “third spaces” of conversation that are neither located in the familiarity of the native communities, nor the hectic
world of materialistic, monetary, social, or global demands where they live now (Pahl and Rowsell 2005:65-6). They are third spaces of interaction that allow these individuals room for anti-essentialist liminality; a transitional phase of hybridity where even intertextual representations are valued as neither authentic nor false, but as “emergent” positions that may “displace histories,” set up “new structures (hypothetical) of authority,” or “political and ideological initiatives” (Bhabha 1990b:211). These are all emphatic on “social practices” where identity is expressed by linguistic and meta-linguistic means, through dress, artefacts, accents, ways of talking and being at home, within the “communities and families” (Pahl and Rowsell 2005:98), or even outside the study participant’s familiar environments.

Indigenous Spaces

Following a processual framework in the analysis of identity through talk and visual narratives, and acknowledging the “constellations of identities” that show up depending on the context (De Fina, et al. 2006:2), we need first to situate my research among Awajún and Wampís students and professionals in Lima. Participants knew they had to take photographs to represent their daily interactions as indigenous Amazonians, as Peruvian citizens, and as individuals exposed to all kinds of globalized influences, including languages and technologies. Important themes that emerged here within that performative nature of identity were the pictures they took of themselves as Awajún or Wampís individuals, and the value they placed on their cultural artifacts and activities. However, as mentioned in chapter 2, their photos of artifacts are not merely inanimate objects to be superficially appreciated as if through the displaying glass of a musée imaginaire that will later fall into oblivion by an interviewer who comes from a dominant society (Bhabha 1990b:208). The photographs of artifacts were more of an active representation
of the necessity they have to practice their culture in a hostile mestizo world. A world they know all too well after the Bagua massacre, where people will try to take their lives and communities away from them only to make money at their expense. Some of these photographs were also intertextually indexed by using computer images or other photographs that showed the practices that illustrated their cultural contexts in situ.

Their indigenous space was created initially by photographing themselves, family members who posed for the pictures, or intertextual images in order to share their message of what it is to be an Awajún or Wampís in the world today. This was done by most of the participants in the study. Figure 12 below illustrates this point with some examples. In the first image [1], Socorro, a linguist, and one of my main cultural consultants, explained the image of her family member who posed for the picture as being that of “an Awajún student who identifies himself with his culture by dressing in typical attire, and showing that [they] can be intellectuals like any other person from any other culture without forgetting [their] language or culture.” Patricio (51), a well-respected apu, leader, and psychology major from the Universidad Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (Inca Garcilaso de la Vega University), explained the picture he took of himself [2] writing “the utilization of some cultural elements like the headdress and other things, makes people understand the genuine expression of the practices of the Wampís.” Juan Pablo (19), a student trying to enter a university in Lima, took a picture of a computer screen after he looked up images of Awajún warriors. During our interview, as previously mentioned, he said to me he had the dream of going to his university graduation in the future dressed as an Awajún. His picture [3] has a caption that reads, “It is important because it represents what it is to be an Awajún, and this could be used in an official meeting, performing activities as an Awajún.” Finally, Martín (18), a young student preparing to study computer science at San Marcos
University, took the picture of another family member’s photograph [4]. His caption reads, “There are many Awajún who still keep these customs, but mostly, nowadays, people don’t practice them.” Here, he is referring to the practices, dances, songs, and attires people wear in the Amazon.

As we can see from the pictures, conversations, and captions, the range of opinions is widely diverse. Some of my interviewees believed in wearing the traditional clothes, while others do not see the Awajún or Wampis practicing those aspects of culture in the present or the future. However, all of them, in one way or another, always showed those traditional “cultural elements” (as Patricio puts it) in their images of what it is to be an Awajún or Wampis.

There were also pictures taken of themselves or others, and intertextual images, where the students and professionals were wearing city clothes, and performing their daily tasks. In that performative nature of the identity they negotiated during our conversations, some of them creatively talked about who they are, what they do, and the importance they place on their education in order to help their community members in the future. A good example of this and the ways in which participants used the cameras creatively to represent who they are in the city.
of Lima comes from Manuel Octavio (24), a Shuar student of electronic engineering from San Marcos University. He took a picture of his shadow on the floor as he was walking (Figure 13). He explained to me that “it does not matter where [he goes], [his] tradition and language, are like [his] shadow, [he] can’t and will never forget them. They will always go with [him].” His caption, “No olvidandonos de quien soy, y a donde voy” [Not forgetting who I am, and where I am going to] represents his perpetuation, as a member of the Shuar ethnic group, in the future of the nation and the world. He also has plans of studying abroad once he graduates and finds a way to get a scholarship.

Figure 13. Manuel Octavio creatively negotiating his identity as a Shuar who has plans for the future abroad, but never forgets who he is or where he comes from. His caption reads, “Not forgetting who I am and where I am going.”
Conversations about daily activities as Awajún or Wampis (Shuar) students or professionals always centered on their studies, jobs, or topics related to their academic area of expertise. Those dialogues also included things they do now, did in the past that they enjoyed, or will do once they graduate (as in the case of Manuel Octavio). But these same conversations about daily activities also delved into their distrustful relationship with the apách[i] or mestizo -- the customs they acquire from them, the way they feel accepted while working as professionals or educated people in the current job market, or rejected when they are not treated with honesty and respect, or have no jobs. And one unavoidable topic of this relationship with the apách[i] was the Bagua incident during road blocks and protests on June 5, 2009 due to the fact that the government was giving away the land of the Awajún and Wampís to multinational corporations that wanted to exploit the resources of the region. Thirty four people died when police officers were ordered to fire on the Awajún and Wampís protesters, and the latter responded with spears and machetes. Right at the time of this infamous incident, the Peruvian President made comments that caused the general public’s reaction, and this happened a year before my interviews, so all my study participant have something to say about it. The Peruvian President of the time was Alan Garcia Perez, and his comments explicitly expressed the complaint that the Awajún and Wampís are “not even first-class citizens,” and that they “do not have the right to say, do not come to our land, to 28 million Peruvians.” The comments and attitudes of that president were intended to favor his friends in the corporate world with whom he had economic ties, and who were eager to exploit the natural resources abundant in the territories where the Awajún and Wampís live. All this will be elaborated in the next section.
Comments like the one made by Alan Garcia, remind us of the significance that outside influences have in the construction or reconstruction of group identity. My second dissertation research question is: How do the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima use their adaptive agency to (re)define their identity? Let us address that question by looking at how students and professional adapt to mestizo lifestyles in a global capital city. Merging the artifactual indigenous agency, and the daily activities of the Awajún and Wampís students and professionals of my study with their unavoidable contact with the mestizo world, we find their attitudes and opinions about daily life, education, work, location, feeling Peruvian, and the distrust they feel toward the mestizo in these post-Bagua massacre times. Photographs and comments often referenced daily activities as indigenous people come and live in the capital. Most of this was related to studies, work, or their daily activities in or for the mestizo world; that is, activities they had in Lima alone and with friends, or trips they made to the communities while working for mestizo organizations that dealt with indigenous issues. For instance, Francisco (28), a law student, took a picture of an Awajún young woman to explain that they all come to Lima in search of opportunities (Figure 14). His caption reads, “This is an example of how Awajún and Wampís youth leave their communities and migrate to the city in search of a job.” Francisco maintains a good relationship with some mestizo and foreign individuals who he can trust. In his view, trust is built when the mestizo help members of the indigenous communities; not when they ask for things in return or land privileges for exploitation.
Figure 14. Francisco’s photograph of a friend or family member to illustrate how the Awajún and Wampis youth migrate to Lima looking for jobs.

Other common photographs and conversations were those about gatherings with other indigenous and mestizo friends, students traveling around the city of Lima to school or work using public transportation and reading newspapers, and some of the issues they have to worry about during their stay as students in Lima. Some of the other photographs illustrated their feelings of belonging to their ethnic group and the nation, such as feeling a sense of pride as indigenous and Peruvian while they were working for mestizo agencies and traveling to their communities. There were not that many photographs about the Bagua incident (unless they were taken of news articles or computer screens). Instead they gave me their views on Bagua, the comments of Alan Garcia, and the general distrust some feel toward the mestizo.

Tomás (24) and Valentín (34), a law student and a lawyer with a Master’s degree, respectively showed me the things they sometimes do in Lima (Figure 15). Tomás loves soccer
and plays *pichanguitas* (a word derived from the Quechua, and used in Peruvian Spanish that means playing an informal soccer match with friends) with his friends from San Marcos University. He actually plays for the *San Marcos* team. Valentín took a picture of one of his Awajún friends during a party. He says that the Awajún drink *masato* (manioc beer), but more as a catalyst for social interaction and conversation than as a need for alcohol. Here, when Awajún friends and family members come to visit from the communities, they don’t have *masato*, but there is always beer involved in the gatherings.

![Figure 15. Tomás, dressed in white (left) with his friends after a pichanga. Valentín’s picture of a friend drinking beer (right) during a family gathering.](image)

Traveling by bus is something most of my participants did not enjoy much, in particular when they first arrived in Lima. It took a while to get used to being squeezed in and out of the minibuses and living with so many people around them. Many participants took pictures of the public transportation services (Figure 16). Photographs also captured the images of the newsstands or kiosks they find daily, and during our conversations the comments revolved
around the need to be informed of what is going on in the country, and the fact that since they do not have money to buy the paper every day, they stand by the newsstand, reading the news before taking the bus or going to work or school (Figure 17).
The most common preoccupation of my study participants in Lima was the need to get a job, pay the rent, and get their daily meals; their basic survival necessities in the capital city. The following collage (Figure 18) shows three of the photographs that show these important issues for the students who migrate to Lima.

Once some of the Awajún and Wampís professionals or students get jobs in organizations or government agencies that deal with Amazonian indigenous issues, there is a feeling of accomplishment they share, for two basic reasons. First, they are working and making money to contribute to their families and the functional economy of the country. Second, they also go back to their own communities to do training sessions or assessments, as these are among their main responsibilities. That human agency and feeling of being able to collaborate in improving the lives of their people, gives them a sense of belonging to both the Peruvian nation, and their own communities. Locally, feelings of respect and admiration tend to grow as long as benefits come to the community members. Pilar (26), and Benedicto (38) show (below) pictures of themselves arriving in their villages to do training sessions (Figure 19). Pilar worked for a research-oriented organization, and Benedicto is working for a branch of the government.
The Awajún and Wampís students and professionals interviewed also voiced their strong opinions about taking care of their communities, their people, and their natural resources. These opinions were catapulted by the events that took place on June 5, 2009 (the Bagua massacre), and the public comments made by Alan Garcia Perez. There is also a widespread feeling of distrust for the apách[i] or mestizo they encounter, especially if they try to enter their communities uninvited. While studying and working in Lima, most of the intellectuals I interviewed have to interact with a majority mestizo population, so they try to be very careful on a daily basis, including during their conversation with their mestizo interviewer (me).

Martín (18), introduced earlier in this chapter, told me a story about the waterfalls and a múun (respected elder) who leads young people there (including Martín) to drink Ayahuasca, but this múun did not want them to let outsiders or the apách[i] (mestizo) take pictures of the place because he was afraid they would come and take all the ingredients of the broth and the natural resources surrounding the waterfalls. He said, “el piensa mal, piensa mal…que el sabor todo lo va a copiar y sacar y todo el mundo va a venir, así habla sobre eso; esta prohibido tomar fotos.”
[he distrusts, he distrusts…that the flavor and all of it will be plagiarized, taken out and the whole world will come, he talks like that about it; it is forbidden to take photographs].

Salvador (28), with an undergraduate degree in administration and pursuing a Master’s degree in political science, talks about the contributions to the Peruvian nation by the Awajún and Wampís, and implies how unjust the comment made by Alan Garcia was. He says,

…Hace tiempo, cuando hubo el conflict del Cenepa…con Ecuador…fueron los mismos pueblos de la zona alla…que fueron a…a defender no? El territorio no? y entonces eh…eso…esas cuestiones…se olvidan muchos no? Y nos consideran calificativos esos de segunda clase no? Mas bien nosotros somos los que…defendemos la soberania nacional…en ocasiones no? Y eso no lo consideran…

…Years ago, when we had the Cenepa conflict…with Ecuador…it was the people of the area over there…those who went to…to defend, right? Our territory, right? Then, uhm…that…those things…many people forget, right? And they use adjectives, those about being a second class citizen, right? As a matter of fact, we are those who…defend the national territory…on occasion, right? And they do not consider that…

Ignacio (28), former San Marcos University student who had to drop out to work and help educate his brothers who arrived in Lima, talks about Alan Garcia’s comments in the context of how other countries might be judging the lack of support of the president and the apách[i] to the the Awajún and Wampís for not knowing the technology that the mestizo nation uses. They might see them as ignorant illiterates, and a president who does not care. He remarks,

Porque dicen…por ejemplo, tu puedes viajar…tu sabes, dicen, “tu pais esta…pobres no? Y tus…eh…selva es son analfabetos…no sabes…?” Pero…si el Peruano no…? El presidente que no se preocupa…no tendra roche…por otros paises que…digan de esa manera…? “Sabes que tu no apoyas tu selva y porque? Porque no apoyas…?” El dira, “No, yo soy un de nivel…” No se, uno…no? “Soy de clase…clase 1…clase 2…de clase 3, no…?”

Why do they say…for instance, you can travel…so you probably know, people say, “your country is…poor, right? And in your…eh…rainforest, they are illiterate…don’t you know…?” But if the Peruvian, right…? The president who does not worry about it…isn’t he embarrassed…because other countries…might think about us that way, and when they ask him…? “You know that you do not support your rainforest, but why? Why don’t you help…?” He probably responds, “No, because I am of first level…” Whatever
you call it, I don’t know, one…right? “I am first…first class…second class…third class, right?”

Bartolomé (21), a technician of civil construction, who wants to study civil engineering and knows how to use Autocad and other programs used by civil engineers, talked about communication as the major problem that caused the Bagua events of 2009. Valentín, during a very long interview added that the communication problem might be rooted in cultural differences as well. Valentín makes an interesting point about the Bagua incident, the president’s claims of the rights Peruvians and the state have to exploit the natural resources, and the different ways in which the Awajún see the territories being discussed. The following fragments of my conversation with him illustrate this point,

El estado es, según la constitución, según el mismo presidente, que es el dueño de todos los recursos naturales…entonces tu le dices eso a un apu de una comunidad…no lo va a entender y no lo va a concebir […] Alan [Garcia] es el dueño de los muertos, de todo lo que esta debajo, de mi abuelo, de mi bisabuelo, no? Entonces esa lógica puede tener sentido academic legalista, muy extremo no? Pero que uno tiene que ponerse en el lugar de otro para poder entenderlo.

The State, according to the constitution, according to the same president, who is the owner of all the natural resources…then, you tell an apu from a community that same thing…he will not understand it, will not accept it […] Alan [Garcia] is the owner of the dead, of everything that is under ground, of my grandfather, of my greatgrandfather, right? Then that logic may make sense in a legally and academic extreme way right? But you have to put yourself in someone else’s shoes in order to understand that.

Valentín tries to make that point because traditionally, the dead in Awajún culture are buried inside the houses where they lived, and the rest of the family household would have to abandon the house after burying their relatives there. For the Awajún and Wampís, the idea of ownership of natural resources by the state does not make any sense.

Their natural environment is a topic that came up time and again during the interviews, and was illustrated in intertextual pictures of the communities and creative representations using
the scenery of Lima. A couple of examples of this would come from Domínico (21), who is preparing to apply to San Marcos in the Computer Science program, shared the feeling of many in my interviews. He said, “la selva…imagínesel…en la selva…la naturaleza…el ambiente…es muy bueno…como decir…es el pulmón de todo el planeta que dicen…ya…eso es lo más importante que tengo que decir…” [the rainforest…imagine…in the rainforest…nature…the environment…is so great…like saying…it it the lungs of the entire planet, as they say…you know…this is the most important thing I have to say…].

Pictures taken by study participants are very homogeneous when it comes to creating space to identify themselves with their natural environment. The following photographs (Figure 20) show the similar ideas and opinions participants have about the meaning the natural local environments have in their lives.

*Figure 20. Photographs taken by participants to express the importance the rainforest has for them.*
Out of all four pictures shown here, Manuel Octavio (24) took the picture of a palm tree [1] from the San Marcos University campus to talk about the Amazonian rainforest. His caption reads, “Shuar, the children of nature.” Pilar (26), the business major from San Marcos University, elaborated more on what the Amazon has. In her caption [2], she pointed out that “Perú is characterized for being mega diverse, and one of the things that represents this diversity is the ecology. We have diverse wonderful places, in particular the rainforest, which is the lung of the world.” Ignacio (28) talked about the protection of the Amazonian rainforest in the caption for the photograph of his father in the Amazon [3]. He wrote, “Protection of the Peruvian Amazon: It is very important to protect and not contaminate our natural environment.” Toribio (23), who is applying to San Marcos University, took a picture of another picture of the Marañón [4], and wrote about his life as an Awajún in contact with nature. His caption reads, “This photograph means how natural Awajún life is. Awajún life is as natural as that rainforest.”

The location where the Awajún and Wampís students and professionals have their families is also influenced by the effects of globalization. All types of globalized tools and influences enter the lives, not only of the students and professionals I interviewed but also those of their family members and friends in the communities of the Marañón, Cenepa, and Santiago rivers.

Global Spaces

One final space where visual and linguistic narratives illustrated the artifactual indigenous agency of the Awajún and Wampís students and professionals interviewed was the space of dialogue and attitudes toward technology and language (local and global), and the reach it might all have in their communities. For instance, the link between language and culture has
never been broken in many of my participants’ minds, but there was always room to open up additional spaces of dialogue internationally by acquiring new linguistic skills as long as their local languages and customs were left untouched.

First, the Awajún and Wampís students acknowledge the discrimination that exists in Perú against the Quechua speakers, and generalized against anything that is not Castilian Spanish from the coastal cities, in particular, from Lima, which is the standard language accepted. Many talk about the silence of language; meaning, the implicit discrimination in the nation based on accents or regional dialects spoken by people who come to Lima from parts of the Andes or the Amazon. Salvador, expresses this idea in his own acknowledgment of the topic, giving an opinion shared by many of the other participants of the study. He says,

Creo que aquí en Lima…hablar otro idiomas…significa un signo de racismo o de risa no? En Lima es…tienes que hablar…Español…muy bien…y si lo haces mal…es sinónimo de…de burla no? Entonces, eso no lo pude tomar, porque no lo puedo captar, pero es una cuestión que…que…que pasa mucho no? No? O el hecho de…de tu procedencia no? Que te digan…tu eres de un pueblo indígena Amazónico…o Andino…oye estudias es…como primero te sorprende pero después como que es símbolo de que…de burla no? No? Entonces esa cuestión osea hay que cambiar yo creo no también no?

I think here in Lima…to speak other languages…is a sign of racism or mockery, right? In Lima is…you have to speak…Spanish…very well…and if you do it badly…it is a synonym of…mockery, right? So, I could not take a picture of something like that because I cannot capture it, but it is an issue that…that…that happens here a lot, right? Right? Or the fact that…that you come from somewhere else, right? They tell you…you are from an indigenous Amazonian tribe…or Andean…hey, you study?…as if they first get shocked, but later as if it were a symbol of…of mockery, right?, Right? So that thing, I mean, we have to change that, I believe too right?

Dominico (21), who is trying to be accepted by San Marcos University in the computer science program, talks about the problem that having been raised in the communities causes in his learning of Spanish, but he also recognizes the importance of knowing his own language. He says,
Awajún...is important to have our own language, right? Our own language...as an Awajún...I can speak Awajún...even though...in our language...also...I mean...it is more...that is important, right? To know our language...another language too...not...to know how to speak Castilian...if you know how to speak Castilian I mean...you have to bring uhm...if you know how to speak Castilian correctly, I mean...I am Awajún...I can’t deny that I am Awajún...and I have been raised in my community...sometimes I can’t...speak that much Castilian...I mean it is a problem...I have been raised...I have been raised there...

Domínico, uses the term Castilian to refer to Spanish. In Perú, people refer to the mestizo language as Castellano or Castilian, not so much as Spanish, and Domínico knows this.

The idea of adaptive agency defined by Kottak and Kozaitis (2012) elsewhere in this dissertation, as tailoring global tools and influences to make them fit and have significance at the local level, is an important concept to apply to this section. Learning Spanish because of the need these young people have to study a career in Lima, and perhaps English for some to be able to apply to scholarships abroad, and others to communicate with international institutions that would be able to help local Amazonian communities, is something that was also discussed in our interviews. Languages like Spanish or English, or technologies like computers and the Internet, are very useful tools that are already being used in faraway Awajún and Wampís communities.

Salvador again is a good example of what many participants said about the uses of other languages besides Spanish in order to be able to communicate with people internationally. When I asked him about a photograph he was not able to take but would have liked to have taken, he responded,
Un…líder…indígena quizás…que…es un…que sabe manejar el idioma Inglés también no? No a la perfección…pero lo saben hacer no? Y han podido de alguna forma expresar también…las necesidades de su pueblo…a otras personas no? A esas personas de otro idioma…en este caso Inglés no?

An…indigenous…leader maybe…who…is a…who knows how to speak English too, right? Not necessarily perfectly…but those who know how to speak it, right? And who somehow have been able to express as well…the needs of their people…with other people, right? With those people who speak the language…in this case, English, right?

In terms of global technologies, many pictures taken by participants had the same theme, computers, cell phones, and the Internet. The following pictures (Figure 21) are the most representative of them all.

Figure 21. Socorro’s photograph of her laptop (left), and Juan Antonio’s image of himself with his netbook (right) summarize here what many participants said about applying modern technology and education to improve the lives of indigenous Amazonians.

Socorro (25) who holds an undergraduate degree in linguistics, and is studying to get her Master’s degree in Amazonian Studies, took the picture of her laptop, and her caption (Figure 21, left) reads, “Now, we the Awajún should know how to use these devices in order to utilize them in favor of our communities.” Juan Antonio (30), an anthropology student from San Marcos
University, also mentioned something that was echoed by others. He wrote (Figure 21, right), “Access to information, communication and education,” and he shows a small netbook playing the movie Spirit. Both of these sentiments were shared by other participants who spoke of using that technology to learn more about the world, to be able to communicate with people outside, and to reach their families in the communities of the Amazon. Many of the tools that the Awajún and Wampís use nowadays are accessible to the students in Lima, as well as to people in the communities. In the Marañon, you can even have access to the same type of informality you find in Lima downtown when you look for bootlegged DVDs, or CDs, and Internet cafes. I know of students and others who create music blogs, and pay in *cumbia* bands, post YouTube videos of their bands performing, and make video clips to share as well.

One of the pictures that caught my attention the most, is the one taken by Juan Antonio who articulated well, both verbally and visually, the need to pass the message on to larger audiences about his indigenous human agency in communicating globally, being educated, but at the same time, maintaining his traditional identity and language (Figure 22). He took a picture of himself holding a paper where he wrote “I am Shuar” in Spanish, English and Shuar, respectively. This is just an example of the creativity and fluidity of the identities created throughout my interviewing process. Identities are all situated in a context, and the context in which indigenous peoples live today is an ever-changing one.

In a world of constant negotiation by the authors of these visual and linguistic narratives heretofore presented, we see an array of non-dichotomous interpretations, representations and narratives of what it is to be an Awajún, Wampís (Shuar), or mestizo, what it means to be seen as a professional, a Peruvian or even a global citizen, and what it entails to act and speak your
identity using local and global languages and technologies. We have also witnessed the fluidity of participants’ identities struggling against structural forces, and aiming at the survival of their own group following their own proper cultural role models: the Awajún and Wampís people of the Marañon. Either in a case by case analysis or by looking at the collective valorizations of themselves as a people, it is because of that pride and agency in being Amazonian indigenous; and also because of that agency in practicing their culture, and knowing things no other Peruvians know about the ecosystem, that the students and professional participants of this study, can navigate such a chaotic mestizo world of stigmas, discrimination, and one-sided policies. The place where the Awajún and Wampís come from -- that is, the location of their traditional practices and culture -- becomes a point of primordial reference to them because of how it has been internalized by these intellectuals as a source of life for the entire world, a source of rich biodiversity, and a source of knowledge that only they, as indigenous people – as originarios of
the planet – share and act on day by day. Acknowledging these factors, and negotiating their identities on a daily basis, facilitates their survival wherever they find themselves, regardless of any superimposed labels, categories or laws that may affect them as a people.

Finally, I would like to illustrate this easy adaptability to navigate two or more worlds while trying to comply with legal mechanisms and laws of an imposing mestizo nation under an undecidability paradigm of third (new) spaces. In 2008, I visited the city of Santa Maria de Nieva. Santa Maria de Nieva is the capital city of the district of Nieva, located in the province of Condorcanqui in the department (state) of Amazonas. The district has a population of around 45,000 people, most of whom are Awajún who live in that city (Municipalidad Provincial de Condorcanqui N.d.). It is the final destination point for mestizos who live and work among the Awajún majority. In Santa Maria de Nieva and in the surrounding areas, the word mestizo or apách[i] is part of the common, everyday interactions and lexica, which is something that would never happen in Lima. In Lima, the daily discursive practices involve the words blanco, negro, limeño, or cholo (the latter is the pejorative form to insult indigenous people from the Andes), and in the collective unconscious of the mestizos, those four words pretty much define and make up the Peruvian mestizo nation-state. However, in Santa Maria de Nieva processes of indexicality (linguistic forms that point out aspects of the social context) involve only the markers Awajún, apách[i] or mestizo. After you pass Santa Maria de Nieva going north, everything else will be Awajún communities near the Marañón, and going still further north, Wampís communities along the Santiago river. Santa Maria de Nieva is basically a small town of a few paved roads around a cemented central square where the municipal building of the district and the mayor are located. There are informal posts of commerce where you can find anything ranging from flip flops made in China or pirated copies of Noam Chomsky’s Hopes and
Prospects (in Spanish), to bootlegged DVDs in English. Those posts of commerce are also accompanied by *cantinas*, mestizo food restaurants, and hotels located around the central square.

In Nieva (short version of the name), you will also find the main school located in an elevated section of the town which gives you a nice panoramic view of the Nieva river and the community across the river officially registered as A.A. H.H. Juan Velasco Alvarado [Human Settlement Juan Velasco Alvarado]. One of those amusing curiosities in my biased mestizo mentality is the fact that such a beautiful Amazonian community, not that different from any other indigenous community less than half a mile away in any direction, has appropriated the official adjectival form used in the world for urban slums “with little or no access to shelter, water and sanitation” (United Nations N.d.). And I wonder once and again, what is the difference between JVA (short version of Juan Velasco Alvarado), and the other Awajún communities around? I try to find an answer and I can’t. Maybe, it is just the appropriation of the status given to poor human settlements around the world, an ascribed status by those who dictate rules and policies, but who also have no idea of what it is like to live in such a beautiful created space of co-existence between two worlds (Figure 23).

*Figure 23. The urban slums of Juan Velasco Alvarado (JVA), aka, A.A.H.H. Juan Velasco Alvarado (JVA Human Settlements).*
In my appreciation, this is the most interesting third (new) space officially created by the local Awajún. Across the river in JVA, my host, an Awajún former technical nurse, who lived there for years, gave me shelter in a house structured in the traditional Awajún way, but separating living and sleeping quarters from the kitchen area, which is more of a mestizo and European style. The walls are constructed using traditional *Topa* wood. The roof is a mixture of closely woven palm tree leaves (traditional style) and tin plates used in urban slums of the capital city. There is no running water, but electricity can be found in some houses. They use a family computer mainly for her to write documents for her NGO, and her son to watch bootlegged DVDs since she has no Internet access. The Internet cafes are only a few blocks from the house. Once, when I was crossing from Nieva to JVA on a *peque peque* (a canoe with a motor, which makes the sound that created the onomatopoeic form of the name for the embarkation), I shared the canoe with a mestizo woman from a coastal city who had a child of mixed descent with her. The boy was 8 years old. He was carrying two DVD cases with him, and was very happy about the movies his mother bought for him. He would look at me and smile. I looked at the titles and asked him to show them to me. One of them was “Legionnaire,” an action movie that stars Jean-Claude Van Damme, and the other one was “¡Three Amigos!,” a comedy that stars Chevy Chase, Martin Short, and Steve Martin. I asked him with amusement, “Wow, you really like to watch movies, don’t you?” He responded shyly, “Yes, but my mom says that this will help me learn English for school too.” The child’s mild interest in learning a global language, sets the stage for what we will be discussing in the following chapter based on the ethnographic data collected in the field, local and global literacies.
Chapter 5
Influential Literacies and the Awajún and Wampís Intellectual Narratives on the Global and the Local

One of the final scenes of the comedy “¡Three Amigos!” is the prelude to a final battle in which the local villagers of Santa Poco (translated as Saint Few), who were led to believe they were useless and did not know how to defend themselves, after a little help from the foreign Amigos, came to the realization that they could use their local literacies to fight the abuses and injustices from the antagonistic character El Guapo and his bandidos. However, this was a reactive measure rather than a proactive one. Only when cornered by the approaching El Guapo and his gang, did Ned Nederlander (Martin Short), one of the Amigos, propose to the villagers that they face up to El Guapo “by using the skills and the talents of the people of Santa Poco.” The punch line there came when he asked the question, “Now, what is it that this town really does well?” After a few seconds of collective hesitation mixed in with the sounds of goats bleating in the background, they all said, “We can sew!” Of course, those were not the skills that the foreign Amigos were expecting to hear about, but it all worked out in the end. The people of Santa Poco were able to sew duplicates of the clothes the Amigos were wearing, and they were able to deceive and confuse El Guapo and his bandidos, making them think that there were a lot more than only three Amigos. That way, they triumphed against the forces of evil.

For the people of Santa Poco, sewing was a socially situated practice, a literacy that had value for the local villagers, and also served as a source of identity and pride to them. Unwittingly, the Amigos’ initial reaction might have not been that friendly to the answer about local skills given by the inhabitants of the town, as ironic as it may sound, considering that the
word *amigo* means friend in Spanish. But this pseudo-critical movie fragment “review” would need to go beyond the *Amigos*, all the way to the screenwriters, filmmakers, and producers who wanted to make audiences laugh by mocking “illiteracy” in a foreign country. In doing so, they were perpetuating stereotypes of ignorance and lack of local resources, manipulating the popular culture image of the American savior, and mocking a language by calling a town Saint Little (Santa Poco), implying that the people of the town were virtually worthless. The villagers were so vulnerable that they needed to hire the services of the *Amigos*. They were so naïve and ignorant that they could not tell the difference between real life and acting. They had seen the *Amigos* movies on the silver screen, and thought the *Amigos* were real heroes, when they were actually unemployed, less-than-average actors who thought they were getting a new gig in Mexico where their talent would be finally appreciated. I say a pseudo-critical movie fragment “review” because the reason people make movies like this also goes beyond movie producers. Audiences look for that kind of entertainment, and for those audiences to exist, there has to be a market, a demand, a cultural context that somehow, explicitly or not, promotes those types of stereotypes.

The narratives of the globalized world are narratives of ideological literacies that favor corporate interests, which in turn dominate national policies that affect local villages. Those corporate narratives end up becoming the *El Guapos* that threaten local villagers of the planet. And narratives are affected by the context, historical processes and institutional forces that afflict them (Rymes 2001). Movies need receptive audiences to function as relevant narratives of a particular time; narrators and audiences are agents who co-author a narrative that involves much more than the content itself. Narratives become situated activities that are constructed in the context of daily life activities; not only through talk, but using other genre as well (e.g.,
interactions, pictures, images, photographs). They are decontextualized from one place or situation, and recontextualized in another. People construct their social realities through those narratives that vary in style and manner according to cultural context (Reynolds 2007). Bird (2003), also discusses how in a media saturated world, audiences, are made of “active, selective makers of meaning,” and through that agency, use media references to interpret their experiences. Among these texts we find soap operas, talk show or movies (Bird 2003:2-3).

Some anthropological studies of literacy (Street 2003; Street 1984) explain literacy, not only as a neutral skill of reading or writing that serves to eradicate poverty, social problems, and improve a person’s life and opportunities, but also as socially situated activities that vary from culture to culture, and include knowledge, identity, being and doing. An Awajún friend of mine, during an email exchange, was giving me some advice on how to teach my students about their culture and narrative styles, and how to be able to understand the difference in approaches, and I quote her explanation with her permission here:

Explicales a tus alumnos que la mejor forma de aprender sobre la vida del Awajún, es pasar un tiempo alla, para poder ver lo que es el buen vivir or Pegkeg Pujut. Eso significa, vivir en armonia con todo lo que esta alrededor nuestro, nuestras familias, nuestros vecinos, nuestros medio ambiente, nuestros recursos naturales, y los espíritus de la naturaleza. A través de nuestra narrativa, que llamamos, Duik Pujut, nuestras historias, especialmente las historias de nuestros abuelos, contamos de acciones heroicas de nuestros ancestros, para que guíen a las futuras generaciones sobre los estilos de vida local y nuestra supervivencia. Y son acciones de individuos, pero que se enfocan en beneficios para la comunidad entera, para el esfuerzo colectivo.

Explain to your students that the best way to learn about the way of life of the Awajún is to spend some time over there in order to see what the good living or Pegkeg Pujut is. That means living in harmony with everything that surrounds us, our families, our neighbors, our environment, our natural resources, and the spirits of nature. Through our narrative, that we call in our language, Duik Pujut, our stories, in particular through the stories of our grandparents, we tell about heroic actions from our ancestors to teach our future generations about local lifestyles and survival skills. And those are actions by individuals, but focus on benefits for the entire community, for the collective effort.
My friend’s advice on how to teach my students about the Awajún culture, in one paragraph, summarized aspects of her culture that had even higher dimensions regarding different ways of looking at social life than those we are accustomed to. As anthropologists, we are used to some of them as the need to participate in order to learn about it. But the bottom line is that she was actually outlining a cultural ideology expressed in practices and attitudes that value the environment, collaboration, values regarding family, community, acquiring personhood through educational spiritual practices, and finally, implicit in all this, a focus on “doing” as opposed to just having a culture.

These socially situated practices became apparent during my conversations, interviews and Photo-Elicitation activities with Awajún and Wampís university students and graduates who reside in Lima. Their views, as intellectuals who try to describe what it is to be indigenous in a mestizo world, and what it is to be influenced by the cultural grip of globalization, as an Awajún or Wampís who practices his or her culture as well, became the building blocks of this chapter, and addressed one of my research questions: How does the proliferation of literacies in a global context influence the indigenous identity of the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima? The pages that follow are my attempt to answer this question with the interviews and photos these young individuals kindly shared with me. In these discussions, we can see how the students negotiate and maintain their identity as indigenous people through reference to the importance of actively engaging in significant cultural practices.

Literacy in the world today is officially recognized by international organizations as being interpreted in a multiplicity of ways that go beyond the basic traditional cognitive skills (i.e., reading and writing), to include activities and “practices” defined by social contexts, and having the imperative necessity of being acknowledged as such in the implementation of policies
that affect human beings around the globe (UNESCO 2005:147). The proliferation of literacies, or acknowledgement of a diversity of literacies in my analysis of influential literacies that are nonnative (i.e., national or global), native (i.e., local), or a combination of the two as they are appropriated to suit local purposes; that is, the “adaptive agency” of the Awajún and Wampís students I interviewed (Kottak and Kozaitis 2012:299), is one of the central matters of this dissertation research. It is also important to mention that I am making the conscious choice of creating a space for the discussion of literacies here. Someone else might just define the literacies described below as variations of local knowledge. However, there is one important reason for the choice I made to use the term “literacies,” rather than the more general “knowledge” or “heritage.” Having talked to a few officials from the Peruvian Ministry of Education, I got a pretty good idea of what bilingual education meant to these officials who had the power to make changes in educational policy but never did. At one point, during a meeting with a very proud head of the Office of Intercultural and Bilingual Education (which is a branch of the Peruvian Ministry of Education), I learned an important lesson. The official I talked to, proudly explained to me how he bypassed anything that had to do with established Amazonian indigenous authorities (e.g., AIDESEP) to work only with local community members and teachers instead. Then he showed me a school textbook he published in Awajún and Spanish only with the help of local teachers. This is a great accomplishment because he included the local community members. Nevertheless, when I looked at the book and heard him talk about it, I noticed how his goal was only to teach the Awajún and Wampís to be Peruvians by emphasizing oral and written communication. It was the well-known paradigm of a western “autonomous model” of literacy (Street 1984:19); that which promotes the skills of reading and writing to get people out of poverty and make them functional members of (mestizo) society. When an official of the
government who is that important acts like that, positive change at the local level is less likely. He is disregarding important channels of authority recognized nationally by indigenous populations of the Peruvian Amazon, and he is also utilizing a linear top-down approach by assuming only he knows what is best for those indigenous populations.

After years of conversations with school teachers, and now university students and professionals about bilingual textbooks, I see that the pattern has not changed much. I always hear the complaint that textbooks always use foreign examples that are not relevant to local children when learning math or language. Why would a local child learn to count clowns or elephants when he has never seen one? A good attempt to answer that question would be what one teacher once told me when I visited a community years ago: “I throw the book away, and start teaching children how to recognize local species of plants and what their healing powers are. Then, we start counting them.” The literacies described below are locally situated practices that are as important to the Awajún and Wampís, as reading or writing would be to the apách[i] (mestizo).

Literacy: Awareness of the Environment and Surroundings

One of these literacies mentioned almost unanimously by every participant of this dissertation research was their detailed knowledge about the environment around them, and the need to take care of their local ecosystem in the Amazon.

Valentin, a 34 year-old lawyer who has worked for Peruvian government agencies that deal with indigenous issues in the Amazon, shared some of the experiences he had while traveling. He once told me about the trip he made to the southern Peruvian department (the equivalent of a state in the U.S.) of Madre de Dios to find out about the situation of uncontacted
tribes, which I found very interesting. He also told me about the time he was sent to the city of Iquitos in the northeastern part of the Amazon. In Iquitos, he has seen groups of Shipibo families walking the streets, begging for money or selling artifacts from their culture (e.g., local pottery, bows, arrows, and blowguns) to tourists. He said that Amazonians are very aware of their natural surroundings. As a matter of fact, based on my participants’ accounts, they are sensitive to environmental stimuli in ways a typical apách[i] from Lima would never be. We (mestizos) do not stop to look at the trees or plants when we walk by a park, nor do we check where the sun is located when we are in downtown Lima just to find our bearings. Finally, the time restrictions we Limeños (people from Lima) – as “urban primates of set schedules” are accustomed to, were more loosely interpreted by my Awajún and Wampís participants. Sometimes, I waited two or three hours for a participant to show up for an interview, and I never said anything about it because I have lived in the communities, and understand how the idea of exact time never made much sense for our daily activities. When Valentín first came to Lima as a child, he was so used to the rivers and tributaries that he would look at the streets and think of them as rivers, but would also get confused with the number of people he saw on the streets of Lima. He also mentioned the diasporas and migrations from Amazonian indigenous groups to the main mestizo cities of Perú, and even other places in the world.

One of these migration incidents that Valentín had been very concerned about is the one from the Shipibos, whose main subsistence strategy in the Amazon comes from horticulture and hunting, but caceríos (a group of five or 6 houses for two or three families) in the Amazon are always located along a main river source or a tributary. The Shipibo have been coming to Lima for years in search of jobs because they have been displaced from their natural habitats. When they started arriving years ago, they struggled to find a place to settle where they would feel
comfortable. Their skills and literacies involved moving around water, which is so essential for any human group, but it was particularly important for them to be near the river in terms of their cultural and religious perspectives. Lacking the ability to secure housing or jobs, they found the oldest river in Lima, the Rimac river, and started settling along it. What is interesting about this, he recalls from one of his visits, is the “amount of pollution in and around that river.” It’s an old and very contaminated river from an overpopulated Latin American capital city. He added, “Their children can and probably do get sick there.” The Rimac is an outlet for the sewer systems in Lima, and a major dump site for garbage from the urban slums, but the Shipibo felt at home there because they could have their own source of water, and strategize what to do in Lima from that Shipibo culture vantage point, the river. Now the Shipibo in Lima, as he says, “with the help of NGOs and some government involvement, have schools, stores, and try to survive there, but they will always be considered by the mestizo as an illiterate group in extreme poverty here.”

Amazonian indigenous peoples, like those of us who come from the cities, are aware of the need of those vital resources, like water and keeping the environment clean, but unlike city dwellers, Amazonians practice what they say daily in the communities, and are very concerned about strangers coming to their communities, since they years of contact have shown them that outsiders are willing to exploit the land and its resources. Domínico, a 21 year-old graduate from high school preparing to enter the university to study computer science expressed his views about the importance of water and natural resources in the life of an Awajún. He said,

El agua es lo mas importante…el mas basico…osae…si no tienes agua…no en que vas a vivir…no hay nada…seque agua…pero se seca agua que vas a tener…que vas a beber…petroleo o que vas a vivir…es una…[unintelligible]…puede llover…pero…que acido es…agua acido es…porque ese vapor que va…tambien contamina las plantas…eso no quiero…osae que etren asi nomas no? Y tampoco que…entren…los companies que…osaea no sepan utilzar no? Todo esas…entran sacan despues que pasa…en otros pueblos…contaminado ríos…tierra las plantas…
Water is the most important...the most basic...I mean...if you don’t have water how are you going to survive...there is nothing...water dries...but if the water dries out what are you going to have...what are you going to drink...oil or how are you going to survive...it’s a...[unintelligible]...it can rain...but...it is very acid...because that vapor that spreads...also contaminates the plants...that, I don’t want...I mean people to come just like that right? Nor do I want the companies to...come in...I mean...they do not know how to use it right? All of them...they come, take, and after that what happens...with other indigenous peoples...polluting rivers...the land...the plants...

The knowledge that Awajún and Wampís local youth have is experiential and based on practices and their experiences in situ. They are environmentally literate and are aware of the mestizo’s indiscriminate use of natural resources only to make a profit. Dominico’s view, however, disregards the profit-making qualities of his environment in order to value the importance water and the environment has for him and the Awajún in order to make them happy. He took the following picture (Figure 24) of a niece and an Amazonian parrot they have at home, and wrote as captions “Vivir con nuestra naturaleza nos hace sentir bien” [Living with our nature makes us feel good], implying the importance of nature, not only as a resource, but as a source of spiritual happiness that helps them in their well-being as a people.

Figure 24. Dominico’s photograph of his niece holding a parrot they have as a pet at home, and with the caption, Vivir con nuestra naturaleza nos hace sentir bien [Living with our nature makes us feel good]
Domínico shared the view of most of my participants, who in one way or another expressed the view that incursions by strangers into their territory and their technology are the main cause of the degradation of the forest, the natural resources, and the environment. Manuel Octavio (22), a Shuar (Wampís) computer technician and electronic engineering major from San Marcos University, is an example of views shared by the rest of the participants. However, his case is very interesting because he thought about solutions to environmental problems, exercising his adaptive agency of tailoring western ideologies of private property in order to protect his people’s ecosystem. He comments:

The first picture, right? Basically, the rainforest, nature…not only the rainforest and the entire planet right? It needs changes urgently right? And…there is too much pollution in the world that affects our Amazon rainforest…and…consequently our planet right? And we must do something about it…and we, the Shuar who live there…for instance, here at home, right? I am very worried because of that right? Because they are already practically destroying it all, and now when you get there, you see it, right? And before you used to get there…pure air of the rainforest…very pure; even though there are places where you can still…but…now most of it…is the logging, right? And agriculture, cattle ranching and different things, right? And…it is not the same, we must protect our rainforest and…in my case, I don’t…as I was telling you, right? I am really worried about that…and…eh…well in my family, right…we try to…in time, right? Uhm…we’re going to buy land where…in our village right? Uhm…take care of a large area, right? In order to protect it…
Manuel Octavio’s sensitivity regarding the environment is shared by many of my study participants who, like him, feel nature and every aspect of it, including the water, and vegetation, as a valuable part of their daily lives in Lima where they reside. When they think about studying or working in the city, they showed photographs they took of city scenarios where water or trees were involved. Figure 25 below is the photograph from the outside of San Marcos University that Manuel Octavio uses to talk about nature, the rainforest, contamination and buying land in Awajún territory. Figure 26 is a combination of two photographs from two different participants in which they, like many others during my interviews, used scenarios or situations in Lima to describe their distant beloved Amazonian rainforest.

Figure 25. Manuel Octavio shows planted trees outside one of the academic buildings of his university in Lima. His caption reads, “Shuar: Los hijos de la naturaleza” [Shuar: The children of nature].

We can see that my participants’ awareness of the natural surroundings in a populated and polluted city of buildings and cement, points to their sensitivity regarding the relationship
between humans and nature. From their experiences in Lima with plants, parks, trees, and the Rimac river (i.e., where Shipibo immigrants live), the students and professionals I interviewed drew from their knowledge of how human life depends on water, plants, and nature, to comment on their realities and that of others during their stay in Lima. We have to remember, as Brown (1985) explains, that the Awajún consider their gardens, and the forest with the abundant water in it, not only as a productive medium, but also as “a spiritually charged realm that possesses dangers to the unwary or imprudent” (Brown 1985:97). In the same light, nature, the forest, their gardens are symbolic spaces where children (most of my students) where raised. There is a close connection between their feminine deity, Nugkui, with women who spent hours every day there weeding, harvesting, and planting. My participants, when they were children were among those that Brown refers to when he says that a “woman puts her baby in a tiny hammock hung in some shady spot, and her other children play quietly nearby while she goes about her tasks” (Brown

Figure 26. Juan Pablo took the picture of trees in a park in Lima (left) and wrote, “Igual es importante lo que es el paisaje y seria importante cuidarlo” [Just the same, the landscape is important, and it would be important to take care of it]. Domínico (right) took a picture of a man watering plants in Lima to define work framing it in relation to nature (gardening). He wrote, “El trabajo es básico, dependemos de el” [Work is basic, we depend on it].
1985:103). Chaotic life in Lima, lack of vegetation, or even if present, lack of care with parks, plants, or a river, is totally opposed to their belief system, and upsets them.

**Literacy: Homo cooperativus**

In contemporary ideological narrative, individualism is the foundation for a neoliberal stance where individual responsibility stands out in a free-market economy that dismisses the influence of the state. However, even a more progressive, cooperative model, captured in the notion of a *Homo cooperativus* who opposes the abuses of multinational corporations, does not necessarily imply much of a departure from the same binary model of opposites. It still implies the everlasting contemporary battle between neoliberal values and a free market against a social democracy perspective (Peters 2011). As we have seen in the section above, indigenous ideology is less mutually exclusive or rigid in its accommodation of foreign ideological models. It does not require acceptance of one or the other. In Manuel Octavio’s feelings of happiness with a clean ecosystem under a socio-economic arrangement of private land ownership, the emphasis is on collaboration. According to my cultural consultants, collaboration is another one of those aspects of social life where local agency takes what is useful from the global and applies it purposefully locally.

Street (2005) in his report to UNESCO analyzing different literacies that should be considered for the implementation of educational policies throughout the world, describes the diversity in types of “learning and literacy,” including collaborative literacy (Street 2005:5). The idea that learning involves participation in a community of practice and collaboration has also gained popularity through the years in the western world (Lave and Wenger 1991; Rogoff and Lave 1999). The participants in my study, almost without exception, always tried to emphasize
that their ways are ways of collaboration and looking for the common good, and that this is something they have learned from their families and communities. Nevertheless, they were also able to understand that they had to accomplish individualistic goals in their education in order to be able to help out their brothers and sisters who live in the communities along the Marañón, Cenepa, and Santiago rivers.

Prioritization of the communal, and unity among community members are the most important factors for the Awajún and Wampís to live a fulfilled life, according to most of my interviewees. José (23), a university student of business administration, explained this point to me by saying, “…nosotros los Amazonicos…dentro de nuestra comunidad, hacemos una vida comunitaria donde…compartimos todo si es posible, no?” [We, Amazonians…in our communities, live a cooperative life…sharing everything if possible, right?]. Since most of the young people (students and professionals) are already taking courses at the university or have taken courses and graduated (some of them are preparing to apply), they use the knowledge they have gained, or the power implicit in their professions, as a Western instrument to be utilized for community benefits.

Toribio (23), preparing to apply to the university in Lima, is one of those who dreams about finishing his studies to be able to contribute back home in Santa Maria de Nieva. Even though he has been away for a while and does not remember much of the language, he says, “no igual yo…yo siempre me identifico como un Awajún…siempre pienso…mas a delante no? Quiza termino mi Carrera y trabajar alla por mi pueblo…para mi pueblo…” [no, it doesn’t matter…I…I always think of myself as an Awajún…I always think…in a few years, right? Maybe I finish my studies and I can work there with my people…for my people…]. Some of them are in the middle of their studies, or have already finished a graduate degree, but the goal is
pretty much the same, working cooperatively, working collaboratively, for their friends, family, brothers and sisters back home. Leonidas Rogerio (24), a linguistics graduate student from San Marcos University who told me how important it is for him to help out his people once he gets his Master’s degree, used information intertextually to take a picture of a picture he had from back home to explain in his captions how integrated communal, cooperative life is (Figure 27).

![Figure 27. Leonidas Rogerio’s picture of a picture he had, and his caption implying how every aspect of life in the community is integrated with unity and cooperation. His caption, “La construccion de casa. Se muestra la union de Awajun en el aspecto politico, economico y social.” (Building a house. It shows the Awajún’s unity in political, economical and social aspects).](image)

Leonidas Rogerio’s answers during the interview and his pictures were very creative. He paid attention to the collaboration that should exist in his community, but also characterized himself as a Peruvian indigenous citizen who acknowledges agency in adapting or tailoring anything the mestizo world has to offer to his life as an indigenous professional. He took a
picture of himself, to represent himself as an Awajún, but also the importance of mestizo tools (i.e., his glasses), without which he could not do anything due to his near-sightedness (Figure 28).

Figure 28. Leonidas Rogerio’s photograph of himself representing an Awajún who wears a mestizo artifact. His caption reads, “It represents the young Awajún student, but in the city, who acquires city artifacts, and that means that the mestizo, gives solutions to the Awajún problems.”

Leonidas Rogerio’s statement below his picture also reflects another aspect of the ethnographic present that was a preoccupation of that time among all the participants: the Bagua Massacre. His caption, just like some of his comments (and that of others) during the interview, dealt indirectly with the Bagua incident. Leonidas Rogerio, as a linguistics major and student of language ideologies and discourse, implies that the mestizo also have an obligation to help out Peruvian indigenous Amazonian communities in collaboration with them, instead of attacking

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them publicly or seeing them as worthless people in comparison with 28 million Peruvians. He was very critical of the Peruvian president at the time, Alan Garcia Pérez, who made an explicit statement about the Awajún not being first-class citizens in comparison with the rest of the country, as noted above.

As stated earlier, part of that collaboration intended in the goals of these young intellectuals, was the idea of finishing their studies and using their newly-acquired knowledge to solve social and economic problems of the Awajún and Wampís in the communities. Some of the pictures my participants took address this particular issue (see, for example, Figure 29).

![Figure 29. Manuel Octavio's photograph (left) of himself studying and his caption in Spanish translates, "Studying to improve our lives and help out." José photographed an electronics store in Lima (right), and his captions reads in English, "Do profitable activities that benefit our people since it is never done. Entrepreneurs prefer to invest little and make exaggerated profits caring little for how much harm they cause."](image)

As an electronic engineering major, Manuel Octavio wants to finish his studies to go back and support community projects where he could apply his skills. Business major José applies his knowledge of the aggressively competitive corporate world to critically state the need to care collaboratively instead of just thinking about the money.

Others, like Benedicto (38), an environmental engineer with a Master’s degree, are already applying their knowledge in support and training of the local communities. Benedicto
took a picture of a recent trip where he and other professionals were training local people to organize themselves in collaborative fashion as they traditionally do it, but using methodologies and strategies the mestizos use (Figure 30).

Figure 30. Benedicto’s photographs in the field. He had just arrived in Lima for our interview, and used the camera I gave him to take these pictures of workshops he led and helped facilitate. The caption of the first picture (left) reads, “It shows that I am doing a learning workshop, where I am explaining how to develop the methodology for a topic, and we give talks to others so that they can learn and strengthen their capacity.” His second picture of a meeting (right) reads, “We are gathered together to agree, program, and plan activities that will take place to benefit the entire local population, and that way we can help out one another.”

**Literacy: The Practice of Culture**

Erich Fromm, one of the greatest philosophical minds of the twentieth century, and a psychoanalyst by training, argued extensively that there are two basic orientations of the human species, having and being. People with the having orientation seek to acquire and possess things, property, even other people. Those with the being orientation focus more on experience, deriving meaning from exchanging and sharing with others (Fromm 2008 [1976]). In a materialistic approach to studying the way the Awajún and Wampís create spaces for their identity, one might be tempted to see the importance the students interviewed place on traditional artifacts and territory as a *having* orientation. However, I argue here that the importance the Awajún and
Wampís scholars and students place on having things and property is more of a reactive survival strategy of their being indigenous. In being indigenous today, the Awajún and Wampís participants need to account for the outsider’s (i.e., mestizo’s) power and neglect, protect themselves against events like the dramatic events of 2009 in Bagua, and create a space where being depends on their having traditional artifacts, a territory, and practices that give them a sense of existence and continuance in a world where structural discrimination tries to make their culture, language and traditions seem worthless or incapable of surviving the pace of “progress” in a modern globalized Latin American nation-state.

The Awajún and Wampís students I interviewed, while using Spanish to talk to me, many times utilized the word *practice* as a pseudo-prefix before commenting on cultural activities. They were also very eager to talk about their territory and their traditional artifacts. It seemed as if they needed to emphasize the importance of having cultural elements available to be able to secure the *doing* (practicing) of the cultural activities as Awajún or Wampís in this mestizo globalized world of smart phones and tablets. It was as if the alternative of not *practicing* their culture would leave them behind, forsaken by the nation-state and its dominant mestizo and global influences. Francisco (28), a law and political science student of San Marcos University clearly expressed this in the picture he took of *masato* (manioc beer) bowls he had at home (Figure 31).

Interesting enough Francisco’s picture of the *masato* bowls shows only one bowl of certain Awajún origin (the one on the left). The other two bowls are Amazonian but of other ethnic origin, which leads me to believe, he wanted to show me in his picture the importance he places on *masato* drinking as a practice, and the quantity of bowls available (number of Amazonian ethnic groups) to carry on that tradition.
Patricio (51), a Wampí’s *apu* (chief), who studied psychology at *Universidad Inca Garcilaso de la Vega* in Lima, was very emphatic about the Wampí culture. He claimed, “debemos practicar algunos elementos culturales…que nos identifican como Wampí…” [we should practice some cultural elements…that identify us as Wampí…]. When asked about the cultural elements that need to be practiced, he started talking about the many different aspects of practicing culture he meant, as we can see in the following excerpt from our conversation:

RV: Okay…claro y practicar que elementos culturales? [Okay…right, and practice what cultural elements?].
Patricio: Costumbres [Customs].

RV: Costumbres? [Customs?].

Patricio: Incluye este…si…bueno…en costumbres…idioma…cantos…eh…tipico… [Including…uhm…yes…well…in customs…language…songs…eh…typical…].

RV: Ya… [Okay…].

Patricio: Expresar…los sentimientos y emociones como tal…y esto puede ser…este…escribiendo o bailando o cantando…o…este…utilizando vestimentas tipicas…bailando en nuestra propia costumbre…todos esos elementos…y muchos mas…identifica a uno…como…como Wampís…como miembro del pueblo Wampís… [Expressing…the feelings and emotions as they are…and that can be…uhm…writing or dancing or singing…or…uhm…utilizing typical attires…dancing in our own traditions…all those elements…and many more…that identify one…as…as…a Wampis…as a member of the Wampís people].

Looking back at my entire conversation with Patricio, and judging from this small fragment of that conversation, in his practicing culture skill and literacy, he includes writing, talking and expressing emotions as a Wampís. This is a very important element, as he labels it. He believes Wampís and Awajún people need to do in order to exist, and the mestizo, like myself, who do research among his people, need to be more critical instead of just narrative and descriptive when describing the lives and realities of indigenous peoples. In his mind, it takes a combination of both mestizo and Wampís elements and actions to improve the lives of the indigenous people of Perú. His narrative, like that of many of my informants, is one of awareness and action, of combining literacies of the mestizo with those of the Awajún and Wampís. He expresses his belief in cultural elements using a photograph of himself and a caption (Figure 32).
The corona (Headdress) is one of those ubiquitous cultural elements that many participants of my study chose to photograph (Figure 33), and it represents part of the complex identity of the Awajún and Wampís intellectuals I interviewed. It is as if their enculturation should always include traditional attires, dances, songs, language, and territory, no matter how many mestizo or global influences they may have.
Literacy: Ayahuasca Visions

The Awajún and Wampís, manipulate and communicate with souls through naturally occurring “dreams” when they sleep, or in “visions” induced by hallucinogenic plants (Brown 1985:57). The Awajún and Wampís have many species of plants they use to produce dreams. Among these we find Toé, Tobacco, and Datém or Ayahuasca (Brown 1985:58), which is the Quechua generic name that means Vine of the Dead (Dobkin de Rios 1970). The purpose of drinking this broth or tea-like substance that comes out of boiling the vine, is to either obtain the spirit Ajútap that appears and speaks to people who drink it, will guide them through life, and protect them from harm; or to see an image of the dreamer’s future. In any case, there is a practicality or pragmatism in this practice. It always involves affecting or manipulating the world of humans through the spirits and visions obtained. However, Ayahuasca is also drunk by mestizos in the Amazon. Its use has been generalized in Perú to exoticize the Amazonian rainforest as a tourist site or stimulate nostalgia for a long gone era of untouched virgin jungle. In
either case, the mestizo who live in Perú know about the plant and its different roles, depending on who the dreamer is.

The practice of Ayahuasca in my family has been one of both denial and acceptance, since I am a mestizo. One of my grandmothers, when she was young and my father was a child, served as a medium during Ayahuasca healing sessions. My father throughout his life denied any belief in the plant. However, close to the end of his life, he accepted to drink it with me and experience the power of the plant. We are Catholic, so our beliefs are syncretic and full of guilt and confusion when it comes to non-Catholic things. The Awajún and Wampís do not experience such conflict, since it is part of their traditional education to drink Ayahuasca, Toé, and Tobacco in order to have visions to acquire the Ajútap spirit that would guide them to experience the Good Living or Pegkeg Pujut. Many of my informants had opinions about Ayahuasca as part of their collective learning and literacy practices that must be followed in order to continue being Awajún or Wampís. Some had already taken it, some were still waiting to take it, and others did not consider taking it. A friend of mine who now lives in Europe with her husband, told me, “Roger, Ayahuasca for us is not meant to be taken lightly. We can take it but only once or twice in our lives. It is the shamans who are trained to take it all the time, but normal people like you and I should not take Ayahuasca often.” Interesting enough, other than the following picture from one of my interviewees (Figure 34), they mostly talked about it, but did not try to represent it in any way with images. The following picture uses a computer and a global tool (Microsoft Word) to represent a local, traditional custom.
Ayahuasca has an important meaning and the plant, its use, and what it causes in the dreamers is something to be respected. This is what I inferred from the participant’s answers to my questions about it. Again, having grown in Amazonian tradition, and heard stories of its uses among the mestizo, I do understand the respect the Awajún and Wampís have for the plant, which is the same my parents, uncles and aunts had. As you will see below, even taking pictures of people drinking, or sacred places where people drink it, are not encouraged. In 2008, I was invited by my host to drink Ayahuasca with them, and when I inquired as to using a camera, my host urged me not to do that because the shaman might not like it. However, some of my informants, in particular, the women students I interviewed, have never drunk it, or plan to. I believe, in the case of my participants, it has more to do with living in a different context that exoticizes the practice, and not having access to it, than with rejecting it. In any case, the
knowledge and uses of Ayahuasca are a form of literacy that my informants acquired during their enculturation process as children living in the communities, and all of them understand its purposes, magical or practical. Most talked about Ayahuasca as an important literacy that makes them into complete human beings, traditional or not. As I mentioned, even those young students who chose not to drink the plant broth, admitted how important it is in traditional Awajún and Wampís cultures. Some of them, like my participant below, rationalize the experience by contrasting indigenous and western paradigms.

Tomás (24), the law student, rationalized western ideologies with indigenous ones under a legal intellectual analysis of human rights. He commented,

El derecho real…todo lo que tiene como consecuencia un derecho real no? Ahora, lo oriental o el mundo indígena, es lo contrario. Osea…cosmovision, o lo que sea, yo discrepo eso porque libertad de culto. Oye, para mi esa catarata es algo sagrado…oye libertad de culto…ah…no porque yo no profeso la religión católica nose que me van a decir no? Oye, que es ateo, o…pagan, o lo que fuera no? No no, oye, yo como tengo libertad de culto, para mi esa catarata es sagrada porque…para…ahi yo tomo el Ayahuasca, ahí viene el \textit{Ajútap} no? Lo que es el \textit{Pegkeg Pujut} (el Buen Vivir)…el…ah? Osea, todo eso no se ve…y a la naturaleza se utiliza como un juego que…diversion…

The real law…everything that has as a consequence a real law right? Now, what is oriental or the indigenous world is the opposite. I mean…the worldview, or whatever you call it, I disagree with that because you say freedom of worship. Hey, to me that waterfall is something sacred…hey…freedom of worship…ah…because I do not practice the Catholic religion, what are they going to say about me, right? Hey, that he is an atheist, or a pagan, or whatever right? No, no, hey, I have freedom of worship, to me, that waterfall is sacred because…to…there I drink Ayahuasca, there the \textit{Ajútap} spirit comes to me, right? What we call \textit{Pegkeg Pujut} (the Good Living)…the…ah? I mean, all that, you cannot see…and nature is utilized as a game…as fun…

Tomás is actually contrasting the indigenous belief as an Awajún with the way the mestizo see his religious beliefs and nature, as paganism or an exotic fun destination, respectively. Others like Martín (18), who is younger and preparing to apply to San Marcos in Lima, had an opinion
about the historical importance of Ayahuasca and how he learned about it in performances in
school back home. He said,

…Me presentaba como antiguos Aguaruno…osea como mis abuelos…mis abuelos no? Como cuando ahí le preparan una…una batea…le preparan este…Ayahuasca no? Eso consumían para…para hacer este…para tener poder…osea del…a veces…vienen de…de boa…de tigre…y,…y en varios no? Y pa’ que suenan…boa…que tienen poder de boa…cuando se mueran…le dice que…se transforman…en boa…

…I used to act playing an ancient Awajún…I mean like my grandparents…mi grandparents, right? Like the times when they prepared a…a…bucket…they prepared uhm…Ayahuasca, right? They used to drink that to…to do…to have power…I mean of…sometimes…they become…a boa…a tiger…and…and in many different [shapes]…right? And make the noise of…a boa…have the power of the boa…when they die…it is believed they turn into…a boa…

Martín is talking about the visions that the Awajún and Wampís have when they drink the
hallucinogenic plant Ayahuasca. They have visions of snakes or tigers fighting, and those visions help them acquire the Ajútap spirit, and once the individuals die, they will become those animals or other animals of the Amazon. During our conversation Martín also said that he will not drink Ayahuasca, and in his opinion the youth would just drink it to remember they did it once, but most of them don’t do it. A fragment of this conversation is below:

RV: Tu haz tomado Ayahuasca…tu tomas tambien para ver cuando…osea todos tenian que tomar no…pero tu? [You have drunk Ayahuasca…you also drink to see when…I mean everyone had to drink…but how about you?].

Martín: Mmm…no…

RV: Jovenes no toman? [Young people don’t drink?].

Martín: No…si quienes toman no? Pa’ pa’ su recuerdo no?...Que…[No…if they want to, they drink, right? To have as…as…a memory to remember right?…that…].

RV: Pero no es como antes no? Antes todos tenian que tomar… [But it is not like before, right? Before they all had to drink…].

Martín: No! A veces no le aceptan tomar…porque…hay un señor que…[unintelligible]…entonces no…piensa mal…piensa mal que…que el sabor le va a
sacar y todo no? Y va a venir todo el mundo…asi habla…en eso…es prohibido…tomar fotos… [No! Sometimes they do not accept to drink…because…there is a man who…[unintelligible]…then no…doesn’t trust…doesn’t trust says…says that they are going to take their flavor and everything right? And the whole world will come here…he talks like that…about that…it is forbidden…to take pictures…].

Martin, as a few others who talk about the Amazon and Ayahuasca or other beliefs mention the distrust of mestizo and people from outside, who might come and take what is theirs away from them. Whether they drink Ayahuasca or not, my interviewees all believed in the Good Living as something to value very much. Benedicto also made a comment on the importance of cultural elements like practicing Ayahuasca drinking, and dealing with realities of the modern world as an indigenous leader. Sometimes the drink might help them go on in spite of the sacrifices that not having money or a secure job may involve. Benedicto says,

…de acuerdo a nuestra realidad…nuestra poblacion…una historia…ya por ejemplo supongamos un ejemplo, Ayahuasca, la toma de Ayahuasca…no? Para conocer vision…osea el lider…de que manera no? O si no historia…de repente de mi persona….o un…como un llega a ser…termina ser…llegar…termina su Carrera no? A veces muchas veces este…uno se sacrifice no? Pueblo indigena tu sabes que no tiene…desde…milenios…no? Han tenido posibilidad de…de…de…de tener dinero no? La economia no?  
…according to our reality…our people…a history…Okay for example, let’s suppose an example, Ayahuasca, the drinking of Ayahuasca…right? To learn a vision…I mean, the leader…how does he learn it, right? Or a history…maybe myself…or…a…how one gets to be…finishes…becomes…finishes…his studies right? Sometimes, many times…uhm…one sacrifices himself right? Indigenous people, you know, do not have …for milenia…right? Had the possibility of…of…of…of having money right? Our economy right?

Benedicto here is explaining that Ayahuasca is one way in which he was able to make it in the mestizo world, and actually Benedicto is one of the few in my group of participants who had at the time of these sessions, a stable job. Ayahuasca is a means, for the Good Living, is a practice that youth do not always share, but among 20 interviewees, only two or three said they do not
have plans of practicing the drinking of the plant broth. Ayahuasca is a literacy practice that helps the Awajún and Wampís live a fulfilled life in Lima, the communities of the Marañón, or anywhere. Francisco talks about Pegkeg Pujut as a reality and as a theory. He summarizes what for him the problem with some of the people who live between two worlds is. He says:

Osea…para que haya un Buen Vivir de verdad no? Para que no quede en teoria…osea…lo que pasa es que ahorita existe un Buen Vivir que no se aplica. Lo cual antes se aplicaba no? Entonces…que pasa…? El…el…el Buen Vivir no implica a que uno tenga ropa…a que uno tenga carro, a que uno tenga casa…si no implica mas que todo…alimentarse…tener los medios…estar un poco mas nutrido…y en sociedad…con…con sus hermanos, con su familia no? Y…y…a la vez tener los medios…los recursos…añadido…a…a…eso de estar bien personalmente…lo cual no existe ahora.

I mean…for the Good Living to exist, truly right? For it not to be just a theory…I mean…what happens is that now there is a Good Living that is not being applied, which used to be applied to our lives, right? So…what happens…? The…the…the Good Living does not imply one wearing clothes…one having a car, one having a house…but more than anything it implies…eating…having means…being a bit better nurtured…and in your community…with your brothers and sisters, with your family, right? And…and…at the same time, having the means…the resources…adding…to…to…that…being well personally…which does not happen today.

Most of the literacies explained here do imply a combination of local, mestizo or global elements that influence the survival of the Awajún and Wampís students who reside in Lima, and the views they have about those literacies. They realize they are a different culture, but value the different ways in which they have learned their ways, and believe those ways should be appreciated by the mestizo nation as well. These young professionals and students, do not think of themselves as coming from the village of Santo Poco described in the vignette at the beginning of the chapter. They do have a lot to offer, and the ways they learn and the skills and literacies they have, could also contribute immensely to the mestizo Peruvian culture if the mestizo learned to appreciate that diversity. In particular, the essence of the Good Living or Pegkeg Pujut.
Chapter 6
Many Images that Tell Many Truths: Deconstructing Legacies for the Future

Prologue

The world we live in today is saturated by images, movies, YouTube videos, Facebook pages, photographs, newspaper articles, and other types of media that influence people’s attitudes. These influences are texts that are ideologically loaded, mostly, to propagate dominant ideas and hegemony. The anecdote in chapter 4 about the little Awajún boy who was my pequeño (canoe with a motor engine) companion as we crossed from Santa Maria de Nieva to Juan Velasco Alvarado, reminds me of those influences. The bootlegged “¡Three Amigos!” DVD he was holding in his hands is a satirical representation of all kinds of stereotypes about all kinds of ideologies and human experiences in a much stigmatized indigenous setting: A rural Mexican village south of the border. And the most overlooked example of ideology from this movie the little boy was holding was democracy. When Lucky Day (Steve Martin’s character) was caught by El Guapo as he was trying to break into El Guapo’s headquarters to rescue the Mexican girl Carmen, Lucky Day’s amusing comments went like this,

…I have three demands, one, that you stop harassing the people of Santa Poco. Two, that all the land of Mexico be redistributed equally among the people and a proportional system of government be established consisting of three separate, but equal, branches, the legislative, the executive, and judicial. And three, (as El Guapo choked him he was barely able to whisper his following clause), that the girl Carmen, be returned to me unharmed…

This vignette from Carmen’s rescue scene near Santa Poco is a microcosmic satirical introduction of things that nowadays go on in places like the Amazonian town of Santa Maria de
Nieva that I visited in 2008, and the capital city’s neighborhoods of Santa Catalina, where I taught English to Awajún and Wampís students, or Santa Paula where I did my dissertation research interviews. Not intended to be part of the satirical pun shown in the movie that all three places just mentioned also carry the names of saints, implying there is a constant conversation between media-saturated text and real life (Bird 2003). This is a good example of the fact that stereotypes like the one of the saints are perpetuated through movies too. But perhaps the most real-life relevance of satires such as the film “¡Three Amigos!,” its accompanying stereotypical mockery of the importance of saints in our Latin American cultures, and the essentialist one-sided political perspective of what “must be” the democratic structure of the “illiterate” indigenous world, can be seen in the reversal of an analogy narrated by the educational anthropologist, Perry Gilmore. Gilmore (2008) talks about the anthropologist’s engagement on “the backroads” of the world as being the only type of engagement that would lead to meaningful local knowledge. This is significant for us (anthropologists) who just like the outcast picaros pictured in the novels of Spain of the 1500s, aim at exposing injustices and dominant abuses through “satire” only to revert that abuse and become the triumphant heroes and dominant characters themselves (Gilmore 2008:110). The film “¡Three Amigos!” does not necessarily expose injustices. Although it may seem to be doing so by fighting the “El Guapos of the world,” what it actually does is to perpetuate dominant ideologies and stereotypes. Thus, we have ethnocentric mestizo Latin American presidents who assimilate media-saturated stereotypes, and dictate harmful policies while labeling the Awajún and Wampís as “people who are not even first-class citizens.” The “¡Three Amigos!” bootlegged DVD, accessible to Awajún and Wampís children in the Amazon, and its picaresque genre style, does serve as a useful introduction to expose the intrinsic prejudices in films or other media of global reach, and should call our
attention to more serious and related dominant cultural ideologies of governments and corporations that try to impose themselves on local peoples at the periphery of nation-states.

Governments in Latin America are mainly constituted by individuals who start or continue traditions of nineteenth century military despots and Spanish descendant of aristocrats who do not care for anything else than making more money for themselves or their families. The global financial order sticks to those leaders like glue, and national policies are molded to fit the interests of global financial monsters; among these, we find those multinational corporations who circle Amazonian territories like condors would circle a llama carcass in the Andes. In this problematic scenario, we also find indigenous populations struggling to protect their brothers and sisters, their cultures, and their ecosystems. The Bagua incident that most – if not all – my interviewees talked about, is one of those instances of contestation and negotiation of identities that unfortunately ended up in disaster. The images shown to the country (Perú) and the world; that is, the media text that we all received, at first claimed savage actions by Jivaros, and innocent victims among mestizo Peruvian police officers, but it was not so. Things are not quite that straightforward when it comes to finding guilty parties, regardless of individuals (Awajún, Wampís or mestizo) who committed the crimes. Una imagen que cuenta la verdad (An image that tells the truth) is the name of a headline that soon after the incident at Bagua framed the Awajún guilty parties in the murder of police officer Felipe Bazán with a photo taken by a cellular phone (Figure 35). I am respectful of Major Bazán’s memory and his family, and I acknowledge my ignorance of the actual events that took place that day or who really committed the murder. However, the incident cannot be essentialized as a linear text to be read from beginning to end, as we would the story in the movie “¡Three Amigos!”, nor can it be defined as the evil Awajún versus the innocent mestizo victims. The story of Bagua, and collateral
developments is multilayered (i.e., Major Bazán’s fate, or other concomitant protests throughout the country), and started years before the incident at Bagua.

The legacy of the struggle has come a long way, and even Guaman Poma’s line drawings or text in general cannot claim universality of opinion since it only acknowledged a portion of the indigenous population at the time of the conquest of Perú (Andean). However, Guaman Poma’s images, along with any type of indigenous narrative or discourse that came along from that time on, did something very important: it created (and keeps creating now) a multilayered record of life and experiences that did not necessarily comply with traditional essentialist
European literacies, but showed images, agency, and traditions that contested the dominant discourse, and survive until now (e.g., languages and traditions of Andean and mainly Amazonian indigenous languages and cultures). Keeping these multimodal ways of communicating and narrating identities, we can make an attempt to temporarily answer some of the research questions posed in this dissertation research from one speculative position, that of the outsider researcher’s gaze.

**Research Question 1: How do the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima define their identity?**

What the intellectuals I interviewed do in this global/local scenario is maintain a foot in each one of their worlds without forgetting where they are, who they are, or how to navigate through obstacles to reach their goals. They do not necessarily give in to one or another position. The Gramscian notion of contesting cultural hegemony of dominant groups through agency of a new type of “true intellectuals” who persuade through their discourse (Gramsci, et al. 1971:9-10) applies to Awajún and Wampís indigenous intellectuals nicely. Through their narratives, my participants do not necessarily define their identity but perform it daily by borrowing from the worlds they have been exposed to. The undecidability of their identities, again, as explained in chapter 4, does not mean that individuals cannot reach a decision. On the contrary, in the sense I am respectfully appropriating this term, it means that as Derrida mentions, there is a determinate “oscillation” between possibilities (Derrida 1997:148), and to me it is exactly in those specific possibilities where human agency plays a role, by tailoring inside and outside influences, by entextualizing and accommodating text to serve the purpose of the daily interactions, as a survival and revitalization strategy.
The students and professionals interviewed for this research created a space of dialogue with the interviewer and his audience – whom they knew belonged to a dominant context in an academic setting. The text used was meant to be persuasive and satirical at times, but always real in terms of the needs of their indigenous people in a larger global scenario. Exchanges such as the one below happened at times during interviews or, as in this case, when I played my role of their English instructor. This one time, I was talking to my class about a coming event (university fair) organized by the State Department, the Fulbright Commission, and Education USA to which all my students were invited. The loaded ideological purpose of the event (recruit foreign nationals to study in the U.S., and contribute to the U.S. economy), was important enough to cause my older and most popular students to publicly acknowledge the significance of a possible interaction with U.S. university admission officers (the original conversation was in Spanish with the exception of my response to him about words he wanted to learn):

Instructor (RV): You are all welcome to the university fair organized by the Fulbright Commission. It is a free event, and I think it would be an important experience for those of you who told me you want to get your degrees abroad.

José: We don’t have to pay anything to enter?

Instructor (RV): Absolutely not. It’s a free event, and let me know if you go, so I can meet you outside and we’ll go in together.

José: Oh, great. Thanks. Yes, I will definitely text you.

Instructor (RV): Okay. By the way, the expressions you will learn today, will help you practice your English when you are talking to the admissions officers from U.S. universities on Saturday.

Benedicto (Raising his hand): I have a question.

Instructor (RV): Go ahead.

Benedicto: How do you say “quisiera obtener un préstamo de dinero” in English?

(The entire classroom laughs)
Instructor (RV): You can say, “I would like a loan.”

Not always meaning to be amusing or funny – as in the story above, but the issue of money always came up during the interviews, and sometimes during class when discussing low attendance at times due to bus fare costs. The Awajún and Wampís students in Lima I talked to created spaces for dialogue with their own performative agency, the possibilities or undecidable spaces that were opened, geared toward a conversation of loans, studies abroad, helping their communities, implementing future projects in their communities that related to their area of expertise once they graduated, clarifying the non-savage nature of the Awajún and Wampís culture, appropriating (or not) the Inca millenarian Peruvian (Quijano and Ennis 2000; Silverman 2002) past, their appropriation of Andean symbols and language expressions, and the survival and revitalization of their indigenous identity as Peruvian citizens.

**Research Question 2: How do the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima use their adaptive agency to (re)define their identity?**

It is precisely in discussing that Peruvian citizenship in which the students I interviewed felt at times comfortable, at times angry, and at times confused or frustrated, when it came to understanding the *apách[i]* or mestizo, their government, and the intrusiveness of global spaces in their Amazonian territories. In chapter 2 we looked at some of the hegemonic history of the Jivaroan groups in the Peruvian territory (pre and post conquest), and in chapter 4, we also discussed the Peruvian national symbols. The Awajún and Wampís students, almost without exception, artifactualized their indigenousness. By photographs they took of objects, online images, other photographs, they tried to portray what it meant for them to be indigenous in Perú.
In that light, photographs of traditional attires, Amazonian natural scenes, dances, and their own faces, helped them negotiate their indigenousness through artifacts, which I named the artifactual agency of identity. By their own performance, or situated example, through those pictures, my participants explained to me what it is to be an Awajún or Wampís. Sometimes, they found it hard to dislocate themselves from their natural territories (since they were in Lima), telling me things like, “I wanted to show you what it meant to be an Awajún, but I am here.” Location was very important to them, so they always managed to go back to their communities, “to breathe pure air, away from all the chaos here,” as Manuel Octavio and other informants put it, sometimes. However, they always managed to adapt. They adapted by utilizing the “cultural elements,” as Benedicto would always explain, that were useful to them. This goes in tandem with the idea of adaptive agency advanced by Kottak and Kozaitis (2012). Kottak and Kozaitis compartmentalize agency in many different forms according to constituencies, but one particular type of agency is the one in which individuals and groups adopt only the outside global components that fit their cultural contexts and become useful. Indigenous spaces merged with national spaces my participants created by using their artifactual agency. Artifacts (In this broad sense, include locations too), are important in that they summon memories of family and ethnic identities (Pahl and Rowsell 2005) by entextualizing, decontextualizing and recontextualizing them (through the pictures) in the current setting of the interviews (Reynolds 2007; Trester 2012). Along the same lines, they found a “middle ground” in which they could exercise their performative agency with photographs of “dances” and coronas (headdresses), or any other “deployment of indigenous symbols” (Conklin and Graham 1995:700-706), to claim my attention, and that of my intended audience (academic U.S.); all in a crafted space they created to represent their indigenous lives. However, these spaces we all created in our conversation with
photographs, do not necessarily overlap with their everyday lives, nor does it mean that it makes them less authentic as indigenous Amazonians. It was clear from our dialogues and interactions that their indigenousness did not necessarily depend on those elements (i.e., artifacts). They used these to represent themselves anyway because of their assumption that those are exactly the elements that I, the anthropologist, can readily recognize and subscribe to in order to pass their message along. With the exception of one participant, all avoided showing intertextual images of the incident at Bagua, but they all talked about it. When they talked about it, they summoned the traditional Awajún warrior nature, but also made it clear to me that they are not the “primitive” people, public opinion would take them for. At Bagua, they were only protecting their territories. None of my participants liked what happened or the fact that people died, but they also used omissions or silences when it came to their visual narratives about the incident. In a way, as present as the incident at Bagua was in each one of my participant’s interviews, the visual silences were notorious examples of roads not to take in order to negotiate their identities. Showing presence or omission their textual message made them artifactual in their agency to identify themselves as Awajún or Wampís.

As national spaces were considered, the textual messages they showed in their pictures, emphasized the intellectuality and professionalism of the participants. Pictures taken by their campus or faculty buildings, playing sports with their mestizo classmates or friends, drinking among friends, job ads, rooms for rent, and three ubiquitous images were the ones of microbuses or minibuses, and newspaper stands first, which were the unavoidable daily experiences of my study participants in Lima; and the photographs that tried to capture nature in the Lima desert sceneries by photographing parks or trees, which were the only places were you could find vegetation, and relating it to Amazonian locations that they missed. Artifactual in nature again,
just like in the case of places in the Amazon, or family members left behind, their Lima experiences, also represented to them what it is to be Peruvian. To be Peruvian implied, not having a good job, struggling with traffic, noise and air pollution, spending hours in the Public transportation system, looking for a job, and paying their rents. However, to be Peruvian also meant to be able to work and study and feel productive and functional by practicing their professions or occupations. This latter part of their Lima experience was a very significant element of their negotiation of identity.

The global spaces the participants in my dissertation research created were different in the sense that they involved the uses of technology (starting with the digital cameras they already knew how to use). Photos of computers, laptops, cell phones, refrigerators, and TV sets were common, as well as creative representations of languages they spoke, starting by their native language, Spanish, and even English, which they seemed to feel was a language of prestige (Labassi 2008) that they could use well to promote Jivaroan culture and their struggle to the world. At times they adopted what the national message was, at times, they rejected it, but they always felt Peruvian and never contested their nationality. Many contested the linear trajectory of Peruvian history that ignored anything other than the Andean past, but they never renounced their being Peruvian citizens.

Research Question 3: How does the proliferation of literacies in a global context influence the indigenous identity of the Awajún/Wampís students in Lima?

The participants in my study were aware of their ability to use intertextuality in order to decontextualize their identities from one place or time to recontextualize it in another, and that way they negotiated it in their Peruvian and global contexts without even knowing what
intertextuality was (Trester 2012). In the same light, as university applicants, and higher
education institute students, they were aware in which paradigm they were placed by people
other than their own. Sometimes, they utilized western philosophers like Aristotle to present their
own local arguments about indigenous issues, or utilized names like Levi-Strauss (1963), or
Barth (1998) in their daily discourse with me, but they also managed to mention their spirits and
respected múuns (elders) who gave them guidance or advice. Nevertheless, they never showed
regret for expressing indigenousness in any way whatsoever. No matter how they felt the
mestizo’s strong discrimination was or little their opportunities, even as professionals. Their
indigenousness was not negotiable. The tradition of the western enlightenment paradigm
followed the Spaniards from the old world into the new one. By the time “indigenous mestizos”
(de La Cadena 2000) like Guaman Poma were navigating intellectual or official circles of
colonial America, their agency was a factor. Castro-Klarén (2001) provides a thorough account
of the adaptive agency of Guaman Poma in not destroying the Quipus (mathematical literacy of
the Inca Empire expressed in a system of knots they used to keep the accountability of the
empire). Nevertheless, Guaman Poma knew that they lived in a writing paradigm. As Castro-
Klarén puts it, he “understood and sought the manipulation of dimensions of writing as the
engine of the law and an instrument of power.” Guaman Poma thought that “only the detailed
archival record could keep the Spaniards from cheating on the Indians” (Castro-Klarén
2001:161).

However, indigenous populations nowadays not only navigate the writing paradigm, but
also find ways to use their own literacies. Among these, those literacies that my participants
talked about the most were awareness of the environment and their surroundings. Photographs
and conversations revolved around the conservation and protection of the natural environment
against pollution and foreign invasions. The entextualization of globally conscious environmental discourse was one they managed well. By the same token, awareness of the surroundings, whether it be natural in situ or urban surroundings, is another literacy they had acquired before they arrived in Lima. They were very self-conscious about the garbage on the streets, the traffic, air and noise pollution. They also found the number of people in the city somewhat annoying as opposed to the peaceful life in small villages or towns that for the most part had either dirt roads, walking trails, or river vehicles. It seemed that the idea of El Buen Vivir (The Good Living) which is a philosophy of harmony with the people and the surrounding environment (Villapolo and Soldevilla 2010) is a literacy that they try to recreate as much as they can while living in the city. In the same light, the same indigenous philosophy that values Nugkui and its close relation to women loses some of its influence in the city. Even though there were only three women in my dissertation research, two of these did not practice the traditional masato preparation or any other traditional female tasks practiced in the Amazon. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, it remains to study this issue in depth with a more representative group in order to support or reject this speculation.

The cooperative nature of the Awajún and Wampís participants of my study was another literacy that they always talked about. Activities in group such as building houses or working in the gardens (which were traditional activities of women), were highly valued. They valued community activities and learning more than living individually or working for themselves. The situated local practices they engaged in was a form of literacy (Lave and Wenger 1991; Rogoff, et al. 2003) that Street (1995) has argued for as an ideological literacy that contests ideas of autonomous neutral, benevolent literacy that will get people out of dire straits and into a world of opportunities (Street 1984). We see ramifications of this in the common goal all my participants
had of returning to their communities after getting their degrees to help out in any way possible. As a matter of fact, some of the young professionals were already doing that after they got hired by government institutions as some sort of cultural brokers. But they also believed in the education and support from the government, and the technological literacies that ranged from wearing glasses to using computers or fixing them and acquiring online applications or PDF books to use them for their own education.

Finally there was an interesting performative approach to culture by the participants of my dissertation research. In Spanish, the participants always used the word practice when they talked about culture. And as I mentioned it before, dancing, singing, wearing traditional clothes, making pottery, or even the official manner of their discourse and stance while talking to me, gave me a feeling of a performative nature to their social interactions with me. This returns to the point of an artifactual nature in their negotiating their indigenous selves. Wearing particular clothing items (e.g., headdress) and taking hallucinogen plants was very important for most of my participants to talk about as part of their traditions. Some even suggested that if Perú as a nation were more inclusive, they would have won historical wars with neighboring nations, or returned to World Cup competition (it has been more than 30 years since Perú entered a soccer world cup). Their visions and anens (songs) are highly valued in their everyday practices. There is a practicality to each one of these magic cultural elements (Brown 1985). They are considered literacies that helped them go through their daily tasks and challenges.

**Possible ramifications of my dissertation for the future**

It is a personal goal for the future, to plan a research project similar to my dissertation research in the Marañon communities after working out any logistical inconveniences about
technology mentioned in the methods chapter; and with additional financing other than my own, of course. I am aware it wouldn’t have been logistically possible in 2010-2011, but at the same time I am also aware that very insightful results would come out of the same research if it were carried out in the Awajún and Wampís communities. It is in those communities where globalization is causing its most dramatic effects on youth who go to local schools, and not in the capital city of Lima. Nevertheless, Lima was still an important site. Only in Lima (or other major capital cities of northern departamentos (states) can we talk to indigenous Amazonians who graduated with a degree or are taking courses at major national universities or technical institutes. A future research project in the communities would need to consider students of younger ages who go to primary or secondary school, the effects of globalization, and national educational policies. Furthermore, when it comes to understanding global influences at the local level, I have applied a concept coined by Kottak and Kozaitis (2012) that considers which of those global influences can safely be utilized by local communities to their advantage. There needs to be further research about adaptive agency and local and global literacies among the Awajún and Wampís younger students of both genders who live in the communities.

Gender roles also need further discussion. Women are very important in Jivaroan life and culture; the ethnographic record has already shown the importance of Jivaroan women in traditional mythology and their everyday activities in the communities of the Amazonian rainforest (Brown 1986; Guallart 1989; Harner 1972; Villapoló and Soldevilla 2010). My research pointed out the low turnout in terms of women’s representation in academic life at the higher education level. I believe it is important to look at the effect that traditional gender roles have on Awajún and Wampís women as they try to graduate from high school and travel to the cities to obtain a university degree. For this type of research, it would also be an advantage to
utilize similar visual methodologies to the ones used in the current dissertation research because of the collaborative and descriptive bottom-up opportunities they offer. In the same vein, the involvement of policymakers in collaborative research of this type would be indispensable if we want beneficial changes to happen at the local level. Being able to reach out to those who make the decisions would definitely improve the communication and dissemination of local literacies and needs, and eradicate negative stereotypes that have affected indigenous Amazonians at the policy level.

**Applied anthropological relevance: Policy**

Policy is always a significant matter to consider in any human endeavor, in particular when they are related to indigenous matters, which are always impregnated with dominant ideological policy-related issues. The indigenous experience in a modern nation-state is always revolving about policies and representation. The exploratory nature of this investigation led to some speculative conclusions and recommendations that can address some policy-oriented preoccupations. It is valuable to think of policies as not being static institutional decisions. Instead, it is a lot more “useful to consider policy as a process rather than as a set institution or finished product” (Ervin 2005:47). With that framework in mind, we can situate humans as agents who learn about the structural and historical factors that caused the situations they are in; that is, human beings who can read the word and the world (Freire 2003) in order to act upon those factors, and do something about their future. Their agency or actions mean that they exert power (Giddens 1984), and that way they can try to change their destinies and those of their people. Awajún and Wampis intellectuals are agents of change who live in two or three different worlds and can make changes in their lives and the nation as a whole.
Three issues are salient when thinking about recommendations at the policy level. Two of them involve the areas of government policy that affect the Awajún and Wampís the most: education and development. The third one is the need for public awareness about the effects of contemporary mestizo life on Amazonian indigenous groups, and the diversity of literacies in the Amazon that the *apách[i]* do not know about. For this public awareness, we also have to take into account the crucial role that the media play in this awareness.

First, education is a very delicate topic that the government needs to handle in a more culturally sensitive manner. During my ethnographic encounters in the 1990s, during my most recent visit to the Marañón in 2008, up until the conversations over photographs with my research participants in 2011, schools, textbooks, and education have been the topics par excellence. The individuals I held conversations with may have changed through the years, but the constant preoccupation with the lack of cultural sensitivity on the part of the government has not. There are two examples of questions I have encountered. The first question is, “why would we see clowns or elephants in a Math textbook if some of our children will never see a clown or an elephant?” The second question is, “why would our children grow up learning about foreign animals from the Arctic rather than our own local species of birds?” The fact that these questions keep being asked in our conversations implies the reality of the *apách[i]* and their one-directional policies. The *apách[i]* do not know the literacies of the Awajún, Wampís, or any other indigenous group in the Amazon. They only decide from the top down, what is best for everyone.

Second, development is another approach that government officials and public opinion assume to be based on a neutral concept that translates into economic benefits to all. Development is a heavily loaded term. In its most particular form it means millionaire
concessions to multinational corporations that fill the pockets of a couple of corrupted presidents or public officials in exchange for Amazonian territories. In its most general form it implies that roads will be paved, sidewalks will be built, and people will learn to eat *estofado de pollo* (chicken stew with rice) like the *apách[i]*. The Awajún and Wampís students and professionals I interviewed, believe in development, but see it in a completely different light. Development for them means developing their cognitive capacity as indigenous citizens who know their Amazon. They have a rich environment and resources still available for their subsistence, and a beautiful ecosystem they live in harmony with. They are aware of environmental problems and other that affect them as Peruvian citizens. Consequently, they are always willing to accept help, support, and training of languages or technologies that will be beneficial to them. Nevertheless, distrust of the *apách[i]* is always there because the *apách[i]* always ask for something in exchange.

Finally, there needs to be more public awareness of the rich diversity of literacies that exist among indigenous peoples of the country (and the world). Not having a computer or a tablet does not mean that the knowledge indigenous peoples have won’t be useful or functional in a global society. We can learn as much from indigenous Amazonians as they can from the *apách[i]*.

Public awareness is where the applied anthropologist can play an important role by talking to different established or dominant audiences and indigenous constituencies alike in order to create a third – undecidable – space (Derrida 1997; Derrida, et al. 1981; Pahl and Rowsell 2005) for productive dialogue and positive change. Issues where public awareness plays a role include education and development, as mentioned above, migration of indigenous peoples and indigenous national and international diasporas, since there are Awajún citizens living in Europe or the United States. How are languages maintained, how are new languages and
technologies learned, and an unavoidable question, how are the native literacies reinforced in spite of the xenophobic rhetoric that exists in the world (Mullings 2013)?

In conclusion, it is of much relevance to understand the media to which Awajún and Wampís students and professionals are exposed so that we can understand their adaptation to contemporary culture (Bird 2003). I learned throughout this dissertation that participants obtained images from pictures and online sources. Perhaps their sources and how they accessed them would be an interesting topic to understand their intertextual practices and modern discourse of indigenousness. By the same token, the same exposure to older media sources created an image of the warrior who shrinks heads of his enemies, while nowadays many young Awajún do not even know how that practice was carried out and prefer people to know about them because of their current situations and lives (Rubenstein 2004). Framing plays an important role in the shaping of an informed apách[i] public opinion that can work collaboratively with indigenous Amazonians. Respect for indigenous ways of life is crucial in doing this, and the media can help by getting rid of stereotypes, getting better informed, reaching out to communities, and learning about their ways of life in the 21st century. The Awajún and Wampís are ready for a national discussion about indigenousness in a post-headshrinking context.

Epilogue

Legacies of Andean intellectuals, or legacies of Awajún and Wampís intellectuals, they all tried to show the valuable and rich diversity of the human experience and the rich diversity in human agency. Intellectual stances are still part of an enlightenment paradigm that favors writing, reading, and any other type of activity that follows a western logic. The world today cannot keep ignoring the dispossessed, or the oppressed peoples who until recently still lived in
close contact with nature untouched by western global disjunctions. In fact, very few of them still do – and Perú is one of the few countries of the world that host humans in voluntary isolation or uncontacted tribes. The faster we learn to accept, as mestizos of the world, that our ways of life are not the best ways of life, the faster we learn to understand that there is not one linear way of looking at human existence, or one option to choose between two mutually exclusive possibilities, the better we will be able to help our older brothers and sisters who oppose the western dilemma of human narratives we are so used to dealing with.

It is in a discussion regarding nations and narratives where this dissertation concludes because it is among policies and ideologies of nations and the local human agency (intellectual or not) that contests it where indigenous and mestizo populations will be able to negotiate indigenous and national identities and obtain control of local lives and destinies in a more fair fashion. This is probably said as a more idealistic mental exercise than as a reality to be experienced any time soon. Homi Bhabha (1990a) talks about the “wide dissemination” through which we construct symbols for a national existence. But he also mentions, along the same lines, the alternative constituencies of peoples and oppositional analytic capacities that can emerge. Here he includes youth, the everyday, nostalgia, new ethnicities, new social movements, and what he calls “the politics of difference.” He goes on to say that they “assign new meanings and different directions to the process of historical change,” and ideology is a discursive conception by the articulation of the different elements that exist (Bhabha 1990a:3). At the beginning of this chapter, I shared a vignette from an American comedy bought by a young boy in Santa Maria de Nieva so that he could practice his English. This film in this boy’s hands impressed me because of the influence something like that can have on indigenous people everywhere. This film’s vignette implies an oversimplified and taken for granted ideology of what democracy is, or how
it is shaped by the media in a linear trajectory of history that endorses one great power (or a few), and a linear uninterrupted descent line of what a democratic nation should be. Within that oversimplification we find all the injustices that have happened throughout history – or histories, I should say. There is no single history, or a single evolution of democracy in an uninterrupted sequence of progress that end up in a final perfectly developed product. Indigenous citizens of nations – at least from what my research indicates – do believe in living among other groups and being an integral part of their nation-states. They are dignified and honorable citizens of their countries. Nevertheless, they are well aware of the differences in power, and the need to implement indigenous thought and traditions in national policies in order to improve their lives and those of their mestizo country men and women. The indigenous Awajún and Wampis intellectuals I interviewed also expressed (visually and orally) their feelings related to this point. Juan Antonio, like others who shared his opinion, expressed his thought about the multitude of fronts or constituencies that need to be considered in discussing ideology. Or using Bhabha’s expression from above, the general public’s realization of the “discursive conception by the articulation of the different elements that exist” in a modern nation-state like Perú. He says,

Ser Perúano, es importante para mí porque tiene que ver con la idea de nación, y la idea de nación parece estar cuajada en nuestro contexto histórico de realidades sudamericanas, no? Donde hemos visto una independencia de poder colonial, pero el grupo político que asume la dirección del país, no propone proyectos nacionales que sean inclusivos. Por eso, cuando hablamos de ser Perúano, podemos hablar acerca de un Perú en fragmentos, no? Un Perú que no tiene una unidad en toda su diversidad. Entonces, cuando yo hablo acerca de ser Shuar, que pasa si no soy representado? Es más, ni me respetan, aparte de la representación política que debíamos tener, no respetan a mi pueblo, no? Entonces, tenemos ahí un conflicto social, inclusive un conflicto en la definición de lo que es una nación, y lo que yo trato de captar en estas fotografías es justo lo que es el Perú profundo, no? Un Perú donde observamos no solo los maquillajes que mostramos como atracciones turísticas o platos representativos, lo que mostramos al exterior, pero lo que no muestran al exterior es la cara que tenemos no? La cara de Perúanos que tienen pocas o ninguna oportunidad, no…?
To be Peruvian, is important for me because it has to do with the idea of a nation, and the idea of a nation seems to me to be framed in our historical context that involves South American realities, right? Those where we have seen an independence from colonial power, but the political group that takes on the leading role of the country, does not propose national projects that are all-inclusive. That is why, when we talk about being Peruvian, we can talk about a Perú in fragments, right? A Perú that does not have that unity in all its diversity. So when I talk about my being a Shuar, what if I am not represented? Furthermore, they don’t even respect me, aside from the political representation we should all have; they don’t even respect my people, right? Consequently, we have a social conflict, I’d even call it a conflict in defining what a nation is, and what I try to capture in these photographs is exactly what I would call the profound Perú, right? A Perú where we observe not only the cosmetic make-up that we can show as tourist attractions or representative culinary dishes to the outside world, but instead what they do not show abroad, which is that face we have, right? The face of Peruvians who have little to no opportunities, right…?

Juan Antonio (Shuar cultural consultant and anthropology student from UNMSM) in discussion with the author regarding indigenousness, nationhood, and taking pictures on April 24, 2011 in Lima – Perú.

Not only is the idea of nation, or indigenousness, framed in a historical context – as noted by my friend and cultural consultant in the vignette above, but also the historical context itself is framed in a traditional European paradigm. Here this process is contested by Juan Antonio and others during our conversations. Their photographs tried to give us a picture of indigenous identities that do not necessarily comply with western molds of the beautiful noble savage sceneries, or the old-time image of the warrior in the jungle who shrinks heads. Indigenousness, while being celebrated for its beauty and richness of customs and traditions, is not to be archived in a museum of Tsantsa (Shrunken heads) and Headdresses, but it is meant to be reevaluated in a light of new possibilities or different but equal narratives that have as important value as singing the national anthem of one’s country, or eating the national dish. There should not be a national anthem or a national dish. There are all anens (songs) that serve their purpose in the everyday interactions of human beings. The intertextuality of these national elements – if all the constituencies were included, would carry an important weight because just as they were
recontextualized from time immemorial, they will be passed on to future generations in the richness of their collaterality.
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Appendices
Appendix A: IRB Expedited Approval

April 15, 2011

Roger Villanueva
Anthropology
4202 E. Fowler Avenue, SOC 107

RE: Expedited Approval for Initial Review
IRB# Pro00003576
Title: Guaman Poma's Legacy: Snapshots of Globalization, Identity, and Change under the Urban Amazonian Indigenous Intellectual Lens

Dear Roger Villanueva:

On 4/14/2011 the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and APPROVED the above referenced protocol. Please note that your approval for this study will expire on 4-14-12.

Approved Items:
Protocol Document(s)

3/16/2011 0.01
4.59 Pd

The study involves children and falls under 45 CFR 46.404. Research not involving more than minimal risk.

Consent/Assent Documents

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Appendix A: IRB Expedited Approval (continued)

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Please note, the informed consent/assent documents are valid during the period indicated by the official, IRB-Approval stamp located on the form. Valid consent must be documented on a copy of the most recently IRB-approve consent form.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

John Schinka, PhD, Chairman
USF Institutional Review Board

Cc: Various Menzel, CCRP
    USF IRB Professional Staff
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents

Informed Consent to Participate in Research
Information to Consider Before Taking Part in this Research Study

cIRB Study # 3876

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Research studies include only people who choose to take part. This document is called an informed consent form. Please read this information carefully and take your time making your decision. Ask the researcher or study staff to discuss this consent form with you, please ask him/her to explain any words or information you do not clearly understand. We encourage you to talk with your family and friends before you decide to take part in this research study. The nature of the study, risks, inconveniences, discomforts, and other important information about the study are listed below.

We are asking you to take part in a research study called: Guaman Poma’s Legacy: Snapshots of Globalization, Identity, and Change under the Urban Amazonian Indigenous Intellectual Lens.

The person who is in charge of this research study is Roger Villamar. This person is called the Principal Investigator. He is being guided in this research by his faculty advisor, Dr. Jacqueline Messing.

The research will be conducted mainly in the city of Lima, and if logistically possible, at urban Amazonian communities in the departamentos (states) of Amazonas and San Martin.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to have the collaboration of participants using photographic cameras as data-collection tools to capture an indigenous identity discourse through visual images. Participants will try to capture and express through the pictures they take what they perceive to be the effects of globalized influences on their indigenous identity. These influences are seen in schools of indigenous communities of Peru today. Participants will be youth, university students, and professionals of indigenous Amazonian background who are influenced by globalization in their everyday activities. They will reflect on how they saw these influences when they were first introduced to them in their communities, and what these influences mean to them now that they live in a city. The study is being conducted by a Doctoral Candidate from the University of South Florida in order to complete his dissertation fieldwork.
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

Study Procedures
If you take part in this study, you will be asked to:

- Meet officially with the investigator twice for the study visits (Photovoice meetings), and another day for a few minutes in between study visits in order to return the cameras. Some of the indigenous leaders might be asked to participate in an additional semi-structured interview. This additional interview should last approximately thirty (30) minutes.

- Attend the first Photovoice meeting (first study visit) here today where cameras, picture taking, and ethical considerations will be discussed. Three framing topics will be provided in a sheet along with digital cameras so that the participants can guide their picture-taking activities based on the framing topics. This meeting should last approximately one hour.

- Spend a week (7 days) taking ten (10) pictures for each one of the three framing topics; that is, a total of thirty (30) pictures.

- Meet briefly with the investigator in eight (8) days to return the digital cameras so that the investigator can print out the pictures or have them ready for the second Photovoice meeting. Since the number of cameras is limited, those that have been returned will be used by other participants who still need to take their pictures.

- Attend the second Photovoice meeting (second study visit) two (2) days after you return the cameras. In this meeting, participants will join in a session with the investigator in order to come up with themes based on the pictures they have taken. This meeting will be the individual interview or focus group and it will be digitally audio or video recorded to ensure accuracy. During this meeting, participants will come up with important themes, and they will select five final pictures that they believe are most meaningful in addressing the framing topics. After selecting those pictures, participants will write captions for each, and decide if and when they want to share their pictures with others. This meeting should last approximately one hour and thirty minutes. If you participate in the semi-structured interview right after the Photovoice meeting, it will take you thirty additional minutes.

- Consider if you want to be part of a collective online account (e.g., Facebook®, Flickr®, etc) called Chicham Dalakhu’amu Senchii (Photovoice). If you do, you will display online only pictures/captions you want to share with a broader online audience about the issues of interest to you.

- Be confident that even though all the sessions with the investigator will be digitally audio or video recorded, and notes will be taken, as a participant, at any time, you can request that the recorders be turned off. You also have the right not to answer any questions you choose. The recorder, transcripts, and photos will be kept in a locked file cabinet, and your identity will not be disclosed (I will use random names to describe information you provide).

- Be confident that all the photos taken by participants belong to them. By signing this document the participant photographer is allowing the investigator to use the photographs, in his dissertation, published articles, books, or presentations. Likewise, the data obtained from the interviews or focus groups will be used in a dissertation, and may be published in articles, books, or presentations; all without exposing the true identity of the participant.

Total Number of Participants
A total of twenty individuals will take part in this study carried out in Lima. If any or both of the two additional sites mentioned above (urban communities of Amazonas and San Martín) become available, the number of chosen participants will be equally distributed between Lima, and the urban areas.
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

Study ID: Pro00003876 Date Approved: 4/14/2011 Expiration Date: 4/14/2012

Communities available in Amazonas, and/or San Martin. For instance, if I interview in Lima and an urban community of San Martin, ten individuals will be recruited from each site.

Alternatives
You do not have to participate in this research study.

Benefits
We are unsure if you will receive any benefits by taking part in this research study.

Risks or Discomfort
This research is considered to be minimal risk. That means that the risks associated with this study are the same as what you face every day. There are no known additional risks to those who take part in this study.

Compensation
You will be paid in local currency (Soles) S/100.00 (approximately US$35.00) if you complete all the scheduled study visits. If you withdraw for any reason from the study before completion you will be paid (Soles) S/15.00 (approximately US$5.00) for each complete study visit after the camera has been returned. Study visits are considered the two scheduled Photovoice activities, the focus group, or the semi-structured interview. Additionally, the investigator will remunerate you for the cost of all the bus fares each time you meet him after you show him the bus ticket.

Cost
There will be no additional costs to you as a result of being in this study.

Privacy and Confidentiality
We will keep your study records private and confidential. All data will be located in a secure place and in a computer that is password protected. Audio or video files of interviews will be kept for five years after the study and then destroyed along with other data. Certain people may need to see your study records. By law, anyone who looks at your records must keep them completely confidential. The only people who will be allowed to see these records are:

- The five members of the researcher’s dissertation committee at the University of South Florida. They are the Chair, Dr. Jacqueline Messing, Dr. Ella Schmidt, Dr. Rebecca Zarger, Dr. Barbara Cruz, and Dr. Katherine Boman.
- Certain government and university people who need to know more about the study. For example, individuals who provide oversight on this study may need to look at your records. This is done to make sure that we are doing the study in the right way. They also need to make sure that we are protecting your rights and your safety.
- Any agency of the federal, state, or local government that regulates this research. This includes the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) and the Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP).
- The USF Institutional Review Board (IRB) and its related staff who have oversight responsibilities for this study, staff in the USF Office of Research and Innovation, USF

IRB Number
IC Adult Minimal Risk - SB Rev-06-2-2010

IRB Consent Rev Date
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

Division of Research Integrity and Compliance, and other USF offices who oversee this research.

We may publish what we learn from this study. If we do, we will not include your name. We will not publish anything that would let people know who you are.

Voluntary Participation / Withdrawal

You should only take part in this study if you want to volunteer. You should not feel that there is any pressure to take part in the study. You are free to participate in this research or withdraw at any time. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits you are entitled to receive if you stop taking part in this study.

You can get the answers to your questions, concerns, or complaints

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this study, or experience an adverse event or unanticipated problem, call or text Roger Villamar at 959155938 (local cellular phone), or e-mail him at rvillama@mail.usf.edu.

If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, general questions, or have complaints, concerns or issues you want to discuss with someone outside the research, call the USF IRB at (813) 974-5638.
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

Consent to Take Part in this Research Study

It is up to you to decide whether you want to take part in this study. If you want to take part, please sign the form, if the following statements are true.

I freely give my consent to take part in this study and authorize that my information as agreed above, be collected/disclosed in this study. I understand that by signing this form I am agreeing to take part in research. I have received a copy of this form to take with me.

Signature of Person Taking Part in Study

Date

Printed Name of Person Taking Part in Study

Statement of Person Obtaining Informed Consent

I have carefully explained to the person taking part in the study what he or she can expect from their participation. I hereby certify that when this person signs this form, to the best of my knowledge, he/she understands:

- What the study is about;
- What procedures/interventions/investigational drugs or devices will be used;
- What the potential benefits might be; and
- What the known risks might be.

I can confirm that this research subject speaks the language that was used to explain this research and is receiving an informed consent form in the appropriate language. Additionally, this subject reads well enough to understand this document or, if not, this person is able to hear and understand when the form is read to him or her. This subject does not have a medical/psychological problem that would compromise comprehension and therefore makes it hard to understand what is being explained and can, therefore, give legally effective informed consent. This subject is not under any type of anesthesia or analgesic that may cloud their judgment or make it hard to understand what is being explained and, therefore, can be considered competent to give informed consent.

Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent

Date

Printed Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent

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IRB Number

IC Adult Minimal Risk - SB Rev:02-2010

IRB Consent Rev Date
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

Consentimiento Informado para participar en la Investigación
Información a Considerar Antes de Participar en este Estudio de Investigación

eIRB Study # 3876

Se le está solicitando que participe en este estudio de investigación. Estudios de investigación incluyen solo a personas que eligen participar. Este documento se llama un formulario de consentimiento informado. Por favor lea esta información cuidadosamente y tómese su tiempo en decidir. Pídale al investigador o miembro de equipo del estudio que hable de este formulario de consentimiento con Ud. Por favor pídale que le explique palabras o información que no entienda claramente. Lo motivamos a que hable con su familia y amigos antes de decidir ser parte de este estudio de investigación. La naturaleza de este estudio, riesgos, inconvenientes, incomodidades, y otra información importante acerca del estudio son listadas a continuación.

Le estamos solicitando participar en un estudio de investigación llamado El Legado de Guaman Poma: Instantáneas de la Globalización. Identidad y Cambio a través del lente de un Intelectual Indígena Amazónico Urbano.

La persona que está a cargo de este estudio de investigación es Roger Villamar. Esta persona se llamará el Investigador Principal. El está siendo guiado en esta investigación por su asesora de facultad, la Dra. Jacqueline Messing.

La investigación será llevada a cabo principalmente en la ciudad de Lima, a o si es logísticamente posible, en comunidades Amazónicas urbanas de los departamentos de Amazonas y San Martín.

Propósito del Estudio

El propósito de este estudio es tener la colaboración de participantes usando cámaras fotográficas como herramientas de recolección de datos para que puedan captar un discurso de identidad indígena a través de imágenes visuales. Los participantes utilizarán de captar y expresar a través de las fotos lo que ellos perciben ser los efectos de influencias globalizadas en su identidad indígena. Tales influencias son vistas en las escuelas de las comunidades indígenas del Perú actual. Los participantes serán jóvenes, estudiantes universitarios, y profesionales de descendencia indígena Amazónica; los cuales son influenciados por la globalización en sus actividades diarias. Ellos meditarán acerca de cómo vieron estas influencias cuando fueron introducidas a ellos en sus comunidades, y lo que estas influencias significan para ellos ahora que viven en la ciudad. El estudio está siendo conducido por un
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

Candidato a Doctorado de la Universidad del Sur de Florida para que pueda completar su trabajo de campo de disertación.

Procedimientos del Estudio

Si Ud. participa en este estudio, se le solicitará:

- Encontrarse con el investigador oficialmente dos veces, para las visitas del estudio (reuniones de Fotovoz), y un día más, por solo unos minutos entre la primera y segunda visita del estudio para regresar las cámaras. A algunos de los líderes indígenas se les podría solicitar que participen en una entrevista semi-estructurada adicional. Esta entrevista adicional debe durar aproximadamente treinta minutos.

- Asistir a la primera reunión de Fotovoz (primera visita del estudio) hoy aquí, donde se hablará sobre cámaras, toma de fotos y consideraciones éticas. Se repartirán los tres temas referenciales en una hoja junto con las cámaras digitales para que los participantes puedan guiar sus actividades de toma de fotos basados en los temas referenciales. Esta reunión debe durar aproximadamente una hora.

- Demorarse una semana (7 días) tomando diez (10) fotos por cada uno de los tres temas referenciales, es decir, un total de treinta (30) fotos.

- Encontrarse brevemente en ocho (8) días con el investigador para regresarle las cámaras digitales y este pueda imprimir las fotos o transferirlas listas para la segunda reunión de Fotovoz. Ya que el número de cámaras es limitado, las que hayan sido devueltas serán usadas por otros participantes que aún necesiten tomar sus fotos.

- Asistir a la segunda reunión de Fotovoz (Segunda visita del estudio) dos (2) días después de regresar las cámaras. Aquí, los participantes tendrán una sesión con el investigador para idear temas basados en las fotos que ellos han tomado. Esta reunión será la entrevista individual o el grupo focal y será grabada digitalmente con audio o video para asegurar de precisión de la información obtenida. Durante esta reunión, los participantes idearán temas importantes, y seleccionarán cinco fotos finales que ellos crean son las más representativas en seguir los temas referenciales. Después de seleccionar estas fotos, los participantes escribirán leyendas para cada una, y decidirán si es que quieren compartir sus fotos con otros. Esta reunión debe durar aproximadamente una hora y treinta minutos. Si Ud. participa en la entrevista semi-estructurada después de la reunión de Fotovoz, le tomará treinta minutos adicionales.

- Considerar si quiere ser parte de una cuenta colectiva de Internet (e.g., Facebook®, Flickr®, etc.) llamada Chichén Daksumádmu Sonechii (Fotovoz). Si Ud. lo desea, sólo mostrará en línea las fotos/leyendas que quiera compartir con una audiencia cibernéutra más grande y sólo acerca de los asuntos que le interesen a Ud.

- Mantenerse confiado que aunque las sesiones con el investigador serán digitalmente grabadas en audio o video, y notas se tomarán. Ud. como participante, en cualquier momento, puede solicitar que las grabadoras sean apagadas. Ud. también tiene el derecho de no contestar cualquier pregunta que elija no responder. La grabadora, transcripciones y fotos estarán guardadas en un archivero con llave, y la identidad de los participantes no será revelada (usará nombres al azar para describir la información que Ud. me proporcione).

- Mantenerse confiado que las fotos tomadas por los participantes les pertenecen a ellos. Al firmar este documento, el fotógrafo participante le está permitiendo al investigador usar las fotos en su disertación, artículos publicados, libros, o presentaciones. Del mismo modo, los datos obtenidos de las entrevistas o grupos focales serán usados en una disertación y pueden ser publicados en artículos, libros, o presentaciones, pero todo esto sin exponer la verdadera identidad de los participantes.

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Número Total de Participantes
Un total de veinte personas participarán en este estudio llevado a cabo en Lima. Si alguno de los dos sitios mencionados arriba (comunidades urbanas de Amazonas o San Martín) se hacen disponibles, el número de participantes escogidos será igualmente distribuido entre Lima, y las comunidades urbanas disponibles en Amazonas o San Martín. Por ejemplo, si entrevisto en Lima y en una comunidad de San Martín, diez personas serán reclutadas en cada lugar.

Alternativas
Ud. no tiene que participar en este estudio de investigación.

Beneficios
No estamos seguros si Ud. recibirá algún beneficio al participar en este estudio.

Riesgos o Incomodidades
Esta investigación es considerada como una de mínimo riesgo. Esto significa que los riesgos asociados con este estudio son los mismos que Ud. enfrenta todos los días. No existen riesgos adicionales conocidos para aquellos que participen en este estudio.

Compensación
A Ud. se le pagará en moneda local (Soles) S/.100.00 (aproximadamente US$35.00) si es que completa todas las visitas del estudio programadas. Si Ud. se retira del estudio por cualquier motivo antes de finalizarlo, Ud. recibirá (Soles) S/.15.00 (aproximadamente US$5.00) por cada visita del estudio completada luego de que regrese la cámara. Las visitas del estudio se consideran las dos actividades de Fotovox programadas, el grupo focal, o la entrevista semi-estructurada. Adicionalmente, el investigador lo/la remunerará por el costo de los viajes en autobús cada vez que tenga que encontrarla con él, previa muestra del boleto del autobús.

Costo
No existirán costos adicionales para Ud. como resultado estar en este estudio.

Privacidad y Confidencialidad
Mantendremos sus documentos del estudio en forma privada y confidencial. Todos los datos serán ubicados en un lugar seguro y en una computadora que es protegida por una contraseña. Los archivos de audio y video de las entrevistas se guardarán por cinco años después del estudio y luego serán destruidos junto con los otros datos. Algunas personas podrán necesitar ver sus documentos del estudio. De acuerdo a ley, cualquier persona que mire sus documentos relacionados el estudio debe mantenerlos completamente confidenciales. Las únicas personas que se les permitirá ver estos documentos son:

- Ciertas personas del gobierno y de la Universidad que necesiten saber más sobre el estudio. Por ejemplo, personas que proporcionen supervisión a este estudio podrán necesitar mirar sus documentos. Esto se hace para asegurar que estamos haciendo el estudio de la forma
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

Study ID: Pro00003876 Date Approved: 4/14/2011 Expiration Date: 4/14/2012

correcta. Ellos también necesitan asegurarse que estamos protegiendo sus derechos y su seguridad.

- Cualquier agencia del gobierno federal, estatal o local, que regula esta investigación. Esto incluye el Departamento de Salud y Servicios Humanos (DHHS), y la Oficina para la Protección de la Investigación Humana (OHRP).

- La Junta de Revisión Institucional (IRB) de USF y el personal relacionado que tiene responsabilidades de supervisión para este estudio, personal en la Oficina de Investigación e Innovación de USF, la División de Integridad y Cumplimiento de Investigación de USF, y otras oficinas que supervisan esta investigación.

Podríamos publicar lo que aprendemos de este estudio. Si es que lo hacemos, no incluiremos su nombre. No publicaremos nada que le podría dejar saber a otros quien es Ud.

Participación Voluntaria / Retiro del Estudio

Ud. debería participar en este estudio solo si lo quiere hacer voluntariamente. No debe sentir ninguna presión para participar en el estudio. Ud. es libre de participar o retirarse de este estudio en cualquier momento. No habrá retribuciones o pérdida de beneficios a los que Ud. tenga derecho a recibir si Ud. suspende su participación en este estudio.

Puede obtener respuestas a sus preguntas, preocupaciones, o reclamos

Si Ud. tiene preguntas, preocupaciones o reclamos acerca de este estudio, o si experimenta un evento adverso o problema no anticipado, llame o envíe un mensaje de texto a Roger Villamar al 95915938 (celular Claro local), o envíe un e-mail a rvillamar@mail.usf.edu.

Si Ud. tiene preguntas acerca de sus derechos como participante en este estudio, preguntas en general, o tiene quejas, preocupaciones, o asuntos que le gustaría tratar con alguien fuera de la investigación, llame al USF IRB al (813) 974-5638.
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

Consentimiento para Participar en este Estudio de Investigación

Es Ud. mismo quien decide si desea participar en esta investigación. Si desea participar, por favor firme este formulario si las siguientes declaraciones son verdaderas.

Yo libremente doy mi consentimiento para participar en este estudio y autorizo que mi información, sólo como acordado arriba, sea recolectada/revelada en este estudio. Yo entiendo que al firmar este formulario estoy acordando a participar en esta investigación. He recibido una copia de este formulario para llevarla consigo.

Firma de la Persona que Participa en el Estudio
Fecha

Nombre en Letras de Imprenta de la Persona que Participa en el Estudio

Declaración de la Persona que Obtiene el Consentimiento Informado

Yo he explicado cuidadosamente a la persona que participa en este estudio lo que él o ella puede esperar de su participación. Yo por el presente certifico que cuando esta persona firma este formulario, en mi leal saber y entender, él o ella entiende:

- De lo que trata el estudio;
- Qué procedimientos/intervenciones/drogas experimentales o aparatos se usarán;
- Cuáles podrían ser los posibles beneficios; y
- Qué riesgos conocidos podrían existir.

Yo puedo confirmar que esta persona habla el idioma que fue usado para explicar la investigación y está recibiendo un formulario de consentimiento informado en el idioma apropiado. Adicionalmente, esta persona lee lo suficientemente bien para entender este documento o, si no es así, esta persona tiene la habilidad de escuchar y entender cuando se le lee el formulario. Esta persona no tiene problemas médicos/psicológicos que podrían comprometer su comprensión y que a su vez haga difícil que entienda lo que se le está explicando, y puede entonces, dar legalmente efectivo consentimiento informado. Esta persona no está influenciada por ningún tipo de anestesia o analgésico que podría nublar su juicio o hacerle difícil entender lo que se le está explicando, y por lo tanto, puede ser considerada competente para dar su consentimiento informado.

Firma de la Persona que Obtiene el Consentimiento Informado
Fecha

Nombre en Letras de Imprenta de la Persona que Obtiene el Consentimiento Informado

IRB Number
IC Adult Minimal Risk - SB Rev 03-2010
IRB Consent Rev Date
Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

Study ID: Pro00003876 Date Approved: 4/14/2011 Expiration Date: 4/14/2012

eHRB Study # 3876 – PHOTO RELEASE FORM

Return Release to: Roger M. Villamar
Cell Phone Number: 959155938 (Claro)
rvillama@esc.uai.cl

I give to Roger M. Villamar, who is a Ph.D. Candidate in Anthropology from the University of South Florida in Tampa, Florida, U.S.A. unlimited permission to copyright and use the photographs that were taken using my image, in his dissertation research, presentations and publications, as long as they do not identify me by name or through other background information. I hereby waive any right that I (and minor) may have to inspect or approve the copy and/or finished product or products that may be used in connection therewith or the use to which it may be applied.

Name of person whose image appears on the photograph (please print):

Age (if under 18): ____________________________
Street address, city, state, and zip code:

__________________________
__________________________

Signature: ____________________________ Date: ____________________________

Consent of Parent or legal guardian if above individual is a minor

I consent and agree, individually and, as parent or legal guardian of the minor named above, to the foregoing terms and provisions. I hereby warrant that I am of full age and have every right to contract for the minor in the above regard. I state further that I have read the above information release and that I am fully familiar with the contents.

Name: (please print): ____________________________
Relationship: ____________________________
Street address, city, state, and zip code (If different than above address):

__________________________
__________________________

Signature: ____________________________ Date: ____________________________

Photographer’s name: ____________________________
Signature: ____________________________ Date: ____________________________ Place: ____________________________
## Appendix B: Informed Consent Documents (continued)

**eIRB Study # 3876 – AUTORIZACION PARA USO DE FOTOS**

**Devolver Formulario a:** Roger M. Villamar  
Número de Celular: 959155938 (Claro)  
rvillama@mail.usf.edu

Otorgo a Roger M. Villamar, Candidato a Ph.D. en Antropología de la Universidad del Sur de Florida en Tampa, Florida, U.S.A. permiso limitado de derechos de autor y uso de fotos que fueron tomadas usando mi imagen en la investigación para su disertación, también para sus presentaciones y publicaciones, siempre que ellas no me identifiquen por mi nombre o a través de otra información personal. Por medio de la presente renuncio a todo derecho que yo (y el menor) pueda tener para revisar o aprobar la copia y/o producto o productos terminados que puedan ser usados en conexión con esta o el uso al cual esta pueda ser aplicada.

| Nombre de la persona que aparece en la foto (en letra de imprenta): |
| Dirección de la calle, ciudad, estado y código postal: |
| Firma: ______________________________ Fecha: ________________ |

**Consentimiento del padre o tutor legal si la persona mencionada arriba es menor de edad**

Consiento y estoy de acuerdo, individualmente y como padre o tutor legal del mencionado menor en los términos y disposiciones precedentes. Por la presente garantizo que soy mayor de edad y tengo todo el derecho a celebrar un contrato para el menor en el aspecto mencionado anteriornemente. Declaro además que he leído la citada autorización y que estoy totalmente familiarizado con sus contenidos.

| Nombre: (en letra de imprenta): |
| Patentesco: ____________________________ |
| Dirección de calle, ciudad, provincial y código postal (Si es diferente a la de arriba): |
| Firma: ______________________________ Fecha: ________________ |

| Nombre del fotógrafo: ____________________ |
| Firma: ______________________________ Fecha: ________________ |
Appendix C: Framing Topics & Semi-structured Interview Protocols

Photovoice Activity Framing Topics

Below you will find the framing topics that will guide you in your Photovoice picture-taking activities. Please, take only 10 pictures for each one of the Photovoice activity framing topics, that is, a total of 30 pictures for all three of them.

Part of the idea behind this exercise is to be creative with the use of the camera provided. Feel free to try and capture abstractions such as feelings, emotions, institutions, languages, etc. Something does not need to be in front of the camera in order for you to creatively represent it.

The camera has to be returned to the researcher so that he can give it to the next participant to take pictures, and for the pictures you took to be properly printed out or placed in his computer before he interviews you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Photovoice Activity Framing Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please, take pictures that capture, illustrate or represent what it means to you to be Awaji/Wampis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Photovoice Activity Framing Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please, take pictures that capture, illustrate or represent what it means to you to be Peruvian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Photovoice Activity Framing Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please, take pictures that capture, illustrate or represent local (Awaji/Wampis or mestizo) and outside (national or international) influences that you had growing up in your community and your school, and those you have now living in Lima (or any other urban area)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this research, or if you experience an unanticipated problem related to the research contact Roger Villanueva at rovillan@msn.com, or call him or text him at 509/155938 (Claro).

Thank you for your collaboration in this research...!!!
Temas Referenciales para la Actividad de Fotovoz

Abajo encontrará los temas referenciales que le guiarán en la actividad de toma de fotos. Sirvase tomar solo 10 fotos por cada uno de los temas referenciales de la Actividad de Fotovoz, es decir, un total de 30 fotos por los 3 temas.

Parte de la idea de este ejercicio es ser creativo en el uso de la cámara que le hemos proporcionado. Libere el uso de captar abstracciones tales como sentimientos, emociones, instituciones, lenguas, etc. No todo tiene que estar en frente de la cámara para que pueda ser representado creativamente.

La cámara debe ser devuelta al Investigador para que el próximo participante pueda tomar fotos y para que las fotos que Ud. tomó sean debidamente impresas o colocadas en una computadora antes de que lo entrevisten.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primer Tema Referencial para la Actividad de Fotovoz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sirvase tomar fotos que capten, ilustren o representen lo que significa para Ud. ser <em>Awajún/Wampis</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segundo Tema Referencial para la Actividad de Fotovoz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sirvase tomar fotos que capten, ilustren o representen lo que significa para Ud. ser peruano.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tercer Tema Referencial para la Actividad de Fotovoz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sirvase tomar fotos que capten, ilustren o representen, influencias locales (<em>Awajún/Wampis o mestizo</em>) y exteriores (nacionales o internacionales), con las que creció en su comunidad y su escuela y aquellas con las que vive ahora en Lima (o cualquier otra área urbana).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Si tiene algunas preguntas, preocupaciones o quejas sobre esta investigación, o si experimenta un inesperado problema relacionado a la investigación contácte a Roger Villamar al rvillame@mail.usf.edu, o llámelo o envíele un texto al 959155938 (Claro).

Gracias por su colaboración en esta investigación....!!!
Appendix C: Framing Topics & Semi-structured Interview Protocols (continued)

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Preliminary checks:
- Target size: 1 person
- Length of interview: 30 minutes
- Researchers present: 1

Immediately prior to the interview:
- Reassure the participant that the interview will be video or audio recorded, but only with his or her consent, and that at any time during the recording, if there is something that he or she does not want in the record, the recording device will be stopped, and we will continue without it until the participant feels comfortable with the recording again.
- If allowed by participant to video or audio record the interview, after pressing "REC" button, say your name, date, type of interview, name of participant, his or her educational institution. For example, "This is Roger Villamar at [insert name of the place], in [insert name of the city/community] on January 30 2011 conducting a participant interview with [insert name of interviewee], a [insert ethnic group] student (graduate) from [insert name of institution]."
- Now, you are ready to start the interview. Begin by an introduction.

Introduction and goal of the interview:
Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in today’s interview. My name is Roger Villamar, and I am a doctoral student from the Anthropology Department at the University of South Florida in Tampa, FL. I am doing this research to complete my dissertation and obtain my Ph.D. in Applied Anthropology.

Today, I’m going to ask questions about globalization, identity and change in Peru. The goal of this interview is to understand the experiences and views of indigenous students or professionals regarding globalization and how it may shape or reshape Amazonian indigenous and Peruvian identity.

Let us go over the informed consent form, which also gives information about this research.
- Go over informed consent form, ask the participant to sign, and give him/her a copy
- Ask the participant to fill out the information sheet

My role is to ask questions and listen. Do you have any questions before we begin? Could I record the interview? Begin recording if permission is granted by the participant.
Appendix C: Framing Topics & Semi-structured Interview Protocols (continued)

Complete list of interview questions and probes:

1. In terms of Ethnicity, how do you like to be described?

2. What characterizes that ethnicity you just described?
   ➢ Probes:
     o Language, Music, Beliefs, etc.

3. In terms of nationality, what do you consider your nationality?

4. What characterizes that nationality you just described?
   ➢ Probes:
     o Language, music, beliefs, etc.

5. What is the difference, if any, between what you described as your ethnicity and your nationality?

6. Who do you think, if any, decides what your ethnicity or your nationality is?
   ➢ Probes:
     o Who tells you that you are an Awajún/Wampis?
     o Who tells you that you are Peruvian?
     o Where do you get the message about your ethnicity?
     o Where do you get the message about your nationality?

7. Name someone who had a lot of influence on your education as a young man or woman growing up in your community?
   ➢ Probes:
     o How did your parents influence your academic performance?
     o How did your teachers influence your academic performance?

8. When you were in school (in high school), what kind of contact did you have with the non-Awajún/Wampis (or any other ethnicity) world? That is, artifacts, languages or people outside of what you just described as your ethnicity?

9. What language other than Awajún/Wampis did you hear spoken or knew about when you were in school (grammar and or high school) in your community?

10. What languages were you taught when you were in school (grammar and or high school)?

11. How much emphasis was given to the learning of English in school?

12. How do you feel about children in the schools of the Awajún/Wampis (or any other ethnicity) communities learning a language other than Awajún/Wampis, or Castilian Spanish?
13. How did you learn to use computers and the Internet?

14. How do you feel about people in the schools of Amazonia/Mamita (or any other ethnicity) communities learning how to use computers and the Internet?

Final remarks and question by the researcher:
The goal of today’s interview was to help me understand the opinions that Amazonian indigenous students and professionals have about the effects that globalization and its influences have on their identity as indigenous and Peruvian citizens. Is there anything else that we have not talked about that you would like to share with me about this topic?

Thank you very much for taking the time to talk to me today.
Appendix C: Framing Topics & Semi-structured Interview Protocols (continued)

Protocolo de la Entrevista Semi-Estructurada

Cheques preliminares:
- Cantidad de personas: 1 persona
- Duración de la entrevista: 30 minutos
- Investigadores presentes: 1

Inmediatamente antes de la entrevista:
- Asegure a los participantes que la entrevista será grabada en vídeo o audio, pero sólo con su consentimiento, y que en cualquier momento durante esta grabación, si existe algo que él o ella no quieren que sea grabado, el aparato de grabación se detendrá, y continuaremos así hasta que él o la participante decida cómo va con la grabación nuevamente.
- Si el participante permite grabar con video o audio la entrevista, luego de presionar "REC" diga su nombre, fecha, tipo de entrevista, nombre de el/la participante, su institución educativa. Por ejemplo, "Soy Roger Villamar en [insertar lugar], en [insertar ciudad/curridad] el 30 de Enero del 2011 conduciendo una entrevista con [insertar nombre de persona] un/a estudiante (y/o graduado) [Aprende/Wampus] (o el grupo étnico apropiado) de [insertar institución]."
- Ahora, usted está listo para comenzar la entrevista. Empiece por la introducción.

Introducción y meta de la entrevista:

Muchas gracias por aceptar participar en la entrevista de hoy. Mi nombre es Roger Villamar, y yo soy estudiante de doctorado del Departamento de Antropología de la Universidad del Sur de Florida en Tampa, FL. Estoy haciendo esta investigación para completar mi disertación y obtener mi Ph.D. en Antropología Aplicada.

Hoy, voy a hacerle preguntas sobre Globalización, identidad y cambio en el Perú. La meta de esta entrevista es entender las experiencias y opiniones de estudiantes o profesionales indígenas acerca de la globalización y cómo esta puede formar o reformar la identidad Amazónica indígena y Peruana.

Revisemos el formulario de consentimiento informado, el cual también tiene información sobre esta investigación.
- Pidale al participante que lo firme, y entreguele una copia
- Pidale a él/la participante que lleno la hoja de información personal

Mi papel aquí es el de presentar las actividades, hacer preguntas y escuchar. Tiene usted preguntas antes de comenzar? Me permite grabar la entrevista? Empiece a grabar si él/la participante le da el permiso.
Appendix C: Framing Topics & Semi-structured Interview Protocols (continued)

Lista completa de preguntas y sondeos de la entrevista:

1. Hablando de ciudadanía, ¿cómo se describiría a uno? ¿Cuál es su nación?

2. ¿Qué caracteriza una nación que acaba de describirse? 
   Sondeo:
   o Lenguaje, música, creencias, etc.

3. En cuanto a nacionalidad, ¿cual considera que es su nacionalidad?

4. ¿Qué caracteriza la nacionalidad que acaba de describir?
   Sondeo:
   o Lenguaje, música, creencias, etc.

5. ¿Cuál es la diferencia, si existe alguna, entre lo que describe como su etnicidad y su nacionalidad?

6. ¿Quién cree Ud., si existe alguien, que decide lo que es su etnicidad o su nacionalidad?
   Sondeo:
   o Quién le dice a Ud. que Ud. es un Awajún/Wampis?
   o Quién le dice a Ud. que Ud. es Peruano?
   o De dónde recibe Ud. ese mensaje sobre su etnicidad?
   o De dónde recibe Ud. ese mensaje sobre su nacionalidad?

7. Nombre a alguien que tuvo mucha influencia en su educación como hombre o mujer joven creciendo en su comunidad.
   Sondeo:
   o Cómo influyeron sus padres en su rendimiento académico?
   o Cómo influyeron sus maestros de escuela en su rendimiento académico?

8. Cuando Ud. estuvo en la escuela secundaria, ¿qué clase de contacto tuvo con el mundo que no era Awajún/Wampis (o cualquier otra etnia)? ¿Es decir, artefactos, lenguas o gente fuera de lo que acaba de describir como su etnicidad?

9. ¿Qué otra lengua, aparte de Awajún/Wampis, escuchó Ud. hablar o conoció cuando estuvo Ud. en la escuela (primaria y/o secundaria) en su comunidad?

10. ¿Qué idiomas le enseñaron cuando Ud. estuvo en la escuela (primaria o secundaria)?

11. Cuál es la enseñanza que dieron al aprendizaje de inglés en la escuela?

12. ¿Cómo se siente al ver a los niños en las escuelas de comunidades Awajún/Wampis (o de cualquier otra etnia) aprendiendo otra lengua aparte de Awajún/Wampis o Castellano?

13. ¿Cómo aprendió Ud. el uso de computadoras e Internet?
14. ¿Cómo se siente Ud. al ver a las personas en las escuelas de comunidades Awajún/ Wampis (o cualquier otra etnia) aprendiendo a usar computadoras e Internet?

Comentarios y pregunta final del investigador:
La meta de la entrevista de hoy fue ayudarme a entender las opiniones de estudiantes y profesionales indígenas Amazónicos acerca de los efectos que la globalización y sus influencias tienen en su identidad como ciudadanos indígenas y peruanos. Hay algo más de lo que no hayamos hablado sobre este tema que a Ud. le gustaría compartir conmigo?

Muchas gracias por tomarse el tiempo de hablar conmigo hoy.