A HISTORY OF PAKINTS'

INDIGENOUS POLITICS IN SHUAR MINING ENCOUNTERS



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I hereby confirm that this work is my own, except where otherwise specified.

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Abstract

This thesis is an ethnographic study on the prevalence and consequence of indigenous historical knowledge in lowland South America. The account I provide here details the political history of an indigenous reserve in an often-overlooked swath of Shuar lands in Southeast Ecuador (referred to as 'the South' in this ethnography), and analyses what Shuar people in the region call 'Shuar history'. Shuar use this term to underscore their agency and political autonomy and to make sense of the ambiguities and uncertainties recently brought by large-scale industrial mining to their lands. In so doing they provide a historical account of 'real history', that not only intends to oppose and counteract colonial accounts and descriptions of the region but currently serves to redefine industrial mining politics under indigenous terms. Shuar history thus plays an essential role in Shuar understandings of resource extraction in the region and helps shape indigenous outlooks over a contested and conflictive future.

Shuar history, as I show in this thesis, offers an indigenous interpretation of change and continuity, and an indigenous background for historicity through its own account of Shuar colonial encounters and entanglements. I aim to explain how Shuar people engage in political action drawing upon their knowledge of the past and how Shuar history affects ongoing social, political, and economic changes brought about in the context of resource extraction. This study is therefore an ethnographic enquiry into Shuar notions of the past as it is an analysis of indigenous politics in an extractive context. It should be read as a demonstration that studies on resource extraction on indigenous lands in lowland South America stand to gain considerable depth by paying closer attention to indigenous cosmologies.

Notes on Orthography

This thesis uses the denomination *chicham* speaking peoples or *aénts chicham* to refer to the cultural and linguistically similar 'cluster' or 'ensemble' of peoples formed by Shuar, Achuar, and Shiwiar in Ecuador and Shiwiar (Maina Achuar), Achuar (Achual), Wampis (Huambisa), and Awajún (Aguaruna) in Peru. The use of these terms has recently been agreed upon in a regional congress between indigenous peoples and researchers, with the intention to replace the previous nomenclature 'Jivaroan', commonly used in older ethnographic work, which as the exonym 'Jivaro', is now considered by most *chicham* speakers in Ecuador to be pejorative and offensive (see Deshoullière & Utitiaj Paati 2019). I replace both these terms when quoting past ethnographic works and archival documents. The only exceptions made are when the word is used to insult or in a condescending fashion in historic documents, or when it's used by Shuar people themselves.

To note the orthography of Shuar words I roughly follow an early Salesian adaptation of the Latin alphabet based on Spanish for writing *shuar chicham*. This system of writing was used in the Salesian boarding school of Bomboiza, at the time that most of my collaborators became literate and is therefore the writing system that will be most familiar to friends, collaborators, and informants. All non-English words are henceforth noted in *italics* except for proper names.

The apostrophe (') at the end of a *shuar chicham* word represents the silent or unvoiced vowels *a, e, i, u*. Shuar people today pronounce silent vowels in different ways. Sometimes it becomes a fully pronounced vowel and sometimes it is not pronounced at all. Though, older people tend to emit a well-defined and distinctive muted sound, which, depending on the vowel, resembles a lip click or a short expel of air.

Under this system, however, without specifying each silent vowel or knowing the pronunciation of a word, there is no way to determine which sound follows. The early Salesian solution to this problem was to show silent vowels in superscript ($^{a, e, i, u}$). Here, albeit this limitation and to simplify the reading, I shall maintain the use of apostrophes to denote all silent vowels and specify the correct pronunciation in a glossary.

The non-silent vowels *a, e, i, u* and the consonants *ch, j, m, n, p, r, s, t, y* are pronounced as in Standard Spanish; whilst *sh* and *ts* sound respectively, as in the English 'wish' and 'gets.' Following the same orthography conventions, *wi* represents the Spanish sound *vi* (*bi* in English) and *k* represents the Spanish sound *g.* Thus, Wirísam, a woman's name, should be read '*virisam'*; and Wisum', a man's name, should be read '*visum*^{a}.' Likewise, *minka*, a collective work party, should be read '*minga'*, and *panki*, a species of anaconda, should be read '*pangui.'* Pakints', the name of a Shuar *centro*, should be thus read as *pakints*^{a} and *nijamanch'*, manioc beer, should be read as *nijamanch*^{i}*,* declining the pronunciation of the final *a* and *i* towards the end. The employment of these rules, however, like the pronunciation of silent vowels, often depends on the speaker and its use may differ widely. Shuar people, then, may alternatively refer to Nankints', the name of another Shuar *centro*, as *nanguints*^{a} *or nanguintsa,* pronouncing the final silent vowel and the Spanish *g* sound as in '*guiso*' or as *nankints*, ignoring the final silent vowel and pronouncing an English *k* sound as in 'king.'

Finally, I also use the apostrophe to distinguish between Pakints', the name of the Shuar *centro* and indigenous reserve where most fieldwork for this thesis was conducted, from Pakintza, a smaller 'neighbourhood' within that same land reserve. This is a political decision that the main body of the text will clarify.

Notes on Maps and Photographs

Unless otherwise noted, Alice Reiner took all photographs in this thesis with a disposable 33 mm Fujifilm Quicksnap camera or, in a few cases, a mobile phone. I hand drew all maps on an iPad. **Map 1.** *Pakints' and the Mirador mine* is adapted from Dan Collyns' article *Was this indigenous leader killed because he fought to save Ecuador's land?* published in The Guardian on 2 June 2015 (Collyns 2015). **Map 2.** *The 'South'* is based on information provided by several Shuar people in the region during fieldwork. **Map 3.** *Regional distribution of chicham-speaking groups* is partially adapted from Janet Hendricks' book *To Drink of Death: The Narrative of a Shuar Warrior* (Hendricks 1993) and updated with data from my fieldwork. **Map 4.** *Industrial mining in Shuar territory* is an adaptation of a map originally published by Comisión Ecuménica de Derechos Humanos (CEDHU) in *Vulneración de derechos humanos y de la naturaleza en la Cordillera del Cóndor-Ecuador* and based itself on official data published by Ecuador's Ministry of Mines (CEDHU 2017). **Map 5.** *Shuar centros and neighbourhoods near the Mirador mine* puts together information provided by *Asociación de Centros Shuar de Bomboiza, Consejo de Gobierno del Pueblo Shuar Arutam*, and *Asociación Shuar de Panki*. The included diagram of the Mirador mine is based on the map *Projected Poisoning of Rivers. Upper Amazon Basin - "Mirador" Open-Pit Copper Mine, Ecuador* published by www.protectecuador.org. **Map 6.** *San Francisco de Pakints'* is

an adaptation of the original 'polygon' drawing of the *centro* produced by *Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización* (IERAC) that was included with the legal land title of the land reserve in 1972. **Map 7.** *Places around the old city of Zamora*, originally drawn by Jose Antonio Prieto in 1817, and kept in the General Archive of the Indies in Seville, is replicated here as published in *Conquista de la Región Jívaro (1550-1650)* by Anne-Christine Taylor and Cristóbal Landázuri (Taylor & Landázuri 1994). **Map 8.** *Shuar migration trends* is also presented here as originally published in *Federación de Centros Shuar: Solución original a un problema actual* (FICSH 1976). **Map 9.** *The indigenous depopulation of Zamora-Chinchipe* includes data I collected during fieldwork, data presented in *Federación de Centros Shuar: Solución original a un problema actual* (FICSH 1976), and ethnographic information collected by Teodoro Bustamante on his BA thesis *La larga lucha del kakaram contra el sucre,* published by Abya-Yala as a book in 1988 (Bustamante 1988). **Map 10.** *Pumpuis and Pakints' in Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe* is adapted from maps commonly employed by the government of Ecuador and originally produced by *Instituto Geográfico Militar* (IGM). **Map 11.** *Salesian and Franciscan Missions in Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe* is drawn with satellite imaging from Google Earth. **Map 12.** *Indigenous land recognised by the state in 1973* is presented here as originally published in *Federación de Centros Shuar: Solución original a un problema actual* (FICSH 1976). **Map 13.** *Shuar land in control of New Shuar organisations in 1993* is also an adaptation of *Federación de Centros Shuar: Solución original a un problema actual* (FICSH 1976), and includes data provided by Organización Shuar del Ecuador (OSHE) and Federación Shuar de Zamora-Chinchipe (FSHZCH). **Map 14.** *The Mirador mine and its surroundings* includes information shared by *Asociación de Centros Shuar de Bomboiza, Consejo de Gobierno del Pueblo Shuar Arutam*, and *Asociación Shuar de Panki*. The included diagram of the Mirador mine is an adaptation of the map *Projected Poisoning of Rivers. Upper Amazon Basin - "Mirador" Open-Pit Copper Mine, Ecuador* published by www.protectecuador.org. **Map 15.** *Map of rivers for a topographic study to protect the land* presents research produced by officials of the Consejo de Gobierno del Pueblo Shuar Arutam, a group of residents of Tiink', Assau, and Panantza, Maurizio Gnerre, and myself as a

topographic report requested by Consejo de Gobierno del Pueblo Shuar Arutam with the financial support of Fundación Tiam. **Map 16.** *The Bomboiza Association and its surroundings* is based on indigenous drawings of 'perceived territorial threats' drawn during a workshop organised by Human Rights organisations affiliated with the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) at the headquarters of the *Asociación de Centros Shuar de Bomboiza* in 2017. **Map 17.** *Shuar houses around Gualaquiza (1893-1896) and El Pangui (1950-1960), according to missionary writing and indigenous memory* has been put together based on my readings of Salesian chronicles of the Gualaquiza mission and related materials found in Archivo Inspectorial Salesiano in Quito; the travel notes of Enrico Festa to the Gualaquiza mission, published in Spanish as *En el Darién y el Ecuador: Diario de viaje de un naturalista* (Festa 1993); the travel notes left by the Jesuit Antonio José Prieto as published by Mundo Shuar in *Gualaquiza, Bomboiza y Zamora a comienzos del s.XIX* (Landívar 1977); the Franciscan chronicles published by Mundo Shuar in *Los Shuar de Zamora y la misión Salesiana* (Izaguirre 1978a) and *La misión Franciscana de Zamora* (Izaguirre 1978b); related data collected and compared during fieldwork from various indigenous sources in the region; and the patient collaboration of Conrado Tsamarent and Ilario Naikiai in Pumpuis, and Mariano Chumap', Dionisio Cando, then president of the Panki Association, and his mother María in Panki and its surroundings. **Map 18.** *Ancestral kinship chart in Pakints'* is based on information provided by the descendants of Santiago Wisum' in Pakints', Chumpias, and San Pedro.

Abbreviations

CONAIE National Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, *Confederación Nacional de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*. Founded in 1986, based in Quito is the largest indigenous umbrella organisation in Ecuador.

FICSH Inter-Provincial Federation of Shuar Centres, *Federación Inter-provincial de Centros Shuar*. Founded in 1964, based in Sucúa, Morona-Santiago, and referred to in this thesis as 'Old Federation' and often in related ethnographic works simply as 'Shuar Federation'.

OSHE Shuar Organisation of Ecuador, *Organización Shuar del Ecuador*. Formerly known as NOSHE, New Shuar Organization of Ecuador, *Nueva Organización Shuar del Ecuador*. Founded in 1992, based in Macas, Morona-Santiago, after a political schism in FICSH, and referred to in this thesis as 'New Federation'.

FSHZCH Shuar Federation of Zamora-Chinchipe, *Federación Shuar de Zamora-Chinchipe*. Founded in 1999, based in Zamora, Zamora-Chinchipe, was

established a territorial division from OSHE and is therefore referred to in this thesis also as 'New Federation'.

FEPNASH-ZCH Provincial Federation of the Shuar Nationality of Zamora-Chinchipe, *Federación Provincial de la Nacionalidad Shuar de Zamora-Chinchipe*. A small provincial organisation affiliated to FICSH in Zamora-Chinchipe and composed by 32 Shuar *centros*.

CGPSHA Governing Council of the Shuar Arutam People, *Consejo de Gobierno del Pueblo Shuar Arutam*, a body of 5 Shuar associations located in Morona-Santiago, with a high degree of political autonomy, but still affiliated to FICSH.

CASCOMI Amazonian Community for Social Action Cordillera del Cóndor Mirador, *Comunidad Amazónica de Acción Social Cordillera del Cóndor Mirador.* Established in 2014, based in Tundayme, Zamora-Chinchipe, a peasant and indigenous grassroots organisation affiliated to CONAIE.

ECSA Ecuacorriente S.A. A subsidiary company of China Railways Construction Corporation, CRCC, based in Beijing, and Tongling Non-Ferrous Metals Group, based in the prefecture city of Tongling, Anhui, in charge of the development of the Mirador Mining Project.

EXSA Explorcobres S.A. A subsidiary company of China Railways Construction Corporation, CRCC, based in Beijing, and Tongling Non-Ferrous Metals Group, based in the prefecture city of Tongling, Anhui, in charge of the development of the Panantza-San Carlos Mining Project.



Map 1. Pakints' and the Mirador mine



Map 2. The 'South'

Preface and Acknowledgements

This thesis is based on 33 months of fieldwork carried out continuously for 30 months throughout 2015-2017 and intermittently for 3 months in 2018 and 2021. I collected most of the data presented here in the Shuar land reserves of San Francisco de Pakints', the Bomboiza Shuar Association *(Asociación de centros Shuar de la nacionalidad Shuar de Bomboiza)*, Tiink' (El Tingüi), Churuwia (Churuwia, Esta, Yanua Kiim), and the Panki Shuar Association (*Asociación de centros Shuar de Panki*). Further research was carried out in the canton seat of Gualaquiza (*wakis*), the parish seat of El Güismi (*waysim'*), the parish seat of Tundayme (*tuntaim'*), the small colonial city of Zamora and its immediate surroundings (*samuria*), and various Shuar locations close to the cities of Sucúa and Macas.

Throughout fieldwork, I alternated permanent residence amongst Shuar in Pakints' and Bomboiza (see Maps 4 and 5) with regular visits to Quito, Sucúa, Macas, and Zamora to talk with various people from indigenous ethnopolitical organisations, environmental and human rights non-governmental organisations (NGOs), trade unions, legal firms, army personnel, religious institutions, and many central and provincial state offices, whose involvement with the subject of this thesis was considered relevant.

This research would not have been possible without the active support and encouragement of several national, regional, and local elected officials in several indigenous organisations. An overall research agreement backing up my study was signed, prior to the start of my fieldwork, with CONAIE (*Confederación Nacional de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*, 'National Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador'), the larger umbrella indigenous assembly in the country, and one of the largest and most prominent indigenous organisations in Latin America. Further permits to conduct research inside ethnic territory were granted by the two Shuar ethnopolitical organisations that separately harbour each of the land reserves of Pakints' and Bomboiza: FSHZCH (*Federación Shuar de Zamora-Chinchipe*, 'Shuar Federation of Zamora-Chinchipe'), based in Zamora, in the province of Zamora-Chinchipe; and FICSH (*Federación Interprovincial de Centros Shuar,* 'Interprovincial Federation of Shuar Centres'), based in Sucúa, in the province of Morona-Santiago.

These two organisations approved to support my research on the condition that the people of the Shuar reserves where I planned on living would first agree to participate in this study. Their consent was obtained by public vote and majority consensus through communal assemblies held in the five *barrios*, 'neighbourhoods', that nowadays compose Pakints': Certero, Santiago Paati, San Andrés, Pakintza, and Santa Cruz. And with the support of the majority of *síndicos* representing each of the 25-member *centros* in the Bomboiza Shuar Association during one of their monthly 'general assemblies'.

Research agreements to support and participate in this research were produced and signed by the governing council of the Bomboiza Association, and with each of the elected presidents that managed the affairs of their respective neighbourhoods in Pakints'. I thus wish to especially thanks the governing council of the Bomboiza Association for their trust, support, and collaboration and the neighbourhood directives in the five neighbourhoods of Pakints' for their constants support and cooperation over time.

During the last third of fieldwork, a research agreement was also signed with the Panki Shuar Association, the regional ethnopolitical organisation that formally oversees the land reserves

of Pakints' and Panki. This association was inoperative at the time of my arrival and the agreement was formalised as soon as that situation changed. I wish to acknowledge and thank its president and his family and all members of its governing council for their friendship and efforts to keep me constantly on the loop on all things related to Zamora-Chinchipe.

Research conducted amongst mine workers had the support and accreditation of Takakmamu, CEOSL, and CONAIE, with whom an additional tripartite research agreement was signed. CEOSL (*Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres*, 'Ecuadorean Confederation of Free Trade Union Organizations'), is an umbrella organisation of trade unions, a founding member of FUT (*Frente Unitario de Trabajadores*, 'Worker's United Front'), the main trade union centre in Ecuador, and a close ally to CONAIE in the broad left-wing political coalition that backs up Ecuador's indigenous movement. Takakmamu, the works council representing the workers of the Mirador mine, represents some 320 labourers, both Shuar and non-Shuar, working for ECSA ('Ecuacorriente S.A.'), a subsidiary company of China Railways Construction Corporation (CRCC) and Tongling Non-Ferrous Metals Group. Takakmamu is in turn affiliated to CEOSL, who acts as a representative to the works council, providing legal advice and mediation with management inside the Mirador mine and with state labour authorities. I am very grateful for their courage and appreciative resolution in supporting our research despite possible objections and concern of the mine's management.

The most important role so far played by CEOSL in the region has been helping Takakmamu reach three collective labour contracts with ECSA. Negotiations for the third contract coincided with my time in the field and trade union directives and lawyers were kind enough to allow me to follow these negotiations closely and discussed the process in detail during research. I am indebted to their trust, kindness, and boundless patience in explaining and describing Ecuador's intricate labour and mining laws, the political relations between the state and transnational mining corporations behind closed doors, and the complex interactions between workers and managers inside extractive sites.

Takakmamu suggested that our research should be widened to include possible social changes and culture loss amongst indigenous workers (something that concerned them deeply). We therefore included a number of questions along those lines and organised a series of focus groups to complement our usual, less structured, ethnographic approach. The data collected with these two techniques although it hasn't made it in full into this thesis, is partially presented in the chapters referring to the lives, expectations, and experience of mine workers.

CEDHU (*Comisión Ecuménica de Derechos Humanos*, 'Ecumenical Commission for Human Rights'; INREDH, *Fundación Regional de Asesoría en Derechos Humanos*, 'Regional Foundation for Advice in Human Rights'); and to some lesser extent other local members of FIDH, International Federation for Human Rights, shared their information on the current mining context and conflicts in Ecuador and provided help, information, local contacts, and much of their time. The same extends to TIAM, who in addition funded and made possible my work in the Shuar land reserve of Tiink' with CGPSHA (*Consejo de Gobierno del Pueblo Shuar Arutam*, 'Governing Council of the Shuar Arutam People').

Additional research for this thesis was conducted with and thanks to: FEPNASH-ZCH (*Federación Provincial de la Nacionalidad Shuar de Zamora-Chinchipe*, 'Provincial Federation of the Shuar Nationality of Zamora-Chinchipe'); OSHE (*Organización Shuar del Ecuador*, 'Shuar Organisation of Ecuador'); CGPSHA (*Consejo de Gobierno del Pueblo Shuar Arutam*, 'Governing Council of the Shuar Arutam People'); and CASCOMI (*Comunidad Amazónica de Acción Social Cordillera del Cóndor Mirador*, 'Amazonian Community for Social Action Cordillera del Cóndor Mirador'), a peasant grassroots organisation based in Tundayme, Zamora-Chinchipe, and affiliated to CONAIE, made up mostly of settler peasants, but including the participation of some Shuar people.

The latter organisation is perhaps the most visible resistance movement existing in the area today. It was formed to oppose mining developments in the valley of Tundayme, following complains over the land access negotiation process foregoing the eventual eviction and destruction of the settler village of San Marcos to make way for what will be the first tailings

dam in the Mirador mining project. Their organisational process and opposition to the development of the mine, however, has been thoroughly reviewed by most existing research on industrial mining in the region. For this reason, it shall only figure in passing in this thesis.

I didn't do fieldwork alone. Alice Reiner, also an LSE–trained anthropologist, and my partner at the time, should be credited for her committed and brilliant work, insightful comments, and keen observations, as well as for her continuous love, care, and support. Her presence has been determinant in shaping every part of this thesis. Alice recorded on video several hours of interviews for the purpose of preserving the memory of elders in the territory of these two organisations, following a joint initiative of officials at the Bomboiza and Panki Associations. Separate research agreements were produced and signed for this exact purpose with the Bomboiza and Panki Associations together with individual forms with all filmed participants and their family members. This safekeeps the promise that this thesis and copies of all video recordings will find its way back to them as well as to their respective regional and provincial ethnopolitical organisations.

Throughout fieldwork we always tried to hear, apprehend, cover, and include as many perspectives, positions, viewpoints, and opinions regarding industrial mining in the region as possible. I would have liked to also conduct research amongst transnationals mine workers inside their mining camps. The developers of the Mirador and San Carlos-Panantza mining projects, however, never replied to my research proposal. Moreover, after forced evictions were carried out in the region in December 2015 to favour land access by the mine, it became clear to me that the contentiousness of the situation would have made it impossible to work both with the indigenous communities that surround the mine and with transnational workers or the directors and developers of the project.

Therefore, most of the information on industrial mining projects portrayed in this thesis, comes from indirect sources rather than direct observation inside industrial mining facilities. It is hence mediated by the perception, knowledge, and viewpoints of indigenous and non-indigenous workers, state bureaucrats, and local authorities whose formal collaboration with

my project was sought directly or through the mediation of CEOSL and Takakmamu. However, it also comes from a variety of spontaneous informants in the region: engineers, constructors, suppliers, cooks, security staff, drivers, and a long et cetera of people that I often met and talked to as they gave me a lift along the highway while I was walking between Shuar neighbourhoods and *centros* or with whom I talked to in settler towns nearby.

This technique of data collection was only possible because the E-45 highway, also known as *Troncal Amazónica*, connects most Shuar *centros* in the area with the central settler towns in the region and industrial mines, and public transport was so unreliable that every private car was available for hire (for between $0.50 and $1 depending on the destination), and people just wait along the highway for the first car, lorry, or pickup truck to arrive. With the considerable increase in traffic brought about by mining developments in the region, this has become an incredible vehicle in the flow of information from inside the otherwise very restricted and hermetic mining projects. The process of collecting data in such a way may not sound like much of a method, however, when done mostly every day for a long period of time, as we had done, the results end up being something surprisingly comprehensive. This helped us gain a broader outlook at least over what was going inside Mirador, the closest mine to Pakints' and Bomboiza, that complemented the distinct information provided by mine workers, trade union members, and the broad guidelines afforded by state bureaucracies.

I have some knowledge of Putonghua (mandarin Chinese), and so I was able to further gather some knowledge about Chinese investment in Ecuador directly from Chinese sources. And whilst my access to Chinese workers or managers near extractive sites in lowland Ecuador was virtually none or severely limited, whenever I was in Quito, I had some access to talk to members of the city's expatriate community. Its members, most of whom arrived in the country to opened up restaurant and shops decades before Chinese capital expanded in Latin America, have now become unexpected brokers between Chinese investment, large developmental projects, and sometimes the Ecuadorean state.

The role of some of this people has been facilitating local knowledge and networking in Ecuador amongst suppliers, possible clients, and state officials for a small fee derived from contracts (usually around 1%). Their knowhow has not been wasted by newly arrived Chinese companies and their assistance appears to have been fundamental in reaching arrangements and the signature of several contracts. I do not include any of such information in any detail in this thesis but my overall understanding of industrial mining in the country benefited from such contact. I wish to point out here, at least, the remarkable aspect of causality, if not outright informality, that lies behind the production of some of these infrastructures, and the interesting role these brokers have had, which certainly needs further exploration and research. Even if my current work doesn't focus on these issues, having carry out research on such matters has greatly expanded and complemented my overall understanding of the context Shuar are experiencing today.

The use I make of documentation in this thesis needs a final clarifying note. I have conceived these materials as supporting and complementary evidence for a story guided by Shuar memory and indigenous narratives of history. These indigenous notions of history have set the structure and the content of this study, yet I have included these documents in that structure because that was indeed the use Shuar envisaged for them in recalling 'history' and narrating several stories. The only time archives contributed something that friends and collaborators didn't know already about 'history' was a number of historic photos of *abuelos*, *antepasados*, or *mayores*, 'ancestors', which I made copies of and distributed, much to the rejoice of contemporary relatives. Hence, when wishing to make a point, confirm some memory, or expand their narrative, people often turned to paper either by looking into personal archives or by citing the memory of such and such document (for me to later find). This is what initially pushed me to do archival research for this thesis.

The use of documents indeed became an important part of fieldwork. While in the field, I constantly shared, exchanged, and discussed *papeles*, 'papers', with friends and collaborators. Thus, we frequently discussed over the content, meaning, and contexts of several documents

kept in Shuar personal archives that were shared with me. Similarly, the archival documents I gathered were presented to people for similar discussions, and I noted their impressions, thoughts, and comments. This flow of documents continued since my departure from the field. It has been a welcoming and common experience, then, to receive all sorts of interesting papers from the field in my email or chat inbox. I have repaid the favour, when possible, by scanning and sending back every relevant map, account, or photos from the region I could find in the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford, and by discussing some of the ideas that have crossed my mind while writing up until 2020.

I carefully revised the Salesian and Franciscan archives in Quito and Zamora, respectively. A very special thanks is due to Juan Bottasso, who made sure that I was granted complete access to the Salesian archives and to the staff at the Franciscan mission that helped me find my way through their historic collections and connected me with former collaborators of the mission in Zamora. I further spent many hours speaking with former missionaries in a Salesian retirement house in Macas and in different missionary quarters in Sucúa and Quito. The subject of Salesian involvement in the creation, organisation, divisions, and later breakup of the Shuar Federation, analysed in some of the next chapters, was exhaustedly discussed with them. This thesis has indeed benefited from their overall impressions, memories, and relations with Shuar, the state, and other religious missions.

The Bomboiza Shuar Association's archive also kept a good number of important documents, perhaps more so than the Shuar Federation's archives had, and was certainly subjected to my scrutiny. I collected additional documentation from judicial and police archives, notaries, churches, ministries, and local government deposits. I looked for indigenous land titles, land disputes, and other legal demands that would help me gain a long-term view on conflicts over land between Shuar and settler colonisers in Gualaquiza and El Pangui; Shuar relations with missionaries and the state; and the more recent use of legal procedures by Shuar people and against Shuar people in Bomboiza and Pakints'. I worked on the archives of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Municipalities, Tenencias Políticas (a civil government office in Ecuador's

rural parishes), notary's offices, and law firms in Gualaquiza, El Pangui, Macas, Sucúa, and Zamora. This data, though not directly present in this thesis, has informed profoundly my analysis of land conflicts arising in the current context of extraction.

Former Shuar Federation officials, whose careful love for paper and filing never fell short of my expectations, provided many related documents to me. I spoke with most of the former presidents of the Shuar Federation still alive today, and with the key figures in the schism that caused its division in 1986. These former leaders contributed with their views on the division of their organisation and their viewpoints on current extractive developments. Their reflexions on the past and their expectations for Shuar as a people in the future have certainly widened my understanding of Shuar notions of history and politics. Some of these documents have been included in this thesis along other complementary materials such as photographs and maps.

Finally, the process of writing up this thesis has been equally long and similarly scattered. In Oxford and the Bodleian, I must first thank Elizabeth Ewart for her careful supervision, resilient patience, friendship, and support. Elizabeth and her lovely family also welcomed me with a warm and cosy place in town and Tadesse was always incredibly generous in offering good wine and better conversation. Laura Rival and Ramon Sarró offered great advice on the early chapters of this thesis and encouraged its completion. Vicky Dean always made the paperwork of constantly missing deadlines much less hellish. Laura Rival and Anne-Christine Taylor were kind enough to examine this thesis on 29 November 2021. Their insightful comments, generous advice, and sharp questions were invaluable and will certainly improve my work for many years to come.

I am also grateful to Malvika Gupta and Charlotte Hoskins, who have read through various chapters and sections of this thesis, and have been especially helpful with their comments, friendship, corrections, and opinions. Felix Padel and Seamus Montgomery brighten up the Rose & Crown and often added enjoyable and useful discussion and debates. In Höfergasse, Andreas, Veronique, and Raphaël Reiner's generosity, kindness, and support made the anxiety

of writing up much less stressful. Maurizio Gnerre and Flavia Cuturi were always incredibly supportive, interested, and helpful with my work. Their invitation to present my work at L'Orientale further helped shaped the later chapters of this thesis. In Campus Oriente, Salvador, and Biblioteca Nacional, Gabriela Piña-Ahumada and Francisca Corbalán (and their respective families) sparked light in times of darkness. Their love, friendship, companionship, and care kept me going in times of weakness. Luciana Campos and Carla Moscoso further made the routine of writing at the time much more enjoyable. In Rumiñahui, Sara Terán and Jossette Vargas respectively helped with the transcription of data for this thesis and in providing me with a proper writing space. In Guápulo and Quito, Tina, María Fernanda, Julián, Ana María, and Tomás must be thanked for making sure that my writing went on comfortably.

I reserve my deepest gratitude to Shuar friends, collaborators, and informants. Without their acutely personal support, caring everyday shelter, and biting sense of humour, the long field research that now makes this study would not have been enjoyable. This is not a trivial matter. The country was at the time suffused with conflict and political controversy, and research conditions were often intricate, trying, and demanding. The politically conflictive and still uncertain context in the region has stopped me from thanking anyone here by their names.

Prologue

December 1941. The soldiers of army Major Coronel appeared at the top of a muggy hill surrounded by a thick green forest. They were not far from the banks of the Zamora River, in lowland southeast Ecuador. Three civilians, acquainted with the streams and rivers of the region, guided them. One of these was a young gold panner, a 'white man' from the highland village of Sigsig, Manuel Jacinto Pérez; he had some knowledge of *chicham*, the Shuar language, and acted as a translator. Three months later, in a letter signed 6 February 1942, Pérez declared that Major Coronel, in command of seventeen soldiers, had insisted that it was better not to say a word about what happened next. If people asked, Pérez noted, Coronel's orders were to stick to the following story: '[Shuar] shot first.'

The group of soldiers, in Pérez's account, soon arrived at a Shuar house. There they found an old woman, her young daughter with a baby in arms, and a boy of twelve or thirteen. Without a word of warning the soldiers opened fire. The old woman and the boy died instantly. The mother and her baby, although badly hurt, remained alive. Major Coronel approached the young woman and ordered Pérez to translate. Pérez asked her, 'Are there any men here?' There were not (the men were hidden, waiting in the woods). The woman died shortly afterwards, but the baby survived and was taken in charge by Coronel.

Officially, the soldiers had been dispatched on a mission to gather *intelligence* in the mountainous expanse surrounding Gualaquiza, the main settler village in the region. They combed through as many streams and rivulets as possible and entered any indigenous houses they found along their way. Still, very few questions were asked, not much information was collected, and no further inquiries followed. Pérez concludes his report laconically: 'Major Coronel had no occasion to see a [Shuar] long enough or talk to one, for those he saw were unceremoniously killed.'[1]

From the 1930s onwards, a growing number of 'white' gold panners had established themselves along the banks of the Zamora River. Their presence, their frequent sexual misbehaviour, their many abuses and recurrent theft became a cause of great annoyance and concern to its indigenous inhabitants. In response, Shuar planned and organised a campaign to restrain, contain, and expel the trespassers throughout the region. Months before Major Coronel's incursion, a coordinated force of regional Shuar warriors, *kakaram* and *capitanes*, killed an indeterminate number of gold panners all along the Zamora River.

The military response was brutal. Military commanders suspected Shuar of cooperating with neighbouring Peru, with Ecuador maintaining a frontier dispute that had broken out into a war earlier that same year. The army's orders were quite simple: 'See a [Shuar], kill a [Shuar].'[2] Numerous battalions, such as the one commanded by Major Coronel, thus entered indigenous land around the Zamora River and indiscriminately killed its indigenous inhabitants. This led to guerrilla clashes between Shuar warriors and the military, and to the cold, cowardly, and unjustifiable murder of countless unarmed indigenous women and children by the state.

The opening vignette describes what happened at the end of 1941. Though rarely mentioned by authoritative sources, the events unfolding that December were crucial to what later colonial scholarship often refers to as the 'pacification' of the region. Shuar, too, recounted the armed confrontation with the military as a major turning point in their own history. The clashes with the army are nowadays remembered as a pivotal event between what people in the lands washed by the Zamora River often call *tiempo de los guerreros*, 'Time of the Warriors',

and the subsequent 'civilised' times, *tiempo de los denunciantes*, 'Time of the Land Claimers', and *tiempo de los renacientes*, 'Time of the Youngsters'. Shuar people in the area are therefore well acquainted with these occurrences, and often tell stories about the involvement of their ancestors in the campaigns against the army and the troublesome incursion of gold panners.

The short text that follows in this prologue will recount several such accounts, interspersed with archival epistolary exchanges between missionaries and military authorities of the time. The stories Shuar tell, the main materials of this thesis, and how they think and speak about the past, however, differ significantly from the accounts recalled and recorded by white people. The recent advent of industrial mining along much of the Zamora River watershed—the ethnographic present of this work—gives, moreover, further symbolic meaning to these memories. Shuar today express and understand the story as a reminder of the long history of upsets and complex entanglements caused by settler mining and colonial expansion in the region. The story, as the indigenous people understand it, is also a reaffirmation that Shuar, then and now, are a very resourceful people, capable of carrying out an appropriate riposte to colonial threats.

> CONFIDENTIAL
>
> Quito, 29 October 19403
> His Excellency Reverend Monsignor Domingo Comín
> Apostolic Bishop of Méndez and Gualaquiza
>
> Our military garrisons have captured some Peruvian radiotelegraphic communications passing through the Zamora-Numpatacaime-Nangaritza region. Peruvian forces, it seems, after occupying the Negro or Quimi River, have arrived along the Zamora River, at a point barely four hours distant from Gualaquiza.
>
> I, therefore, beg you to procure me with as much data as you may be able to gather on the matter, knowing that Your Excellency will pursue such inquires in accordance to your standing and distinction.

20 December 1941. Father Vigna of the Salesian Mission, following military request, wrote a report on behalf of the Salesian order discussing the threats and challenges to the state and its military control of the Gualaquiza region.[4] He began his letter with a description of the 'psychology of [Shuar]' and notes the 'indomitable character' that makes these indigenous peoples 'inaccessible to civilisation.' There is too much 'racial pride' in them, he added,

noticing the worrisome deterioration of relations between indigenous people and settler colonists. 'In their forest', Vigna wrote forebodingly, 'Shuar are unrivalled and absolute kings.'

The rising tensions between Shuar and gold panners were the most pressing issue in Vigna's mind.[5] According to Vigna, the national army might had been responsible for murdering at least seventy indigenous people in its reprisal. In most of these cases, indigenous corpses, too, were thrown callously into the Zamora River. Women and children were widely killed. The few infants that survived were taken by army soldiers and handed over to enemy Shuar groups in the north. The military men must have known that ancient bitter rivalries separated indigenous clusters in the region. Their actions appear calculated and designed. Their reprisal also intended humiliation.

Amongst the killed Shuar warriors, Vigna noted, 'figure [...] Nanguité [Nankitiá] and Uajare [Wajare]', two very prominent great men in the area. Their family members were already thinking 'of vengeance and revenge.' The missionary letter noticed a further danger: another well-known warrior, Utitiaj, a 'famous maker of revenge', had been 'offended in one of his daughters'. His girl, he explains, was forced to 'serve the brutal instincts of a renowned miner.' Shuar, weighting up the cumulative offences, and with the lead of Utitiaj, decided that 'revenge must be taken against white peoples'—any white people—'the first white peoples to be found.'

CONFIDENTIAL

Quito, 16 December 1940[6]
His Excellency Reverend Monsignor Domingo Comín
Apostolic Bishop of Méndez and Gualaquiza

I must very cordially thank Your Excellency for the attentiveness with which you have responded to my request. I must beg you to, in the future, update me on what may come to your knowledge regarding this delicate and most important matter.

Cuenca, 20 December 1941[7]

Report and explanation of the Pro-vicar of the Salesian missions, Juan Vigna, regarding the latest mournful events in the lowland province of Santiago-Zamora. Relations between white people and Shuar: It is undeniable that the province of Santiago-Zamora[8], for about 15 years now, has received a strong migration of white peoples, almost all of them Ecuadorians, from the southern highland provinces. This people have entered the lowlands as settler colonists, or as miners and exploiters of gold-bearing beaches, or as merchants. It's estimated that the immigration of permanent settler colonists in this province is approximately 4000; and there is a fluctuating population consisting of some [additional] 5000 miners.

In his next letter, dated 6 February 1942[9], and addressed to the Foreign Secretary, Father Vigna notified this state official about the conflict between Shuar, gold panners, and the national army. He was worried that the mission he belonged to could be affected by the violence unleashed and urged the Foreign Secretary to proceed with caution and discretion. 'I lament to insistently upset you with a matter best left quiet', he wrote, 'but knowing that these affairs often bring with them unending revenge and reprisals on the savage's part and annoyance to the missions, I very much would like that we considered this situation and its drawbacks as an undisclosed affair.' Vigna thus requested the Foreign Minister's advice on how to best conduct his missionary activities in 'such circumstances' to 'avoid' the possibility of 'eventual responsibilities befalling on the missionaries.' He must have been worried that if the conflict were to escalate, his mission could suffer the same fate of failure and disaster that rashly concluded preceding Jesuit endeavours in the region.

CONFIDENTIAL

Quito, 2 January 1941[10]
His Excellency Reverend Monsignor Domingo Comín
Apostolic Bishop of Méndez and Gualaquiza

On 3 December last year, Your Excellency communed to me some data that Reverend Father Carlos Simonetti had collected regarding a possible Peruvian occupation of the Zamora and Nangaritza Rivers. […] He found no other Peruvian settlement than an agricultural colony located behind the mountains where the old city of Logroño is believed to have been located.

Cuenca, 24 February, 1941[11]
His Excellency Dr. D. Julio Tobar Donoso
Minister of Foreign Affairs

It is well known that Peruvians have occupied, and for several years now, almost the entire navigable tract of the Morona River.

Very attentive of Your Excellence,

Monsignor Domingo Comín

Cuenca, March 3, 1941[12]
His Excellency Dr. D. Julio Tobar Donoso
Minister of Foreign Affairs

In response to your first question: The Salesian mission works in an area of about 25,000 km², which contains a total of about 25,000 people, of which about 15,000 people are [Shuar].

> In response to your third question: The eastern lowland zone, which expands from Macas to the Mansericheе pass, is reputed to be the richest region of South America, due to its enormous agricultural, gold, and especially oil wealth.
>
> In response to your fifth question: I understand that Yaupi is the area most desired by Peru. The better way to protect it will be to support the patriotic initiative of the orientalist juntas of Cuenca that have proposed to colonise it.

October and November 1941. The excerpts below suggest the rapid acceleration of asymmetric relations between settler colonists and Shuar people around Gualaquiza. The passages, drawn from present-day history telling, refer to the attacks organised and conducted by Shuar during the months before the retaliatory assault of the military happened. These Shuar voices suggest and emphasise the ample indigenous agency with which indigenous history is nowadays commonly conveyed.

CHUMPÍ

We, the group of my father Chumpí-Utitiaj, were the war élite: Warriors who exterminated the military! Ah, that was a serious story! That was the history in 1941.

CHUMPÍ

Many settler colonists started coming, they began abusing us, and they started the killings. These *colonos*—they [killed] first. In that time, there was plenty of gold [in the rivers]; it was easy to pick it up with your hands, as if you were picking up pebbles.

SARMIENTO
(A SETTLER HISTORIAN FROM GUALAQUIZA)

The last uprising of Shuar in this region was in 1941 on the banks of the Zamora and Bomboiza Rivers. At that time, some 15,000-20,000 men were panning for gold and several abuses were committed.

ANKUASH'

We were few; our grandparents weren't thousands. Still, I say to myself: Jeez, what happened? I still don't understand. How did settler colonists build these tremendous cities, Gualaquiza, Macas… darn, they arrived yesterday! We, who preceded them, don't even have a city yet.

TSAMARENT

This I am going to say now: We used to live in Las Peñas and raised pigs. The gold panners came carrying *Mansur* [Mauser] shotguns and killed our pigs. To whom could we complain about it? There was no one to complain to, so they did whatever pleased them.

CHUMPÍ

Shuar people panned for gold and traded it for mirrors. The miners were looking for this gold and said: 'help me collect it, *compadre*, I'll give you a mirror'. Later Shuar understood that a gram of gold was worth 2 sucres.

TSAMARENT

One day, when I was a boy, we were invited to fish in the Kiim river. I went with my father and we fished a few fish. When we came back the miners stopped us at Tendetsa's father's house[13], and asked us: 'What do you have?' 'Fish', we said, and they took it all. To whom could we complain about it?

NAIKIAI

In the past, there was no *organización*. This was all jungle: Chuchumbleza, Panki, Yantzaza. There was no highway either, just canoes in the Zamora River. Then miners came to Panki, to Kiim, to Tiink', and the troubles begun. They were already colonising Tiink', and the military was against us Shuar. 'The *apaach*' had come to kill us', Shuar people said, so they gather in Chumpias [a present-day *centro* in the Chuchumbleza River] to organise the revenge. One hundred people came and they cut and sharpened *pindos* to make lances.

CHUMPÍ

They knew that miners had been colonising all these lands, so my grandfather said, 'The payback, our revenge, is going to be here, [is going to be] now'. Thus, they attacked the miners and recovered these lands [Tiink'].

ANKUASH'

Shuar were nomads, they didn't live still, we lived trekking. Men got married and came and went and killed and went farther away. Wampash' in Pumpuis, first cousin of my grandfather Tiwiram in Piunts'; Pinchupá in Panki; They were all kin. [...] And in 1941, they exterminated the miners at Tiink'. My own grandfather Ankuash' killed them.

NAIKIAI

The miners had shops, shotguns, machetes, axes, tools. Shuar took all of it. The miners also had gold, but it was left there, Shuar ignored it. They took only machetes, gunpowder, shotguns—the things they needed; and didn't care to take the gold. Oh, if Shuar had taken that gold, we would have money today! I don't know why the old people were like that, uninterested in money.

SARMIENTO
(A SETTLER HISTORIAN FROM GUALAQUIZA)

Shuar killed thousands of miners on the banks of the rivers. I heard stories of people who saw how the dead bodies floated downstream because Shuar were throwing their bodies in the rivers, so it wouldn't stink.

NAIKIAI

There were many miners at the sand banks of streams. Shuar killed and threw them down to the Zamora River. Shuar from Panki killed them all. Then these Shuar moved to Tiink', because they had arranged this, it was already organised, 'We'll kill here and we'll kill there', they agreed. So, a day after arriving in Tiink', [Shuar] started killing settler colonists.

CHUMPÍ

Nankitiá was named *capitán* before the killing started. [He lived in Kampetsunt, near Coangos, to the east]. And he was helped by Wajare and other men, but Nankitiá had hidden the gold [of the miners] and for this reason he was killed. He was replaced by Ankuash', but Ankuash'

began killing [army] soldiers, and you can't kill [army] soldiers, and so for that reason he, too, was killed.

CHUMPÍ

The soldiers arrived. They were right here [in Tiink'], searching here and looking there. These soldiers killed many women, here in Tiink' and further downriver. Then, they killed no more and went [eastward], chasing away the Peruvian soldiers to Coangos.

November 1938. A letter written by the Salesian Father Ghinazzi, described the abuses of the military and the dislike Shuar people had fostered towards them.[14] 'I have taken notice of this antipathy', he noted, 'everyone complains of Ecuadorean soldiers because they steal food, chickens, shotguns, and abuse their wives.'

Ghinazzi wrote: 'It is true that [Shuar] of Yaupi are today marvelled by the Peruvians. They contemplate their strength and military organisation (planes, numerous armies, and frequent military exercises.)'

Ghinazzi wrote: 'As a consequence, the many Shuar families that live in Yaupi have retreated all to the Morona River, to be under the protection of the Peruvian army. It is not implausible therefore that [Shuar] may sympathise with those who treat them well and benefit them. The Peruvians use this for their political gain.'

Ghinazzi wrote: 'In the house of [a Shuar man named] Mariano, when his woman was alone, and not wishing to consent to their wicked taste, she was attacked in bed, and four devils of them [army soldiers] did as they pleased with her.'

Ghinazzi wrote: 'In the house of [a Shuar man named] Cañeras, I found a letter (that I keep) by the commander of the Yaupi garrison, inviting [...] Cañeras to lend him his wives.'

CHUMPÍ

What happened is that my grandfathers didn't want to adapt to the reality brought by settler colonists and the military. They couldn't adapt to their culture, they didn't understand it, so my grandfathers relocated [...]. They later learned that the military had abusively [...] exterminated Paatkia and all his kin and Tsamarent and killed Wajare. But one of them escaped and came to tell this to my forebears. They, who had a warrior spirit, organised the war against the military.

SARMIENTO
(A SETTLER HISTORIAN FROM GUALAQUIZA)

The state provided weapons to settler colonists, so they could defend themselves from Shuar. They thought Shuar were colluding with the Peruvians to attack Ecuador, and so they sent a strong repressive force to kill them. They wanted the head of the *capitán* leading the uprising to be severed and taken to Quito [to be displayed there in a public square, as a trophy of their victory].

CHUMPÍ

The Peruvians gave weapons to Shuar, too, so they could defend themselves. With these weapons they killed lieutenant Ortíz in the times of [president] Arosemena.[15] And when he died, Shuar made surgery, and so his head was cut off and thrown in the river, and then they celebrated.

CHUMPÍ

My father-in-law killed him. Jimpikit', son of Utitiaj, grandfather of Héctor—the father of my wife. He killed lieutenant Ortíz. He killed him along with Ankuash' and Uwents'. Ankuash', was a famous *guerrillero,* the *capitán* who led the killing. His kin now live in Yuapi and are named Chinkim'. They killed him together. Thus, it was.

ENTSAKUA

Lieutenant Ortíz, they say, was killed because he was abusive, and he was a womaniser. He raped [Shuar] women in front of their husbands. He came in [Shuar houses] with his troops and tied people [to the pillars of the houses]. Thus, he did. Then he lay eyes on the best chickens [in a house] and ordered: 'killed that animal so I can eat.' He really wanted to exterminate us. These were his orders: 'exterminate all those animal Indians.'

CHUMPÍ

Yet, it was Martín Ujukam', [a very famous *capitán*,] who brought the [Ecuadorean] settler colonists to [the city of] Zamora [in the South]. He brought them there, so they could cover his rear-guard whilst he was fighting against Utitiaj [who was his bitter enemy, and lived near Gualaquiza, in the north].

CHUMPÍ

And Utitiaj had allies in Peru: Entsakua, Ampam', and Sewastian. That Entsakua was very famous [and had a very famous death]. Sewastian lived in Peru, in Achuim', near the *achu entsa* river. And Ampam' also lived in Peru [in the same place] where my grandmother was born. [...] Ankuash' and Wampash', [a warrior from] San José, belong to the same group of Utitiaj. [...] And they all had an ally in Coangos called Naiké, who fathered Tsuim' and Santiak', and many other [great men] who were also allied with Utitiaj.

CHUMPÍ

Utitiaj was a leading *capitán*, and he was accompanied by Chumpí, who was his second advisor [*consejero*] in command. [...] They [all] fought against Antich', Juank', and Wachapá, and Maishur Juank' from Las Peñas. [These men] were all *guerrilleros* allied to Santiago Wisum' [in the Chuchumbleza River]. And they were [all, in turn,] allied with *capitán* Martín Ujukam', who lived in Zamora and had twelve wives. [...] So, they all fought against [the group of] Utitiaj.

CHUMPÍ

Now, why were all these Peruvian outposts colonising the [Yaupi] frontier [in the Santiago River]? It truly is because Shuar brought them here. [The Peruvians] were brought by Paati, and by Ujukam', and by Chiermach'. Shuar went to Peru [and said]: 'We're being killed in Ecuador now, you go there and colonise.' [...] That is the reason why the Peruvians came, to provide weapons to Shuar, walking through Wampis' land.

CHUMPÍ

Fuck, were we good at killing! Then the missionaries came, baptising and dominating, baptising and dominating. And here we are now: with shoes, and trousers, and all that stuff. That is how it was. At the mission we learned everything and now life is moderate. [...] Yet, we still won't let the military in. We don't need the military here, we're fine! [In 1941], they [the military] began the killings, and we defended our lands. That is [exactly] what the government intends to do today: no more, no less. Nowadays, it's the Chinese. They want to dig a deep hole in the land and say, 'this gold is ours.' We say 'no' to that. We'll defend the gold, and we'll defend ourselves... but war is a complex affair. [...] [So] we are educating ourselves now; and they will thus respect us.

Cuenca, 6 February 1942[16]
His Excellency Dr. D. Julio Tobar Donoso
Minister of Foreign Affairs

The reason that compels me to address this letter to you is so cumbersome that it still has me perplexed and I doubted whether to write to you or let this matter, too, go away in silence.

I have read in El Mercurio of Cuenca, in its edition of 26 January [1942], that Major César Coronel, sent on commission to those threatened places, 'has returned after successfully appeasing the [Shuar] tribes and re-establishing the tranquillity of those jungle regions…' Well, the news that continue to reach me from those very same regions are not entirely reassuring.

I have questioned one of those miners who still lives at the place of the massacres. I am attaching a testimony signed by the miner himself, as perhaps, in this way, you may be able to notice some things for yourself. This miner recounts in much detail the death of [Shuar] at the hands of military soldiers; though, now that the matter has already been aired, I think it convenient not to insist.

Yours sincerely,

Juan Vigna



Figure 1. The entry road to San Francisco de Pakints'.



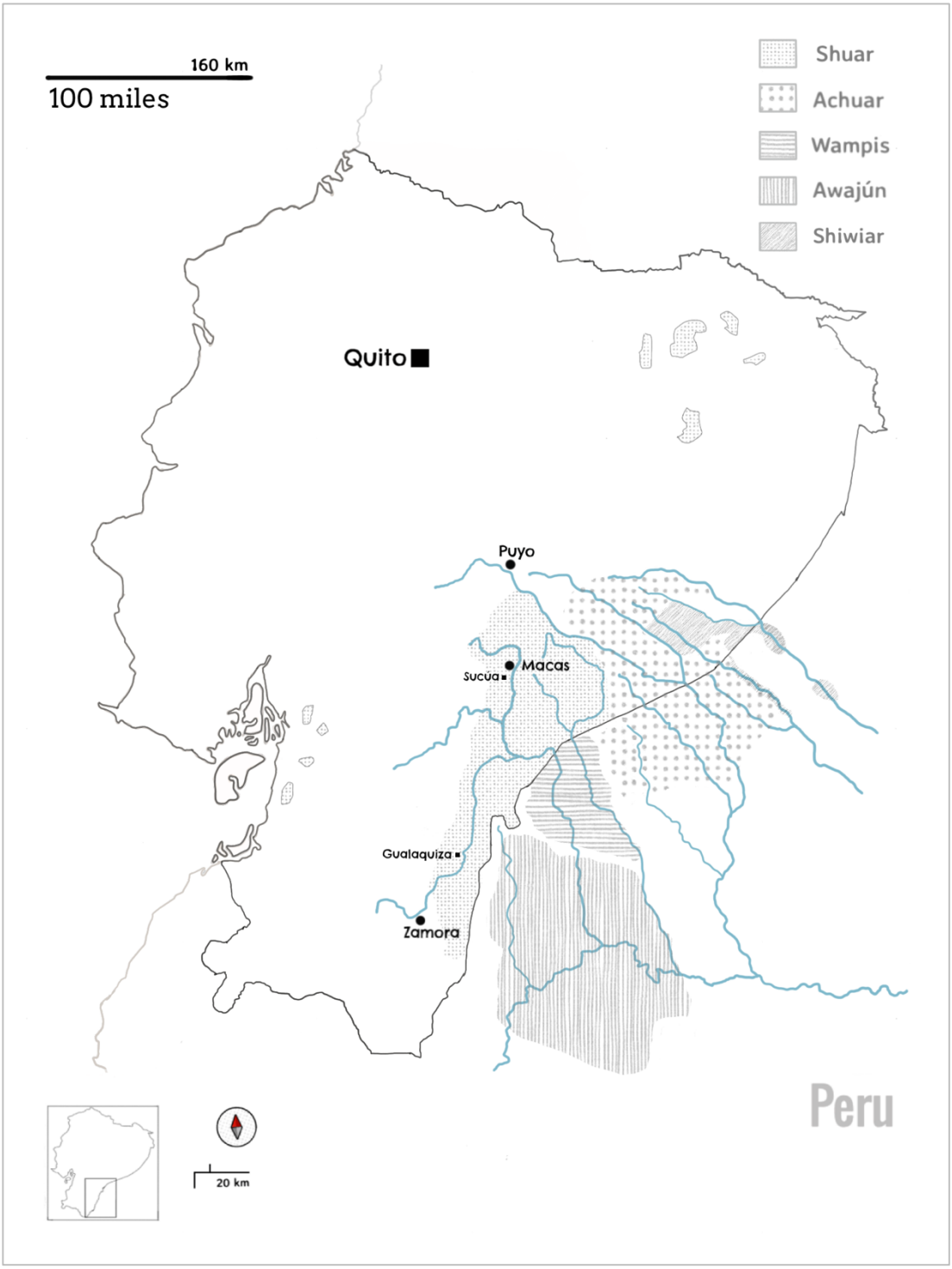
Figure 2. Alice Reiner in the field upon arrival.
(Photo by the author, Santiago Paati)



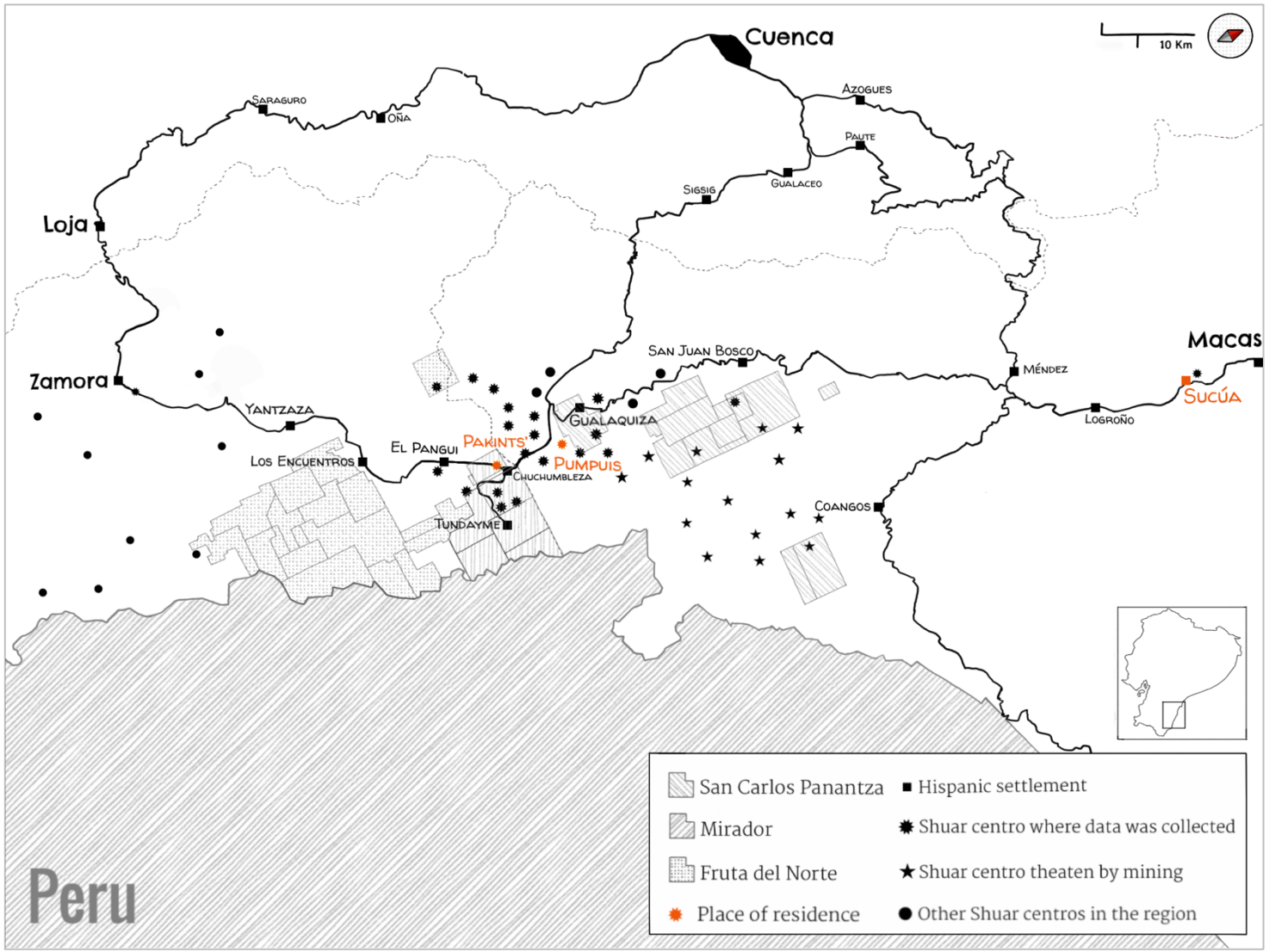
Figure 3. Author reading in the field.



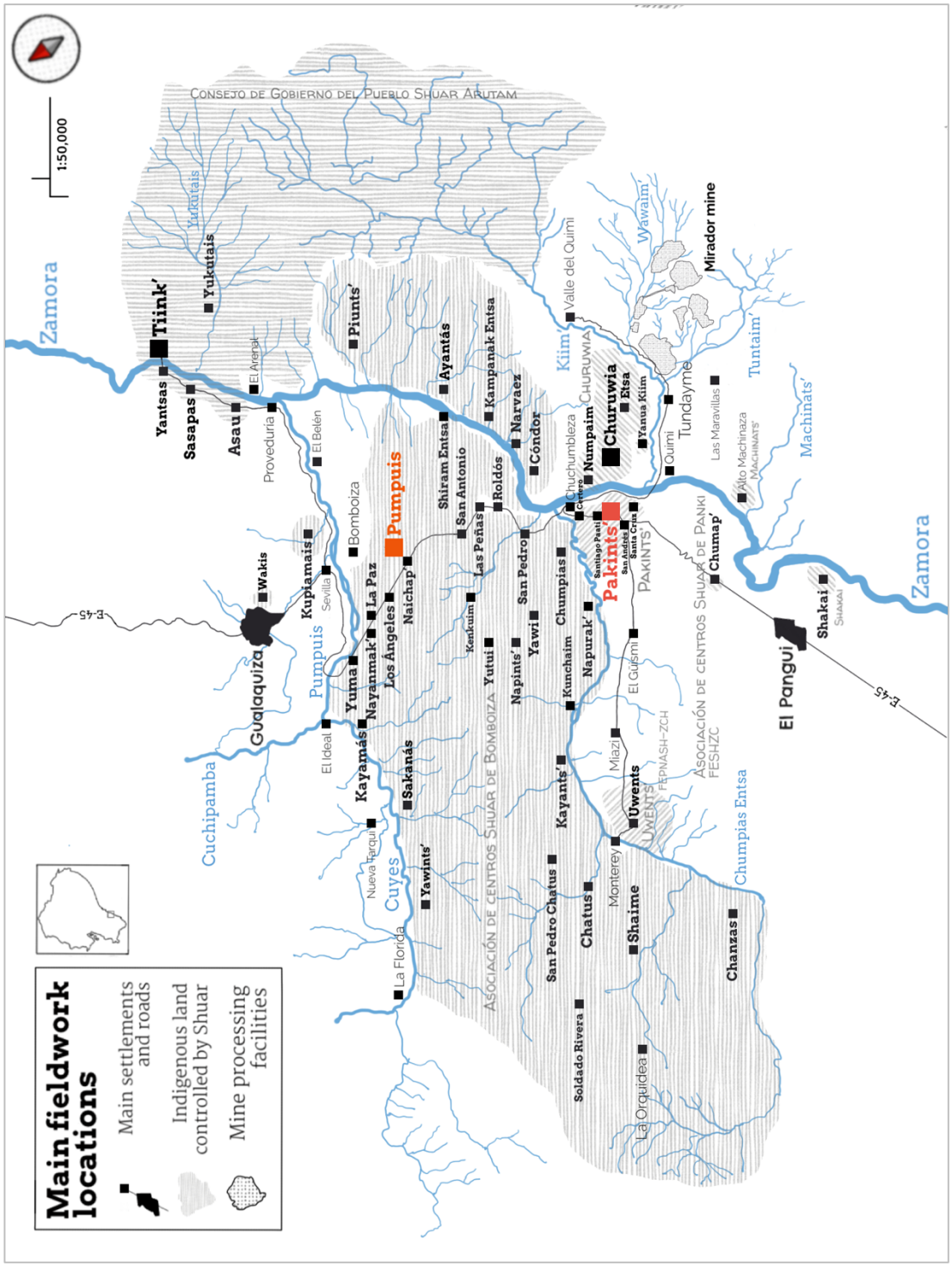
Figure 4. Whiskey swimming in the *pakints'* stream.



Map 3. Regional distribution of *chicham*-speaking groups.



Map 4. Industrial mining in Shuar territory.



Map 5. Shuar *centros* and neighbourhoods near the Mirador mine.

Introduction

This thesis is an ethnographic study on the prevalence and consequence of indigenous historical knowledge in lowland South America. The account I provide here details the political history of an indigenous reserve in an often-overlooked swath of Shuar lands in Southeast Ecuador (referred to as 'the South' in this ethnography), and analyses what Shuar people in the region call 'Shuar history'. Shuar use this term to underscore their agency and political autonomy and to make sense of the ambiguities and uncertainties recently brought by large-scale industrial mining to their lands. In so doing, they provide a historical account of 'real history', that not only intends to oppose and counteract colonial accounts and descriptions of the region but currently serves to redefine industrial mining politics under indigenous terms. Shuar history thus plays an essential role in Shuar understandings of resource extraction in the region and helps shape indigenous outlooks over a contested and conflictive future.

Industrial mining in the South, Shuar maintain, shall also be understood through and within indigenous politics as it does not depend solely on external imposition but on the historical entanglements of indigenous agency and settler colonialism. It is therefore as much a matter

of indigenous political history as it is a complex relation of state and capital expansion, resource extraction and extractive development, commodity cycles and geopolitical realignments currently at play in Western Amazonia.

The following chapters attempt to explain what Shuar people mean when they say that current mining developments ought to be understood through indigenous history. I aim to explain how Shuar people engage in political action, drawing upon their knowledge of the past and how Shuar history affects ongoing social, political, and economic changes brought about in a context of resource extraction. This study is therefore an ethnographic enquiry into Shuar notions of the past, as it is an analysis of indigenous politics in an extractive context. Above all, I try to interpret and convey Shuar understandings of history within and beyond colonial frameworks in terms that Shuar people themselves would understand and articulate. The use I make of Shuar history as an ethnographic concept is aimed at framing indigenous understandings of politics and how these are built and maintained over time. Shuar use this framework to lens through mining conflicts in the region and I have ethnographically adopted its use to engage with crucial aspects of an anthropology of mining. This should be read as a demonstration that studies on resource extraction on indigenous lands in lowland South America stand to gain considerable depth by paying closer attention to indigenous cosmologies.

I likewise take on the concept of 'mining encounters' to frame my overall approach to resource extraction and appropriate its commitment to study ethnographically the complexities and 'frictions between individuals and groups with different agendas, worldviews and aims within the context of mining operations' (2018a: 25). I will accordingly look 'at extractive practices as fields of connection and negotiation, of frictions and contradictions, between different actors who have a particular interest in extraction' (2018a: 26). I do so, primarily, from an indigenous viewpoint and highlighting historical indigenous political knowledge. The result consequently explores industrial mining developments and resource conflicts through the connections

established in indigenous political experience and the historical perception of Shuar people in the region.

Mining encounters in this area are a meeting point of social, economic, and legal inequality, openly adverse to indigenous peoples at the local level, and a national context where law and public opinion are unmistakably sympathetic to indigeneity and identity politics. Thus, the same colonial inequalities that historically led landless settler peasants to be expelled from the highlands by a wealthy landed class towards what they perceived as its 'hostile' lowland margins are today re-enacted in the mine-site and experienced by labourers and peasants as work discrimination, forced evictions, and overall uncertainty. Similarly, the same social and legal constructs which allowed Shuar to be systematically disposed of their land by settler peasants since the 1960s, have been fundamental in facilitating and allowing land-acquisition and resource concessions that nowadays favour mining corporations. Past colonial grievances, and the ethnic rivalries that define politics in local settings, have therefore been a hindrance to the effective consolidation of a united front of indigenous and non-indigenous communities facing the expropriation of their lands and livelihoods.

The result has been a highly volatile, fractured, and divisive encounter of state and corporate interests, environmental and Human Rights activism, efforts, and agendas, and indigenous ethnopolitics, unfolding, dependent, and entrenched within a prevailing colonial milieu. It's also been a highly violent encounter. Shuar engagements with industrial mining today, may hence recall common themes long raised by researchers working on indigenous struggles over land and political autonomy in lowland South America (Conklin & Graham 1995; Greene 2009a; Hemming 2003; Little 2001; Turner 1991), whilst also rising many pressing questions on conflict, ambiguity, negotiation and resistance, as reviewed by an anthropology of mining and other studies on resource extraction in the modern world (Arellano-Yanguas 2012; Bebbington 2012; Filer 1990; Humphreys Bebbington & Bebbington 2010; Connel & Philip Hirsch 1996; Kirsch 2010; Le Billon 2015; Pijpers & Eriksen 2018b; Switzer 2001).

Geographical background

The Shuar people I describe henceforth live on both banks of the *chumpias entsa*, the Chuchumbleza river, a mid-sized tributary of the Zamora, in southeast lowland Ecuador (see Map 2). This region is relatively far away from the Upano valley and the prominent Shuar Federation in Sucúa, where most ethnographic research on Shuar people has traditionally centred (Harner 1984; Karsten 1935; Mader 1999; Rubenstein 2002; Stirling 1938). It is also far away from the hinterland Transkutukú area, often described as offering relative isolation from the main colonising centres (Descola 1981; 1982; Hendricks 1988; Taylor 1981).

In comparison, the region I study has received significantly less attention by ethnographers, albeit no lack of relevance or interest. Sustained missionary presence, dating back as soon as the first quarter of the 19th century, was established here earlier than anywhere else in *chicham* lands. Two major missionary administrations amongst Shuar, in fact, intersect in this region: the Salesian Vicariate Apostolic of Méndez and Gualaquiza and the Franciscan Vicariate Apostolic of Zamora.[17] The proximity of this area to chief urban centres of colonial and republican expansion has thus also left a wealth of written evidence and archival records not easily found elsewhere in Shuar lands. Furthermore, the profoundly transformational process that led to the creation of indigenous reserves throughout Shuar territory, and to the establishment of the Shuar Federation in 1964, was accomplished in the area a year earlier, following a slightly different path, and with relative autonomy.[18] And the region had an important role in prompting a conflict that led to the division of the Shuar Federation in 1986.

The recent incursion of industrial mining in the region, however, has elicited renew interest in this area, its ecology, indigenous inhabitants, and colonial history. This task has so far been undertaken mostly by several engaged academics and environmental or human rights activists, who have set out to recount such a history through the lens of resource struggles. In consequence, an increasing number of pieces of writing, academic or otherwise, from national

and international social sciences graduates and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and a series of documentary videos, maps, murals, graffiti, and informative graphic design have recently tried to bring to light Shuar ecological and territorial resistance to the wider public. In most cases, if not all, this body of work refers to the region as 'Cordillera del Cóndor', a geographical denomination for the area as noted in official maps; or, less often, as the 'Corriente copper belt', matching corporate resource mapping, geological surveys, and concession areas leased to the development of industrial mining projects. The use of this charismatic mountain range in engaged scholarship and the press usually aims to emphasise the great ecological significance of the area, nowadays critically endangered by resource extraction. There is, still, another important connotation here, not lost to this scholarship, journalism, or its readers. The Cordillera del Cóndor is a long-disputed political frontier between Ecuador and Peru, who have fought there, over a few wars and smaller skirmishes along the 19th and 20th centuries, the exact limits of their international borders. Its name, therefore, has attached to it a baggage of nationalist connotations in both countries, now shaping resource sovereignty debates. These considerations are not indifferent to *chicham* peoples, both in Ecuador and Peru, whose active and significant participation in each country's military forces was determinant in the outcome of the later border conflicts.

Here, against the established trend, and despite these terms having clearly gained some traction in national ethnopolitics and regional and international indigenous rights and environmental networks, I won't follow this naming convention. First, the Cordillera del Cóndor covers more physical ground than my actual area of fieldwork for me to feel comfortable with the generalisation its use would imply. Second, I seldom heard Shuar people use that denomination to talk about the region in a context that didn't refer to military stories or environmental urban activism, neither of which are the focus of this study. Although Shuar people settled right at the foothills of this cordillera (known in *shuar chicham* as '*churuwia*') may indeed use this name in everyday life, the term doesn't have, in Shuar use, the same extensive regional connotations it has come to acquire in Spanish.

As noted before, in this study I refer to the broad region surrounding the area of my fieldwork as *el sur*, 'the South', which is how I most commonly heard Shuar people refer to the region in any encompassing commonplace way. Henceforth, whenever such a generalisation is acceptable, the South, within the entirety of Shuar territory, refers to the area that stretches along the course of the Zamora River from (and including) the Gualaquiza area in the north to (but excluding) the Alto Nangaritza area in the south. The reader should be warned, however, that I only use this demarcation to facilitate the reading of this work. Shuar collaborators, in my experience, though agreeing with this decision as presented in this thesis, tend to avoid such broad geographical generalisations in everyday speech as these hide the political meanings usually attached and conferred to geographic origin.

Shuar people inhabiting parts of this region, for example, were called in previous times *tsumu shuar*, 'people of the buttocks', and featured prominently both as enemies in war stories or as distant kin for many of its northern neighbours the *yakinia shuar*, 'people of the higher lands'. The denominator *yakinia shuar* is a general name of reference for people inhabiting the high jungle *montaña* area as opposed to people inhabiting descending regions.[19] A general term equivalent to *muraya shuar*, 'people of the hills', and encompassing *untsuri shuar*, 'numerous people', by which classic ethnography has famously identified the Shuar 'proper' in a larger conglomerate of peoples with similar linguistic and cultural traits.[20] Shuar in the Alto Zamora, who also inhabit the *montaña* region, referred to themselves as *yakinia shuar* and called *tsumu shuar* to the people inhabiting eastern and southeaster lands from where they are. This distinction between *yakinia shuar* and *tsumu shuar* was thus relational and depended on the point of view of the speaker.[21]

Nowadays, however, these terms are rarely heard. Shuar people in the region frequently distinguish regional differences, historical trajectories, and political and ethnopolitical divisions within themselves by separating between *muruna shuar*, 'people of Morona-Santiago', and *samuria shuar*, 'people of Zamora-Chinchipe', the two republican provinces defining political administration in the region since 1953. The following chapters shall describe

how this division came to occur and the political implications its existence has had for the Shuar Federation. The importance of this conflict in Shuar political history is substantial. Its aftermath still affects indigenous politics and Shuar understandings on current mining encounters. Both the Shuar Federation and its division, in fact, are nowadays at the core of Shuar historical identity.

Ethnographic background

Shuar are the largest group amongst several well-known culturally similar *chicham* speakers in Western Amazonia. As a result, they have not only been unusually 'well-studied', as Steven Rubenstein (Rubenstein 2001: 265), already noted at the turn of the 2000s, but also remarkably well-known amongst a varied range of regional specialists. The consistency of ethnographic interest on *aénts chicham* peoples, the speakers of *chicham* languages, hence, assures that the general contours of *aénts chicham* history are also largely recognisable. Shuar, after all, as an often-quoted line distinctly notes, 'have had the doubtful privilege of numbering amongst the first indigenous peoples in Western Amazonia to have seen the Europeans' (Taylor & Landázuri 1994: 5; my translation). Whilst equally importantly: 'They have also had the more exotic privilege of finding themselves amongst the few indigenous peoples to have survived as a specific cultural entity, after four centuries of almost constant hostile confrontation' (Taylor & Landázuri 1994: 5; my translation).

The history of Shuar long contact with settler colonisation and the state has thus been extensively studied[22] (Boster 2003; Bustamante 1988; Mainville 2010; Rubenstein 2001; 2002; Rudel, Bates & Machinguiashi 2002a; 2002b; Saignes et al. 1998; Salazar 1989; Taylor 1999; Taylor & Descola 1981). So has Shuar experience with boarding schools and missionaries—including how this expanded state control over indigenous land to facilitate settler colonisation and its drift towards ethnopolitical organisation (Juan Bottasso 1982; Cova:2015td 2011; Esvertit Cobes 2012; Gnerre 2012; Izaguirre 1978a; 1978b; Meiser 2015; Rubenstein 2005;

Taylor 1981). The foundation of the Shuar Federation in 1964—which both grew from colonial asymmetries and acted as an effective countermeasure to settler occupation, has also been a major focus of scholarly attention (FICSH 1976; Rubenstein 2001; Salazar 1977; 1981). And the subsequent social, cultural, and political transformations that have resulted in the process (Buitrón-Arias 2020; Descola 1981; 1982; Israel 1985; Perruchon 2003; Taylor 1995).

In a country such as Ecuador, moreover, large-scale industrial mining, though still an emerging and developing industry, is being thrust amongst well-organised lowland indigenous peoples who have had already more than enough damaging experiences with resource extraction in their lands (Center for Economic and Social Rights 1994; Cepek 2018; Davidov 2010; Doughty et al. 2010; Kimerling 2006; Lu et al. 2018; Rival 1997; Sawyer 2004; Sawyer et al. 2012). Shuar own colonial history, to take a case in point, is not devoid of resource conflict and the discontents and nuisances of mining imposed by colonial history and expansion. The distasteful imagery of gold, the most noticeable symbol of colonial greed, destruction, and imperialism in indigenous South America has, in fact, long accompanied common ethnographic depictions of Shuar through a stern and extended resistance against colonial exploitation. Shuar willingness to intermittently retaliate, moreover, has defined, to a certain extent, their ethnographic character amid both scholarly audiences and the general public.

Indeed, Shuar well-known repute as warriors, and the fierce independence and autonomy this granted them, date back in written records to at least the second half of the sixteenth century and draw upon a series of well-documented rebellions successfully waged by Shuar against foreign invaders. The utter destruction of Logroño, a Spanish mining settlement, during the infamous Shuar uprising of 1599, has thus done much to light a myth of Shuar rebellious independence, resistance to foreign oppression, and indomitable fight against resource extraction. Shuar have as a result long been widely recognised as a quintessentially 'fierce' people (Taylor 1994a; Whitten 2008). The endurance of such tropes has, moreover, ongoing currency and symbolic worth within mining encounters. If I may quote a witty Twitter user's

reply to a governmental self-righteous social media campaign referring to Shuar struggles against industrial mining as 'terrorism', during the time I was doing fieldwork: 'Shuar ain't no Gandhi, they fight back'.[23]

Such underlining of Shuar warriorship has been common since colonial times. Similar narratives were first promoted and popularised by missionary accounts and travel writing (see Rubenstein 2006), and are currently repeated and reproduced by environmental advocates, campaigns, and organisations. Shuar historical resistance, widely known by Shuar today and frequently brought up in early cultural inductions (saying Shuar have never been conquered by the Spanish nor the Inka has become something of a trope invariably presented to the newly arrived in the Shuar lowlands), is now an elemental gauge of current mining encounters and colonial enmeshment. However, such discourses appear nowadays almost as a counterpoint to recent ethnographic descriptions of *chicham* peoples and Shuar own reflections of the present and the recent past, which also note increasing incorporation to the state, cultural assimilation, and hasty social change.

Moreover, Shuar know well what social anthropologists and other researchers (linguists and missionaries in particular) have been writing about them, and know exactly what these researchers, who so regularly visit, are generally looking for. Some people can correct academic papers presented to them, as I used to do whilst in the field, on such grounds as ethnographic accuracy, comparative significance, or regional specificity. Many have an ethnographic knowledge wide enough to stand up in a court room hearing and tell a judge, as I observed in fieldwork, 'We, Shuar, have been described as the people of the sacred waterfalls', in reference to Harner's renowned monograph ([1972] 1984). Whilst others have conducted their own *investigaciones*, 'investigations', with far-off and elder kin on 'Shuar culture', *chicham* language, or historic fact.

The indigenous capacity for contrast and comparison is therefore substantial and questions and anxieties regarding social change are thus suggestive. Yet, these queries are nothing new. The chosen title given to a Spanish translation of a 1977 ethnographic commentary, already

summed it up: *El Pueblo Shuar: de la leyenda al drama*, 'Shuar: from legend to drama', (Münzel & Kroeger 1981). Why a people who had so stubbornly and effectively resisted colonial expansion had been so rapidly incorporated by the republican state to the point that they seemed to embrace it?, was to become a common ethnographic problem especially following the establishment of the Shuar Federation. Questions on assimilation, power asymmetry, social and economic change, and culture and language loss have since loomed large in *aénts chicham* ethnographic surveys and the issue has divided and troubled scholarly research (Amaluiza & Segovia 1980; Belzner 1981; Domingo Bottasso 1984; Buitrón-Arias 2017; de Salvador & Martínez 2015; Descola 1981; 1982; Israel 1985; Rubenstein 2001; Rudel, Bates & Machinguiashi 2002b; Salazar 1977). Marie Perruchon, for instance, concludes in the published version of her doctoral thesis: 'I would say that in many senses Shuar are already conquered, although still resisting. They have embraced Catholicism and colonialism. Naturally, they have benefited from doing so. Nevertheless, they have succeeded in maintaining a peculiar identity, even if its modified' (Perruchon 2003: 132).

Traditional Shuar society, after all, according to early *chicham* ethnography, was organised on domestic autonomy and sovereignty, independence between domestic groups, and conflictive competition. This often led to rivalry, enmity, and internal feuding and, when in necessity, coordinated war against foreign oppressors. Traditional attachment to social atomism, economic self-sufficiency, and the dispersion of settlements patterns—both a result of this form of organising society and a way of keeping it, were, according to Anne-Christine Taylor, fundamental in ensuring Shuar continuity and cultural survival as a recognisable and distinctive people. Indeed, disperse settlement patterns, Taylor noted, helped *chicham* speakers survive throughout centuries of colonial incursions, violent imposition, and epidemic dangers (Taylor & Landázuri 1994).

Then, no hierarchy was tolerable, and egalitarianism was to be rigorously—when not violently—maintained. Not just a 'society against the state', as Pierre Clastres ([1977] 1989) once famously said but an even more radical 'people's struggle against society', as Steve Rubenstein

later paraphrased him (2012: 59). Hence, in Phillipe Descola's report of the Achuar, another *chicham* speaking group, amongst whom he lived in the mid-1970s: 'a bunch of people who had no chiefs, no villages, no descent groups [...], who spent a great deal of their time trying to kill each other' (Descola 2010: 209). Or, in perhaps more rustic words: 'Every man a petty king [*reyezuelo*], each an absolute monarch ruling his own wooden castle', as a Salesian missionary once described to me his first impressions amongst Shuar in the late 1950s (Siro Pellizzaro, *personal communication*).

Not without good reason the Shuar Federation has been the centrepiece in such analyses. Steven Rubenstein, concerned with colonisation and change, and thinking that colonial struggles were the single most pressing question faced by Shuar at the time of his research, has characterised the Shuar Federation for its contradictions. In managing Shuar land reserves, he writes, the Shuar Federation has provided 'a territorial and institutional basis for Shuar identity' (Rubenstein 2001: 264)—which has proved fundamental to Shuar ethnogenesis, but has also turned Shuar people into 'agents of colonialism by channelling access to capital and promoting cattle ranching' (Rubenstein 2002: 12). Rubenstein is not alone in his assessment. Philippe Descola, too, describes the Shuar Federation as a vehicle for self-inflicted economic, ecologic, and social transformation, 'combined to produce irreparable loss' (Descola 1982).[24] In fact, most earlier studies of the Shuar Federation, overwhelmingly coincide in highlighting the salient changes it helped introduce (Salazar 1977; 1981).

Such views, moreover, concur with broad regional observations. According to a well-known article by Michael Brown, what has come from federative politics and pan-indigenous political organisations has been 'the most striking change in the circumstances of Amazonian leadership since first contact' (1993: 316). Therefore, when this kind of political organisation became customary among indigenous peoples all over Amazonia (—along with elected *presidentes*, *síndicos, secretarios,* and *vocales*), 'who can successfully walk in two worlds', to use Brown's expression (Brown 1993: 312), rose into regional, national, and transnational political scenes.[25] The main reason triggering such change was simple: state recognition and land-titling

required the institutionalisation of a legal body of self-government that would 'speak' the language of the state. Federative politics thus successfully established itself as recognised interlocutor and the preferred political mediator between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous agents, customs, and societies.

The political implications of such a transformation are considerable and have impacted both indigenous lives and how outsiders approach, interact with, and apprehend indigenous societies. How these outsiders understand and engage with indigenous change must therefore itself be the subject of research. Indigenous federative politics, after all, do help negotiate—if not, indeed, facilitate—indigenous interactions with an ever-growing number of non-indigenous peoples and political intentions. And, despite all paradoxes, the indigenous use of ethnically oriented discourses and the general endorsement of federative politics has also served indigenous societies to contend against the state, neo-liberal capitalism, transnational corporations, and resource extraction. Accordingly, in what way Shuar federative politics may engage with industrial mining in their lands will have, one way or another, significant effects in shaping ongoing mining encounters; and these will be shaped, too, by how outsiders and stockholders approach and understand indigenous change.

Research is also affected here. The undeniable extent of change, adaptation, and transformation Shuar have experienced in the past decades, has indeed not gone unnoticed in recent scholarship on industrial mining conflicts in the South (Corral 2014; Fernández-Salvador 2017; Leifsen et al. 2017; Sánchez-Vásquez et al. 2016; van Teijlingen & Warnaars 2017; Warnaars 2013). Missionary influence, state authority, and colonial history have all, as a result, correctly been identified as relative precursors to industrial mining. Whilst colonial expansion has become a starting point into the study of resource extraction and indigenous political organisation and perceptions in the region. Still, the subtle attentiveness of indigenous contradictions, so critical to the ethnographic observations of Shuar federative politics cited above, appear adrift when the emphasis is so centred on colonial imposition and capital expansion. No attention is given in this literature to indigenous agency, sense of conflict, or

historical awareness. And indigenous understandings of ongoing mining conflicts are largely absent. Hence, whereas this scholarship, I believe, is on spot at the suspicion of powerful external influences, it completely misses to apprehend what may be at stake for Shuar themselves.

People in Pakints', moreover, do not appear much troubled by such apparent contradictions, but have devised a coherent and well-structured framework in which to explain, recognise, and make sense of historic change. Shuar narratives of history, instead, often dwell on conflict and entangle long-running regional alliances set up by former indigenous war parties with more recent indigenous participation in national politics within the state. This coincides and overlaps with the significant process of change and transformation that has characterised Shuar existence since the widespread invasion of their lands in the late 1950s and the establishment of the Shuar Federation in 1964. Shuar thus recognise the standing of this process and note a clear distinction between current ways of life and that of their predecessors, saying frequently that, unlike the raging warriors of an earlier time, they are now 'a people with *organización*'.

The resulting transformations, as I aim to show henceforth, when seen from the perspective of indigenous history, appear as a rearrangement of indigenous political agency and autonomy. Indigenous understandings of *organización*—as Shuar call their varied ethnopolitical endeavours, recognise that change in time occurs recurrently, yet insist that it mostly happens under indigenous agency and within a continuity of Shuar political understandings. Within this framework, indigenous historic memory unfolds beyond intricate colonial entanglements and Shuar *organización*, despite its many caveats and shortcomings, has been successful to a degree perhaps unparalleled in lowland South America.

Today, Shuar stand tall at all ranks of state administration and comprise a majority of lowland military personnel deployed nearby extractive locations. Shuar men and women occupy various high-level positions as direct advisors to the government on industrial mining, hold diverse managerial posts at corporate CSR programmes, and lead the vanguard of resistance

against resource extraction in the country. Through their experience, I had a glimpse, too, of closed-door board room negotiations, concealed barrack tactics, ministerial phone calls, NGO legal strategies, and delicate political discussions between numerous organisations and its representatives. These experiences, I shall argue, are also a part of Shuar indigenous history and remain not too far apart from everyday life in a *centro* such as Pakints'. What is more, the history of Pakints', when viewed and understood as indigenous history—and not just by its colonial undertones—provides, I believe, a thorough view into the overarching notions of indigenous agency, the complex and intricate experience of Shuar with change and transformation, and the significant continuities that remain behind Amazonian political action to this day.

The description I provide hereafter is thus also an overview of resource conflicts and its intricate entanglements with indigenous and colonial history as these resonate in the background of mine encounters in the South. I shall respectively expand on both these issues along the three parts that compose the thesis. Amidst the high degree of polarisation and violence that characterises mining encounters in the region, Shuar have faced its influx through alternate engagements with both corporate and government platforms and resistance coalitions whilst, at the same time, participating actively in indigenous political struggles for visionary power and regional prestige. Most often, in fact, regional contempt over extractive developments was understood, from the indigenous viewpoint, as a matter of indigenous history and Shuar political relations. And people in the South thus discussed Shuar history in relation to a well-known past of regional strife and widely perceived this be directly connected with ongoing resource conflicts. Resource conflicts, state expansion, and colonial perceptions are thus entangled with indigenous history and political developments.

In the nascent extractive economy of the region, uncertain developments such as land acquisition, environmental pollution, occupational safety, or economic inequality had unequivocally a bad prognosis and were lived with a sense of immediacy and urgency, but none had come as a surprise. This didn't mean that people wouldn't discuss or worry about

the setting of industrial mining steadily building up next to their homes. To be sure, this was—and is—a heatedly debated matter in the region. The future posed by industrial mining threatens to take people's lands away, poison livelihood and rivers, and bring in unwanted foreigners on indigenous lands already largely invaded by settler colonisation.

When asked about industrial mining, then, Shuar angrily described processes of accumulation by dispossession; the emergence and consolidation of structural violence that accompanied the process; and worried about environmental pollution, transnational investment, exploitation of labour, and the imperatives of capitalist expansion. The same themes, that is, that so prominently featured in most academic, press, and NGOs' reports so far available about the storming violence of state and corporate intrusion in Shuar lands. Yet, despite the broad significance with which such issues might appear from the outside, from within the indigenous viewpoint, their inherent scale fell short of effectively articulating and explaining 'what was really happening'.

When Shuar discussed industrial mining conflicts from the outlook of indigenous political relations, 'what was really happening' indeed presented altogether a different standpoint. Then, people tended to rely, often, on narratives of the past or in visionary knowledge of the future. The swift change and contention unfolding in the present, rather than the outcome of colonial imposition was understood to have followed on and built upon a series of internecine conflicts distressing indigenous politics and history. The recent progression of industrial mining in the region, then, had not been triggered by the sole imposing influx of foreign agents or the state but rather depended on indigenous action shaping past events and significant occurrences that long preceded—and hence explained—the arrival of industrial mining.

The expression of such memories, remembered as a number of connected stories about kin relations and ancestral feuds, accounts about 'white peoples' and the state, ethnopolitical struggles, and *natem'* (also ayahuasca, *Banisteriopsis caapi*) visions and predictions of the future, was conferred to me as 'Shuar history'. Within this framework, Shuar articulated memory, narrative, and their own notions of their past and recent history to understand change and

transformation, as well as cultural continuity and sense of identity over time. Shuar may live within and struggle against unjust colonial political configurations but do so intimately informed by their own indigenous notions, sense, experience, and awareness of historic time. Shuar history, then, I often heard, was 'true history', as opposed to state, missionary, or settler colonial accounts. It encompassed and surpassed what those other accounts ignored, distorted, misunderstood, or intentionally forged. Furthermore, people in Pakints' deemed it necessary to understand ongoing resource conflicts. Thus began the long string of conversations about the past and visionary knowledge that now compose this thesis.

People in Pakints', and throughout the South, argue today that current resource conflicts have their source in the clashes and contradictions that occasioned and produced the partition of the Shuar Federation, and in consequence engage with mining encounters inherently as an indigenous affair. Hence, state and corporate interests, environmental and Human Rights activism, efforts, and agendas have been drawn into a complex indigenous framework of political relations. Indigenous and non-indigenous collective efforts are, however, effectively arbitrated through Shuar ethnopolitics, which mediate broad interactions within mining encounters, yet represent indigenous political perspectives that subvert and transcend shared political understandings. The practical implications this has on an already ambiguous, volatile, and conflictive mining encounter are considerable. Mostly unconsciously, state intervention, corporate negotiation, and activists' networks of resistance, all partake of Shuar political understandings and the historical consciousness that structure Shuar political perspectives. The resulting consequences and misunderstandings may well be encapsulated as 'equivocations', following the definition provided by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, that such a mistake originates 'not just [from] a failure to understand' but from 'a failure to understand that understandings are necessarily not the same' (Viveiros de Castro 2017: 11).

As a result, equivocations transpire often and relations between indigenous interlocutors and government bureaucrats, corporate staff, and urbanite environmental or Human Rights activists become tainted with alternate significance. Broad political alliances between Human

Rights and environmental activism or between corporate and state platforms and Shuar interlocutors easily go out of synch when indigenous politics take over. What otherwise may seem to be, from the standpoint of these outsiders, clear and perhaps novel divisions between 'anti-' and 'pro-' mining postures are, within Shuar history, long-held historical relations between quarrelling groups.

The memory of internecine conflicts in late 20th century and the enduring prevalence of indigenous regional antagonism, dating back, as I show in this thesis, at least a hundred years before that, permeated through extractive politics to entwine resource conflicts with longstanding indigenous political relations. These actions, I shall argue, had much less to do with the promises of development, stable jobs, infrastructure, and poverty reduction, so readily available through the post-neoliberal era to stakeholder communities (van Teijlingen 2012; van Teijlingen & Hogenboom 2016; Vivas Albán 2011; Warnaars 2012; Warnaars & Bebbington 2014). Indigenous intention, instead, primarily answered to a long and convoluted account of regional conflict and antagonistic relations inherent to regional Shuar politics recurrently intertwined, and often disguised within colonial frameworks. Hence, when broad opposition against industrial mining burst towards active resistance under the leadership of Shuar groups that were historic rivals to the people of Pakints', most people in the *centro* chose the opposite side and violently confronted anti-mining protestors to hinder the takeover of corporate facilities.

The relative success in efforts to establish broad networks of support for Shuar resistance amongst urbanite audiences have thus increased equivocations in the region and botched possibilities for wider cooperation. The dependence of environmental activism on performative indigeneity requires and assumes, too, broad indigenous consensus to portray indigenous struggles to national and global audiences. The consequent reliance on but a very few indigenous coordinators artlessly ignores that Shuar political representation is kin based. The influence of anti-extractive activism is thus unevenly distributed, limited to circumscribed spheres of influence, and appears bereft of broad appeal. When overlaid on top of historical

indigenous partitions, environmental efforts, although fruitful along certain networks of alliance, are generally met with opposition and rejection amongst rival and enemy kin groups. These groups might then, in turn, strengthen interactions with state and corporate platforms to balance indigenous political relations. This paradoxically conceals the importance of Shuar politics on mining encounters: indigenous atomisation so becomes 'community divisions' and indigenous agency is deceitfully played down.

Similarly, presumed indigenous support for industrial mining, publicised by corporate PR and CSR departments, is therefore as real as equatorial autumns are and can only be sustained by the constant transfer of resources. It depends and steps on the splits and fissures of pre-existent indigenous political arrangements, deliberately mistaking a thin façade of hierarchical authority in Amazonian ethnopolitics to advance a feeble semblance of consensus. Human Rights and environmental activists as well as some engaged scholars have widely seen and denounced such indigenous disunion as 'community divisions' and held state expansion and corporate strategy responsible. Their own incomprehension regarding non-hierarchical indigenous atomisation has, however, also been a contributing excuse for regional divisions.

The maintenance of indigenous political divisions and its occurrence in national, regional, and extractive politics, make therefore ongoing mining encounters even more complex and harder to discern. Shuar people discussed national, regional, and indigenous politics frequently, passionately, and expertly, both amongst themselves and with me since political debate is a common part of everyday *centro* life. The considerable amount of time and interests given to such political matters by men and women of all ages, the historical significance given to *organización* within Shuar history, and how these matters so recurrently interweaved with regular social activities within and between households, made intelligible the otherwise unreachable presence of industrial mining enclaves in the region. Shuar history, in such a context, transitioned effortless and with fluidity between colonial and indigenous history over on-going mining conflicts and current events. The emphasis of this chapter, then, lies on the

arguments Shuar people in Pakints' and Pumpuis make to recount current struggles against industrial mining trough their own preceding conflicts and divergencies within *organización*.

The reading I wish to suggest hereafter is that resource conflicts in the South are subjected to what may be call Shuar political bilingualism. 'Shuar history' allows Shuar to approach mining encounters from within indigenous political thought and successfully engage indigenous and non-indigenous frameworks simultaneously. If mining encounters are perceived within a sphere of confrontation (*mesét*), then, long-standing regional feuding between enemy groups driven by the traditional acquisition of power (*kakáram*) simultaneously occur along a setting of resource struggles over indigenous land, resource extraction royalty investment, and indigenous autonomy. The latter situation, not infrequently described with the martial overtones of *guerra*, 'war', by indigenous and non-indigenous participants alike, includes the presence of state, corporate, and non-governmental agents interacting through very distinctive understandings of what war and conflict mean and represent.

Shuar struggles against industrial mining were thus not infrequently thought of and referred to in *shuar chicham* as *mesét*. The word, familiar to readers of classic *chicham* ethnography, is usually translated as both 'feuding' and 'warfare'. These two notions are generally treated as two very distinct concepts in ethnography, depending on whether or not the collection of shrunken heads (*tsantsa*) was practiced (Harner 1984; Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938). Thus, feuds portray violent hostility within similar groups where the recognition of kinship impeded the collection of *tsantsa*; and war describes raids against other *chicham*-speaking peoples where the main objective was collecting *tsantsa.* Nevertheless, as Janeth Hendricks notes (1993) on her account of a famed old warrior in the Shuar-Achuar boundary, not only are feuding and warfare linguistically undistinguished, but deciding whether shrunken heads were to be collected and which *aénts chicham* group an individual might ascribe to could be, in certain contexts, also a matter of interpretation.

Shuar political bilingualism, itself encapsulated by the term 'Shuar history' (generally conveyed in Spanish as *historia Shuar*), enables the articulation of historic memory, political

narrative, and visionary knowledge within and beyond colonial boundaries. Shuar history consequently becomes an informed rejection or amendment of colonial depictions of the past (i.e. the history of Shuar from a non-indigenous perspective); colonial history is then revisited, revised, and appropriated through a Shuar viewpoint (i.e. colonial history from an indigenous perspective); which, in turn, reveals the continuities and motion of indigenous political agency (i.e. history in a Shuar sense). Stories about kin relations, nomadic migration, ancestral wars and feuding, and visionary predictions of the future effortlessly coexist with accounts of land struggles, ethnopolitical organisation, industrial mining, and overall conflictive interactions with white peoples and the state. The mirror view of these two aspects of indigenous experience provides, therefore, a glimpse on Shuar understandings of change and transformation and sense of identity over time. This, I believe, is necessary to examine ongoing Shuar engagements with industrial mining. My approach to analyse ongoing mining encounters will thus be grounded on indigenous historical perceptions and will be based on Amazonianist ethnography.

Shuar use of hallucinogenic plants within the indigenous political sphere adds a further layer of complexity. Indigenous notions of personhood, leadership, and prestige emphasise the acquisition of *kakáram*, 'power', as an essential life pursuit, and visionary knowledge is essential to achieve it. The consumption of *natem'* (also ayahuasca, *Banisteriopsis caapi*), *tsánk* (tobacco, *Nicotiana tabacam*), and *maikiúa* (angel's trumpet, *Brugmansia arborea*) to induce and acquire courage, bravery, worthiness, fearlessness, physical strength, health, and visionary power is also actively used within mining encounters. The attainment of visionary knowledge, furthermore, provides a confident look into the times and occurrences to come. Shuar use this knowledge of the future to act accordingly in life either by strengthening a chosen path or modifying a behaviour. Hallucinogenic plants thus enter the political realm both by shaping notions of leadership and prestige and by acting as strategic guidance in decision making. Forecasting, planning, and deciding consequential matters is according clarified through visionary knowledge whilst visionary knowledge is pursued as a quest for power.

I thus aim to tone down some ethnographic observations that highlight the unique strength and unity of the Shuar Federation (Salazar 1977) whilst also providing a counterpoint to depictions of Shuar ethnopolitics overly emphasising a 'western, hierarchic, and centralised structure [that has] become a medium for cultural transformation' (Perruchon 2003: 355). The failure of the Shuar Federation as a centralising project, in my view, attests to the continuity of traditional forms of thinking political relations amongst Shuar and is not different to the atomisation and factionalism seen in wider organisational politics across Amazonia (Greene 2009b).

Finally, several ethnographic accounts on *aénts chicham* peoples have emphasised Shuar resilient propensity to engage in antagonistic relations. Without ignoring the significant findings regarding the role of *organización* in expanding social, economic, and ecological change in Shuar society (Rubenstein 2001), I may add, however, considering the ethnographic evidence offered in this thesis on ethnopolitical dissention, that the Shuar Federation has also helped maintain a particular and characteristic political 'ethos' (Taylor 1995; see also Colajanni 1984). Furthermore, following Anne-Christine Taylor's observations, and vis-à-vis colonial incursion, the Shuar Federation might as well be seen as yet another way for Shuar to 'compete with whites at their own game' (Taylor 2007: 145). Overall, Shuar history, in my view, places indigenous ethnopolitics, both as change and continuities, within indigenous understandings and cosmology reframing agency and narrative in colonial and mining encounters.

Narrative arrangements

During fieldwork I was allowed to move freely between distinct rival Shuar factions despite the existing overall contention and distrust swelled by resource conflicts. The vigilant archival and careful maintenance of such a balance has permitted an ethnographic breadth and depth that otherwise would not have been imaginable. In the text that follows, then, I shall try to portray and explain this complex situation as close to Shuar viewpoints as attainable and as

inclusively as possible. I hope that doing so may at least partially compensate the trust, time, and friendship I always received from friends, collaborators, and informants. However, to achieve that in the text, I was compelled to experiment with ethnographic chronicle.

Throughout the text, I have at times chosen to follow a non-traditional narrative approach. Shuar often complain about the political motivation behind colonial history and 'white peoples' narrative and publishing monopolies. Shuar criticism is, of course, on point, but I also wish to highlight the outstanding Shuar talent for historic narrative and storytelling. The narrative approach I shall therefore embrace in certain chapters, aims to put their voices and historic knowledge in the forefront of ethnographic description and analysis. These pieces of writing are thus entirely composed by short excerpts of text selected from dozens of hours of recorded conversation, edited, and translated to interweave into a narrative whole. Except for minor style corrections, and clarifying context (marked in brackets), the text presents the unedited viewpoints and reflections of my interlocutors.

Because the chapters ahead all deal with 'true history', I decided to find a balance between protecting the identity of the people whom I worked with and faithfully recount their history in shape and meaning. Throughout the text, I have anonymised most personal names mentioned in this thesis by employing instead kin names for men and women. Shuar readers will thus not be able to identify individual persons but will certainly know the kin group to whom individual participants belong to, sometimes even their land reserves of precedence, and possibly ethnopolitical adscription. In the cases when individual names are mentioned their proper names have been replaced with indigenous nicknames that might be recognisable to friends, collaborators, or informants and their families, but will be undetectable to outsiders. I intend in this way to maintain the identity of individual participants hidden both from non-indigenous and indigenous readers whilst still providing recognisable kin attachments for Shuar readers to locate and make sense of the diverse political positions existing in the region.

I have always favoured *chicham* pseudonyms irrespective of whether Shuar names are common or infrequently employed. Jesuit, Salesian, and Franciscan missionaries and

important Shuar officials in indigenous ethnopolitical organisations (i.e., public and/or historic figures) are however referred by their proper names. By the same token, the names of indigenous and non-indigenous mine workers, outside constructors and suppliers, and state bureaucrats are never revealed or are mentioned with pseudonyms.

Finally, I shall note 'white peoples' in quotes and in plural to agglutinate the Shuar terms *apaach*' and *inkis*. The *chicham* word *apaach*', noted by Karsten (2000[1935]: 24, 49) and Harner (1973: 14) to designate 'white people', and by Rubenstein (2002: 170, 172) and Taylor (2007: 137) to also include settler colonisers, was originally used to denote any non-*aénts chicham* enemy/other 'non-people', including most (non-*aénts chicham*) indigenous groups. That meaning was traditionally used as an opposite of *shuar*, 'people.' Previous to the rise of federative politics in Ecuador, the word was also broadly applied to indigenous peoples of the highland, especially the Saraguro Kichwa who, having migrated to the Yacuambi valley in the Zamora River watershed (Belote 1997), were seen by many Shuar as equally obnoxious trespassers in their lands. Nowadays, however, the term is most likely used by Shuar to convey the non-indigenous peoples known in Latin American Spanish as *mestizo*, referring to Hispanic or Portuguese creoles; *afro-descendiente*, referring to afro-descendants in Latin America and the Caribbean; and *colono*, literally 'settler coloniser', meaning to all non-indigenous immigrants that now inhabit formerly indigenous lands in lowland Ecuador. The term therefore do not necessarily reference skin-colour and instead agglutinate these different classes of non-indigenous peoples that Shuar have historically encountered. The second word, *inkis*, has a much more recent coinage. It roughly translates the Latin American Spanish term 'gringo', most often used to denote North American and European foreigners especially of non-Latin origin. Southern Europeans, in particular Spanish and Italian people, with whom Shuar had earlier colonial contact through missionisation are also frequently referred in Shuar as *apaach*' and sometimes, when Shuar speak in Spanish, as *colonos propios*, 'proper colonisers.'

Shuar people, in common speech, and when speaking in *shuar chicham*, use one of these two words according to the context I have just described. When speaking in Spanish, however,

people tend to be more specific and reference, when known, different marks of description: such as nationality, 'French', or ethnicity, 'Basque'. In my use of the term 'white peoples', I aim to highlight the historic and general encounter of Shuar with non-indigenous others over a time that expands from the early colonial times until the present. The term 'white peoples', however, excludes Chinese people, who are specifically referred to by Shuar as either *shino* or *chino*, in Shuar and Spanish, respectively.

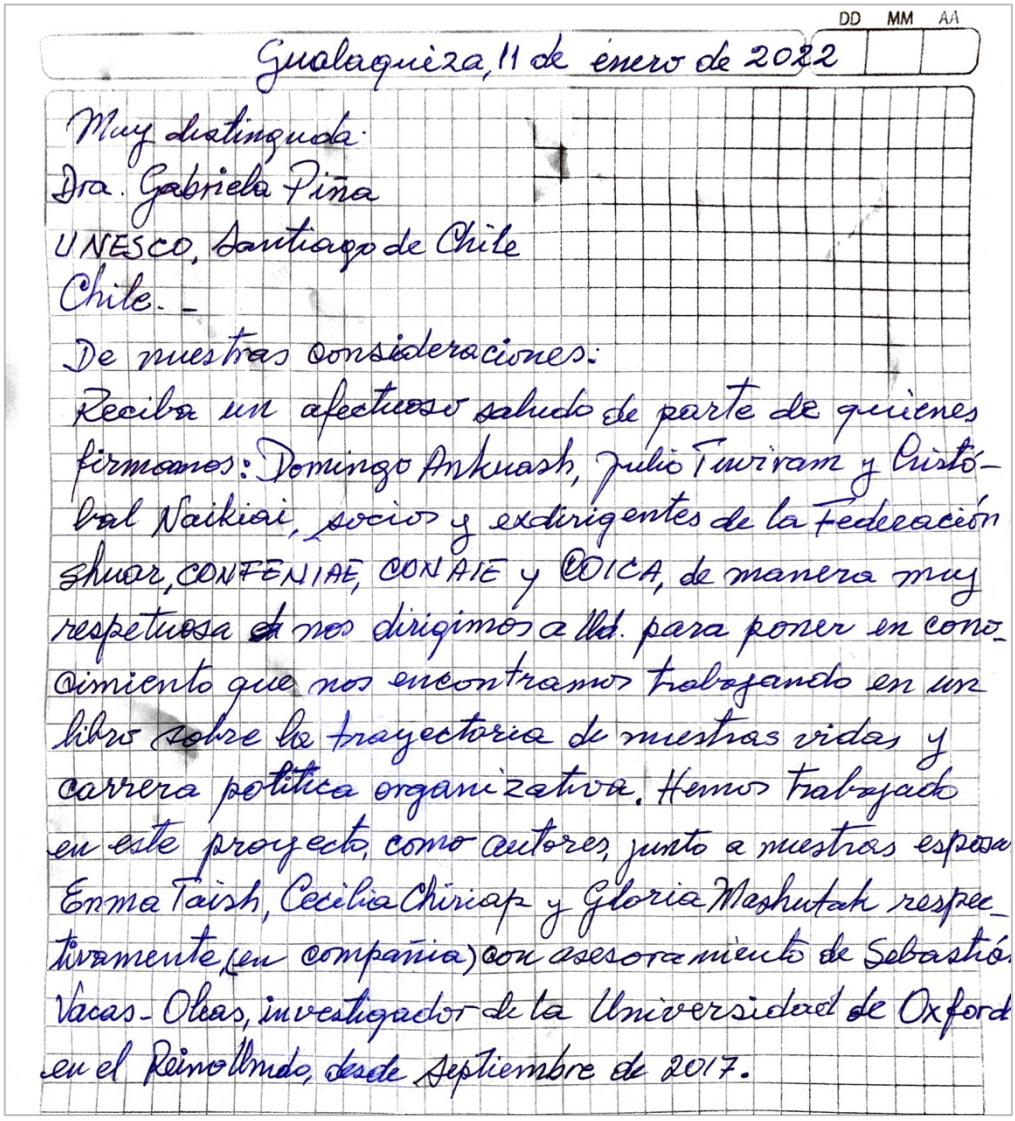
Thesis outline

The first part of the thesis, 'A History of Pakints', explores indigenous memory within Shuar history and the importance held by the memory of ancestors in Shuar historical awareness. Chapter 1, 'The Stream', lays down the context in which the past is used to make sense of the present and investigates how Shuar understand agency over time. This chapter provides both an historiographical classification and insights into indigenous notions of change and transformation. It is followed by a short ethnographic introduction in Chapter 2, 'Arrival', that aims to show how these notions are related to political conflict and resource struggles and how these complex processes have in turn shaped research in this study.

The second part of this thesis, 'A Tale of Two Centros', analyses the long-standing conflict occasioned by the 'civil war' inside the Bomboiza Assembly, between Pakints' and Pumpuis, the two Shuar *centros* where we carried out most of our research. Chapter 3, 'The South', however, first presents a long-time frame historical analysis of the colonial history in the region drawing upon ethnohistorical and archival sources. The chapter defines the broad geographical area studied by this thesis in Part II and presents a broad review of non-indigenous history since early colonial invasion in the 16th century to the beginning of state sponsored agrarian colonisation in the 20th century. Chapter 4, 'The Centro', explores the history of Pakints' and Shuar *organización* in relation to settler invasion and state-planned colonisation in the 1960s–1970s. Chapter 5, 'The Mine', presents an overview of resource

conflicts produced by industrial mining in the region and describes the conflictive situation in which fieldwork for this thesis was conducted. Chapter 6, 'Borders', further develops the difficult interactions between Shuar, settler colonisation, and industrial mining in the region and explores the misleading coexistence between national and regional colonial contexts and pre-existent indigenous political networks in the South. This chapter examines the division of the Shuar Federation during the 'civil war' and the continuity and maintenance of traditional Shuar political viewpoints today. This same topic is expanded in the following ethnographic narrative, in Chapter 7, 'The Civil War', which returns to a non-traditional narrative approach to portray how Shuar history is told and remembered. The text, entirely composed by short, interleaved, excerpts selected from multiple hours of recorded conversation, explores what Shuar mean when they say they are 'a people with *organización*', and lets the voices of historic *organización* leaders reflect about the division of the Shuar Federation.

The third part of this thesis, 'The Depths of Conflict', provides both a deeper exploration of Shuar political divisions over time and how these relate to ongoing mining encounters. Chapter 8, 'Ancestors', shows the depths of indigenous historical awareness and expands previous ethnographic knowledge about what Shuar and how this knowledge pans out with ongoing indigenous land reclamations vis-á-vis the expansion of industrial mining. Chapter 9, 'Engineers', analyses how Shuar in host communities view and relate to 'white' within a mining encounter that builds upon past colonial interactions and into indigenous politics. Finally, the conclusion reflects upon the importance of indigenous history to comprehend current mining encounters in the South.



Gualaquiza, 11 de enero de 2022

Muy distinguida
Dra. Gabriela Piña
UNESCO, Santiago de Chile
Chile. –

De nuestras consideraciones:

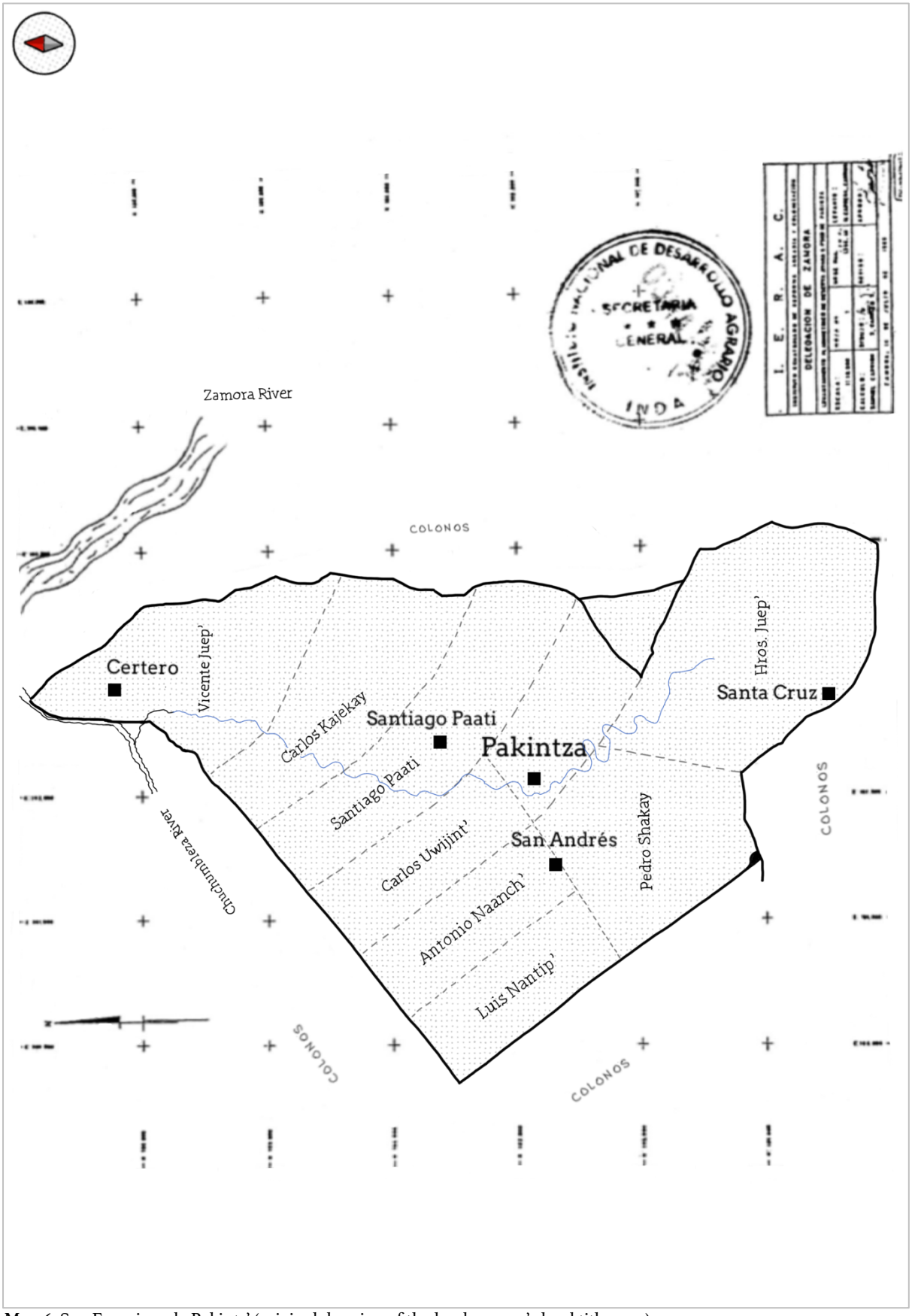
Reciba un afectuoso saludo de parte de quienes firmamos: Domingo Ankuash, Julio Turiram y Cristóbal Naikiai, socios y exdirigentes de la Federación Shuar, CONFENIAE, CONAIE y COICA, de manera muy respetuosa nos dirigimos a Ud. para poner en conocimiento que nos encontramos trabajando en un libro sobre la trayectoria de nuestras vidas y carrera política organizativa. Hemos trabajado en este proyecto, como autores, junto a nuestras esposas Enma Taish, Cecilia Chiriap y Gloria Mashutah respectivamente (en compañía) con asesoramiento de Sebastián Vacas-Oleas, investigador de la Universidad de Oxford en el Reino Unido, desde Septiembre de 2017.

Pensamos que nuestras biografías y experiencia política, tanto individual como colectivamente, tienen mucha relevancia actual y arrojan luz sobre la historia íntima de varias organizaciones del movimiento indígena en el país. La biografía de nuestras esposas, y el dialogo que establece el texto entre su experiencia y la nuestra, pensamos, aportará, además, a dar visibilidad al rol de las mujeres en las organizaciones indígenas, más allá de las dirigencias y organizaciones de mujeres hoy comunes. Queremos, finalmente, que nuestro trabajo sea tenido como un ejercicio original de historia indígena frente al contexto todavía colonial que gobierna en el país. Que nuestra narración resulte complementaria a las investigaciones académicas realizadas desde afuera por antropólogos, geógrafos y otros investigadores universitarios.

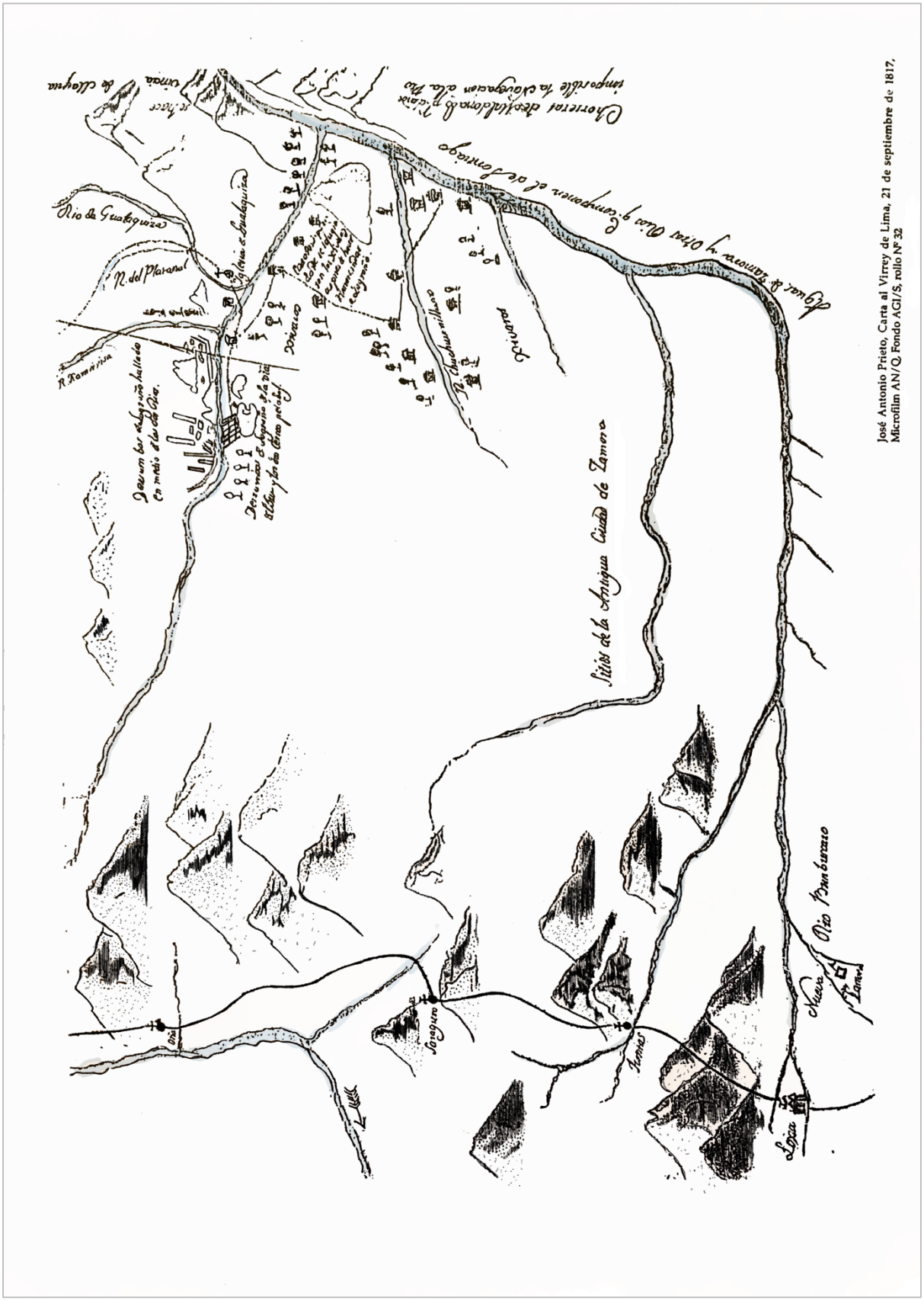
Document 1. Excerpts of a letter hand written by a collaborator, typed by me, and corrected by him. His corrections of the part I typed replace what I wrote as 'indigenous history' with *historia Shuar real*, 'Shuar true history' or 'true Shuar history'. 11 January 2022.

PART I

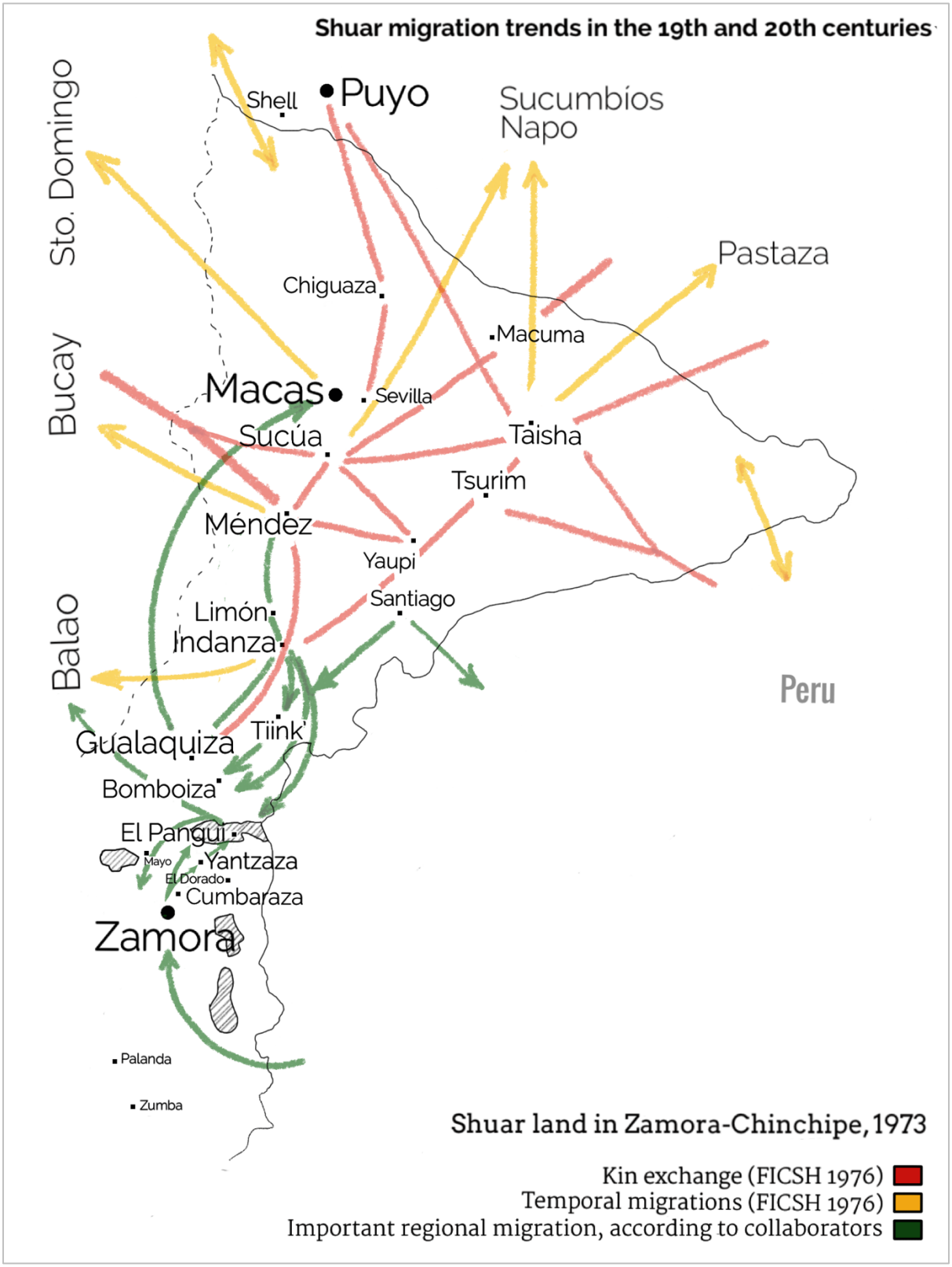
A History of Pakints'



Map 6. San Francisco de Pakints' (original drawing of the land reserve's land title, 1972).



Map 7. Places around the old city of Zamora (original map by Jose Antonio Prieto, 1817).



Map 8. Shuar migration trends.



Map 9. The indigenous depopulation of Zamora-Chinchipe.



Figure 5. Pinchupá showing the limits of his garden and the land left fallow acquired by *la compañía.*



Figure 6. Rubble left after eviction on the place where Pinchupá's house once stood.



Figure 7. Boy from Santa Cruz, one of the five neighbourhoods in Pakints', showing off his new tattoos.



Figure 8. Forest clearance for the Mirador mine near Tundayme.



Figure 9. Shuar house in Santa Cruz, near the land acquired by *la compañía* possibly to build tailings dam.



Figure 10. View of the Zamora River and the valley of Tundayme from a garden in Pakints'.



Figure 11. Bathing, playing, and washing in the *pakints*' stream.



Figure 12. The stream named *pakints'* in Pakints'.



Figure 13. Shuar land in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, Pakints'.

Del principio de la organización te voy a indicar, compañero. Nosotros no hemos venido de otra nación, somos de aquí. Mi padre, mis abuelos, que han pasado, contaban lo que los misioneros decían: que dios cogió barro y levantó. Así dicen los padres Salesianos. En cambio, nuestros abuelos nos dicen de como nosotros hemos nacido. ¡Eso nos cantaban!

Al principio, antes que hubiera nada, en ese tiempo todo había sido puro agua. Tierra no había. Entonces ahí, formando y formando y creciendo y creciendo había hecho la piedra. Piedras grandes, y así largas, y una por una fueron calzando. [...] Y así hicieron levantar [la tierra]. Al principio [los hombres] no teníamos sangre como ahora tenemos, teníamos solo agua. Este hombre sabía ir al monte y pajarito cogía, y sabia ir comiendo hojas tiernas de montaña; andaban comiendo esto. En una montaña [el hombre] encuentra una mujercita. No desnuda. En cambio, el hombre había sido lluchito, lluchito, sin nada. Entonces se casan. Esa mujer había subido por allá [al oriente] que se llama apai; ahí comiendo ha estado y le dice [al hombre]: 'venga a comer esto'. La mujer le enseña al hombre a comer hojas, el hombre solo comía pajaritos, carne. Después que nació niños e iban casando, ahí cruzaron sangre, de mujer entró sangre al hombre. Antes hombre solo tenía agua y mujer solo tenía sangre. Y cruzaron en niños. Y ahora nosotros tenemos sangre con agua. Sangre es muy fuerte, quema. Sin agua no hay como vivir. Así es. Así saben contar nuestros abuelos.

Y así nació el Shuar. Shuar no vino de ningún lado. Siempre aquí. ¿Esto dónde fue? Shuar ha nacido de Ecuador y Perú. Pero [Ecuador] no había entonces. Tampoco Perú no había ese tiempo. Ese tiempo todo era puro playón, nada más. Ese tiempo era seis meses noche y seis meses día. Ese tiempo nosotros cazábamos y éramos cazados como animalitos. Iwia [nos cazaba como a] monos washi, loro, esos animales. El Shuar vivía llucho, con itip' de palos, guarumbos, golpeadito, eso ponían. Después fabricaron bodoquera para cazar. Y así fue nuestra vida. Poco a poco fue acabándose iwia y nosotros Shuar quedamos.

I shall tell you our story of organización from the very beginning, comrade. We haven't arrived from another nation. We are native here! My father, our grandfathers, and those who have walked before us, all of them have told us how the missionaries brought their word and said: 'God took mud to craft a doll and so [people] rose'. That's what the Salesian fathers said. Our forebears, however, had a different story. They told us about how we [Shuar] were born. They used to sing it to us!

In the beginning there was nothing. There was no land, there was only water. Then, growing and growing, forming and forming, stone was produced. Large and long boulders, and one by one, they fitted [together to form the earth]. Man used to walk naked in the mountain, catching little birds [to feed himself]. Walking in the mountain he found woman. Man had nothing to cover himself with, but woman wasn't naked. [She] was in a mountain called *apai*. Man found her there, eating young forest leaves. The woman said: 'come and eat this'. Men only ate meat [at the time], and it was women who taught them how to eat leaves. Unlike today, in the beginning, men had no blood. In [his veins] men had only water. Women [on the other hand] had only blood; but blood is too strong, it burns. Without water, life is not possible and through women, blood entered men. They got married. Then children were born, and when children then married, they mixed blood and water. That's how it was. That is what our grandparents used to tell.

That is how Shuar were born. We came from nowhere else but here. Where was this? In Ecuador and Peru. But neither Ecuador nor Peru existed at the time. It was all flat and night lasted six months and day lasted six months, too. We used to live naked, dressed only with an *itip*' [a loincloth] made of beaten bark and hunted with blowguns. *Iwia* [an evil forest spirit] used to hunt us the same way we now hunt animals, like *washi* monkeys and parrots. That was our life. Then, slowly, *iwia* disappeared, but we, Shuar, remained.

Chumpi, an approximately 85-year-old man, recorded conversation.

Tiink', July 2017

1 The Stream

'Shuar History', historicity, and indigenous agency

This small stream, not deep enough to cover a grownup during the rainy season, used to be called *tunim'*, due to its snaky bends. Years ago, hunting was abundant, and the stream was filled with fish. There were many birds and animals: toucans, macaws, wild turkeys, partridges, cocks-of-the-rock. There were tapir and armadillo, agouti, acouchi, and deer. But most of all there was *paki*, peccary: the great *úunt paki*, coated with a thick and reddish fur; the white collared *yankipik*; and the smaller but more dangerous *esákar paki*, with fangs 'as sharp as Gillette'. Its vicious roaming herds, well-capable of devouring a reckless and unskilled hunter before he got the time to shoot twice or climb away to safety on a treetop, wandered around in great numbers.

There was such an abundance of peccary in the area, in fact, that able hunters very often returned from forest treks with enough peccary meat to bend their backs. To lighten their loads, hunters used the meandering water of the stream to rinse the blood off their game, and butcher, disembowel, and wash the entrails of their preys on the spot. Offal was filled back into the animal's body, using the carcass as a carrying bag, before returning home. When the burden was still too heavy, parts of the animal were left underwater, tied, and submerged under logs of hardwoods, so the cool water of the stream would keep the meat fresh until the

following morning. As time went by, the water flowing in the stream, so frequently reddened with the blood of *paki*, came to be known as Pakints'. The contraction of *paki entsa*, 'river of peccaries', a name that came to designate—as *aénts chicham* custom was—the wide surrounding area.

Those had been times of abundance; unlike today. A time when there were plenty of animals and hunters, before the shaman's curse, contagious disease, and the arrival of 'civilisation'. When these arrived, everything changed around the stream. The big predators: jaguars, ocelots, and bears, all left. Never to return. They fled the arrival of *apaach'*, 'white peoples', from the highlands, and the uproar caused by their chainsaws, the foul smell of their livestock, the disturbance of their clumsy presence in the forest.

The large *chuú* and the little *washi* monkeys, known for their fatty meat at new year as for their lecherous naughtiness[26], went away when settler colonists felled the nearby *áchu* palms (*Mauritia flexuosa*) and drained the swamps below to turn them into grasslands. Anacondas, turtles, and tapir departed when a road was built cutting through the middle of the stream. Wild turkeys, partridges, cocks-of-the-rock, toucans, and macaws followed them in their departure. Deer, however, died slowly, sick with aphthous fever brought by cattle. Their corpses, hovered over by vultures, would be found rotting and covered with black flies under the sun on the very same pastures that had been the cause of their demise. As pastures grew and settler colonisation increased, a good many other birds and animals fled. into the depths of the forest, climbed and crossed the cordillera, and sought refuge in Peru, some 50 kilometres away towards the east.

Whichever animals were left were 'stolen' by an envious shaman. Wampuch', perhaps, a wanderer bachelor from Macas in the north, who arrived one day looking for a woman to marry—yet was offered none. The inconsiderate greed of olden people, their *mezquindad*, 'paltriness', must have been the trigger of his ire. Bad fate befell over the stream. Though maybe it was Tentets', who disliked so much the unbearable presence of settler colonists as to flee the region 'like an animal of game'. He left in an unusual direction to the west, following

vague rumours of a small Shuar outpost successfully established in a patch of tropical forest near the Pacific Ocean.[27] In his departure, wretched and bitter for the good land he left behind, he might have vengefully cursed the place for the newcomers. Thus, wishing in his heart to ruin the fortunes of the invaders, he ended up burdening those of his kin that had stayed behind. Still, others blame Najámtai, a neighbouring shaman, affine to the people of Pakints', who left the region to resettle by the famed salt mines of the Mangosiza River. He had left an area known in Shuar as *etsekiam*, 'great stone', named after a boulder emerging from the water in the middle of the Zamora River, and moved away, impressed by the abundance, size, and fat of fish in those much wider rivers of the north. Yet, to bend the will of his still doubtful wife he had to draw up a plan. So, time after time, he brought back from his hunting trips large handwoven *chankin'* baskets filled with all kinds of smoked fish to treat the woman, until she agreed to sell the lands she had inherited from her forebears and relocate.

Whoever the paltry shaman was, and impossible as it is to know what motivates their evil deeds, he no doubt took more than his fair share of game and animals with him. Therefore, at a stroke, Pakints' lost most of its prey and fauna. All too soon, there was no major game to hunt nor able hunters and, when later even all the practiced shamans left the stream, no one gifted or powerful enough was left to call and persuade game to return and reappear.[28] Over time, even the numbers of peccary dwindled, until one day there were no more *esákar paki* to be cautious of while in the forest nor compelling reasons to constantly venture in its depths.

As years went by, herds of peccary were replaced by herds of domestic pigs turned feral, acquired, and introduced, like cattle, from the growing nearby settler towns of Zamora and Gualaquiza. Yet, unlike cattle, which arrived a few years later, pigs were never named, fenced, or tied. That would have been absurd for olden people, who no doubt would laugh in confusion at the customs of today. Thus, pigs were allowed to roam free and wander off like peccaries, only to return home in the afternoon to sleep in makeshift sheds by people's houses.[29]

Pigs swiftly multiplied, helped no doubt by fallow gardens and the abundance of palm fruit, until there were so many of them that people in Pakints' kept them in the hundreds.[30] In time, people learned to sell or trade their pigs with settler colonists and plant and exchange annatto, coffee, and cacao with gunpowder, ammo, loincloth, and metal tools. Years later, when the *centro* was established with some help from the recently arrived Italian missionaries, and along with a small church, a school, and a sports pitch, no communal work party or celebration was ever held without slaughtering at least one pig to roast and share. For in those days, kin remained united.

—*Ya, señor Sebastián*. That's all I remember for today.

Pinchupá, in his characteristic attachment to rural settler forms, imposed long ago through decades of missionary education, and employed, as the Hispanic *don* and *doña*, to address reputable adults in the *centro*, had recently begun visiting me early every morning. Despite our familiarity, my utter dislike of the word *señor* would not have been rightly understood. There was no use in arguing with him. Pinchupá, almost 75-years-old when I first met him, was too polite and too old-fashioned to ever feel comfortable with the negligence of calling me just by my name. He would've never indeed used the diminutive nickname, *sebachu*, that the other people in Pakints' had given me.

I had woke up at his arrival, in the old school building where we had been accommodated, and emerged mechanically out of bed, finding my way through several layers of mosquito nets, after hearing his characteristic howling, *hou! hou! hou!* We sat in the kitchen, and I turned on the voice recorder. The arrangement had been agreed upon at Pinchupá's request. Just a few weeks earlier, his home had been seized, destroyed, buried, and levelled by the bulldozers of *la compañía*, a local subsidiary of CRCC-Tongguan[31], a Chinese consortium developing a neighbouring industrial mine.

Pinchupá was rightfully angry, just as everybody else in the *centro*. Pakints' was inside an 'area of indirect influence', claimed by *la compañía* as its concession, and no one knew or cared

enough to properly explain whether the *centro* was to be entirely or partially destroyed. There had been no public meetings or collective negotiations with the neighbours of Pakints' or its authorities, and the scant and only information available came from whatever little mine workers from the *centro* overheard in their bosses' conversations. There were, however, countless rumours and many uncertain claims, yet no way of knowing what the plans of *la compañía* truly were. Hence, and in lieu of any official assurance, people in Pakints' hopelessly debated whether their land was to be turned into an access road, a tailings dam, a waste rock dump, or a new ore pit. Were there secret riches beneath the women's gardens? Or uranium under the last patch of forest? And gold and copper all along the stream? There was surely something, but where and to which extend?

Pinchupá had spent the previous year trying to avoid the recurring visits of corporate lawyers and state officials urging him to either sell his property or vacate his home and accept a compensatory settlement. He rebuffed both options and was determined to uphold his land. When the lawyers of *la compañía* came knocking at his door, he quietly left the house through the backyard or kept silent and still, pretending to be absent or sleeping. The last visit he received from *la compañía*, however, came at dawn one morning, along with an order of eviction and a brigade of anti-riot police. He was awakened by the flashing lights of their sirens, shining through the gaps between the wood planks of the walls of his house around 4:30 am. The dreaded order, 'leave the house immediately and refrain resistance', cut though the morning's darkness amplified by a megaphone.

Not quite knowing how to cope with the situation, Pinchupá got dressed in panic, opened the house door, and dashed into the forest. Thus, leaving in a hurry, he forgot about his daughter and her seven children, leaving them abandoned to the deal with the situation. They faced alone the tense negotiation with the lawyers, the rushed heart-breaking packing. In the teeth of a long-dreaded moment, Pinchupá could only think of finding help. Running as fast as he was able, he went looking for his savvy younger brother at the opposite end of the *centro*.

Now they all lived back together. Squeezed in a wretched old house down the school road, perpetually crowded and bad-tempered, until the day they could build a new house to start over. Pinchupá's fervent refusal to negotiate and sell his land had prompted the intervention of the state and set up a legal concept he called *la visidumbre*. Pinchupá had learnt that odd word through the menacing letters the lawyers had left at his front door. The letters were to inform him of the impending easement process, called *servidumbre minera* in Spanish, that granted *la compañía* prevailing access to the subsoil on his land. The law effectively overrode his ground property rights favouring the state—exclusive owner of the subsoil; and the state favoured transnational investment. Industrial mines in the region were 'strategic projects' in government's parlance, and failures of negotiation between corporations and host communities to grant access to the subsoil led to compulsory settlement or arms-backed forced evictions. As the notification letters noted, nothing could be said or done to avert the rightful application of the law.

So was Pinchupá forcefully evicted, years after refusing to settle a sales price for his land. And yet, it didn't matter anymore. Pinchupá's home and land, all crops considered, had been valued, a check had been issued, and already waited to be collected at a bank. The scare tactics insistently implemented by those pesky corporate lawyers now came to an end. Their sole mission—people in the region said—was to lie, confuse, and frighten settler farmers and indigenous landowners into accepting the lowest possible sales price for their properties. They often were successful. The multiple reports and accusations denouncing dishonesty and irregularities in land negotiation processes, disinformation campaigns, and the acquisition of land through figureheads didn't help the lawyers' reputations (CEDHU 2015a; Colectivo de Investigación y Acción Psicosocial 2016). Indeed, of all the numerous outsiders that had come to invade the peace of the region in the later years, lawyers were by far the most feared, avoided, and reviled. Once their mission was accomplished, however, *la compañía* again retreated into its characteristic inscrutability and indifference.

The mine officially began its 'construction phase' after the week Pinchupá had lost his home.[32] Yet in contrast to similar removal of people and the destruction of homes and communities implemented in the 'areas of direct influence' of the project[33] (Bayón & Wilson 2015; CEDHU 2015b; Investigación Acción Psicosocial 2015; Sacher 2017), Pinchupá's eviction received no media or scholarly attention nor assistance or support from any environmental or Human Rights organisation. Not only had Pinchupá felt 'humiliated like a criminal chased out from his own home', he also felt abandoned, isolated, and helpless. Most of all, though, he lamented the uncertain future of a land he had vehemently fought to defend from settler invaders in his youth. The tortuous history of Pakints', however, and a series of unfortunate events, had conspired to mute and challenge his call for support. Now, with many things entangled, it had all become a mess.

After all, it was hardly a secret that a powerful settler foreman that invaded Pakints' in the early 1960s—and with whom people in the *centro* were still involved in an acrimonious and never-ending legal conflict, had sold the lands he deceitfully appropriated to *la compañía*. How else, gossiping tongues said, could he afford to live in that large house right at the main square in the closest settler town, El Pangui, whose name corrupted and derived from *panki*, the Shuar word for anaconda? The entire region had suffered through decades of settler expropriation. Was the name '*El panki*' not evidence enough? Yet the foreman, like the state later, and now the mining company, had all claimed the land was terra nullius. But Pinchupá's father had received the land from his father and grandfather; and his great grandfather had returned to the stream after a nomadic interval, knowing full well that past predecessors among his kin had already claimed use of the area once before. Pinchupá therefore wished to set the historic record straight with me: unlike the absurd and abusive legal claims made by *la compañía* or by the settler invaders that had come before, Pakints' was indigenous land; always had been.

My partner Alice joined us moments later, with two cups of tea, one for her and one for Pinchupá, and a mug of coffee to help me wake up. My taste for black unsweetened coffee, 'bitter as *natem*' (the Shuar name for ayahuasca, *Banisteriopsis caapi*)', had helped cement the

idea that, no matter what I claimed, I was really *inkis*, 'a gringo foreigner', just like Alice, and not *apaach*', the category traditionally used by Shuar to refer to non-Shuar people, and now mostly reserved for settler colonisers in the lowlands and other non-indigenous South Americans. It didn't help either that we seldom cooked or ate meat and instead preferred the food of *sawa*, 'rabbits', which, everyone in Pakints' knew, was a typical behaviour of 'true gringos.'

We all shared a bowl of warm boiled manioc, harvested the day before by Alice from her borrowed *ája* garden. 'Shuar food', grinned Pinchupá approvingly; always more nutritious, healthy, and appetising than foreign bread or biscuits and most other 'chemical' processed foodstuff found in settler storehouses. In contrast, manioc was acknowledged as *comida propia*, 'proper native food'.[34] It was thus cooked plain and unseasoned[35], and served discreetly by Shuar women[36], ideally next to a central bowl of *jimia*, the strong dry chilli mixed with salt, ever-present on Shuar tables. The food eaten by the *ancestors*, people in the region often claimed, which had allowed the fearless warriors of a previous time to regularly live 'well past a hundred years of age.'[37]

When the sun was finally out, the sky—bleached white at dawn for a few minutes—gave the impression of an empty canvas, broken only by the dark silhouette of palm trees and the flying birds. To the east, the cloudy mountain range Shuar called *churuwia*, marked on national maps as 'Cordillera del Cóndor', extended imposingly like a wall on the horizon. Pinchupá went off to carry on with his day then, seizing a warm 'summer' day to prune and weed the cacao and coffee orchards he had planted in a field now guarded by private corporate security. He had been allowed to harvest the last fruits of the land before *la compañía* expanded further its undisclosed developments. The remains of his home, now fenced with barbed wire, were marked with a big red billboard sign with nothing but the words: «PRIVATE PROPERTY», stamped in white bold serif letters.

What had once been a large jungle, lush with birds, and fish, and peccaries, was now a relatively small indigenous reserve, surrounded by stodgy pastureland and a few heads of livestock. Not just Pinchupá's land but the entire *centro* stood inside the concession area claimed by a mine that threatened the very existence of the place. Shuar would not have let such a thing happened in the past, Pinchupá bitterly complained. Then, Shuar would have come together and fight back, united, and strongly, *as a people*. But these were very troubled times and, after everything that had occurred in the *centro* and through its past, kin no longer was united. Hence, the same mining project responsible of expropriating and destroying Pinchupá's home, had also become the largest employer in the region, and as the construction of the mine advanced through 2015-2019, *la compañía* hired almost every able young man and even a few women in Pakints'.[38]

The small water course running at the heart of the indigenous reserve was paramount in accounts of political memory in Pakints'. Over centuries, the muddy waters of the stream that gave its name to the small present-day Shuar *centro*, have mirrored the main changes in the region and its people. The hunters and warriors who had long before reached the stream to wash blood off game meat, were in time replaced by people who approached the shores of the stream pulling from a rope the thirsty cattle they had learned to raise from neighbouring *apaach'*. Today, except for the children who bathed, laughed, splashed, and played in the stream most days after school, people in Pakints' mostly used its waters to wash up mud and grease off thick mine work denim uniforms.

The story of the stream, moreover, was how 'Shuar history' habitually began in Pakints'. It was a story that everyone in the *centro* knew and told, and I heard it repeatedly over the first few weeks of fieldwork. It was no coincidence, therefore, that Pinchupá decided to recap the story of the stream to begin the history he wanted me to systematically record. Pinchupá, deciding to begin his account with the history of the *centro*, especially right after his forceful eviction, sought to bring the past into the present to explain to me, and perhaps even to himself, the complexity and distinct character of the current situation. In doing so, I believe, he made

ongoing uncertainties less inscrutable and firmly placed Pakints', and with the *centro* its inhabitants, front and centre of unfolding events. The history of the *centro*, people in Pakints' insisted, was fundamental to understand present political relations in the region and ongoing industrial mining conflicts. Perhaps my research, Pinchupá had told me, might help support the efforts of the *centro* to uphold its territorial integrity or, at the very least, convey a long-historic truth.

The persistence of indigenous political memory

This chapter is about 'Shuar history.' I shall begin by analysing how Shuar people recount and understand their past today. First, I describe how the people in the South, amongst whom we lived and worked, remembered, and recounted their past and the political meaning they attached to it to make sense of the present. Next, I will outline how Shuar people in the region most often periodise change and progression over time when they discuss their past. I shall focus on the ways people understand their present standing in relation to a long history of internal conflict and what they make of colonial transformation. I conclude by discussing the meaning of Shuar history and how it will be used through the rest of the text to shed light over ongoing mining conflicts.

I began classifying data as 'history' in my fieldnotes only weeks into research. People in Pakints' undoubtedly conferred great importance on their past and the subject came up frequently as I inquired both about industrial mining and political relations between neighbours. As it happened, and against received ethnographic knowledge concerning Amazonian indigenous peoples, we heard a lot about the memory of ancestors during fieldwork. At first this was unusual and unexpected because Shuar don't really appear in the ethnographic register as particularly concerned with the maintenance of genealogies. In fact, according to the findings of Anne-Christine Taylor, Shuar were purposely doing quite the opposite. *Aénts chicham* peoples were in general noted to 'lose their dead' in mourning by

forgetting the names, deeds, image, and history of the recently deceased to give their names and existential trajectories for the reproduction of the new-born. The individual memory of dead kin was thus 'erased' to allow the reproduction of new people on the consideration that human forms were finite and needed to be 'recycled' in order to return into the world (Taylor 1993: 653; 2007: 149).

Further, what was to be remembered and forgotten, Taylor argued, was carefully regulated and enthused by what is sometimes known in ethnographic convention as a common *aénts chicham* 'ethos'. In Shuar and other *aénts chicham* societies (once prototypical examples of Amazonian egalitarianism), men were traditionally socialised to acquire visionary power and political prestige, aspiring to become powerful and notable 'great men' within a loose assemblance of rival domestic groups, constantly competing against one another.[39] The achievement of this 'certain kind of selfhood' organised Shuar life around a strong emphasis on egalitarian individualism, strict domestic sovereign, and an unremitting tendency towards social fragmentation and internal confrontation (Taylor 2007: 151).

Shuar patterns of 'being in' and 'making history', therefore, according to Taylor (1993; 2007), traditionally rested firmly on the individual memory of 'great men.' The memory of 'white peoples' and colonial entanglements experienced in diachronic time were largely left out from historic recollection (Taylor 2007: 148). And the memory of the past was almost exclusively limited and tied to cycles of intra-ethnic feuding and inter-ethnic headhunting raids. Yet, in that effort, the existential trajectories of forebears ended up 'devoid of any visual or biographical detail' as dead kin were to be recycled and forgotten (Taylor 2007: 149).

In Pakints', however, people simply didn't do that. The memory of past 'times' and the lives of people who had inhabited that past, *antepasados* and *mayores*, 'forebears' and 'ancient kin', was vividly preserved and constantly at hand. People reminisced about who their parents had been and how their grandparents had lived and knew exactly who their great grandparents were. Most people knew how their ancestors had died and where their bodies had been left to rot (as traditional funerary practices had required); and had retained in memory the streams and rises

where these ancestors had built their houses in pursuit of their semi-nomadic lifestyles. Most often, key information on how these ancestors had lived their lives or behaved in bygone days was widely known and candidly told whenever a situation called for it. Hence, when someone in Pakints' had behaved stingily or made an unwelcome display of ill-temper, it was common to hear the unsurprised and displeased neighbours comment on how that person was or had behaved so because of such and such ancestor known to have been an ungenerous hunter, a resentful shaman, or an irascible and unreasonable warrior.

What is more, Pakints' was no exception in the region. Through the South, Shuar people knew in good detail the places where long-gone kin had moved from and where they had resettled. They also remembered the territorial treks of their forebears through the course of various generations and what had prompted them to move. People were equally able to point out at the fallow gardens their ancestors had worked in their lifetimes and point towards the locations where memorable stories had once taken place. These fallow gardens, known in Shuar as *asaak'*, left behind by olden people in the landscape, and other landmarks imbued with historical meaning, served to remind people of the political arrangements that had long been in place throughout the region. Through them, and by referencing the places where people in the past had once lived, walked by, or waged war at, people in the present identify themselves vis-à-vis their neighbours and passed the memory of ancestors to younger generations.[40]

I was thus able to sketch out a map in my fieldnotes covering remembered migrations into the region, the wars and conflicts that had triggered them, and the political relations that had developed in the area between rival kin groups and competing warriors.[41] However, these stories were seldom devoid of biographical detail. Here are some examples selected from my fieldnotes[42]: The sandy riverbank where someone had been killed many decades ago amid regional conflict, followed by a discussion of the victim's stubborn character and a commentary on the inherited stubbornness of the descendants. The *natem'* grove, harvested long-ago by someone's grandfather to celebrate the killing of a prominent warrior in an

enemy's kin group, trailed by a thorough body shape comparison of the forebear and the storyteller. The hill where a feared warrior used to live, and a bitter mention of his irascible character, known to have divided political allegiances amongst extended kin. The pastureland that used to be a marshland, followed by a detailed discussion on the animals that used to inhabit it, the hunters that chased them, and the location of their kinfolk today. The church in a settler town build over a Shuar house, and the 19th and 20th century negotiations between religious missionaries and Shuar to reshape the human geography of the region.

Therefore, when people in Pakints', as in the surrounding Shuar reserves, claimed that the land that was now being threatened by industrial mining had long been indigenous ancestral land, they knew exactly what this meant. When asked, people were frequently able to recite without much doubt a long succession of forebears that had preceded them or at the very least remember a few key famed ancestors. Needless to say, not everyone remembered everything with the same detail. There was often someone widely recognised as knowing slightly more than the rest of neighbours in any given *centro*. Men generally remembered male ancestors with considerably more detail than they remembered women. Women were habitually asked to talk about female kin and indeed remember many details about past women's biographies that men completely ignored. And whilst most young people in fact knew their ancestors well enough, they generally lacked the confidence that elders had when speaking on the subject.

In the latter stages of my fieldwork, as I collected more and more such stories, I realised Shuar people told them to also make sense, explain, enforce, and convey ongoing political divisions. Through the memory of ancestors, people straightforwardly signalled the derivative political relations of their kinship in present day politics and their territorial attachment throughout the region. The life of these forebears was thus frequently compared with Shuar life in the present, highlighting the enduring acrimony between former war parties and suggesting, as I shall now set to do in this thesis, that current resource conflicts in the South were regularly framed within preceding indigenous political memory.

Indigenous history in the South

What Shuar people in the South called 'Shuar history'—told in this thesis mostly from the viewpoint of the people of Pakints', was often divided into three distinctive *tiempos*, 'times.' The first time, known across the South as *tiempo de los guerreros*, 'Time of the Warriors', *tiempo de los guerrilleros*, 'Time of Guerrillas', or *tiempo del Shuar*, 'Time of Shuar'[43], is described as a long static period, spanning from mythical times until the advent of 'civilisation.' This period is followed, opposed, and replaced by the subsequent *tiempo de los denunciantes*, 'Time of the Land Claimers', and *tiempo de los renacientes*, 'Time of the Youngsters', both lived in a 'civilised' world characterised by the increasing incorporation of 'white peoples' and the state into the indigenous domain.

The transition between time periods, usually narrated as a rearrangement of the indigenous world in a political reshuffle and preceded by the violent collapse of the previous order, was often followed by the reorganisation of society around new forms of knowledge to be incorporated into the indigenous lifeworld. Historiographical order thus yields to its sequence only after the calamitous end of a 'time'-period triggers its replacement. History therefore has created a succession of 'different versions of Shuar society', as a collaborator once described it, each guided by distinctive logics, ways of life, and divergent economic and political needs.

The initial 'Time of the Warriors' is most commonly characterised by the memory of extensive and constant feuds between great warriors in the region and the recurrent war campaigns these men waged against neighbouring *chicham*-speakers, sometimes enemy Shuar groups outside the South, though most often close kin-related neighbours.[44] Precolonial indigenous society is portrayed as having been ruled in autocratic autonomy by the rigorous application and shared understanding of what people often call *ley Shuar*, 'Shuar law', providing a description synonymous with previous ethnographic accounts on the *aénts chicham* 'ethos' (Taylor 1993; 2007). The pursuit of traditional values fuelled internecine warfare and

retaliatory vengeance within intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic political spheres, whilst relations amongst equals were enforced and maintained by the violent action of the warriors after whom the period is nowadays remembered. Inter-ethnic interactions beyond the *aénts chicham* cluster, as Taylor (2007) shows[45], despite having occasionally turned to confrontation and conflict, were seldom taken into account in indigenous recollections of the past. Hence, just as expected, accounts on the 'time of the warriors' largely ignore 'white peoples.'

The gist of the era has been captured by the early *aénts chicham* ethnographies (Descola 1994; Harner 1984; Karsten 2000; Stirling 1933; Taylor 1985) and, to some degree, still lives on in popular culture—be that Shuar, national, or global—as a simplified representation of *chicham* fierceness arising from headhunting travel writing and colonial records (Rubenstein 2006; Taylor 1999; Taylor & Descola 1981). Shuar remember this time as a period of intense and constant war and revenge feuding. However, in opposition to the negative portrayals of missionaries, colonial chronicles, and present-day settler colonisers or pro-mining depictions of democratic dialogue against violence, the 'time of the warriors' is most often seen by Shuar as conveying positive ideas of freedom, abundance, and wellbeing. From the perspective of Shuar people in the present, these values represent olden people's self-sufficiency and mobility in a time before pacification, formal education, and incorporation in the state.

Shuar people in Pakints' and the South controlled all land at the time, and scattered settlers exist only at the margins of indigenous space. Their presence is generally temporary and their historic footprint is ephemeral: gold panners who set up make-shift camps to work on a river or a stream. And, when permanent, their presence is unambiguously located (and thus well-bounded and contained), like the missionaries and hacienda peons that came to live in a handful of small colonial settler towns. 'White peoples' are tolerated because their presence never lasts enough or because they quickly become sources of desired western goods and decent exchange partners. In today's narratives of the period, warriors are always in control of their territory and were thus able to throw these people out any time, as indeed it sometimes happens in remembered stories, often in response to white people's 'misbehaviour.'

Narratives of this 'time'-period abound with the strange impressions that first encounter of 'white peoples' once produced in Shuar forebears or discuss the first impressions that markets, cattle fairs, roads, mission houses, and hardware stores had over long dead kin. There are also many stories told about the adventures lived by these ancestors in faraway colonial cities in the Andes and the extraordinary treks that Shuar were able to undertake to barter, trade, or work, hundreds of kilometres away, at a time when there were barely any roads. Through these journeys, new weapons, tools, fruits, grains, and other foreign goods and foodstuff are encountered and incorporated or rejected. 'White peoples' (though always vaguely) begin to appear more openly towards the end of the period and are indeed thought to have been central in precipitating the end of this 'time.' Shuar therefore also tell detailed stories about old warriors serving jail time in colonial towns after killing enemies and rivals. And these stories don't ignore warriors having to increasingly flee military or police forces with arrest warrants that eventually helped forced an end to war and feuding in the region.

This major change is symbolised by the suppression and replacement of 'Shuar law' by 'state law' in the ensuing 'Time of the Land Claimers' (especially in the 1950-1960s) and 'Time of the Youngsters' (after the 1990s). These two 'civilised times', taken together, highlight the persistent alteration of traditional Shuar society and how it coped with change. Alongside the imposition and replacement of the previous era, came missionary education, territorial loss, settler colonisation, ecological and economic collapse, and, more recently, industrial mine work. The presence, inclusion, and importance of 'white peoples' in historical accounts and indigenous narratives gradually and steadily increases in these periods.[46] And indigenous memory is no longer oblivious to colonial presence, intervention, and expansion, though, as I demonstrate next, refuses to capitulate historic agency to non-indigenous outsiders.

The 'Time of the Land Claimants', focused on land titling struggles against settler invasion, missionary education, and the establishment of the Shuar Federation is hence concerned with the advent of 'civilisation.' The death or imprisonment of former warriors and an armistice agreement arbitrated by missionaries in the region, led to indigenous pacification in the South.

Men no longer engaged in continuous war and feuding and became *moderados*, 'moderate.' [47] Severe missionary education and expanding boarding schools made Shuar people *civilizados*, 'civilised.' Missionary expansion came along with settler encroachment on indigenous lands, and this, in turn, brought about a new set of conflict and political relations. Pakints', now organised as a *centro*, acquired state recognition as a land reserve. The land around the stream, the place where former warriors had built their houses, gradually changed to accommodate a school, a church, and a sports pitch.

Inter-ethnic clashes began soon after. The broad region came together to defend the recently established *centro* from the territorial advances of encroaching settler colonists. The people of Pakints', organised under the leadership of an elected assembly of regional young boarding school educated men at the Bomboiza Association, fought to legalise their lands, and gain legal recognition from the state. Piatra, a powerful landowner infamous in the region for extending his cattle ranch into the hunting grounds in Pakints' (see Chapter 4), sent his labourers to take hold of the land, burn down gardens, and terrorise, beat, and threaten people in the *centro*, whilst mobilising political connections within the state to legitimise such actions.

The young leaders of the Bomboiza Association responded by mobilising a newly found ethnic unity and by tapping into the knowledge of 'white peoples' themselves, as acquired at boarding school and, as a learning curve, in their dealings with the state. The people of Pakints' slaughtered many heads of cattle and pigs to feed almost a hundred men and women and children that arrived from throughout the region to defend the *centro*. For weeks, Shuar people from the region remained stationed in Pakints' to uphold its territorial unity, whilst armed Shuar patrols watched over the *centro*'s borders, and ethnopolitical leaders coordinated legal, bureaucratic, and political efforts with the state. Shuar were remarkably successful. The victory cemented Shuar novel ethnopolitical authority in the region and served to symbolise the change of times. Thus, narratives highlight Shuar efficacious engagements to counteract 'white peoples' and the audacious indigenous mastery of state law.

These transformations, then, whether imposed or willingly accepted, never truly fall outside indigenous agency and Shuar knack for control. Nevertheless, and though with the disappearance of Shuar law, Shuar no longer think of themselves as fully autonomous, yet their incorporation of foreign knowledge and technologies, and the clever seizure and management of relations with diverse outsiders, allows them to still uphold and sustain historic agency. Shuar people are thus able to maintain their cultural endurance while also outrunning colonial imposition. Moreover, though boarding school education, missionary work, and state intervention are largely loathed, missionary accomplishments and state expansion only occur with the determinant mediation of indigenous action. Hence, although missionary expansion, as I show in Part II, certainly benefited from and strategically exploited indigenous feuding to advance evangelising purposes, was only allowed to consolidate with the active support of skilful indigenous brokers, anxious that continuing feuding was 'making kinsfolk go extinct.'[48]

The arrival of civilisation (and what it means 'to be civilised' is discussed and understood) is dominated by the interacting roles of the religious mission, the indigenous reserve, and ethnopolitical organisation. These three constructions, abstractly imposed, are largely reclaimed by Shuar and made concrete as spaces of their own. Historic accounts of the period thus highlight gendered childhood experiences inside missionary centres, coming of age struggles against settler colonisation in defence of land, and evolving and complex political relations with 'white peoples' through ethnopolitics. Taken as a whole, and always interacting with each other, missionary education, the *centro*, and the Shuar Federation provide the framework for indigenous incorporation of foreign knowledge, display of recently acquired technical prowess, and success over outside interference.

The maintenance of indigenous agency throughout colonial times is hereby permissible because Shuar historic memory locates ethnopolitical organisation above other colonial institutions and relations and the Shuar Federation is consequently regarded as having paramount importance in indigenous history. Therefore, whereas missionary boarding

acquainted Shuar with white peoples' language, material culture, ethnic, race, and class relations; and land titling struggles afforded knowledge of legal codes, bureaucratic procedures, and modes of production; it is only through ethnopolitics that Shuar can articulate and deploy such acquired knowledge in their interest.

Henceforward, political relations are equally transformed. Indigenous accounts of history now recognise the role that some *apaach'* can have in shaping inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts. And the change between 'Shuar law' and state law means that personal affronts and kin-group conflict, 'paid with life' in the first 'time', are today avenged through political mobilisation of outward resources. The maintenance of indigenous agency throughout 'time'-periods, however, also allows some continuity. 'Shuar law' and state law are both perceived as a set of norms to deal with conflict: 'rules of engagement'; and Shuar appear in every case as agents of their own collective history. The presence, agency, and historical imprint of 'white peoples' is therefore nullified, in the former case, by refusing to acknowledge the capacity of non-indigenous others to impose change upon the native. And effectively diffused, in the latter case, through the embrace and mastery of foreign knowledge and technologies. Though in narratives of 'civilised times', 'white peoples' may appear frequently in indigenous history, they do so still occupying a circumstantial place. The importance of outside factors, external dynamics, and the active participation of ethnic others in Shuar affairs is nevertheless considered to be secondary to indigenous decision-making. Through all 'time'-periods, then, indigenous agency, remains the central force behind historical change, and Shuar continuously think of themselves as central agents of their history. Hence, in recounting the asymmetries and inequalities of the colonial encounter, including those ongoing, Shuar people are seldom passive actors, and rarely, if ever, see themselves as victims.

Moreover, as noted in the Introduction, Shuar today make a clear distinction between the past and the present by noting that they are now 'a people with *organización'*, as opposed to their warring ancestors. Thus, in a period characterised by missionary dominance and the broad invasion of indigenous lands by settler colonists, the Shuar Federation not only became an

effective mechanism to divert the control of the state and 'white peoples' intervention (Salazar 1977; 1981), it may also have helped sustain the *aénts chicham* ethos. The appearance of *organización*, as Shuar ethnopolitical organisation is broadly known, replaces previous war and feuding to become the organising force behind indigenous political relations. Nowadays, pre-existing internecine antagonisms rather than disappearing are maintained, channelled, and articulated toward novel kinds of leadership and political prestige. Whilst ancestral rivalries have not been forgotten or forgone in the name of ethnic unity but are instead still learned and are continued to be expressed within ethnopolitics (see Chapters 7 and 8). The inherent logic and motivation—the *chicham* ethos, I shall argue, remains there.

However, the sway of indigenous agency throughout 'time'-periods indeed fluctuates between continuities and change. Accordingly, 'first time' stories about the introduction or discovery of foreign goods, ideas, or alliances with or into Shuar society, households, and individual life experience so prominent in the 'Time of the Ancestors', give way to stories of collective or personal employment of these very same items to favour indigenous objectives during 'civilised times.' Furthermore, the role and prominence of *organización* comes to the forefront replacing inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflict in the past. Still, in the common narrative of men, ethnopolitics often mimics the individual viewpoint of previous warrior stories, with a focus on the defeat of ideological enemies or rivals and the skilful and careful build up or dramatic collapse of broad ethnopolitical alliances. In the common narrative of women, ethnopolitics are lived through the participation of women in the collective efforts to fight for and uphold indigenous rights or to build awareness of the social dangers, economic problems, and general displeasure brought by men's political antagonism and its social and economic effects in the household.

Such negative disadvantages become most prominent in narratives of the 'Time of the Youngsters'.[49] This 'time'-period, still ongoing, though also emphasising civilised existence, is frequently depicted as a blunt reversal of the previous time. Indigenous life is now marked by political divergence, apathy, disunity, pressing economic worries, increasing feuding, and

overall uncertainty vis-á-vis territorial threats and state expansion. The loss of ethnic unity in this 'time'-period was brought about sharp political rearrangements and broad and challenging divisions within Shuar *organización*. In other words, if Shuar people faced settler invasion in the previous time collectively and united, present-day industrial mining struggles and settler acquisition of indigenous territory are now faced in sharp political and generational disunion. Shuar previous antagonism with nuns and priests, settler merchants, land invaders, military men, state bureaucrats and politicians has been replaced by the opposition and resentment of senior *organización* leaders against the generation that replaced them and the increasing efforts of the latter to establish ever closer ties with foreign non-indigenous agents. This 'time'-period is thus defined by the greater incorporation of indigenous youngsters into national society, the growing occurrence of inter-ethnic marriages, and the increasing professionalisation of Shuar people and its contradictions and effects on ethnopolitics.

The bitter complaint of older men regarding current divisions, and the deep resentment of erstwhile leadership against contemporary *organización* officials, is frequently blamed in the South on the division of the Shuar Federation and the lasting crisis of *organización* this has produced. The violent division of the Shuar Federation in 1986, a consequence of the exacerbation of inherent colonial contradictions in Shuar ethnopolitics, shades light on the persistence of indigenous internecine vengeance in Shuar politics throughout 'time'-periods. Therefore, both petty and consequential managerial and ideological differences between the first boarding school educated leaders and an increasingly professionalised generation built up tension inside *organización* and led to the re-enactment of earlier grudges and vendettas. The Shuar Federation is no more the leading force it was, nor it is currently able to uphold indigenous interests, inspire ethnic unity, and face settler society and the state as it used to do. The outcome being, to rephrase the words of Pinchupá, that kin nowadays no longer are united.

To add insult to injury, from the viewpoint of erstwhile leaders, amid internal conflicts, young leaders in Pakints' sought the support of former settler enemies. The professionalised faction

in the conflict reached out to Piatra—the same settler trespasser that invaded the *centro* in the 1960s—and negotiated the return of the lands the settler had invaded and lost in exchange for aid and weapons that would be used to fight Shuar rivals. Meanwhile ethnopolitical leaders got further involved with national partisan politics to pursue and obtain political backing to help their ideological positions. 'White peoples' incrasingly become participants of indigenous politics, appearing in historic narrative as useful partners and assistants aiding indigenous intentions.

The consequences of the conflict are considerable. Now, with much of its ethnopolitical structure shattered, the entire region ended up deeply divided, and in Pakints', the epicentre of these conflicts in the South, bitter rivalries burst between and within households. The stretch of indigenous land surreptitiously ceded to Piatra in the heat of the feud (some 200 hectares) is once again fenced and hold outside the political control of the *centro*, the legal dispute is restarted and restored, and intestine discord severely affects Shuar leverage. Making matters more complex, Piatra, with the arrival of industrial mining, sells the land to transnational developers. To sum up, then, the perceived failure of *organización* defines the 'Time of the Youngsters' as much as its rise defines the 'Time of the Land Claimants.' The difference between these two civilised 'time'-periods is thus established by a return to internal conflict that oppositely mirrors the end of war and feuding separating ancestral 'Shuar law' from civilisation.

Here, however, a significant distinction is in order. The emphasis Shuar people may place on recognising different historical epochs has much less to do with rigorous classificatory interest than with stressing indigenous historical agency. From the Shuar viewpoint, these 'time'-periods, can be considered representation of temporal shift only inasmuch as to underscore indigenous agency through perceived historical change. The arrival of 'white peoples' and the depth of indigenous transformation that their presence is recognised as having set in motion is used in oral history to underscore indigenous savviness, adaptability, and determination. Such a strong sense of autonomic reassurance and agency in change is often paired with the

conviction that change does not affect shared identity over time. Indigenous agency reserves history making to itself and the presence of 'white peoples' is thus incorporated to respond to underlying and ongoing indigenous political relations. 'Shuar history' therefore helps sustain a strong sense of cultural continuity and endurance within existing colonial frameworks. Where and how agency and change are assigned in historic memory is thus a matter of indigenous cosmology and it shapes the relation of 'white peoples' vis-à-vis Shuar politics.

The ostensible ecological collapse in the area around the stream for instance is understood by the people of Pakints' to be both the outcome of colonial encroachment and the result of shamanic action. These two seemingly different explanations coexist without contradiction in memories of the past and are so told in the present. The extensive arrival of settler colonisation in the region since the late 1950s, and the opening of a road across the indigenous reserve in 1974, had undoubtedly produced much environmental harm. Yet the extent of damage brought about by the presence of 'white peoples' had only been possible by the decisions and inaction of the region's shamans.

The selfish conduct of shamans is to blame. Their evil paltriness twice condemns the people of Pakints'. Shamans had not only caused game to withdraw from the stream, but in departing themselves from the *centro*, they left its people without worthwhile means to restore the balance between game and men. Pakints' was thus further exposed to invasive settler colonists and economic adjustment. Nevertheless, I was frequently reminded, it was better reassess interpretations that relied on or emphasised too strongly ecological catastrophe or the disastrous influence of colonial encroachment. For if a 'true' shaman were to come back to Pakints' one day, Pinchupá confidently assured me, all the animals no doubt would return.

Pinchupá's explanation here makes perfect sense. Though antagonism with 'white peoples' feature prominently in 'civilised times' narrative, the processes of transformation that unfolded is generally attributed to internal adaptation, contradiction, and conflict rather than to outside imposition. Form the outside, the conflictive relations of Pakints' with settler colonisation might be perceived as just an example of interethnic friction, though what it

reveals is the permanence of indigenous logics. Though what had initially caught my attention was the fluidity with which Shuar people in Pakints' effortlessly mixed and shifted between national, regional, or colonial contexts and indigenous rationales when they discussed their past.

The expertise and detailed competence Shuar generally had of colonial and national history and the confidence with which people usually express themselves, only made my initial confusion all the greater. The casual candidness that usually characterised memories about ancestors and the war and feuds that had been so prominent in their ancient lives was often replaced by a reflective and analytical tone when 'white peoples' entered indigenous narrative, yet seldom was there a precise gap between outside history and indigenous accounts of the past. Inquiring about internecine feuding in the region, more than once triggered interlocutors to engage in broad discussions about missionary efforts, national politics, state policy, or development programmes, all of which were generally voiced within 'Shuar history' as inherently a part of indigenous experience as shamanic action was.

What is more, historic narrative, indigenous agency, and how reality is assessed are further complicated by the use of hallucinogenic plants and shamanic practice. The vine and brew Shuar call *natem'* (also ayahuasca, *Banisteriopsis caapi*), and how it is used by Shuar, provides people with an outlook into the future. The vine appears repeatedly in classic *aénts chicham* ethnography, mostly linked with individual quests for visionary power (Descola 1994; Harner 1984; Mader 1999; Rubenstein 2012), and is commonly used along with *tsánk* (tobacco, *Nicotiana tabacam*) and *maikiúa* (angel's trumpet, *Brugmansia arborea*) to induce and acquire courage, health, fearlessness, and strength. These desired features are abstracted and translated in Spanish as *valor*, both 'bravery' and 'worth', to convey the notion of *valía*, 'worthiness', as defined by traditional ideals of Shuar personhood and political leadership. Remarkably, visionary experiences induced by the consumption of hallucinogens (but also acquired through and in combination with fasting and dreaming) had been shown to mediate the

journeys of yesteryear warriors as much as the paths of contemporary politicians (Greene 2009b).

In everyday life, Shuar consume these plants to face or overcome ordinary crises, difficulties, and uncertainties. Its ingestion could be used to recover *valor* that has been lost, following a traumatic or distressing experience, something which people may want to ease or to forget, such as severe illness or the acute pain produced by the loss of a loved one. Likewise, people may want to gain *valor* in the prospect of a particularly important life challenge and drink *tsánk*, *natem'*, or *maikiúa* before embarking on an important task. This could mean applying for a new job, confronting university admissions exams, or getting over the grief and sorrows of heartbreak and separation. It could also be drinking *natem'* in preparation for an international championship boxing match, as the son of a good friend did frequently, to assure his bravery in the ring as much as to predict the outcome of a fight.

The consumption of hallucinogens thus informs people whether to apply for a certain job as an unmissable opportunity or one that's better passed up; whether university will be successfully concluded or instead a waste of time and money; or if a spouse's love shall be permanent or fleeting. The acts of people that have gained a vision of the future are therefore also the acts of people with the agency to act accordingly in the present. Take the following line, as noted on my diary:

> I boiled *natem'* thick today, the way our ancestors used to do. This way you, too, shall see the future. Everything that's happening nowadays—everything—they already knew. The ancestors knew. They saw how 'white peoples' will come to invade our lands. They saw how Shuar will live nowadays: in houses such as this one, of concrete blocks and with a tin roof, marrying white men and white women, and having learn to speak their language. They knew what was going to happen before it happened and how we, Shuar, would live today; and we now might see how we will live tomorrow (Pumpuis, 8 September 2017).

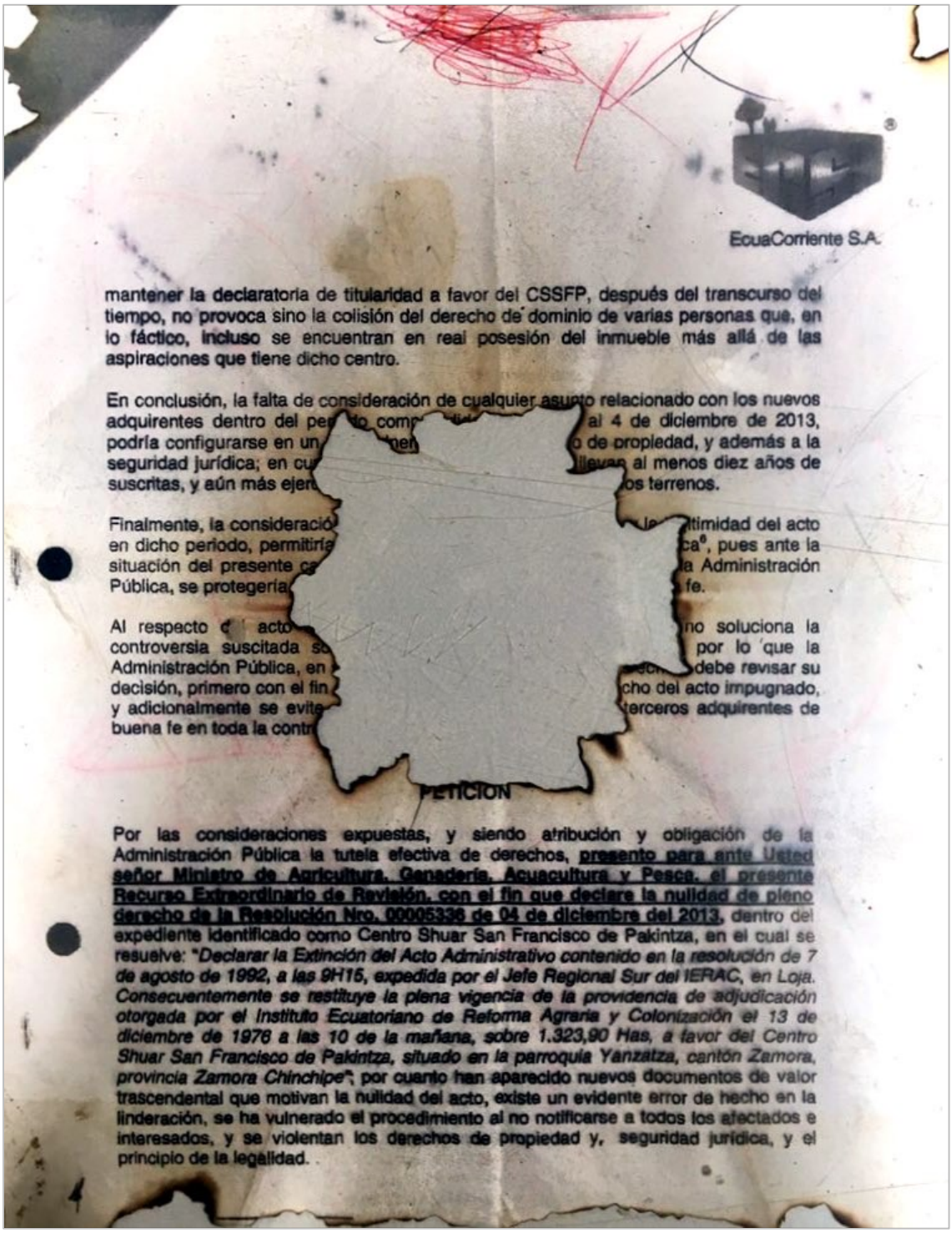
What ancestors knew back in their times about today, is also known by their descendants now in relation to their future. This is a misleadingly simple statement that however conceals broad

political and ethnographic implications. It effectively brings *natem'* and *maikiúa* into the realm of politics as visionary knowledge effectively guides people's actions in the world. I suggest, therefore, that the use of *natem'* (also ayahuasca, *Banisteriopsis caapi*) in Shuar history might also be understood, as described by recent anthropological explorations on 'cosmopolitics', as transcending and redefining traditional understandings of politics (Blaser 2016; la Cadena 2015; la Cadena & Blaser 2018). Moreover, I consider recent activists and scholarly efforts to grasp and portray a 'history of Shuar' as part of my own ethnographic field of enquiry. Scholarly accounts on indigenous peoples in the region on the history of colonial expansion and resource conflicts, I shall argue, are also examples of 'equivocations' in translation produced within a 'mining encounter' which have helped shaped the broad political domain.[50]

Overall, Shuar construct a narrative that opposes state, missionary, and settler colonial accounts and the underlying political agendas these convey. People in Pakints' are of course aware of the change in livelihoods produced by 'white peoples' over time, whether these are expressed as concrete struggles against settler invasion, everyday market interactions, and cumbersome bureaucratic procedures, or as advances of the state, colonial administration, and capitalism. Shuar in the South know how change has been introduced by 'white peoples' in the course of history and they know what the 'course of history' means for 'white peoples' and the state. They know 'white peoples' history books, evolving laws, and historiography conventions. Hence, in the current context of the region, indigenous notions of the past are thus expressed through the same historical terms as defined by 'white peoples', and their conventions and technologies for record keeping, determinant on the development of personal indigenous archives.

Shuar, therefore, dutifully incorporate the partial histories of 'white peoples' into indigenous historicity and into their own cosmopolitical conventions. However, rather than developing an alternative account of the past, Shuar history overwrites non-indigenous agency within colonial structures and positions itself as 'true history', simultaneously inside and outside of settler conventions. In so doing, Shuar history establishes itself as the focal framework of

political action, historic change, and imagination of the future. This, as I show in the next chapters, has complex implications in a context of intense and conflictive interactions with 'white peoples' mediated by industrial mining.



EcuaCorriente S.A.

mantener la declaratoria de titularidad a favor del CSSFP, después del transcurso del tiempo, no provoca sino la colisión del derecho de dominio de varias personas que, en lo fáctico, incluso se encuentran en real posesión del inmueble más allá de las aspiraciones que tiene dicho centro.

En conclusión, la falta de consideración de cualquier asunto relacionado con los nuevos adquirentes dentro del pe[illegible] al 4 de diciembre de 2013, podría configurarse en un [illegible] de propiedad, y además a la seguridad jurídica; en cu[illegible] al menos diez años de suscritas, y aún más ejer[illegible] los terrenos.

Finalmente, la consideració[illegible] ltimidad del acto en dicho periodo, permitirí[illegible] ca[6], pues ante la situación del presente ca[illegible] la Administración Pública, se protegería[illegible] fe.

Al respecto d[illegible] acto[illegible] no soluciona la controversia suscitada s[illegible] por lo que la Administración Pública, en [illegible] debe revisar su decisión, primero con el fin [illegible] cho del acto impugnado, y adicionalmente se evite[illegible] terceros adquirentes de buena fe en toda la contr[illegible]

PETICIÓN

Por las consideraciones expuestas, y siendo atribución y obligación de la Administración Pública la tutela efectiva de derechos, **presento para ante Usted señor Ministro de Agricultura, Ganadería, Acuacultura y Pesca, el presente Recurso Extraordinario de Revisión, con el fin que declare la nulidad de pleno derecho de la Resolución Nro. 00005336 de 04 de diciembre del 2013**, dentro del expediente identificado como Centro Shuar San Francisco de Pakintza, en el cual se resuelve: "*Declarar la Extinción del Acto Administrativo contenido en la resolución de 7 de agosto de 1992, a las 9H15, expedida por el Jefe Regional Sur del IERAC, en Loja. Consecuentemente se restituye la plena vigencia de la providencia de adjudicación otorgada por el Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización el 13 de diciembre de 1976 a las 10 de la mañana, sobre 1.323,90 Has, a favor del Centro Shuar San Francisco de Pakintza, situado en la parroquia Yanzatza, cantón Zamora, provincia Zamora Chinchipe*", por cuanto han aparecido nuevos documentos de valor trascendental que motivan la nulidad del acto, existe un evidente error de hecho en la linderación, se ha vulnerado el procedimiento al no notificarse a todos los afectados e interesados, y se violentan los derechos de propiedad y, seguridad jurídica, y el principio de la legalidad.

Document 2. Fragment of a pamphlet distributed by *la compañía* to inhabitants in Pakints'. The document intends to inform residents of the *centro* about a recent court decision annulling the legal status of their indigenous reserve. The final line of text reads: '…new documents of transcendental merit have come to light and motivate the overturning of [a previous sentence (favourable to the *centro*)]. The existing boundary inaccuracies violate property rights, the principle of legal certainty, and legality.' Month unknown, 2015.



Figure 14. Wishu reading a note in his house.
(Photo by the author, 2014)



Figure 15. Alice chatting with Wishu's wife.
(Photo by the author, 2017)

Tuesday, 14 April 2015

I visited Wishu today. We were both so glad to see each other after so long! We sat, as always, on the floor of the porch of his house to catch up. He was happy and in good spirit, but his health was noticeably worse than during my last visit a few years ago. He looked thinner than I remembered him, and he was coughing all the time. I asked him if he might have fallen ill with TB again, but I refrained from asking how his alcoholism was. I know how much he dislikes acknowledging his drinking. He had to leave his manioc fields to the peccaries, he said, a whole '*cuadra*' (10,000 square metres), for he no longer has the strength to work. This led us to talk about loneliness and ageing. 'Ageing means solitude and sickness', he complained. 'My sons and daughters all have their families now, and they are too busy to visit me anymore'. We discussed what he calls Shuar 'weakness' towards money, especially amongst the '*renacientes*' (trnsl. as 'the youth'?). 'Young people today are mostly ashamed of speaking our language', he said, 'and scared of drinking *natem*' [ayahuasca].' 'They don't go to the waterfalls anymore. They don't know *arutam*. There is no discipline amongst the young.'

I later took long notes in a notebook. By noon, the sun was high. The day quickly got warm, slightly suffocating. The heat increased his coughing. When I left, he asked me to shake the leaves of the *maikiúa* tree [angel's trumpet, *Brugmansia arborea*] on the path out of his house, 'to call on rain in the afternoon', he said. I must have looked perplexed. 'It works for real', he assured me.

Sunday, 5 July 2015

I went to see Wishu again. I found him watching telly on the porch (he had set a mattress to lie down on the floor and moved the TV outside with him). His health still hasn't improved. He said he'd visited some expensive private doctors, but received only 'tiny, tiny pills and sweet cough syrup.' Neither has been very effective. He would like to find a curandero healer, but the good ones have 'gone extinct' in the region and he feels too weak to set forth on long-distance travel to the hinterlands. I offered to book him an appointment with the local health centre in town. He agreed.

We spent the afternoon mostly chitchatting. Although we did briefly discuss the situation of the Wisum' (Wishu pronounces it '*visum'ah*', almost with a guttural click). They are no longer living in the *centro*. Wishu said the mining company had given them a seven-month deadline to evacuate their property. That time has now run out, and the family has left. I was told they are all dispersed: some went to live in the settler town; others have bought [indigenous] land and moved to different locations. E. even bought a small truck and a motorbike. 'Fools! They don't even know how to drive!' laughed Wishu. 'Someone else is driving! Some *apaach*' (it turns out they have hired a settler in El Pangui). 'What would they do when the car needs repairing? Their money is already running out! They will be but beggars; they will have nothing!'

Soon, he will be gathering his family together, Wishu said, and advise them never to sell the land. He has been thinking what to tell them over weeks. He even rehearsed with me what he might say: 'We are plenty now; I have many grandchildren and we have nowhere else to go. This is good land. It's productive. There is manioc, maize, fruits, plenty of products. You shall never sell this land'.

Excerpts from my earliest fieldwork logs.

Pakints', April-July 2015

2 Arrival

Fieldwork, resource conflicts and Shuar politics

Pakints', as all Shuar *centros* are, was in July 2015, the time of our arrival, composed by a few extended families with close kinship ties to one another, living within a collective land reserve. Nearly 400 people inhabited the land reserve, distributed along a loose assemblage of five *barrios*, 'neighbourhoods', politically organised in independence to each other, and dispersed over a territory of 1,323 hectares. The *centro*, as well as much of the surrounding area, was almost completely encircled by settler migrants from the highlands, known simply as *colonos*, 'settler colonists', in regional Spanish, and was entirely located inside the conflictive 9,320 hectares concession area of Mirador, the country's first large scale open-cast industrial mine.

The stream that named the *centro* criss-crossed the land reserve at its heart, meandering its way from south to north towards the *chumpias entsa*[51], a clear fast-flowing river nowadays more often known as Chuchumbleza, the Spanish corruption of its Shuar name. Pakints', at least on paper, occupied the point where the clear waters of this river merged into the muddy course of the *kanús*, or Zamora, the largest river in the region. The *centro* never reached the raging torrent of this major river nor its banks. Settler colonisation had gnawed parts of the land away, restricting access to the area, and the eastern side of the reserve rose on a tall slope that ended abruptly on a cliff, creating a canyon between the indigenous reserve and the big river.

The view from this canyon overlooked the valley of *tuntaim'*, Tundayme, where the Mirador mine, located opposite the indigenous reserve, across the Zamora River, some 15 km away, was at the time under construction.[52] The growing clearance of vegetation, the mounting patches of naked earth, and the progressive dug of benches over the disappearing mountain slopes on the horizon—an endless irritation in the valley, were at this distance less exasperating than the loud caravan of motorbikes, pickup trucks, and lorries toing and froing at all times in and out the mine. The E-45 inter-Amazonian highway, also known as *Troncal Amazónica,* roughly split the land reserve in two uneven halves. In contrasting opposition, a rugged mountainous patch of forest, palm groves, and gardens to the east stood against a large plain of swamps, fruits orchards, and cattle pastures to the west. The lush abundance of game and palm fruit that once attracted hunters to the area had mostly disappeared and the forest around the stream survived only in a few spots. Four of Pakints' five neighbourhoods: Certero, Santiago Paati, Pakintza, and San Andrés were built along this highway. Santa Cruz, the only neighbourhood apart, was located at the end of an inward dirt road, entering 2 km into secondary forest.

This unpaved road marked the southern limit of the land reserve and like the *chumpias entsa*, the opposite border of the reserve, it had proven to be a rather porous and contentious border over time. The delta of this river, in fact, was now occupied by a small colonial invasion—a settler hamlet by the name of Chuchumbleza, that had become the first point of entrance to the mine. This minute hamlet occupied a very slim strip of land along the sandy banks of the *chumpias entsa* (once reserved by the people of Pakints' for peanut gardens), and owed its existence to the highland labourers that arrived one day in the late 1960s, tasked with connecting the region through a bridle path. When road workers reached Pakints', at the final stretch of their journey, they asked the people of the *centro* for a place close to river where to set up temporary tents and live, bathe, and cook while their engineering work was carried out.[53] Tents were successively replaced by cane, wood, adobe, and cement houses as many workers never left. The path, which initially bridged over the stream with no more than a few planks of wood for cattle and horses to traverse, became a ballast road and was later paved and enlarged

until it became a major highway, inviting thousands of poor and mostly landless peasants from the highlands to settle in the lowlands.[54] Later, ranchers from the adjacent El Güismi, a minute Hispanic village, built upon the invaded lands Shuar call *waysim',* 'place of the guayusa trees (*Ilex guayusa*)', which acted as seat of the local parish government. This village, a dependant of the larger town of El Pangui (from the Shuar *panki*, which translates as 'anaconda'), the seat of the cantonal government[55], 10 km away down the highway, was now at the heart of industrial mining debates (van Teijlingen & Warnaars 2017; Warnaars 2013).

Not too long ago, Franciscan friars had competed with Salesian missionaries at this very point for indigenous children to 'civilise' at their respective boarding schools. The *chumpias entsa* has been, after all, since 1893, the boundary between two major missionary administrations amongst Shuar. The Salesian Vicariate Apostolic of Méndez and Gualaquiza and the Franciscan Vicariate Apostolic of Zamora.[56] For people in Pakints', as a result, to run away from one mission's boarding school, as so many children did, often meant to be caught, reprimanded, and be sent off to the other order's mission. It also meant embarrassment and punishment, frequently following days of hiding and stray walks through the forest. When caught, fugitive boys were harshly beaten up or starved for a few days and the hair of runaway girls was cut to a close crop head, 'to look like boys', as a sign of shame and Roman Catholic repentance.

Nowadays, with the sun glaring on the highway, those days seemed well buried in the past. The original purpose of the road, a major pursue of missionisation in the region[57] , had been to connect through the roughly 120 kilometres that separated the headquarters of these missions: Gualaquiza, a village born from the establishment of Jesuit and Salesian missionary efforts and a series of surrounding haciendas in 1815 and 1893; and Zamora, an old post of Spanish incursion to the lowlands, dating back to 1549—various times destroyed and resisted by Shuar, and lastly restored by Franciscan missionaries in the 1920s. To this endeavour, workers had been simultaneously dispatched from Cuenca and Loja, in the foothill of the Andes. Two cities

Shuar had respectively known as *kenk'* and *u'já*, several generations ago, whose long colonial shadow still loomed over the region.

Through the past 50 years, the vast land named after the stream, long at the crossroads of colonial interests, conflict, and contention, had been surrounded by settler encroachment; and so, today, the *centro* resembled a patchwork of plots with differing land tenure regimes and conflictive memories. Indigenous land throughout the reserve, either seized, purchased, or unscrupulously acquired as debt payment by settler colonists[58], was an incessant source of colonial struggles turned into ongoing legal conflict, uncertainty, and social strife. Recently, Pakints' had become a compulsory passageway for lorries transporting workers, supplies, and lorryloads of waste and construction materials between the mine and the main cities in the country. The highway, which today occupied a central place in everyday life in the indigenous reserve, was similarly inscribed with memories and history as were the rivers and streams, whose use a medium of transportation it had replaced. Pakints', thus ensnared and distraught by old entanglements, new developments, and unfathomed prospects, remained the meeting point of regional discontent and perturbance that had long outlined its history.

This chapter shall describe the setting in which most fieldwork for this thesis was carried out. I present a brief theoretical outline of indigenous history in lowland South America and introduce the central argumentative treads I shall develop in this thesis. First, I aim to connect fieldwork practice with resource conflicts and indigenous and colonial historical backgrounds to introduce the complex context in which history helps people in Pakints' nowadays to navigate and understand political contention. I shall start with the ethnographic present and gradually move towards the past to show the significance attached by people in Pakints' to history as an analytical tool to understand ongoing resource conflicts. The scope of this chapter is at this point only introductory. I will further analyse these two subjects, colonial relations and resource conflicts, in Part II and Part III.

Fieldwork and political contention

I arrived in Pakints' because of my friendship with Wishu. He had lived with the Cofán of northern Amazonian Ecuador, as I had in previous fieldwork, and that shared experience had years before triggered our relationship. When he found out I was looking for a place to carry out research in the area, I was invited to live in the Shuar *centro* he had helped establish in his youth. A few months later, after a period of transition in Quito, Macas, Sucúa, and Zamora, spent at the premises of various indigenous organisations, my partner Alice, our dog Whiskey and I, moved to Pakints' to begin fieldwork for this thesis.

It was indeed not a quiet time to visit. The country, and in particular the Amazonian territories inhabited by Shuar, increasingly faced *problemas*, 'troubles'—as Wishu liked to say—alluding to the hostile relations between the central government and indigenous peoples in the region. The government's decision to open up sizeable tracts of indigenous territory for large-scale mining and the concession of an ever-increasing extension of Shuar land to transnational corporations[59], with little indigenous consent, had begun the disagreements (Becker 2013). The ensuing crackdown on dissent and military actions to protect transnational investment, flowing in mainly as China Export-Import Bank loans, and dispensed through Chinese corporations, further widen the dispute (Gonzalez-Vicente 2013; Ray & Chimienti 2017; Teng 2017).

—Again, they want to divide us and destroy us, Wishu told me once.

With some nuance, the phrase could have described the general state surrounding indigenous politics in Ecuador during much of Rafael Correa's 'post-neoliberal' administration. The assertive push towards state expansion and social investment put forward by the government, paralleled and financed by resource extraction (Acosta & Cajas Guijarro 2018; Bebbington & Humphreys Bebbington 2011), was indeed polarising and disruptive. The national indigenous movement, already weakened and divided by a string of electoral miscalculations since the

turn of the century (Arias 2006), broke ranks. Throughout the country, indigenous activists increasingly struggled to compete with government bureaucracies to organise its grassroots (Altmann 2013; Becker 2010; Jima-González & Paradela-López 2018). Furthermore, most ethnopolitical organisations (indigenous intellectuals warned) had been slow and ineffective to react against an unprecedented co-optation of indigenous discourses by the state (CONAIE 2012; Simbaña 2014; Viteri 2015).

Not without irony, throughout 2007-2017, the tenure of Rafael Correa's decade-long presidency, long-time activists and academic observers applauded the elevation into mainstream politics of indigenous notions on the 'good life'[60] and the recognition of nature's rights within an innovative constitutional framework (approved by referendum in 2008). In the years ahead, however, indigenous values and the pioneering 'rights of nature' (originally expected to change the relationship between nature and society), were to be selectively ignored and wilfully subjected to the demands of economic growth and the country's increasingly swollen financial needs (Arsel 2012; Chimienti & Matthes 2016; Pinto 2012). Transnational industrial mining thus became a key component in a political project that had otherwise labelled itself as an anti-imperialistic 'citizen's revolution' (Davidov 2013). Not surprisingly, the administration increasingly found itself at odds with ethnopolitical organisations whilst growing progressively committed to a 'neo-extractivist' agenda (Cholango 2014; Lu et al. 2018).

In the span of a few years, the political situation became increasingly more complex. Shadowing a series of street protests organised by numerous 'land defence committees' and *por la vida*, 'for life', regional 'fronts' and 'assemblies', beginning in the early 2000s, numerous Shuar *centros* along the banks of the Zamora River joined forces with the local settler peasantry to uphold their territories (CEDHU 2016). Their discontent grew exponentially over time and was increasingly paired with broad public rallies in various settler towns and the support of a wide coalition of environmental and Human and Indigenous Rights non-governmental

organisations (NGOs), indigenous-led provincial and parochial governments, and 'progressive sectors' of the Roman Catholic church[61] (Latorre 2012).

The region soon became a compound and multifaceted meeting point of disagreement and friction between a wide variety of peoples, organisations, institutions, interests, aims, agendas, perceptions, perspectives, and worldviews. The semi-official catchphrase of the time, *la minería va porque va*, 'mining will happen either or any way', widely used by state and corporate officials to justify political and military repression, guaranteed the spur of conflict.[62] The strong determination of the government to pursue the 'strategic' development of industrial mining as a matter of 'utmost interest of the state' [63] was, however, met with the equally firm determination of Shuar and settler peasants to resist the dispossession of their land.

The tense standstill that followed saw constant judicial harassment, prosecution, and the imprisonment of various indigenous activists; a series of uneven legal battles; and the obscure and unsolved murder of three Shuar participants, spectators, or advocates in anti-extractive camps. Bosco Wisum', a schoolteacher, was killed by a 'lost bullet' in September 2009, while protesting against the approval of new mining legislation.[64] Freddy Taish', was shot dead during an opaque military operation to crack down on illegal mining in November 2013.[65] And José Tendetza, a vocal critic of the industry, was found dead with signs of torture in December 2014, just days before traveling to the United Nations Climate Change Conference to denounce the damage and pollution caused by industrial mining on his land (Aguilar 2016; Collyns 2015).

As we commenced our fieldwork, the looming presence of industrial mining, spreading throughout the lowland course of the Zamora River, had become the centre of disagreement and controversy. Situated in close range to one another were three large-scale copper gold and gold mining operations: Mirador, Panantza-San Carlos, and Fruta del Norte, already either in 'advanced exploration' or well under construction.[66] As a result, and rather unwillingly, people in Pakints', as in several other indigenous reserves in the region, found themselves amid an intricate, mounting, and unwanted confrontation.

Fifteen years after the influx of industrial mining, and coinciding with our fieldwork, state and corporate intervention had forcefully expanded over Shuar land and opposition against the industry had grown into escalating violent armed clashes. The reaction of the state, largely legal and military, acted upon accusations of 'terrorism' and 'political agitation.' Military force was recurrently deployed to safeguard and police extractive sites. The law was harshened, and its use extended, and intelligence services actively monitored regional discontent and antagonistic political organisations. Resistance to extractive developments was increasingly met with an extensive use of strategic lawsuits against public participation (Amnesty International 2012; APRODEH et al. 2019; 2018; Calapaqui 2016; CONAIE-CONFENIAE 2016; Pérez Guartambel & Solíz Torres 2014); and a wide setup of state surveillance was deployed to infiltrate, undermine, and influence various indigenous and non-governmental organisations.[67]

Shuar resistance efforts, sworn to fight until 'ultimate consequences' and avenge the death of their 'three fallen', began to adopt a more combative language. With patience running thin with the political inequities of a sluggish and widely perceived as bias legal system, several Shuar clusters threatened to organise indigenous guerrillas to defend, maintain, or restore their territorial integrity.[68] Proposals of secession spread in the region, aiming to create a sovereign indigenous state of *chicham*-speaking peoples, hoped to be carved out of the shared borders of Ecuador and Peru. Upon leaving the field, then, almost three years after our arrival, I was half-jokingly instructed: 'Go tell the Queen we want to buy the same weapons Britain is selling to the Saudis.'

Needless to say, the political situation of the country strongly impacted how we prepared, adapted, and experienced fieldwork. It affected the otherwise peaceful rhythm of the region, and recurrently upset everyday life in Pakints'. Research turned out to be uncomfortably uneasy, carried out against a constant backdrop of contention and, at the height of the conflict, life became hostile and occasionally frightening. Rumours circulated widely, enforcing uncertainty, suspicion, and mistrust, whilst regional and national indigenous and grassroots

organisations increasingly felt powerless or were perceived as feeble, pointless, and ineffective by its own constituencies. Settler peasants and indigenous people within mine concession areas lived in constant fear of losing their homes and land and faced surveillance and harassment by corporate and state security forces. Time and again, the region saw political and corporate complicity get the upper hand over the rule of law.

People in the South, nevertheless, remained hastily divided. The consolidation of a common resistance front between settler peasants and Shuar *centros* never utterly solidified and within Shuar ethnopolitics itself there was a multitude of diverging and contradictory positions regarding what to do. Indeed, as noted to be distinguishingly characteristic of resource conflicts the world over, indigenous interactions with industrial mining were not devoid of ambiguity, uncertainty, or complexity (Bebbington et al. 2008). Shuar had faced the influx of industrial mining through alternate engagements with both corporate and government platforms and environmental or indigenous rights resistance coalitions, whilst actively taking part in traditional political struggles for visionary power and regional prestige. Shuar engagements with industrial mining thus very often looked elusive, multidimensional, fluid, and rapidly shifting (Pijpers & Eriksen 2018a). And the rough dichotomies of conflict and resistance, inexorably faded away on close inspection to reveal a more complex rhizome of overarching indigenous intentions and concerns.

The picture hence revealed was frequently coiled up on longstanding indigenous infighting and its deep entanglements with colonial expansion over time. Shuar frequently complained: *la colonización aún no ha terminado*, 'colonisation is not over yet' (see also Rubenstein 2001), and described and vented innumerable nuisances and degrading treatment experienced over time equally with settler neighbours and amid their difficult relations with the government. What is more, regional contempt over extractive developments was often understood, from the indigenous viewpoint, as a matter of indigenous history and Shuar political relations. Therefore, people in Pakints' frequently discussed the present in relation to a well-known past of regional strife and widely perceived their political history to be directly connected with

ongoing resource conflicts. The urgent sense of inequality and helplessness in a conflict over coveted resources would then in part vanish to give way to some certainties offered by the experience of the past and visionary expectations of the future. There were 'troubles' alright, but there had been *troubles* and colonial conflict for long time and historic agency, people in Pakints' insisted, had nonetheless remained with Shuar.

Monday, 6 July 2015

> M. [Wishu's daughter] and I called the medical service for an appointment, which we got for Wednesday. Wishu is very ill. He can barely breath sometimes. There were two cigarettes next to the TV. 'It will only make breathing more difficult', I pointed out to scold him, and immediately felt stupid to have said that. He reminded me that he never had smoked. He never liked it. The two cigarettes were to prepare tobacco water, he said, to clear his nose and help ease the congestion. It had been easier to ask a nephew to bring cigarettes from the shop than get someone to collect tobacco leaves from his herbal garden in the hills! The medicinal garden (a failed project of the Shuar Federation) was all covered in weeds, anyway, now that Wishu and I. [Wishu's wife] can't work.
>
> Before I left, he asked me to come back soon. 'I have something to tell you', he said. 'We don't want to sell our land'. It's my elder son who wants to divide the land in private parcels, he hides all this from me. He wants to divide the land against my will'. He looked tired and puzzled and told me he thinks he's going to die soon. 'I don't think I have much time, Sebachito'. He then said I ought to help with the land issues of the *centro*.

Indigenous history and colonial entanglements

Poignantly, when Wishu said, 'again' when speaking about current mining troubles, he had alluded to a series of events that had happened during the far-right Febres-Cordero regime, in power during 1984-1988. The administration became so infamous for its numerous Human Rights violations and oppressive use of law enforcement that often in the region Febres-Cordero was personally remembered as an 'enemy of indigenous peoples'. The period, too, was generally perceived as a complex, hostile, uncertain, and conflictive time. The Febres-Cordero administration had come to power with the brute promise of exterminating the spring up of left-wing guerrillas in the country—something it did, with the aid of a secret police,

torture, and forced disappearances, eroding democratic law and rising state violence to an extent hardly known in country under civilian rule.

Just the same, for Wishu, as for a considerable number of Shuar and other indigenous activists I met whilst in the field, present-day troubles had been brought about, ideological differences aside, by yet another state enemy. The Shuar Federation, as the largest ethnopolitical organisation in lowland Ecuador, then and now, had long played a major role in the mobilisation and struggles of the national indigenous movement and in helping articulate its ideological standpoints.[69] When Wishu spoke about indigenous tussles with the state, therefore, he never failed to contemplate the historical dimensions of past and recent ethnopolitical action. The Shuar Federation, moreover, occupied a central position in recent Shuar historic memory and identity, and the life experience of thousands of Shuar men and women in a generation had been lived within reach of its shadow. Shuar generally pinned down in ethnopolitics a clear distinction between the present and the past and compared the current 'times of civilisation' with the period that had come before, remembered as a time of constant war and feuding amongst warriors. Thus, ethnopolitics served to consent and recognise the differences and change characterising the last decades, bringing pride and satisfaction in civilised times to a people equally proud of their warring past and renowned historical autonomy. 'We are a people with *organización*', many proudly claim, hiding deep meaning in conciseness.

The Bomboiza Shuar Association, a cornerstone of the Shuar Federation, which at the time gathered all Shuar *centros* in the area, including Pakints', had protested against the extractive policies implemented by Febres-Cordero, just as firmly as it was protesting against industrial mining now (Asociación Shuar de Bomboiza 2012). The creation of indigenous land reserves throughout Shuar territory and the foundation of the Shuar Federation in 1964—a response to settler colonisation, state policy, and expansion (Salazar 1977; 1981), prompted many young Shuar people to counteract state law and policy on equal terms. The fights and efforts of Shuar

centros hence duly integrated into a wider organisational project developed into a collective ethnic struggle.

From the indigenous viewpoint, however, two things had granted Febres-Cordero his portentous reputation. First, his decision to suspend previous agrarian reform plans to favour colonising efforts and extractive investments on indigenous lands. Second, the violent suppression of indigenous discontent and mobilisation, shadowed by a political approach guided by a plain and simple logic of divide and rule. The very same things, that Wishu and several other indigenous activists in the region (who had advanced their political careers during those times), immediately recognised as happening again.

The mobilisation against Febres-Cordero had been memorable because it helped trigger the first nation-wide demonstrations of political solidarity towards indigenous Amazonia. It had been significant, especially in a country notorious for having long overlooked its lowland region (Whitten 1981), because it decisively helped cement the political coalition that build up the indigenous movement ahead of the famously successful 'Indigenous Uprising' in the 1990s. The occurrence, noted as *levantamiento indígena* in Latin American historiography, forever changed how politics were to be conceived in Ecuador thereafter. It is hardly a surprise, then, that men like Wishu remembered so vividly the period that preceded it, just as everyone else remembers the political transformations that came forth.

What is more, the 1980s had coincided with Wishu's role as *síndico*, the main *centro* representative, at a time when Pakints' was still undergoing its own struggle to defend its land reserve against invading settler colonists. The *centro*, though officially established in 1963, acquired its land title only in 1976, after the original documentation was lost along a stolen briefcase, left incautiously unattended during an evening drinking in a hazy bus station bar by one of the *centro*'s original land claimants. The successful Shuar actions to defend indigenous land against settler colonisers in Pakints' were followed by a lengthy and draining legal process that required people in the *centro* to look for complementary strategies to support direct action. As a result, and through the Bomboiza Association, much of the surroundings *centros*

effectively mobilised in support of Pakints'. The exceptional response had been unprecedented in the region, and it cemented the reputation of the Bomboiza Association, many of its rising young elected leaders, and inscribed the name of Wishu's *centro* in Shuar collective memory throughout much of the South.

Wishu, in fact, had returned to the region, after several years spent at the coastal provinces following odd job after odd job, to marry the daughter of one of the original *denunciantes*, 'land claimants', in Pakints', whose political action had assured the legalisation of the indigenous reserve. Wishu's arrival, had been timely. He had been educated, the first amongst his kin, in a missionary boarding school; and as most people of his generation, he proudly and meticulously emphasised his gained knowledge of *apaach'*, 'white peoples', and the national state and the pains and effort that gaining such knowledge had required. Much like his father—a clever man of some repute with an uncanny story, better known as Don Miguel Sharup', amongst settler neighbours in Gualaquiza and Bomboiza[70], Wishu was a wanderer. He had dropped out of boarding school in his teens, sick and tired of hunger and mistreatment, and went away to work at various rice fields and cacao plantations, either for money or for food, along the country's Pacific coast.[71] His time amongst *apaach'*, his knowledge of their customs and behaviour, and his extraordinary literacy degree—he was a ravenous reader[72], would later become useful and determinant in his election as a *síndico*.

If the actions of these first 'land claimants' had been essential to oust the invaders, it was sustained political organisation and the work of people such as Wishu what legitimised indigenous success.[73] The Shuar Federation, primarily conceived to stop the colonisation of indigenous lands by settler colonists, and originally operating in close association with the Salesian mission, 'couched in a discourse of citizens' rights to land-titling', had indeed assumed the language of the state into its kernel (Radcliffe 1998: 286). The political experiment was largely successful and assured not only official state recognition for large tracts of threatened indigenous lands[74] (Salazar 1977; 1981), but also achieved to establish a political structure of

territorial management that mediated Shuar political and legal interactions with 'white peoples' and the state.[75]

Wishu thus spent much of the decade attending *centro* and association assemblies as a *síndico*, writing and dispatching letters to indigenous and state politicians, lawyers, and bureaucratic officers. He often had to travel back and forth between Pakints', the Shuar Federation headquarters in Sucúa, and several ministry offices in Quito. A time he remembered fondly, often laughing at himself for having once very nearly been run over by a car on some busy city street before he figured out the operating logic behind traffic lights in the capital. Such experiences, repeated time and again in every *centro* under the territorial management of the Shuar Federation, further enabled and reinforced Shuar grasp and engagement with the state and national politics and its conversion into indigenous political knowledge.

The notion of indigeneity came to define Shuar politics, and *apaach*', the word traditionally used in *shuar chicham* to distinguish non-Shuar peoples, including other non-*chicham* speaking indigenous enemies and others, acquired at the time its present meaning as 'white people' (see Introduction). Henceforth, Shuar memories of indigenous clashes against the state, though unquestionably understood and discussed as Shuar history, became also surprisingly rich in detail, often including or converging with non-indigenous political spheres. Wishu, and other young leaders in his generation, confidently cited government bills and state policy or stressed their personal encounters and confrontations with army generals, state ministers, government bureaucrats, communist party coordinators, and a broad assortment of other powerful 'white peoples' and state institutions that had acquired a distinct place in Shuar struggles of the time. In doing so, they redefined the boundaries of Shuar historic narrative, renown before for its exclusion of 'white peoples' and the absence of their presence (Taylor 2007).

The rise of Shuar ethnopolitics and the clash against Febres-Cordero, however, again intended to highlight, in Wishu's narrative, both how indigenous agency had been kept through rough and conflictive times, and conveyed a sense of indigenous political confidence and experience that was often applied into the present. In the past, *organización*, had faced the troubles brought

to indigenous lowlands by the state's push for oil exploration in the 1970s and oil palm plantations in the 1980s. Back then, big oil and agribusiness described extractive development as 'a new seam of resources for the country' and the government had asked indigenous peoples to 'understand the shared needs of the fatherland' and bear the sacrifice (Mirto 1986). Today, the expansion of industrial mining again offered a new seam of resources to be exploited and the sacrifices to be made, once more, rested in the lowlands, mostly on indigenous land. In the long-term, Wishu confidently knew, what governments wished indigenous peoples throughout the world 'would understand' remained the same, but the conflicts delivered by industrial mining were a matter of 'Shuar history'.

Friday, 10 July 2015

> One of the nurses looked for his medical records and handed me the document to read. According to the papers, Wishu, 66 years old, had TB 10 years ago and was then treated. The doctor said his current symptoms don't correspond to those of TB, yet a saliva sample has been ordered by the health centre to be sure. A relapse is unlikely but new doses of TB medication could not be discarded if high levels of TB are still found in the sample. The doctor, however, thinks lung fibrosis is the likely cause of Wishu's illness. The doctor assured us that his case will be treated as 'very urgent' because his breathing difficulties are notorious. Still, we had no conclusive answer. We should come back as soon as he gets his results—one month from now.

Approaches to indigenous history in lowland South America

I shall begin my analysis by presenting the broad ethnographic threads that I develop in this thesis. My concern with indigenous history fits into a large body of research attentive to indigenous interpretations of history, time, change, and memory in lowland South America. These issues have been the subject of important regional debates and several congresses and meeting sessions that have produced several edited volumes on the topic (Fausto 2007a; Hill 1988a; Kaplan 1977; Whitehead 2003a).

Essential to these matters has been attending to indigenous conceptualisations of time and construction of temporality (Kaplan 1977); the articulation of social consciousness in mythic and historical narratives (Hill 1988b); the exploration of different and alternative notions of historiography and historical awareness (Whitehead 2003a); and the contradictions between Western regimes of history and identity and Amerindian ontologies (Fausto 2007b).

Amazonianist anthropology has thus examined indigenous historical consciousness (Brown & Fernandez 1991; Gow 1991; Hill 1988a); the apprehension, incorporation, or symbolic appropriation of aspects of colonial history into indigenous understandings of the past (Gow 1991; High 2009; Hill 1988a; Hugh-Jones 1988; Vilaça 2007); the varying relations of alterity between indigenous peoples and numerous 'others' (Ewart 2013a; Fausto 2012; Vilaça 2010; Viveiros de Castro 1992); the constitution of subjects and identity through predatory relationships or in relationships with nonhuman persons (Descola 1993; Fausto 1999); the expression of memory and history in the landscape and in interactions between people and the environment (Balée & Erickson 2006; Heckenberger 2005; Kohn 2007; Rival 2013; Whitehead 2003b); the significance that forgetting has in Amerindian memory and historical constructions (Oakdale 2001; Taylor 2007); narratives of personal history (Hendricks 1993; Taylor 1993); indigenous autobiography (Kopenawa & Albert 2013; Rubenstein 2002); and political processes in which indigenous rights and notions of leadership and power may have been achieved, constructed, renegotiated, altered, or reformulated in national and international contexts over time (Ramos 1998; Schwartz:1999ja; Brown 1993; Conklin & Graham 1995; Greene 2009b; Hill 1996; 2011; Medina 2003; Riley 2003).

Historically minded Amazonianist ethnography has thus explored indigenous notions of history beyond the disruptions of colonial affects[76], and argued against earlier studies on 'acculturation' and 'incorporation' into national societies and world system trends (Fausto 2007a; Gow 2001a; Hill 1988b; Sahlins 1988; see Wolf 2010). Whilst regional specialists might still debate over evaluating indigenous agency, 'modes of historical consciousness' (Hill 1988b; Turner 1988) and 'regimes of historicity' (Fausto 2007b), the precise role of ethnography in

historical studies, or the relationship between history and myth in structuralist approaches of analysis, Amazonianist scholarship has shown overall that history, as Stephen Hugh-Jones has put it, has not only been *suffered* by indigenous peoples but is also made by them and constantly in the making (Hugh-Jones 1988: 139; 2016: 55). How indigenous peoples themselves make and understand their history and conceive of and apprehend personal and social transformation through their own cosmologies has thus become a major contribution of regional scholarship (High 2015a).

These debates have raised important questions on how to understand indigenous histories in a framework of historical processes set in place by colonial interactions—a regional echo to a much larger debate, once at the core of social anthropology (Borofsky 1987; 2000; Obeyesekere 1992; Sahlins 1985; 1988). In consequence, two central issues have been hotly debated in the anthropological literature: a) the relationship between continuity and change, transformation, and disruption; and b) the ways in which indigenous historiographies balance out the relative importance of agency and structure.

As numerous ethnographic accounts have shown, Amerindian understandings of the past might be reinterpreted differently by various peoples and so acquire different meanings from what may be presumed, assumed, or expected by non-indigenous outsiders. Western notions of history, colonial events, and post-contact historical experience may thus be incorporated, modified, reimagined or altogether outdone and surpassed in indigenous cosmologies. In sum, what counts as 'history' in indigenous thought and attention can take multiple and rather distinctive forms. The unique ways in which lowland South American peoples may locate, remember, construct, narrate, and understand historical processes has, therefore, challenged scholars to refine and extend ethnographic observation and analysis. In consequence, renewed considerations of 'memory' (High 2009; 2015b), 'historicity' (Rival 2013; Whitehead 2003a), 'creative transformations', and 'continuity through change' (Ewart 2013a; Gow 2001b; Vilaça 2010; Viveiros de Castro 2012) have since become alternative avenues with which social

anthropology may examine how indigenous peoples make sense of the past and locate self and other to relate these to the present.[77]

Shuar history, as I will show throughout this thesis, offers indeed an indigenous interpretation of change and continuity, and an indigenous plinth for historicity through its own account on Shuar colonial encounters and entanglements. Its ultimate provision is, however, to show Shuar political understandings and sense of agency over time. It is therefore in the realm of indigenous politics, and how Shuar politics are remembered and maintained, where Shuar history is better placed as an ethnographic concept to offer valuable insights into ongoing mining encounters. In this regard, not only the debates over the influence and effect of the Shuar Federation on indigenous society today appear retracted to the background, but so do discussions over the effect of social change triggered by resource extraction. I don't mean to suggest that these aren't important matters of deliberation, but I wish to make a point on the real importance or lack thereof—as in this case—that Shuar themselves assign to such matters in their historic recollection.

Through the history of Pakints', and its wider relations with *organización*, then, this thesis aims to bridge Shuar regional political history with ongoing resource conflicts. Shuar history in the South and the history of Pakints', will thus provide an indigenous viewpoint of political conflict and colonial entanglements that sheds light on indigenous agency and intentionality within ongoing mining encounters. The complex interactions of state and corporate interests, environmental and Human Rights activism, efforts, and agendas, I argue, unknowingly unfold within a complex indigenous framework of political relations dependent on the continuity of indigenous memory in contemporary ethnopolitics. Shuar notions of history thus challenge and amend established analyses of resource politics in the region and will deepen understandings of resource conflict in the South. It is not my aim, therefore, to contradict current scholarship on mining encounters in the region, but to contribute and add to it by highlighting and weighing in the importance of an indigenous perspective that I find glaringly absent on current resource conflict studies.

Monday, 14 September 2015

The taxi came by early morning. I found Wishu waiting outside the porch of his house, sitting on a log, bent over himself and covered with a towel. We drove to hospital to get an X-ray of his lungs. Wishu spoke no words on the way. More at peace than pain, he remained still, looking outside the window all the time. I remembered later that before getting in the car, he had asked S. [Wishu's daughter] to bring 'his medicine' from inside the house: a blue tote bag that he tightly held against his chest all the way to hospital.

Monday, 14 September 2015

On our way to hospital, S. and M. [Wishu's daughters] and I talked about M.'s husband's $30 winnings at the cockfighting ring the previous night. [I had gone to the fights with them but left earlier.] It sounds like it was a good night for the cockfighting betting gang. Good drinking, too: M.'s husband arrived drunk the next morning and refused to go to work. He had been unhappy with recent changes in shifts at the mine and resented having to work with an unknown group of Chinese workers. He had liked the people in his previous shift, however, and had called them 'buddies' while mumbling all this to his wife while drunk. The new group of workers, however, was not amicable. We had a good laugh about this and then we laugh some more about M.'s husband blossoming Chinese vocabulary. To amuse themselves, Shuar workers teach Chinese staff hand language erotica and Shuar or Spanish sexual slur and course words. This has been going on a while and now, Chinese workers (who finally realised what had been going on) were returning the favour. Not unexpectedly, everybody seems to be laughing at the situation in the mine. (We also laugh of M.'s mimicking his husband's mimicry of Chinese workers).

Shuar history as indigenous politics

Throughout our first year in the field, I spent time with Wishu almost every day, visiting often with a thermos full of *wayus*' (*Ilex guayusa*), the infusion traditionally drank in *aénts chicham* societies at the start of each new day.[78] We sat on the porch of his house, and I listened to him comment on the morning news as the radio played on in the background. This became our small ritual. We usually spent the next few hours talking about the ever-increasing problems of *organización*, the uncertain future of the *centro*, and the long history that had preceded present troubles. Until the day of his death in 8 July 2016, I spent countless hours by his bedside feeling helpless, seeing how his pneumonia advanced ruthlessly, his pain increased and multiplied, and his weight dropped as he refused to eat. At some point, the radio was replaced

by a TV, and so after the news aired, we sat in silence watching The Pink Panther Show, while he held on tight to an oxygen tank's hose. He could barely speak then for the effort was too exhausting or triggered a savage fit of coughing, but the hoary cartoon always made him smile, and sometimes I still could hear a muted laugh.

Shuar had always been a 'clever yet conflictive folk', in Wishu's words, and ancestral warriors, shamans, and leaders of *organización* had quickly learned how to deal with, relate, and manage relations with outsiders, invaders, and newcomers. Shuar political memory, long characterised for a predisposition to look inward and ignore the influence and presence of 'white peoples' (Taylor 2007), had to adjust to colonial expansion and the growing importance of the state in Shuar society and political bidding. Internecine conflict, however, though dormant in the first decades after the creation of the Shuar Federation, had remained present within *organización.* Its persistent memory came to the fore rather dramatically in 1986, when internal disagreements and inherent contradictions within *organización* burst out in a conflict that resulted in the division of the Shuar Federation between two ideologically opposed factions quarrelling for ethnopolitical control. Pakints', was at the centre of this dispute, sometimes called a 'civil war', and the clashes that followed dragged in many 'white peoples' and state institutions into Shuar political quarrels.

The conflict erupted after decades of antagonistic relations and uneasy entanglements between Shuar and settler colonisation over indigenous land rights and Shuar contestation for autonomy and political representation from and in the state. This drew in some powerful settler landowners in the region (and the provincial representatives keeping their interests in parliament) who saw the conflict as an opportunity to maintain the privileges that colonial land grabbing had historically granted them. These people feared the increasing competition growing from Shuar demands to take part from state administration, but as they strove against one another in their own factions for local power (which required Shuar support) they were both inclined to encourage the division as to take sides with opposite Shuar factions. The division of the Shuar Federation, unfolded with the Febres-Cordero administration in the

1980s and coalesced with state efforts to divide indigenous organisations. To make matters more complex, Marxist groups—who thought the Shuar Federation could be turned into an effective medium to mobilises the masses and counteract far-right policies during the Febres-Cordero administration were also involved. This, too, drew the attention of military intelligence, wary of the unwanted prospect of Shuar association with international communism.[79]

The historic similarities perceived by Wishu and by several Shuar political activists between ongoing resource conflicts and Shuar struggles with the state in the 1980s were in Wishu's recollection, meant to discuss the developments of indigenous politics rather than its colonial framework. The ethnopolitical strife that followed, responded to the exacerbation in colonial relations between Shuar, settler colonists, missionaries, and the state, yet unfolded over traditional indigenous divisions and rivalry and was deeply enthused in ancient regional conflict. Shuar cleverness, as Wishu noted, relied in the capacity to mobilise external associates towards the advancement and maintenance of internal conflict. In the process, I shall add, 'white peoples' agency and historic influence are bent at the service of indigenous politics. The capability of 'white peoples' to introduce and trigger change in indigenous society is thus diminished and controlled by the continuities in Shuar political cosmology that assure the sovereignty of indigenous historic agency over time. This, as I will show in the next chapters, is both at the heart of indigenous assessments over ongoing mining encounters and threads the core of my analysis.

Monday, 14 September 2015

> Wishu got worse as soon as we reached hospital and we had to rush into ER. I had to hold him straight, so the X-Ray could be taken, and a wheelchair was called to take him into the doctor's office. He was so thin and his body so frail! S. took care of the paperwork while M. and I went outside to catch a bit of fresh air. Moments later, S. came to us pale and alarmed. The doctor's prognosis wasn't good and Wishu had to be taken immediately to a bigger hospital. He was already inside an ambulance berthing from an oxygen bottle. S. was going with him. She was so scared and so worried and so angry! The 'medicine' Wishu had asked to take from home and had been carrying in that tote bag; the medicine he had been taking for the last three weeks was nothing but pure sugar cane alcohol!

Monday, 14 September 2015

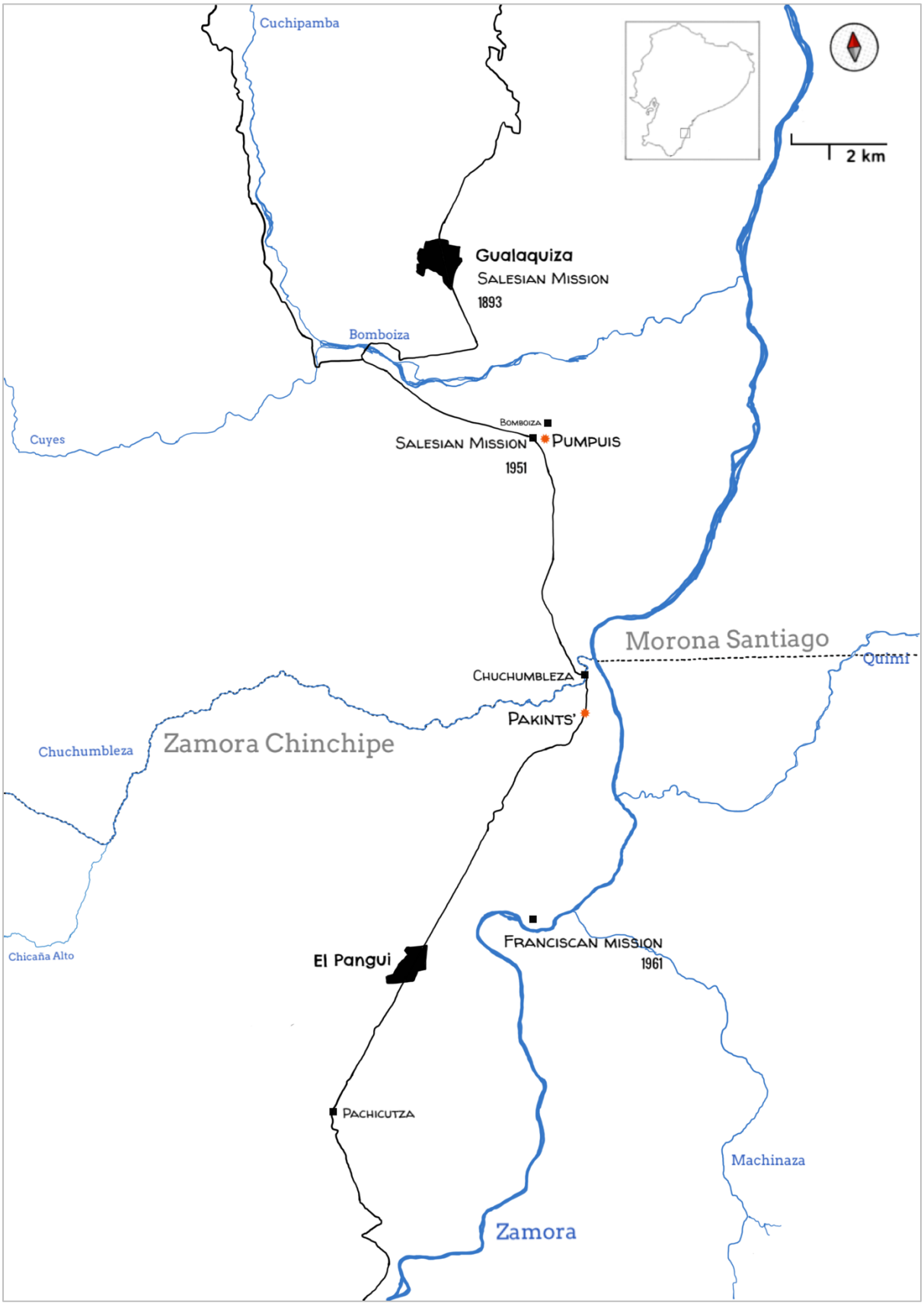
Inside the tote bag (S. was showing it to us), there was an unmarked plastic water bottle half filled with *aguardiente*! I thought of Wishu stealing [his wife's] chickens. [Wishu would put a chicken inside a rucksack and tell his wife he was going to work, but instead went to the market to sell the chicken and use the money to go drink at a bar.] In a different situation, I would have mentioned this story, and we'd laugh as usual. Instead, we barely had time to say goodbye. Wishu and S. were rushed into the ambulance whist M. and I just stood there for about a minute until we started wandering around the city, not really knowing what to do. On our way back home, M. asked me if I thought she'll see her father again. I said I didn't know. We both fell silent.

PART II

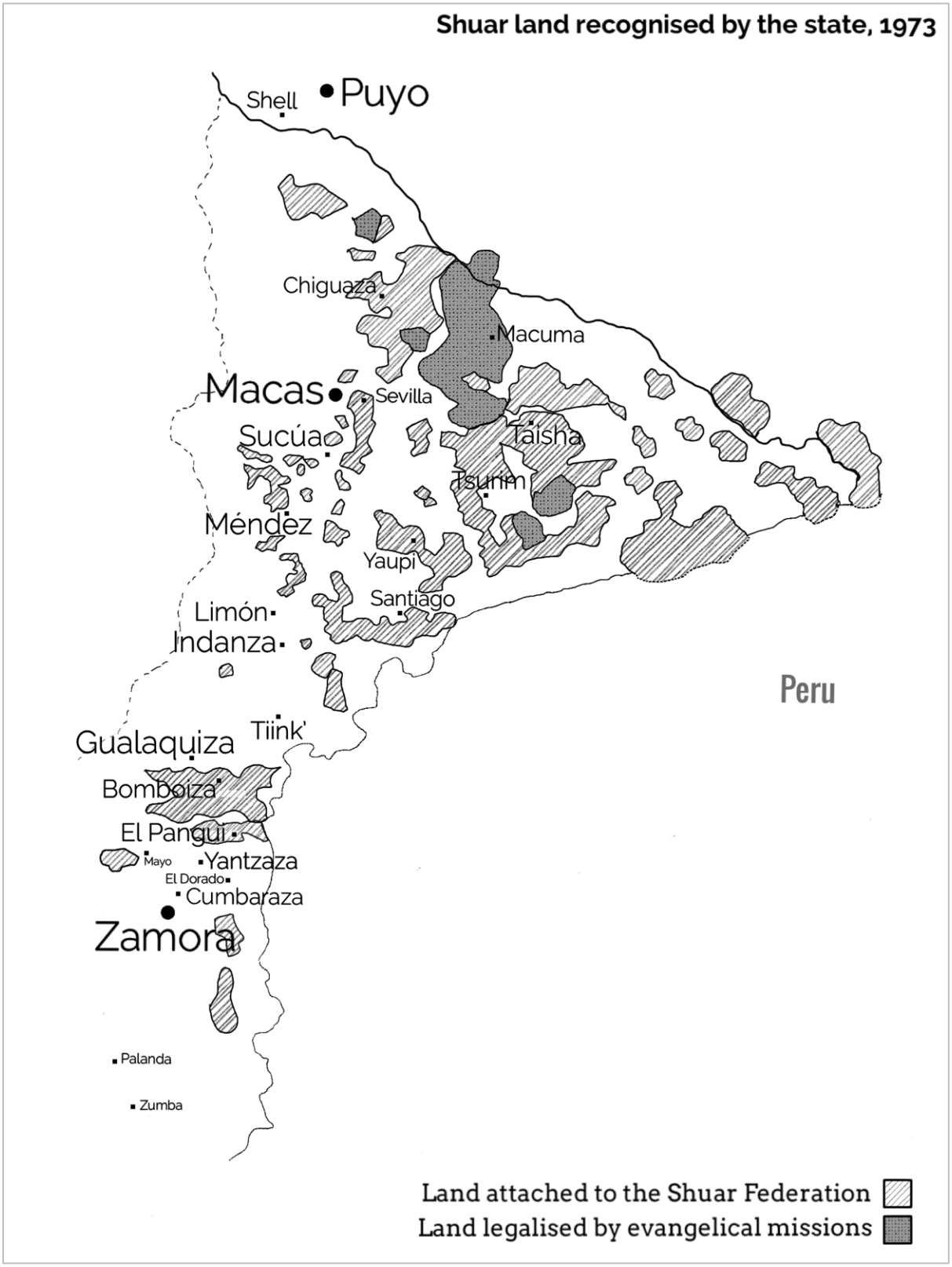
A Tale of two Centros



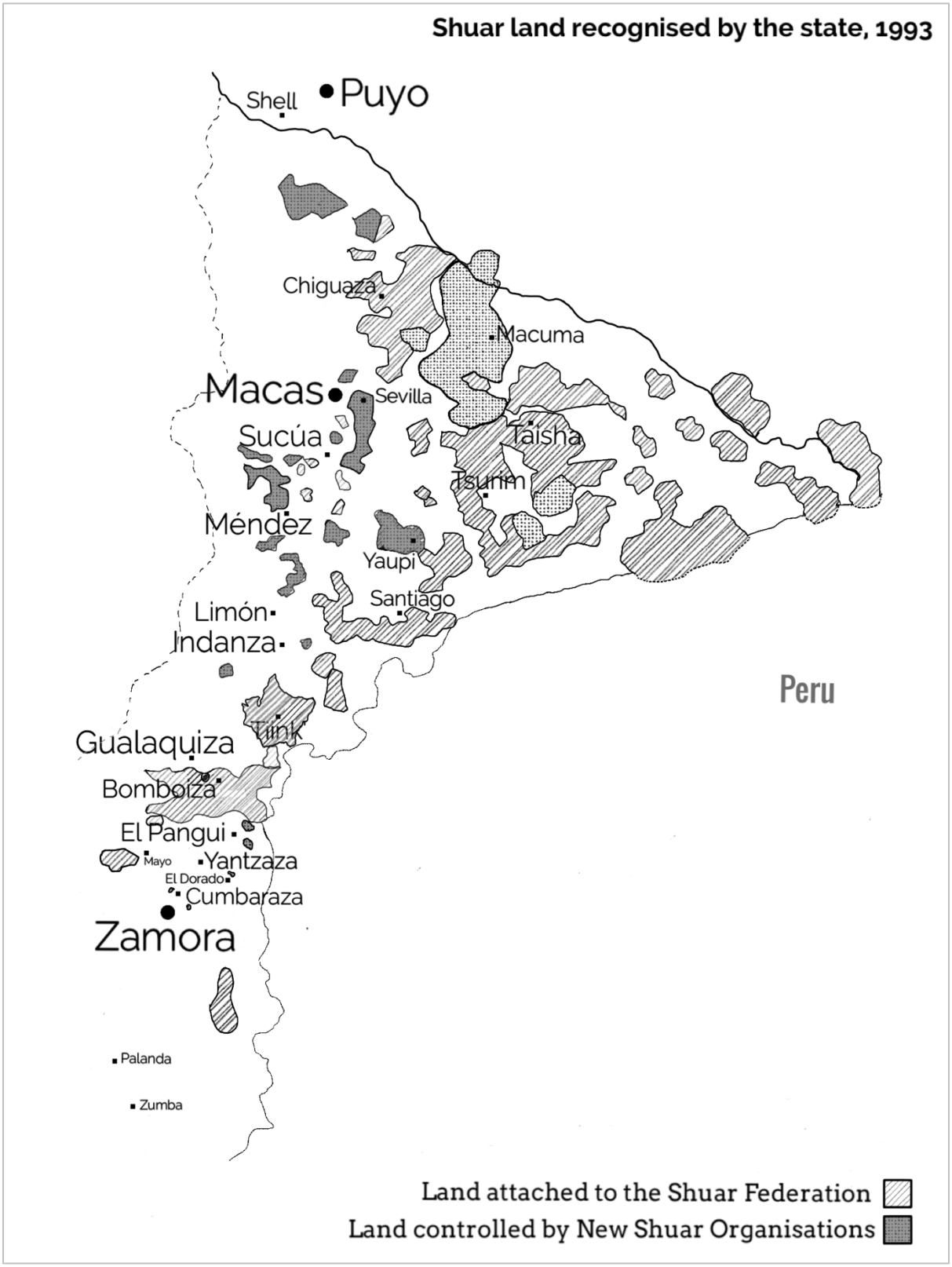
Map 10. Pumpuis and Pakints' in Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe.



Map 11. Salesian and Franciscan Missions in Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe.



Map 12. Shuar land recognised by the state in 1973.



Map 13. Shuar land in control of New Shuar organisations in 1993.

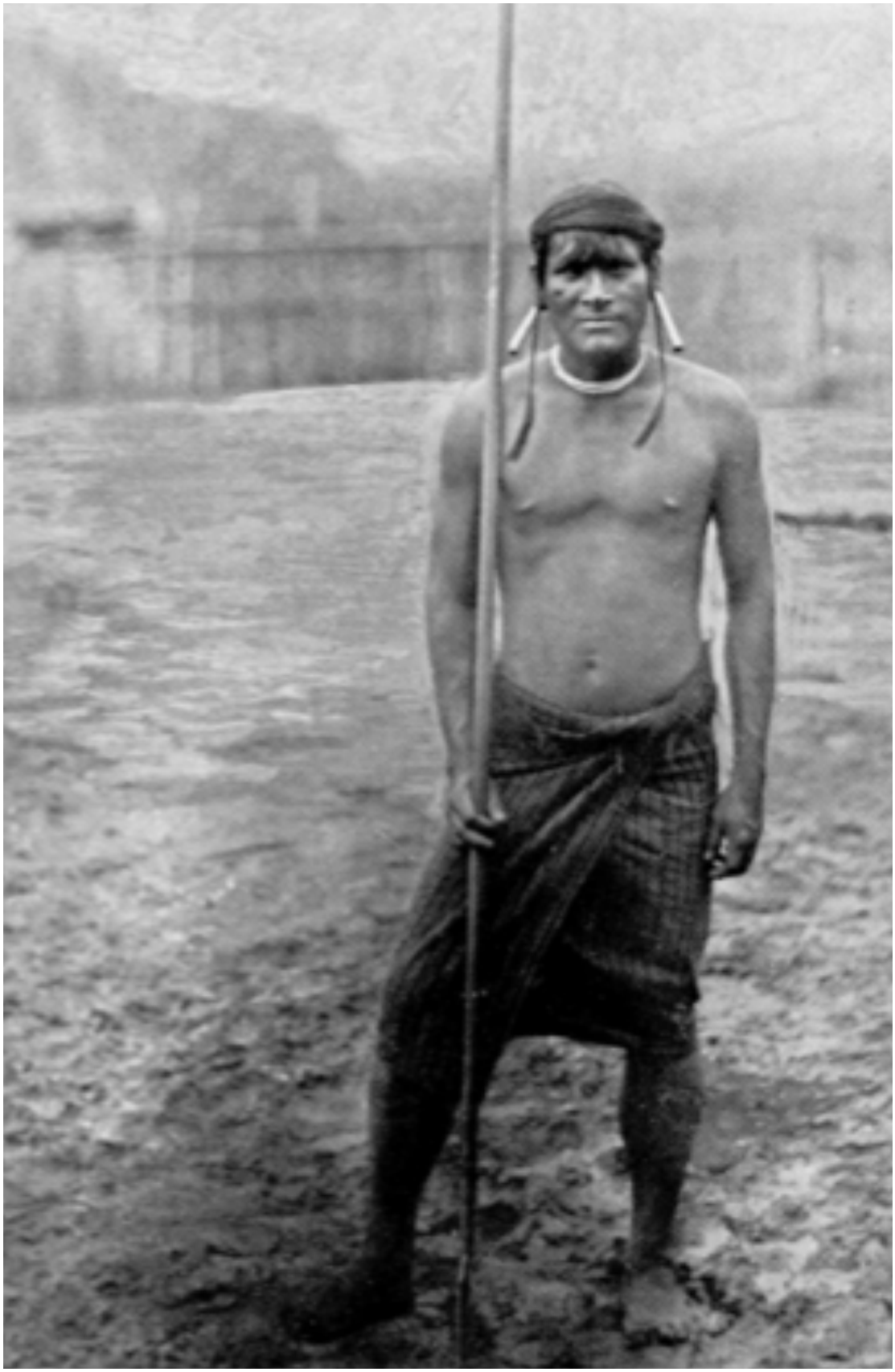


Figure 16. Santiago Wisum' of Chuchumbleza.
(Photo by Enrico Festa, 1893)

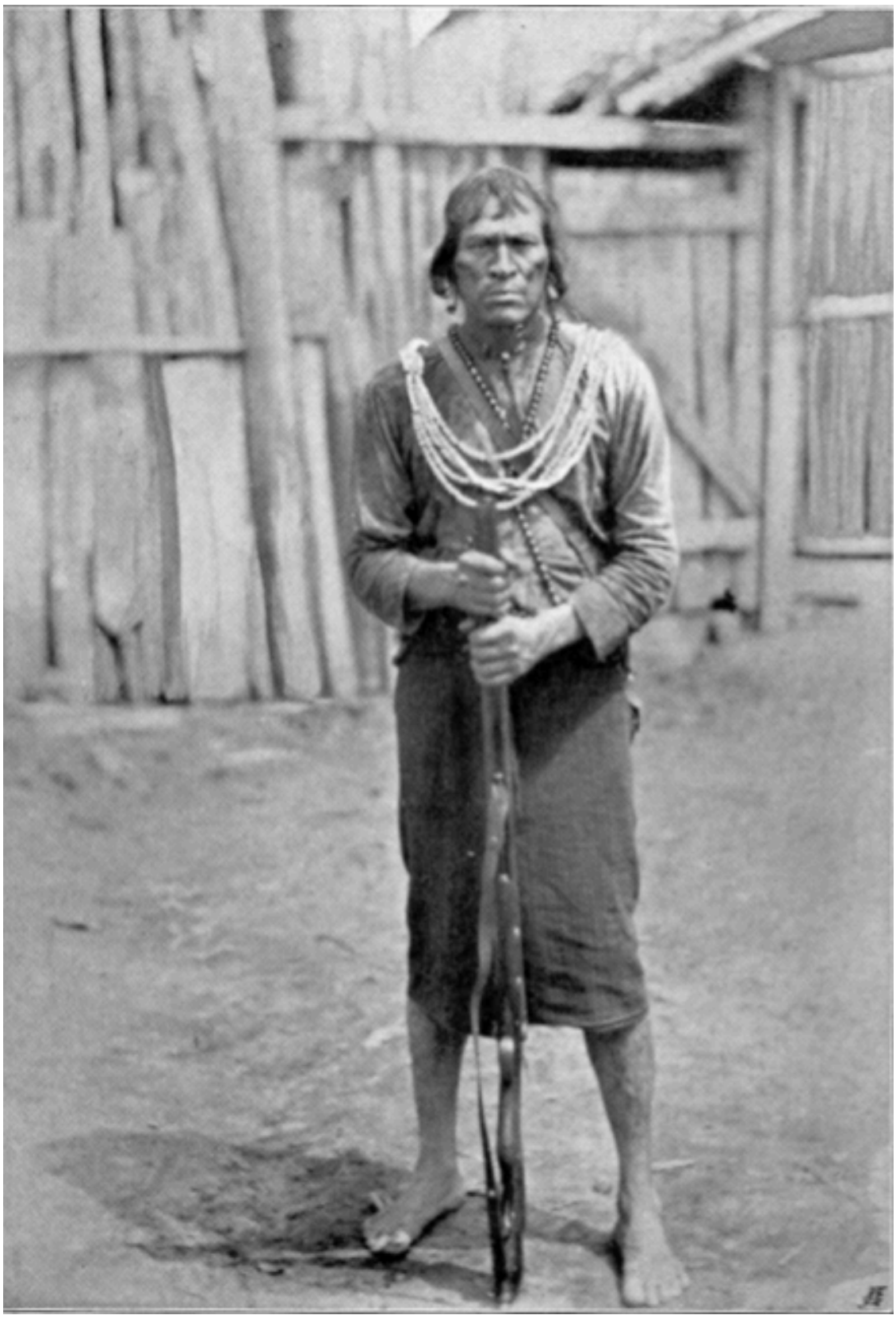


Figure 17. Ramón Júa posing in his house.
(Photo by Enrico Festa, 1893)


EL GOBIERNO DEL ECUADOR
ACREDITA LA IDENTIDAD PERSONAL
DEL PORTADOR DE ESTA
CEDULA No 1388132 5a Clase
VALIDA HASTA EL 31 DE DBRE DE 1966
Sr Carlos Wijinda Tziaco
Hijo de Andrés
y de Maria Yuama
Nacido el 1 de Junio de 1931
Pueblo Gualaceo
Provincia Morona-Santiago
País Ecuador
Reg. Civil Tomo -- Pág 56 Act 167
Nacionalidad Ecuatoriana
Instrucción ninguna
Profesión agricultor
Estado Civil Casado
Domicilio Chuchumblesa
Pomboza a 27 de Nbre de 1962
Pulgar derecho
Cutis Trigueño Pelo Lacio
Iris Cafés Estatura 1m 50
Señales particulares Tatuaje nariz
Ind. Dactiloscópica E-2333-I-3222
Firma del poseedor
Firma de la Autoridad
Nº 82251 Serie "E" Valor S/.8,25

Figure 18. Uwijint'. Photo from national ID, 1962.


EL GOBIERNO DEL ECUADOR
ACREDITA LA IDENTIDAD PERSONAL
DEL PORTADOR DE ESTA
CEDULA No 1388129 5a Clase
VALIDA HASTA EL 31 DE DBRE DE 1966
Sr Vicente Juepa Chimienda
Hijo de Santiago
y de Yuama
Nacido el 20 de Enero de 1924
Pueblo Gualaceo
Provincia Morona-Santiago
País Ecuador
Reg. Civil Tomo Fe Legalizada
Nacionalidad Ecuatoriana
Instrucción ninguna
Profesión agricultor
Estado Civil Casado
Domicilio Chuchumblesa
Pomboza a 27 de Nbre de 1962
Pulgar derecho
Cutis Trigueño Pelo Lacio
Iris Cafés Estatura 1m 62
Señales particulares Tatuaje nariz
Ind. Dactiloscópica V2H3-I-3222
Firma del poseedor
Firma de la Autoridad
Nº 82254 Serie "E" Valor S/.8,25

Figure 19. Vicente Juep' Chimient', 'Old Man Juep'. Photo from national ID. 1962.



Figure 20. Pakints' girl wearing a traditional *tarách'* dress during a dance competition in a neighbouring *centro.*



Figure 21. Woman and son navigating the Zamora River.



Figure 22. Settler houses in the village of Chuchumbleza at the banks of the Chuchumbleza River.

La leyenda de "El Dorado", como queda dicho, estimuló la reconquista de la hoya amazónica; y si bien el ímpetu inicial fué apagado por el fracaso de los primeros conquistadores, luego se comprobó que existía el oro, pero que era preciso extraerlo de la roca; y que había que organizar la explotación, crear la entidad gubernativa, demarcar la jurisdicción territorial, dar vida administrativa a la montaña.

The legend of 'El Dorado', as has been noted, encouraged the conquest of the Amazon; yet if the early impetus was dimmed by the failure of the first conquistadors, after gold was proven to exist, and as it was necessary to extract this ore, administrative life was breathed into the forest to create a government, demarcate a territorial jurisdiction, and organise its exploitation.

Pío Jaramillo Alvarado, *¡El Dorado Fantasma!*

At the root of the transformations triggered by contact is the passage from a system characterized by the politics of persuasion to one defined by the politics of coercion. [Indigenous peoples] accustomed to conducting their lives on the basis of group consensus are apt to be shocked, if not traumatized, by the imposition of the rule of force or threat of force brought to them by the whites, be they administrators, free-enterprise invaders, or missionaries. It is the enforcement of this politics of coercion that gives the contact situation its particular character of domination and inequality.

Alcida Ramos, *Indian Voices: Contact Experienced and Expressed*

The difference between Salesian and Franciscan civilising projects is not one of preservation versus assimilation, as so many missionaries seem to claim today, but rather a question of land management through either ethnicization or miscegenation.

Note scribbled in my diary.

4 November 2017

3 The South

On colonial backgrounds, intermittently 1540s–1970s

The lands Shuar people generally refer to as *el sur*, 'the South', stretch over a lowland section of the Zamora River in southeast Amazonian Ecuador that is easily traversable by boat. This area covers the watershed formed along the river, starting from the point where the city of Zamora today lies at the confluence with the Bombuscaro, where its watercourse, descending eastward from the Andes, changes direction to the north. It goes for some time past Proveduría, the fluvial port of the canton seat of Gualaquiza, and shortly after, the river receives the drain of the Bomboiza, one of its major tributaries. The union of these rivers, known in Shuar as *shinkienkas,* 'place of the *shinkien* fish', marks the end of confident river travel.

From then on, navigation on the Zamora, already seasonal, difficult, and dangerous in many upriver tracts, becomes practically impossible. The terrain rises in height and sand banks become scarce, replaced by the stone walls of narrow gorges and high canyons. The Zamora River becomes what Shuar call *chichim'*, 'turbulent', and is no longer passable by canoe, but only—carefully and slowly—on light balsa rafts, until a cascade in the river disrupts navigation altogether.

Shuar, who in any case preferred to dwell dispersedly along smaller streams and tributaries, rather than on major rivers, used to reinforce such rafts with lianas and hardwoods when sailing to prevent their vessels from capsizing. The explorers, conquistadores, missionaries, gold panners, and settler colonisers who travelled to this area from the Andean highlands since the mid-16th century were forced to disembark at this point before they descended further into the lowlands, continuing their journeys on horseback and pushing their way into the forest through muddy and winding footpaths opened in the jungle with axes and machetes. Beyond this point, the watercourse of the Zamora leaves the South, and becomes more turbulent as it continues its northern course. It then joins the Namangosa, which is born at the confluence of the Paute and Upano Rivers, where it finally turns east again to become the Santiago, in turn a tributary of the Marañón, which later empties into the Amazon.

The progression of this chapter from broad colonial history in the South (1540–1893) towards missionary archival inquiry (1893–1941) and Shuar political memory (1941–1970) aims to locate 'Shuar history' at the crossroads of colonial and indigenous history.[80] First, I review the earliest records of the arrival of 'white peoples' and discuss the historical importance of gold mining in the region. Next, I focus on later missionary activity and describe settler incursions in the Zamora watershed through the expansion of the two largest regional colonial settlements: Zamora and Gualaquiza. I then look at the area's military presence and its relation to indigenous pacification, before finally analysing how the combination of all these factors has shaped the present-day setting of the region.

The colonial background of the region is replete with inequity, bigotry, and colonial impositions, but primarily understood by Shuar within an ethnopolitical context—what people in the region refer to as *organización*. As such, as I will show in the next chapters, this background is both subverted in Shuar historic memory and expressed in the progressive flow of human narrative, and thus belongs to both historicity and indigenous agency. The colonial context of the region is worth describing only as a chronology of relations between indigenous

and 'white peoples' that Shuar largely perceive to have been a progression towards current mining encounters.

Geographic demarcation

The geographical location of the South at a piedmont connecting the Ecuadorian highlands and lowlands, called *montaña* in Spanish, coincides with major routes of colonial incursion into Western Amazonia. The Zamora River was a crucial section in this route. The written reports left by many such intruders frequently describe the region from the viewpoint of a vessel traversing through the course of the river, and often mention seeing indigenous canoes roped at settlements along the river's tributaries (Festa 1993; Izaguirre 1978b; Samaniego Shunaula 1995). It is no coincidence that this detail was repeatedly mentioned by outsiders; they depended on indigenous knowledge of the river and navigation skills for their own mobilisation.

The eldest Shuar people in the region still remember having travelled on their parents' canoes during their childhood, or having seen the river-access platforms of Shuar houses crowded with such canoes. Shuar, after all, know the Zamora as *kanús*, 'big (navigable) river'. According to indigenous memory, Shuar used to traverse the well-defined travel axis of the river to reach distant hunting grounds and the land of different kin groups. In this way, the river helped to shape discernible alliance constellations in the region, and was frequently used in warfare to approach enemy locations and as a safe escape path when fleeing stunned and enraged enemies after an attack. At least, this was the case in the time 'before civilisation'.

Today, however, almost no one traverses the Zamora; the river has almost completely ceded importance as a travel way to the E-45 inter-Amazonian highway, which now runs parallel to its course.[81] Few people in the region still make or keep traditional balsas, rafts, and dugout canoes. In Shuar *centros* directly connected to the highway, these vessels have mostly

disappeared, while except in very remote locations, in those with access to the river, canoes have been replaced by fiberglass outboard motor vessels powered by attached Yamaha motors, or long-handed tiller *peque-peques* imported from Peru that allow the rudder to be manually lifted clear, whenever an obstacle or shallow in the river is encountered. Where the river is too tempestuous to navigate, people transfer goods and cross between the banks of the Zamora via makeshift *tarabita* poles and cables, which hold an invariably flimsy-looking carrier basket dozens of metres above the torrent to pass over the ridges often rising along the riverbanks.

The South, as I define it in this thesis, thus excludes indigenous areas in the Alto Nangaritza in the southeast, and roughly borders Méndez to the north. I substantiate this decision based on an understanding of historical indigenous political relations as described by Shuar today. Multiple Shuar groups living along this navigable tract of the Zamora River since the 19th century seem to have had close relations, often recognise each other as historic kin, and despite the many long-held feuds in the region, generally refer to Shuar groups beyond the Alto Nangaritza and Méndez areas as enemies of a different standing. Jesuit, Salesian, and Franciscan missionary notes written since the early 19th century corroborate indigenous information.

Throughout my fieldwork, then, I only navigated the Zamora River on a handful of occasions, and used the poles and cables system more times than I wished. This system is sometimes powered by the rusty motor of a scrapped car or motorbike and a bit of petrol, or, when no mechanised option is available, the strength of a passenger's arm-pull. Over the last decade, a few modern connecting bridges have been built over the Zamora, replacing the older, narrow, wooden suspension bridges, but these are still few and far apart. In contrast, we travelled by means of the highway almost every day, as did most of our Shuar friends, collaborators, and informants.

The entire region lies on the verge of the Cordillera del Cóndor, a discontinuous chain of mountains that has been famous since pre-colonial times for its wealth of gold deposits. Shuar refer to this rolling set of mountains and biomes as *churuwia*, and this region has been *aénts*

chicham territory as far back as anyone can remember. Its rise forms a natural frontier reaching 2,900 metres in height and stretching about 150 kilometres parallel to the course of the Zamora River, covering approximately 1.1 million hectares (Neill 2007: 2-3). This explains the topographical oddity that forces the Zamora River to change its course towards the north.

The location of the cordillera at the western margins of the Andes and the presence of tropical montane and premontane forests on its hilly sides mean that it is often described as an important environmental 'hotspot'. These forests are thought to protect one of the last remaining points in the country of exchange and movement of animal species between highland and lowland ecosystems (Kingman 2005: 59), and constitute an important refuge for several endangered animals and birds. According to botanical and biological studies, this mountainous area is home to one of the highest concentrations of vascular plant species on the planet (Neill 2007: 2-3), and the wider region might well be 'among the most species-rich habitats on Earth' (Schulenberg et al. 1997: 27). Indeed, ongoing biological research has confirmed very high levels of endemism in the cordillera, and it is estimated that a significant number of unreported species of plants and animals are yet to be discovered in its hills (Schulenberg et al. 1997).

Moreover, these forested peaks also mark the long-disputed border between Peru and Ecuador, who fought a number of wars and skirmishes in the area in the 19th and 20th centuries. The rugged geography makes journeying through the cordillera very difficult and, except at its northern and southern ends where the two sides are connected by non-primary roads and rivers, there are no official frontier crossings. This constraint, of course, is not observed by indigenous peoples, who trek through the forest with relative frequency to cross the border to visit kin, fish, or hunt. The cordillera is inhabited today by Shuar in Ecuador and by Awajún and Wampis in Peru, and connections between these populations, although cut off during national wars, have always been fluent, close, and familiar.

It is no surprise, then, that large colonial settlements are absent along the eastern bank of the Zamora River, close to the international border and the rugged terrain of the cordillera. The

area is dotted with strategic military posts and artisanal and small-scale mining operations. Major ore deposits and most industrial mining projects are located on this bank of the river, but the opposite, western bank, which is closer to the highlands, is now heavily occupied by settler colonists. Indigenous-held land here is restricted to a number of relatively small pockets that are socially interrelated, yet physically apart. This came about due to the precedence of traditional Shuar settlement dispersal patterns and settler take-overs of indigenous hunting areas and buffer zones separating rival kin groups, following more than 50 years of state-endorsed colonisation. As I will now describe, however, the presence of 'white peoples' in the region long precedes recent mining intrusions.

The gold in the rivers, 1540–1599

In colonial history, a straight line is usually drawn in the South over the Zamora River to connect the old colonial city of Zamora, a 16th-century outpost of Spanish incursion into the lowlands, with the 19th-century missionary town of Gualaquiza. This is not a coincidence; in the colonial imagination, the Zamora River has always been both an obstacle and an essential entry point. Its historical importance as a travel route, although largely irrelevant now due to the replacement highway, has meant that the river has been crucial to a string of extraneous peoples ever since the Spanish conqueror Hernando de Barahona first established the short-lived settlement of Zamora de los Alcaides on its banks in around 1549.

The area is relatively well known ethnohistorically,[82] mostly because the crossing from the colonial city of Loja in the highlands, established in 1548 where the Zamora River begins its journey downstream, was at the time one of the most accessible eastward routes towards Western Amazonia. A colonial road built over existing indigenous pathways became a major transit point for further Spanish exploration of the lowlands.

Throughout the 16th century,[83] chiefly motivated by gold prospecting, various Spanish expeditions regularly set off along this road, crossing the foothills of the Andes as they headed towards the lowland valleys of the Zamora watershed, before descending further into the Amazon (Taylor 1999; Taylor & Landázuri 1994). These initial Spanish incursions resulted in the settlement of a number of minor lowland hamlets and military garrisons—known as 'cities' to the Spanish—originally intended to assist with the exploitation of gold from mines and placers.[84] The founding of Zamora de los Alcaides and other Spanish settlements on both sides of the Cordillera del Cóndor in the 16th century (Loyola, Borja, Valladolid, Jaén, Nieva, and Santiago de las Montañas) eventually led to the temporal consolidation of colonial gold extraction, the appropriation of indigenous labour, and the forced taxation of indigenous peoples in the region (Taylor & Landázuri 1994).

This initial colonial penetration, however, did not proceed without objections from indigenous peoples. The Spanish were eventually forced to abandon Zamora de los Alcaides in the face of indigenous opposition, and it was not until almost a decade later that the village was re-established by Alfonso de Mercadillo, another Spanish officer, following in the steps of Barahona. Neither was that the last time that the city had to be refunded, resettled, reinforced, or relocated in the aftermath of a Shuar uprising.[85] By the start of the 17th century, Shuar had acquired a significant degree of autonomy that they retained for the next two centuries, during a long period of relative isolation from state powers that would later shape the first ethnographic descriptions of *chicham*-speaking peoples.

The first three classic ethnographic works on Shuar (Harner 1984; Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938), for instance, all stress their largely successful bids for independence and the recurrent inability of conquerors to overcome their staunch determination to maintain autonomy, distaste for hierarchy, and love of freedom—the same characteristics that early missionaries and colonial chroniclers noted time and again in horror, reluctant admiration, and despair (Anonymous 1927; Conde 1981; de Velasco 1941; Ghinassi 1946; Simson 1886; Vigna 1945). Shuar people's consistent reputation as fearsome warriors and the independence and autonomy this granted

them was mentioned in written records at least as far back as the second half of the 16th century. This reputation was inspired by a series of well-documented rebellions waged against foreign conquerors and colonial occupiers, and their successful rejection first of the pre-colonial advances of the Inca empire to subjugate their lowland country, and later against the Spanish crown and its pursuit of gold during colonial times.

Because most of these early works focused on Shuar warfare and headhunting raids, which were still important features of Shuar life at the time—and highly sought-after relics of 'savagery' for collectors of exotic items in Europe (and, later, ethnographic museums)—these authors also emphasise the resolute and armed resistance of this indigenous people to foreign occupation. As I have mentioned elsewhere, it has become common to note that neither the Inca nor the Spanish Empires, despite their lengthy efforts, were ever able to fully subjugate Shuar opposition (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938:3-28; Harner 1972:17-32; and Hendricks 1993; see Taylor 1981 for context and Taylor & Landázuri 1994 for a counterpoint).

Luis Ulloa (1936), a geographer and historian from the early 20th century, wrote an essay on the history of colonial mining in the region in which he separates colonial gold extraction into two periods: First, exploration in early colonial times and the relatively successful consolidation of gold extraction under the administration of a local governorship; and second, a period of unsuccessful attempts to regain or re-establish Spanish control over abandoned or depopulated settlements following indigenous rebellions and the social and economic collapse of Spanish settlements in the region. Gold extracted from the mines, placers, and rivers near the settlement of Zamora (melted down in Loja and shipped to Quito), which were most productive in the years 1556–1566, played an essential role in the funding of the colonial administration of the region, but the period of prosperity didn't last long; indigenous emigration and outbreaks of epidemics (measles and smallpox) decimated the indigenous population on whose labour the mines depended, while overexpansion of the colonial front made the defence, supply, and maintenance of colonial settlements increasingly untenable. By the late 1550s, the majority of gold extraction in the Zamora watershed had moved to the north,

following the discovery of large deposits near the city of Logroño, and by 1593, there were only 500 indigenous workers left in Zamora from the several thousands of earlier years, and 'little more than 20 Spaniards' (Ulloa 1936: 472-473). The decline of mining in the region and the depopulation of the indigenous inhabitants, however, had long preceded the final abandonment of the village and its mine. By 1576, the imperial government in Quito had already recommended the suppression of these mines due to the declining production and lack of labour,[86] and this period ushered in a long decline of the city and the intermittent interruption of exchanges between the piedmont area and the colonial highland government. However, the final closure of the gold mines would not come about until the end of the century, when the famous Shuar uprising of 1599 destroyed most Spanish lowland settlements,[87] abruptly ending colonial control of *aénts chicham* territories.

Since its foundation, the city of Zamora has revolved around the quest for gold. The first colonial settlement was established and organised around its exploitation, and as a short report on the village's history (anonymously written by 'a Franciscan missionary') illustrates that for its neighbours, gold panning and mining was the essential purpose of the place. Since 1541, this text notes, 'gold placers and mines' in the region's major streams and rivers 'were already greatly famed' (Anonymous 1927: 11).

This association with gold remains evident even today. The town, rebuilt and relocated several times in the aftermath of historic Shuar rebellions, is (in its present iteration) a sleepy village of concrete. Numerous grey buildings, stained by moisture and a lack of care, rise above the few remaining red-tile roofs of the old adobe houses. The colonial square blocks that make up the town are enclosed by lush, green, and precipitous mountains in all cardinal directions, leading locals to remark that life in Zamora is like living in a 'matchbox'. Even today, gold seems to be everywhere in the city. There are specialised equipment shops for artisanal and small-scale miners around the market square, and countless 18-carat-gold buyers are to be found in the streets. All along the main street there are law firms dedicated to advising miners who wish to navigate environmental regulations and exploit loopholes.

The atmosphere is still that of a gold-rush colonial frontier town, just as when it was founded, and the city has learnt to survive subsequent hard times and scarcity, but beneath the apparent peace and order of modernity, represented by the recent arrival of hypermarkets and glittery frozen-yoghurt parlours, gold appears everywhere, in both the economy and everyday small talk. It is common to hear in the waiting rooms of hairdressers and bus stop queues stories of an ill-fated accident in some far-off stream, or the unfortunate loss of an astonishingly high sum of money; $120,000 gone thanks to a briefcase forgotten in the pub one day, $150,000 vanished at gunpoint the next. Moreover, the unending cat-and-mouse game of confiscation and machinery removal played between regulatory agencies and artisanal mining outfits (declared illegal in the 2009 legal reforms to make way for large-scale industrial mining) has for years been the talk of the town.

Over time, the Zamora River has attracted a multitude of gold prospectors to its ore-rich streams and tributaries. Their presence has been fundamental in shaping the region's social, political, and economic frameworks, and has defined the historical experience of Shuar as one affected by colonisation and 'white peoples'. Zamora and Gualaquiza, linked to the Andes by pre-colonial corridors and colonial roads, remain to this day the main non-indigenous access points to the Zamora River basin from the highlands, and still define the colonial presence in the South, and what motivated their construction in the mid-16th century was *gold*. The story of these two cities is, therefore, synonymous with colonial history in the region, and has long influenced indigenous life along the banks of the Zamora.

Missionary incursions, 1816–1893

Gualaquiza is a pleasant town with ordinary concrete buildings built on a hill at the intersection of the Bomboiza and Zamora Rivers. On top of the hill are the usual buildings of colonial administrative importance—the church, the town hall, and the main square—while the slopes of the town centre around a food market and a bus station. Every Saturday, Shuar

from all the surrounding *centros* (including Pumpuis and Pakints') come to the market to sell cash crops and food prepared from forest game, to buy necessities, and to exchange news and local or regional gossip. The market is divided into upper and lower sections. Shuar and local products occupy the lower level, while the upper is reserved for Andean produce and food stalls selling roasted pork, boiled maize, corn bread, and tortillas, which are typical of highland regional cuisine close to the west. A large majority of the village maintains strong links to Cuenca, the major city in the Azuay region in the Andes, and visit it regularly on business trips, for healthcare, on family outings, and to pursue higher education. The most detectable evidence of such close links, however, is the thick *morlaco* accent of Azuay in which the Shuar and Spanish languages are spoken in the area.

Just as elsewhere in Ecuadorian Amazonia, throughout Gualaquiza, cement—par excellence the harbinger of modernity and civilisation—has been used indiscriminately, replacing any signs of the previous adobe-and-wood structures seen in sepia pictures adorning the walls of the municipality-run museum. Nowadays, with the exception of a few stretches of cobblestone streets, it seems impossible to imagine that this settlement is of any significant age, but the townscape as it exists today was originally designed by Salesian missionaries shortly after their arrival at the end of the 19th century, and laid in place over previous settler occupations dating back to 1815 (Esvertit Cobes 2005; Salazar 1989).

The arrival of missionaries in the 19th century initiated a second period of colonial expansion in the South. After a long period of intermittent exchanges between Shuar and highland peoples and the interruption of effective colonial administration of the lowland region in the late 16th century, the establishment of Gualaquiza saw a renewed pursuit of the missionary pacification of Shuar for the purpose of re-establishing access to the mines and placers lost two centuries before. Colonial access to the region was regained in 1815 by Antonio José Prieto, a Franciscan priest who reached the Gualaquiza area from the Sigsig highlands by personally carving out a footpath through the forest.

Prieto, as his correspondence to the Spanish Viceroyalty in Lima made it clear, was looking for (and thought he had located) the ruins of the Spanish city of Logroño de los Caballeros, the mining city famously destroyed during the Shuar uprising of 1599. The 'reconquest' of Logroño and the abundant gold deposits known to be there had by the time of Prieto's expedition acquired an almost mythical significance, and become 'a true obsession of the neighbours of Cuenca and Loja' (Taylor & Landázuri 1994: 20).[88] Indeed, the Cuenca city authorities had sponsored Prieto's expedition with the hope of investing in gold panning operations in the lowlands. What Prieto found, as he noted in a series of letters 'on the discovery of the infidel xívaros of Gualaquisa, Bomboysa, and Zamora' (see Ladívar (1977) for a transcription), although not the legendary colonial city, did lay the foundation for a new wave of colonisation of the South, starting from Cuenca. Shuar received the missionary expedition peacefully, despite their reputation for treachery and ferocity (broadly acknowledged in colonial narratives following 'the great Jívaro rebellion' of the 16th century),[89] and even helped to clear gardens and build a small church for a future convent.[90] The indigenous population, Prieto wrote, exceeded 500 people around Gualaquiza,[91] which he sketched on a map he dispatched to colonial authorities, along with writings in which he advocated a permanent missionary effort.

Not long after,[92] a 'civilising effort' was launched by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and Jesuit missionaries were dispatched from Cuenca to the lowlands (Landívar 1977: 8).[93] Like Pietro's expedition before it, the Jesuit mission was initially welcomed by Shuar in Gualaquiza, although their acceptance of the missionary project quickly wore off. Despite a 'promising start',[94] the Jesuit mission was increasingly met with dismissal, resistance, and rejection, until the missionaries were forced to leave the region due to fears of a Shuar attack, and two years later, the mission was abandoned.[95]

Despite this failure, the mission was at least able to reinforce the presence of a settler enclave in Gualaquiza. The Sigsig trail, an important indigenous pre-colonial corridor between highlands and lowlands in the area (Lara 2016a; 2016b; 2017), had already facilitated the

incursion of a small number of highland settlers preceding the arrival of the Jesuits.[96] In fact, Shuar people in the region regularly trekked upland, following these same pathways (Taylor 1994a; 1999; Taylor & Landázuri 1994; Taylor & Descola 1981).. When the earliest Salesian missionaries arrived in Gualaquiza, more than 20 years after the Jesuits had left, their earliest recorded encounter with Shuar, according to their chronicles, occurred on the Sigsig trail as they descended from Cuenca to the lowlands. The Salesians recorded in their letters that Shuar frequently journeyed to the highlands 'to do their shopping' (Pancheri in Juan Bottasso 2014a: 31-54).[97]

At that time, however, access roads were in poor condition and outside the effective control of the colonial state, and it was missionary efforts that helped to connect the Gualaquiza area with markets in the city of Cuenca. Despite the failure of the Jesuit mission, settler colonisers in the lowlands not only remained in Gualaquiza but even benefited from the political and economic interest generated by missionary endeavours, and experienced small but sustained growth in the following decades. After that and during most of the 19th century, Gualaquiza evolved to become a small outpost of permanent highland colonists working on large plantation states known as *entables* run by stewards on behalf of Cuenca's most prominent landowning class.[98]

The Jesuit missionary presence in Gualaquiza may also have had long-lasting effects on the local indigenous population. As later missionary chronicles state, soon after the arrival of the Jesuits, Shuar people of Gualaquiza resettled in the adjacent valley of Bomboiza located 'half a league away' due to fear of smallpox contagion (Crónica de la Misión Salesiana de Gualaquiza, 1893–1898: 9–10; see also Esvertit Cobes 1996: 187)[99] and to 'safeguard their animals and gardens' from the hands of abusive settler colonists (Father Pozzi, Head of the Jesuit Mission of Gualaquiza, letter to Reverend Father Delgado of the Jesuit mission in Quito, 9 February 1872 in Crónica de la Misión Salesiana de Gualaquiza, 1893–1898: 9-10). Indigenous relocation thus helped to increase the land available to the *entables* were known, in the short term, and must have greatly eased the difficulty of the settler occupation of the area, which

redoubled a few decades later, when colonial efforts were intensified. The smallpox outbreak, however, didn't make things any easier for the Jesuit mission, and contributed—perhaps more than any other single cause—to its ultimate downfall.[100] Initial missionary endeavours to establish a boarding school for indigenous children ended in absolute failure due to the staunch opposition of Shuar parents, who understood the risk of disease among their offspring would only increase inside the mission.

The onset of the epidemic triggered a series of attacks in March 1870 against Shuar and settler colonists in Gualaquiza, led by a Shuar *capitán*, 'captain', named Chiriap' from a rival group from Méndez (located some 140 km to the northeast).[101] The Méndez group, which had also been affected by the spread of disease, seems to have resented the apparent tolerance and ease of contact between Shuar and settler colonists and missionaries in Gualaquiza, and was concerned (ominously accurately in hindsight) that the arrival of the missionaries would lead to further invasions of Shuar territory (Crónica de la Misión Salesiana de Gualaquiza, 1893–1898:6). The increasing severity of the conflict over time, including a series of attacks against *entabladores*,[102] led the Jesuits to eventually abandon Gualaquiza. The worsening relationship between Shuar groups from these two areas started or aggravated a broad regional conflict among Shuar in the area that lasted many decades.

Another consequence of the indigenous conflict was that it reinforced the trade networks in existence between Shuar groups in Gualaquiza and the Cuenca highland region, enabling the movement of firearms and steel tools into the lowlands. As rancour grew along the middle tract of the Zamora watershed, highland colonists in the Gualaquiza *entables* became increasingly necessary trading partners for nearby Shuar groups.[103] This may have nourished indigenous warfare and thereby sustained inter-ethnic conflict and the increasing indigenous dependence on firearms, ammunition, and other Western goods, while reducing the indigenous tolerance for the settler presence in the region.[104]

Eventually, the very same weapons that Gualaquiza merchants sold to Shuar would be used against Jesuit missionaries (Crónica de la Misión Salesiana de Gualaquiza, 1893–1898),[105] but

despite being detrimental to missionary efforts, this arms trade network effectively cemented the settler presence in the area. Missionary sources[106] were puzzled and bitter at this outcome, and condemned settler colonists for their 'greediness and lack of piety'. The disproportionally profitable terms that favoured settler merchants and their newfound role as indigenous trading partners provided settler colonists in Gualaquiza with the resources and goodwill necessary to further expand their physical and social foothold in the region.[107] The Jesuit mission, however, received no significant economic benefit from this, and its political standing and physical security were directly affected. The situation became increasingly untenable until the missionaries left the region.

War and appeasement, 1893–1941

With the closure of the Jesuit mission, colonial attempts to 'civilise' Shuar once again came to a halt. During the immediate years after the Jesuit withdrawal in 1872, Gualaquiza remained a small settler outpost with a few permanent residents working on *entable* plantations. The town continued to ship its production of cotton, sugar, aguardiente, wood, and *toquilla* straw to the highlands, while firearms and steel tools still found their way to the lowlands. Shuar people living close by the village increasingly acted as trade intermediaries, expanding the exchange network towards indigenous peoples located 'further in the interior' (Bottasso 2014: 99; see also Harner 1984), and the village was sporadically visited by priests and missionaries from Cuenca, who would hike to the lowlands 'to see the gravely ill', 'to satisfy curiosity', or simply to 'admire the beauty of the forest' (Crónica de la Misión Salesiana de Gualaquiza, 1893–1898: 14), but no meaningful attempts were made to regain state control over the area.

That began to change in 1888, when the Ecuadorian government sent a formal request to the Vatican to solicit the establishment of four apostolic vicariates to 'civilise' the country's Amazonian territories.[108] The outcome of this was that Salesian missionaries arrived in Gualaquiza on 12 October 1893,[109] initially finding 'some 150 Christians' dispersed in the

surrounding plantations and less than 80 Shuar inhabiting the mountainous areas adjacent to the town (Spinelli in Juan Bottasso 2014a: 113-118).[110]

According to their chronicles, the missionaries were warmly welcomed by a delegation that included most of the existing settler population and eight Shuar. A half-ruined bamboo chapel with a dilapidated thatched roof was the only building surviving from the previous mission, and for the first few months, the missionaries stayed with the owner of the most powerful *entable*.[111] The first months of Salesian presence in the area were spent exploring the surroundings and preparing an effective foundation for the mission, which was officially established on 4 March 1893. The previous Jesuit presence, and especially its failures, proved to be an invaluable source of insight and information that assured the later success of Salesian missionaries (who attentively read and annotated Jesuit chronicles). Like the Jesuits before them, the Salesian missionaries employed Shuar groups living in the area to clear the forest, construct gardens, and build a church and mission house, and by the end of 1893, the mission had successfully been established and the settler population in Gualaquiza increased to almost 200 people.[112]

At this time, Shuar in the region were still being torn apart by inter-ethnic warfare. Not only had the conflict between rival Shuar groups in Méndez and Gualaquiza been continuing intermittently for over 20 years, but the Shuar community around the mission was itself bitterly divided into two well-defined war parties that had attracted the allegiance of most Shuar households close to Gualaquiza.[113] These two large parties were each led by two *uunt* or *kakaram*, 'great men', Júa and Narankas, also known by the Spanish title of *capitán*, which was frequently attached to their names in missionary writing.

The conflict that raged between these leaders and their respective networks of alliances and collaborators extended throughout the South, along the course of the Zamora River. As the war came to a height, according to contemporary Shuar people in Gualaquiza, it came to encompass warriors from further in the hinterlands in northeastern (Coangos and Yaupi) and southeastern areas (Guaysimi and Shaime) of the Cóndor mountain range, and their personal

networks of allies in turn expanded well into Peru.[114] As noted in its mission chronicles, the struggles between Júa and Narankas profoundly shaped the early Salesian missionary presence in the region.

The Salesian missionaries came to Gualaquiza with one main objective in mind: To turn Shuar into citizens; and this necessitated the pacification of Shuar peoples in the region. At the same time, the government assigned Franciscan friars the same objective for Shuar groups around the city of Zamora. In the following decades, the missions in Zamora and Gualaquiza in the South set off to do just that, and they recorded varying degrees of success. A common complaint of colonial and state authorities with regard to indigenous peoples in the Amazon area over the centuries, also noted in Salesian and Franciscan chronicles, was the stubborn reluctance of these peoples to engage in wage and manual labour for sustained periods of time. The introduction of missionary boarding schools to the region (an idea previously implemented without success by the Jesuit mission) was intended to solve that perceived problem. Since indigenous adults had proven to be unreceptive, the missionaries thought that it would be more useful to focus their efforts on children to take advantage of their malleability. In this way, Shuar children in the South were subjected to a strict boarding school education in Zamora and Gualaquiza (and later in El Pangui and Bomboiza), where colonial teachers sought to teach them their Western conception of the importance of time and the discipline of labour.[115]

Despite having been established as an independent republic in 1830, Ecuador was unable to bring its claimed lowland territories under government control. The increasing tension with Peru, which manifested in a few Peruvian military excursions into southern Ecuador in the late 19th century, meant that it was imperative to pay more political attention to the region. War had erupted between the two countries over frontier disagreements in 1858–1860, and it was to occur again in 1941.[116] At the turn of the 19th century, therefore, political arrangements initiated in support of missionary projects in Ecuadorian Amazonia were also intended to reinforce the state's assertion of control over its claimed lowland territories, and to strengthen its previously

weak presence in the region (Esvertit Cobes 2001; Taylor 1994b). In consequence, the Franciscan and Salesian missions took over state functions such as mapping and registering indigenous populations, with the aim of bringing them into the sphere of state control. Missionaries also planned, built, and maintained access roads into the lowlands to encourage the migration of settler colonists, while promoting the idea that settler colonisation was in some sense a patriotic duty. The presence of 'white peoples' in the lowlands was also expected to provide a 'civilising example' that indigenous peoples who had converted to Christianity could replicate and follow.[117] To military planners, the presence of state subjects was intended to create a 'living frontier' to facilitate military supply lines and reinforce state control over disputed territories (Juan Bottasso 2011: 36-37; Jordán & Roux 1995: 290; Rudel, Bates & Machinguiashi 2002b: 147).[118] Maxims like 'cross and sword', 'cross and flag', and 'gospel and homeland' and a romanticised image of missionary zeal 'guarding the frontier' became common expressions of the missionary ethos of the such endeavours (Juan Bottasso 1982: 98).[119]

The extent of the cooperation between missionary authorities within Shuar territory and military planners to coordinate colonising efforts is made clear in formerly classified state archival documents. As tensions heightened between Ecuador and Peru in the first half of the 20th century over the limits of the two countries' respective Amazonian borders, the missionary presence in the region increasingly became seen as a valuable military intelligence asset.[120] Missionaries in Ecuador were asked to provide geographical information on the region,[121] were consulted on how the border could and should be redefined,[122] and sketched and proposed the construction of access roads to fortify strategic positions,[123] all the while taking notes and tracking the movements of Peruvian armed forces in the region.[124] Although it is possible that most of these tasks were carried out in a context of political pressure and military urgency (archival evidence suggests otherwise), the later construction of missionary-designed plans and road-access projects was key in shaping later settler colonisation of the region.

Inter-ethnic feuding around Gualaquiza continued throughout the first decades of the 20th century, although the murder of Júa by his own son-in-law in 1903 ultimately helped to ease

tensions in the region. Salesian missionaries were clever enough to attentively observe political developments among Shuar in the area and positioned their mission as a source of political neutrality and goods to all sides involved. This allowed the mission to expand into the Méndez area and achieve ever more leverage over regional Shuar politics.

Initial efforts to establish indigenous boarding schools were met with the same indigenous ambivalence and rejection that had characterised earlier Jesuit attempts. Nevertheless, the broader expansion of missionary presence in the region also triggered a process of internal competition among rival Shuar groups seeking to capture for themselves the Western goods controlled by the missionaries, and this factor helped somewhat to reconcile Shuar to the introduction of missionary schooling.

Salesian records of the time noted increasing Shuar requests for the establishment of additional missionary houses in areas outside Gualaquiza. To this day, Shuar people throughout the region emphasise that the change of heart among older Shuar warriors towards boarding school education came about due to their desire to acquire Western goods and knowledge in order to expand their influence in a regional context that was still framed by indigenous rivalries. Missionary education, therefore, was sought after not only because it guaranteed access to metal tools and other Western goods at better exchange rates than settler merchants offered but also because missionary education came to be seen as a means to advance the traditional ambitions of individual and kin eminence.[125]

The eventual pacification of the South was accomplished only gradually, after several setbacks and thanks to a multitude of causes. Many missionary expeditions and strategies were launched even after the consolidation of the Franciscan and Salesian missions in the region, and contrary to missionary expectations, having received a boarding school education seldom meant Shuar people wholly abandoned war and feuding.[126]

The spread of missionary education and the increasing presence of military forces eventually helped the missionaries to solidify their authority in the region. In Franciscan and Salesian

boarding schools, indigenous children were punished and beaten for speaking *shuar chicham* in the classroom (except when singing the translated lyrics of the national anthem), and warriors were increasingly jailed as 'murderers' and 'criminals' when they openly engaged in war and feuding. However, the pacification of the South had not been completed by the time of the Ecuadorian–Peruvian War of 1941, and was only achieved after violent military interventions and state massacres (later covered up) of innumerable Shuar people in the region.

In October and November 1941, Shuar people throughout the region halted their internal feuding to coordinate and organise a punitive series of attacks against every gold panner and miner they could find on the streams and rivers of the Zamora watershed, motivated by the increasingly frequent abuses these gold seekers were committing against indigenous inhabitants such as stealing food and raping women, and they sought to expel them from the region altogether. The attacks were generally successful, and an indeterminate number of miners (either dozens or hundreds) were killed and thrown into the Zamora River or left to rot on its banks. The attacks were carried out at a time when the Ecuadorian military command was focused on the ongoing war with Peru, and the military was deeply suspicion of possible Peruvian involvement, or of an indigenous coalition with the enemy. Military expeditions and intelligence-gathering operations quickly turned into reprisals and attacks on indigenous inhabitants, and even the indiscriminate murder of Shuar people. The extent of this violence remains unclear to this day. Shuar remember that the clash evolved into a series of skirmishes between indigenous warriors and state military personnel, while direct Shuar attacks on military positions culminated in a stalemate, if not an indigenous victory. Historians familiar with the event, however, believe that the state's military retaliation might have been completely out of proportion, and be responsible for hundreds of unaccounted indigenous deaths (Galo Sarmiento, personal communication).

Be that as it may, the event was a turning point in both the indigenous and colonial history of the region. Salesian and Franciscan missionary influence decreased, while that of the military

authorities increased, and the state began to slowly accrue the power that it had delegated to the missionary management. The Ecuadorian government grew increasingly impatient with the meagre results obtained by the missionary authorities, and the disastrous defeat against Peru in the 1941 war[127] led to the acceleration of state colonisation plans, in tandem with a broad national effort to occupy and use indigenous lowland territories. In 'Shuar history', the slaughter of miners and the ensuing conflict against military personnel is seen as marking the beginning of the end of the period when Shuar warriors reigned supreme over their traditional territories, and the changes introduced immediately following the Ecuadorian–Peruvian War represent the advent of 'civilised times' in the South.[128]

Indigenous depopulation and colonial surge, 1941–1970

The Salesian missionaries consolidated their position in the region in the years after the war.[129] Internal Shuar feuds in Gualaquiza, Bomboiza, and Chuchumbleza between warriors and powerful men continued, as did wars with Shuar groups in the regions beyond Méndez in the north and Nangaritza in the south, yet the state's military presence and the strong application of laws against murder, *tsantsa* shrunken heads, and for trade increasingly served as a deterrent to such conflicts. Equally significant seems to have been the high death toll that was a result of sustained internecine war and feuding among Shuar groups. The long war had caused Shuar 'to diminish and become very few', and some young Shuar people at the time, educated at missionary boarding schools, increasingly worried that 'Shuar were bound to disappear and exterminate themselves'.

Tsamarent' (one of the oldest surviving people in the area) was a young man at this time. He had been given the Spanish name Conrado after Conrado de Dardé, a Salesian acquaintance of his father, and grew up at a boarding school from an early age after his father died. In his youth, Tsamarent' had sought out the director of the Gualaquiza mission and requested that he resettle or open a new missionary house in Bomboiza, and he was very close to the Salesian

missionaries, enjoying their full confidence. He convinced Father Casiraghi, the head of the Salesian mission in Gualaquiza, that missionary intervention was required to stop the warfare and feuding, and personally negotiated with all the *capitanes* in the area to persuade them to agree to a peace accord. Much to his surprise, he was successful in both errands. The Salesian mission committed to the construction of a new missionary house in Bomboiza, and a peace deal was agreed throughout Gualaquiza, Bomboiza, and Chuchumbleza. What is more, Tsamarent' convinced one of the most important warriors to cede some land in a central location for the construction of the mission. Tsamarent' was thrilled, and directed the works to clear the forest, gathered the best hardwood available, and meticulously laboured on the construction of a church.

The Salesian mission moved from Gualaquiza to Bomboiza in 1951.[130] Its new location on neutral ground between the two main rival Shuar factions in the area (led decades ago by Júa and Narankas) and the peace accord brokered by Conrado Tsamarent' helped the missionaries to consolidate their leverage over the rival groups, and provided boarding school students with the ability to form friendships outside the frame of previous indigenous political arrangements. In the two decades that followed the establishment of the Bomboiza mission, settler colonisation of and migration to the region considerably intensified, and inter-ethnic frictions over land rose. Shuar internal disagreements were abandoned among the younger generation confronted by the menace of colonisation and substantial land loss. The Salesian mission came to perceive its inherent role as maintaining a guardianship of sorts over indigenous land and supporting the consolidation of indigenous unity, while reinforcing its own political position among Shuar.

This sudden change in the mission purpose increasingly set Salesian missionaries on a collision path with settler colonists, as was the case in Bomboiza. The establishment of a reservation for indigenous people in the late 1950s 'on behalf of 558 [Shuar] citizens' around the mission who 'had lived on this land since time immemorial' immediately created frictions between Salesian missionaries and settler colonists in Gualaquiza. The missionary authorities'

request for land titles over 12,500 hectares on 'three plots of vacant land' was deemed both outlandishly exaggerated and detrimental to regional agricultural development. A regional newspaper in the highland city of Cuenca published a review of these developments in December 1959. The coverage included a letter of response by the director of the Salesian mission of Bomboiza to a previous op-ed published that same year in a local magazine denouncing missionary support for indigenous land from a patriotic perspective under the title 'More Land to the Foreign Priests'.

The anonymous magazine piece accused Italian and Spanish Salesian missionaries of manipulating Shuar for the purpose of establishing a *latifundium* for their own gain. The note alleged that the creation of indigenous reserves dispossessed the 'humble [settler] dwellers who, with exceptional effort, had tirelessly worked in a [hostile] tropical climate', and concluded with a poetic call to arms (or veiled threat): 'Hopefully our land will soon follow Cuba's example, and our very own Fidel [Castro] may rise one day and lead a fight against this injustice' (Revista La Calle, September 1959 cited in Guerreiro 1959; see also Bottasso 1982: 201).

However, settler disagreements with the Salesian mission in Bomboiza did not escalate further.[131] The Salesian authorities issued a number of clarifying statements in response to reassure readers of the missionary commitment to the nation and its government, writing that the Salesian mission had been involved in tirelessly 'grouping a dispersed indigenous people together', 'civilising and evangelising savage tribes', 'sustaining the foundation of settler colonies and its expansion', and 'working for the colonisation and civilisation of lowland Ecuador'. Salesian missionaries had also interceded on behalf of Shuar, the director of the Gualaquiza mission noted, in accordance to the legal tutorship thrust upon them by the government, and based on the consideration that many Shuar could not speak Spanish. What is more, according to the head of the mission, existing law allowed the adjudication of up to 200 hectares per person which, in the case of Bomboiza, should almost double the size of the indigenous reservation to over 23,200 hectares—something, he was quick to add, 'has never

occurred to us [...], in view of the still-deficient understanding of the [Shuar] race' (Guerreiro 1959: 9).

Much of the discomfort expressed by settler colonists at the time was due to the collective ownership of indigenous reservations (registered as 'global' in legal paperwork). Salesian missionary authorities had purposely structured collective ownership as a safeguard to keep indigenous lands outside the market, effectively preventing settler colonists from purchasing or bartering for indigenous lands.[132] Like elsewhere in South America, the internal colonisation policy implemented in lowland Ecuador had deflected the issue of land reform by directing internal pressure and social reclamations against inequality, and land hoarding towards Amazonia (Escobar 1999; Little 2001; Rubenstein 2001). . It was intended that poor, landless peasants in the countryside would claim *tierras baldías*, 'empty waste lands' in the lowlands that were generally considered agriculturally unproductive.

Throughout the 1960s, the Salesian mission helped to mediate conflicts over land between indigenous people, settler colonists, and the state,[133] and this period also saw the beginning of an entwined process of political rearrangement concerning relations among Shuar and between indigenous and missionary efforts, with the purpose of limiting the pressure of settler colonisation. Shuar *centros*, first established to facilitate the missionisation of a disperse people around a central meeting place of temporal use, without altering indigenous dwelling places (Gnerre 2012), evolved into organised indigenous land reservations that received state recognition. The persistent threat of colonial invasions, state bureaucratic pressures, and internal management needs made it necessary to arrange an organisational structure within indigenous reservations. These were in turn collated in districted segments called *asociaciones* along the lines of Shuar territorial regions. Indigenous land within a *centro* could be bought, sold, and inherited, but only among Shuar people, mediated by the arbitration and bureaucratic management of a novel set of authorities—generally, young men, educated in Salesian boarding schools, proficient in Spanish, and knowledgeable of the workings of the state. The structures of collective ownership, an increasing push and need for indigenous

political representation, and the scattered arrangements with which *aénts chicham* lands had been legalised determined the shape of Shuar ethnopolitical structures. The Shuar Federation, established in 1964 at the height of this process to manage and articulate a fragmented collective territory, was organised as a stepped pyramid that tied *centros* and *asociaciones* under the governance of a regulatory board.

I show that the Shuar Federation was only partially successful in the South. The initial strengthening of the Salesian boarding school education system and the later consolidation of indigenous land reservations, however, drove the process of indigenous land recognition in the South in opposite directions. The significant pull exercised by the Bomboiza mission, and its boarding school convened the majority of Shuar children in the area. Shuar people who were established in the area between Gualaquiza and Méndez (Limón, Indanza, and Panantza) increasingly favoured Salesian boarding schools in Bomboiza, Méndez, or Sucúa, and this arrangement—usually expected to be provisional—in many cases became permanent. The opening of the Gualaceo–Indanza road increased and facilitated settler colonisation in the region, and according to indigenous memory, this frequently frustrated the return of Shuar people to their previous lands. Shuar boarding students, moreover, were regularly married by missionary arrangement at the end of their time at school and failed to return either because they had moved in with in-laws or because they had been assigned lands by the mission. The consequence of this process strengthened well-delimited indigenous areas around Bomboiza and further consolidated settler presence around Gualaquiza. Limón, Indanza, and Panantza in turn became foci of indigenous migration as locals left due to the settler colonisation and, in later years, industrial mining in San Carlos Panantza.

An analogous process was produced by the expansion of the Franciscan missionary boarding school system at the other end of the region. According to early missionary records, in 1960, the indigenous presence along the Zamora River stretched almost uninterrupted from Cumbaratza at the outskirts of the village of Zamora to the jungles of *panki* (now known as El Pangui) on the border with the Salesian mission. The main colonial settlements of the

province—Zumbi, Yantzaza, and Los Encuentros—were little more than budding hamlets at the time; colonial islets, accessible only through the river, carved out in indigenous land. The land from Los Encuentros to El Pangui, moving from south to north along Paat Entsa (Padmi) and Pinchu (El Pincho), was dominated by the houses of Tshonda, Najamtai, Kitiar', Mankash', Tsamarent, Kúnkumas, Chiriap', Medina, and Yuma', all recognised warriors in the region. This state of affairs was soon to radically change, following missionary intervention; in little over a decade's time, the entire area would be almost entirely denuded of its indigenous inhabitants, and today, very few Shuar remain in the area.

The Franciscan mission in El Pangui was established in 1961. The area Shuar called *panki* home to the largest indigenous population in the province, and the Franciscan mission planned to set up a boarding school. Franciscan missionaries in Zamora wished to expand their presence in the vicariate the Ecuadorian state had placed under their jurisdiction. The Salesians in Gualaquiza and Bomboiza, bordering El Pangui, had made substantial progress in the education of indigenous inhabitants, and Franciscan efforts had suffered in comparison, mostly being confined closely to its headquarters in Zamora. Historically, there had been no shortage of friction between the two religious orders in the region since their establishment at the end of the 19th century, including a long-held territorial feud over the limits and extension of their respective vicariates on the border between El Pangui and Bomboiza.[134]

The Franciscan missionary authorities designated the task of constructing the school to a Shuar man in his early 20s. He was the only person in the mission knowledgeable enough to navigate the Zamora River, and had some knowledge of construction, woodwork, and carpentry, having trained at a crafts school set up by the Franciscans. The man asked his four brothers to accompany him, and they set off downriver one early morning. When they arrived, late in the afternoon on the same day, the peoples of *panki* were expecting them—a monsignor had spoken to them months in advance, and they had since been awaiting the school that the head of the mission himself had promised. Not far away on the river, there was a whirlpool inhabited by a *panki*, 'anaconda', and the name had come to refer to the entire area.

The four brothers, who went by the Spanish surname Caamaño, were born in Timbara near the village of Zamora, yet all grew up in the Franciscan mission from a very early age. When they arrived in *panki*, only one of them still considered himself to be indigenous. I met the young man who had received the assignment of building the new mission school when he was an old man on his death bed. He referred to Shuar people somewhat distantly as *nativos*, 'natives', and told me that he was very proud of the work he had done for the mission, and of what the mission had done to improve the region. I had been warned before by Shuar friends in the area that that would happen. Shuar people in El Pangui generally resented his lack of ethnic pride, yet rarely took him very seriously. He was just an 'old fool', a Shuar lady once told me, but fool or not (others described him as an 'old fox'), the four Shuar brothers played a central role in bringing about the settler colonisation of El Pangui.

The land first occupied by the Franciscan mission boarding school previously belonged to Pinchupá (the great-grandfather of an old collaborator of mine also named Pinchupá, evicted from his land in Pakints' because of the expansion of industrial mining). The land on the opposite shore of the Zamora River belonged to the extended families of Ankuash', Jimpikit, Shonda, and Tupikiá (see Map 17). The construction of the boarding school, begun in 1960, lasted until early the following year. When the boarding school was relocated inside the present settler town a few years later, the mission further occupied the lands of Enstakua, Shuir, Puar, Nuari, Antuash, Mashient', Awananch', Shonda, Taish', Chumap', Wachapá, Chuncho, and Tsamarent'. In less than a decade, the entire area would be almost entirely denuded of its indigenous inhabitants, and today, virtually no Shuar live in El Pangui.

The generation of indigenous children who grew up in *panki* after 1961 was to be forcefully estranged from their parents. The Franciscans made sure that Shuar children 'received an education' (in practice limited to basic arithmetic and Spanish literacy) but also to 'learn a trade', which meant than boys were forced to work in agriculture, while girls were assigned sewing and domestic chores. In this process, their names were replaced by the surnames of

wealthy landowner mission donors in the capital such as Arteta, Borja, Caamaño, Dávila, Gangotena, Rodondi, and Zurita.

The experience was traumatising for those affected. Today, most Shuar recall it as a deeply unpleasant period of their lives; children loathed the tyrannical beatings imposed by the priests, the need to constantly keep track of the time of day, and the incessant hunger they experienced. Escapes were common, but fleeing children seldom knew what to do next or how to return home. Those who did manage to reach their home would soon be pursued and captured by nuns or missionaries to be beaten as an example for the other children at the school. Others would be sent back by their disapproving parents, who thought that their children needed to learn Spanish at all costs if they were to successfully engage with the changing times. It was the lack of food that was the hardest trial and is today remembered with most bitterness.

Shuar children were taught that bread and rice were the staple foods of civilised people and were forced to grow and harvest cereals at the mission's farms, but they themselves were rarely fed these products at school. Their meals consisted mostly of simple boiled plantain or manioc, cooked unpeeled and served without any meat or soup, and in meagre portions; or rotten meals such as beans and chickpeas infested with worms and weevils, with 'Klim' powdered milk sent from abroad. Manioc beer would be replaced by *colada*, a maize porridge served for breakfast, lunch, and dinner, or they would be given *agua de panela*, brown sugar dissolved in boiled water. The girls would prepare, cook, and serve the food and attend to the kitchen, while boys would work every day in the fields and clean the mission's buildings and grounds. Attending mass was mandatory on a daily basis, and children were required to pray several times every day. Hunger was constant, and many children stole the hidden loaves of bread reserved for the priests and nuns and even consecrated hosts to complement their meagre diets.

Only when chores and physical work and religious duties were completed would the children study, but rigid discipline was strictly enforced at all times. Openly criticising the food they

were given, failing to pray with enthusiasm, or misunderstanding an academic task would result in punishment for the children, which often meant a severe beating. Other sins included thinking about one's parents too often, slacking when assigned work in the fields, and speaking *shuar chicham* in public. Illnesses and epidemics were a frequent feature of life in the missions, and these took the lives of many children that are only occasionally and vaguely remembered today by former classmates.[135]

The Franciscan boarding school in El Pangui was set up in response to the relative success of the Salesian boarding school in Bomboiza. The experiences of those who attended Salesian schools were similar to those who were taught by the Franciscans, although rather than learning trades, there seemed to have been a stronger focus on the importance of learning how to work the land, while the Franciscans' emphasis on the integration of indigenous inhabitants into full Ecuadorian citizenship under their guardianship differed slightly from Salesian efforts.

The Salesians also considered the Bomboiza boarding school to be a means to ease rising tensions with settler colonists in Gualaquiza. The idea of establishing indigenous land reservations was popular in the mission and had been a central element of political negotiations between the mission and the state. The Bomboiza area was chiefly inhabited by Shuar, and when the Salesians established their mission and created a large reservation for the indigenous population, they hoped to provide a safe jurisdiction for the local indigenous inhabitants and secure land holdings that would be resistant to colonial pressure and demands. The Franciscan mission, however, was not under any pressure from settler colonisers, and their headquarters in Zamora had provided them with a well-defined enclave that was better connected to the highlands, yet more distant from the main national centres of power. Finally, Franciscan friars were mostly Ecuadorian citizens and often shared similar socioeconomic backgrounds and political interests to the settler peasants migrating to the lowlands. Thanks to this background, the Franciscan mission never attracted the same suspicion from settler colonists that was a feature of the Salesian mission.

Over time, the Salesian mission persuaded individual missionaries to accept certain indigenous cultural patterns, and after a long period in which Shuar children who spoke in their own language were beaten with sticks, the Salesians established classrooms in Bomboiza that worked mostly in *shuar chicham.* In contrast to Franciscan practices, the Salesians refrained from entirely replacing indigenous names and instead introduced a model for Shuar baptisms and state registration whereby children were given paternal and maternal surnames taken from the names of their parents or grandparents, concurrent with the Hispanic tradition. The creation of indigenous land reservations was accompanied by Salesian opposition to inter-ethnic marriages, a ruling that was intended to curb settler appropriation of indigenous land. Neither did the Franciscans allow inter-ethnic marriage, despite in principle being comfortable with integration through miscegenation.

Over the years, a missionary rivalry developed between the two missionary administrations, who followed different strategies and competed with each other to find indigenous children to 'civilise' in their boarding schools, while they were also rivals for financial resources and approval from the government. This competition grew to encompass the settler populations in both vicariates, who had their own political aspirations and economic interests. Despite the efforts of the Franciscan mission to catch up with Salesian missionisation among Shuar, Franciscan endeavours in El Pangui became very closely aligned to the settler colonial interests in the region.

Following the dispossession of indigenous land and its abandonment by the native population, El Pangui grew rapidly. The Franciscan monsignor had ambitious plans for the area, and once the boarding school was up and running, he sought the Caamaño brothers' help to establish what he expected to become an ethnically mixed city—something that had never occurred yet in lowland Ecuador. According to this vision, settler colonists encouraged by the mission and the state to migrate to the region and the indigenous peoples of El Pangui who had recently converted to Christianity and had been educated by the mission were to live side by side in harmony (separated by just a road) in the new city. The Franciscan mission would organise an

equal distribution of land among indigenous and settler neighbours, while money received from Catholic donors in Switzerland, Germany, and other Western European countries for this purpose would finance the construction of a modern and spacious settlement.

In 1979, the Caamaño brothers signed indigenous people in El Pangui into a cooperative and relocated Shuar houses in the forest to squarely drawn, well-defined plots of 50 hectares each, over a total area of 2,200 hectares.[136] This land was allocated by the state to the Franciscan mission (Galarza Zavala 1976: 45), though the intention was to benefit Shuar people 'traditionally rooted in the area'. The cooperative nonetheless 'ceded' part of its land for the establishment of the Franciscan mission, a new boarding school, a church, a health centre, and a central square.

The result was an immense fiasco.[137] Monsignor, as he came to be called, had insisted on the inter-culturalism of the city as the core value of its foundation, but the project had been designed to allocate considerable land to the settler inhabitants; in contrast, Shuar—who had collectively contributed all the land—received a mere 50 hectares in return and the clearing of their forest. When the first colonists began to arrive to populate the city, Shuar realized that they did not want to share such a close space with their new neighbours, and the idea that indigenous people and settler colonists were not able to live in the same place steadily set in among both populations, despite the best efforts of the missionary authorities.[138] This turn of events put the Franciscan mission under pressure. The project had been financed based on the idea that Shuar would benefit from the inter-ethnic harmony and cooperation and would lose all support if this result was not delivered.

Things took a turn for the worse with the arrival of foreign volunteers. The Franciscan mission had received considerable donations of funds, tools, and machinery with the goal of setting up a sawmill in the area to give Shuar an income stream. However, there were several issues with import customs, tax payment, and transportation, and the tools and machinery failed to arrive on time. The lengthy storage of the donations in port warehouses was expensive, and also ended up damaging some of the machines. The volunteers did arrive on time, but unable to

train Shuar in how to use the equipment, their journey was merely a tiring and pointless waste of time. The volunteers remained for several months in Zamora helping at the art school, in the mission's workshops, or with school chores, but none of these activities was very productive. According to archival documents, neither the volunteers nor the missionary authorities were satisfied with the arrangement. After a few months, most volunteers left the mission and went back home, with the exception of one Swiss man who was determined to spend at least some time among indigenous people in El Pangui. 'The Swiss [man]', as he came to be known and is today remembered among Shuar in El Pangui, became very critical of the missionary mismanagement of the El Pangui project, and repeatedly clashed with a friar in charge, who he accused of embezzlement of aid funds and of redirecting part of that money towards petty daily mission needs.

It is unclear exactly how the dispute was resolved. The Swiss volunteer was accused by Ecuadorian military intelligence of communist agitation and Monsignor was contacted by state authorities and military representatives on suspicion of housing a foreigner dedicated to sparking a communist insurgence. The allegations of embezzlement reached the national authorities in Quito, and perhaps more damagingly, it transpired that foreign organisations were financing the project. On top of that, the disastrous failure of the intercultural city, which was rapidly degenerating into the complete dispossession of indigenous people from their lands, began to attract the ire of the Shuar Federation. Following a tense exchange of telegrams and letters between Shuar officials in Sucúa and Franciscan missionary authorities, the Shuar Federation organised an operation to re-establish Shuar control over land in El Pangui and evict all settler colonists.

The Franciscan missionary archives abound with apologetic letters, communiqués, invoices, and expense charts sent to correspondents both in the capital and abroad to justify the disappointment caused by the El Pangui project. Negotiations between the Shuar Federation and the El Pangui cooperative failed to provide a solution, and the Caamaño brothers, strongly supported by settler colonists, refused to accept the authority of the Federation. The donated

tools and machinery finally arrived in El Pangui, but due to the problems plaguing the project, they had to be stored in town for over a year. The police were tasked with guarding the storage site but less than a year later, it became apparent that most tools had found their way into households across town, while the machines and equipment were slowly being dismantled and sold for scrap or spare parts. Salesian observers, cautiously critical of a long-time rival, followed the developments in El Pangui closely, perhaps worried about the implications of a clash between the Shuar Federation (which the Salesian mission had helped to establish and supported) and the Franciscan mission.

Indeed, the failure of the Franciscan project in El Pangui had numerous political consequences across the South. Shuar control over land along the Zamora River from Zamora to El Pangui dramatically diminished or was completely eliminated. The construction of a road that connected Zamora and Gualaquiza via El Pangui increased settler colonial incursion in Zamora-Chinchipe and enabled the large-scale emigration of its indigenous inhabitants. As road works progressed from south to north, Shuar in Zamora-Chinchipe left the region to relocate in the northern Amazonian provinces of Pastaza and Lago Agrio among Kichwa, Siona, Secoya, Waorani, and Cofán peoples, or towards the coast of the Pacific Ocean (Wajai Mashu 2000), where a few Shuar had already made a life for themselves as hunters relying on small yet undisturbed forest areas.[139]

Shuar people remaining in El Pangui, who were increasingly unhappy with the 'inter-cultural' arrangements that had originally inspired the foundation of the town, and never saw the promised economic benefits from the proposed sawmill, found it more convenient to migrate elsewhere. Those who could resold their cooperative-run plots to arriving settler colonists, while others simply abandoned their lands and left. The Caamaño brothers resold all cooperative land available in the following years and El Pangui did eventually become an established town, although today, there is almost zero 'inter-cultural' presence. These events established a process of indigenous migration, depopulation, and concentration in the region. As is discussed in the next chapter, Pakints', increasingly surrounded by settler colonisation,

went on to become a central battleground of regional indigenous revivals in the 1980s, and a point of fracture between the Franciscan and Salesian projects.

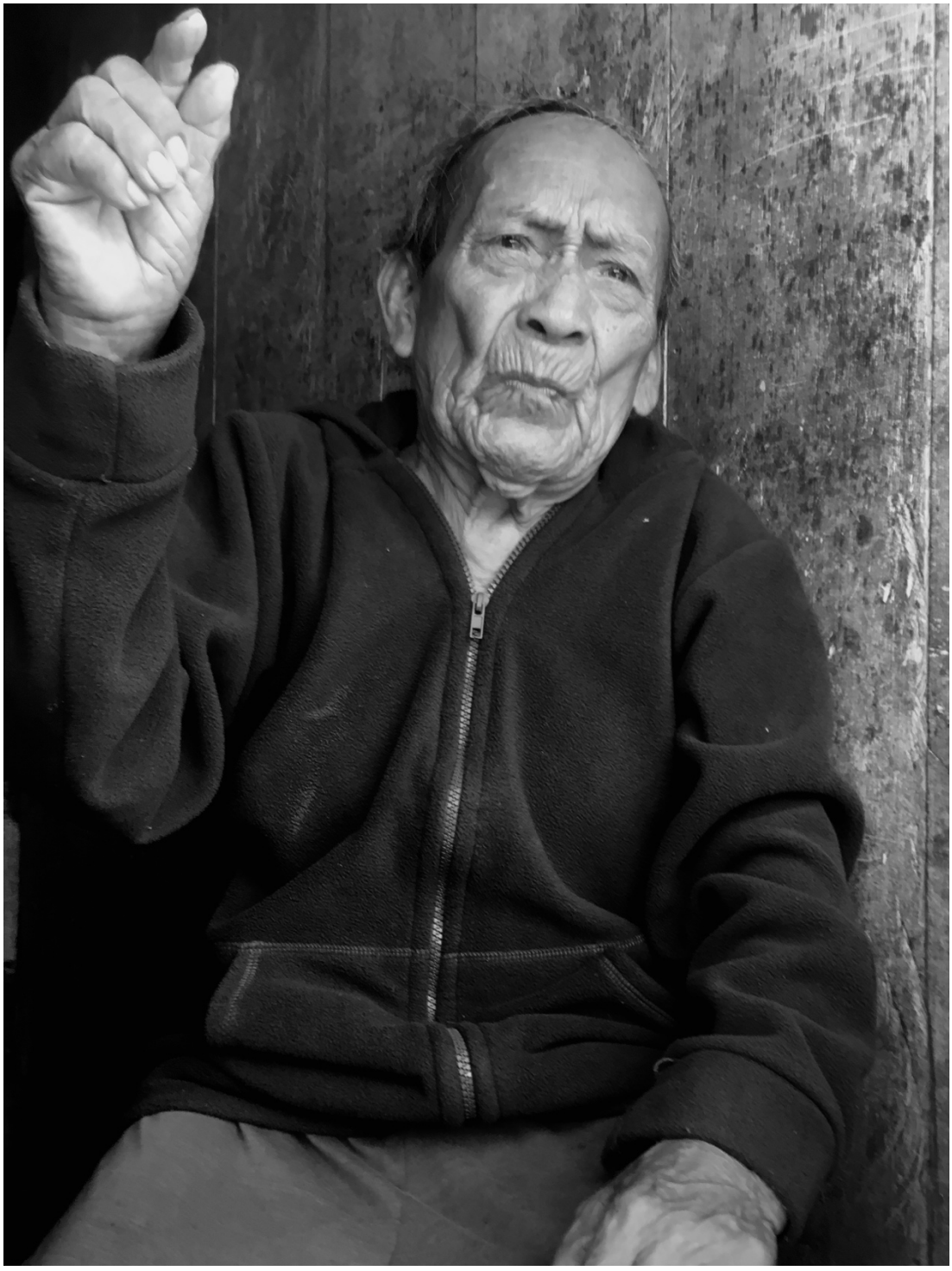


Figure 23. Uwijint', the last *denunciante*, 'land claimant', alive in Pakints'.

If you are to understand why they fight for mining now, you first need to learn the history of our *centro*.

Sharup', a 66-year-old man, fieldwork notes.

Pakintza, July 2015

En el tiempo del Shuar, cuando la gente caminaba un terreno, que sea una reserva de una cacería, ellos decían: "esta es mi tierra". Y hacían una casita, una choza, y estaban tres días y regresaban a su casa. En ese tiempo eran casados con dos, tres, cuatro, cinco mujeres, y con ellas comentaban que han visto buena tierra: "bastantes aves", yo que sé! Y decían: "Mujer, algún rato tenemos que ir a vivir allá". Y se trasladaban a ese lugar y así sucesivamente se generaba el Shuar. Y en donde nacía un hijo, esa tierra era para ese hijo.

Esto comentaba mi padre. Yo conversaba con mi papá, y el conversaba con mi abuelo, y mi abuelo conversaba también con mis otros abuelos. Y todos dijeron: "Nosotros somos la generación de Wichiakuat". El manejó todo lo que es Yantzaza. Y vivía más o menos en Pachicuza, si conoces, ¿no?, hasta allí era la tierra del man. Y ahí murió el abuelo Wachikiat. Y entonces surge su generación. El hijo de Wichikuat se llamaba Tsamarent'. El generó todo lo que es cantón El Pangui, que luego se dividieron los hijos. Esa familia abundó hasta Gualaquiza. Y luego de Tsamarent' fue Pinchupá. Pinchupá fue el primer hombre que manejó todo lo que es barrio Los Hachales, que dicen; de Los Hachales hasta Santa Cruz. Y sacaron los hijos: mi abuelito Wisum'. Y todo lo que va desde Santa Cruz hasta el Chuchumbleza, todo lo que es Pakints', era la tierra de Wisum'.

Back in the time of Shuar, when a man trekked to [unoccupied] land, he'd say: 'Now this land is mine' and in doing so, he'd make it his hunting reserve [*reserva*]. He would build a shelter and stayed there for a few days before heading back home. Men were married to two, three, four, or five women in those days and, upon returning home, men would discuss their treks with their wives. They would talk about all the good land they had seen: 'there's plenty of birds…', they'd say, or what do I know? Something like that. Then men would say: 'Women, some time we should go live there'. And so, they moved from place to place, and successive Shuar were fathered and spread, and where a son was born, that land belonged to him.

Thus, said my father, whom I talked to, as he talked with my grandfather, and as my grandfather talked to my older grandfathers. And they all said: 'We are the generation of Wichikuat'. He controlled all the land that we now call Yantzaza. That was his land. And do you know Pachicusa? It was there that grandfather Wichikuat' lived and died. And from him a new generation began. The son of Wichikuat' was named Tsamarent'. He controlled everything in [what we now call] El Pangui canton, which he split amongst his sons. His family abounded all around up to Gualaquiza. And after Tsamarent came Pinchupá. Pinchupá controlled all the neighbourhood of Los Hachales and up to the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz. There he had a son: my grandfather Wisum'. And everything, from Santa Cruz up to the Chuchumbleza River—everything that Pakints' is today, was his land.

Wisum', an approximately 45-year-old man, recorded conversation.

Santiago Paati, July 2015

4 The Centro

The establishment of the indigenous reserve, 1963–1977

—I was walking in the forest with brother-in-law when we found him. 'He's inside the land reserve', brother-in-law said. 'Let's kill him! Let the *apaach'* be knocked down and lie there.' The old man was sitting by his doorstep when he set forth the story, looking fragile and bowed upon himself. He faced the blaring passing of a mining truck through the almost transparent glare of his cataract-filled eyes. 'The *apaach'* was alone', he explained, 'tethering cattle in a pasture. We stood behind a tree, still and out of sight, and waited.'

The old man paused.

He pretended to be holding a shotgun aimed far at the horizon. Two large transport trucks again rolled up and down, a mere ten meters away from the old man's house. His voice came through almost muffled. 'I shot him—Pow! Pow!—but the shotgun jammed and the *apaach'* was not knocked down.' '*Taash! Caraju!*', the old man imitated the angry shouting of the white man. 'Who's there? Who's walking there?', the white man had been upset, unsettled, and surprised. 'The *apaach'* was so angry'—the old man said that with a smile drawn in the wrinkled folds of his face. 'He came towards us to take our shotgun. It was then that Pakints' started fighting.'

The old man looked awkwardly out of place, surrounded by a different time, bound by plastic furniture and a sleeping dog, near the ashes of his daughters' cooking place. He was dressed up oddly, wearing a colourful cartoon pyjama. Most days he spent his time alone, accompanied only by a shifting crowd of grandchildren in their teens that cooked for him. Though now almost blind, he was still strong enough to collect up firewood to set up the bonfire every morning. The truck drivers passing through at their early shifts must have seen him often, struggling to get the fallen branch of a tree or a small pile of sticks and twigs across the highway, painfully, heavily, and slowly.

—If only that goddamn shotgun would've worked', one of his young grandchildren said, also paying attention to the story, 'We wouldn't be in this much trouble now. Hell, we might be living well.'

This chapter shall present the broad colonial context shaping Shuar and 'white peoples' relations in Pakints' in the 1960s-1970s. I will address how early struggles against settler colonisation are recalled and expressed today in Pakints' and recount the process that led to the formation of the *centro* and the acquisition of its title deed. The following text thus conveys a historical narrative of 'Shuar history' at the beginnings of 'civilised times', and combines indigenous descriptions with excerpts taken from the official paperwork that established the indigenous reserve. People in Pakints' value these documents greatly.

The story, and the historic moment it recalls, is also thought of as a momentous example of Shuar ethnopolitical accomplishment throughout the region. The successful defence of Pakints' and its land reserve was one the first instances in which Shuar collective mobilisation in the South was put to the test and it catapulted the leadership of several young *organización* officials to the top of regional and national ethnopolitics. More importantly, it established the name and standing of Pakints' within the Shuar Federation, providing the experience and allure that later allowed the most ambitious of its people to rise to prominence and affect Shuar ethnopolitics at large.

The 'land claimants'

The first time the land reserve of San Francisco de Pakints' appears in the registry of the state is through a power of attorney filed on 25 October 1963. It was signed at the Gualaquiza notary and subsequently dispatched to the National Institute of Colonisation (INC, in its Spanish acronym). According to the document, 'the appearing Jivaro', Juep', Shakay, Kajekay, and Paati—the four surviving sons of Santiago Wisum', and three of his nephews and in-laws, Naanch', Nantip', and Uwijint', authorise the general attorney of the Salesian missions to intervene on their behalf in requesting a land title. They do so on the basis of 'inheritance, occupation, and right of possession' (as stated in a supporting survey attached to the request), and claim for themselves and their descendants the lands where all of them have long lived by marriage or by birth right.

The seven men appear in all paperwork as *denunciantes*, 'land claimants', and are thus remembered nowadays by people in the *centro*. In a reassuring tone, the documents confirm that the seven men were indeed 'all well-known neighbours of the county' and 'personal acquaintances of the notary'. They are all *campesinos*, 'farmers', by 'profession' and grow corn, plantain, manioc, coffee, annatto, assorted vegetables, and grass for guinea pigs; each has a cultivated area of land 'improvements', spanning on average 27 hectares per person. They all have grasslands and some cattle: one calf, two calves, one cow, two cows, at most. And inhabit 'Jivaro-type' houses. When given the choice, the seven men considered the most pressing needs in the area to be a chapel, a doctor, and a school.

Uwijint', the old man telling the story, was now the last surviving *denunciante* in the centro. The *denunciantes*, 'land claimants', were credited in Pakints' for their brave determination to stand up against the encroachment of settler colonisation. Their generation had been responsible for acquiring the land title that had legalised the indigenous reserve and then for guarding that land title against settler appropriation. They effectively assembled, organised,

and mobilised a regional response in defence of indigenous land. Without them and the fight they determinately put up, San Francisco de Pakints' might not exist today.

The name San Francisco is, of course, a concession and a courtesy. The idea came from the Salesian missionaries helping Wisum's kindred acquire the title deed of a *centro* officially under the control of the Franciscan vicariate. Such a courtesy was necessary vis-à-vis the historic context, border conflicts between the two missions had been common in the past, and Pakints' was after all right at the frontier. The Franciscan mission, however, as noted in Chapter 3, lacked the manpower to sustain its presence in the area. The location of Pakints' was too far away from their base in the colonial city of Zamora, and their general disinterest on indigenous land reclamations further made their early presence rarely felt. Salesian presence in the area, on the contrary, which had recently shifted headquarters from Gualaquiza to Bomboiza[140], was close by and increasingly frequent. These reasons determined the unofficial integration of Pakints' into the Salesian sphere of influence and the inclusion of the *centro* in Shuar land reclamation paperwork beginning in Bomboiza at the time. The process profoundly altered existing relations between Shuar and settler colonists.

The 'white man' whom Uwijint' and his brother-in-law had failed to kill that faithful day was still deferentially referred to as Don Piatra throughout the *centro*. He had been a settler migrant from the Southern highland city of Cuenca; a *colono*, a 'settler colonist', who relocated in the lowland Shuar *montaña* in the early 1960s. Piatra arrived in Pakints' in 1959 or 1961 (the old man couldn't remember when exactly), and his presence and trespassing triggered a long and bitter conflict. Shuar people in the *centro* and throughout the region were forced, as the old man had stressed, to 'start fighting' him.

Piatra had been one of the earliest settler colonists to settle in the area but not the first and certainly not the only one. People in Pakints' recall at least two other white men before him, Carrión and Lojano, with whom Shuar traded and bartered without conflict or disagreement, and four brothers with the last name Castro (themselves cousins of Piatra), who also tried to invade the *centro.* The Castro invasion, however, had been easy to repel and the *centro* and its

settler neighbours soon reached an agreement. Piatra had been different. He had claimed the lands Shuar people in Pakints' actively occupied as hunting grounds and refused to stay at the buffer zone that separated rival indigenous kin groups, as most other white men had done so far. He was also very stubborn, better connected with state authorities, and more keen on acting with violence that any of the settler neighbours that had arrived before him.

To Piatra, all land in the region was empty, vacant, free, available, *baldía*. As he saw it, it all was no man's land until the land was cultivated and so by law he believed it now belonged to him. His claims, after all, were legally grounded in recently introduced land-reform policy which intended to 'take pressure off highland cities' and 'provide a new source of cattle and agricultural products for their markets' (Rubenstein 2001: 274).

Piatra thus built a cattle ranch that extended beyond the limits of the *centro*'s land reserve and forcefully annexed some 200 hectares of indigenous land that he claimed as his own. The people of Pakints' protested loudly but the white man, knowing he could count on state support, quietly ignored them. Furthermore, and contrary to most other settler colonists, Piatra wasn't even willing to listen, let alone be subjected, to the instructions of 'any kind of whiskered foreign priest' speaking in support of indigenous land rights.

Indeed, it was the Italian and Spanish Salesian priests and the Swiss Franciscan volunteers he most disliked. He was not willing to support any domestic priest taking a stand in favour of indigenous peoples either, of course, but his influence and connections with the local clergy made that very unlikely. Most local priests would not dare challenge him, and so for a long time he was able to prevail, convinced, and convincing many, that he was a civilising force bringing development to a cruel and savage region.

Years later, when internal conflicts at the Shuar Federation pitted the people of Pakints' against one other, he managed to regain access to the lands in the reserve once forcefully taken and then lost in his fight with the *centro.* The seized land was later sold by Piatra to the developers of the Mirador mine hence updating and adding further convolution to an already

long and complex conflict. Today, almost five decades after Uwijint' had failed to shoot him, ownership of the land was still being legally disputed, and although Piatra held no longer any land possession in the *centro*, the shadow of his presence was still sorely felt throughout Pakints'.

The short ethnographic piece that follows, recounts the struggles of Pakints' against the incursion of Piatra, as he occupied part of the *centro* in the early 1960s. The people of Pakints', with the aid of hundreds of Shuar men, women, and youngsters from every nearby Shuar *centro* in the region successfully stood their ground to defend the indigenous reserve. The time frame of the event coincided with the emergence of ethnopolitical organisation and a generation of *denunciantes*, 'land claimants', that were able to mobilise a collective response against the invasion of Pakints'.

The Shuar Federation, founded in 1964, and its regional branch, the Bomboiza Association, got thoroughly involved in the struggle. The successful resistance against Piatra indeed cemented much of the regional prestige that established Bomboiza, of which Pakints' was a part of at the time, as the most prominent Shuar Association in the South. Nowadays, the struggle and the broad 'time'-period it has come to represent in Pakints' are remembered as a time when Shuar were *gente brava y muy unida*, a 'people fierce and thoroughly unified'.

The text presented in the following excerpts, translated from recorded conversations, recalls the story as it is remembered now by many different individuals. The heading on top of each paragraph, however, is meant to signal different kin groups rather than individual interlocutors (whose identities, I intend, will remain hence partially undisclosed). The story is told through the words of Shuar men and women in Pakints' and its surroundings aged between 45 and 75 years old who directly participated in the events recalled. I incorporated the viewpoints of Piatra himself at the suggestion of various collaborators in the *centro*. People in

Pakints' believed it was important that his account be known and covered by my research so their true historic chronicle could dispute his claims.

I further included in the text the voices of two other external witnesses: The first complementary narrator was a young man of junior status in the Salesian mission (and noted in the text by the Shuar nickname *Monaguillo*, 'altar boy'). He was a first-hand witness when Pakints' and the Bomboiza Shuar Association decided to undertake *acciones*, 'actions', to make their voices heard and the territorial rights of the *centro* respected.

The second complementary narrator was a young woman working at the Ecuadorean Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonisation (IERAC, in its Spanish acronym), the state office in charge of granting land titles and solving any resulting land conflict. She is noted in the text as 'Princess' (a translation of the original Spanish *reinita*, literally 'little queen'), a nickname given to her by the Shuar people in Pakints' that kidnapped her when the *centro* tried to negotiate the expulsion of settler invaders.

I decided to include these accounts as I believe their words add richness to and complement Shuar historical narrative. The same reasoning has accompanied my decision to wave a few clarifying paragraphs between Shuar narrative. My intention here has been to include common settler viewpoints and talking points regarding the colonisation of Shuar land since the 1960s and provide some background on the role played by the state in promoting and supporting this process.

Finally, I have included at the end of the chapter a number of documents that complement the story told hereby by the people of Pakints'. These documents were provided to me by collaborators and friends in Pakints', who consider these papers to be very important to the history of the *centro*. I selected the documents from a larger dossier collected by the *centro*'s authorities used in their dealings with the state. Among the documents included, a brief 'historical outline' written by members of Pakints' themselves to inform state authorities in 1981 complements the narrative presented here.

The fight of Pakints' against Piatra

JUEP'

When we expelled Piatra, we were fierce! Our people were unified. We expelled him ourselves. It was all organised by my father. He was *síndico* of the centro at the time. Juep', *indio de los indios*, 'leader amongst indigenous peoples', was the animator to defend the land. A warrior! A guide! Yajauch' Juep'! And in Bomboiza there was Ankuash', and Tiwiram, and Naikai. They also stood up. They are tough guys! We called them because here in Zamora-Chinchipe, [Shuar] people are not [tough enough].

KAJEKAY

Old Man Juep' raised [the issue] in a meeting. They were going to recover the stolen land and [he asked] everyone [in the *centro*] to collaborate with fresh manioc, and plantain, and manioc beer, and poultry, and pork, and with the butchering of cattle.

KAJEKAY

The [Salesian] priests, too, gave some of their cattle to quarter. 'Invite all the Shuar Associations to recover this land', [they said]. Shuar people through the region were saying: 'We have problems with Piatra', and more and more people arrived [from all over the region]. My father lent out the house [so they could stay]. Women made manioc beer and men would go on patrol to guard [the territory]. I remember them coming back with palm hearts of chonta [peach palm] and copal [seeds from another palm tree] from the forest.

KAJEKAY

The late Santiago Paati, my uncle, was *síndico* of the *centro* at the time. He owned more than 80 heads of cattle and he was so generous and so sincere, and he contributed so much [to the plan to recover the stolen land]!

SHARUP'

It wasn't only the Bomboiza Association that came. Several Shuar Associations came and at least 500 Shuar were here to expel him. Juep' had promised to donate the land occupied by Piatra to the people that was collaborating with the eviction, and [Pakints'] filled in with people. Shuar threw a great party [on the occasion], butchering cattle, and preparing many jars of manioc beer. They did all that to keep the people that was supporting the expulsion of the [settler] invader.

KAJEKAY

Uy! Piatra was so aggressive! He seized and maltreated Shuar. He was tying Shuar up to trees with chains or forcing them to do exercise like army soldiers do. He was telling people: 'You will drink up this dirty water', but it was pig's urine he was forcing Shuar to drink. Shuar were badly maltreated in that time and my uncle Shakay suffered.

SHAKAY

Someone, perhaps my uncle, filled socks with *barbasco* [*Lonchocarpus urucu*] and placed it on the grassland to kill [Piatra's] cattle. Piatra had my father jailed and accused him of the crime; but it wasn't him. He was released, anyway, because in the past [Shuar] didn't know how to [properly] wear shoes. 'See? I don't even own socks', is what my father told [the police], lifting the leg of his trouser. He was released afterwards. That is what my mom used to tell us: 'This is what happened to your father with Don Piatra'.

AWAK'

There was but a bridle path towards the lands that Piatra seized. My father was walking through, and Piatra threatened him: 'I shall kill you here, Wisum'. 'I'll kill you first', [my father responded]. Piatra was surrounded [by Shuar] who said to Piatra: 'Kill him!' 'Kill him!' 'We'll just pull the trigger, and we kill you right away.' The people of Pakints' had gathered there because Piatra had seized Shuar land. He was stingy [*mezquino*] with the land and the prat [*pendejo*] wanted to kill people. That land was well fought over [between us and him].

SHARUP'

We expelled [Piatra] out of Pakints'. He had workers. The workers stood up. We then expelled them, too. 'I have my *patrón!*', they said. 'I have my *patrón*!' No [we said]. Get out! God is everyone's only *patrón*. Get out! Get out! They refused to leave, so we had to force them out the hard way.

'MONAGUILLO'
(SALESIAN PARTICIPANT OBSERVER)

I don't think the [Salesian] mission might have [normally] favoured so direct a posture [as the decision taken by Shuar in Pakints']. The Salesian position was to avoid creating conflict, largely because conflict can slow down the rest of the things you are doing. [Missionary guidelines said:] 'Do not get in trouble because that trouble can destroy everything else you have so far achieved.' I think [what happened with Piatra] was a legitimate impulse by Shuar to unify the territory.

SHARUP'

The workers went straight to Piatra, telling him: 'We were invaded, we were expelled.' Piatra threatened to strike back with 500 settlers, to put up a fight. Shuar, however, stood up, along with the presidents of the [Bomboiza] Association: Ankuash' and Tiwiram. They sent Piatra a note: 'Don't even think of it, for it will cost you dearly.'

ANKUASH'

The problem of Pakints', yes, it was years ago, I was younger and led the recovery and expulsion of Piatra. We won. But, years later, maybe you have heard this already?—Have people told you, yet? We had problems amongst ourselves [in the Shuar Federation] and Juep' negotiated the return of Piatra.

TIWIRAM

[At the time, a new] government's decree was issued. It stated that Shuar lands were to be respected. [Especially,] the indigenous lands that had title deeds. [However,] the [local] authorities refused to comply [with the decree] and instead supported settler colonisation. There was this Manuel [Ordoñez, Regional Head of the Ecuadorean Institute of Land Reform and Colonisation (IERAC, in its Spanish acronym) who] received some money from Piatra. We kidnapped him and held him in our custody for three days, until Piatra left [the lands of Pakints'].

JUEP'

Piatra invaded the [indigenous] land reserve. Settler colonists used to call it: *tierras baldías*, 'vacant lands', but it was our forest reserve, and a forest reserve should be left there untouched! There were those drawings, maps of Pakints', [that proved we owned the land], and still Piatra got in by way of force. He invaded us. But people stayed put, watching the land for up to eight days, sleeping in the chapel and in an old school we had.

PIATRA

To claim the 200 hectares, according to the law, one ought to clear 100 hectares of forest. I was thus desperate to chop down the *montaña*. I believe the deadline was two years, and if [the deadline was not met] the land [property] reverted back to the state. One had to fell trees with axes and machetes, oh! that was mortal! Then malaria came, then yellow fever. I got yellow

fever once and there was nothing but quinine in the hospital. It was as thick as cane syrup is and bitter like poison… though it did cut off the yellow fever.

TIWIRAM

Many elder *uwishin* [shamans] were there with us. There was old Kayuk' (who is still alive), and old Jimpikit', and old Petén. There was old Kuwushin from Tiink' and Juank' from Wakis. Shuar believed that all these shamans used to exterminate people. They said these were evil men, *brujos*, 'sorcerers', [dark shamans]. So, I told them: 'Do it. Help me now. These [settler colonisers] are our enemies.'

TIWIRAM

I didn't know [what to expect]. I didn't believe in *uwishin* and shamanism back then. Throughout my career [in ethnopolitics] I had been warned by shamans that they would throw a spell on me. They had threatened to kill me or to make me ill. So, that day I told them: 'You all claim to be powerful *uwishin* and *brujos* [shamans and dark shamans] and you have threatened me with death. I want to see you bewitching the police over there. I want to see you do something, right now when they might be killing our people. I want to see that. And if it turns out that you are real [*uwishin*], I will stitch my mouth shut tomorrow.' They shut my mouth indeed. That is the reason I later devoted to the study of indigenous medicine. I needed to study what the depth of their energy was.

TIWIRAM

Some 140-200 policemen stood at the border of Pakints', ready to [charge against us]. So, I told my people, some forty young lads, my age, all from the military reserve forces: 'If things get tough we will have to defend ourselves and no matter what the cost, defend our people.' All my forty men stood serene and composed with their rifles and shotguns and machetes and spears. They had their weapons hidden but were ready. And then we heard the news: 'The police are coming; all two hundred policemen were walking towards us.'

TIWIRAM

'Right', I said. 'Ready?' 'Julio, we are ready to die, all forty of us! They won't do what they want until we're all dead.' I told [Ankuash']: 'You're in charge of the people. I'm in charge of the defence.' Then I told everyone: 'I am not at the [Bomboiza Association] office right now and [for the time being] I'm no longer its president.' We set up our positions as follows: ten men at the vanguard blocking the road entrance to Pakints', ten men guarding the headquarters of the *centro*, next to the house of Sharup', and twenty men waiting in the rear-guard. Then we waited.

SHARUP'

We spent day and night watching over, guarding... We were organised. Well organised. This [house] was the base. [Rumours] told that the settler people of El Pangui were soon to come well-armed to invade us. It turned out to be nothing but empty words! Shuar took positions [at the *centro*'s southern borders], some others were by the road to El Güismi, some others were by the road to Santa Cruz, still some others [hid] at the [forested] hills. Everything was guarded.

TIWIRAM

Then, the police charged forward! Women and children, an organised group armed with sticks and [hawthorn mandarin] branches, screaming and making a bustle, ran against them. The police were paralysed. They were not expecting that. We didn't have to use rifles or shotguns that day, only fists and sticks. The police attacked [them] with their batons. Men joined in the fight, and it all turned into a huge brawl. We took their batons away from them and hit them back. It was a massacre! It was though and it was chaos!

TIWIRAM

We held their frontward advance and soon they began to retreat and desert. They were running in retreat, and we chased them, hitting them with their own batons (laughs). We held

our positions that day and woke up the next morning cheerfully and joyous. We were holding up strong our protest.

TIWIRAM

And we woke up to the news: a policeman had died overnight! The *uwishin* [shamans] came to me and told me: 'There you have it, Julio. There will be another one [dead] tomorrow.' And, sure enough, the next day before noon another policeman had died with signs of pneumonia.

JUEP'

Yes, it's true! First a policeman died right at the border of Pakints' where Piatra had them stationed day and night. He just didn't wake up [the next day]. Shuar began saying it had been the shamans that killed him. I don't know. I have my doubts. He probably had cardiac arrest and died because of the stress of the situation. But Shuar said it was witchcraft. Then another one died the next morning! That did it [for the police]. They all got really scared of us Shuar and left Piatra [alone]. They run away leaving the job undone!

TIWIRAM

We had warned the police that this would happen. [The next morning] they said: 'It is true.' They cleared the grounds and left. They were scared. The police issued a complete prohibition [amongst its ranks] to lay foot on any Shuar *centro* after that. We reached an agreement and the ban lasted throughout my administration [at the Bomboiza Association].

'MONAGUILLO'
(SALESIAN PARTICIPANT OBSERVER)

The ministry delegates came in a jeep, but the jeep was intercepted, and they couldn't leave. The idea [Shuar had] was to [seize them and] force [state] authorities to negotiate… And it was a party! It was a party! There were so many people: one hundred! two hundred! It was a complete revelry; manioc beer was everywhere! It wasn't a grim protest of tight faces, no! No! No! No! This was a party! And not only in Pakints', but everywhere in the Bomboiza Association.

‘PRINCESS’
(THE STATE OFFICE SECRETARY KIDNAPPED)

That day in Pakints’ there were people from all over the place. There were people from Nungurí [in Zamora-Chinchipe] and people that had come from as far away as Macas [in Morona-Santiago]. My boss [the regional head of IERAC] spoke in Spanish but Shuar didn’t understand. He was trying to explain to them that we had just come to do a field inspection, but they refused to let us go.

‘PRINCESS’
(THE STATE OFFICE SECRETARY KIDNAPPED)

They all had spears and loincloth and feathers and big hands. It was a land conflict between Shuar and settler colonists. The latter had supposedly bought Shuar lands inside the indigenous community. Shuar claimed to defend ancestral lands and expelled the colonists. They destroyed the colonists’ houses, and their crops, and everything else they had. The colonists sued them. [The report said:] ‘Shuar took some lands, claiming these are ancestral lands, and refused to allow any settler colonist to settle in the area.’ That is why I went there. My boss sent me. He told me to go along with the police, but I decided instead to go alone.

‘PRINCESS’
(THE STATE OFFICE SECRETARY KIDNAPPED)

I don’t remember who kidnapped me. It must have been the Shuar leadership. I was 17 years old. There was a huge house with a thatched roof made of *chonta* [peach palm]. They let me in very politely. It was like a cockpit indoors, with long benches set up to form an outer circle. There was a large pot for cooking manioc at the centre and old women chewing manioc and spitting back in the pot to make beer the way Shuar used to do before. There were at least one hundred people just in that big cockpit. We were inside a thatched roof house, and everyone was armed with spears.

TIWIRAM

I had to do that, yes, I ordered the detention of an engineer named Manuel Ordoñez, Regional Head of the Ecuadorean Institute of Land Reform and Colonisation [IERAC, in its Spanish acronym] in Zamora, and a girl that worked with him.

JUEP'

We kidnapped the provincial delegates of the ministry. We held them there for eight days. There, stored, locked down... oh, they were so dirty! (laughs). We closed the entry accesses to Pakints', putting a large log through the road. There was one here and another one over there [at both sides of the road]. Then, Shuar people partied all night: some danced, some played the guitar. That's how we killed time!

'PRINCESS'
(THE STATE OFFICE SECRETARY KIDNAPPED)

Shuar women handed me a bowl of manioc beer. I saw their black teeth and I didn't want it. I was very squeamish at the time. I fell over pretending to have fainted, so I wouldn't have to drink the manioc beer! They were dancing and singing all around me: 'You are a princess', they said, 'and the governor is coming here to rescue you.' I couldn't understand much more because they mostly spoke in Shuar. I was kidnapped a whole day but then I managed to get away. I feigned to be ill until they took me to the health centre in El Pangui.

TIWIRAM

Yes, yes, she threw herself onto the floor and made everything a hassle!

'PRINCESS'
(THE STATE OFFICE SECRETARY KIDNAPPED)

They danced and sang all day. Danced and sang and conversed. I remained lying there on the ground. I was a young girl, and I was afraid. I was afraid they would kill me with their spears. Shuar were speaking to each other in Spanish, next to me, so I could understand what they had planned. Perhaps they were doing it intentionally and wanted me to hear them.

‘PRINCESS’
(THE STATE OFFICE SECRETARY KIDNAPPED)

I understood they had kidnapped me to gain leverage. They wanted to force the governor to go there and intervene directly in the land conflict. And they kept calling me princess because I was so young! (laughs).

‘PRINCESS’
(THE STATE OFFICE SECRETARY KIDNAPPED)

I was brought to health centre. There was a Shuar guard that wouldn’t let me stay alone but I made a sign to the doctor, and he asked the guard to leave the surgery. He refused to take a no for an answer. ‘Leave or I won’t see her’, the doctor said to them. I told the doctor I had been kidnapped as soon as he closed the door.

‘PRINCESS’
(THE STATE OFFICE SECRETARY KIDNAPPED)

The surgery had an iron window cover that the doctor bent to let me out. There was just enough space for my head, but I was able to slip through. He took me to the back of the health centre, and I hid in his dormitory, under a bed, and he hid me behind supply boxes. I remained hidden for some two or three hours. Shuar were looking for me all around the place for that long and even entered the dormitory where I was, but they couldn’t find me. They were screaming loudly and questioning the doctor. When the place went silent, I assumed they left and escaped towards the forest. I never knew what happened with the doctor. I wonder what he told them.

TIWIRAM

We also had an engineer retained. We held him for four days (laughs). He was a government delegate and we told him: ‘You may leave anytime all you have to do is say that Pakints’ is a collective land reserve and this land belongs to our Shuar *centro*’ (laughs). In the meantime, we instilled fear and hassle, you know, psychological warfare. The massacre [with the police] had been too terrible an experience for him!

'Visions', 'clearings', and 'improvements'

I met Piatra a few months after arriving in Pakints'. He ran an herbal pharmacy in the nearby town of El Pangui. In the latter years of his life had become a curandero *healer himself* with more than a few shamanic attributions. Despite the long history of conflict, many people in Pakints' were indeed regular patients of his and generally preferred his herbal concoctions over the prescription drugs sold in most other pharmacies in town. He was a 'powerful and seasoned healer', people the *centro* claimed, sure that his training amongst some mysterious indigenous people in Peru no doubt granted him enough expertise to be trustworthy.

To Piatra, Shuar living in the region 'weren't really natives to the land.' Shuar had been moving in and out of El Pangui from neighbouring areas over many years and—setting aside nomadism and migration—he insisted, their situation was not unlike the settler case. He liked to put forward this argument to visiting outsiders.

According to him, what he found on his arrival in the region was 'nothing but jungle and practically not a human being.' He felt that there was nothing wrong in 'making something out of nothing' by opening up *trabajos*, 'clearings', and *mejoras*, 'improvements', paraphrasing how the law had defined settler forest clearing in the 1960s. As most settler *colonos* in the region, Piatra believe Shuar to be 'lazy.' He had observed (and he deem himself a keen observer) that Shuar had 'but a garden, a couple women, and that was it.' Not like settler colonists who, contrary to Shuar people, worked towards the future. Indeed, 'Shuar have never been *visionistas*', he said, and so they 'never looked upon the future.'

The future, Piatra explained, was at the heart and soul of settler colonisation projects. It was also one of his favourites and most frequently used words, along with 'prosperity' and 'hard work'. Still, his path towards the colonisation of the lowlands, he said, had started as a mere '*adventure*'. He had simply 'gone exploring' one day, like so many other young men in the

Southern highland Andes at the time, looking for a place to make a better living, trying 'to carve a future for himself.'

Piatra grew up in the highland city of Cuenca during times of economic struggle. His parents weren't wealthy, but they weren't poor either. But for most people at the time, colonisation had been hardly a mere adventure. There were hardly any good jobs or money to be made and many left the city in those days. The local economy, closely attached, throughout the 1950s, to the artisan production of Panama hats, collapsed as the item's presence in world markets dwindled. Almost overnight, the manufacturing class that handmade the straw hats almost disappeared from the cityscape. Their collapse hauled several sectors of the economy of region along into near bankruptcy.

The backbone of the economy in the province of Azuay, run from Cuenca, its capital city, was still at the time largely fostered by the hacienda's exploitation of the peasantry. Racial, ethnic, and rural discrimination were ingrained in the social fabric of the region and, with the economic crisis, the gross inequality on land distribution became increasingly untenable. The Panama hat collapse escalated peasant discontent in Azuay and quickly turned dissatisfaction into growing claims for land-reform.

The ruling class grew increasingly concerned. The regional government drew attention to the looming dangers on the status quo and a two-fold plan was put forward to account for both the immediate economic crisis and growing social pressure. It was not in the interest of anyone with land and power in the region to allow any kind of land reform. The mere fact that the matter was discussed was threatening enough. The regional government hence came up with a toothless compromise: a land-reform scheme by which land redistribution would take the form of (and rather be replaced by) hinterland colonisation. Such land-reform policy, closely tied to the interests of Cuenca's elite, as Rubenstein (2001) so aptly notes, was put forward through CREA, the Centre of Economic Reconversion of the provinces of Azuay, Cañar, and Morona-Santiago, the state institution in charge of implementing the two-fold economic

'reconversion.' The plan intended to modernise the economy of Cuenca whilst easing off the growing pressures of the peasants to access land in the surrounding countryside.

To be sure, the policy scheme implemented was designed to prevent and resist land redistribution. It never affected the colonial white elite's haciendas and it curbed disquiet at home (Azuay) by means of expelling and relocating the discontent landless peasantry towards the periphery (Cañar and Morona-Santiago). This is something Shuar have come to be conscientiously aware of over time. Moreover, they haven't failed to register settler class and ethnic differences and inequality at play. As a friend in Bomboiza, noting *colono* and the local white elite's historical relations, plainly liked to explain: *no solo les mandaron sacando, también les mandaron metiendo*, by which he bluntly meant to reference not only the recent forced economic migration that settler peasants had to endure but also the history of colonial sexual abuse behind miscegenation.

Despite this reality, the experience of settler colonisation for *colono* people is more frequently remembered through their journeys: painstaking weeks-long expeditions on horseback, dangerous and dreaded bridlepaths, and their courageous perseverance against an adverse, unusual, and opposing geography. Here, larger economic processes and class and racial politics are either skilfully played down or, more often, just ignored. This, in my experience, applies to all settler populations encroaching Shuar reserves in the larger area around Pakints' and perhaps especially in the valley of Tundayme, where present-day mining developments are sometimes seen to affect or co-opt cherished pioneer development accomplishments.

Piatra, who's social and economic position was much better than a peasant's, thus remembered hearing in his youth how 'some people had gone south, some people had gone north, and some others had gone west.' Not much later, he decided to go east himself, towards the lowlands, perhaps the least popular destination at the time. Nevertheless, he began enquiring and resolved to head southeast, having heard rumours about Gualaquiza's wealth. He saved some money, sold some goods, made plans, and organised an expedition. However, he didn't leave the city alone.

He was accompanied by a group of cousins. The four 'Castro brothers' who would precede him both in surveying the southeaster lowlands as in running into trouble with the people of Pakints'. Arriving in Gualaquiza, the cousins rented a small twin-engine plane to survey the area to the south and eagle-eyed their future on the land below them. Piatra, looking downwards from the window of the plane, 'fell in love' immediately with what laid below. He decided, then and there, where his dreamed estate ought to be and how large it was to become one day. He saw everything so clearly. The land he would claim were to be called *El Triunfo*, 'The Triumph', a name he had chosen months beforehand, and it all was down there below. That day, in his head, he already began to mentally cut down the forest.

Piatra noted down the coordinates, went back to the highlands, sold all his belongings, and 'raised money and gathered people' to accompany and work for him. He was resolute. It followed a farewell to his family. 'This was an adventure that could last forever.' And careful planning and determined negotiations. He equipped himself with as many peon labourers as he could pay, a string of horses, and good shotgun, and as many choppers, machetes, shovels, and knives as they could carry. Piatra, now the head of a pioneering migrant troupe, went back to the lowlands a month later, determined to clear the jungle off, turn the forest into grassland, and materialise the images he had conjured up in his imagination.

Upon arrival, and to formalise their claim, the group hung up a placard outside the office of the *tenencia política*, the only civil representative of the state in the region. The sign read: 'Mr J. Piatra, owner of 200 hectares of land in El Pangui.' He noted the approximate location of the property, too, as best as anyone could do in a time without GPS or topographic equipment and, without further hesitation, Piatra and his men set off to clear the forest.

Back in those days, that was all a settler colonist needed to formalise a territorial claim with the state. There weren't many more requirements. If during a period of 30 days nobody publicly opposed, disputed, or appeal Piatra's claim to land—and no one did as no Shuar could—legal ownership would be considered immediately registered and officially approved. The only legal requisite left to fulfil, according to the laws of colonisation, was to comply with

working 50% of the claimed land before the first year of possession. Therefore, to sustain his claim over two hundred hectares in *El Triunfo*, Piatra and his men had exactly one year to clear off at least one hundred hectares of forest.

'Years of trouble'

NAICHAP'

Pakints' used to have some 1,200 hectares in its land reserve. Piatra seized some 200 hectares. The Shuar *centro* and the Shuar Federation proved with their title deed that they had indeed recognised possession over that land and the state annulled the land title that Piatra was processing for the land he had occupied. Piatra had no legal argument. The regional head of [the Ecuadorean Institute of Land Reform and Colonisation (IERAC, in its Spanish acronym)] came and judged that the land was in fact Shuar land and belonged to San Francisco de Pakints'.

NAICHAP'

Still, Piatra left Pakints' and sued the *centro*. Two trials followed but Piatra's lawsuit failed to move through. Then we had a political disagreement with Juep'. He took those 200 hectares of land for himself and without consulting it with the Shuar *centro*, distributed that land amongst his children.

NAICHAP'

Juep' had always said that the land occupied by Piatra would be ceded to the Shuar people that had helped recovered it. He didn't keep his word.

KAJEKAY

Yes, that treacherous old man... He never distributed the land he had promised to share. Oh, I'm sorry, I am now old myself! If only you truly knew what kind of man he was! He wanted to

hoard all the land for himself to place the many children he had had with his three women. He had offered half of the recovered land to the Bomboiza Association, too, and when the land was recovered, Tiwiram and Ankuash' confronted him: 'Well, we have sacrificed ourselves and our people and we recovered the land… So, where is your offer? Where is it? You owe us half that land.' 'No', Juep' said, 'I shall not give you that. This land is all mine. I had already spent much in supporting our mobilisation. I shall not be bothered no more.' He said those things and later, well, things didn't end up great.

NAICHAP'

What happened afterwards? The year of troubles came. Old Man Juep' came against us and the organisational standing of the *centro* hit rock bottom. There was a conflict, a small war, and we began telling ourselves: 'How can we continue to live and work in here? This no longer is a *centro*. It's better to sell our land to someone else and leave.' That's how people started talking at the time.

NAICHAP'

It was a huge conflict. Two people were killed. So, a [peace] commission was established afterwards. It was formed by [officials of the Ecuadorean Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonisation (IERAC, in its Spanish acronym)], and the military, and the bishop, and Piatra. They were to study what to do with Pakints' following the killings. The Ecuadorean Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonisation told us that if the people of Pakints' would request the legal reversion of the indigenous land title to be ceded back to the state they would approve it. That is precisely what we did.

Now, Old Man Juep' was a rigid and sometimes violent man. He was also a jealous person, infamously known amongst his kin for being overly protective of his sisters. He was feared within the *centro* as much as he was amid his enemies. Young girls were told to hide when he came to visit in his brothers' houses, and avoid his presence, especially when he appeared

peevish. In his youth, he had killed two of his new-born nephews by hurling them against the main pillar of the house. The first killing occurred because he opposed the relationship that had led to the birth of the child. He thought the man with whom his sister had conceived it was beneath the standing of his kin. The second killing was simply trigger by his annoyance at the crying of the baby.

The old man had been the last warrior in Pakints'. He was convicted and imprisoned for the killing of a Shuar man and an important settler landowner in Sucúa and, in consequence, he got to spent two years in a cold cramped cell in a highland city. The missionaries, however, convinced a judge to let him off before he served his time on the grounds of cultural difference and misapprehension. The elder man's deference for the authority of ethnopolitical leadership thus mustn't have been much. Yet, as he aged and the world around him changed, he increasingly became more and more dependant of his sons—of whom he was rather proud. His sons turned out to be rather good at school and became the first professional ever in the *centro*. Two amongst them stood out. Bartolmé Juep', a radio schoolteacher, would become the first president of the Shuar Federation to be born and raised in Zamora-Chinchipe. The other clever one, widely known as Musku, a nickname acquired after the city of Moscow (where he had been trained as an engineer in the former Soviet Union under a Shuar Federation scholarships programme), became one of the first highly trained professionals in the entire region.

Nevertheless, in failing to share the land after the successful expulsion of Piatra from the *centro*, Old Man Juep' severely damaged the reputation of Pakints' within *organización*. The arrival and rising political careers of two young men, Naichap' and Ayuí, married in Pakints' with two of Old Man Juep's nieces, and the growing influence of their ideas during Bartolomé Juep's presidency, as I shall later discuss, further increased the gulf between Pakints' and neighbouring *centros* in the region. The relation between Pakints' and the Bomboiza Association soured as a result.

The growing estrangement between the leaders that had helped Pakints' in its fight against Piatra—only to be deceived—and the ungrateful youngers of the *centro*, whose rising political careers would threaten the established management of the Shuar Federation, surely opened a box of trouble. Today, the ensuing conflict, generally understood as a clash between different ideologies, more than anything else defines the standing and reputation of Pakints' amongst Shuar people in the South.

The history of Pakints', as I describe in the coming chapters in Part II, soon turns infamous. The tragic influence of the *centro* in fuelling the partition of the Shuar Federation and the lasting consequences this has had in broad Shuar ethnopolitics, resulted in the bitter division of opposing ethnopolitical organisations and between Shuar people in the region. The unity achieved through the defence of the *centro*'s land reserve therefore disappeared as a result. Subsequently, Piatra was able to reclaim the same land he had been expelled from and sell it to the Mirador mine.

KAJEKAY

Old Man Juep' was like that. My mother used to warn us: 'Beware; close the doors. He is very capable of coming just to kill you.' He was a warrior. So, he reproached my father all the time. He used to tell him: 'You are incapable of facing troubles. You are dumb. You are like a woman. You don't know how to engage trouble like a man.' My mother used to tell my father: 'Your brother plays you for a fool and yet you remain mute.' My father didn't have such a strong character. He wouldn't react. He'd listened to my mother and then said: 'Look, woman, I don't like trouble. I don't like creating trouble. And I don't like to live in trouble. I just don't like that. That gives me no money.' [So, my mother used to reply:] 'But if you are like this why is your brother different?' 'He was born with that gift', my father said, 'that's why he is like that. I ignore him for I don't like to be in troubles, troubles give me headaches.'

SHARUP'

We expelled Piatra but then we fought amongst ourselves. The invader took our land back and then sold it to the mining company. He cashed all that money from the Shuar land he stole and built himself a house.

KAJEKAY

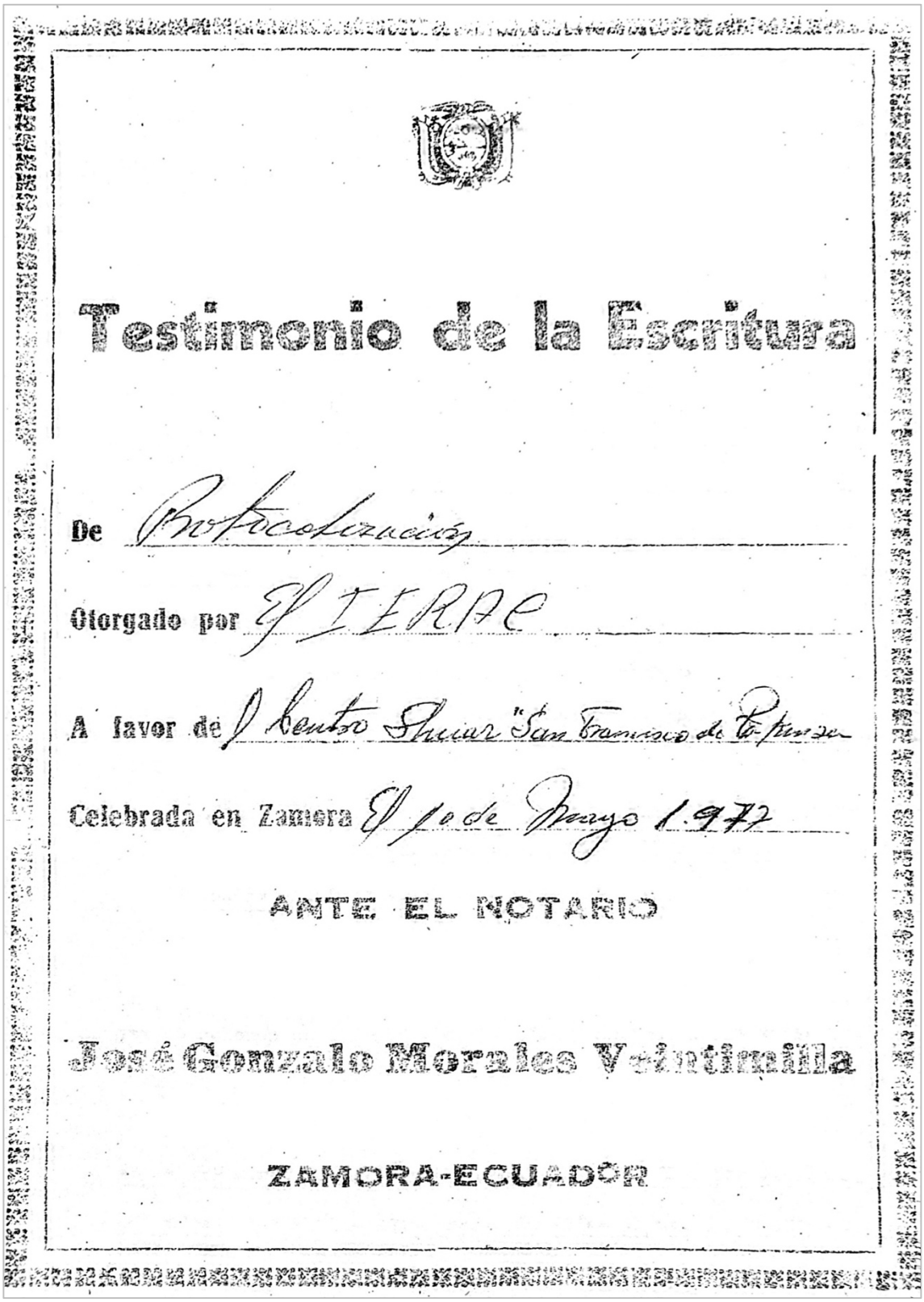
Piatra has spoken with me [about how he accomplished his return to Pakints']. He has told me: 'Juep' was too ambitious. In the meantime, I went to Peru and learnt the works of witchcraft and it was so that I recovered the lands back.' This is what he has told me. He is now a folk healer [*curandero*] and a witch doctor [*yerbatero*].

KAJEKAY

Since he had sold the lands to the [mining] company, he got enough money to build a house and buy two different farms. He has a pharmacy, too, and many cowboys working for him. I call him don Piatra, I know he is my senior, but I don't call him *señor*, I call him don Piatra. He has told me: 'I remember you; you were such a little girl when we had troubles and you're an adult woman now'. He was single at the time. He went back to Cuenca and married a woman there; then he brought her here, a very thin lady, though she has put on some weight lately—miss Dora, is her name, though I call her *señora*. They live in El Pangui now, in a large and comfortable house.

SHARUP'

[In the end,] all our fight unravelled. We are one kin, yes, but ideology divided us. And Pakints' became weak, weak, weak [as a result]. It's a long, long story and requires time to tell. But I'm too old nowadays, so let's leave there for now.



Testimonio de la Escritura

De Prefectura

Otorgado por EL IERAC

A favor de Centro Shuar "San Francisco de Tepeza

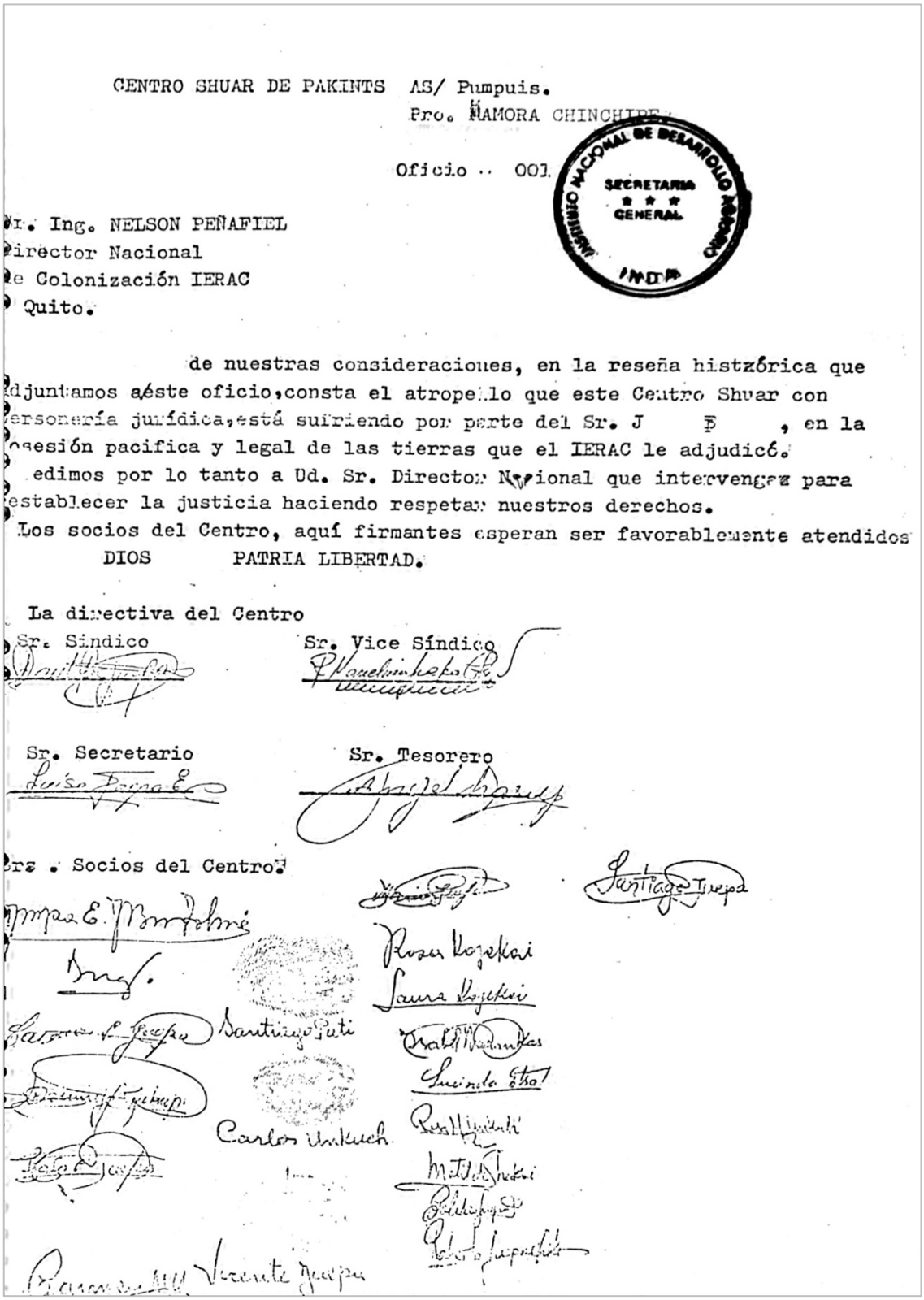
Celebrada en Zamora El 10 de Mayo 1977

ANTE EL NOTARIO

José Gonzalo Morales Valdivieso

ZAMORA-ECUADOR

Document 3. Title Deed granted to Pakints'. 10 May 1977.



CENTRO SHUAR DE PAKINTS AS/ Pumpuis.
Pro. MAMORA CHINCHIPE

Oficio .. 001.

MINISTERIO NACIONAL DE DESARROLLO RURAL
SECRETARIA GENERAL
INDA

Sr. Ing. NELSON PEÑAFIEL
Director Nacional
de Colonización IERAC
Quito.

de nuestras consideraciones, en la reseña histzórica que
djuntamos aéste oficio,consta el atropello que este Centro Shuar con
ersonería jurídica,está sufriendo por parte del Sr. J P , en la
osesión pacifica y legal de las tierras que el IERAC le adjudicó.
edimos por lo tanto a Ud. Sr. Director Nacional que intervengas para
establecer la justicia haciendo respetar nuestros derechos.
Los socios del Centro, aquí firmantes esperan ser favorablemente atendidos
DIOS PATRIA LIBERTAD.

La directiva del Centro

Sr. Síndico

Sr. Vice Síndico

Sr. Secretario

Sr. Tesorero

Srs . Socios del Centro:

Santiago Tuesa

Rosa Kajekai

Laura Kajekai

Santiago Peti

Carlos Unkuch

Vicente Juepa

Document 4a. Letter addressed to the Ecuadorean Institute of Land Reform and Colonisation (official letter 001), signed by the people of Pakints' to denounce the invasion of their land. 18 December 1981.

RESEÑA HISTORICA DE POSESION DE TIERRAS

Ubicado en la Parroquia Yanzatza,cantón Zamora,Provincia Zamora Chinchipe existe un lote de 1.323 hectáreas, adjudicado legalmente por el IERAC Al Centro SHUAR "SAN FRANCISCO DE PAKINTSA".Al interno de este lote penetró arbitrariamente el Sr. J P arropiandose de un lote de unas doscientos-cincuenta hectáreas más o menos.

Decimos arbitrariamente por cuanto :

1.-El Sr.J P no es Socio del Centro Shuar Pakintsa, sino que imigró al Oriente desde la Sierra.

2.- Los trabajos existentes en el lote que el Sr. P ocupa fueron realizados en gran parte (unas 45 há. más o menos) por los Shuaras de dicho Centro en los años de 1.962 -66, de los cuales atestigua la misión SALESIANA que en esos años era y actuba como Tutor Legal de los SHURAS del Sector,y además dirigió en buena parte dichos trabajos.

3.- Aún antes de realizar los trabajos mencionados, los SHUAR del lugar menconados en el Testimonio de Escritura otorgado por el IERAC el 10 de Mayo de 1977,vivimos y seguimos viviendo en dichas tierras y las consideramos siempre como propias por derecho natural desde el tiempo inmemorial.Derecho natural que fue legalmente reconocido,cuando por primera vez, el Topógrafo Samuel Carrión trazó y reconoció las primeras picas de lotización global en presencia del Sr. Teniente Político de la Parroquia Bomboiza.

4.- En el año de 1966 el INC. por medio del delegado Sr. Italo Moreno reconoció nuevamente los mismos linderos,como institución con poderes a nivel nacional,desconociendo al mismo tiempo la posesión arbitraria del Sr. J P .

5.-El Sr P no obstante esta sitcuación legal siguió explotando el terreno y los trabajos que ,bajo ningun punto de vista les pertenecian. Aún más en la actualidad está vendiendo por parcelas partes del lote sitado.Ya antes de tomar este lote,el Sr en mención se había posesionado, de la tierra de un SHUAR de nombre Tentets!,terrenos que no tardó en vender para entrar en el lote ya adjudicado al Centro SHUAR Pakints.

6.-El 10 de Mayo de 1977,el IERAC confirmando los mismo linderos ,adjudicó al Centro Shuar "San Francisco de Pakintsa",el lote de terreno que tratamos,en consideración a la solicitud nº 29.604.Dicha adjudicación está anotada en el Registro General de tierras del IERAC,en folio nº13767, tomo nº57.

Document 4b. 'Historical outline considering land ownership', attachment presented with the letter addressed to the Ecuadorean Institute of Land Reform and Colonisation (official letter 001). 18 December 1981.

CENTRO SHUAR DE PAKINTS

AS/ Pumpuis.
Pro. ZAMORA CHINCHIPE
Official letter 001

NELSON PEÑAFIEL
National Director – IERAC
Quito.

Dear Sir, we respectfully submit the following historical outline, attached with this official letter, to note the violations suffered by our Shuar reserve by Mr Piatra on lands legally adjudged by IERAC. We hence request that you intervene, [as] National Director, to restore justice and enforce our rights.

The undersign members of the *centro*, expect[ing] to be favourably cared for,

GOD, FATHERLAND, LIBERTY.

The *centro*'s directive

HISTORICAL OUTLINE CONSIDERING LAND OWNERSHIP

The disputed land, measuring of 1,323 ha, located in the parish of Yantzaza, in the canton of Zamora, in the province of Zamora-Chinchipe, was legally granted by IERAC to SAN FRANCISCO DE PAKINTS'. This land reserve was arbitrarily invaded by Mr J. P. [henceforth referred as Mr Piatra], who seized some 200 ha.

We say arbitrarily because:

1.- Mr Piatra is not a member of the Pakints' Shuar reserve but instead immigrated to the lowlands from the highlands.

2.- The existing developments in the parcel of land occupied by Mr Piatra (some 45 ha) were mostly worked by Shuar in the *centro* during the years 1962-66. The Salesian Mission, acting legal tutor of Shuar in the region, bears witness because it led much of this work.

3.- Even before these developments were made, and as mentioned in the Title Deed granted on 10 May 1977, Shuar have lived and we continue to live in the aforementioned site. We consider these lands as our own since time immemorial and to retain them is our natural right. This right was then legally recognised with the topographic measurements made by the surveyor [...] and witnessed by the First Civil Authority of Bomboiza.

4.- In 1966, the National Institute of Colonisation, through its delegate [...], recognised the *centro*'s boundaries, as established by the existing topographic measurements, and disavowed the arbitrary possession of Mr Piatra.

5.- Mr Piatra, disregarding the legal situation, continued to exploit the land and its developments that under no circumstance belong to him. Said Mr, even before he seized the land [in conflict], had already grabbed Shuar land, and occupied a parcel of land belonging to a man named Tentets! He wasted no time to sell that land and trespass on the indigenous reserve of Pakints'.

6.- On 10 May 1977, IERAC, considering our application number 29.604, awarded this parcel of land to the indigenous reserve 'San Francisco de Pakints'. The ruling was noted in the General Registry of Land, volume 57, folio 13767.

Federación Interprovincial de Centros Shuar

ASOCIACIONES
15 CENTROS
0.000 AFILIADOS

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE DESARROLLO AGRARIO
SECRETARIA GENERAL
INDA

SEDE: SUCUA
DOMINGO COMIN 17-38
MORONA SANTIAGO
REPRESENTACION: QUITO
TARQUI 809
TELF. 547-803
APARTADO 4122

Dpto.

Quito, Febrero 2 de 1.982

Of. N.- 009 RFCSH.

Señor-Ig.
Nelson Peñafiel
DIRECTOR NACIONAL DE COLONIZACION IERAC
Ciudad.

De nuestras consideraciones:

La Federación de Centros Shuar, preocupado por la paz y tranquilidad social de todos sus afiliados; al conocer la intranquilidad que está creando el señor J P en el Centro Pakints, acudimos nuevamente a usted para que se respete el Título de Propiedad otorgado por el IERAC y el acta transaccional firmada por la partes afectadas en presencia de las autoridades que la avalizaron a favor del Centro Pakints.

Adjunto la comunicación, denuncia recibida por parte de la Comisión de Arbitraje y Tenencia de Tierras de nuestra Organización.

Seguros de contar con su decidido apoyo en favor de los legítimos dueños de éstas Tierras, los Shuar, nos suscribimos del señor Director Nacional de Colonización.

Atentamente,

FEDERACION DE CENTROS SHUAR
SUCUA - ECUADOR

Ampam Karakras
REPRESENTANTE-FEDERACION CENTROS SHUAR.

Document 5. Letter addressed to the Ecuadorean Institute of Land Reform and Colonisation, signed by the representative of the Shuar Federation in Quito denouncing the invasion of Pakints'. 2 February 1982.

Federación Interprovincial de Centros Shuar

ASOCIACIONES
15 CENTROS
0.000 AFILIADOS

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE DESARROLLO AGRARIO
SECRETARIA GENERAL
INDA

SEDE: SUCUA
DOMINGO COMIN 17-38
MORONA SANTIAGO
REPRESENTACIÓN: QUITO
TARQUI 809
TELF. 547-803
APARTADO 4122

Quito, 10. JUN 1982

741

Señor
DIRECTOR DE TIERRAS
Ciudad.-

De mis consideraciones:

Aprovechando de esta oportunidad, de la manera más respetuosa acudo ante usted, con el propósito de ponerle en conocimiento lo siguiente:
El Señor J P P. ocupó las tierras del Centro Shuar ya trabajadas, utilizó la madera, según los mismos trabajadores cuentan que tuvo una ganancia de dos millones de sucres.

Además este señor maltrató a uno de socios del Centro, por lo que, los shuar de la Asociación de Bomboiza han resuelto en no indemnizar, únicamente personalmente se lo ha pedido que desarme las casas y retire, no lo necesitan los shuar.

Al tener conocimiento del caso, se ha realizado una comisión allugar del problema. En una Asamblea, los socios se han manifestado en forma unánime, que bajo ningún concepto tendrán que pagar al Señor J P , así venga disposición de la autoridad competente.

Seguro que dará las atenciones pertinentes en el caso, anticipo mi agradecimiento, reiterándole mi sentimiento de alta consideración y estima.

Atentamente.
DIOS, PATRIA Y LIBERTAD.

Agr. Cristóbal Naikiai P.
DIRIG. DE ARBITRAJE Y TENENCIA DE TIERRAS
DE LA FEDERACION DE CENTROS SHUAR

FEDERACION DE CENTROS SHUAR
ECUADOR

Document 6. Letter addressed to the Ecuadorean Institute of Land Reform and Colonisation, signed by the head of land tenure and arbitration of the Shuar Federation denouncing the invasion of Pakints'. 10 June 1982.

Realizan cuantioso robo en Macará

En días pasados el domicilio señor Edgar Guamán Quezada la ciudad de Macará fue víc-ia de un millonario robo por s individuos quienes se apro-charon de la ausencia de sus ocupantes y pudieron con a llevarse gran cantidad de jo-valoradas en tres millones sucres en dinero en efectivo sobre enseres del medio mundo.

Según las investigaciones izadas se pudo conocer que ntisociales Wilson Riofrío Rubio y Robalino Patricio reno Moreno, luego de come-el atraco se dirigieron a es-la ciudad de Loja de donde pen-saron trasladarse hasta Nambi-ja con el fin de vender las jo-yas, pero gracias a la oportuna intervención policial se realizo la captura a quienes se les en-contró gran cantidad de joyas, dinero en efectivo como también un revólver y una pistola.

Por otra parte se continúa con las investigaciones a fin de dar con el paradero de Alfonso García quién es otro ejecutor de este robo que ha causado honda preocupación y sozobra a la fa-milia afectada.

OFERTAS DE TRABAJO

LA ILUSTRE MUNICIPALIDAD DEL CANTON YACUAMBI, PONE A CONOCIMIENTO DE LOS INTERESADOS QUE REQUIERE LOS SERVICIOS DE:

1.— Abogado en ejercicio profesional para que ejerza el cargo de Procurador Síndico Municipal, a cuarto de tiempo con el sueldo de S/. 30.000,oo más la Bonificación por responsabilidad y más beneficios de Ley.
2.— Un Ing. Civil que ejerza las funciones de Director de Obras Públicas Municipales, a tiempo completo con los siguientes beneficios, Sueldo de S/. 31.500,oo Situación Geográfica 50 o/o del sueldo, Bonificación por responsabilidad 50 o/o del sueldo, gastos de representación S/. 6.000,oo y más beneficios de Ley.
3.— Técnico en Topografía, con los siguientes beneficios: Sueldo S/. 21.500,oo Bonificación por Situación Geográfica 50 o/o del sueldo, Bonificación por responsabilidad 20 o/o del Sueldo y más beneficios de Ley.

REQUISITOS PARA EL PROCURADOR SINDICO MUNICIPAL

— Estar en ejercicio en sus funciones
— Tener experiencia Profesional de tres años.
— Mantener preferentemente su consultorio Jurídico en la ciudad de Zamora Chinchipe.

REQUISITOS PARA EL DIRECTOR DE OBRAS PUBLICAS MUNICIPALES

— Poseer Título de Ing. Civil
— Poseer experiencia de dos años por lo menos
— Fijar residencia en el lugar de trabajo
— Acreditar responsabilidad y honorabilidad

REQUISITOS PARA EL TOPOGRAFO MUNICIPAL

— Poseer Título a Nivel Superior
— Tener experiencia de por lo menos dos años.
— Acreditar responsabilidad
— Fijar residencia en el lugar de trabajo.

Las Carpetas se receptarán en la Oficina de Secretaría Muncipal previa la autentificación de documentos, hasta el día 7 de julio del presente año a las 14h00, adjuntando el recorte de prensa.

Yacuambi, junio 22 de 1988

Dr. Laruro Angamarca G.
PRESIDENTE DEL CONCEJO

AVISO AL PUBLICO

Habiéndose extraviado los cheques a cargo del Banco La Previsora Sucursal Loja Números 110580 hasta 110600 CHEQUERA EXTRAVIADA 4006493-1 por la cantidad de SIN VALOR SIN HABER SIDO GIRADOS perderán su valor, si, la persona interesada dentro de 60 días a partir de la última publicación de este aviso, no presentare oposición alguna al Banco la Previsora Sucursal Loja. En consecuencia se los declarará defitinivamente anulados.

Loja, junio 22 de 1988
p.p. BANCO LA PREVISORA
SUCURSAL LOJA
FIRMA AUTORIZADA

COMPRO CASA

Alrededor de cinco millones al contado. Además línea telefónica Informes: Teléf. 961564 ó en Miguel Riofrío 17-19 hablar con la Sra. Beatriz Soto Después de las 16 horas.

AGRADECIMIENTO

Agradezco de todo corazón a Santa Clara y a la Dolorosa del Colegio por ayudarme en un negocio que recién empecé.

SU DEVOTA
J.F.C.J.



ALMACENES Y SASTRERIA ULLAURI LEON

- El centro distinguido de la moda masculina.
- El almacén de la elegancia que distingue
- Y la sastrería de la calidad que satisface.

* Casimires importados
* Ternos confeccionados
* Sacos deportivos de creaciones exclusivas.
* Trajes de etiqueta, camisas, corbatas y perfumes.

LLAMENOS AL
TELEFONO 962595
Casilla 347
Sucre N°. 1159 y
Mercadillo

R. DEL E.
EXTRACTO JUDICIAL
DIRECCION NACIONAL DE TIERRAS DEL IERAC

ACTOR: J P (PROCURADOR COMUN).
DEMANDADO: MIEMBROS DEL CENTRO SHUAR SAN FRANCISCO DE PAKINTZA.
JUEZ: DIRECTOR NACIONAL DE TIERRAS DEL IERAC, ENGDO.
TRAMITE: RESOLUCION DE ADJUDICACION
UBICACION: PARROQUIA YANZATZA, CANTON ZAMORA, PROVINCIA DE ZAMORA CHINCHIPE
LOTE DE TERRENO: SUPERFICIE DE 2.323 HECTAREAS
LINDEROS TERRENO: NORTE: CON VARIOS COLONOS EN 2775 M.N 51-30E., 10IM. N 37-30 E, 62M. N 58-00 E, 209M. N 61-30E, 107M. N 18-45e, 304 M. N 41-00E, 225M. N 2-00 E, CON EL RIO CHUCHUMBLEZA RUMBO VARIABLE Y 104M. N 37-00E., SUR: W, 18 IM. N 45-14W, 259M. N 25-14W, 270M. N 45-30W, 354M. N 38-)) W, 332M. S 87-15W y 1;/M. S 67-30W. ESTE: CON VARIOS COLONOS EN 360 M. S 45-45 E, 299M. S 32-30E, 465M S 39-30E, 528M. S 5-00E, 447M. S 21-15E, 224M. S 12-45W, 9IM. S 8-45E, 100M. S 32-00 E, 103M. S 2-30E, 39IM, S 8-45W, 375M. S W, 150M. S 1-15W, 165M. S37-00E, 14IM, S 8-45E, 229M. S 7-00 W, 115M. S 12-15W, S 23-00W, 36M. S 43-15W, 554M. S 4-30E, 269M. S 18-00E, 247M. S 60-15E, 126M. S 6-45E, 420M. S 23-30E, 176M. S 15-30W, 19IM. S 7-30E, 193M. S 14-30 W y 197M. S 32-00W.- OESTE: CON VARIOS COLONOS EN 1.286M. N 35-45W y 1.490M. N 36-30 W.
ABOGADO: MOISES GUZMAN BRAVO
CASILLERO JUDICIAL: 662
PROVIDENCIA INICIAL
INSTITUTO ECUATORIANO DE REFORMA AGRARIA Y COLONIZACION.- DIRECCION DE TIERRAS.- Quito, 2 de septiembre de 1981, las dos de la tarde.- VISTOS: La demanda que antece es clara y reune los requisitso de Ley, Tramítese de conformidad con el Capítulo II de la Ley de Procedimiento Agrario, en aplicación de lo estipulado por el Art. 133 de la Ley de Reforma Agraria Codificada.- Mediante comisión librada al señor Teniente Político de la parroquia Yanzatza, cítese a los miembros del CENTRO SHUAR SAN FRANCISCO DE PAKINZTZA, de acuerdo a lo dispuesto en el Art. 88 del Código de Procedimiento Civil entregando a por lo menos cinco di-

la copia de la demanda y providencia recaída, a fin de que los demandados en el término de diez días contesten los cargos formulados en su contra como causales de resolución de la adjudicación y fijen domicilio dentro del perímetro legal en esta ciudad de Quito para el efecto de posteriores notificaciones. Manténgase el Estado Posesorio del predio materia de la litis. De conformidad con lo establecido en el Art. 1.123 del Código de procedimiento Civil, inscríbase la demanda en el Registro de la Propiedad correspondiente al efecto, ofíciese al señor Registrador de la Propiedad del cantón Zamora. Cuéntese con Jorte Piedra Palacios como Procurador Común de parte de los demandantes.- Tómese en cuenta el domicilio señalado por el actor. NOTIFIQUESE .- f) Dr. Bolívar Vinueza.- DIRECTOR DE TIERRAS DEL IERAC.- Sigue la Certificación.
PROVIDENCIA
INSTITUTO ECUATORIANO DE REFORMA AGRARIA Y COLONIZACION.- DIRECCION DE TIERRAS.- Quito, mayo 17 de 1988; las 11h30 VISTOS: Agréguese a los autos los escritos y documentos anexos presentados por Jorge Piedra.- Proveyéndo dicho escritos se dispone que se cite con copia de la demanda, de la providencia de calificación y esta providencia a los demandados Víctor Jurepa, Carlos Kajeikay, Santiago Pati, Carlos Antkuch, Angel Antonio Nancha, Pedro Sakai Bisuma, Polivio Jueep, Pablo Leonidas Sharup, Roberto Jueep, Marcelino Jueep, Bartolomé Jueep, Vicente Domingo Jueep y Evangelina Jueep Vda de Tupud, mediante comisión al Jefe Político del cantón Yanzatza, y por cuanto con juramento el actor manifiesta que desconoce el domicilio de Luis Nantip Nanch, se lo citará mediante tres publicaciones de prensa conforme a lo estableido en el Art. 86 del Código de Procedimiento Civil, a fin de que en el término de diez días contesten los cargos formulados en su contra como causales de resolución de adjudicación. Tómese en cuenta el casillero judicial y defensor designados. NOTIFIQUESE. Dra. Gladys de González. DIRECTORA NACIONAL DE TIERRAS DEL IERAC.- Sigue la Certificación.

Lo que comunico para los fines de Ley, previniéndoles de la obligación que tienen de señalar casillero judicial para el efecto.

Lic. Nancy Mosquera Ruíz
SECRETARIA DE TIERRAS DEL IERAC

Document 7. Public notification of ruling in J. P. [Piatra] v Pakints' (see gradient line box). The sentence was favourable to Pakints'. Published in *Crónica de la tarde*, a regional newspaper, 23 June 1988.



Figure 24. My godson Steven showing a photo of a Chinese Yuan in his father's mobile phone.

One day, my mother used to tell us, the *apaach'* arrived. This happened near Sucúa when she was just a child. They arrived dressed in white clothes and covered head to toe to fumigate [the area] against malaria. Two boys, seeing that the malaria engineers had arrived, got scared and fled into the forest. One of the boys went in one direction, and the other boy went in another. In those times, people were afraid of seeing the *apaach'*, so in their presence children ran away and adults hid in the forest. 'Savages!' is what I say. When the malaria engineers left, one of the boys came back, but the other remained missing. Shuar said, 'The devil has got him', so people began looking for the boy. They went into the forest calling his name. The boy's cries were heard far and wide, here and there, but the mountain was steep, and people couldn't find him. They saw the devil through a thin clearing of the forest: An animal in the shape of a bear with long, black, curly hair, taking the boy with him towards the Sangay volcano, marching through the challenging tracts of the mountain. The rescue party tried to encircle the animal and organised expeditions to chase and kill it, but the animal walked through the steepest slopes in the forest, descending only at night to sleep by the river beach. The people who arrived in the morning only saw its footprints on the sand, and the boy was lost forever. So, my mother, after that experience, told us all when we were children: 'If the *apaach'* come, don't flee. That is how that boy got lost in the forest and was turned into an *iwianch'* by the devil.' From then on, because my mother advised us to remember, we have had the story engraved into our minds.

Wisum', an approximately 60-year-old woman, recorded conversation.

Santiago Paati, September 2015

The developmental challenges of Zamora-Chinchipe are so big that even alphabetically, the province is placed at the end.

CSR Manager at Lundin Gold, an approximately 40-year-old man, fieldwork notes.

Los Encuentros, August 2016

5 The Mine

Resource conflicts in the South, 2006–2018

Pre-Columbian and colonial gold extraction notwithstanding, and in contrast to most of its neighbours in the Andean region, Ecuador has never been a 'mining country'.[141] The South has been prospected for large-scale industrial mining only since the mid-1990s, and the novel industry has yet to contribute in any significant way to the economy (Acosta et al. 2020). This lack of experience with industrial mining, however, does not equate to an absence of extractive industries. The prospect of industrial mining has in fact been welcomed as a timely substitute to declining oil reserves in the country, and oil extraction provides a comparative framework to understand possible infrastructural developments and resource conflicts that could affect indigenous and non-indigenous peoples (Riofrancos 2017a). The violent politics that tend to accompany the arrival of industrial mining play a major role in academic and non-academic observations of mining encounters in the region. The acrimonious experience of forceful land evictions, military deployments, legal injustices, and surveillance and political violence have largely defined Shuar and settler peasants' ongoing encounters with mining in the South.

The last major neoliberal-led economic liberalisation of the country, designed to attract transnational investment during the global 'mining boom' at the end of the last century, was not only largely a failure but often drove local opposition to effectively organise against

industrial mining and extraction. This strong and mostly successful grassroots resistance effectively obstructed the development of any major industrial mining project in the country before the present period (Kuecker 2007). The situation has changed since then, but despite a string of setbacks during post-neoliberal times under the 'pink tide' administration of former Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa, such opposition is still an important force to be reckoned with in mining encounters in the South.

The persistent prospect of violence also loomed over our fieldwork. This chapter will present the general situation regarding resource conflicts as broadly experienced today by people in the South. In the following chapters, I aim to reveal the Shuar approach to these conflicts by examining Shuar history, and to connect the ongoing conflicts and political violence to indigenous memory and political understandings. The next two chapters in Part II will explore the prolonged background to the conflict that preceded and accompanied our arrival in Pakints'. The complex entanglement of indigenous history with colonial relations and the simultaneous occurrence of indigenous and non-indigenous rationalities within existing mining encounters offer, I shall argue, a comprehensive characterisation of resource conflicts in the South. I will outline the intersection of indigenous politics, environmental activism, and previous colonial interactions that shape ongoing mining encounters in the region and clarify how they are understood within Shuar history. Mining encounters in the South, which straddle both colonial and indigenous understandings, and immersed conflict and contention have, no doubt, decisive implications for the region, and have attracted considerable interest from researchers.

The Mirador mine alone, whose 'area of influence' and land concession encompasses Pakints', has featured on nationwide media as well as in a substantial number of articles, reports, books, and working documents produced by civil society groups and researchers. Such authors have repeatedly denounced serious and ongoing human rights, environmental, and work-related concerns, violations, and abuses. Immediately before our arrival in the field, for example, the mine had been suffering from persistent setbacks associated with conflicts that had delayed its

construction (Araujo 2015), along with multiple disagreements over land access (Araujo 2014a; El Comercio 2014a) and the distribution of mining royalties between local districts (Araujo 2014b). The workers employed in the project had also briefly paralysed construction operations by seizing campsite facilities during protests and demanding better wages and improved working and work-safety conditions (El Comercio 2014b; 2014c). Furthermore, the Ministry of Environment had temporarily suspended the project for failing to comply with environmental regulations (El Comercio 2015).

These conflicts had forced the process of land acquisition to a temporary standstill, in the process exacerbating the poor relations between the project developers and the communities hosting the mine. The conflict was being driven by an alliance of rural and ethnic organisations and urban 'anti-mining' collectives, directed by civil society groups and academics from social and environmental sciences university departments. They were facing a 'pro-mining' bloc composed of industry professionals from mining business chambers and engineering faculties who, loosely organised by state and corporate lobby interests in the industry, occasionally mobilised mine workers in rallies and public demonstrations. This was an important stand-off because the national indigenous movement, which opposes the expansion of the extractive frontier and the expropriation of indigenous territories, would repeatedly organise protests to uphold their rights and campaign against government policy on industrial mining and extractive transnational investment (El Comercio 2014d).

Environmental activists and human rights NGOs protested the burgeoning mining industry in several ways. They insisted that the mining industry in Ecuador had repeatedly failed to conduct the necessary prior consultations with local communities in the early phases of mining interventions (Coalición de sociedad civil por la consulta previa 2016; Sacher et al. 2016); raised doubts over the economic feasibility and genuine ore deposits of the project to lower high expectations among local economies about the result of such mining expansions (Sacher 2012; Sacher & Acosta 2012); questioned the legality in the granting of concessions (Acosta & Hurtado Caicedo 2016; CEDHU 2016; Chicaiza & Rodriguez-Labajos 2012); criticised

the content and reliability of environmental impact assessments (EIA) and the unfair nature of their production (Sacher & Balick 2011); denounced dishonesty and irregularities in the negotiation process in land access for the project, and the acquisition of property through paid-for figureheads (CEDHU 2015a; Colectivo de Investigación y Acción Psicosocial 2016); criticised the forced eviction of local populations from their lands (CEDHU 2014; 2015c; 2015b; CEDHU & FIDH 2010; Investigación Acción Psicosocial 2015); and condemned the structural violence and harassment faced by local inhabitants and critics of the project (Chicaiza & Rodriguez-Labajos 2012; Corral 2014; Investigación Acción Psicosocial 2016).

Social scientists have analysed the social conflicts generated by these problems from different perspectives. Riofrancos (2017b; 2017c) situates the Mirador project in the political context of neo-extractivism and post-neoliberalism in Ecuador and Latin America, while Sacher (2017), following Harvey (2003), examines Chinese investment in the region through a lens of capitalist expansion as accumulation by dispossession, leading to new processes of enclosure. Hogan (2015) and Leifsen and Hogan (2017) expand on this concept, also discussing dispossession by contamination (see also Guerra and Skewes 2010; Latorre et al. 2015; and Perreault 2013), but while the former focuses on how the project has altered access to land and natural resources in Tundayme, the latter assess how state structures have processed the corporate science produced in relation to the project. The production of corporate science has also been examined by Sánchez-Vázquez and Reyes Conza (2017). In their works, Leifsen (2017), Sánchez-Vázquez et al. (2017), and Leifsen et al. (2017) write respectively about local participation and resistance, attempts to construe dialogue in a setting of strong divisions, and participatory governance.

Warnaars (2012; 2013) has investigated the conflicts and polarisation that emerged during the early stages of the project, at a time when the main issue of contention was still whether to allow the construction of the Mirador mine at all. van Teijlingen (2012), van Teijlingen and Warnaars (2017), and Waarnars and Teijingen (2017) have considered contradictory discourses over mining and development, the plurality of actors in the conflict, and the historical

construction of identities in their respective works. Meanwhile, Fernández-Salvador (2017) has looked at political fragmentation, conflict, and different expectations over development among Shuar populations in relation to the project. Baez (Báez A & Sacher 2014) and van Teijingen and Hogenboom (2016) further consider notions of development and conflict and conceptions of the 'good life' promoted by the Ecuadorean government, whereas Sánchez-Vázquez et al. (2016) is chiefly interested in analyses of local readings of environmental conflicts and perceived threats represented by mining operations.

Finally, it hasn't gone unnoticed that in global mining—an industry that trades most of its stocks in Vancouver and London—China is a relatively new actor on the transnational scene, and researchers are still analysing how fast its companies have adapted to this contentious industry. In a now infamous visit to a Shuar community that has been widely shared online through Cámara Shuar, a local project formed in part to record such conflicts in Shuar territory, a prominent Shuar leader told a team of Chinese CSR managers whose company had acquired the Mirador mine as part of a recriminatory speech: *Ustedes no compraron cobre; ustedes se han comprado problema—problemas con el pueblo Shuar*, 'You didn't buy copper; you've bought trouble—trouble with the Shuar people' (Cámara Shuar 2014).

Resource conflicts in the South, 2006–2015

Despite initial setbacks, the uncharted resource potential of the South still managed to attract large stockholders in the industry in the 1990s who were eager to invest in geological exploration and research. The Anglo–Australian giant BHP identified a sizeable seam of ore deposits along the banks of the Zamora River in 1996 (Leifsen et al. 2017), in technical jargon 'a large track of copper and copper-gold porphyry deposits' (FIDH et al. 2013: 5), and it became one the earliest and most promising large-scale deposits in lowland Ecuador. Further geological research and perforation analyses were later conducted to establish the potential of

the ore field to assess the economic feasibility of extraction, or what the industry calls 'advanced exploration'. This process was completed by the Canadian junior Corriente Resources Inc—according to its website, a 'resource development and exploration company'[142]—and the seam came to be known as the 'Corriente copper-belt'. A subsequent feasibility assessment was positive, and deposits were measured to extend over some 80 kilometres 'north–south' by 40 kilometres 'east–west', 'adjacent to the border with Peru' (Makepeace 2001: 6).

The cooper belt was then grouped and divided into two large-scale open-cast mines to advance development and exploitation (Drobe et al. 2008; 2007). This is how the Mirador and the Panantza-San Carlos projects were created, which despite being some 100 km apart shared a consistent seam of ore deposits and the same investors[143]. Additional geological exploration made another significant gold discovery in the area, some 60 km south of the copper belt. Fruta del Norte, 'one of the next major gold mines currently being developed' in the world, according to its present developer, the Swedish–Canadian company Lundin Gold Corp,[144] was the third large-scale industrial mining project in the Zamora River basin, and preparative developments began.

Indigenous and settler peasant anxieties over industrial mining in the South in the early 2000s were initially focused on geological exploration, salvage archaeology, and the construction or expansion of related infrastructure: hydroelectric power plants, electric substations, and connecting roads. Fears over health, environmental damage, poisoning of livelihoods and rivers, soil degradation, water hoarding, land loss, and hunting, agricultural, and stockbreeding economic collapse eventually motivated active opposition to industrial mining. This was aided by the bitter memory of previous oil extraction in the country's *Oriente* territories, as Ecuadorean Amazonia is nationally known, and its catastrophic legacy of disastrous social, economic, and environmental consequences for indigenous peoples and lowland settler peasants' wellbeing since the early 1970s.[145] How could protestors be guaranteed that the grave mistakes of the past would not be repeated? Not surprisingly, *petroleo y minería, la misma*

porquería, 'oil and mining, the same filth', became a common battle cry during protests against industrial mining projects in Ecuador.

Shuar and non-indigenous Amazonian peoples in the South had solid reasons to be suspicious of state and corporate assurances, and doubt promises that technological advances and historical lessons from previous experiences would make industrial mining less destructive this time around. As oil had in the past, the prospect of industrial mining was expected to produce rapid economic change and bring in unwanted foreigners to the region. People in the South were afraid of increasing levels of crime, violence, prostitution, gambling, brawling, and alcohol and drug consumption, among other social disruptions, which were generally referred to locally as *contaminación social*, 'social pollution', which was thought to be an inevitable consequence of the inflow of outsiders and money.

Shuar also feared a surge in settler colonialist expansion directed towards their lands once again. Perhaps more than most other areas of traditional *aénts chicham* occupation, the lowland course of the Zamora River had been invaded by settler colonists since the 1960s, and Shuar people in the region had painful memories of what great territorial loss implied. The sum of such concerns eventually led some protestors to tie together demands for social and ecological justice, and question the wider politics and economics behind resource extraction[146] (Latorre 2012). Despite significant internal contradictions and engrained historical discord, a broad front against industrial mining emerged among Shuar and settler colonists in the South. This collaboration required regional collaboration with 'white peoples', indigenous leaders reasoned, to prevent further colonial encroachment, territorial loss, and social and environmental damage. In this way, indigenous resistance steadily evolved into broad reclamations for territorial autonomy, democratic consultation, and disquiet over economic sovereignty vis-à-vis transnational investment.

In August 2006, by which time disagreements with mining operations had significantly increased, a *limpieza de territorios*, 'territorial cleansing', was declared against transnational mining in the region (CEDHU 2016: 18). Not only had the general public in the South not been

informed of infrastructural connections in the form of the expansion of hydroelectric power plants to supply industrial mining projects, but they had been actively misled into believing that scheduled enhancements of the grid were solely being performed to fulfil local electricity needs. Regional hydroelectric development, it later emerged, mostly occurred when and only when the state wished to ensure a continual electrical supply to power mining mills and other large-scale mining operations (Sagal Luna 2012). When news broke out that an agreement had been covertly signed to power industrial mining projects with electricity generated from hydroelectric operations in the region, a wave of anger swept over the South.

National environmental dismay over potential large-scale pollution coalesced with regional uneasiness over the considerable demand for water from industrial mining operations, and fears over possible repercussions for personal, social, and economic well-being. The quality of drinking water that had first passed through the generating turbines of hydroelectric power plants, angrily dubbed locally *agua aturbinada*, 'turbined water', became a particular matter of controversy (Handal López 2007). Increasingly, local activists opposed to industrial mining began to demand the immediate departure of transnational mining corporations, the termination of all industrial mining projects in the region, and the reversal of ongoing plans to expand hydroelectric power plants (Latorre & Herrera 2013).

Throughout the following 75 days, there were regular clashes between protestors and police and military forces, leaving some wounded and leading to the detention of several campaigners (CEDHU 2016). Protestors marched towards corporate facilities, occupied an electric substation, and razed a mining exploration camp to the ground, seizing deep soil samples and establishing in its place a small garrison to defend indigenous land inside the Panantza-San Carlos concession area. The small resistance outpost that had spearheaded Shuar opposition to industrial mining was aptly named Nankints', 'river of spears', and became a centre of hope for Shuar, a symbol of resistance against large-scale industrial mining, and a prolonged legal controversy for the mining industry in the region (Eguiguren Riofrio & Jimenez Lozano 2011).

A few months later, in December 2006, Shuar campaigners tried but failed to capture the main corporate installations at the Mirador mine, having hoped to repurpose the building as a headquarters for a regional ethnopolitical organisation. In the course of this action, Shuar demonstrators engaged directly against police and military forces, corporate private security, and mine employees and supporters (reportedly armed by the mining company) (Handal López 2007; Vivas Albán 2011). For several hours, the two parties faced off dramatically on an old and (now non-existent) narrow wooden suspension bridge spanning the Zamora River, advancing and retreating while exchanging heavy fire. By the end of the day, a total of 14 people were injured, and 19 'detained for investigation' by the military, or 'kidnapped' and held inside corporate facilities and military barracks (Handal López 2007).

To halt demonstrations, the government was forced to issue a presidential decree ordering the suspension of all mining activities in the region. This order was, however, ignored by mine developers, and more violent clashes broke out as campaigners again marched towards corporate facilities to demand the complete and permanent suspension of the mine.[147] Mirador shut all operations in the following days, with anti-mining protestors only just failing in their goal to enter and occupy corporate grounds, and anti-mining opposition groups forced the evacuation and temporary closure of all working mining projects in the region.

The tense standstill that followed saw constant judicial harassment, prosecution, and imprisonment of various indigenous activists, a series of uneven legal battles won mostly by the mining companies, and the unsolved murder of three Shuar protestors.

The next years brought a change of government, the drafting and approval of a new national constitution, and a failed period of discussions over mining regulations (Latorre & Herrera 2013). Rafael Correa came to power in 2007 and soon afterwards oversaw a constitutional restructuring that culminated in the approval via referendum of a new constitutional framework in September 2008. In this process, a 'mining mandate' was established to regulate the mining industry and, echoing some of the environmental and indigenous demands, reverted thousands of corporate mining permits and concessions, pushed for better

environmental regulations and more state control, and imposed a moratorium on mining expansion until new mining laws could be passed (APRODEH et al. 2019; Bebbington et al. 2013; Latorre & Santillana 2009; Riofrancos 2014). The moratorium and many of the mandate guidelines were, however, rolled back to attract and reassure investors soon after the re-election and re-instalment of the administration under the new constitutional framework in 2009 (Acosta & Hurtado Caicedo 2016; CEDHU 2016).

That same year, and despite criticism, objections, and concerns voiced by indigenous activists, the government discussed, debated, and approved new mining, water, and education laws.[148] The indigenous movement backpedalled any initial support it had shown for the government and make clear its opposition to an administration 'with whom they had formerly, if hesitantly, allied' (Riofrancos 2014: 5). By the second half of 2009, Pachakutik—the main indigenous party in the country and a strong political force throughout the lowland region—was adamantly opposed to the government.

The sanction of these laws led the indigenous movement, which included a broad coalition of trade unions, to convene a national strike in the final week of September 2009, and joined by several left-of-centre social actors, they took to the streets to campaign for an alternative developmental model that did not require dependence on resource extraction (Riofrancos 2014: 5). Throughout the protest, Shuar campaigners repeatedly clashed with security forces, and several police officers suffered injuries, with many Shuar activists being detained (Plan V 2019a). The shock and uproar caused by these clashes between forced the government to the negotiating table[149] and soon after, Shuar protestors reached Quito, carrying peach palm spears and chanting socialist slogans refashioned as war cries of ethnic pride.[150] However, the negotiations produced no result other than to cement antagonism.[151] If development was essential to a 'good life', as the new constitution had established, then indigenous activists argued that development would need to be defined on indigenous terms (Gudynas 2009; Macas 2014).

From this time onwards, a sharply polarised political scene emerged around industrial mining, vehemently fought over between distinctly defined anti- and pro-mining camps. These two groups, composed of indigenous organisations and a broad assemblage of environmentalist and human rights activists, academics, collectives, and NGOs on the one hand, and corporate and state interests represented by a lobby of mining companies, mining engineering faculties, foreign embassies, and chambers of commerce on the other, stridently advocated for their viewpoints, often entangled with, or blanketed in political opposition to or support for the central government.

The debate unfolded in the context of environmental, political, and economic facets of the mining industry, and degenerated to an extraordinary degree of polarisation. This bad feeling emerged in the city and next to extractive sites, and was continued to local, regional, and national courtrooms, media outlets, and sectional elections. The post-neoliberal bet on industrial mining promised that years of *sovereign* economic development lay ahead, and a new legal framework focused on the even redistribution of royalties and taxes to fund home-grown social investments and the common well-being. Transnational investors and extractive corporations, according to these new laws, were no longer able to take over the state's responsibilities or represent and replace it. They were no longer allowed to build roads, schools, and hospitals, as had been the case in the past, or to provide healthcare, education, or security services to local populations as part of CSR programmes or 'social license' operational requests. Foreign investment was instead to be channelled through a central state development agency and redirected and distributed by the national government to meet the needs of peasant and indigenous communities.

Similar assurances were issued over social and environmental concerns: Controversies over environmental degradation, social disruptions, and dramatic cultural change brought about because of large-scale industrial operations among host communities were to be minimised by strong state intervention and breakthrough technological standards of modern mining operations. The industry, siding with the state, labelled this development *minería responsable*,

'responsible mining', and worked to promote prospects for development; jobs, economic growth, and infrastructure were soon to be prioritised or expanded in a remote and long-forgotten under-developed region.

At the same time, peasant and indigenous discontent and rising opposition to the expansion of industrial mining in Ecuador was actively, violently, and regularly repressed. Activists in indigenous and grassroots organisations increasingly faced criminal charges for participating in public demonstrations, social protests, and political opposition meetings (Amnesty International 2012; CONAIECONFENIAE 2016; Pérez Guartambel & Solíz Torres 2014), and the transfer of state resources from central to local governments, especially in Amazonian jurisdictions and frequently in the hands of indigenous coalitions, increasingly came to be a condition of political requital. Indigenous politicians were encouraged to accept government mining policies in exchange for corporate and state support, and economic and political maintenance to win over electoral and non-electoral grassroots organisations. The central government also actively created, promoted, and financed parallel indigenous organisations with which to negotiate, while flouting and condemning established and acknowledged autonomous opponents. Within the indigenous movement, there was a sense of being under siege, and accusations that others had been co-opted were common among the main indigenous political circles; the words 'traitor' and 'betrayal' were applied to indigenous leaders of all ages who had shown themselves to be supporters or sympathisers of the central government.

Indigenous and environmental activists were denounced officially as '*trasnochados*', '*tirapiedras*', and '*atrasa pueblos*'—nothing more than an irrational and violent horde of 'outmoded' 'stone throwers', dedicated to 'halting the country's progress and development'. Some particularly active NGOs faced legal action or were forced to shut down, while several human rights and environmental activists were accused of operating under the instructions of obscure political and economic interests, or with the financial sponsorship of intelligence services acting on behalf of foreign adversaries (Constante 2013; El Comercio 2016; Pallares

2017). To oppose or criticise industrial mining became almost equivalent to working politically against the administration in power, which meant standing in an uncertain and potentially damaging position.

In 2010, Corriente Resources Inc. sold its copper-belt deposits to a major Chinese conglomerate, and the two projects were acquired by a joint venture comprised of the (Chinese state-owned) China Railways Construction Corporation (CRCC), and Tongling Non-Ferrous Metals Group. The transaction became symbolically important insofar as it divided industrial mining in the South between the Chinese-owned Mirador and Panantza-San Carlos projects and the Swedish–Canadian Fruta del Norte, and temporarily between previous Western-led exploration and ongoing China-led extraction. A very sharp distinction between *los chinos*, 'the Chinese' and *los canadienses*, 'the Canadians', spread throughout the region, and the arrival of large industrial corporations to replace the smaller exploration companies tipped the balance against local resistance and in favour of extraction. Despite recurrent protests against mining, the state went ahead with the signing of extraction contracts with Mirador in March 2012 and Fruta del Norte in December 2016, which considerably strengthened the presence of the mining industry in the region and produced a sense of resignation among many unhappy Shuar and settler peasants.

As industrial mining in the region consolidated and expanded, people in Pakints' and other nearby *centros* began to experience political dependence and unwanted state and corporate intervention. Shuar and settler peasants almost universally objected to the land negotiation process that had taken place around extractive sites, and indigenous and non-indigenous corporate employees, both in labour and management, criticised what they felt were unjustifiable, unsafe, and downright lamentable work conditions. Many of these people, especially CSR personnel, technicians, and contractors, had previous experience working for North American and European oil companies elsewhere in lowland Ecuador, and remembered having experienced better workplace conditions under the smaller exploration companies (mostly Canadian) that had preceded Chinese management. They were

overwhelmingly critical of the new administration, and it became something of a pastime for workers to pinpoint the shortcomings identified in their comparative experiences.

It was a common supposition among 'pro-mining' settlers in nearby towns that Shuar who were opposed to industrial mining were merely being 'manipulated' by national and transnational environmentalist movements. Environmental activists, some Chinese corporate managers told me, opposed their presence in place of rival Western mining companies. Some even claimed that these Western companies had covertly financed environmentalists to stir up local discord, and were eager to invest in the region themselves, in the aftermath of a Chinese exit. Ironically, such a prospect would have been keenly welcomed by local mining enthusiasts who were displeased with the approach taken by the Chinese companies. Many former supporters felt deceived by outcome of the Chinese acquisition of the projects, and the word 'stinginess' invariably entered conversations in which Chinese and Canadian practices were compared.

Strong, sometimes virulent anti-China sentiment spread throughout the lowland region, and social disquiet became increasingly common along the Zamora River. Correa began to be scornfully called *presidente de los chinos*, 'President of Chinese people', and the rising presence of industrial mining was quickly linked to the increasing militarisation of and political surveillance in the region. At the same time, the issue of sovereign indigenous control over the management of natural resources began to be discussed informally among Shuar. The advent of industrial mining had divided Shuar perspectives throughout the South. Radical anti-extractive views cohabited with partial support for mining under better economic, environmental, and workplace conditions, and there were semi-formal political proposals (never really considered by the state) to allow mining developments within Shuar territories on condition of direct indigenous participation (see Chumpi 1999). Nevertheless, most Shuar people were united in their discontent, and as time went by and mining developments progressed, violent conflict seemed increasingly possible.

Looking at the matter through the lens of wider ethnic politics, Shuar overwhelmingly preferred to push for further territorial autonomy and increase their political recognition. The escalating threat of conflict, however, made many people in the South turn their attention to geopolitics, and questions over territorial sovereignty and indigenous autonomy increasingly came to the foreground. Many close friends, collaborators, and informants of Shuar people who were profoundly affected by ongoing mining developments, legal persecution, or political intimidation spearheaded indigenous proposals for uprising and statehood,[152] and although many such ideas remained undefined and open-ended, Shuar opposition to industrial mining in the region organised itself around the ideas of armed resistance and the resolute defence of indigenous autonomy. If a conflict were to break out, some people reasoned, it would be better to use the mineral wealth of the land in defence of indigenous autonomy. Japan, Israel, Russia, or some other militarily powerful country, it was thought, might be persuaded to fund a Shuar war against increasingly predatory Chinese mining corporations, establishing in the aftermath an independent indigenous state.

Almost everyone who opposed, researched, mentioned, or even came close to industrial mining began to fear that they were under surveillance. Human rights and environmental advocates and low-level state bureaucrats would speak in hushed tones whenever the subject was broached, and indigenous anti-mining activists learned to keep the batteries of their mobile phones removed, while carefully shifting between disposable SIM cards. There was a widespread fear of spies and of constantly being watched or recorded by undercover agents of the state, and the suspicion and accusations it created pitted neighbours and acquaintances against each other, spoiling the efforts of indigenous political circles, public and private grassroots gatherings, and indigenous communities.

Following evictions in Tundayme and Pakints', a cloud of uncertainty descended over Zamora-Chinchipe and the *centro*.[153] People in Pakints' wondered which neighbour or household would disappear next, and given the absolute lack of official, transparent, and reliable information and the rapid spread of rumours in the area, conjectures and speculation dominated

conversations. Eventually, a profound feeling of helplessness descended over Pakints'. Women in the *centro* stopped planting and working on certain plots of land thought to contain rich ore reserves and would only dig new manioc farms on land deemed likely to stay available in the near future. These decisions were made based on the conviction that the land might be seized at any point and were backed by the judgement of Shuar mine workers. People in the *centro* learned to dread *la visidumbre*, a common mispronunciation of the law of *servidumbre minera*, the easement lawsuit mechanism employed to evict landowners and appropriate their lands for subsoil use.

The situation was different, however, in the Panantza-San Carlos mine in Morona-Santiago. Forced evictions were met with armed resistance, and violent clashes led to a declaration of a state of emergency in August 2015. There was an unexpected mobilisation of armoured vehicles dispatched from highland barracks, and their awkward, sluggish descent into the lowlands generated much ridicule and disbelief among local bystanders and social media users. There were then further exchanges of fire, military raids on a number of *centros*, and aerial surveillance of the forest, with the occasional—though never official—bombardment. Monetary rewards were announced on the radio for anyone who could help find guilty parties, and locals were detained, jailed, and later freed seemingly at random. Some prominent and vocal anti-mining activists and grassroots leaders were also preventively legally prosecuted, and thus forced to go into hiding. After a while, however, the situation stabilised, and discontent evolved into its more common form of everyday foreboding.

The open pit and its surroundings, 2015–2018

The industry's campaign for *minería responsible*, 'responsible mining', soon became a pervasive feature of radio advertisements and local billboards. Industrial mining, PR representatives claimed, was not only fiscally accountable and thoroughly well-regulated but helped to

prevent illegal small-scale mercury mining, while providing stable jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities in host communities. The campaign followed and replaced the previous slogan used in Mirador and Panantza-San Carlos, *El trato justo*, 'A fair deal', which was frequently changed to 'An unfair deal' to display locals' rejection, mockery, and disdain for the project. The sarcastic reversal became a much more widely uttered slogan among the settler peasants and indigenous workers and communities, and encompassed a growing list of broken promises, grievances, and complaints.

Fully aware that contemporary industrial mining is not a labour-intensive industry but instead relies on sophisticated technical machinery and a professional and highly skilled labour force to oversee its operations, the efforts of the industry to spark the economic interest of host communities focused on opportunities to cater to its construction workforce. CSR programmes were contrived to favour the 'productive chain development' of host communities by selecting and encouraging home-grown 'entrepreneurial ventures', but in practice, such programmes did little more than provide local people with the necessary basics to start raising chickens, pigs, or tilapia fish, which were later purchased at a price fixed slightly above market prices and distributed among mine workers.

In addition to promises of foreign direct investment and development, the public had been made aware of the controversies and difficulties that often accompanied it. Industrial mining projects that had been consolidated through coercion generated violent politics and an extensive system of surveillance, intimidation, control, and legal protections that discouraged protests by instilling fear and reducing people's belief in the possibility of alternatives. Moreover, internal divisions in the *centro* and the outright animosity that existed between neighbourhoods in the reservation, as well as between Pakints' and other nearby *centros*, hindered efforts to establish a common indigenous coalition. The expansion followed on from centuries of settler colonists' incursions of indigenous land, and greatly added to the dismay felt among Shuar.

The valley of Tundayme consisted of a central village and a number of smaller settler homesteads, with Shuar neighbourhoods scattered around a narrow river basin. There was a school, a few churches, shops, and hardware stores, but the only modern buildings were a police department, the seat of local government, and a dedicated outpost of the CSR department of the Mirador mining project. Sometime later and to the surprise of no one, a small brothel was opened on this entry road; it was common to expect such a development to emerge in a mining town. Other than that, very little infrastructural improvement had occurred, despite 15 years of industrial mining planning and construction.

The village and its hillside, stripped of even the smallest of trees, was a rolling patchwork of grassland, mostly occupied by settler colonisers. This contrasted with the hills of the Shuar reservation on the opposite side, where pasture clearances alternated with rainforest and 'useful' trees that had been spared the axe. It had been hoped that industrial mining and state interventions would help to solve such issues by improving the material condition of locals and provide them with stable job, and CSR personnel liked to claim that it was cattle pastures that were the major cause of deforestation in the Amazon, not mining, while the valley of Tundayme was mostly composed of secondary forest and grasslands, which did not possess any real ecological importance.

The deforestation caused by the local peasantry, however, paled in comparison to the rainforest clearances required by the construction of the mine. It is difficult to assess the exact extent of these clearances, but a recent study that performed remote sensing analyses of satellite images of Tundayme has estimated that 1,307 hectares were deforested due to the construction of the Mirador mine in the period 2010–2017 (Mazabanda et al. 2018). Local examples of deforestation and the effects of cattle ranching were frequently mentioned in corporate and state discourses as the main culprits of ecological wrongdoing. The simplest version of the argument was that trees were felled because local people were poor and did not have regular incomes, and industrial mining would provide jobs and a reliable source of

money to keep the cattle frontier at bay. This reasoning wasn't merely excessively simplistic, however; its obvious caveats hide a larger set of rules in place.

For the most part, however, the valley had become occupied by settler colonisers. They had been followed by the military, which had long maintained an important presence in the valley and loomed large and frequently in the local imagination. Initially, the military had established a vanguard position overlooking the border with Peru (now there is still a small military post on the frontier and another barracks en route to the mine and corporate headquarters), but in the process had opened access roads for colonisation and intervened in the name of law and order in disagreements over land between settlers and Shuar. This had the occasional effect of pushing Shuar inhabitants out of the valley in response to the settlers' occupation, but for the most part, Shuar had bartered, traded, or ceded most of their land to the newcomers. Moreover, this had taken place before the foundation of the Shuar Federation, so there were no organisational interventions available to legalise or recover indigenous lands. This complicated the formation of a unified bloc of settlers and Shuar residents against the mine, and despite their common interests, the two groups struggled to see past the residual distrust created by historical grievances.

The journey back and forth between this valley and the opposite side of the Zamora River must have been very different before the encroachment of modernity. Shuar in the region often remember assembling in Tundayme on the invitation of the local *uunt*, 'great man', to participate in collective work parties, hunting treks, or fishing gatherings. Fishing with *másu* (*barbásco* in Spanish, *Lonchocarpus urucu*, a root poison used to asphyxiate fish in slow-moving currents) along the nearby rivers of the valley was especially popular. The fatty fish of these rivers enjoy some degree of local fame, and this was certainly the case for the local *tuna*, 'waterfall', where elderly people would go to fast and drink *natém* (*ayahuasca*, *Banisteriopsis caapi*) when on visionary quests. When much of the fish disappeared after the mining project began to dump rubble in the river, there was widespread outrage. The tainted rivers soon acquired a dark brown colour and a noticeably heavier density. The surviving fish were unfit

for consumption (the meat was said to be insipid when not downright repulsive, and some people reported falling ill from eating them). I heard the news attracting angry comments in markets, shared taxis, and bus stops during the first months of my fieldwork. These were the first *impactos*, 'impacts', of industrial mining in the region to have circulated widely outside Tundayme, where the mine was being built. The rivers, people complained, had been turned into a *colada*, 'a mud pudding', and fish had died or become 'slimy'.

The pollution of the rivers generated a renewed wave of local anger and backlash towards a mining project still in construction, and that hadn't even begun to extract or process ore. Throughout the region, people observed with impotence, annoyance, and perplexity the effective failure of all regulatory measures and control on the part of each and every state agency over *la compañía*, as the mining corporation was simply identified. The Ministry of Environment ordered the temporary closure of the project until it complied with stipulated norms and regulations on the disposal of construction rubble, and although no official communiqué was issued by the project developers, informally and casually, some engineers in charge denied any wrongdoing. How could there be contamination in the rivers, they said, if no chemicals had yet been used, and no minerals had been extracted? However, as several local people noted and assured me, as soon as the environmental authority had left the valley, the project managers ordered the resumption of all construction works. Still, the tainted colour of the rivers provided a powerful set of photos to environmental and human rights activists, who circulated them online and sent them to the press. The conflict continued to escalate.

The village became a 'mining town' due to its proximity to Mirador, and for better or worse (and local consensus leaned towards the latter) this association firmly placed the village on the map of national ethno-politics and regional indigenous land struggles, so much so that it has become the main example used in every scholarly account produced so far on mining in the region. However, despite grandiloquent fanfare about development voiced by local politicians and corporate PR representatives who announced the construction of new infrastructure in the region, the town maintained an air of disrepair. The promise of development and material

well-being, promoted so often in the early years of industrial mining, had failed to reach Tundayme and its people. These had been issues of the utmost importance to the villagers in the years prior to the construction of the mine, generating conflicts, discussions, reflections, debates, and economic calculations among neighbours divided into supporters and opponents.

Over the years, villagers had grown increasingly bitter, troubled, and divided over the benefits of development and the price of economic growth. State and corporate assurances, compromises, and promised opportunities had been many and haughtily promoted, but seldom materialised. Time, according to various residents, had been eye-opening; it had made 'lies' and 'broken promises' apparent. The collapse of the local economy was the last straw for some locals, who sold their properties and made ready to leave. I heard from a few discouraged locals who spoke about their high debts. No one preached about development anymore, nor was there anyone left to advocate such opposite viewpoints, except for a Polish priest who had made it a matter of personal duty to convert at least one of the occasional Chinese passers-by to the Catholic faith. Meanwhile, the local evangelical church, which preached against gold, greed, and lust, seemed to be the only remaining money-making business in the village.

Nevertheless, in 2015 the town was experiencing something of a mining boom. Workers and newcomers looking for jobs demanded to be housed and fed, and every household seemed to be renting at least a few rooms in their homes. More than a few family kitchens had evolved into makeshift restaurants. The largest houses in the village had been rented whole by Chinese subcontractor companies, and it wasn't easy to find an available place to stay the night. This had driven prices up to outrageously and artificially high rates, and villagers were busy building or revamping shops, restaurants, guest rooms, and guest houses. Most people didn't like the presence of the mine, and foreigners and newcomers were looked upon with moral suspicion, but there were tangible economic benefits for the villagers, so things went on. 'When life gives you lemons, you make lemonade', a villager told me.

The village had certainly become a dirty place. Shuar living in the surrounding area were accustomed to the fresh breeze of the forest, and most found the village ugly, grim, and nondescript. On rainy days, its streets became channels of sludge, and when it was warm and sunny, a cloud of dust rose, hovered over, and descended on the village. The continuous transit of heavy load trucks, transport lorries, and innumerable other vehicles to-ing and fro-ing between mine and town, day and night, made life much less pleasant than it would have been otherwise. The location of the village on a slope was of no help, either, and it was often hard to walk on some particularly steep streets without risking slipping on the mud. This muddy trail began almost as soon as one left Pakints' to take the only access road to the mine.[154] There, a narrow dirt road forked out from the main highway and meandered in the forest across the Zamora River and into the valley.

The boom, however, was inevitably followed by a bust. Some two years later, when the construction of the mine's worker camps was finished, much of the village's short-lived catering economy collapsed. The relocation of most labourers out of the village and into corporate sites where they were now housed and fed (this time by contracted companies) left the village without most of its guests, customers, and income. Those villagers who had frantically built or revamped facilities were especially bitter and indebted.

Tundayme was more unfinished than before, and even more ugly, grim, and nondescript. The Mirador project, meanwhile, had continued to expand and pollute, all the while breaking laws, rules, and regulations, mostly unchecked due to the complicity of the political authority. In the eyes of local people, it was difficult to pin down the exact culprit; there were too many wrongdoers among all the state offices and corporate headquarters. Lawyers, engineers, and politicians were increasingly looked upon with suspicion and resentment; on more than one occasion, I felt as if my research was becoming unsettlingly similar to investigative journalism, as people confided in me and whispered accusations of corruption.

The villagers slowly came to recognise that there was a close relationship and shared interests between state bureaucracies and company employees (and a revolving door linking the two

sources of employment seemed to be a staple of this industry). Such a realisation was reached partly in conjunction with environmental and human rights activists and researchers, whose presence in Tundayme over the years had helped to shift the local political scene under the motto of 'coupling countryside and city', but this situation led to its own set of drawbacks. Their presence naturally produced some controversy, objections, and concerns. It didn't help that information on the project and its ongoing and future development was guarded jealously; a policy of silence was implemented after the Chinese firm took over regional mining projects, and the information that was released often seemed unclear, incomplete, or deliberately misleading.

The political context at the time was incredibly conflicting; state control, corporate strategies, and activist discourses divided Shuar and settler peasants into 'pro-mining' and 'anti-mining' groups. This division was often understood by state and corporate bureaucracies as representative of 'pro-government' and 'anti-government' positions, and the relationship was often fraught with deep discord, tension, and suspicion.[155] Throughout our fieldwork, we observed how everyday violence, intimidation, and uncertainty evolved into rage, fear, and trepidation covertly shared and constantly upsetting friends, collaborators, and informants, yet as I will show in the next chapter, resource conflicts are only the outer layer of the troubled Shuar politics in the history of conflicts in the South.



Figure 25. The neighbourhood of Santiago Paati in Pakints' celebrating the anniversary of its foundation.

Let's not say it was *a* civil war, but that it was almost like *our* civil war.

Awananch', an approximately 45-year-old man, fieldwork notes.
Zamora, July 2015

We, Shuar, are a people with *organización*.

Naikiai, an approximately 60-year-old man, fieldwork notes.
Pumpuis, June 2016

6 Borders

The division of the Shuar Federation, 1984–1992

Throughout Shuar territory, many indigenous and non-indigenous people alike thought Pakints' was an odd choice for a social anthropologist. People in the *centro* seldom spoke *shuar chicham* in public life anymore, nor was the language much spoken in the privacy of their households. Shuar names like Wisum' or Wirísam had almost vanished in the space of a few short years. First they were replaced by Christian names of Spanish and Italian origin like Francisco, Bosco, María, and Gemma, introduced by Jesuit, Salesian, and Franciscan missionaries and steadily going out of fashion, and then by names of North American or Caribbean inspiration like Brandon, Jayson, Stephen, Ruby, Holli, and Mayerli, carefully chosen from small talk at settler village markets, Hollywood DVDs, TV series and soap operas, and international pop music. Youngsters were predominantly monolingual in Spanish, and whenever someone had some basic knowledge of *shuar chicham* (which was often the case), they did their best to hide this fact, exaggerating his or her lack of understanding.

Manioc beer, known as *nijamanch'* or *chicha*—elsewhere the basis of Shuar sociality and alimentary practices—was much appreciated, but only regularly prepared and consumed in a minority of households. Although children were routinely scolded and compared to us—'See how even the *gringos* drink *nijamanch'* and eat 'Shuar food'?'—rice and chicken had become

the daily staple, entirely or partially replacing manioc, plantain, fish, and game, and Mother's Day, rather than the peach palm harvest, was by far the most important celebration in the *centro*.

Time and again, it was suggested that we would be better served by relocating our field-site. 'Shuar culture', people in the indigenous northern heartland often said, was better studied elsewhere. After all, how many myths could a pair of social anthropologists collect among people who don't speak their own language anymore? Why not go to those *centros* instead? Surely we wanted to see, record, and film traditional dances, ceremonial speeches, and *anent*[156]? Pakints' didn't have admired handicrafts, renowned dancing troupes, or even famous *cumbia* bands. And wouldn't it be better to work alongside proper shamans? Or were we happy, a perplexed elder asked me once in a *centro* near Sucúa, with the sham information provided by those 'bogus tarot readers' from the South? If I was truly interested in indigenous politics—as I said and was—most people would point out that the headquarters of the Shuar Federation was located hundreds of kilometres away.

Yet against all odds, and despite its relatively small size and marginal location, Pakints' has played a major role in contemporary Shuar political history. The *centro*, its people, and its boundaries have been key in the series of conflicts known collectively as *nuestra guerra civil*, 'our civil war', 'the problem of *kumpachuma*', or the '*kumpachuma* rebellion',[157] which Shuar nowadays see as a major cause of ongoing political division, discord, and resource conflict. This conflict, which took the form of a number of violent outbreaks throughout the late 1980s, with ideological differences simmering since at least a decade earlier,[158] wreaked havoc in modern-day Shuar politics, and culminated in the bitter partition of the Shuar Federation in 1986 and its continued division along colonial frontier lines.[159]

The religious division that split the South between the Salesian and Franciscan vicariates in the past was repeated by later state administrations. The *chumpias entsa*—the Chuchumbleza River where Pakints' is located—has since 1953 marked the administrative frontier between *muruna-santiak'*, Morona-Santiago, and *samuria-chinchip'*, Zamora-Chinchipe, the two

Amazonian provinces that are home to the highest concentrations of Shuar in contemporary Ecuador.[160] This otherwise arbitrary and irrelevant frontier is, however, considered to be of the highest importance in Shuar politics. In the South, the provincial separation has led to a split among Shuar people, and given rise to ethno-political antagonism between *muruna shuar,* 'people of Morona-Santiago', and *samuria shuar*, 'people of Zamora-Chinchipe'. And although ordinarily described as a colonial imposition, when understood in the context of Shuar history, the partition exposes an entirely different political dimension. The division of the Shuar Federation, as I noted earlier, occupies a prominent place in indigenous historic memory, but in addition, people in the South often connect its occurrence and aftermath with ongoing resource struggles.[161] This ethnopolitical division thus lies at the core of current Shuar political history and, as I will show hereafter, profoundly affects ongoing mining encounters and the conflicts that have recently arisen.

This and the next chapter are concerned with the importance and influence of this conflict in *organización*—as Shuar call their various ethnopolitical struggles. I will focus on how the complex contradictions within Shuar ethnopolitics and its colonial entanglements have shaped Shuar historical and political understandings, and shed light on the influential role these understandings have in ongoing mining struggles. Shuar mining encounters, I have argued, cannot be understood purely within the framework of colonial inequality, capitalist development, and the waxing and waning of state expansion in lowland South America—the common foci of attention of existing research on the region (Sacher 2017; Solíz Torres et al. 2018; van Teijlingen et al. 2017; Warnaars & Bebbington 2014); these processes are also entangled with indigenous politics and history.

The next two chapters will thus focus on such entanglements and the considerable shadow cast by Shuar political history over contemporary Pakints' and Bomboiza. The conflict that led to the division of the Shuar Federation, referred to hereafter as the 'civil war', followed a complex process of political upheaval regarding the role and position of Salesian advisors within *organización*, and what Shuar saw as a clash between two divergent ideological

standpoints with respect to land, law, citizenship, and the state. A push for change was promoted by a group of younger leaders (the party now derogatively known as the *kumpachuma* faction), who disliked how the Shuar Federation was managed and were eager to seize power to strike out in a new direction. However, when they failed to do so within the democratic rules and framework of the Shuar Federation's constitution, they broke away to form a different organisation, the 'New Shuar Federation', beginning an ideological schism between contrasting blocs that later ended up splitting into many smaller factions. As a result of the conflict, the Shuar Federation lost control over a considerable expanse of indigenous lands and much of its international prestige.

I shall begin this chapter by explaining the long-term effects of the division of the Shuar Federation, as it is understood today by people in the South. The existing colonial and republican political divisions of the region, I will argue, have been reinterpreted by Shuar in order to maintain, strengthen, and extend their internal political disagreements. This, as I will show, has important implications for how contemporary Shuar understand colonial and indigenous politics and extractive developments. The locations of Pakints' and Bomboiza and the complex relationship between the two areas, due in part, no doubt, to their historical nature as borderland outposts, renders these developments more visible, yet as I will argue in the concluding section of this chapter, the same process of rivalry and atomisation is also at play internally in both settlements at the *centro* level. These two parallel processes, I believe, are common to areas beyond Pakints', and are related to the resulting loss of influence of *organización* following the division of the Shuar Federation.

Chapter 7 will then describe the build-up and advancement that ultimately led to the crisis of the Shuar Federation and its momentous breakup. This chapter, which will complement the analysis presented here, adopts a non-traditional narrative approach. In doing so, I hope to convey the ethnographic impression of engaging with an historical narrative that is always individually produced, even as it constructs common collective understandings. I have aimed to reproduce my own cognitive discovery by exploring the correlation between different and

often opposite viewpoints over internal conflicts and inherited contradictions in Shuar ethnopolitical experiences.

The term 'civil war', used here to emphasise the significance this event has for Shuar political history, aims to convey Shuar ideas of autonomy and self-sufficiency that lie at the core of these ideological divergences. The reader should be warned, as I will note below, that the use of the term is not as widespread as is knowledge of the event, but I have nevertheless decided to use the term over more common designations to refer to the division of the Shuar Federation because it simplifies the reading of the text. Notwithstanding this decision, the text is broadly understandable to Shuar readers and has been composed based largely on collective agreements and common understandings regarding what happened to the Shuar Federation at the time of its internal conflict, and the historical causes that led to its division. I do not intend to present an overall assessment of the Shuar Federation, nor to produce a comprehensive historical account of the early stages of Shuar ethnopolitical organisation. This process has been covered time and again in ethnographic pieces and internal *organización* documents (FICSH 1976; Rubenstein 2001; 2002; Salazar 1977) and recurrently features in academic introductions to and descriptions of Shuar and other *aénts chicham* peoples. Little to nothing, however, has been written about the ideological differences and internal conflicts that effectively brought about the fragmentation of this indigenous organisation.

The next chapter is thus methodologically composed of short, interleaved excerpts selected from hours of recorded conversations to directly convey the opinions of leading *organización* officials as to how such divergences led to major ethnopolitical upheavals and internecine clashes in Shuar politics during the 1980s–1990s. In this way, the text offers an indigenous analysis composed of the hindsight reflections of the main people implicated in the conflict. Except for minor style corrections, the text presents the unmodified viewpoints and reflections of various Shuar men who have achieved some degree of fame thanks to their political careers. I began recording these conversations on the suggestion of various people in Pakints' and Pumpuis, but only after I had heard the story as told by people in those *centros*. Shuar

ethnopolitical organisations have long been dominated by men, which explains the monopoly of male voices in the chapter. The same, however, cannot be said about the significance of *organización* in current Shuar politics, or its importance and recognition in 'Shuar history' accounts. This being so, Chapter 8 highlights and prioritises female voices to recount the aftermath of the conflict and the division of the Shuar Federation. I will explore the implications of 'Shuar history' for contemporary *centro* life, and how this background plays out with current industrial mining struggles.

Finally, I also aim to explore the misleading coexistence between national and regional colonial contexts and pre-existing indigenous political networks.[162] Shuar narratives of history often dwell on conflict and entangle long-running regional alliances set up by former indigenous war parties with more recent indigenous participation in national politics in the broader context of the state. This coincides and often overlaps with the significant process of change and transformation that has characterised life among Shuar since the large-scale invasion of their lands in the late 1950s and the establishment of the Shuar Federation in 1964. Today, Shuar recognise the nature of this process, and note a clear distinction between current ways of life and those of their predecessors, saying frequently that unlike the fierce warriors of an earlier time, they are now 'a people with *organización*'—as Shuar call their varied ethno-political endeavours. Still, as will I argue in Part III, the division of the Shuar Federation might itself be understood as a continuation of traditional Shuar warfare and feuding.

Organización today

The paramount importance Shuar generally attribute to ethnopolitical organisation (*organización*) and the distinctive shrewdness with which Shuar generally engage with 'white peoples' and the state ensure that indigenous political memory can easily cohabit with colonial contexts and non-indigenous frameworks. Shuar characterise contemporary ethnopolitical developments as historical milestones in their perception of the past, and indigenous ethno-

political organisations have played a significant part in mediating mining encounters between Shuar and state and corporate interests, as well as environmental and human rights activism, efforts, and agendas. The coexistence of indigenous and non-indigenous interests and logics in non-indigenous environments and mining encounters, however, has created a tense superimposition between indigenous cosmology and non-indigenous organisational principles that challenges the shared political sphere. The misunderstandings that arise affect indigenous relations and interactions with state, corporate, and non-governmental representatives, which Shuar very often push to pursue and accommodate indigenous political intentions.

This is not by any account a new process or development. In the midst of the conflict that ended with the split the Shuar Federation, opposing Shuar parties, well aware of existing missionary and governmental differences between the two provinces, sought the intervention and mediation of both religious orders and the support that was available thanks to their political connections with the state. The Salesians and Franciscans missions each took sides, replaying the historical differences in missionary approaches between the two,[163] and the growing bitterness in the divide between Shuar rivals grew to include the regional interests of 'white peoples.'

In the end, the Shuar Federation split along provincial lines,[164] a choice no doubt resulting from the many colonial entanglements at play, but as I shall show in Part III, the outcome was also deeply rooted in traditional warfare and indigenous cosmology. What chiefly interests me here is how these entangled relations that connect the past with the present still affect contemporary politics. Shuar often make the argument that present-day mining conflicts are not merely an external imposition from the state, but rather directly originate from the internal clashes within *organización* that led to the 'civil war'. I will begin by describing the long-term consequences of the conflict in Shuar politics as of the period of our fieldwork.

Organización after the division of the Shuar Federation

The 'civil war' fractured and divided families in Pakints' according to political affiliation; removed the *centro* from the Bomboiza Association; destabilised the Shuar Federation; created the divisions that exist today between *muruna shuar*, 'people of Morona-Santiago', and *samuria shuar*, 'people of Zamora-Chinchipe'; and severed the links of a small number of *muruna shuar centros* and the majority of *samuria shuar centros* with the national indigenous movement. There is today no 'influential federation' among the latter (Salazar 1977), nor has there been a successful takeover of electoral politics of any kind (Buitrón-Arias 2016; Deshoullière 2016), or transnational networks to fend off inequalities in the locality. The echoes of this path have shaped the broad ethnopolitical configuration within which Shuar have faced the advent of large-scale industrial mining in their lands.

When opposition to industrial mining in the country exploded into active resistance on the part of Shuar and settler peasants in the Zamora River in 2006 (see Chapter 5), the fractures left over from the civil war immediately transformed into parties who favoured opposing and negotiating with industrial mining firms. Resistance to the industry, organised through the Bomboiza Association and commanded by *muruna shuar*—the historical rivals of the *kumpachuma* faction—strengthened the mobilisation and organisational efforts of *samuria shuar* and *kumpachuma* supporters to back state plans and corporate investment. And, just as before, the renewal of historical grudges was accompanied by the instrumental integration of 'white peoples' into indigenous political disputes. Throughout the 1980s–1990s, the two Shuar warring factions had aligned with or recruited various missionaries, lawyers, and parliament members to advance their respective positions. Now, the same positions are taken in ongoing resource conflicts with the support of either environmental activists and NGOs or state and corporate agents.

In 2006, when Shuar organised opposition to industrial mining firms, coming close to seizing and holding various corporate headquarters, they came to blows with not only police and military forces but also armed *kumpachuma* factions who worked to hinder the Shuar takeover of these corporate facilities. The consequences of such recent clashes against the background of the prolonged conflict that has split the South since the division of the Shuar Federation has profoundly shaped Pakints' today, influencing the spatial organisation in the *centro*, relations between neighbours, and administrative arrangements. Though lived through contemporary political relations, such divisions are also attached to and reveal longstanding Shuar political understandings and regional kin interactions in the South.

The consequences of the conflict were significant, and still shape indigenous understandings of industrial mining and everyday life rifts and conflicts in Pakints'. The current division of the *centro* into five *barrios*, 'neighbourhoods' is a result of the conflict,[165] as is the severance of links between Pakints' and wider *organización*, and its current political isolation and engagements with industrial mining. Following the 'civil war', in which Pakints' played a major role, the *centro* broke away from the Bomboiza Association and, despite being engulfed in internal disunion and rancour, went on to become one of the founding members of a competing ethno-political organisation. The regional unity once achieved through the defence of the indigenous reservation was thus rapidly crushed. The political agreements reached at the 'Time of the Land Claimants' mostly disappeared, which why the Shuar historical narrative in Pakints' gave way to the current 'Time of the Youngsters', a period of internal discord and a broad political weakness, immediately after the 'civil war'.

The structures of *organización* in Pakints' were replaced by a partition of the land reservation along the lines of its kin groups, now separated by political 'ideology', the atomisation of its political leadership, and increasing engagement with the state. The *centro* began to be reorganised into *barrios*, 'neighbourhoods' that had evolved to embrace political and economic autonomy, factionalism, competition, and dispersion. Interestingly, as I will describe in more detail later, the pattern of atomisation followed by the *centro* after the division of the Shuar

Federation is very similar to the traditional settlement patterns described in classic *chicham* ethnography.

Needless to say, there are no longer any dispersed and extended households separated by a 'no man's land' (Descola 1993). Still, a similar separation is in place, formed instead by a number of kin groups organised as political units around tight-knit neighbourhoods, carefully bounded and demarcated, and built—in the case of Pakints'—on top of the former *héa*, 'houses' of each of the original *denunciates*, 'land claimants', of the *centro*: the sons and sons-in-law of Santiago Wisum'. I believe that these atomised partitions, now prominent both in Pakints' and elsewhere in the region, represent political units adapted to internal Shuar competition over the capture of state resources. This argument, which I develop further below, becomes more evident when one observes how these neighbourhoods usually come into existence.

There is a recognisable pattern that can be summarised as follows: First, an internal dispute occurs in a centro and the disagreement leads a group of people to sever their political ties with the former unit. This political split then leads to an announcement that a new political unit is to be formed, organised by the election of a 'committee' around the founding efforts of a leading person. This person, whose decision to split is key in triggering the process of forming a new neighbourhood, gathers support among their kin and from people from across the region to form the neighbourhood in exchange for land. Here, competition with the former political unit begins to emerge, as the new neighbourhood directly competes with the centro for resources from the state. This occurs as a result of common and well-defined ideas of what constitutes a proper neighbourhood. These ideals, as explained below, lend considerable importance to specific kinds of infrastructure that are only accessible with the intervention and investment of the state, and in order to realise these goals, the state demands a certain kind of recognition that needs to be achieved and justified through paperwork. Shuar thus create, write, and design statutes, censuses, historical outlines, and various other such documents to comply with and reinforce these atomised political identities (see Documents 4a-b and 8a-b).

In Pakints', such borders inside the reservation were zealously maintained by a broad arrangement of border trees, hills, and garden clearings. Highlighting the division, white-on-green road signs at the entrance to each neighbourhood distinguished their names: Certero, Santiago Paati, Pakintza, San Andrés, and Santa Cruz. The five neighbourhoods were all visible from the highway—or in the case of Santa Cruz, from a secondary road—and took the form of separate clusters of vividly painted wooden houses with tin roofs. Each neighbourhood was made up of a dozen or so households, symmetrically arrayed around a primary school or sports field and a meeting house, each with an elected *directiva*, 'committee', headed by a *presidente* who chaired affiliated *socios*, 'members', in official assemblies, parties, and events. It was this simple political organisation and the common infrastructure that houses and stems from it, whether it be a public school built by the state thanks to the negotiations of a *directiva* or a sports pitch built and maintained by the collective work of *socios*, that made a neighbourhood worthy of the name.

The incentive to build up and maintain these infrastructural elements derived from a notion of *adelantar*, 'development', which required neighbourhood committee members to engage in the continuous work of writing *oficios*, 'formal letters' to state institutions, indigenous ethnopolitical organisations, and corporate and government authorities to advocate and recommend *proyectos*, 'projects', and voice neighbourhood needs, concerns, and demands. This was performed, however, based on a tacit understanding that *adelantar* really meant to outdo and overtake in a spirit of competition and rivalry the other neighbourhoods in the reservation. In this way, *adelantar*—which was generally positively understood by state authorities and CSR programme managers and thought to reveal a desire for 'progress' and 'development'—can also be linked to that 'structural relation with enemy partners' in which others 'are internal' that characterises, according to Anne-Christine Taylor, the sense of *aénts chicham* selfhood (2007: 134).

The internal divisions were very tangible in Pakints', as was the superimposition of parallel definitions and understandings that easily allowed for misunderstandings that affected mining

encounters. The same can be said, of course, about the infrastructural investments and social and economic changes brought about by industrial mining in the region. In the first week in we arrived in Pakints', we were offered accommodation in a recently vacated school building in the middle of the *centro*. The school had several perfectly fine classrooms that could easily have been transformed into bedrooms, as well as a kitchen, and the mining company had recently sponsored the addition of bathroom facilities and a shower to the complex. The school was located in Pakintza, the main neighbourhood in the reservation, and its location was central and convenient. It had for years been the only schooling option outside the settler town schools and missionary boarding. The opening of a new 'Millennium School' nearby, however, had centralised all communal schools in the region and relocated all students to this one place.

The Millennium School was an enormous compound built with industrial mining royalties, and was an investment that far surpassed the initial budget of 4 million US dollars. The *centro*'s school had been closed as a result, based on the promise that children in the *centro* would be given a better, modern education and acquire much-desired computer and foreign-language skills.[166] The latter promise had moved parents and tutors to consider the government's new scheme, and the inclusion of a door-to-door transport service had finally convinced them. The school opened in October 2015. It was located in the outskirts of El Pangui and had been built to accommodate some 1,500 students from all over the region. It was inaugurated with considerable fanfare. A minister gave a brief speech on development and the unquestionable commitment of the government towards the lowland region, the best students recited poems and short accounts of the history and formation of El Pangui, and settler teachers struggled to explain the cultural meaning of *arutam*[167] to their indigenous students. At the main entrance of the school, a large billboard noted: 'Mining funds your education'.

The school's budget, it later became known, had not included transportation for students, and a few months after its opening, unpaid drivers were striking, and parents and tutors in the *centro* had to hire taxis or pay bus fees for their children to attend classes. No one had bothered to properly train the teachers in the use of new equipment, and computers and electronic

conference boards remained unused or locked away. The novelty of the new school soon wore off, transport fees piled up, and students in the *centro* began to relocate again in the following year to closer settler schools. No one in either the *centro* or in government offices knew what would happen to the previous school building in the *centro*. People in Pakints' felt that they owned the land where the school had been constructed, but the state clearly owned the building, so as of 2022, the school rooms remain padlocked, their keys resting in a drawer inside a provincial state office.

During our fieldwork, I became friends with Kaar, a resident of one of the other neighbourhoods in the reservation. His brother owned a small wooden house located next to his that had been occupied before a new marriage led to a requirement for more space. We lived in this house for some time during the fieldwork. Kaar was a sturdy man in his mid-thirties who made a living selling oranges along the highway, trading timber, and betting at poker with the settlers at the market in El Pangui. When I first met him, I must have mentioned that I had studied Putonghua because he asked to teach him a few curse words so he could 'go and tell the *la compañía*', the (Chinese) mining company, 'to fuck off in their own language'.

The next time I saw him, he had not only remembered the three words I had taught him, but eagerly described the perplexed look of a group of Chinese labourers, and the fast and frightened pace with which they had walked away from him. 'They understood', he said with satisfaction, and he handed me an orange free of charge. A month later, we were waiting for his brother, who was supposed to show me around the house. I had expected the transaction to be uneventful and forgettable, but when the brother arrived, I was put through a thorough interrogation. He worked at the mine, he later explained, and though he personally did not care about my profession, he was running for re-election to the directors' board of the workers' trade union and thought It might be unwise to have an *ambientalista*, an 'environmentalist activist' staying at his house. 'Things have been a mess politically recently', he warned me, 'And the subject is contentious, so you had better stay out of trouble'.

The windows of the house were all broken. The ceiling leaked, and no one had bothered to close the space between the walls and the tin sheets that made up the roof. These were over a metre above the end of the walls, and the gap allowed the rain to come in when the wind blew, and moths flew through to flit around the light bulbs during a new moon. However, there was sufficient space to place a mattress within a circle of buckets, at just enough distance from the windows and wall openings to keep it mostly dry, at least until I could make repairs.

'Ignore him', Kaar said, once his brother had left. 'Politics have always been a mess around here'. He owned a spray pump and helped me spray insecticide. We sat on the porch and his wife handed us a bottle of beer to celebrate, while their chickens pecked on the dying cockroaches. She passed us the beer somewhat coldly, and I later learned that they had been fighting—they fought constantly, we soon found out. Kaar's wife belonged to one of the settler villages in Tundayme, near the mine pit, where her father owned a large hacienda and plenty of timber, so they were always coming and going. 'It's always difficult to marry outside your people', Kaar's mother often sighed, equal parts resigned and happy to be left in charge of the couple's children.

That week, as several neighbours gathered around us and we waited for the president of the *barrio* to formally convene a neighbourhood meeting to explain the finer details of our research, a mobile phone was passed around with a low-quality video showing the murder of Tendetza, the renowned Shuar activist who had bravely opposed *la compañía*. The video, apparently filmed by his assassins, circulated throughout the region by means of Bluetooth devices. I refused to watch it. Kaar later told me to take care for our own safety and to trust no one in the *centro* but him. I was warned about thieves, witchcraft, gossipers, and foreigners who were *cortacabeza,* 'head cutters', and committed awful crimes to obtain shrunken heads to display in their museums abroad.[168] I was warned about the mine and its private security thugs, about the government and its political spies, but most earnestly of all, I was warned about the Shuar people who inhabited the other banks of the *chumpias entsa*, the Chuchumbleza River, at the northern end of the *centro*.

In particular, the peoples of Pumpuis were known to be 'hot blooded', fierce, and significantly less civilised than their Shuar counterparts on the southern bank of the Chuchumbleza. 'Trust no one', Kaar repeated. 'I will be your only friend'. Much to my surprise, I was to hear the same phrase repeatedly in the coming weeks, as we went from house to house in the reservation to introduce ourselves. [169] And one year later, when we resettled in Pumpuis across the Chuchumbleza River, people warned us about how 'hot blooded', angry, fierce, and significantly less civilised people were in Tiink', further to the northeast. When we began working in that region too, during our third year of fieldwork, we heard yet again about how 'hot blooded', angry, fierce, and significantly less civilised the people were who lived on the other side of *churuwia*, the Cordillera del Cóndor, in Peru.

Today, the political distinctions between '(Shuar) people of Morona-Santiago' and '(Shuar) people of Zamora-Chichipe' carry considerable importance in regional indigenous political relations. The division is often framed as outright antagonism, and people from both groups go to great lengths to explain and underline the dissimilarities between them. Shuar of Zamora-Chinchipe, for example, think of themselves as significantly more 'civilised', 'reasonable', and 'modern' than their Morona-Santiago neighbours, who they describe as 'rustic', 'dangerous', 'conflictive', and 'hot-headed'. In turn, Shuar of Morona-Santiago often find the people in Zamora-Chinchipe to be irritatingly *engreídos*, 'conceited', hopelessly *amestizados*, 'acculturated', and appallingly *desorganizados*, 'disorganised', in the political sphere.[170] Such disagreements, expressed through colonial loan-terms and national political administrative divisions, have been pushed by ethnopolitics into current political matters, including resource extraction.

The division of the Shuar Federation and resource extraction

As I will show later, the political distinction that has split Shuar in the South by provincial affiliation has had profound consequences in shaping ongoing resource politics in the region.

The depth of indigenous political divisions is obscured by the conjunction between colonial history, industrial mining, and indigenous political relations. This has helped to structure territorialised networks of engagement and contestation against industrial mining, concentrating support, media, and academic attention on these indigenous political divisions, while obscuring indigenous agency against the background of historical colonial interventions. Nevertheless, and though colonial alterations were indeed influential, indigenous divisions have remained in place within colonial scaffoldings.

Throughout Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe, anger, mistrust, and general suspicion tainted political stances, public discourse, and private conversations. Moreover, the division of the South between these two contrasting political approaches and the long timeframes that characterise industrial mining developments introduced further problems to the formation and consolidation of a broad indigenous coalition. Efforts to construct a simple broad discourse against 'mega-mining' in the region, led by the collaboration of indigenous ethno-political organisations and national and international environmental and human rights activism, was weakened by indigenous engagements with industrial mining.

The different work schedules followed by the three large-scale mining projects in the region—Mirador, Fruta del Norte, and Panantza-San Carlos—disrupted the possibility of a unified regional message of indigenous resistance. Environmental activists' campaigns were generally focused on and committed to the complete halt of extractive activities in the region and in consequence, struggled to keep up with mine developments on the ground. Indeed, all-encompassing campaign messages calling on the rejection of industrial mining made sense when Panantza-San Carlos, a project long stagnated in 'advance exploration', was discussed, but increasingly failed to address the reality of the situation elsewhere in the region. The impossibility of resistance coalitions to establish a nuanced distinction between the various mining projects in the region and develop a more focused strategy that would consider these projects' different time schedules became increasingly counterproductive. In mines like Mirador and Fruta del Norte, which were already under construction, workers' claims for

labour rights or the fair distribution of royalties were progressively the focus of attention on the part of stakeholders.

Among environmental coalitions, the participation of hundreds of indigenous workers in these projects and their demands for better work conditions and improved safety regulations were, when not ignored, too easily disregarded by accusations of treason and betrayal. In this way, legitimate and timely efforts to question and stop mining developments in Morona-Santiago appeared mistaken and alienating in Zamora-Chinchipe. The result was the disaffection of indigenous and settler peasant mine labourers towards environmental political efforts, rather than inclusion and support. Therefore, indigenous and settler peasant workers who might otherwise have been sympathetic to environmental causes increasingly gravitated towards trade union organisations, rather than ethnopolitics and environmental activism.

More and more people in the region began questioning the genuine possibility of stopping mining in such an advanced stage of development, and indigenous workers felt left out from and unrepresented in environmental coalitions and campaigns. The government propaganda set up years before to depict environmental activism as unreasonable and intransigent began to be increasingly accepted by local populations. Furthermore, the resistance groups who still upheld strong no-extractive views in Mirador and Fruta del Norte increasingly saw much of their broad grassroots support eroded and their position relegated. Neither did it help that such coalitions were for the most part headed by settler colonists rather than indigenous inhabitants, and Shuar, as I explained at the beginning of Part II, felt very strongly about ongoing colonial inequalities and ethnic differences. Still, one of the most important causes hindering the establishment of such broad coalitions was the failure to recognise Shuar internal political divisions. When environmental activists chose to coordinate their regional efforts with a limited number of regional Shuar leaders and failed to consider the existing political relations these men had with other established or aspiring Shuar leaders throughout the region, they limited the possibility of expanding collaboration from the start. This oversight damaged the chance of outspreading broad anti-extraction coalitions encompassing

opposing Shuar political positions and extended and enforced indigenous historical partisan divisions. In this way, Shuar political understandings came to read the incipient resource conflicts as an extension of the 'civil war' and acted according to their internal fractures and divisions.

Now, internecine divisions of this kind, as Chapter 8 will show, have existed in the region for a very long time, and are a part and parcel of traditional Shuar political practices. Moreover, the political continuities shown in this case shed light on the broad historical connections that make Shuar ethnopolitics and its colonial entanglements indigenous forms of political expression. The same tendencies towards atomisation and antagonism and the maintenance of division appear to be grounded in grassroots politics. All Shuar *centros* today, with the exclusion of the hinterlands south of the Chuchumbleza River, are endogamous *nexi* whose surrounding no-man's lands have been appropriated by settler colonisation. The settlement of such stretches of land, outside what indigenous peoples considered to be their legitimate hunting grounds, didn't immediately affect household capacity or production, so seem to have been tolerated. However, these no-man's land space were also areas where game fauna reproduced, and when these animals started to flee from encroaching human settlement and thereby directly affected household hunting grounds, the indigenous response took the form of migration or adaptation to new forms of production such as cattle, rather than confrontation. From then on, the flow of settler colonisation increased, and in a few decades' time had significantly lessened Shuar presence in Zamora-Chinchipe, sparing only isolated nuclei like Pakints'.

The absence of a centralised authority in Pakints' following the 'civil war' has prompted a strong return to political atomisation, and a partial adaptation of previous settlement and political patterns. The incorporation of *ambulante* members in each neighbourhood followed from a conflict between *renacientes*, and the landed founders of each neighbourhood intended that their incorporation into each would be a way to leverage their political standing, vis-à-vis other *renacientes* related to each other by kinship as descendants of the brothers of Santiago

Wisum', whose preferred political alliance was maintained with sons-in-law, rather than between siblings.

Shuar ethno-political organisations and contemporary Shuar politics, I contend, remain significantly guided by a traditional network of relations between endogamous groups. These relations are based on historical knowledge, passed on generationally through marital alliances and the socialisation of children, and maintain the memory of past feuds as an organising principle. Today, notwithstanding significant changes, ever greater professionalisation, and amassed entanglements with the state and party politics over the last half-century at least, Shuar political perceptions are still permeated by and build upon the rivalries of what is internally thought of in indigenous historicity as a previous era.

My argument here is that the existing ethnopolitical differences between the groups that inhabit these two provincial partitions in Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe are structured under a relation of rivalry that maintains traditional Shuar values within current ethno-politics. Within *organización*, then, relationships of rivalry between former enemy groups, considered historical, remain relevant to an understanding of internal differences. The divergences between indigenous peoples that are present in the face of extractive issues are not a coincidence; they emerge from pre-existing internal conflicts in indigenous politics between rival groups, which today settle their differences through ethnopolitical structures that substitute for the warlike confrontations of before. The individuals who today participate in contemporary ethnopolitical alliances have similar values and motivation to those previously prosecuted by warriors and great men, and the general context is still conducted in an atmosphere characterised by warlike tones. As I have suggested in previous chapters, the warlike language used by Shuar to describe the mining conflicts taking place today project their political understanding beyond a narrow extractive focus and towards indigenous understandings of political confrontation more broadly.

Industrial mining has advanced in the South unevenly along provincial borders, and has only been able to do so due to ethno-political ruptures in large part propelled by indigenous

divisions. The two ideological camps that once faced off during the 'civil war' are now largely divided between those who support and those who reject industrial mining, and this division has been fundamental in facilitating indigenous negotiations with state and corporate representatives. What is more, past ideological debates over the importance of money, the relation of indigeneity to law and property, and indigenous autonomy within the state are currently being reframed as development arguments over resource extraction. The effect of this is that industrial mining conflicts are frequently thought of and perceived from a Shuar perspective, primarily through and within indigenous politics, despite the significant presence of the state and the number of 'white peoples' engaged in mining encounters.

Immediately after the 'civil war' came to a standstill, Shuar on both sides of the conflict recruited a significant number of 'white peoples' to their struggle. The two parties, separated by the provincial borders in the South, each forged alliances with parliamentary members, government bureaucrats, lawyers, and missionaries, and carefully deployed state law to pursue their objectives. The role since assigned to 'white peoples' in Shuar politics has been carried on into mining encounters and entails significant implications for Shuar politics. It is necessary, then, to examine the continuities in indigenous political understandings, and the colonial entanglements and contradictions that helped to establish Shuar ethnopolitics. That will be the focus of the next chapter.

ESTATUTOS

DEL

SUB-CENTRO

SHUAR



San Andrés

PARROQUIA EL CUISMI, CANTÓN EL PANGUI, PROVINCIA DE ZAMORA-CHINCHIPE
REPÚBLICA DEL ECUADOR

+

Document 8a. Title page of the official statutes of San Andrés, one of the five sub-*centros* or 'neighbourhoods' in Pakints'. The document is important to help establish and demonstrate the political independence of a neighbourhood *vis-à-vis* other Shuar neighbourhoods in the land reserve.

Reseña histórica del barrio San Andrés

El barrio San Andrés fue fundado el 26 de diciembre de 2006 en un solar herencia del antiguo denunciante Don Antonio Naanch', natural de Limón, quien delega a su yerno, Don Andrés Narankas, anterior a su regreso a Morona-Santiago, de donde venía procedente y a dónde regresaría luego, el cuidado de sus posesiones. Tierras que, en pleno goce de reconocimiento estatal, pertenecientes desde 1976 a la legislatura del centro San Francisco de Pakintz', del cuál había sido él, Don Antonio Naanch', cofundador y denunciante original. Y en las cuales Don Andrés Narankas procedería con la lotización de una parte, buscando socios entre aquellos necesitados de terreno y deseosos de organización.

Y siendo él mismo primer presidente del barrio y acompañado de la siguiente directiva: Don Ricardo Antún, vicepresidente, Doña Sonia Sanchim, secretaria, y Don Arcángel Timias, tesorero, todos ellos procedentes de Morona-Santiago, quienes escuchando de Don Andrés sus planes y deseos, y en común acuerdo de los socios, establecen el barrio San Andrés, así nombrado por Don Andrés Narankas en conmemoración y recuerdo de su padre, la fecha dada, en la Troncal Amazónica, fijando el punto en la desviación que conduce a la comarca de El Guismi, cabecera parroquial de igual nombre, en el cantón El Pangui, provincia de Zamora-Chinchipe, a los 3°33' 37'' de latitud sur y 78°33' 9'' de longitud oeste.

Habían así procedido de hecho y de derecho. De hecho, porque la herencia dejada por Don Antonio Naanch' ha sido posesión permanente de las familias denunciantes de San Francisco de Pakintz' desde tiempo inmemorial. Siendo que, entre los primeros denunciantes de aquel centro, Naanch', Unkuch, Sharup, y Nantip' tuvieron antepasados habitando en el sector, antes de emigrar sus padres a la región de Limón. Y que Juep', Kajekay, Shakay, y Paati, también ellos denunciantes principales, siendo todos naturales del sector; e hijos de Wisum, hijo de Pinchupá, dueño y señor de éstas y otras tierras circundantes, habían habitado en tierras de Pakintz' desde hacía varias generaciones precedentes. Y de derecho porque existe reconocimiento del estado en base a una anterior reserva global dada a Chumpias y Pakintz' por el gobierno de la República del Ecuador a través de las Misiones Salesianas del Vicariato Apostólico de Macas y Méndez, establecidas primero en Gualaquiza y luego en Bomboiza en la segunda mitad del siglo XX.

Actualmente, en el barrio San Andrés habitan 15 familias. Hay 45 adultos y muchos más niños. En promedio, cada familia tiene 5.2 hijos por hogar. Tomando una muestra de 13 individuos, de estas familias, sabemos que la gran mayoría de pobladores adultos proceden de Morona-Santiago, equivalente al 71.4%; solamente el 28.6% de los adultos es llegado de Zamora-Chinchipe, bien porque ha venido de alguna región aledaña, bien porque han nacido en el lugar. Entre los niños, por el contrario, tomando un muestra de 43 individuos, y al contrario de los adultos, conocemos que hay más nacidos en Zamora-Chinchipe, donde ha nacido el 51% de éstos. Y es que muchos de los niños son nacidos ya en el barrio San Andrés. Hay que señalar además que del 49% aún nacido en Morona-Santiago, muchos lo han hecho solamente en el hospital de Gualaquiza, muy cercano, estando su residencia fija ya en San Andrés.

Hablan Shuar en el barrio San Andrés más los adultos que los niños. Y mientras de la misma muestra de 13 individuos adultos, el 84.6% hablan y entienden el idioma. Entre los niños, igualmente entre la muestra respectiva, solamente el 34% lo comprende. La gran mayoría, el 66% de los niños, no lo habla, y comprende solamente unas pocas palabras. Esto se debe indudablemente a los grandes cambios sociales que se han suscitado en el área desde la fundación del barrio, a la cercanía de San Andrés con los poblados hispanos, y a que la escuela de la localidad, es una escuela hispana. Esto ha hecho que con el tiempo el castellano se convierta en la lengua preferente de comunicación entre familias y dentro de la familia.

Document 8b. A brief historical outline of the neighbourhood attached to the statutes of San Andrés. The document is important to prove political autonomy vis-à-vis the state and justify government investment in infrastructure and health and education services in the neighbourhood.



Figure 26. Demonstration supporting indigenous autonomy at the headquarters of CONAIE. (Photo by the author, 2015)

El primer curso para dirigentes se realizó en Sucúa, en los días del 13 al 17 de [s]eptiembre de 1961. Los participantes consignados son: Eugenio Samik', Miguel Tankámash', Alberto Kuyach, Pablo Puwuanchir, Vicente Tsamaraint, Pedro Tunki, Alejandro Tsakimp', Luis Ayuí, Pedro Kúkush, Gabriel Peas, Jorge Kuja, Tomás Tukup', Miguel Jimpikit, Francisco Papue, Pedro Jimpikit, Antonio Chiarmach, y siete huellas digitales de quienes, aún sin saber escribir, comprendieron su posición y tomaron conciencia de sí, organizándose: 23 hombres en total, que empezaron un movimiento propio entre los Shuar, en un pedacito de la inmensa región Oriental.

The first leadership course took place in Sucúa between 13 and 17 September 1961. Its participants, as was recorded, were: Eugenio Samik', Miguel Tankámash', Alberto Kuyach, Pablo Puwuanchir, Vicente Tsamaraint, Pedro Tunki, Alejandro Tsakimp', Luis Ayuí, Pedro Kúkush, Gabriel Peas, Jorge Kuja, Tomás Tukup', Miguel Jimpikit, Francisco Papue, Pedro Jimpikit, Antonio Chiarmach, and seven other men who, still not knowing how to read or write, understood their [historic] position and conscious of the need to organise, appended their fingerprints: 23 men in total, who started their own movement amongst Shuar in a small corner of the immense Amazon region.

Federación de centros Shuar. Solución original a un problema actual

FICSH, 1976

7 The ‘Civil War’

The *kumpachuma* rebellion, 1985–1986

1

PUWUANCHIR

The Shuar Federation was formed with the vision of unifying Shuar into a brotherhood, but with a Christian conception. This complicated [things] and in the first assembly (organised in Kuchaentsa, in Méndez) the first Shuar [officials] ran into former enemies. [People whose kin groups] had killed [or had been killed] a year ago. My father told me: ‘It was unpleasant, and we were afraid that in the middle of the night they would come and kill us.’ Yet the priests insisted, following their worldview, ‘Christ thought us to forgive. Christ taught us to love each other. We therefore want you to love and forgive each other’.

NAIKIAI

Miguel Tankámash’, the founder of the Shuar Federation, started [the organisation] with Juan Shutka a Salesian priest from Czechoslovakia. They [began by] writing the [governing] statutes and setting up [what would later become indigenous] lands reserves.

JUEP'

Why? Because when settler colonists arrived, Shuar give in their lands in exchange for a machete, for a knife, or to sleep with a white-skinned woman (it was so). No Shuar said: 'Look, we're losing our land, we're losing our territory, let's establish an indigenous reserve.' It was Juan Shutka, with the Shuar Federation, aiming precisely [towards the solution of such] land conflicts, who did it. Thus, Shutka, who held the same notions [regarding land tenure and private property] as the Hispanic people, said: 'Indigenous peoples are losing their lands, we shall defend these lands.' It was so that land reclamation begun.

R. PITIUR

The first headquarters of the Shuar Federation were therefore [located] at the Salesian Mission in Sucúa (today the Río Upano High School), which is where the Federation first began its work.

TANKÁMASH'

I and Father Juan Shutka, may he rest in peace, practically organised the Shuar Federation. I [later] organised the indigenous peoples of Amazonia in CONFENIAE [Confederation of Amazonian Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador], and I also [helped] organise CONAIE [the National Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador].

TANKÁMASH'

When the Salesians first arrived in Morona-Santiago, in Ecuadorean Amazonia, they arrived under the auspice of the government; and they arrived in Ecuador to civilise the Shuar. [President] García Moreno had received expeditionary reports on the savage Jivaro that severed [enemy's] heads and stopped [the country] from accessing and taking advantage of gold, rubber, and other jungle treasures. So García Moreno thought: 'These savage Jivaro must be exterminated.' We were a problem to be solved for García Moreno and the solution was an easy thing: exterminate the Indians the same way it had been done in the United States and in so many other parts [of the world]. Yet [García Moreno] was close friends with González

Suárez, 'the Red Bishop', as he was called, and he told him: 'Mr President, you are a good catholic, a Christian man, you receive communion every Sunday, how could you want to exterminate the sons of God? These savages are also god's creatures.' Then, García Moreno said, 'what do you suggest?' [González Suárez] suggested that the Salesians, the children of John Bosco, should be called. John Bosco had taken care of abandoned boys in the streets of Italy and had turned them into men of worth. He had educated them, boarding schools and all, and that might also civilise the savages.

TANKÁMASH'

Where were Shuar people then? Here? There? Where? It was hard. [People were dispersed]. [So, Salesians] thought establishing boarding schools was the best thing they could do. Hence, they sought a way to have children go to boarding schools. These children were [considered by the Salesians to be] the future of Shuar people and having them 'civilised' [also] meant they would then spread civilisation.

R. PITIUR

This [began happening] more than sixty or seventy years ago, in the 1920s. My father, who I presume was born around 1888-1890, and died being some 96 years old, told me he arrived at boarding school after being captured [by Salesian missionaries] when he was some 18, 20, or 22 years old.

R. PITIUR

At that time our territories were still spread at random: Wherever people trekked, hunted, or collected leaves, seeds, and vegetables was considered their lands.

R. PITIUR

Then the Salesian mission of Macas appeared and settled in Sevilla. They grabbed a strip of land five or six hundred square meters wide, almost one kilometre, and spread that in length straight over the cordillera.

R. PITIUR

They said: 'Settler colonist shall live here, and Shuar shall live there, and we shall be the mediators, so no confrontation arises.'

R. PITIUR

They gave clothes and food to those who made their children study at their boarding schools. They made them study until high school and then they said: 'Enough study; now we'll find you a wife or a husband'.

R. PITIUR

My grandparents were born, lived, and died at Paukus', a corner of the Arapicos River. When the Salesians arrived, they captured them and sent them to [their] boarding schools. After they were Christianised, settler society in Macas skilfully position themselves as godparents, and in that world of god-parenting, people began exchanging gifts: machetes, chickens, pigs, and so on, until we were almost vanquished.

R. PITIUR

It was so that we lost our lands. Settler colonists crossed the border [established by the missionaries] and settled on [our] side. Many conflicts over land arose. Settler colonists, however, encouraged by [state] authorities, who were their relatives, continued to move forward.

TANKÁMASH'

Everyone went to boarding school. It was harsh. How could I say it wasn't? It was dreadful. I attended boarding school here, in Sucúa.

TANKÁMASH'

We were fed pig's food! Imagine that! We were three hundred boys and three hundred girls: a total of six hundred. And who cooked [for all that people]? It wasn't the priests or the nuns. It was Shuar [children] themselves! And we didn't know how to cook, so we ate whatever we could make, and we ate poorly.

TANKÁMASH’

I spent so much time inside that boarding school that I got to know perfectly what it was. Later, at some point, I told myself: ‘The priests did wrong’. Should [Shuar] people be resentful of the Salesians for that? Yes! It’s fine to be resentful. But who are those people speaking out against the priests? They have done worse to their own people.

TANKÁMASH’

The notion of civilising Shuar [as understood by the first Salesian priests that arrived was to] have us learn Spanish. That was it. There was nothing more. They never valued our culture. They had a contract with the government, and they were just doing their jobs, and that is just what evangelising is. They thought our language was savage and our customs were savage. That was the way they thought.

TANKÁMASH’

I remember [a] priest that said: ‘Here you have Miguel Nantip’ and we must all congratulate him for his sons do not speak Shuar; they all speak Spanish, and that’s what all Shuar people must do.’ And we applauded.

TANKÁMASH’

Then the Second Vatican Council said that god had manifested to all peoples in accordance to their own cultures. And they came back at us and told us that our spirituality had been right after all.

TANKÁMASH’

Yes, they forced us to speak Spanish and we ate like pigs, as I have said. But, for me, and I spent 16 years at boarding school, if you didn’t live through [that experience], you should not be criticising the mission, as so many people nowadays do.

TANKÁMASH’

When I baptised my first son, [a] priest told me: ‘Hey, Migue, what shall be the name of your son?’ Tsentsak’, I said. ‘How?’, he asked, ‘you are catholic, a Christian, and you have spent so

long a time in the mission, how could you name your son Tsentsak'?' Father, I said, all saints already have Christians names. I want my son to be the first Shuar saint. He laughed and he didn't tell me anything afterwards.

TANKÁMASH'

But, wait, we are getting ahead of ourselves... There was a priest specially in charge of Shuar in every mission, the 'tutor of Jivaros', as their agreement with the government noted. His role was to civilise the Jivaro; to christen the Jivaro. Yet, at the beginning, when a boarding school graduate married and went back home, no one knew where [exactly he or she] had gone. There were no villages. They disappeared. Hence, their work failed to consolidate. There was nothing to show for. No results. So maybe [the Salesians] thought—and this is my opinion based on what I realised after spending a lot of time with Father Juan [Shutka] (they never told me anything)...They [must have] thought we [should live] in a community as indigenous peoples in the highlands do.

E. PITIUR

What did Salesians do? They fenced the lands [and turned them] into indigenous reserves: 'These are ancestral lands...up to here.'

E. PITIUR

They just arrived and said: 'These lands are not yours, but we will give you some land and it will be distributed amongst each family.'

E. PITIUR

How much [land] did our parents receive [here in Sevilla]? Some ten to twelve hectares, and no one had more than twenty hectares. That is what they gave us. And [for themselves the Salesians] took some 10 kilometres from the Upano River to the Kutukú mountain range to be held as their hacienda.

TANKÁMASH'

They didn't want to organise *centros*. They [intended to] organise communities around a church and name them after [Christian] saints. [Their focus was religious] celebration: baptisms, marriages, all of that. That was what they [really] wanted to do here. That was their mentality. [They], for example, formed the communities of San José, San Vicente, Santa María, what have you... Places to hold marriages, baptisms, masses, and a yearly party. That was all their work.

TANKÁMASH'

So, when I became president of the organisation, I changed some names. We switched to Shuar names. And we organised a political future.

TANKÁMASH'

I had been in the mission for a very long time [and because of that] the priests asked me to help as a catechist in order to [convince] old Shuar people to get married, to talk about baptism, and so on...

TANKÁMASH'

I was but a simple boarding school student traveling around assisting a priest, Father Juan Shutka, chief tutor of the Jivaro in Sucúa, as a catechist. And that is how I began visiting [different Shuar] communities and people started telling me practical and real problems [they were having] with settler colonists: land problems, justice problems, being incarcerated, etcetera...

TANKÁMASH'

I had personally seen the injustices committed by [settler colonists] when I was a boy. While in boarding school, I saw the abuse, the disdain, and the disregard [with which settler colonists mistreated Shuar], and I took issue with such matters. It was for this reason that I began promoting Shuar organisation. I realised we needed to organise politically. [Salesian] priests weren't working in that direction nor were they [even] talking like that. They just wanted to

establish communities. They were [our legal] 'tutors' and intervened in land conflicts [with settler colonists] because it was their duty as tutors. They weren't involved in political organisation. No.

TANKÁMASH'

We organised the Sucúa Association [first]. It was called: 'Association of Jivaro centres dependent on the Salesian mission of Sucúa' (that was the name that was approved); and it was positively seen by the priests. Then, I think, [the Salesians] realised that it was a way for us Shuar to lay the responsibility upon ourselves, and thus some priests helped us to form the Shuar Federation to tackle specific problems: social injustice, [settler colonial] exploitation, [the loss of] indigenous lands.

TANKÁMASH'

We are a people. We have our own culture. Our own cosmovision. We had the right to live on our own lands. That was our understanding [as we started] and so we began working in the defence of our lands and against the colonisation programmes sponsored by the [government in the early 1960s].

TANKÁMASH'

The Shuar Federation was then formed with [the Salesian missions of] Bomboiza, Méndez, Limón, Sucúa, Gualaquiza, Yaupi, Sevilla, and Chiguaza: these were the founding members.

R. PITIUR

Miguel Tankámash' was the first president. Then came Ernesto Tseremp. Then Domingo Antún. Then Pedro Kunkumas…

JUEP'

(No. The first president of the Shuar Federation was Domingo Saant; Miguel Tankamash' came right after him.)

PUWUANCHIR

Then it was Bartolomé Juep', and afterwards Ángel Tsamarent, and after Ángel Tsamarent, it was me. I was president of the Shuar Federation at a very young age with [just] 30 years old. I was president twice and then I was replaced by Felipe Tsenkush.

2

NAIKIAI

In the year 1968, when there were still no highways, Miguel Tankámash' and the late Ernesto Tserempt arrived [in Bomboiza]. They stepped into a school classroom and spoke about the organisation. What impacted me the most was what they had to say on social change and class struggle. That had a great impact on me. It was the reason I later decided to pursue a leadership position myself.

NAIKIAI

I began working in the Shuar Federation as a cattle promoter in 1976. The Federation had [just began setting up] cattle cooperatives and a man called Pedro Shiram [appointed to promote the project] stole some money from the Federation and was removed by Miguel Tankámash'. He had noticed me amongst other cattle promoters and when the Board of Directors of the Shuar Federation replaced him, they appointed me [to the post].

NAIKIAI

Brot für die Welt funded the project: 30 million sucres [the Ecuadorean currency between 1884 and 2000]. The Shuar Federation distributed that money to almost every Shuar *centro* existing at the time. Some got 100,000 sucres, some 250,000, others 300,000, and so on. It was a lot of money back in those days. I oversaw [the cooperatives of] Méndez and Limón. I certified the [work of the] communities, I inspected, I approved.

TANKÁMASH'

At the time we had a German agronomist: Hans Neublauch. He was training Shuar technicians to vaccinate cattle and help overlook the cooperatives.

NAIKIAI

The project took off. That is why in some of those [ethnographic] writings it says: 'Shuar, previously hunters and fruit gatherers, went on to become cattle ranchers.' We became cattle ranchers indeed and that had a great impact on us! People began working: Tiink' had 300 heads of cattle, Mutints' had 600 heads of cattle... and there were so many cooperatives. We began to raise capital. These cooperatives made a payment to the Shuar Federation, and we received a salary. The Federation had earnings and a surplus. Money grew.

ATAMAINT

With the mediation of the Salesians, we got international contacts to support and advance economic development through cooperative work: cattle, handicrafts, and sawmill projects for the Shuar Federation.

ATAMAINT

I was in charge of the Federation's education commission at the time, and we came up with the idea that Shuar dispersed settled population would not adapt to a centralised Hispanic schooling system. Radio bilingual education was thus [established as an alternative through] a programme of the Shuar Federation with the [help of foreign aid received for] radio stations and equipment.

E. PITIUR

We got money from Italy, from France, from Spain, from the UK, from the US. They used to issue non-refundable credits in those days. There were millions of dollars from abroad!

PUWUANCHIR

They came and told us: 'Here. Everyone ought to take care of these cattle.' We gulped down saliva because we Shuar are very gluttonous, right? So, whenever a cow died, we all ate it. 'What happened?' 'It died'. 'Where is it?' 'We ate it'.

E. PITIUR

Regrettably, officials got rich and squandered the money, and the projects became a matter of contention.

PUWUANCHIR

That was the great mistake of Salesian management of the Shuar Federation. They had a European outlook because most of them were Europeans: Shutka, Germani, Pellizzaro, Broseghini. That people came here with their own ideas and because they were young people [they tried to instil us their mentality] but they never ever could, and [the projects] never worked.

NAIKIAI

What happened? People began fighting. An 'I want to have it for myself' [mentality] grew. People began distributing [communally own] cattle amongst themselves.

ATAMAINT

It was a cooperative [and therefore] there wasn't freedom for individual management. Some cooperative officials didn't [understand or] value the projection the project had towards the future [nor its potential] for the well-being of Shuar society. Before, individual businesses were easy prey for middlemen and settler colonists, and the cooperatives had rooted out that problem. However, and this was a [significant] issue, cattle cooperatives lacked communal pastureland for their development and [communally owned] cattle were being raised in the private plots of its members. Hence, [communal] cattle rotated between individual land borders inside Shuar *centros* where every Shuar had his or her own individual land.

NAIKIAI

People were saying: 'I am taking care of something that is not mine' and [that eventually led to the disruption of cooperative work].

ATAMAINT

Jealousy began due to the lack of communal land for communal work. And because we tended cattle on private lands, the size of these [private] lands [also] determined the number of heads of cattle each person could raise.

TANKÁMASH'

The regulations [of cattle cooperatives] assigned each person a point per head of cattle under his or her care.

ATAMAINT

Thus, if you had five or six hectares [of pastureland] you received five or six heads of cattle. [That was fine, but people] who had smaller pastureland [usually] worked at a loss.

ATAMAINT

Each day of labour was [equivalent to] one point or half point; and when cattle was sold and cash came in, each member received a bit of money in accordance with their score. [Thence] inequality began to rise because some [people had more land and] were tending more cattle than others [accumulating in consequence more points and so were able to receive more money].

ATAMAINT

How was money distributed? There was an elected board and a treasurer tasked with collecting the funds. Funds were managed in accordance with the directions of the directive board that run [each] cooperative. If you needed a cash advance because of illness or for business purposes, you had to talk to the board. If your son was graduating from school, you had a wedding, a baptism, or that kind of things, you'd ask the board for a bull or a calf as a loan to eat it with your family.

ATAMAINT

That became another sticking point: Sometimes people never paid back [their loans]. That built up pressure on existing problems and more conflicts arose until the [whole] structure collapsed. People then began taking the spoils of the cooperatives according to their recorded scores [accumulated over time]: Some took thirty heads of cattle, other twenty heads of cattle, others ten [heads of cattle], and so on. There was no order. It wasn't fair. Some people ended up with a lot of cattle, officials benefited [disproportionately], and others ended up with no more than five cows.

ATAMAINT

And there was another issue: The system was made to benefit the youth. Those with boarding school studies, with a wider vision, already knew how [to tend cattle and] began renting more pastureland [from neighbours]. Those who only knew how to take care of the forest, who had never had cattle before...

ATAMAINT

How could they have [properly] worked pasturelands? They couldn't. Authentic Shuar were at a disadvantage and working at a loss. Most of them soon lost all their cattle, eating it or selling it, until they had no more.

E. PITIUR

Shuar were never dominated in colonial times. We were not defeated in war. We were dominated by missionaries and priests: It was the cassock that had conquered us.

R. PITIUR

And in this process of great changes, we [Shuar people], lose out.

R. PITIUR

Salesian missionaries brought many resources to the Shuar Federation from within the country and from abroad. And yet they told us: 'It is prohibited to have money'. We were constrained.

R. PITIUR

They told us that having money was a sign of the devil; that having too much land was a sign of the devil. We Shuar needed to be poor, humble, and miserable to be happy—If we wished to go to heaven. This was what they predicated. And some gullible young people, like my grandparents, thought that ought to be.

E. PITIUR

All my ancestors: my grandparents, my parents, my aunts, and uncles, all went to boarding school. They learned to work like dogs opening and cultivating pasturelands.

E. PITIUR

If they would have really taught us the value of money, our grandparents would have begun working [like that] earlier on.

TANKÁMASH'

The [cattle] cooperatives shut down in the year 1989 or 1990, during the administration of Ángel Tsamarent. This happened after all the conflict and division [that beleaguered the Shuar Federation in the 1980s, and it was also caused by an 'intellectual' youth].

TANKÁMASH'

When we got that large foreign fund to set up the cattle projects everyone immediately began to say: 'Now the Shuar Federation will need intellectuals. People with university degrees.'

TANKÁMASH'

I was president of the Shuar Federation seven times through different periods. My last administration finished in January 1981. I left everything: planes, education [programmes], a radio station, a sawmill, the [cattle] commercialisation project. We had cars to transport livestock and meat in freezers, and a lorry to supply [the highland and coastal cities of] Cuenca and Guayaquil.

TANKÁMASH'

Then those people arrived: school leavers who had gone to study in Cuenca and Quito and came back with confused minds.

TANKÁMASH'

They destroyed it all; left nothing. We had four planes. They finished the airlift service. They finished the money we had for the radio station, too, and they lost our equipment. We had five radio transmitters: Two had 10 KW, two had 5 KW, and one had 1.5 KW. They stole all of them. They dismantled the cattle cooperatives and the [radio] education programme.

TANKÁMASH'

It was all destroyed by intellectuals, people who supposedly fashioned themselves as 'intellectuals.'

3

R. PITIUR

Ever since the Shuar Federation was founded in the 1960s [1964], the Salesian mission imposed its will. This lasted until the [late] 1980s when a new generation of leaders rose up [to power], determined to gain independence from the Salesians and achieve self-management and self-determination for Shuar people and the Shuar Federation.

ATAMAINT

Intellectuals thought Shuar in some way could take over financial management and replace the advisory of the Salesian mission.

ATAMAINT

They wanted to break free from the priests, as they said, and they wanted to have no [political] supervision whatsoever.

ANKUASH'

The Salesian mission made this business with the state: First, evangelise. Second, organise land reserves. Third, produce citizens for the country.

ANKUASH'

I am not against Christ nor am I against god. I am, however, strongly against that way of thinking in our heads. Since Christopher Columbus arrived, whenever indigenous peoples were murdered in the Americas there was always a priest in the frontlines, blessing [the victims] and receiving money [from the perpetrators].

ANKUASH'

I was in the Salesian mission [in their boarding schools]. I don't hate them. I hold them in some esteem. I just don't agree with this, and this, and that. When did they ever tell us that land has to be defended? When did they tell us there is [economic and political] value in land?

ANKUASH'

When we were in boarding school, they told us: First, no one will be speaking *shuar chicham* anymore. But we didn't know how to speak Spanish yet, what else were we supposed to speak? Still, Father Vera had a chain to hit us. So, I have told them since: 'You made everything disappear. Now you are just trying to recover whatever you can'.

ANKUASH'

The priests used to tell me I should better compose myself.... 'But, father, I was like this, how could I compose myself?' They were feeding us a bowl of boiled manioc to share amongst five children and the older kids, as soon as we were done praying, would take the food away from us. Sometimes we were left without any food. I rather lived with my mother, eating the peeled sweet potato and the peeled plantain that she gave me.

ANKUASH'

[And, of course, they seized] the best land for themselves. And after they had the best lands in their hands, they told [the world]: 'These people are going to disappear; let's make some

indigenous reserves.' We were allotted in boroughs and gathered in *centros* and left [confined]. Here is one example: [in the South] our lands used to spread from Yantzaza to Gualaquiza; all that was ours. They took it away from us and told us: 'This [now] is [a *centro*], concentrate here.' What was left out was considered unoccupied land. That was their tactic.

ANKUASH'

One of the first things I learn to say to say in Spanish was: 'Excuse me father, shall I have your permission to leave to the *jivaría*?'. I learned that well. Yet, sometimes I didn't go. I turned around and hid myself in the dining room and I saw a father with a Shuar girl. She was always called to the headmaster's office. I saw it once, I saw it twice, and the third time I told my classmates: 'Father Ángel has [I. W.] embraced'. He was force to explain himself. 'I would've never touch a Jivara', he said. I decided right there that I would never believe them.

ANKUASH'

After I married and once I became an *organización* official I told them: You used to hit me before [when I was a child]. But now I am the president of the Bomboiza Association so, either you help me with this, or you leave out of here.

R. PITIUR

What is Pitiur? It's a jungle name. [So, missionaries decided:] 'It must be [changed to] 'Pedro'—like Saint Peter. It is better [to have] a civilised name'. My poor father therefore was named 'Pedro', a civilised name, to spare [the missionaries] the disgust of having to call him Pitiur.

E. PITIUR

I was prying around one day at the Salesian mission and found a letter from Italy requesting $20,000 'for the poor little Jivaro' who were 'very hungry and lacked any clothes to dress up'. I used to work at the storehouses of the mission. There [the Salesians] kept piled up, in a room twice the size of this house, all kinds of donations: mattresses, blankets, bed sheets, clothes, shoes, tools, machetes, mosquito nets. There was food as well: special [powdered] milk because they used to say the Jivaros did not know how to feed themselves properly. One day a nun

called me. She said: 'This, this, this, and that, pack everything well in a box and leave it there.' I thought to myself: 'This shall go to some poor family.' It wasn't that. The nuns worked for rich people. Whom? The nun said: 'Pack it well and stick this note on the box': 'Mrs So-and-So', the wife of a politician; 'Mr So-and-So', the Major of Macas; 'Mrs So-and-So', a very wealthy family. I took all these boxes with the driver and the nun and I went from house to house all day delivering those boxes.

E. PITIUR

I realised on the spot: These people have never worked for Shuar. They are here to favour the rich.

E. PITIUR

It was because of those kinds of situations that we wanted to break away from the Shuar Federation. It was unfair. The Salesians were squandering millions of dollars that had arrived at the Shuar Federation and were being mismanaged and appropriated by priests and nuns.

R. PITIUR

I was president of the Shuar Association of Sevilla [then], and in that capacity, I had been participating at the [Federation's] General Assemblies from a very young age. Over time, my understanding grew and as it did, I told myself: Don't we have a problem? Domingo Antún, Miguel Tankámash', Pedro Kunkumas, they were all very close to the Salesians, and they were just taking turns [in the administration of the Federation].

PUWUANCHIR

That abuse of authority—that form of corruption, that was forced on indigenous organisations, had to be broken and it was indeed broken.

E. PITIUR

Time had gone by, and some twenty years after the Shuar Federation was founded, the life of Shuar people had [radically] changed. We advanced. We were educated and so we developed a different criterion.

ATAMAINT

The Federation had an advisory board of religious character. The [young leaders] didn't like that. Salesian missionaries were not allowed to meddle in the administration of the Shuar Federation, they argued, and [missionary advisors] began having conflicts with the administration of Bartolomé Juep'.

PUWUANCHIR

Miguel Tankámash' had been in power since 1964 [with the support of the Salesian mission] and the group that wished to break away with Salesian control fought against their joined longstanding interests yet they also sought to advance their own personal interests and [to do so] they [tried to] turn the Shuar Federation into a dependency of the state.

TSENKUSH

[There was] political interference. The same [state interests] you see happening nowadays. In those days [too] the government was at odds with indigenous organisations over the exploitation of natural resources in the region: oil and mining.

PUWUANCHIR

The group of Miguel Tankámash' began fighting against Bartolomé Juep's people and what they had planned on doing. [Within the Federation] Bartolomé Juep' was on the presidency and yet Miguel Tankámash' spoke out against him on *Radio Federación* [the Shuar Federation's radio station]. That began an internal power struggle.

TSENKUSH

The Shuar Federation was the largest indigenous organisation and hence the government had an interest in dividing us. Yet the Shuar Federation was [ultimately] divided by [Shuar] separatist groups.

ATAMAINT

The new people had in their minds what they called the 'liberation' of the Shuar Federation.

PUWUANCHIR

It happened what has always happened in history: The Roman Empire fell because of corruption, nepotism, and autocracy. The Inca Empire was the same: corruption, nepotism, and autocracy.

PUWUANCHIR

Some people then decided to leave the Shuar Federation. It was a rushed decision, a hasty choice. I always say: 'You have to at home [even when] is dirty, and you have to be at home to tidy up and clean.' You shouldn't run away. It's not about splitting either; that's just an easy way out. But that's what happened.

4

E. PITIUR

Our ideology was born from a large group of people: The late Enrique Nurinkias, Antonio Chiriap', Rubén Naichap', Hugo Ayuí, and me speaking.

E. PITIUR

We came together when Bartolomé Juep' was president [of the Shuar Federation]. I had just finished high school and began university studies in Quito, and I was secretary at the Shuar Association of Sevilla.

E. PITIUR

Rubén Naichap' and Hugo Ayuí had come with Bartolomé Juep' from Pakints', [Juep's *centro*] in Zamora-Chinchipe, [where] the two of them got married to women in Juep's family.

E. PITIUR

[And] I met Nurinkias and Chiriap' while attending workshops [at the Shuar Federation].

NAIKIAI

The Shuar Federation had a permanent representative in Quito: Enrique Nurinkias, a law student. He was studying on a scholarship funded by the Shuar Federation and his studies were partially paid for with his job as representative.

ATAMAINT

Nurinkias had been my student at the Asunción school. He was a very intelligent boy, very capable. He took advantage of the opportunities he had. He studied, finished his BA, went on to obtain a law degree. He became the representative of the Shuar Federation in Quito and developed contacts in various ministries and with many national authorities. He was also in charge of the Shuar Federation's economic administration and took advantage of the many international contacts we had at the time.

TANKÁMASH'

I designated Enrique Nurikias as a representative [...]. When Bartolomé Juep' got elected president, though, he joined forces [with Juep'] to get their hands on the cattle cooperative fund. They took control of that money. There were complaints. We complained. And it was then that they began the conflicts and formed a new organisation.

NAIKIAI

Nurinkias thought the Shuar Federation needed to be turned into a corporation and be run as a business. He was the first person to come up with such an idea, and that was the beginning of the schism. The beginning of the *kumpachuma* faction.

NAIKIAI

Why were the dissidents called Kumpachuma? To convene their meetings (their own people have told me), they told each other: '*Cumpa, ven, vamos a chumar*', 'Mate [*cumpa*], come, let's get drunk [*chuma*]'. They called themselves that!

R. PITIUR

This all happened since 1983-1984; maybe close to 1985. Right when Bartolomé Juep' had been just elected president.

ATAMAINT

Bartolomé Juep' was the origin of the schism of Shuar people. He ought, before his death, beg the Shuar Federation for forgiveness.

NAIKIAI

When Bartolomé Juep' [came to power in the Federation] he said: 'I'm here to represent professional people'. 'We professionals need to have our own space within the Federation', he said, 'and we don't need to follow the common practice of the institution'. 'We need change. We need to take up a new mentality'. That's how he began to speak, and he started to give space to business-minded people. People who, for example, had contacted oil companies and big businesses. People with close ties to the national state.

NAIKIAI

Teachers and professionals were not usually elected officials at the Shuar Federation in those days. Miguel [Tankámash'] used to say that teachers were most needed teaching children and should not abandon that [task] to come into politics. We had that idea. That was part of the discontent that pushed professionals into the Shuar Federation. People outside politics thought that we officials were getting rich in our posts. These were the ideas [pushed forward by] Bartolomé Juep'.

NAIKIAI

The [other] idea Juep' [was pushing forward] was provincial decentralisation. The communities of Zamora-Chinchipe always had a second position within the Shuar Federation and were not given much importance.

NAIKIAI

Bartolomé Juep' was the first president of the Shuar Federation to have come from Zamora-Chinchipe, and he thought that creating provincial Federation offices was helpful to have more projects and money [and resources from provincial state administrations].

TANKÁMASH'

Bartolomé Juep' [and his people] arrived saying: 'We don't need anyone. We don't need priests; we don't need foreigners.' 'I will rule'. 'I am the boss'. They booted everyone and finished off the [cattle] cooperatives. That's what they did.

PUWUANCHIR

The money that came [from abroad] disappeared in their hands. Miguel Tankámash', though, concealed it. He didn't want this to go public because Nurinkias was from Asunción [which is Tankámash's *centro*] and we Shuar reside in the kinship networks that surround us. Miguel Tankámash' couldn't afford a fight with the Nurinkias kin, and so he was obliged to let that go.

JUEP'

Since I was a child, way before I was elected president of the Shuar Federation, I had this thought: I shall prepare myself to one day free Shuar people from a thousand injustices and a thousand ties. So, let me tell you, my friend, I arrived at the following slogan: 'I will sit on the noses of all these [colonialist] bastards and take a shit in their mouths'.

JUEP'

They say I created the schism of the Shuar Federation. They have accused me of that. They say I created [factions in] Macas, Zamora-Chinchipe, [and] the Transkutukú region. I only spoke of decentralised management. I proposed provincial administrations because a centralised organisation was not attending the needs of Shuar people in Zamora-Chinchipe or in Pastaza. People had a hard time walking all the way to Sucúa. I [hence] wanted to adapt the managerial structure of the Hispanic state. They have a governorship in each province, and I said: 'Lets adapt that criteria and have the Shuar Federation in each province.' That's all I wanted, and

they said: 'Bartolomé Juep' has destroyed the Shuar Federation.' I wasn't intending that the Shuar Federation would split. My idea was to attract and capture government funds for each province.

JUEP'

I finished training as a teacher and went straight to work at the primary school of Pakints'. I worked there for one year and was elected *síndico*. I [therefore] participated in the General Assembly [of the Shuar Federation] as a representative of the *centro*; and people elected me as official in the education board. There were but ten trained teachers in the entirety of the Shuar Federation at the time and more than two hundred schools loosely scattered through the provinces of Zamora-Chinchipe, Morona-Santiago, and southern Pastaza. How do we multiply those ten professionals? We came up with radio education. That was how the bilingual radio education system was born and how I entered [Shuar] politics.

JUEP'

I had a forward-looking mind and people didn't understand. I used, for instance, the term 'social change'. People didn't understand [what I meant] at the time. They lived in their own world and I was lightyears ahead… and so they said: 'You want to transplant your brain into ours'. They understood it that way. I wanted a social revolution: a change in our way of life without losing our cultural roots. We needed to walk at galloping speed towards science and technology. That doesn't mean we shall forget our culture, but we don't need to live like our ancestors just because we are indigenous. So, I knocked at the doors of banks, and at the doors of municipal governments… I looked for regional development programmes, and I knocked [at their doors] without fear. I kicked the doors opened at the police and at the military. We have rights; and I didn't have shame anymore. I no longer had any [shame in being indigenous anymore].

JUEP'

When [years later] I was elected [president of the Shuar Federation] I went to office [armed] with a strong voice and several key words. The first thing I did was to set up a complete restructure. Things were not good, I thought, no president of the Shuar Federation has ever worked under his own ideology. Everything [was] coming from foreign heads and the thoughts of that [foreign] people [was] guiding our organisation.

JUEP'

'To me', I said, 'the Shuar Federation is a great ship, and the rudder of this great ship called Shuar Federation ought to be in the hands of an authentic Shuar leader. If we allow ourselves to be manipulated by other people, that people will steer the ship towards their own interests.'

JUEP'

I felt the Shuar Federation was not being managed by authentic and legitimate Shuar. No. Its hands were tied, and it was being run by foreigners: Hans Neublauch, a German, some Italian priests, and Juan Shutka. [...] Not everything was going well in the Federation.

JUEP'

There were several parents who disagreed with the bilingual radio education system. Why? Because their children, once they finished primary school and moved to technical school in settler towns, didn't know enough. So, their parents said: 'This education system is no good'. 'We have tried it since primary school and is not worth it'. I thus decided to call on a meeting. We split in two: Some supported the establishment of bilingual state schooling, and some were in favour of keeping radio education.

JUEP'

[Within the Shuar Federation's government board] Bosco Atamaint sided with radio education, and I favoured bilingual state schooling. It wasn't a clash; we just had very different mentalities. So, I said: 'with these 20 [students] we are going to start a new bilingual state

school, and I went to Macas to talk with the Hispanic education supervision office and proposed the idea and the idea took off.

JUEP'

We had a sawmill industry: IMOS, *Industria Maderera Oriental Shuar* ['Amazonian Shuar Wood Industries']. I did some research on it [early on during my presidency]. I went to the archives, and I read the import documents of the machinery. The machinery had been a donation to the Shuar Federation. The legal owner was the Shuar Federation and [I thought] the managers should have been the board of officials. If it was the Shuar Federation's property, we should have had some income from it. I went to the treasury to verify. There had never been any income [recorded]. How could it be that this industry, Amazonian Shuar Wood Industries, had no income at all? I grew suspicious. 'Something here is not on the right path', I thought. I requested information on the sawmill managers. [It turned out] it was run by Miguel Tankámash', a North American son-in-law of his, and some other foreigners. They had been hiring workers and they had been paying those salaries [themselves]. In sum: they were the owners of the sawmill.

JUEP'

And there were several cars, too: One driven by Hans Neublauch; another driven by Juan Shutka; another [driven] by an assistant technician, used almost as their personal property. These people's mobilisation, I [soon] discovered, came entirely from the Federation's coffers and I thought that was wrong, totally wrong. 'Let's regulate', I said, 'these are the Shuar people's vehicles and as a Shuar Federation property it must be administered by myself'. Therefore, I decided that the keys would be handed to me whenever [the vehicles were] not in use and the cars would remain parked outside the Federation.

JUEP'

I convened a meeting with officials at the Shuar Federation. Foreigner assessors and Salesian missionaries arrived. 'This is a meeting reserved for Shuar people elected democratically by the General Assembly', I said, 'you may not take part, you may not even come in; get out'.

JUEP'

In that meeting I decided that all [foreign] managers should give in, as soon as possible, and before a final deadline, all properties and industries owned by the Shuar Federation to be managed by us, Shuar officials, under my ultimate responsibility as its top authority. We needed to know how much money there was in the Shuar Federation and produce accounts directly to the people.

JUEP'

In your mouse mind, and according to your criteria, maybe I am booting out assessors. No. I [was] disciplining them because they have been unruly. Nothing else.

NAICHAP'

We the youngsters wanted Shuar people to learn to take their own decisions with a viewpoint that would be independent from the priests.

NAICHAP'

I was studying in Loja at the time. It must have been a time close to my graduation as technologist. The Shuar Federation was then governed by people from Sucúa and under the tight oversight of the Salesians.

NAICHAP'

[The Salesian mission] had at the time a strong grip on power through Shuar themselves, because Shuar [officials] were all former students of their boarding schools. They were [not only personally and ideologically] close to Salesian missionaries, [but] they were Roman Catholics themselves.

NAIKIAI

Every single president that had headed the Shuar Federation [until that point] had been educated by the Salesian mission. That was true.

NAIKIAI

The Salesian have always been close to the Shuar Federation. They have always said or suggested who people should vote for and it has always been a person close to them.

NAICHAP'

[The Salesian mission moreover] exercised further political control in Shuar communities through the designation of an *etserín*, a 'chief catechist', working [inside the *centros*] in parallel to [the authority of elected] *síndicos*.

NAICHAP'

These 'religious assessors' were deployed in each canton and at every Shuar association. And although they [officially] worked as catechists, at the same time they communicated and informed the priests of what was going on inside Shuar communities. They reported what the *síndicos* were doing, what [other elected] officials were doing, and what was their political positions.

NAICHAP'

Political control, therefore, was exercised directly by the church and through [Salesian] assessors. The president of the Shuar Federation, the president[s] of Shuar association[s] were directly told what they ought to do… and whenever a *síndico* failed to align with the Salesian mission's viewpoint or disagreed with these *etserín*, he was ousted.

NAICHAP'

All our people thought: 'Enough. These priests ought to devote their time to religious matters and leave politics to independent leaders outside Salesian control.'

PUWUANCHIR

I never had a good relationship with the priests, but I wasn't too harsh on them either. [But even] I, in the directory board [of the Shuar Federation] and in the radio, used to say: 'The Salesians came here for our souls, so we stop killing and hating each other. That is their mission. They haven't come for the cattle or the land or any other projects nor have they come to do business with the light aircraft they have acquired in our name."

NAICHAP'

So, we wanted to seize power to separate religion from politics. We wanted the same that happened in Great Britain: to separate the king from the pope. We wanted to break free from the priests.

NAICHAP'

That was the main issue [Salesian control of] the administration. The second [issue] was the centrality of control. Resources, support, aid...it all went just to Sucúa and the Upano River valley. Zamora-Chinchipe was left out, Pastaza wasn't even considered. Central planning ruled the management of projects and we wanted a fair distribution of resources and aid coming to the Federation from abroad.

JUEP'

I made an agreement and opened the door to Shuar citizens to take up bank credits in accordance to their economic managerial capacity, so that their material conditions could improve.

JUEP'

The banks said: 'The doors are opened, *compañero* Shuar'. 'In bestowal of our free and democratic ways, and according to your managerial capacity, take a credit with our bank.' 'Work the land. Produce. Increase your capital'. 'Yes', I told them, 'But before you lend us any credit, you will [first] train our people, because we Shuar don't have the [same] mentality of economic management [you have].'

JUEP'

Ah, those parasitic pseudo-officials said: 'Money is going to destroy and corrupt Shuar people'. Screw them. They didn't want their people to develop. We knew money was essential to escape poverty and we needed the money to educate our children.

NAICHAP'

That [was] produc[ing] a lot of discontent. We debated passionately about the [economic] decentralisation of [the Federation's development] projects and the separation of religion and politics. Those were the high points of political debate in those years. We wanted someone outside Salesian control to head the Shuar Federation.

NAICHAP'

And when Bartolomé [Juep] was legally elected president [we had that change for a while; we tried to realise our ideals]. Yet, the people of Sucúa, taking advice from the Salesians, organised a coup d'état. He was ousted while abroad, when he was on a trip to Brazil, and they seized the headquarters of the Federation. And who came back to power? The conservatives.

JUEP'

They were opposed to me from day one. They never liked the fact that I had come from Zamora-Chinchipe. They said: 'This man is from another place, and we won't take it.' 'How can someone from Zamora-Chinchipe dare to come here [to Sucúa] as a leader and try to impose his order on us?'

5

PUWUANCHIR

These days I hear young people say: 'We are a warrior people, a rebellious people. We have resisted everything and everyone: the Spanish, the Inca…' 'We are fearless. The only example of head shrinkers in the world.'

PUWUANCHIR

Then they say: 'Our ancestors were wise. They might have never attended university, but they found in the jungle all the medicine they needed to survive.' And yet they also say: 'Settler colonists deceived those wise men to barter land in exchange of t-shirts and shotguns.'

PUWUANCHIR

Shuar are [indeed] artists in the forest, scientists. We can spend our whole lives there: no need for rice, no need for induction cookers, no need for electricity. Those [above] are [however] all rushed and light expressions: passionate, emotive, and ultimately political; leading us to failure. Who were our ancestors killing? Whose heads were they slaying and shrinking? Some Waorani [people] perhaps? Kichwa people in the highlands? Or he killed your own uncle and in-laws?

PUWUANCHIR

Shuar never lived in harmony amongst each other. They lived in family as kin groups: the Tankámash', the Puwuanchir, the Atamaint. Tankámash' would have never joined forces with Atamaint where they are not linked through marriage or to barter witchcraft [knowledge] or to attack another kin group.

PUWUANCHIR

We mostly used to kill each other. Shuar were great warriors against their own kin, and we have to accept things as they are.

R. PITIUR

The late Ángel Tsamarent was elected [interim] president immediately after Bartolomé Juep' was ousted.

R. PITIUR

Juep' and Chiriap' were expelled from the Shuar Federation on charges of embezzlement. [...] And [soon] things reached towards an irreconcilable situation.

NAIKIAI

I was elected land-conflicts chief at the Shuar Federation, [and years later] official at CONAIE, and vice-president of COICA [Coordinator of Indigenous Organisations of the Amazon River Basin].

NAIKIAI

When I was land-conflicts chief in the Shuar Federation, I used to meet Nurinkias in Quito whenever our commission travelled [there]; and we used to talk often.

NAIKIAI

His intention was to become president of the Shuar Federation and introduce his politics. He was working towards it, together with some people.

NAIKIAI

Who were leading this? Nurinkias, Chiriap', Naichap', and Ayuí. They led; and they wanted Nurinkias in the presidency. After Bartolomé Juep' was ousted, they planned on taking over the Shuar Federation and implant their ideas. They wanted to have him elected at the next election at the General Assembly.

ANKUASH'

Enrique Nurinkias, studying in Quito, met with Jimmy Villareal, a Hispanic communist, Álvarez, an MP, and a military agent.

ANKUASH'

There was a political party in this country called FADI. They were socialists-communists and Jimmy Villareal was the local link with FADI's [national] directive. They were plotting with Nurinkias [and together played a role] in the division of the Shuar Federation. I since have distrusted socialists and communists; all of them. I even distrust anthropologists. How do you say you defend the poor and divide people?

ANKUASH'

I had just entered in the Federation. I had a very fast career: only three months here [as *síndico* in my *centro*], seven months in charge of the [Bomboiza] Association, and [then I was elected] in the Federation [as vice-president].

ANKUASH'

I had made a name for myself defending indigenous land and recovering invaded reserves. Enrique Nurinkias and Bartolomé Juep' had seen me carrying out such actions. They said: 'Domingo Ankuash' is a strong man', and when I arrived in Sucúa [for the General Assembly] I was called by Nurinkias and taken to a small canteen in town. There I met Jimmy Villareal, Bartolomé Juep', Álvarez [the MP], and that military man. They were sitting there with a box of beer and bottle of whisky. So, I said: 'Before we drink anything, what is the motive of this invitation?' (I had already heard rumours of them plotting to create internal divisions).

ANKUASH'

They wanted me on their side. They told me: 'We want to take over [the Shuar Federation] and we want you to command'. I didn't drink and I told them: 'See, Enrique, you are studying in university, you have a scholarship paid for by the Federation, and I have supported you as an official, you can't make these mistakes.' 'What is the problem?', I said. 'I want to be the president of the Shuar Federation' [, he said]. 'Well,' I told him, 'I also want to be the president. Everybody wants! Yet you must have merit for without merit, no one is going to elect you.'

NAIKIAI

I had access to confidential information. Their plan was to infiltrate all *centros*. They had researched which [Shuar] associations were stronger and why these associations were strong. It was because of local leadership, they concluded. They drew a map from south [to north]: Bomboiza was strong; Chiguaza was strong; Pastaza was strong. Their intention was to kill, one by one, every strong leader [in those associations] and to do this they contacted ¡Alfaro Vive

Carajo! [a Marxist guerrilla, active through 1983-1991]. They were working together. The plan was to have people under their direction heading all Shuar associations.

ANKUASH'

I told them: 'I disagree with you, and I don't want to have anything to do with it. I am a Shuar Federation official, and I will go back to the General Assembly and become your first opponent.'

ANKUASH'

I told them: 'I'm going to fight against you. You know me, Enrique, I don't care that you are university educated and have a university degree. I will fight against you, be sure of that, and we shall prevail, even without a degree, because I do believe in people living in the forest.

NAIKIAI

In the end, they didn't do it. They didn't kill anyone. They reasoned: 'If we eliminate these leaders we will later get in trouble.' The only one we know they might have killed was Ricardo [Tankámash'], the brother of Miguel Tankámash'. They killed him with the accomplice of some Shuar and some settler policemen.

NAIKIAI

Nurinkias wrote a letter on 18 November 1985 addressed to Antonio Chiriap', part of the people who were plotting this. I was bound to travel to Quito for a meeting and Antonio Chiriap' approached me and told me: 'Please take this letter to Nurinkias'. 'OK', I told him. As I was land-conflicts chief at the Shuar Federation, whenever I went to Quito, I used to go to CONAIE and stay there. Nowadays the building is mostly a workplace but, in those days, there was just one big room filled with beds and mattresses.

NAIKIAI

That night curiosity grew on me. What kind of a letter was I delivering? I got suspicious; and I had a hunch. That night I carefully opened the enveloped and read the letter. The next day I

made a photocopy (the photocopy you have now in your hands) and went to Nurinkias' office to deliver the letter.

NAIKIAI

I took the photocopy to the communications and media official at the Shuar Federation. He was an Achuar (at the time the Shuar Federation still represented Shuar and Achuar peoples), and he made it public trough the radio. He read the letter on the air and from that day on they were known everywhere as 'kumpachuma'.

THE PHOTOCOPY YOU HAVE NOW IN YOUR HANDS

ASSOCIATION OF SHUAR CENTRES SEVILLA DON BOSCO
MATSATKAMU "KURI NUNKA"

Sevilla, 18 November 1985

Mr.
Lawyer Enrique Nurinkias
Representative of the Shuar Federation in Quito
Delivered by hand

Dear Sir:

Hereby I shall communicate the following:

The work plan set by the movement, which you already know, progresses one hundred percent positively. I want you to trust me, my brother, everything will be fine. We are all working tirelessly and Enrique, my brother, shall travel to Quito tomorrow to meet you and advance on a number of pending matters. Tomorrow, we shall convene an assembly of elected officials [*síndicos*] in the Sevilla Association and further progress on our work. I shall also inform you that on the 15th of this month I was elected Deputy Mayor of Macas (my brother shall tell you more details about this). Finally, I want you to welcome all of my cumpachuma mates [*compadres*] from my Association, and find a very precise way to channel credit sources in the FED[ERATION] towards them, so they may vent their aspirations. Some of them are *síndicos* in my Association.

My brother shall tell you more details regarding those opposing us and other crises.

Without any other alternative, yours sincerely,

IRUNTRAR
KAKARMAITJI

Antonio Chiriap Shamich.
President.

E. PITIUR

We arrived at the General Assembly and there were two crowds: those with the priests and those who were against the Salesian Curia.

NAIKIAI

Just before the General Assembly we began to hear rumours of violence and division and they circulated the following manifesto. It reads:

THE LETTER READ BY NAIKIAI

Sucúa, 24 January 1986

MR.
PRESIDENT ADHOC OF THE XXIII GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Elected officials of the *centros* and associations
Religious Advisers
The entirety of Shuar people listening through the Shuar Federation radio station

FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE SHUAR FEDERATION:

We, the signatories, sign this letter as responsible representatives of a true Shuar people. Therefore, and conscious of our need to achieve the comprehensive development of our people, we request and denounce the following:

1.- Many delegates legally representing our *centros* have been banned from receiving official credentials from the Shuar Federation citing their 'political activities.'

2.- Many delegates legally representing our *centros* have received official credentials from the Shuar Federation only as mere 'observers' because they openly support the candidacy of Mr. Enrique Nurinkias for the precedency of the Shuar Federation. We have been informed of these decisions by elected officials who have raised their voices and their hoary bull faces and behaved as dictators of the first century.

3.- Miguel Tankámash', Cristóbal Naikiai, and the President of CONFENIAE have entered the session room in open breach of the resolutions of the XXIII General Assembly and have plainly stick up for their personal interests.

4.- According to the book of Internal Regulations of the Shuar Federation, all public employees (this means every radio teacher hired by the state) can't be present in the session room of the General Assembly of the Shuar Federation.

5.- Most troubling, the radio teachers hired by the state have been allowed in the session room of the General Assembly of the Shuar Federation, with the right to voice and vote, while the police has not allowed the entry of our representatives despite their official credentials from the Shuar Federation as 'observers.'

In consequence, we reject and request the following:

The [national] police, in use of its legal powers and safeguarding the resolutions of the XXIII General Assembly, must immediately evict Mr. Cristóbal Naikiai, a lazy and dishonest politician; Mr. Miguel Tankámash', a thief and eternal King of the Shuar; and the abusive and schemer President of CONFENIAE, Mr. Cristóbal Tapuy.

Every single representative and delegate, whose entry was rejected by the dictators Marcelo Tsamaraint and Antonio Papue, must immediately be allowed inside the session room of the General Assembly of the Shuar Federation.

We demand the immediate expulsion of all the radio teachers hired by the state that had been allowed inside the session room of the General Assembly of the Shuar Federation and are headed by that King Herod named Bosco Atamaint'.

LISTEN, DEAR SHUAR BROTHERS AND FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE SHUAR FEDERATION. THE PRESIDENT AD HOC OF THE XXIII GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE 1986-1988 PRESIDENT AND GENERAL BOARD OF THE SHUAR FEDERATION HAS ALREADY BEEN ELECTED. WE ARE BUT BLACK SHEEP AND PERPETUALLY JIVARO [SAVAGES] (AS THE SALESIAN ASSESSORS HAVE ALWAYS CALLED US). FOR THESE REASONS, WE SHALL REJECT ALL RADIO TEACHERS, [RELIGIOUS] SUPERVISORS, AND [FOREIGN] EMPLOYEES OF THE SHUAR FEDERATION. THEY ARE ALL THIEVES OF THE SHUAR PEOPLE AND WE SHALL SOON LEGALLY DENOUNCE THEM.

SIGNATURES

Hugo Ayuí
President, Panki Association
[...]

E. PITIUR

Our motion was to have the Salesian missionaries out of the General Assembly. The General Assembly didn't accept this, and we left the room in resentment.

E. PITIUR

They refused to accept the candidature of Enrique Nurinkias. He represented a different trend and without the backing of the Salesian mission he couldn't run. He was rejected because he had a different ideology. What did we do? We left; we broke apart.

NAICHAP'

We failed to obtain, first, broad acceptance, because we were young and we weren't very well-known; and second, the priests had a tight grip on the elections and told people in the associations who they should vote for. We lost and the [General Assembly] was controlled by their line of thought.

NAIKIAI

They had planned to take over the Shuar Federation and implant their ideas. The people didn't let them, though. We didn't let them. So, as soon as they lost [the elections], they began to divide us.

E. PITIUR

The late Enrique Nurinkias intended to run for the presidency, but when he intended to be inscribed [at the ballot box], two Salesian priests arrived. The first one used to work in Taisha and the other one in Santiago [two densely populated hinterland regions]. They had been delegated as communal authorities [on behalf of Taisha and Santiago] and had together some four hundred votes. Then another priest arrived from Yaupi [also in the hinterlands] with some fifty votes and Luis Bola, who represented the Achuar, arrived with two hundred and fifty [more] votes. When adding everything they had more than five hundred votes and won the elections.

E. PITIUR

We didn't like that. It wasn't fair that a person came and said: 'I am voting for three hundred people'. It was absurd.

NAIKIAI

They couldn't enter [to the General Assembly]. They were outside and began shouting. The ad hoc president decided not to read their communiqué.

E. PITIUR

We said: 'We leave the General Assembly now and will find a way to form a new Shuar Federation'.

CHUMAP

I was also invited to the General Assembly in the headquarters of the Shuar Federation in Sucúa [as an elected official from Zamora-Chinchipe]. We were [assembled] there for two or three days. On the third day, Hugo Ayuí and Rubén Naichap' led the way to become enemies

of the Shuar Federation. They were guided by an architect named Jimmy Villareal who told them: 'Do, I shall help you.' His father was a former parliament member named Alberto Villareal, who has a house in Quito, and the son, the architect, who lived in Macas, said: 'Do this, Rubén' and so did Rubén [Naichap'].

NAIKIAI

Some of the people inside left the room. They all left to a radio station in Macas and gave a press conference on the radio. That very night they held a parallel assembly and declared the creation of a new organisation.

NAICHAP'

We tried to take control of the Shuar Federation with people that were outside Salesian control. Yet something failed. We failed to accomplish that. The Shuar Federation continued to be under their control.

NAICHAP'

[And] when we failed, we felt so dissatisfied with the same political control to be in charge of power that we took a radical decision. It wasn't the most mature act, yet we did it nonetheless and took the decision to leave. To protest and leave and open the road to a new and completely independent organisation.

ANKUASH'

They left the room saying: 'Those of you who stand with us, let's go'. Only fifty people left but they began walking around and became very influential in the communities. Today we call the Kumpachuma people, dissidents. They began to tell people [in *centros*] that they were going to obtain private land titles and bank credit and some people even sold their cattle to support them.

E. PITIUR

We came together and formed this [parallel] organisation. It was founded as soon as we broke away with the General Assembly. That moment we said: what name shall we go with? And 'New Shuar Organisation of Ecuador' was born.

R. PITIUR

We had most of the people in the Association of Sevilla, the Association of Gualaquiza, and the Association of Limón, and some percentage of [the people in] Taisha and Chiguaza. The president of the Shuar Federation of Pastaza (what today is called FEPNASH), also joined us. And Rubén Naichap' was designated president of the Shuar Association of El Pangui, in Zamora-Chinchipe.

R. PITIUR

We went outside [the Shuar Federation headquarters] and gathered in Sucúa's main square. We asked the municipality for loudspeakers. We went to the Major and told him about our situation.

E. PITIUR

We began speaking out through the loudspeakers of the Municipality of Sucúa. We gave a stirring speech in front of three hundred people who had come from Zamora-Chinchipe, Morona-Santiago, and Pastaza. Through the loudspeaker, we said: 'Here we split, and we shall form our own organisation with its own legal capacity'.

CHUMAP'

I was there. It was the 27, 28, 29 [24, 25, 26] of January [1986]. We were all there when the problems arose. There were clashes but no deaths yet.

E. PITIUR

People shouted against the main officials of the Shuar Federation. Then we decided to go to Macas. We all went to Macas. Enrique Nurinkias oversaw the Shuar Federation's bank accounts and of all the money that came in from abroad.

R. PITIUR

(Nurinkias administered some 28 million sucres, [equivalent to] some $38,000 or $40,000 US dollars [from international funds destined to land programme financed by an American organisation]).

E. PITIUR

Nurinkias drew the money and hired buses for our mobilisation. In Macas, we gathered at the National School. Roberto Villareal, the principal, lent us the space. We convened a congress and decided the name of the new organisation, designated an ad hoc board of officials in charge of calling elections, and drew a plan to acquire legal recognition. We had with us almost half the members of the Shuar Federation.

E. PITIUR

We left the General Assembly with most of Zamora-Chinchipe, a part of the Upano, Chiguaza, Huamboya, and Palora.

E. PITIUR

In those days, the Shuar Federation was an inter-provincial federation. Back then there was not the idea that each province was separate. We also wanted to be inter-provincial, and we were: Pastaza, Sucumbíos, and Zamora-Chinchipe were ours. Morona-Santiago was the headquarters, but the land was so vast that we couldn't control it all. This is why [later] Zamora-Chinchipe decided to split from Morona-Santiago and become independent and form its own federation.

R. PITIUR

Years later, people stopped liking the 'New' part. It wasn't new anymore and we settled in 'Shuar Organisation of Ecuador'.

TSENKUSH

They created an organisation named NOSHE, 'New Shuar Organisation of Ecuador'. The Shuar Federation fought until this organisation disappeared. Then OSHE, the 'Shuar

Organisation of Ecuador', was immediately created. We kept on fighting them, and while we were busy here [in Sucúa], another separatist group rose up in the South and took Zamora-Chinchipe apart.

CHUMAP

Yes. We became independent. Those who wanted to belong to the Zamora-Chinchipe Federation separated from Morona-Santiago.

CHUMAP

So what did they do? They spoke with Simón Rivadeneira, MP from Morona-Santiago, a tall white [man] who was working for the Shuar Federation. He was working [in parliament] in Quito and he sell-out. He decided to stop helping the [Shuar people of] Morona-Santiago [and switched sides to support the Shuar people of Zamora-Chinchipe]. There was this MP from Zamora-Chinchipe, a [man] whose last name was Valencia, who was also in Quito, and became close friends with Rivadeneira. Then, the two of them wrote the legal paperwork to create what was called '*samuria shuar iruntramu*', 'Shuar Federation of Zamora-Chinchipe', and that's how we became independent from Morona-Santiago.

E. PITIUR

It wasn't allowed by the Shuar Federation in Sucúa. They didn't want another Federation to be established.

E. PITIUR

The Salesian mission and the episcopate made our life impossible. The Salesian mission had great power and they pushed for the state to deny us legal recognition. They interfered with the central government and its ministries.

E. PITIUR

There were conflicts everywhere in the days following the schism. They killed a member of OSHE in Taisha, and out of fear, the community returned to the Shuar Federation soon afterwards. They tried to do that everywhere, but they failed to frighten more people. We

received threats and people gathered in front [of our houses (in Sevilla)] and began shouting, but it didn't go beyond that.

E. PITIUR

Then, [some years later] that big clash happened at the Chuchumbleza River.

CHUMAP

What happened then? Between these two provinces there was conflict and there was death. The [people] of Morona-Santiago began destroying the house of Bartolomé Juep', here, in the Chuchumbleza river. They had climbed over the roof, and they were taking out the tiles, dismantling the house, to destroy it.

R. PITIUR

The Shuar Federation made the decision of forcefully capturing Pakints', forcefully capturing Panki, and entering [in Zamora-Chinchipe] all the way over Yacuambi. The people of Bomboiza [the Bomboiza Shuar Association] went to Pakints' trying to force them to return to the Shuar Federation, and began burning down houses, battering people, and abusing girls, and so on... Until the people of [Zamora-Chinchipe] got enraged and well... That's how the big upheaval happened.

ASOCIACION DE CENTROS SHUAR DE SEVILLA DON BOSCO
MATSATKAMU "KURI NUNKA"

Sevilla, 18 de noviembre de 1.985

Señor. Lcdo.
Enrique Nurinkias
REPRESENTANTE DE LA FEDRACION DE CENTROS SHUAR EN QUITO
En su despacho.

De mis consideraciones:

Mediante el presente permitame comunicarle el siguiente:

El trabajo trasado por el móvimiento que Usted ya sabe marcha en fosma posátiva ciento por ciento, mi hermano quiero que confies en mi persona y todo irá bien ademas le comunico que los companieros ; Juan, Enrique, estamos trabajando incaneablemente, mi hermano Enrique viaja a Quitp para entrovistar con su persona y adelantar serie detrabajos pendientes, mañana tendremos Asamblea de Sindicos de la Asociación deSevilla, dicha reunión tiene objetivos de nuestro trabajo, Ademas informo que el dia quince del presente mes fui electo Vicealcalde de Macas, mi hermano informará en forma detallado y por ultimo quiero que recibas a mis compadres compachumas de mi Asociación y busques manera muy presie so de canalizar tramites para un crédito en la FED y así desfoguen sus aspiraciones, algunos de ellos son Sindicos de mi Asociación.
Detalles sobre la oposición y demas crisis te contará mi hermano.

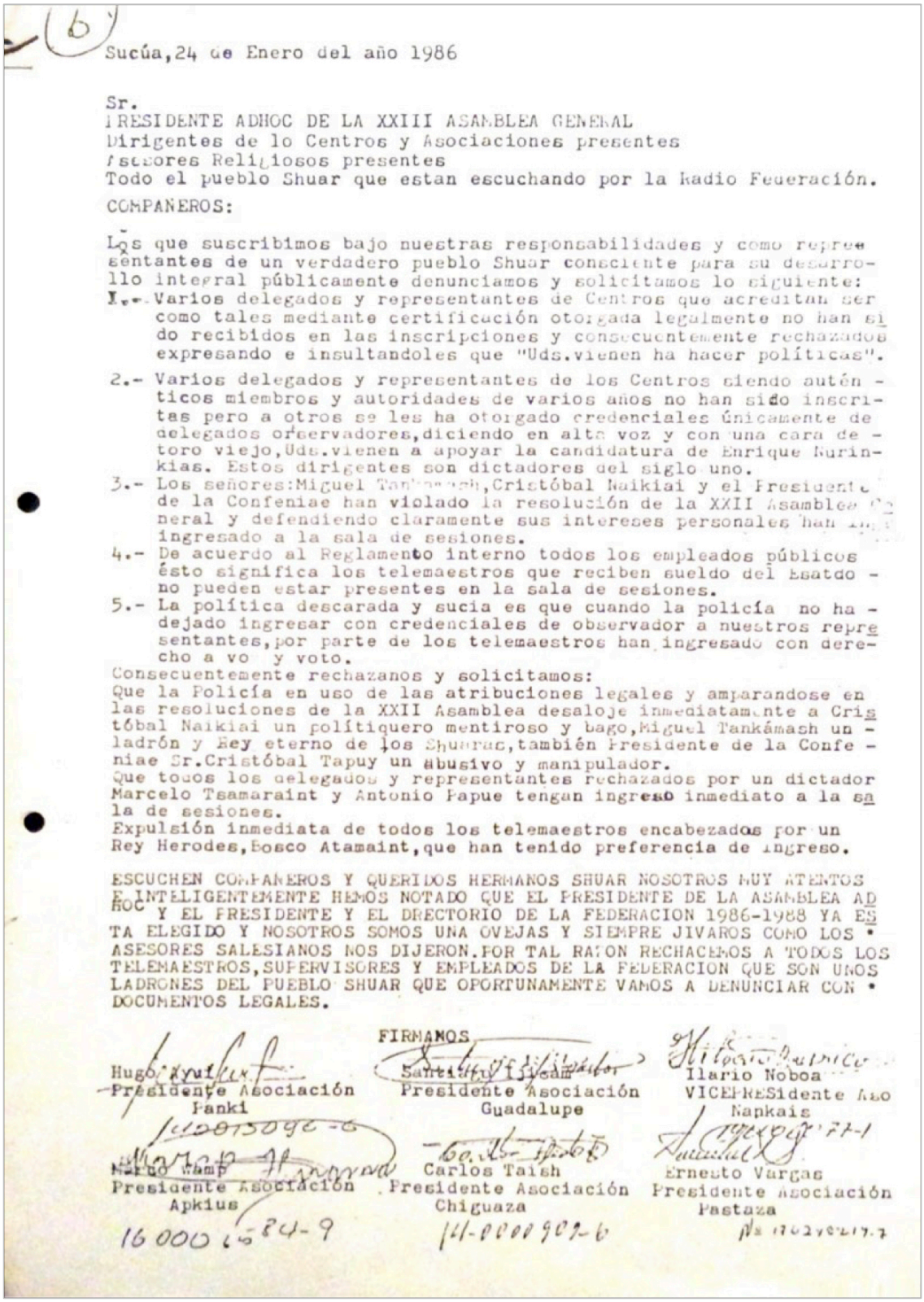
Sin tener otra ninguna otra alternativa me suscribo de Usted muy Atentamente.

IRUNTRAR
KAKARMAITJI

TII ANTONIO CHIRIAP/ SHAMICH.
PRESIDENTE.

ASOCIACION
SHUAR
de SEVILLA DON B.
Morona Santiago

Document 9. Letter sent by Antonio Chiriap', president of the Sevilla Shuar Association, to Enrique Nurinkias, representative of the Shuar Federation in Quito. The letter was intercepted and as a result the term '*kumpachuma*' entered Shuar political language. 18 November 1985.



(6)

Sucúa,24 de Enero del año 1986

Sr.
PRESIDENTE ADHOC DE LA XXIII ASAMBLEA GENERAL
Dirigentes de lo Centros y Asociaciones presentes
Señores Religiosos presentes
Todo el pueblo Shuar que estan escuchando por la Radio Feueración.

COMPAÑEROS:

Los que suscribimos bajo nuestras responsabilidades y como representantes de un verdadero pueblo Shuar consciente para su desarrollo integral públicamente denunciamos y solicitamos lo siguiente:

1.- Varios delegados y representantes de Centros que acreditan ser como tales mediante certificación otorgada legalmente no han sido recibidos en las inscripciones y consecuentemente rechazados expresando e insultandoles que "Uds.vienen ha hacer políticas".

2.- Varios delegados y representantes de los Centros siendo auténticos miembros y autoridades de varios años no han sido inscritas pero a otros se les ha otorgado credenciales únicamente de delegados observadores,diciendo en alta voz y con una cara de toro viejo,Uds.vienen a apoyar la candidatura de Enrique Nurinkias. Estos dirigentes son dictadores del siglo uno.

3.- Los señores:Miguel Tankamash,Cristóbal Naikiai y el Presidente de la Confeniae han violado la resolución de la XXII Asamblea General y defendiendo claramente sus intereses personales han ingresado a la sala de sesiones.

4.- De acuerdo al Reglamento interno todos los empleados públicos ésto significa los telemaestros que reciben sueldo del Estado no pueden estar presentes en la sala de sesiones.

5.- La política descarada y sucia es que cuando la policía no ha dejado ingresar con credenciales de observador a nuestros representantes,por parte de los telemaestros han ingresado con derecho a voz y voto.

Consecuentemente rechazanos y solicitamos:
Que la Policía en uso de las atribuciones legales y amparandose en las resoluciones de la XXII Asamblea desaloje inmediatamente a Cristóbal Naikiai un politiquero mentiroso y bago,Miguel Tankámash un ladrón y Rey eterno de los Shuaras,también Presidente de la Confeniae Sr.Cristóbal Tapuy un abusivo y manipulador.
Que todos los delegados y representantes rechazados por un dictador Marcelo Tsamaraint y Antonio Papue tengan ingreso inmediato a la sala de sesiones.
Expulsión inmediata de todos los telemaestros encabezados por un Rey Herodes,Bosco Atamaint,que han tenido preferencia de ingreso.

ESCUCHEN COMPAÑEROS Y QUERIDOS HERMANOS SHUAR NOSOTROS MUY ATENTOS E INTELIGENTEMENTE HEMOS NOTADO QUE EL PRESIDENTE DE LA ASAMBLEA ADHOC Y EL PRESIDENTE Y EL DIRECTORIO DE LA FEDERACION 1986-1988 YA ESTA ELEGIDO Y NOSOTROS SOMOS UNA OVEJAS Y SIEMPRE JIVAROS COMO LOS ASESORES SALESIANOS NOS DIJERON.POR TAL RAZON RECHACEMOS A TODOS LOS TELEMAESTROS,SUPERVISORES Y EMPLEADOS DE LA FEDERACION QUE SON UNOS LADRONES DEL PUEBLO SHUAR QUE OPORTUNAMENTE VAMOS A DENUNCIAR CON DOCUMENTOS LEGALES.

FIRMANOS

Hugo Tyuiuk
Presidente Asociación
Panki

Ilario Noboa
VICEPRESidente Aso
Nankais

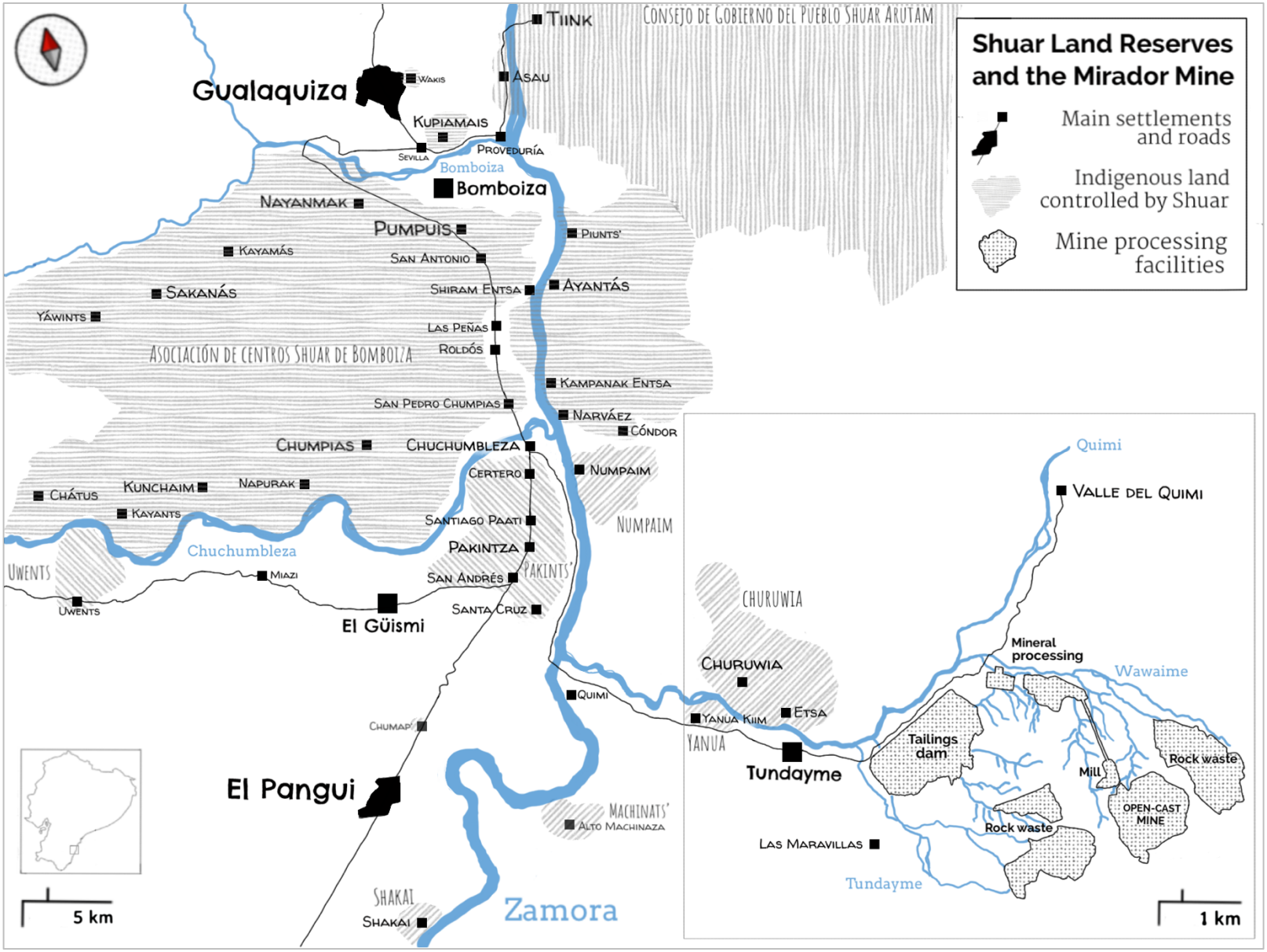
Carlos Taish
Presidente Asociación
Chiguaza

Ernesto Vargas
Presidente Asociación
Pastaza

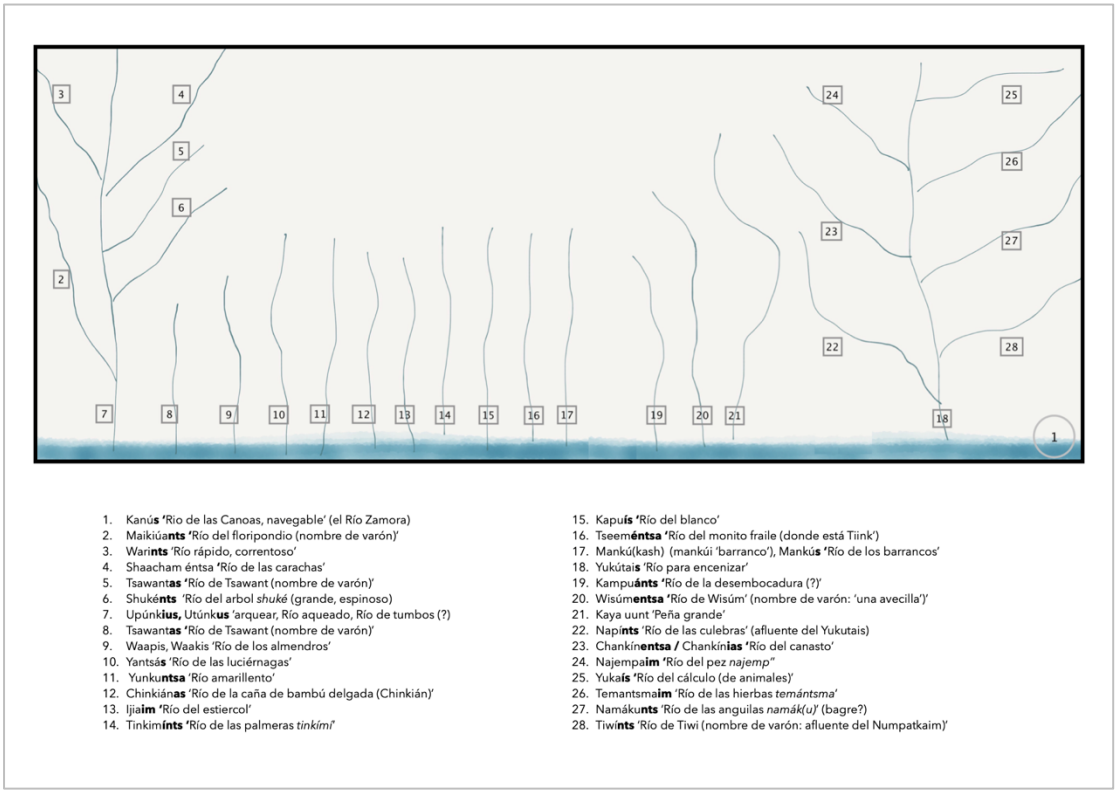
Document 10. The communiqué that sealed the division of the Shuar Federation. The document denounces the status quo at the Shuar Federation and announces the creation of a new ethnopolitical organisation. Made public by the *kumpachuma* faction during the XXIII General Assembly. 24 January 1986.

PART III

The Depths of Conflict

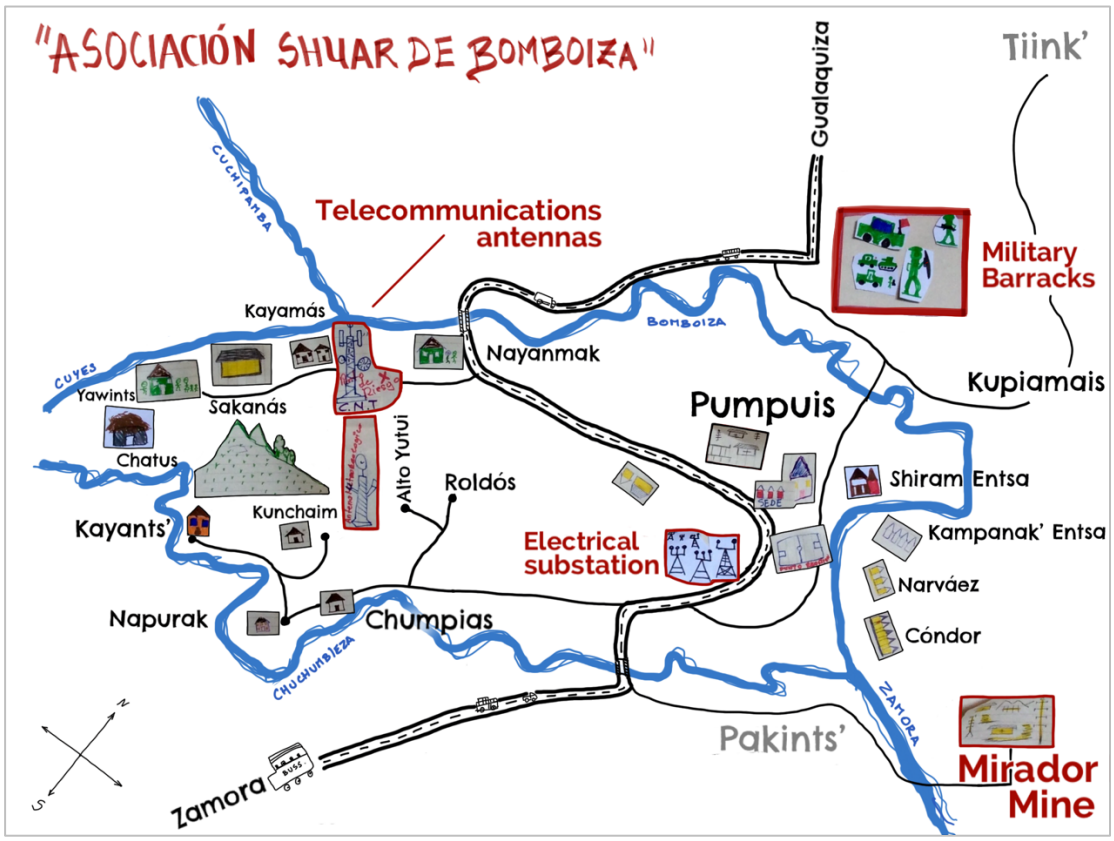


Map 14. The Mirador mine and its surroundings.

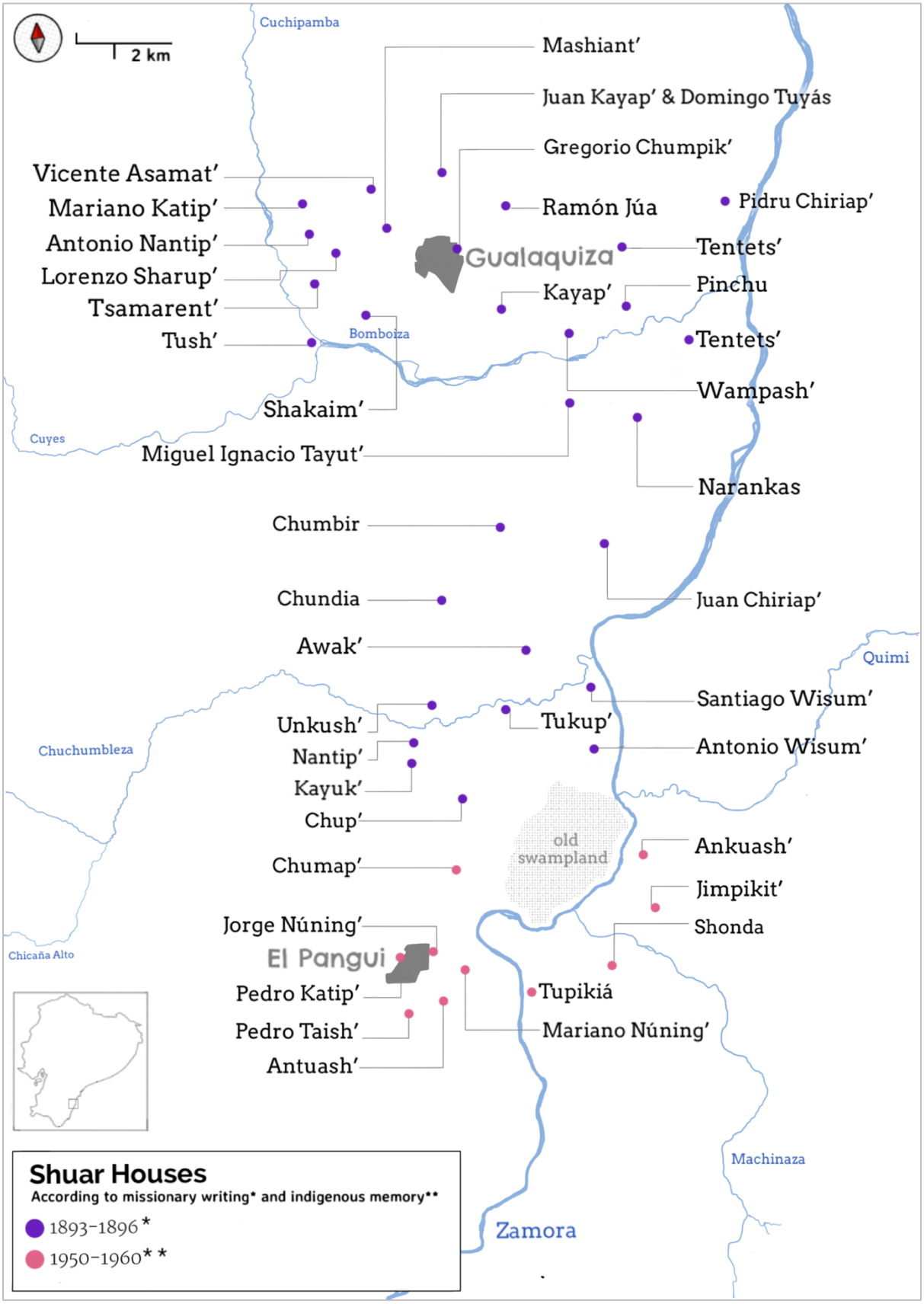


1. Kanús 'Río de las Canoas, navegable' (el Río Zamora)
2. Maikiúants 'Río del floripondio (nombre de varón)'
3. Warints 'Río rápido, correntoso'
4. Shaacham éntsa 'Río de las carachas'
5. Tsawantas 'Río de Tsawant (nombre de varón)'
6. Shukénts 'Río del arbol *shuké* (grande, espinoso)
7. Upúnkius, Utúnkus 'arquear, Río aqueado, Río de tumbos (?)
8. Tsawantas 'Río de Tsawant (nombre de varón)'
9. Waapis, Waakis 'Río de los almendros'
10. Yantsás 'Río de las luciérnagas'
11. Yunkuntsa 'Río amarillento'
12. Chinkiánas 'Río de la caña de bambú delgada (Chinkián)'
13. Ijiaim 'Río del estiercol'
14. Tinkimínts 'Río de las palmeras *tinkími*'
15. Kapuís 'Río del blanco'
16. Tseemèntsa 'Río del monito fraile (donde está Tiink')
17. Mankú(kash) (mankúi 'barranco'), Mankús 'Río de los barrancos'
18. Yukútais 'Río para encenizar'
19. Kampuánts 'Río de la desembocadura (?)'
20. Wisúmentsa 'Río de Wisúm' (nombre de varón: 'una avecilla')'
21. Kaya uunt 'Peña grande'
22. Napints 'Río de las culebras' (afluente del Yukutais)
23. Chankínentsa / Chankínias 'Río del canasto'
24. Najempaim 'Río del pez *najemp*"
25. Yukaís 'Río del cálculo (de animales)'
26. Temantsmaim 'Río de las hierbas *temántsma*'
27. Namákunts 'Río de las anguilas *namák(u)*' (bagre?)
28. Tiwínts 'Río de Tiwi (nombre de varón: afluente del Numpatkaim)'

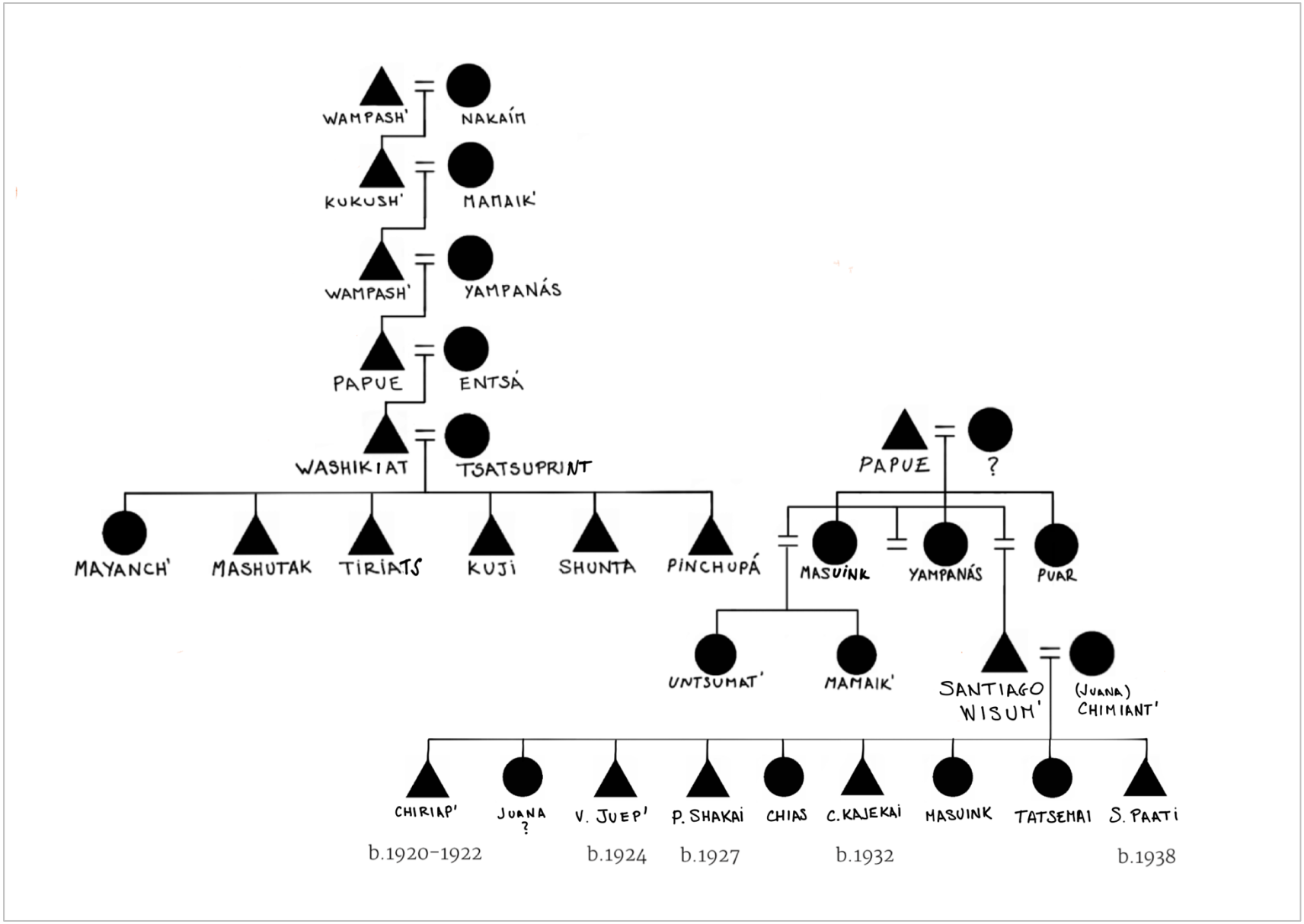
Map 15. Map of rivers for a topographic study to protect the land.



Map 16. The Bomboiza Association and its surroundings (perceived territorial threats).



Map 17. Shuar houses around Gualaquiza (1893-1896) and El Pangui (1950-1960).



Map 18. Ancestral kinship chart in Pakints'.



Figure 27. Typical evening scene. A neighbourhood coming together to play football. Vendors sell ice-cream, sticky popcorn, candy, and fried chicken out of iceboxes and improvised stands.



Figure 28. Grandmother, mother, and granddaughter walk along the highway with grass for feeding the guinea pigs cut on their garden downstream.



Figure 29. Saturday morning at the market of Gualaquiza. A ranchera driver loads off fresh plantain bundles that Shuar producers have brought into town to sell.



Figure 30. Shuar food stands at the market of Gualaquiza. Manioc beer, contained in the yellow canisters, is sold for 50 cents a bowl.



Figure 31. Guests heading back home on outboard motor canoes in the Zamora River after a party in a *centro* only accessible by boat.



Figure 32. A ranchera bound for Bomboiza in the Gualaquiza bus station.



Figure 33. Woman preparing manioc beer in Pakints'.



Figure 34. A display of Shuar food.



Figure 35. The photo of an ancestral warrior hanging on the wall of a Shuar home.
(Photo by the author, Tiink')



Figure 36. Women selling Shuar handicrafts and produce in a market.

The problems began here when *organización* was divided. It turned awful. There were great divisions amongst brothers and sisters, and family members, and [political] organisations. It reached to the point of dismembering indigenous reserves and so people began selling indigenous lands [to settler colonists]. I remember when I was 15 years old, [the separatists] killed grandfather Unkuch'. It was terrible. There were houses set on fire. There was plundering and looting. My brother said that the people of Morona-Santiago stole many heads of cattle; and my father said that they used dynamite to blow off the houses of separatists in Pakints'. I was at the time in boarding school [*interno*] and my mom came to let me know what had happened. It was very sad. My father [who opposed the division of the Shuar Federation] had to defend himself, so he was always armed. He went armed everywhere: to El Pangui and to Gualaquiza. The whole area was militarised in 1990-1991. However, my grandparents said that it all had happened because of an old vendetta [*por venganza antigua*]. This vengeance was a payback of something that had happened many years before, back in those times when we were warriors.

Sharup', an approximately 55-year-old man, fieldwork notes.

Pakints', September 2015

It was as being inside a western or in one of those Rambo movies. They set two houses on fire, and a school and a health service complex. Two people were killed. Some were from Zamora-Chinchipe, and some were from Morona-Santiago; they were divided along the different associations they have. I don't remember who was sentenced or acquitted anymore. But I do remember some of them claimed innocence on grounds of insanity.

Mallaguari Carrillo, criminal judge, fieldwork notes.

Yantzaza, December 2016

A Sargent named Yankur—a fat man, who can barely walk these days (he has a broken leg)—arrived with his brother-in-law, a man named Narankas, and the two brothers-in-law [armed and] well-hidden [took firing positions] and boom! to the ground! they killed and run away.

Chumap', an approximately 65-year-old man, fieldwork notes.

Panki. April 2017

You cannot trust the people of Zamora-Chinchipe. They're betrayers and defectors—and whenever you're not looking, they will backstab you.

Ankuash', an approximately 60-year-old man, fieldwork notes.

Pumpuis. August 2018

8 Ancestors

The aftermath of the 'civil war', 1986–1991

The civil war shattered life in Pakints'. The conflict began with the shooting of Vicente Unkuch', secretary of the Bomboiza Association, on 26 February 1991. Unkuch', a native of Pakints', was trying to mediate in a heated political dispute when he was ambushed. The bullet struck close, suddenly, and surprisingly. The shooter, covered and positioned in a nearby hill, struck and disappeared in the shadows of the forest. The killer's identity was only known days later, his name tattling over manioc beer bowls in grave and weighty conversations.

As noted in the previous chapter, the uncomfortable relations with 'white peoples' in Shuar ethnopolitics (particularly technical and missionary advisors), indigenous distress with settler colonisation, and the growing generational discord between established and forthcoming leadership, led to conflictive interests and opposing views regarding the future of Shuar engagements with the state. These divergencies had been brewing slowly and over time and the years of division in the aftermath of the conflict had done little to resolve them. In 1991, members and officials of the Bomboiza Shuar Association mobilised over Pakints' to try to force *kumpachuma* dissidents into signing a claudication agreement pledging their allegiance and return to the Shuar Federation. The spark of gunpowder and the death of Unkuch', abruptly moved political bargaining towards armed retribution.

Then, everything unravelled in a bolt. The brisk escalation that ensued reeled ethnopolitics towards traditional vengeance and vendetta. The general assembly of the Bomboiza Association voted on the matter and coordinated retaliation followed against *kumpachuma* leaders and supporters. The governing council of the Bomboiza Shuar Association dispatched an official statement to state and government authorities reporting its decision.[171] Ecuador's President's office, parliament, the constitutional court, and the ministries of Interior and Defence received the following letter[172]—described in the legal case that followed as nothing short of a proper declaration of war.[173] The despatch was received at government's bureaus on 11 March 1991. I shall only note bellow the crux of its message:

> Supported by our indigenous political identity, and convinced of the government's provisions towards the inalienable rights of indigenous organisations in the country, as recognised and guaranteed by the constitution and confirmed in the International Declaration of Human Rights, we respectfully declare the following before you: Having exhausted all legal proceedings and peaceful means, we shall now move forward with pursuing an immediate solution in the defence of our organisation's social integrity. Tomorrow, we will destroy the buildings illegally built by dissidents of the Shuar Federation in San Francisco de Pakints', a Shuar *centro* located in the district of El Pangui, in the province of Zamora-Chinchipe.

Two days afterwards, in the early afternoon of 13 March 1991, the same people that had come to the aid of Pakints' in its fight against settler invasion in the decade prior (see Chapter 4), crossed the *chumpias entsa*, the Chuchumbleza River, wearing military fatigues and marched against the *centro*.

The retaliatory force—according to witness' testimonies—was composed by more than one hundred well-armed men equipped with dynamite, shotguns, and machetes. [174] The *kumpachuma* faction, alerted by anticipation, rumours, and spies, prepared their defence positions and tried to repel the attack from higher ground. They were outnumbered and outmuscled. At the height of the conflict, a school, a medical centre, and a community house, all built to represent the dissident's flagship development plans and ideals of material progress and openness towards the state, were blown up with dynamite.

The retaliatory force also targeted the dissident's homes, land, and material possessions. Their gardens, coops, guinea pig hutches, pigsties, and pastures were set on fire. Their cattle, fowl, pigs, and guinea pigs was seized and carried back to Morona-Santiago. This was just payback, some said, for their murder and political betrayal.

The complete inventory of damages (carefully catalogued in later judicial statements), includes a 'Dolman-branded chainsaw', a 'Sullivan-branded sewing machine', a 'Durex-branded kitchenette', a 'General-branded sound system', a 'Corona-branded corn mill'.[175] These electric appliances, taken along numerous pieces of furniture, metal tools, and clothing items, were added to seized domestic animals and garden produce.

Arson and looting went on for hours. Prisoners from Pakints' were taken and incarcerated in the prison of the Bomboiza Shuar Association. They were flogged with mandarin branches and their eyes were sprayed with chilli-infused water. The victims, a hostage woman later told police investigators, spent four days without any water or food confined in very small cells.[176] They thought they would be killed any time. Their captors told them so repetitively. Though they had no such intention and employed these threats as 'psychological warfare'. Nevertheless, the leaders of the *kumpachuma* faction—the true targets of the retaliation—all managed to escape and, sheltered at the nearby settler town of El Pangui, began planning their next move.

Police investigations commenced soon afterwards. It spanned over five years and filled six volumes and more than a thousand folios. The first reports depicted the aftermath as traces over ashes: '…a piece of zinc smeared with soot'; '…the relics of a brick and concrete building'; '…bullet holes on the burnt remains of a wall'; '…possibly a scorched house'.[177] The judge who heard the case later described the scene as the set of a western film or 'one of those Rambo movies.'[178] Some 40 people were forced to leave Pakints' to relocate temporarily in El Pangui, uncomfortably cramped in the small decaying building that hosted the local headquarters of the 'New Federation'. The settler people of El Pangui referred to them as the 'refugees from Chuchumbleza'.

The dissention leadership condemned the attack as 'cowardly, savage, uncivilised'[179], and 'barbaric'[180] and demanded the immediate intervention of the state. Synchronously, they also regrouped, rearmed, and reorganised themselves.[181] From their temporary base in El Pangui, their own armed militants barred transit and ambushed private and public transport to, in turn, capture and kidnap their ethnopolitical rivals. These actions brought most interprovincial connections to a halt. Shuar from Zamora-Chinchipe, with their shotguns at hand, routinely stopped all interprovincial transport along the highway to make sure their enemies from Morona-Santiago were not aboard. Soon, only settler colonists were allowed to travel freely between El Pangui and Gualaquiza.[182]

The conflict spilled outside Pakints'. Along the provincial borderland there were other *centros* that were also strongholds of the dissidence.[183] Aware of their overall numeric disadvantage, though, the leaders of the dissidence favoured the mobilisation of 'white peoples'. Settler money, government contacts, and state law were widely employed by *samuria shaur*, 'Shuar people of Zamora-Chinchipe', to thwart the efforts of the Shuar Federation and its regional Association to bring them back to *organización*. *Kumpachuma* leaders filed numerous lawsuits and requested that provincial government officials, security forces, and missionary authorities intervened on their behalf. Their next decisions would bring major and ongoing consequences to Shuar politics throughout the region. The act of violence that turned an ethnopolitical dispute in a vendetta, however, was deeply rooted in traditional political memory.

In this chapter, I analyse the manifestation of ancestral conflict in Shuar ethnopolitics after the division of the Shuar Federation. The political undercurrents of the 'civil war' as it unfolded in Pakints', I shall contend, directly mirrored political relations once relevant in the region before its 'pacification'. In what follows, I analyse how knowledge, discussion, and comparative use of descent genealogies in Pakints' informs and organises geographical space and broad contemporary political relations within the *centro* and between the *centro* and the region. I debate and build upon previous interpretations in *chicham* ethnography over memory, spatial and political organisation, historical consciousness, and use of descent genealogies. My

argument here is that Shuar genealogies extend well beyond the memory of political relations of vengeance described in the ethnographic record. The prevalence and contemporaneous presence of kin groups and ancestors in contemporary Shuar ethnopolitics—and through ethnopolitics as a part of resource conflicts—led me to believe that *organización* should still be at least partially understood as maintaining the same representations of power and political organisation that once prevailed in traditional *chicham* politics.

People in the South, as I have noted in Chapter 1, rather than consciously forgetting their ancestors (Taylor 1993; 2007), remembered their *antepasados* and *mayores*, 'forebears' and 'ancient kin', frequently, with historic depth, and with surprising detail. Such a recollection creates a constellation of historic kin relations, political interactions, and geographical migration that tie together several different groups and indigenous reserves within the region. I shall now show how the memory of former *uunt*, 'great men', and the collective knowledge of their past feuds, alliance networks, bitter animosities, betrayals, and retaliatory vengeance (once the organisational principle of Shuar political relations), subsists today transmuted into ethnopolitical antagonism, personal allegiances, and marriage choices.

The historical memory of former 'great men', and the relations these had with one another, are still widely remembered throughout the region, and influence present-day Shuar politics. Their memory is widely enacted in contemporary interactions between *centros*, its constituencies, the collective perceptions of each other, and their common political goals vis-à-vis colonial frameworks. Indeed, ancient migratory movements and historic dwelling have not only shaped the indigenous reserves in the region as these exist today, but nowadays serve to highlight ancestral attachment to contested land reclamations against the expansion of industrial mining. What is more, the political weight of ancestors provides a bridge between change and continuity in indigenous political thought that lingers over kin relations within and between Shuar *centros* in the region. Hence, as I will show, whereas ongoing resource conflicts are related to the 'civilised times' defined by the rise and fall of the Shuar Federation, the politics that set up the 'civil war' are in turn related to the preceding 'time of the warriors.'

I have argued in Part II, that Shuar characterise contemporary ethnopolitics—which they call *organización*—as a historic milestone in their notions and perceptions of the past. To be 'a people with *organización*', in their own view, outlines and defines Shuar notions of change regarding the ancestral warriors of the past and mediates indigenous relations with 'white peoples' in the present. Yet, *organización,* as I show next, should not be defined only by its political rupture with the past, but could also be understood through the transformation and management of pre-existing political interactions in the present.

Part III will thus explore memory regarding ancestral war, feuding, and trekking in contemporary Shuar politics and analyse the consequences of the 'civil war' through its effect in indigenous relations with 'white peoples'. Not once since the 'stone building' of the Shuar Federation was erected had the line between traditional and contemporary indigenous politics been so intensely blurred and forthrightly crossed as during the 'civil war'. The convoluted 'descent into chaos' that ensued, as some perplexed settler colonists perceived it, however, had less to do with the temporal breakdown of *organización* and the almost bureaucratic order it creates, than with the resurfacing of long-held indigenous values fundamental to Shuar politics.

Nowadays, Shuar interact politically with each other concurrently considering and assessing the pressing needs of current affairs and the memory of historical relations. The received knowledge of such memories, moreover, might bind people together or set them apart, and influence political decisions. The inclusion of 'white peoples' into indigenous ethnopolitical arrangements, I shall maintain, is thus dependant on preceding and often veiled relations long-organising indigenous politics and contingent on Shuar sense of history and agency. In sum, the ethnographic evidence hereby presented shall add to ethnographic analyses that suggest the permanence within Shuar ethnopolitical structures of traditional logics, purposes, and values despite considerable and undeniable social, political, and economic changes in recent Shuar experience[184] (Colajanni 1984; Greene 2009; Taylor: 1995).

Accordingly, people in Pakints' argue, the harsh ferocity with which the assault against the *centro* was conducted was, in fact, inspired by revenge over the murder of remote ancestors. The inherent contradictions in the Shuar Federation, the generational antagonisms between *organización* leaders, and the external pressures boiling at the heart of the Federation are indeed important but reveal one part of the story. Hence, with the *centro* partially reduced to ashes after the struggle with the Bomboiza Shuar Association over the return of Pakints' to the Shuar Federation, an ancient episode of history came to people's minds.

The story of Jimpikit'

Many years before the 'civil war', Jimpikit', a grandfather to people in Pakints', survived an ambush set up by two men of his own kin while on a hunting trip. The two men that set him up and plotted to take him down did so in bitter disappointment. Jimpikit' had refused to approve the marriage between these two young men and his two unmarried sisters. The two young men thought he was too jealous and protective. Hence, one day, as all of them were crossing the Zamora River towards a good hunting spot, the two young men seized an opportunity and attacked. Jimpikit', underestimating his opponents, fell in the trap set up by the two men to avenge the slight received and their embarrassment.

As they crossed the river on canoes, the two men nodded at each other when the hungting party approached a treacherous fast-flowing bend in the Zamora. Jimpikit' travelled in his canoe with one or both of his sisters and the two young men—depending on who tells the story—shared the other vessel either with the oldest sister or amongst themselves. But when the two canoes came closer to each other to face the turbulence ahead, the two men knock over Jimpikit's canoe and threw the two sisters overboard.

The ambush almost worked. The first of Jimpikit's sisters drowned helplessly and perished. The second sister was carried down to the depths by an anaconda. Jimpikit', too, pulled by the strong currents, sunk to the bottom of the river. The two young men waited on the canoes on the surface of the river for a while and then assumed he died. Jimpikit's body descended to the riverbed and was carried by the currents. He was unconscious but he remained magically alive. Several days later, and quite a long way downriver, Jimpikit', weakened and fading, washed ashore. His shamanic prowess had allowed him to breath underwater. The effort had been considerable, and he barely clung to life. Thus, consuming whatever little strength that remained in him, Jimpikit' crawled his way out of the beach and drag himself toward the forest. He reached a near palm tree in the forest and finally collapsed.

The next few weeks, Jimpikit'—still too weak to stand up—survived by eating the rotting fruits of the palm tree that had fallen to the ground. He trapped the bugs and worms that crept around them, pushing and pulling with his tongue. And drank the rain that fell on him and rolled around his face. He remined in such state several days, laying on the ground, too weak to move or walk, in and out of conscience.

In the meantime, the two young men that had pushed him overboard returned home and told everyone that a terrible accident had befallen on their hunting expedition. They claimed to be the only survivors and cynically organised and led a rescue party arranged in the hope of finding Jimpikit' and his sisters. After days of careful search, no corpses were located and so Jimpikit's kinfolk disassembled and let his surviving wives proceed with their distraught lamentations.

That night, however, Jimpikit's mother had a dream. Her son was calling her and so, determined and unaided, she continued to look for him by the river the next morning. She never lost her faith and found her son eventually, many days later, lying in the nearby forest, and in very poor condition.

Jimpikit' told his mother the truth about the attack but ordered her to keep his survival undisclosed. 'Mother', he said, 'go back home and tell everyone that you never found me, even after days of searching in the forest, and mourn me as if I was truly dead.' Jimpikit's mother did just that but quietly returned to meet Jimpikit' the next day, carrying with her fresh boiled manioc. She harvested and cooked him manioc in the secrecy of her garden and prepared, too, vines and herbs to heal his wounds. She did that for several days, going back and forth to the river through hidden forest paths branching from her garden, always carrying food and medicinal plants to nourish his son, until Jimpikit' regained his full strength.

When Jimpikit finally recovered he returned home. He did so surreptitiously, however, still concealing his survival. That night, his mother quietly summoned allies to his house. These men had all gathered unsuspectingly and did not know what to expect. So, when Jimpikit' surprised his guests with his spectral presence, most of them reacted in horror and disbelief. But once they all regained their courage, and as they learned the truth, they all got terribly enraged. A war party was immediately assembled to avenge the betrayal suffered by Jimpikit' and the death of his two sisters. It was hence accorded that the house of the two treacherous young men was to be assaulted in the darkness of the very next moonless night. So, when the appropriate time arrived, Jimpikit's vengeance party proceeded in stealth throughout the forest and charged against their unsuspecting enemies in their sleep. Jimpikit's desire was to spare no one. He thus wished to make a statement; so, every man, and every woman, and every child in the house was killed. Or so they thought—because a skinny baby boy, wrapped tightly in a hammock that discreetly hanged from one of the pillars of the house remained miraculously unseen and unheard during the ambush. The boy's life was thus fortuitously spared.

The boy grew up to become a great famed warrior himself. He fathered a large family that ultimately recovered the prestige lost by his kin with Jimpikit's vengeance. Soon enough, his name, his fearlessness, and his astoundingly large house became reputed throughout the region. But the outstanding score with the descendants of Jimpikit' was still not settled nor was

it settled in his lifetime. So, when many years later, two of Jimpikit's grandchildren became leading political figures in the Bomboiza Shuar Association—and coincidentally commanded the assault against Pakints'—people in the *centro* remembered this story that long-heralded the political differences between their respective kin. Thus, it is told, that Jimpikit's grandchildren, after successfully commanding the forces of the Bomboiza Shuar Federation against Pakints' in 1991, stood up in front of the ashes of the buildings set on fire in the *centro* and muttered or exclaimed: 'Finally! We're finally even now!'

Traditional vendettas and contemporary politics

The survival of Jimpikit', and the careful patience and endurance with which he planned and later carried out his revenge, afforded him much fame in the years to come. His story is wrapped in rumour, too, but rumour is itself sufficiently important to Shuar history and memory. It must be said, too, that the grandchildren of Jimpikit, who live today and indeed commanded the Bomboiza Shuar Federation during the events of 1991, strongly deny the insinuations of their vendetta as little more than baseless chatter. At the time, they tried to quell what they saw as an inexcusable rebellion against the Shuar Federation, which they thought endangered indigenous autonomy. Nevertheless, the fact that there are plenty of people in the region to whom the anecdote, true or not, provides a fitting ending to the story, is itself revealing enough. Rumour is, on balance, an important part of historical narrative and it has long been a part of Shuar internecine feuding. Such a historical settlement of past feuding and vendettas is what was expected of Jimpikit's grandchildren after all. Interestingly, though Jimpikit's grandchildren strongly deny having participated in the ambush against Pakints' with vengeance in mind themselves, they don't deny that the ethnopolitical conflict in question was indeed entangled with *venganza antigua*, an 'old vendetta'.

Shuar history is mainly soddened in traditional Shuar politics. So, though the stories told on one shore of the river may differ from the stories know in the opposite shore, there is broad consensus regarding the historical structure of what truly happened with the division of the Shuar Federation. To put it differently: if the foreground of conflict is the work of history, its immediate milieu was set up by treason. The treason of dissention—itself inspired by a perceived treason on the principles of egalitarianism, broke an unspoken truce upholding ethnic unity in the name of *organización*; once that much was broken, traditional grievances resurfaced. The political polarisation already existing in Shuar politics expedited the internal schism of Pakints' and turned the disruptions on local conviviality in a minor *centro* into a major regional event. Yet Pakints' was only firmly set on course to conflict when the love affair of a man of politics with his nephew's wife came to light. The troubles of the *centro* then rose as an ouroboros that entangled and engulfed the region.

Then and there, Piatra—the settler invader that had been defeated and expelled from the *centro* after years of skirmishes and legal fighting—saw an opportunity in the midst of chaos and arranged his return to the lands he had stolen in exchange for political and economic support to the dissension. The ultimate treason in the conflict, agreed in the shades of secrecy, rage, and desperation, traded the victories of Pakints' against settler colonisation in exchange for weapons and firearms. The swift intervention of the army, however, put a blatant end to further combat. Five days after the crossing of the *chumpias entsa,* the Chuchumbleza River, a tense armistice was signed at the conference office of a frontier military barrack. With the further mediation of representatives of the Salesian and Franciscan missions, the governors of Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe, the mayors of El Pangui and Gualaquiza, and the local police chiefs, the agreement sought to facilitate the liberation and exchange of prisoners between rivals and assure its bounded coexistence.[185]

In the months of upheaval that followed, Shuar people in the provincial borderland between Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe went about their routines always armed and permanently on alert. People in Pakints' remember the period with unease. The wounds never

really healed, and the score was left unsettled. Young schoolgirls were held at gunpoint by their elder kin and people left their homes to forest encampments or crowded filthy rooms in settler towns in fear of their own neighbours. The conflict wrecked the hard-won unity achieved by the *denunciantes*, 'land claimers', against settler colonisation and severed the historic ties of Pakints' with national ethnopolitics. The subsequent attempts of the *kumpachuma* faction to strike back, their savvy and keen deployment of state law, and their deals with settler colonisers will further bring far-reaching and still unfolding consequences to the *centro*.

The lives of several *organización* leaders on that generation, too, were deeply marked by the conflict that unfolded in Pakints'. The resulting division of the Shuar Federation came as great blow to Shuar ethnic unity, ethnopolitical prestige, organisational funding, and administrative reach. Several Shuar Association officials in Bomboiza were accused and prosecuted. Some got to spend some time in prison; many ran away into the forest and lived there for various years as fugitives, waiting for the lawsuits to prescribe.

Right before the civil war befell the Shuar Federation, hope and anticipation over economic change and more assertive indigenous autonomy reigned high. Bartolomé Juep', a young and rising teacher—an 'intellectual'—born in Pakints', became the first person ever from Zamora-Chinchipe to reach the Shuar Federation's presidency. It was the late 1980s, and the southernmost Shuar province was already perceived to be a political backwater. Bartolomé Juep' brought change and new ideas. He embodied expectations for modernity, development, and promised strict accountability on the economic management of the Shuar Federation. He dared to challenge the increasingly contentious role of non-indigenous advisers working in the Shuar Federation and the political interference occasionally played by Salesian missionaries collaborating with *organización.*

He paid a steep price for doing so. Today, Bartolomé Juep' is largely held personally responsible for causing conflict, discord, and division within the Shuar Federation. His time in office, however, though indeed contentious, is perhaps better understood less as a radical

departure from his predecessors than the termination of an ongoing trend to limit missionary influence in indigenous affairs. His actions and undiplomatic attitude may have indeed contributed to the conflict and steered the Shuar Federation towards rupture, yet he played only a minor role in the conflict that broke up in the South.

The relevance of Pakints' as a main dissident stronghold was only achieved later by two of Juep's main political assessors: Naichap' and Ayuí. Two men only linked with Pakints' by marriage. The two of them in fact took over central dissident leadership positions after Juep's influence was already fading. What is more, Naichap' and Ayuí clashed over influence inside Pakints' with one of the brothers of Bartolomé's Juep': a young man who had just returned home after graduating from university in Moscow in the Soviet Union and mostly known for this reason by the nickname '*Musku*'. The disagreement between these three men will become very important for Pakints', so I shall next describe the consequences of the clash between all these men entailed.

Tiwiram, the president of the Bomboiza Shuar Association at the time, descended from his forced forest exile, once the lawsuit had prescribed, almost ten years later, reinventing himself as a shaman in the process (see Chapter 4). Though several other people went to jail[186], no one in the end was prosecuted. That didn't stop some major leaders having to spend up to two miserable years in a freezing highland city prison until proven innocent.

The killer of the secretary of the Bomboiza Association was declared a 'psychologically abnormal person'[187]; various other suspects, on the opposite camp, accused of arson and looting, too, defended their innocence on the grounds of temporal insanity. The case proceeded slowly, cast in a shadow of confusion and cultural misunderstandings, and finally closed by citing the Justinian ruling *in dubio pro reo*. Yet, despite the courts ultimately siding with the defendants rather than the plaintiffs, *kumpachuma* political gains were still considerable.

The revolt succeeded in tearing apart the centralised control of the Shuar Federation and legitimised their own jurisdiction over considerable swathes of Shuar land. Missionary involvement in indigenous political affairs eventually banished throughout *organización* as a result and the intermediary role of missionary envoys via-à-vis the state was immediately replaced, in *kumpachuma* holdings, by the young ideologues of the dissention. This created its own set of challenges and later led to infighting over money, project funding, and political prestige. Juep', initially a central force in the dissention, abandoned the dissidence and, leaving politics behind, returned to the classroom as a teacher. The *kumpachuma* faction further fractionalised into ever smaller ethnopolitical organisations and, abandoning its broad ideals over time, became an atomised and loosely attached collection of 'great men' holdings.

The young dissident leaders whose homes and land in Pakints' had been burned to ashes in the conflict eventually returned back to the *centro*. Taking advantage that their rivals had been forced to flee the region into hiding to avoid trial, they occupied and sold the lands they left as requital for their material losses. The legal title and indigenous status of the land reserve was legally contested in the process and a few settler colonisers were thus able to move into and purchase land in the reserve. Piatra, having recovered the indigenous land he had occupied and lost a decade earlier, and perfectly conscious of how fleeting his luck was, transferred his claims to land in Pakints' to the Mirador mine, as soon as geological studies confirmed the adjoining valleys were rich in ores.

The long ongoing lawsuit that Pakints' had filed against Piatra in the early 1980s hence expanded to include the novel prospect of industrial mining exploitation in the region and the possible eviction of the *centro*. Yet, the *centro* itself was altered in the process. With the unity of its people shattered, the initial centrality of the place, represented by the school, the church, and the sport pitch, was slowly replaced and redrawn into brand new internal borders that assured the conviviality of political differences remained in place.

The descendants of Santiago Wisum'

Years later, Nunkui—the woman who told police detectives about her kidnapping in the Bomboiza Shuar Association—held my hand in her hands. I had been looking out of the window as we passed by a small pond along the highway where people in Pakints' claimed lived a dangerous anaconda. The pond looked dark, fermenting, and still. It had formed relatively recently, after the highway cut the downward flow of a humble creak. No one had in fact ever seen the anaconda but through the litmus glimpse of the sun reflecting its skin. A glance should never turn into a gaze, I had been warned by children, for anacondas were known to hypnotise people who stared at them too long. Still, women in the *centro* recurrently dreamed about its haunting presence and a few men, though never in strict sobriety, claimed to have seen the clean bones of small prey occasionally washing ashore around the pond.

We were inside a shared taxi headed to a nearby settler town. It was market day and Nunkui had a *chankin*' basket full of pineapples for sale. I was coming along to buy 'white peoples' vegetables. Tomatoes, onions, carrots, and peppers that no one in the *centro* grew and most people disliked. I turned my head towards Nunkui still wondering about the existence of the anaconda. She blushed and looked abashed. She had reached for my hands impulsively and a soft apology escaped her lips. 'They are so soft!', she exclaimed, 'unlike my hands'. I rub her callus palms and we compared the texture of our skin, 'Doctor, it's what working in the fields for so long does to you', she said. She liked to call me 'doctor' as I had given her some anti-inflammatory medicine for her arthritis once. She called Alice *doctorita*, too, and that always made her edgy, 'Ridiculous sexist country that calls women all kinds of little names.' At the onset of our fieldwork, Nunkui had been the first woman to lure Alice to her gardens to teach her about keeping a loving and beautiful relation with plants and so we both slid into a relationship akin to adopted grandchildren with her.

Still, Nunkui was also a strong and determined woman. She had spent most of her childhood in a convent in Zamora, surrounded by strict and sometimes irate nuns and children forced to navigate a foreign world through a foreign language. Much later, she rebelled. She left an abusive marriage she had been raised to endure and became the first woman in the *centro* to get a washing machine. She made her former husband pay for it, 'Men, they waste all their money on beer and liquor', she would say, 'whilst we spend hours washing their clothes at the river.' She had been married to an important *kumpachuma* leader and during the times of upheaval that had made her a political target in the conflict.

Nowadays, much older, Nunkui was 'happily divorced'. As many women in the region, she resented the politics of men, the time men spend outside their homes in assemblies, gatherings, and meetings (frequently traveling to settler towns and cities), and the household resources all these consumed. What is more, it was thought that men pursed various love affairs during their outings—a further drain of precious domestic resources. And their closer links to outsiders had contributed to create a masculine monopoly over management of money that certainly disfavoured women. And what for? When Miguel Tankamash', the most prominent representative of the Shuar Federation at its dawn, had briefly visited her training school classroom, many years ago, she was in awe. The entire classroom was, and all the rickety rackety of sewing machines had been stopped so the cohort of young girls could listen with attention. That had kindled a fire in her heart with admiration, not just for the man but for the ideas represented. The thought that radical change was imminent, and Shuar would take back much of the political and economic autonomy lost to colonisation had defined a generation. But what for? Nunkui asked herself this question frequently in my presence. After the civil war her hopes and expectations crumbled.

Nunkui began pinching the hair on my forearms whilst in the taxi. Its roughness brought her memories of foreign familiarity. 'When I was a child', she said, 'I used to do this to my grandfather all the time'. 'Shuar people are not as hairy as *inkis* people are, but my grandfather

was as tall, white, and hairy as you are'. 'He, too, was an *inkis*, except he spoke our language, always wore an *itip*', and never left home without a shotgun.'

Santiago Wisum', the grandfather Nunkui remembered for the hairy coarseness of his arms, had been the last great warrior to have built his house by the stream. His name had been inscribed both in the signatures and in the preambles attached to the land title of the land reserve. Shuar throughout the region knew that the stream had been his home and the people of Pakints' were his descendants. Hence, his shadow loomed over the *centro* more than any other ancestor in memory and his biography is remembered with pride and gleeful pleasure. As many great warriors of the past, Wisum' was known as a renowned *capitán*, the honorific title received through colonial interactions, and a *kakaram*, a powerful fierce warrior. Throughout the region, he is recalled for his control over the estuary of the *chumpias entsa*, and his engagement in feuds and wars with nearby rivals and in *tsantsa* raids against enemies beyond the South.

Nevertheless, Wisum' was indeed thought to have been partly *inkis* or *apaach*'; the bastard son of a white gold panner, who either seduced or raped his mother Yampanás, the wife of Pinchupá, who would become his adoptive father. The white gold panner, who was dwelling in a provisional encampment at the banks of the river Wisum' later grew to inhabit and control, saw the Shuar woman heading to work on her peanut sandbank patches and track her to her garden. The colonial overtones are often told with a light heart. Wisum's illegitimate conception is instead contrasted with his graceful adoption by Pinchupá, who entirely aware of the transgression committed by the gold panner, not only loved the child but made sure he grew up to become more powerful and influential than himself.

The rest of his biography is shrouded in mystery, yet its inconsistences only enhance his reputation. Wisum's biological father is thought to have been a white *macabeo*, a descendant of the Spanish settlers that remained in Macas after the great Shuar rebellion of 1599. Some other people think the gold panner was a fortune seeker from Colombia, whose unknown biography is nonetheless infolded with the clout of afar. The white man, in both cases,

immediately disappears from his biography leaving no meaningful trace except the mystery of his identity and a set of later stories devoted to the trade relationships established by the warrior and 'white peoples' in his adulthood. Wisum', it's often told, regularly trekked to the highland cities of *kenk'* and *ujá*, Cuenca and Loja, where he spent relatively long seasons living amongst 'white peoples' kin (though no one knows who this people were and Wisum' himself is said to have deliberately kept the secret). He always returned home equipped with foreign goods and foods and tools and weapons that made him an even greater warrior.

I have spoken with most surviving elders in the area, who remembered him lucidly, and consistently say that Wisum' was Shuar, and it's wrong to say that the great warrior was either *inkis* or *apaach'*. Yet, an elder lady, herself a direct descendant of Wisum', has also told me, looking at me with her uncanny deep blue eyes, and taping a finger on her cheekbone, that perhaps what the elders mean to say is that Wisum' was so indisputably Shuar, that his biological origin may well be forgotten. Still, the indication of whiteness in Wisum' is often taken in Pakints' to be a further sign of greatness; and one its descendants now triumphantly claim to have inherited, 'We understand white people's progress and development better than any of our neighbours, because we have white people blood inside ourselves'. These claims, as elaborated by people in Pakints', and often present in *kumpachuma* apologetic, seem to be attached to certain categories discussed through 'blood', that are frequently repeated in the region to organise proximity of relations and space between various *centros* in the area and to bridge change and continuity historically.

I will discuss these ideas further in the following section. First, I shall present a short overview of the biographies that characterise the lineage of Santiago Wisum'. The material that follows was collected mainly amongst men and women over 40 years of age, throughout Pakints', Pumpuis, Tiink', and Panki, and it aims to show the historic depth and some of the detail that people in the South have regarding their ancestors. I began collecting this data haphazardly, taking notes from everyday situations and informal conversations; later, and using a kin diagram of my own drawing as a model, I worked on its correction and expansion by

collaborating with a few elders in the region that people suggested were the most knowledgeable persons. Most people in Pakints', even young people, have a clear notion of the diagram though perhaps not with such detail.

The same is true in every other *centro* in the region, where people will know their own ancestors and the relations of war, feuding, or alliance they once held with other warriors in the neighbourhood. Prominent men such as Santiago Wisum' are generally well know through the region and their memory is attached to, as I show later, to a complex network of regional politics, closely integrating Pakints', Pumpuis, Tiink', and Panki with each other, which nevertheless extends well into immediate and proximate territories. Overall, the names and biographies of men are remembered better and with significant more detail than the names and biographies of women. I have tried to carefully fill in these missing names by specifically requesting the help of women. Yet, the biographical details of women in the past, and especially the stories that convey these, though better known by women now, are considerably less thoroughly remembered and harder to hear spontaneously in everyday conversations or historic narrative.

The preferred Shuar method to discuss this information, both in Pakints and throughout the region, is to relate specific and often short and precise stories about memorable episodes in the lives of these ancestors. The story of Jimpikit', whose lineage joins the lineage of Santiago Wisum' through affinity, as I have recounted earlier, is one such example. The proximity of Santiago Wisum' to people today however adds a supplementary feature of personal memory and childhood remembrances like those of Nunkui. This is also a well-developed feature in memories and tales that people in the *centro* convey about Wisum's sons and sons-in-law, which, as noted in Part II, are similarly remembered through the replacement of war and feud stories for accounts of organisational prowess against settler invasion.

Pinchupá. Pinchupá married a woman named Masuint', one of the daughters of Papue. They had two daughters together, Untsumat and Mamaik'. Masuint' died shortly afterwards, bewitched by an evil shaman of a distant region. Pinchupá hence stayed in Papue's house with his daughters and the two younger daughters of Papue and Entsa, Yampanás and Puar', who were themselves only slightly older than Pinchupá's own daughters. For many years, Pinchupá lived with his father-in-law, acting as a father to his daughters and as an 'older brother' to Yampanás and Puar', his aunts and sisters-in-law, with whom Pinchupá also later married, on the insistence of Papue. When this happened, Pinchupá took his two daughters and his two new wives and a canoe with pigs, chickens, and dogs, and built his own house in the region of Yacuambi, midway between the house of Papue and Wichikiuat' and the houses built by his brothers further south in Chicaña and Guadalupe. Pinchupá had two sons with Yampanás: Tiwip' and Wampash'; and five children with Puar': three sons: Papue, Kukush', and Wisum', and two daughters: Entsa and Mayanch'. Pinchupá was murdered in Yacuambi, his head severed and taken by an undisclosed enemy.

Washikiat'. Washikiat', the son of Papue and Entsa, lived and died in the Kayamás area in the Panki region. Wichikuat' had several wives and produced plenty offspring, most of whom later populated not only Panki, but the two other great indigenous areas before the Hispanic city of Zamora further south: Chicaña and Guadalupe. He married Tatsuprim' and Pauch' and had the following sons—again, remembered here, in no particular order: Pinchupá, Kuji, Shunta, Tirias, Mashutak, and Mayanch', his only daughter. He died at an old age, burned alive while burning the forest to clear a garden for his wife. Pinchupá, one of his sons with Tatsuprim', found the burnt blade of his machete, stuck into a grey field covered in ashes, next to his father's carbonised remains.

Papue. Papue, the son of Wampash' and Yampanás, settled at the Wawaim' stream, in Panki, not too far away from the lands of his father Wampash'. Papue married a woman named Entsa and had a son named Wichikiuat' and three daughters: Masuint', Puar, and Yampanás. It is unknown where exactly was the land that Wampash' established for himself, but it is generally

agreed that Papue already controlled the large area between the northern bank of the Kayamás river in the south and the southern bank of the Chuchumbleza river in the north.

Wampash'. Wampash', the son of Kukush' and Mamaik', was thus born in Limón-Indanza. The exact reasons that prompted him to move to the south are unknown, irrelevant, or have been long forgotten. What is known is that his parents were already migrating south from the north, in an effort to reoccupy the lands that more ancient ancestors had inhabited in much earlier times. He resettled in the region now called Panki. Somewhere in that trajectory, Wampash' married a woman named Yampanás, and together they had a son named Papue.

Kukush'. Kukush' was the son of a man named Wampash'[188] and a woman named Nakaim'. He was known to have been born somewhere in the region now called Limón-Indanza, where he spent his childhood and adulthood, and married a woman named Mamaik'. Together, Kukush' and Mamaik' had the following descendants, all of them brave and worthy offspring—here remembered in no particular order: Kajekai, Chiriap', Antuash', Shik', and Mashutak, who either stayed around Limón-Indanza or resettled, much later, elsewhere in the north; and Wampash', named after Kukush's father, who relocated further south. Mashutak was the only female sibling.

The memory of these ancestors is closely linked with place of dwelling and political relations with their neighbours. Throughout the South, in fact, and specifically amongst the areas where we spent most of our fieldwork, in the lands of Pakints', Pumpuis, Tiink', and Panki, relations between *centros* and its people are well established and structured on the basis of such historic knowledge. Through the recitation of such biographies and stories, people in Pakints', and elsewhere in the region, remember and maintain a steady awareness of the extension of indigenous territorial control and attachments in the South. Hence, ancestral migration nowadays plays a significant role in land reclamations against industrial mining and indigenous peoples in the region have used and deployed such historic knowledge to uphold

their territorial possessions and support ongoing legal proceedings. This knowledge, however, nowadays confidently deployed to fend off settler colonisation and extractive expansion over indigenous land, is also closely attached to internal political relations amongst neighbouring kin.

The collective memory of migration in this area, as I have already noted elsewhere, mentions a migratory movement from the southern parts of the Zamora River lowland basin in the South, which consistently moved north until reaching the Santiago River. The peoples of Pakints', Pumpuis, and Tiink', which later formed the Bomboiza Association, and to some lesser degree to peoples of Panki, already recognised each other as close kin inhabiting the Santiago River area. Many retrace their steps eventually, on the face of sustained war with the fierce *patukma shuar* inhabiting those northeastern rivers, and over the course of various generations return south to establish themselves in what are now the reserves of Pakints', Pumpuis, and Tiink'.

Back in these respective locations, consistent feuds broke out amongst them, though no one remembers anymore what the cause of conflict was. The first Jesuit missionaries found the area already torn by internecine war in the early 19th century. The conflict, noted later in more detail in travel and missionary writing at the end of the 1890s, was constantly sustained and carried out simultaneously with wars against other *aénts chicham* groups or Shuar people in other regions, with whom weaker ties of kinship existed. The *pumpuis entsa*, the Bomboiza River, seems to have become a frontier of sorts between two large alliances of warriors encompassing the entire area and with connections stretching far outside the region.

The stories told nowadays and much of the existing political divisions between Pakints' and neighbouring *centros* and within the Bomboiza Association are never far away from the historic consciousness that once divided the area in well-established rival political networks. The central tenet of this division, described in travel and missionary 19th century writing through the bitter animosity of the alliances then lead by Júa and Narankas is maintained in the story of Jimpikit' and the later struggles that led to the division of the Shuar Federation. The

Santiago Wisum' most remembered now by the people of Pakints', in fact, was probably named after a previous homonymous warrior of importance—in an example of the recycling of *aénts chicham* names, biographies, and trajectories noted by Taylor (Taylor 2007). This namesake known in missionary writing as 'Santiago Wisum' of Chuchumbleza' and photographed by Enrico Festa in 1893 during his visit of the Gualaquiza mission, was, as described in Chapter 3, a reputable *capitán* that fought alongside Narankas and was killed in an ambush at the Gualaquiza mission carefully set up by Júa and his people.

These men, their names, and their participation in war, are today still frequently present in Shuar history and I was able to make use of these missionary materials during fieldwork to expand, correct, or confirm its content with the collaboration of various elders in the region. Most importantly, however, the historical partition and the suspicions and rivalries it creates is still relevant to regional politics today.

Historic memory was thus permanently close to surface in the region. Throughout Pakints', Pumpuis, Tiink', and Panki, people spoke of such tensions in different manners, each household teaching and remembering the rivals and enemies of their own kin, and warning youngsters which *centros* to avoid and who to marry on the basis of past political relations amongst neighbours. Nowadays, it is true, older people habitually complain about youngsters not properly knowing their place and the place of their rivals in the area, and who was to be trusted or distrusted in the region. Yet it is also true that no matter the frequency of indigenous complaints regarding social change and the recurrent bashing of politics amongst young people, well-defined demarcations are still strictly in place.

These demarcations tend to coincide with historic political divisions and are strongly held up and evident during important social events such as parties, sports tournaments, and also, as I shall show in the next chapter, current mining politics. The historic political relations that may bind or set apart kin in the region are expressed by whether invitations are or are not issued and by the physical and spatial interactions governing the relations of guest and hosts. The same boundary persists today. The division of the area that once existed at the *pumpuis entsa*,

the Bomboiza River, to separate the two major alliance networks that dominated regional politics at the end of the 19th century (see Chapter 3), is nowadays part of a well-defined spatial categorisation of the region that assumes, in part, past historical political trajectories. This overview is commonly attached to discourses on 'Shuar blood' that both related the potential dangers that existed in certain areas due to the warriorship of its inhabitants, whilst similarly emphasising the continuity of Shuar identity and political arrangements throughout time.

Pakints', a *centro* proud of the foreign blood of its foundational ancestor, was therefore perceived throughout the region as weak, disorganised, and acculturated. And its peoples often warned us to proceed with outmost caution when crossing the *chumpias entsa*, the Chuchumbleza River, towards Pumpuis for the people in the area had stronger 'Shuar blood' were thus thought to be more fierce and so violent and more inclined to witchcraft. Yet the people of Pumpuis thought the same about their neighbours at Tiink', whose stronger 'Shuar blood', perhaps the strongest in the area, we were cautioned, was not to be ignored. 'They could easily kill you', I was warned, 'were you to enter their land without a Shuar Federation agreement as a passport'. I had been told the same in Pakints' regarding Pumpuis and when Alice, Whiskey, and I moved from the former land reserve into the latter after our second year of fieldwork. We received several phone calls from friends in Pakints' worried for our safety for rumours had spread that a *cortacabeza*, a 'head slayer', usually a Shuar shaman or assistant plotting with a *gringo* foreigner to provide *tsantsa* shrunken heads to Western museums, was acting loose throughout the region. Not surprisingly, the same was thought in Tiink' about the *aénts chicham* peoples further in the hinterland, Shuar and Awajún, inhabiting the Peruvian side of *churuwia*, the Cordillera del Cóndor.

This notion of 'Shuar blood' was thus loosely related with ideas about authenticity and social change; and hence not only regulated relations of proximity between *centros* in the region but also between *centros* and the forest. The *centros* and areas closer to the forest and were game and hunters and traditional foodstuff were most frequently available and consumed were thought to have the strongest 'Shuar blood' whilst the most 'civilised' areas had the weakest.

Yet the notion was an important sign of historic continuity, too, and though relational it was also thought to be a permanent condition of being Shuar.

The idea had become important in the civil war. It was thought to be no coincidence that the people of Pakints', who defended their partial white inheritance had been particularly receptive to dissention because their blood, as the blood of most *samuria shuar*, 'people of Zamora-Chinchipe', was weaker. Similarly, it had not been a surprise to anyone that after the influence of Juep', the controversial president of the Shuar Federation under whose watch the institution had split, had waned, the leadership of the *kumpachuma* dissention had passed to Naichap', the son of a white man from Gualaquiza and a Shuar woman, who had in turn become a defender of industrial mining (see Chapter 6).

Bartolomé Juep', once a rising figure in Shuar politics, used to say: 'Sometime in the future, there will be Shuar astronauts, and so there will be Shuar people in space'. He had meant to reassure foreign fears on culture loss and reaffirm his ideas that change needed to be embraced. He often thought of acculturation and assimilation as either white people's goodwill nonsense or deliberate mechanisms of colonial control to keep indigenous peoples under poverty. And though he now lamented the division of the Shuar Federation, he had since reaffirmed and reasserted his ideas. 'No matter what a Shuar person may do—and we can do anything'—he liked to say, 'Shuar will always be Shuar, and Shuar men and women, no matter their trajectories [in life], will always die Shuar'.

It was a thought shared and repeated often in Pakints' and it was also common in the region. Shuar men and women working in industrial mining today were habitually baffled and annoyed by the idea of culture loss and social change, often suggested by environmental activists and non-governmental organisations active in the area. They often struggled to find conceivable the gloomy scenarios painted by environmental activists' describing Shuar swift social change and culture loss resulting from their temporal labour in the mines. This was not because they didn't find such change feasible but because Shuar ideas of social change and individual's range of action were altogether different.

Meeting grounds

The market where Nunkui sells her pineapples, in Gualaquiza, is by definition neutral ground. I used to make a fool of myself the times that Alice was away in Vienna, by going to the market to sell part of the green plantains of our neighbours, which I claimed was *gringo* plantain and demanded higher prices for it, which I never got. That at least helped the neighbours sell their loads much faster and allowed us to have more time to wander around town, eating ice cream and looking at its various shops. Highland merchants were always abusive and stingy and Shuar were seldom fairly compensated for their produce.

I loved the market. Shuar from all the nearby *centros* congregated in it every Sunday. Its location in the centre of Gualaquiza made it a meeting point of all Shuar *centros* in the surroundings. Its quarters brought people from the forested hills, who prepared and sold various game meat dishes, boiled or roasted, and it brought people from the valley *centros* near highway, who sold beef, roasted guinea pigs, and fowl. There were plucked ducks and chickens in abundance, which Shuar sold in great quantities to feed the 'Chinese houses' occupied by mine managers and supervisors in the town; and a host of various garden tubers that women sold to everyone and exchanged amongst themselves. Thus, every week, the worn and faded building erupted with colourful activity, dyed in manioc white and yellow, or red and orange as the peach palm ripped, and perennially covered in various shades of green.

It was also a major place of gossip. The market was located next to the bus station and was surrounded by cyber cafés, where especially the youngsters, after helping their parents with the sale of produce, log on the internet and spend hours playing video games, and enhancing gossip by ways of social media. Thus, news from far and near circulated widely, descending from the mountains with the breeze, and arriving with people that had just landed in town:

visiting kin, *organización* officials, returning hunters, and even the injured and the ill, happily returning from provincial hospitals and the homes of distant shamans.

The market was the only time when several people, standing at political antipodes, interacted with one another on a regular basis. Its position had replaced the neutrality once achieved by the religious mission and allowed for brief and polite interactions amid political rivals and historic adversaries. The men I admired, whose approval and support had been determinant in guaranteeing our access to the region, hung around the market, too, occasionally helping their wives to sell their produce and more often debating local and regional politics in anticipation of Pachakutik gatherings and various state office meetings. The women I admired, whose names, like Nunkui, were always more humble, and whose memory and teachings had become the backbone of our fieldwork, laughed and commented keenly on the same matters that consumed the time of men. Women just didn't make a fuss about it. If men closed the gates of political debate behind the formality of sanctioned meetings, women voiced their strong political opinions clear amongst themselves right at the market.

For the most part, however, people still gathered amid their closer kin and interacted most profusely with people of neighbouring and usually historically closer *centros*. Still, a greeting, a sarcastic comment, or a short conversation with a political rival or between people who perceived each other with caution and suspicion, when it was known that historic enmity had separated them, was not infrequent. In most cases, *primo* or *prima* and *tío* or *tía*, the Spanish words for cousin and uncle or aunt, used to address respectively generational peers and more senior persons, was generally preferred. I don't think, in fact, to have ever heard during my time in the field, that a Shuar person, however distant to the region, were not to be addressed in such a manner.

The market, too, provided an ideal place to coordinate fieldwork arrangements, exchange mobile phone numbers, and agree upon meet ups, domestic visits, and research collaboration. The same discomfort and distrust that within Pakints' existed amidst people of different neighbourhoods, was usually replicated throughout the region amidst *centros*. This thesis was

therefore in many ways composed through innumerable private conversations that took place in the warmth and intimate discretion of home kitchens in the region.

Present-day *centros*, were established on the basis of former warrior houses (see Chapter 6); and much of the political relations once interrelated to the lives of ancient warriors (the ancestors that most people in each of these *centros* now remembers) are still of great relevance to current interactions and political exchange. The importance of Shuar history in this regard lies primarily on the relations of feud and conflict that filter through the biographies of ancient peoples. What really matters in many such stories is not so much that a man may have the shamanic prowess to survive underwater, but his vengeance, and specially the recognition of his enemies.

This much has been noted by Taylor (Taylor 1993; 2007), with whom I largely agree. The amount of detail and temporal acuity with which the memory of ancestors is remembered amongst people in the South may go much deeper than what she found during her fieldwork, yet the overall political intention remains the same. The biographies of ancestors that people do remember and discuss today may serve the purpose of reinforcing kin identities and maintaining indigenous role models unmoved by colonisation, yet a memory that establishes historical relations between different individuals with competing political interests still sets the prevailing tone.

The central idea in Taylor's argument is that historical forgetting serves to emphasize and preserve the memory of political relationships between various great men and their groups of influence. And although the individual characteristics of those who participate in wars and brawls are or may be forgotten, those who were their enemies are not to be forgotten and the memory always carries with it the need to avenge the death of the deceased.

I have clearly not found in the South, a people devoting too much energy to the conscious effort of 'erasing' names, facts, image, and the personal histories of those who have recently died (Taylor 1993: 653). The opposite, if anything, is true. Yet, Taylor's work on conflict and

traditional warfare and her observations on the relationship between different Shuar groups before the process of pacification is quite relevant; and, it seems to me, still lies at the core of what Shuar nowadays call *organización*.

Taylor's analysis, of course, best describes a time before Shuar integration into national society; *chicham* speaking peoples are then still portrayed as firmly egalitarian and possessing a traditionally headless political structure. Yet, since the 1960s, by contrast, Shuar have been best known in regional anthropology for the strength of their ethnopolitical organization, and the important historical role the Shuar Federation has had in negotiating indigenous relations with the state and preserving territorial integrity (Rubenstein 2001; Salazar 1977). Still, as I have mentioned, and despite the considerable and undeniable social, political, and economic changes, ethnographic analysis still suggested the permanence within contemporary ethnopolitics of traditional political thought, values, and purposes (Colajanni 1984; Greene 2009; Taylor 1995).

In the previous chapter, I tried to capture a glimpse of such a permanence of thought and values through the own deliberations of the men most closely associated with Shuar *organización*. The political continuity of what Taylor and Descola call the *aents chicham* ethos, is still very relevant today in contemporary Shuar political thought. Shuar themselves are keenly aware of its implications and have keenly integrated it into their ethnopolitical endeavours, either to advance the pursuit of personal greatness or to go around its toils of collective organising. The maintenance of egalitarian individualism in the projection of their own strength and despite their best efforts to encompass and institutionalise collective determination, thus requires, and demands the permanent democratic negation that often characterises Shuar ethnopolitical endeavours. The role of *organización*, then, understood through the notions of Shuar history, is the translation between what Shuar refer to as 'Shuar law' and 'state law' when discussing historic change.

Translation, in this case, implies both change and continuity; and demands an interlocutor. The Shuar Federation was a response to colonial invasion and settler exploitation of the

imposition of settler legal frameworks. Through its foundation, indigenous politics directly engage with state and colonial policies which in turn allows white peoples to be included in Shuar history. Yet, white peoples do so, as I have argued earlier, submitted to indigenous agency. The implications here are consequential. In a context marked nowadays by the pressures and divisions driven by the expansion of industrial mining and considering that Shuar history represents indigenous politics and agency is disproportionately allocated to indigenous individuals, white peoples (and by extension mining encounters), are also a part of indigenous politics whether knowingly or not.

Right after the civil war came to a standstill, Shuar on both sides keenly brought in a significant number of white peoples to their struggle. The two parties in conflict, separated through the provincial borders in the South, each recruited parliamentary members, government bureaucrats, lawyers, missionaries, and savvily deployed state law to pursue their case. Some of these white peoples acted in obligation to the Shuar Federation whilst some pursue their own colonial interests knowing that indigenous fractures and debilitation worked to their benefit and interests. Piatra, the settler invader, returned to the lands he had stolen and later sold them to the Mirador mining project. Shuar in the South today, as I already mentioned, situate ongoing industrial mining struggles in the aftermath of the 'civil war'. The role since assigned by Shuar to white peoples in Shuar politics has been indeed carried on into mining encounters and has thus significant implications for its analysis. This is the subject of the following chapter.



Figure 37. Author and a friend walking Whiskey along the *Troncal Amazónica* Highway in Pakints'.

—What kind of a motorbike was it?
—I don't know. It was red.
—Yes, but what was the motorbike's brand?
—Ah, I wouldn't know that.
—Was it a large Honda or a cheap Chinese brand?
—Well, I don't know such things!
—You live in England with the *gringos*! How could you not know such things?

Conversation with a 34-year-old woman, fieldwork notes.

Pakintza, September 2015

You should go and talk to settler colonists. Have a drink with them and when they get juts a bit tipsy, ask. They will tell you: 'We are all but screwed. Shuar control politics now.'

Advise from a senior anthropologist, fieldwork notes.

Quito. May 2016

PRG was upset and in a sour mood. Later, he confessed, he had been avoiding us. He knew we were at the local school with the Federation, but when he was told to attend, he departed to the fields. 'What do you do with all these *informaciones*, people?' Mining had brought a seemingly never-ending wave of passing journalists, activists, NGOs, and university researchers. 'Why do they keep coming time and again to do *reports*? Reports! Reports! Reports!' The man kept a small notebook with the names and phone numbers of the journalists and activists he had talked to in the past long months. He showed it to us. I recognised some of those names. These people, he complained, had all said they'll help him and left their contact details; one had even promised him financial support to build a new house. But when he had tried to call them back, they invariably failed to pick up their phones. Still, so many months after the eviction, he had no house and no garden and had received no help from anyone. 'How could I go on living like this? I am used to eating my own *madurito* [ripe plantain] and manioc beer. I don't even have that here yet.'

PRG, an approximately 60-year-old man, fieldwork notes.

Tiink', October 2017

The situation here is like that of Palestine, believe me. I was there. I've seen it myself. There, the Palestinian people build, fix, and clean the houses of the Israeli. One side benefits from the labour of the other side and they each live separate lives. It is the same way here. Except that, for some time now, we are the exploited ones. [Shuar] control politics, and with politics they control us. They are the majority [of the population] and so they get to decide. We labour for them now.

Conversation with a settler colonist, fieldwork notes

Gualaquiza. August 2018

9 ‘Engineers’

‘White peoples’ and the politics of equivocation

The political atmosphere surrounding mining encounters in the South was, as I have discussed in earlier chapters, usually lived amid some degree of fear and suspicion. It was also lived under a constant threat of violence. One morning, as I was walking Whiskey along the highway, a motorbike came by, slowed down, and followed us for a few seconds. ‘Look at the gringo’s dog!’, the driver exclaimed. ‘I’m going to kill it’. He was addressing the person riding at his back. ‘Then, I’m going to kill this *gringo ambientalista* too’. At the time, I didn’t understand the threat. The verb ‘to kill’ had been expressed in local Spanish as *pelar*, ‘to peel’, and it was only later, after I told a friend about the incident, that I realised what had just happened. The verb *pelar*, generally understood as ‘to pluck’ in a society that cooked and ate fowl almost every day, also means ‘to kill’; its use goes along with the expression *ir a la olla*, ‘to be placed in the cooking pot’, a common euphemism for death in the region. Stunned by the occurrence, I had even failed to translate the threat as *desollar*, ‘skin’, and, rather stupidly, I protested being called a foreigner, whilst the motorbike drove past us out of sight. I had received a clear death threat and, quite foolishly, I even failed to grasp it.

The next few months, I remained wary and on the lookout for passing motorbikes. Much to the despair of Shuar confidants, however, most motorbikes look the same to me and all I could

ascertain was the colour of the motorcyclists' helmets. The episode pushed me into an uneasy state of permanent alert for a while, made all the worse by the fact that motorbikes are an extremely common means of transport in the region. Nevertheless, after a few months I decided the effort was not worth it and I tried to forget about the incident. In a region troubled by resource conflicts, surveillance, and uncertainty so frequently tainting political stances, public discourse, and private conversations, the occurrence was, however, not at all unusual. And although episodes of considerable violence had indeed occurred on more than one occasion during our time in the field, it was the continued persistence of everyday violence that best defined mining encounters in the South.[189]

Intimidation and harassment (most often directed against critics of the industry) was routinely denounced by indigenous and settler peasant neighbours in host communities. Known critics and potentially troublesome observers, reporters, activists, and academic researchers, were often questioned, followed, chased and insulted by private security guards hired to photograph, film, and report their whereabouts, were they to come too close to mining infrastructure (Colectivo de Investigación y Acción Psicosocial 2016; Collyns 2015; Sacher et al. 2016; Yépez & van Teijlingen 2017). Shuar elected officials in *centros* identified as critical of *la compañía*, might come home to find corporate communiques carefully placed inside their bedrooms or receive random and suspicious phone calls, whose sole intention seemed to be to let them know they were being watched. Indigenous workers were constantly reminded that their jobs and livelihood were always replaceable and disposable, if they were too critical, too vocal or too public about unwanted or unjust situations.

There was, moreover, a deep sense of polarisation, deeply entrenched in industrial mining politics resulting from and feeding an atmosphere of fear, suspicion, and distrust. Rejection and exclusion were, however, especially reserved for foreigners and out-of-the-region outsiders interacting within mining encounters. Therefore, even though I was not an *ambientalista*, an 'environmental activist', trying to argue otherwise would have been pointless. I let my hair grow long and my beard sometimes even longer, and that positively made me look

like one in the local imagination. For a long time now, *susu*, 'bearded', has been a common Shuar nickname to refer to foreign missionaries, travellers, volunteers, or social anthropologists, and the notion had trickled down, too, into regional Spanish[190], and it now also portrayed environmental activists.[191] With the advent of industrial mining, therefore, *ambientalistas* had just joined the cohort of bearded people. These new *susu* (for environmental activists visiting the region, too, were often mostly bearded men), were known for their critical opinions on the government and their strong views against industrial mining. Their increasingly active presence in mining encounters had, however, placed them right at the forefront of mining politics. Their careful attention to the many injustices and grievances produced by mining in the region made them interesting to talk to. Their presence was nonetheless surrounded by political risk.

Shuar and settler peasants cautiously hoping news could reach the government or even be made public in the press worldwide, frequently offered them *informaciones*: a tip-off on the latest waste to have been illegally dumped in the river; or the most recent attempts of corporate lawyers to take over the land of a neighbour. Most people found their presence useful, though that didn't mean that *ambientalistas* were particularly liked, trusted, or even welcomed. The local fame of environmental activists, as in other contested mining settings in Latin America (Li 2015), had similarly acquired negative and pejorative connotations. Their presence was embedded in the virulent and bitter atmosphere of resource conflicts that had recently engulfed the region, and as such they belonged to the same category reserved for 'white people' within mining encounters.

The term *ambientalista* was however sometimes used as a quirky insult in the region. This was in no small part due to government and corporate development discourses and their influence in shaping and diffusing damaging depictions of environmentalism. The highest spheres of government referred to such kinds of opposition to its extractive plans, especially if coming from the left, as *ecologísmo infantil*, 'infantile environmentalism'—a term coined by the then president himself. The efforts to curb the expansion of industrial mining in an ecologically

sensitive region were thus portrayed as a hindrance to national development and local economic growth. At the same time, liberal critiques, and Human Rights observers (especially NGOs) were cast as CIA imperial agents, with interventionist and secretive neoliberal political agendas—another unfair disruption to the nation's development and a breach of its sovereignty. Not enemies from within, like the *indigenist* left, but (and this was marginally worse) enemies from without, working in the name of adversary foreign powers.

Nevertheless, much like other kinds of *ingenieros*, 'engineers', which is how Shuar generally referred to any 'professional white people' in the South, *ambientalistas* were also a part of longstanding relations between Shuar and non-indigenous peoples arriving in their lands; a relatively specific 'kind of foreigner', perhaps, but certainly not an unfamiliar kind. What is more, *ambientalistas*, along with *xinos* and *inkis*, 'Chinese', and 'North Americans, Australians, and non-Iberian Europeans', arriving at a time of novel conflict, had nonetheless equally been integrated into ongoing colonial relations and the established indigenous regional political networks that had last played such an important role during Shuar ethnopolitical conflicts in the 1980s-1990s.

As mining politics stood, therefore, there were only a few options to describe 'city folk' strangers in the region like me. If I wasn't an *ambientalista*, then, I surely was a 'professional white person' employed by or affiliated with the mine. That wouldn't have been at all unusual either, for the nearby Mirador mine indeed attracted large crowds (and all sorts) of engineers. Over the last few years alone, local inhabitants, for better or for worse, had become increasingly used to dealing with them and to their distinctive presence. Even without their characteristic uniforms: denim overalls, reflective vests, and industrial yellow wellingtons (sometimes also safety helmets), always required within extractive grounds, but discretional outside, these outside strangers never went unnoticed. 'You just recognise them', I was often told in Pakints', without further explanation.

Naturally, as fieldwork goes, neither prospect, *ambientalista* or *ingeniero*, inspired that much trust or confidence amongst local inhabitants. Each came attached with its own conflictive and

troubled implications, as I shall state later in more detail, often posed respectively as 'anti-mining' and 'pro-mining' stances. Such a division and the animosity between supporters and detractors of industrial mining in the region was thoroughly combative as the conflicts that industrial mining had brought since the early 2000s had sharply polarised the region. Not surprisingly, it was initially very hard to navigate research ethics and positionality in such a contentious and divisive milieu. The region was split, and people generally distrusted one another as much as they distrusted foreigners and strangers.

Thus far I have discussed the long and intricate colonial history of the South (chapter 3), the violence and political polarisation characterising resource conflicts in the region (chapter 2), and the complex entanglements of indigenous history and political agency in ongoing mining encounters (chapter 5). I have suggested in the previous chapters, moreover, that mining encounters are perceived by Shuar today to be a matter of indigenous politics in which the presence and participation of 'white people' is thought of as being ancillary to longstanding indigenous political arrangements and historic conflict. Shuar history, I have argued, emphasises indigenous agency and deflects the ability of 'white people' to determine historic change. Yet, toning down 'white people's' agency is not the same as ignoring their presence completely and both 'white people', and their institutions, and technologies have been duly incorporated into indigenous understandings of the past and ongoing Shuar political arrangements.

In this chapter, then, I analyse the presence of researchers, environmental and Human Rights activists, mine contractors and workers and their relations with Shuar people within mining encounters. The prevalence of Shuar political memory, I shall argue, disrupts conventional academic analysis of resource conflicts in the region. Revealingly, despite bitter divisions between supporters and detractors of industrial mining in the South, Shuar generally refer to both government and corporate employees as well as to anti-mining activists equally as *ingenieros*, 'engineers'. Social anthropologists, biologists, archaeologists, geographers, and any other kind of 'professional white people' are equally referred to as 'engineers'. This doesn't

mean that Shuar are unwilling or unable to distinguish the underlying differences between professions or between activism and corporate work. What is hinted, instead, I shall maintain, is the potential role that the encompassing category 'professional white people' can acquire when aiding indigenous purposes within indigenous politics.

The central pilar of my argument is that Shuar actively employ non-indigenous frameworks, knowledge, infrastructure, and institutions to pursue and maintain indigenous values and rationalities. Historical conflict between opposite groups, therefore, regularly welcomes, pursues, and incorporates the support of powerful outsiders. This has already been illustrated through the compound narratives presented earlier to describe indigenous entanglements with colonial settings during the division of the Shuar Federation in 1986 and continues just as prominently today in current mining encounters. The focus of this chapter, therefore, is not to prove the relation of causality that Shuar perceive between indigenous political disagreements in the past and resource conflicts now, but to show how this shape and affect ongoing interactions between Shuar and 'white people' within mining encounters in the South.

Indigenous interactions with white people within mining encounters, I maintain, though occurring within a context of resource conflict and mining politics are also framed by Shuar within arrangements of indigenous politics and are therefore understood as part of Shuar history and indigenous agency. The outcome is the superimposition of indigenous and non-indigenous rationales simultaneously shaping mining encounters; and the indigenous incorporation of various kinds of white people into indigenous politics with the intention of pursuing indigenous political aims.

The resulting consequences and misunderstandings may well be encapsulated as 'equivocations', following the definition provided by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, that such a mistake originates 'not just [from] a failure to understand' but from 'a failure to understand that understandings are necessarily not the same' (Viveiros de Castro 2017: 11). Viveiros de Castro thus notes the use of the same words by interlocutors who nonetheless intend different

meanings. Such a conversation, therefore, unbeknownst to its participants, does not revolve around exactly the same thing.

Viveiros de Castro argues that such equivocations cannot be 'cancelled' nor should they be ignored, but instead they should be integrated and 'controlled' in anthropological analysis as part of anthropology's 'project of cultural translation'. The intention here is to 'communicate by differences' rather than 'presuming' that there is univocality (Viveiros de Castro 2017: 10). As I have noted in the Introduction, Viveiros de Castro's notion seems useful to understand the complex ambiguities that define indigenous and non-indigenous interactions in the South.

As I have suggested earlier, in a context in which resource conflicts are very much entangled and defined by Shuar notions of history, such equivocations transpire often and relations between indigenous interlocutors and government bureaucrats, corporate staff, and urbanite environmental or Human Rights activists often become tainted with alternate significance. The savvy incorporation of non-indigenous frameworks, knowledge, infrastructure, and institutions that Shuar ethnopolitics allows, moreover, increases the points of contact in which indigenous and non-indigenous understandings may coexist on top of each other and thus result in equivocations. Within mining encounters, therefore, broad political alliances between Human Rights and environmental activism or between corporate and state platforms and Shuar interlocutors easily go out of synch when indigenous political objectives take over ethnopolitical frameworks in which shared meaning is presumed.

As I will show hereafter, what otherwise may seem to be, from the standpoint of non-indigenous outsiders, clear and perhaps novel divisions between 'anti-' and 'pro-' mining postures are, within Shuar history, long-held historical relations between quarrelling groups. Whilst well-established political distinctions between 'anti-' and 'pro-' mining supporters may have different interpretations when essential distinctions are made between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples and between indigenous oppositions established by Shuar among one another. Mining encounter thus take an entirely different meaning when attention is

placed on indigenous politics and indigenous politics are not taken as an appendix within an encompassing political worldview.

'White peoples' in mining encounters

The last week of our fieldwork, a considerable number of anti-mining environmental activist from Quito arrived in Gualaquiza and held a faux trial against industrial mining in the region. The public trial was organised by a broad front of national anti-mining groups with the intention of denouncing bad environmental practices and frequent human rights and labour violations. The faux trial moved from a municipal agora towards the streets of a local town, along with the cries and demands of city activists to stop all ore extraction, and a march towards Tundayme with the intention of staging a protest in front of the Mirador mine headquarters. When I asked a Shuar friend who had witnessed the march towards the mine what he thought of it, his response was rather positive: 'We support these gringos', he said, 'for they are fighting against the Chinese and for the return of the Canadians whom, as you know, were much better bosses'.

I shall first begin by describing the kinds of engineers that Shuar often interact with in mining encounters. In Pakints' this is how people from the *centro* came into contact with them in connection to future resource extraction: First, a few geologists, referred to by Shuar as *ingenieros geólogos*, 'geologist-engineers', arrived. They asked people for permission to enter their properties to study the land. 'We want to know what the earth is made of here', they said. They were scientists. They were prospecting. 'To prospect is comparable to study', they said. Shuar and settler peasants, private or collective property owners, granted them access. They showed them around and sometimes took up roles as local guides in exchange for small amounts of money, some food to share, an occasional cigarette. Their presence, most commonly sporadic, over time increased and intensified to concentrate only in certain places.

It was at this time that the geologists-engineers brought machinery with them. It was used to perforate the ground and take deep earth samples (the holes are still visible today). People were paid to watch over the machines at night. It was a simple job that paid unjustifiably well.

People in Pakints' remembered the task as the 'easiest $30 of our lives'. The machines, stationed in the middle of the forest or in people's gardens, needed to be guarded from thieves—those had been the instructions the engineers had left, so people went off hunting at night in the grounds around the machines, with torches and dogs, to keep an eye on them. Yet thievery is unusual in the Alto Zamora, except for thoughtless neighbours that occasionally creep into other people's gardens, akin to peccaries or agoutis, to steal some manioc or a bunch of plantain, or to fell palm trees and take their pricey hearts. Rarely, a cattle rustler appears with a pickup truck and might be able to get away with several heads of cattle before anyone notices. There are not, in any case, thieves capable of disappearing with heavy boring machinery from a minor forest clearance. So, after a few weeks of conscious watching, people left the machines in the jungle, unchecked and undisturbed, and as soon as their initial enthusiasm for night hunting wore off, they got used to charging rent rather than wages from the machines stationed on their lands.

It was after the samples were taken that new engineers arrived. Unlike geologists, these were men that preferred talking over trekking. They didn't offer money in exchange for simple tasks but carried gifts instead: toys and sweets for the children, medicine and foodstuffs for the elderly, books and games for the schools, athletic equipment for the sports teams. They had names like Díaz, Gándara, Rossanía, Vitéri, accented Hispanic names, and liked talking about life in the city, and about the economic development of the country. They insisted that in the future things would soon improve for everyone in Ecuador, especially for people in the South.

Mine engineers said they had come to '*socializar*', which mostly meant organising meetings with people from the different neighbourhoods of Pakints' and other communities in the region. In these meetings the engineers introduced themselves, and talked about mining, and *la compañía*. Mining was everywhere, they said, 'on mobile phones, and bicycles, and industry,

and construction, and every conceivable human endeavour in the world': civilization was not conceivable without it. Analogous words were written down in booklets that engineers handed out in these meetings. These explained the origins of copper and bronze and iron and explained that these metals coincided with different stages of human development throughout time. Small hunks of text accompanied many colourful flow charts and photographs that children in Pakints' loved to look at and draw on. There were pictures of dinosaurs and animals from the rainforest like macaws or *achú* monkeys, that children knew well, and iconic animals from the Galapagos Islands that they had only heard of at school. The challenge of a 'megadiverse' country like Ecuador, the text concluded, was the need to protect the environment while attaining some form of sustainable development, but that had precisely been the objective of the country's recent mining law, whose most important articles were dully summarised in the last pages (Betancourt 2010).

The main pitch of the new engineers was that lowland Amazonia was a poor and undeveloped region, bursting with problems, and they—and especially *la compañía*—wished to be 'part of the solution, not a part of the problem'. Soon, there would be plenty jobs available to households in the neighbourhood, they said, and people in the region would finally have a stable source of income. Further, with the royalties that *la compañía* was going to pay the government, there would be better health, and better education, and better infrastructure for everyone in Amazonia. The gifts they distributed were evidence, they said, of what a 'good neighbour' *la compañía* was.

Mine bosses, politicians, environmental activists, and other 'engineers'

Nowadays, almost every morning, mine workers in Pakints' woke up early, often before dawn, and gathered at the highway's side splitting the *centro* to wait for the *ranchera*, a rural transportation truck covered with a wooden frame and typically decorated with rather

colourful and imaginative paint jobs. The journey from Pakints' towards Tundayme further traverses Mirador planned development partitions. The Zamora River divides the mine concession in two sections: an *área de influencia directa*, 'area of direct influence', east of the Zamora River; and an *área de influencia indirecta,* 'area of indirect influence', west of the Zamora River. The partition affected the allocation of 'social investment' resources by Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) within the overall concession and scheduled the expansion of the project into consequent stages. The infrastructural development of the mine, and its ecological damage, at present concentrated on the area of direct influence, will subsequently expand further across the overall concession in the coming years.

Pakints', which throughout our fieldwork was part of the 'area of indirect influence' had thus a different temporal and economic relation to Mirador in comparison to Tundayme, geographically closer to the mine.[192] The area considered to be at the time 'indirectly affected' thus received no meaningful 'social investment' and information on planned developments was less accessible. Rather few CSR 'social and economic development aid programmes' were available to people from the *centro* and interaction between Pakints' and Mirador focused on the tense negotiations over land access, monetary compensation, and the future expansion of the mine. The attention of environmental and Human Rights activism, journalism, and previous academic research, so far heavily weighted towards directly affected areas, too, was rather scant.[193] When we arrived, there were no Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) working in the *centro*, nor much direct experience of its people with the comings and goings of activists, reporters, and social researchers.

Mirador, as its developers frequently stressed, employed more than 2500 people.[194] No local radio spots or newspaper and magazine articles on the industry ever failed to mention this. PR campaigns and CSR programmes repeatedly emphasise that the presence of the mine has brought stable jobs to a place where there were very few available, whilst offering local entrepreneurs the opportunity to 'productively link' their labour, land, and creativity with new and growing markets. What industrial mining advocates, managers, and planers mean by this,

however, depends on the autonomous capacity of local people to develop *emprendimientos locales*, 'family run and local businesses', to establish trade partnerships and profitable ventures to tap into the large consumer base of mine labourers and contractors[195]. The potential benefits of job availability were thus used to compensate for the conflictive and often violent expansion of industrial mining in the region.

Today, in a Shuar *centro* like San Francisco de Pakints', located in the 'indirectly affected' outer ring of Mirador, up to 95% of young adult men and a few women commute every day to work in the mine. The same is true for most *centros* in the 'directly affected' inner ring around Tundayme, and the settler town itself. Working in the mine or, as local people more often call it, *trabajar donde los chinos*, 'working for the Chinese', has thus become a significant part of the everyday life for people in the area. This is progressively the case elsewhere in the South, too, as the development of the other large-scale ore mines, Fruta del Norte and Panantza-San Carlos, advance in the region, reinforcing promises of infrastructural development, jobs, and economic stability.

At the time of our fieldwork, almost all households in Pakints' woke up before daybreak and set their daily routines around mine labour. Throughout the *centro*, workers wake up in the dark of the morning, get dressed in denim uniforms and leave the warmth of their homes amidst cocks crowing to head outside in yellow wellingtons towards the highway. They wait in groups along the roadside for the worker's *ranchera*, those lorries framed with wood and decorated with colourful paint jobs used throughout the country as rural transportation, that pick them up and take them to Tundayme. Non-working women and children follow them shortly after. The former walk to their gardens after sending the latter off to school. For the greater part of the day, the *centro*'s neighbourhoods remain silent, left mostly to the elderly or the ill, until women reappear carrying their *chankina* baskets and their bags, bearing the weight of fresh manioc and plantain with a liana strip around their foreheads. Returning children fill the place with noise at the close of school, immediately setting up games and play groups or heading to the river to fish or for a bath. Workers return home from their mine jobs only later

in the afternoon, between 5:30 pm and 6:00 pm, and slowly appear in sight as they climb down from the *rancheras* on the highway, with their sweaty uniforms and a bag of prepared food from the camp's canteen. This food accompanied by boiled manioc or plantain from the women's gardens and rice and chicken purchased at the town's shop will be shared by families at dinner.

Despite the concerns, apprehension, and warning reports of environmental and Human Rights activists, trade union members, and local politicians, however, indigenous workers in the mine were generally unconcerned with the prospect of culture loss and social change that Shuar engagements with the mining industry were generally imagined to produce. Throughout the last decade, indigenous people in the South have increasingly come to rely on wages earned in the mining industry as a central source of income. Yet they continue to engage with environmental and territorial struggles that include broad political alliances and environmental conservation networks. Shuar, though, at least in my experience, well-aware of such debates, rarely see the contradictions raised by activists or academic supporters as conflictive. Nor do they seem truly afflicted by the dangers, habitually raised by the latter, over dependency, exploitation, or social and cultural change. These might well be legitimate concerns, as Shuar labourers currently dominate the Mirador mine's unskilled workers payroll much in the same proportion that Shuar soldiers outweigh the South Frontier military forces routinely deployed to protect the same mining transnational investments. Hence, about 60% of what corporate management in Mirador refers to as 'field labour' is indigenous. This fact alone means that Shuar growing understanding and increasingly common experience as workers has the potential to shape the political landscape that surrounds industrial mine developments.

This was a matter of continuous dissension and fragmentation within and between environmental, labour, and indigenous rights organisations, who did not always welcome or strive to understand such entanglements. The warnings customarily raised over dependency, exploitation, and social change did not matter to people in the South as much as they did outside the region. The focus and the interest with which Shuar approached mine work lay

instead in the potential to establish relations with other 'kinds of peoples' and their knowledge through mining encounters.

The consolidation of an overarching anti-mining front at the national level, therefore, largely working from a few loosely grouped organisations, each limited by their own economic and administrative constrains, permanently struggled to assemble a truly encompassing broad front. Reaching out to Shuar and settler colonists in the South didn't come without complications. Key issues in questions over politics of ethnicity and identity and debates over the length, pertinence, and limitations of legal-oriented strategies were often the matter of dispute. Shuar opposed to mining thought that legal processes were too lengthy often failed to guarantee their rights and territories. Furthermore, despite everybody's best intentions, historical grievances continued to play a part. Some further felt that settler peasants relied too often on Shuar to risk their lives in the defence of land, which—strictly speaking—wasn't theirs. Settler peasants, on the other hand, were of the opinion (sometimes echoed by other indigenous nationalities) that Shuar were unreliable and untrustworthy due to their seeming incapacity to form a strong united block and what they described as a proverbial weakness for corporate or state money and material gains.

The comparative savviness and cohesion of settler peasant over indigenous organisations in relation to social media proved very effective in casting light on mining conflicts in the national sphere and soon they became a stronghold of resistance coalitions in the region. In their own struggle to avoid further destruction of their homes, property, and land, settler peasant organisations increasingly turned towards the law to make their case. There was one caveat, however, and it caused its own controversies. Because indigenous people benefit from certain rights enshrined in law, settler peasants from communities hosting the mine, began a process to be recognised as an indigenous group. This was not broadly supported by Shuar, who felt settler colonisers, who had first come to take indigenous land were now appropriating indigenous identities.

Pachakutik, through its elected office holders in the region, became a major coordinator in such plans; yet it was only able to play a limited and disjunctive role. This party, popular and widely ruling under Shuar control in Morona-Santiago, in one half of the South, where *muruna shuar*, 'people from Morona-Santiago', had a strong political presence and the population numbers to make use of it, was faced with insurmountable challenges in Zamora-Chinchipe, were *samuria shuar*, 'people of Zamora-Chinchipe', more often landless and politically isolated, were an electorally disenchanted minority. Indeed, at the time of our fieldwork, most of Pachakutik's political offices in Zamora-Chinchipe were in the hands of either Saraguro Kichwa (representing highland Kichwa rather than lowland Amazonian values) or instead, especially around the copper-belt, in the hands of settler colonisers. Therefore Shuar in Zamora-Chinchipe, who perceived these groups equally as land invaders, did not feel represented by national indigenous politics in the same manner Shuar may have been in Morona-Santiago, where they have come to dominate local elections (Buitrón-Arias 2016; Deshoullière 2016).

The issue for Pachakutik's representation against industrial mining pressure, however, was not only relative Shuar population disadvantage nor just historical colonial disagreements. Rather it was how these two related processes were enacted in the present. According to our observations, 'alternative' agricultural developments were deployed, more often than not, by elected settler Pachakutik authorities to increase *mejoras*, 'improvements', in settler lands that were also legally contested indigenous seized land. As a consequence, a programme whose broad objective had been to strengthen the economic and legal security of local populations vis-à-vis industrial mining land acquisition, was also, in the local context, strengthening ethnic economic inequality by further assuring the legal security of settler invasion and decreasing the odds of successful indigenous land reclamation. Shuar, painfully aware of such political nuances, were faced with an unfair choice between the uncertainties of the future and the unsolved certainties of the past.

In the politically polarised context of the time, then, it was no surprise that Shuar in Zamora-Chinchipe would be more likely to support the non-indigenous party in government and even go along with its pro-mining developmentalist programme. What is more, many Shuar did so to push their own agenda of territorial reclamation. From the regional point of view, supporting the government mining plans also meant taking a stand against settler political control, which at the time seemed a more pressing threat than industrial mining. 'We are a clever people', I often heard *samuria shuar* uphold. And sure enough, knowing that in order to reclaim their land in a province that lacked support from broader indigenous umbrella organisations and in which indigeneity was still more of a handicap than a means of levelling the playing field, people in Pakints' mobilised to push such an agenda from within the state. If the only way to guarantee that enough political support could be mobilised in courts and ministries, known to be administratively constrained and corruptible, was to openly support the government, then, the government was to find some Shuar support.

Further, it helped *samuria shuar* express and highlight perceived regional differences against *muruna shuar*, whose strong ethnopolitical structures afforded them a broad number of national and international allies to oppose the central government. Not surprisingly, I often heard regional leaders explain to constituencies: engagement from within the state was a show of *samuria shuar* 'civilised' sophistication in comparison to their 'hot-headed' and 'unreasonable' 'rustic' *muruna shuar* neighbours. Shuar engagement with the state was hence deployed against the grudges and divisions that lingered from the fragmentation of the Shuar Federation during the 'civil war'. In consequence, conflicts over mining were played out in line with the rifts that had shattered Shuar politics in the 1980s-1990s. The depth and meaning of such division was mostly unknown to the state, activists, and corporations. Hence, although generally recognised through the provincial lines that split the region, the conflict affects Shuar politics in many more subtle and profound ways.

Shuar struggles against industrial mining, moreover, as I have noted elsewhere, were not infrequently thought of, and referred to in *shuar chicham* as *mesét*. The word, familiar to readers

of classic *aénts chicham* ethnography, is usually translated as both 'feuding' and 'warfare'. Yet, though mining encounters were perceived by Shuar within a sphere of confrontation (*mesét*), this confrontation was simultaneously addressed in two directions: externally, towards the defence of indigenous land, political autonomy, and rights, and internally, to uphold the long-standing regional feuding that had fragmented the Shuar Federation decades earlier.

Interestingly, both *muruna shuar* and *samuria shuar*, whilst quarrelling against one another in their existing ideological divide, based their discourses and political positions regarding resource extraction on similar values: land, autonomy, and indigenous rights. The defence of land promoted by the *kumpachuma* faction, and more often shared by *samuria shuar*, however, differed greatly from the view of the established indigenous movement often shared by *muruna shuar.* Hence, the former did not oppose resource extraction but instead defended the indigenous right to control the resources of their lands as an exercise of political autonomy. Whilst the latter, after many internal debates dismissed such ideas as the creation of an indigenous mining corporation under the control of the Shuar Federation and opposed all extractive intervention on indigenous territories. In the latter case, indigenous autonomy was often understood as sovereignty and the right to resist any kind of state and non-indigenous intervention; whilst, in the former, indigenous rights had been reframed to mean the right to pursue economic growth as a measure of equality within an unequal and discriminatory colonial context.

Not surprisingly, *samuria shuar*, left for the most part outside the national and regional structures of indigenous politics after the 'civil war', and pursuing an agenda of engagement with the state, were widely criticised as 'pro-mining collaborators' by broad environmental activists' alliances. The dependence of the latter on indigenous organisations to mediate and guarantee grassroots activism, however, further led to their reliance on Shuar groups that were long-time adversaries to the groups that hosted the mines or controlled local ethnopolitical organisations in Zamora-Chinchipe. As a consequence, the close relationship of activists with

one and not another Shuar group ended up pushing enemy groups further towards governmental and corporate patron-client networks.

Both government and industry spokespersons and representatives claimed, infantile environmentalism's opposition to industrial mining would only assist the inevitable advance of unregulated and illegal small-scale mining mafias which were likely to produce widespread and uncontrollable mercury pollution in the environment. Such mafias, 'pro-mining' social media on-line posts and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) personnel insisted, were behind the financing of NGOs that promoted environmentalist activism, and opposition campaigns against the industry. Environmentalist activists were thus portrait as skewed political manipulators, occupied with the spread of unwarranted fear and misinformation among local communities for obscure political gains and unscrupulous self-interest.

Many settler colonisers in the region, too, swore *ambientalistas* made a business of manipulating unfortunate and impressionable indigenous peoples for the weight indigeneity had in global markets. A situation many of them despised but perhaps, secretly, envied. Others, in those unhurried settler towns eroded by the forest, accused *ambientalistas* of being on the same payroll of mining corporations: just different ones to those they fought against. This was an opinion widely shared by Chinese management, staff, and contractors. They suspected Western competitors within the industry for secretly financing and deploying environmentalism and Human Rights discourses to cast a shadow on their operations. In the hypothetical aftermath of Chinese failure, I was very strongly assured, North American, European, or Australian rivals would be very eager to move in and, in no time, seize the 'copper belt' and invest in its development. Thus was the game of geopolitics, I was often told—and that had become a big important word.

Shuar knew and on occasion shared these rumours, too. Perhaps environmental activists were truly there to steal children's organs and people's body fat, as the Awajún in Peru had recently reported. Or perhaps—and this was worse—they were just *cortacabezas*. This feared *cortacabeza* was usually a local killer acting on behalf of a *gringo* master, as a shrunken head

provider for the international black-market. It was, after all, a well-known fact that white foreigners in wealthy countries enjoyed displaying *aénts chicham* people's shrunken heads in their museums. It was also known that they paid very handsomely to do so: several thousands of dollars, maybe even millions, for a *tsantsa.* The *cortacabeza*, literally a 'head slasher', usually conspired with shamans to commit such awful crimes. It was not impossible, therefore, that the *ambientalista*s, whose excessively enthusiastic interest in ayahuasca shamanism had not gone unnoticed, could be but another cog in such disturbing business.

Be that as it may, as mining politics stood, there were only a few options to describe 'city folk' strangers in the region like myself. If I wasn't an *ambientalista*, then, I surely was an *ingeniero*, an 'engineer', employed by or affiliated with the mine. That wouldn't have been at all unusual either, for the nearby Mirador mine indeed attracted large crowds (and all sorts) of engineers. Over the last few years alone, local inhabitants, for better or for worse, had become increasingly used to dealing with them and to their presence. Even without their characteristic uniforms: denim overalls, reflective vests, and industrial yellow wellingtons (sometimes safety helmets), required at all times within extractive grounds, but discretionary outside, these outsiders never went unnoticed. 'You just recognise them', I was told, without further explanation.

For a brief time upon arriving in the field I had myself been using that very same kind of yellow wellingtons that engineers used. I had chosen them for safety reasons on the recommendation of a herpetologist. This man had assured me, before I set off to the field, that in the event of a snake bite, the thicker rubber of the industrial model would be more effective in preventing fangs reaching my flesh. I had to get rid of them immediately upon reaching the field, though, for each time I visited anyone's house with that bright yellow rubber footwear, people immediately assumed that I was there to negotiate access to their lands or the acquisition of their properties in support of further mining developments.

These engineers employed by the mining industry were no less ambiguous than *ambientalistas*. Many local people resented them wholeheartedly and saw them as unpatriotic 'traitors':

national sell-outs to new foreign Asian masters. Inside the Mirador mine, HR management and labour supervisors were particularly hated, but so were an assorted set of hard to pin down specialists, who, people thought, had consistently failed to report environmental degradation and corporate legal exploitation to the relevant authorities. 'Money silenced them', it was often speculated. Further, several of these city men employed by the mining industry, especially 'office bosses' appeared, according to local complaints, to treat both the toil and customs of settler and indigenous inhabitants with contempt.

Shuar hadn't failed to notice either that the work they did inside their offices, management, accounting, or IT, which from a worker's viewpoint, amounted to mostly issuing orders, hardly compared to the workloads they themselves (and settler peasants) were expected to comply with in the field. To add insult to injury, there were ample rumours that engineering wages added up to thousands of dollars. Field worker's payments meanwhile amounted to little more than the basic salary[196], a small list of added social benefits, and a considerably higher risk of ending up dead while on your job or severely injured and perpetually condemned to a life of pain.

Ambiguity as equivocations

I suspect the word 'engineer' was coined in Shuar usage sometime in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as *ingenieros topográficos,* 'topographic engineers', were recruited to aid in the measurement of indigenous reserves during the acquisition of land titles. The service provided by topographers indeed appears prominently in Shuar narratives of the period, and the creation of indigenous reserves is held very dearly in indigenous memory. Today, given major indigenous rights violations characterising regional industrial mining developments, law and lawyers have become an equally important and necessary part of indigenous politics. The same legal procedures used within assumed understandings to uphold indigenous territorial

integrity, however, are also simultaneously deployed by Shuar (much to the bewilderment of legal authorities) to address trifling home, garden, and neighbourhood disputes, castigate bewitching shamans, and settle old scores between regional enemies.[197]

Further, Shuar had long ascribed historical meaning to the term 'engineer', which they used simply to describe 'professional white people' and 'city folk' in the broadest sense. This led to the indigenous coinage of downright ungraceful terms such as 'linguistic engineer', 'herpetologist engineer', or 'engineer-anthropologist' to describe linguists, herpetologists, and social anthropologists that people had encountered somehow. At times the term was also used deferentially as a respectful way of formally addressing an outsider. In consequence, regional political authorities, regardless of their actual education, were ceremoniously referred to as 'engineers', with governors, mayors, and district officers becoming *ingeniero alcalde, ingeniero gobernador, ingeniero presidente de la junta parroquial*. These 'engineers' (and environmental activists were also included here) were purely a kind of non-indigenous people whose power, prestige, technical knowhow, and network of political relations was recognised and expected to branch out wider than the local sphere. A kind of 'white people' recognised to be able to introduce greater changes in the world and shape nature and the landscape literally and (especially) through politics. That made them superior in some contexts (hence the deference). Which also made them dangerous: as shown by the 'engineers of the malaria' entering the indigenous world, in the memory of a child at the end of the first third of the 20th century, almost as astronauts descending from space. This, however, also made them useful, as is clear from analysing how the word 'engineer' was first inserted in Shuar lexicon: from the topographers (*ingenieros topográficos*) that accompany the land registration and demarcation that preceded the creation of Shuar land reserves.

In the deeply polarised atmosphere of the time, to oppose mining developments was to oppose the government, and to oppose the government was to stand in a hazardous position. Lest one wished to get into trouble, provisions needed to be taken constantly to assure some nuance. For instance, one could have said that conflicts were nothing but a great misunderstanding.

People were not opposed to mining or development or the improvements of livelihoods and education that were promised. They were very grateful for those things, of course! Only a terrorist would be against education! Besides, Shuar were no savages, they were civilised now and needed these things as much as anyone else in the country.

Therefore, the problem was not the mining industry, but, perhaps, the stingy interests and people that run a corporation. Or maybe someone in the bureaucratic chain of government was misinforming the president about how things really were on the ground. Naturally, the president wouldn't allow such injustices to befall its indigenous citizens, people reasoned, but in government no one can really trust the middlemen, can they? Then, if the president were to be adequately informed, he would fix everything immediately. Moreover, the comparison between Western companies and Chinese management made many people direct their opposition towards the Chinese rather than against mining as an industry. They had received better salaries and better food and better personal treatment during the years of Canadian exploration of the project and many people looked at current conflicts occasioned by the projects not as related to industrial mining but as an outcome of inadequate management on the part of Chinese investors.

And yet, a common complaint often heard in Pakints' and other host communities within 'areas of influence' had to do with the inability of Chinese workers and managers to engage in 'proper' relations with Shuar people in the region. The harsh rules implemented by Chinese companies worked to curb drinking, gambling, and the establishment of sexual relations between host communities and a workforce composed in large part by out-of-the-region male labour (what people in the South called 'social pollution') were not always positively perceived. Indigenous comparisons of Western and Chinese management, in fact, very often refocused complaints about better labour conditions, salary, and benefits to discuss what Shuar frequently described as 'Chinese racism.' What Shuar truly meant by that was, however, the perceived rejection of Chinese workers and managers expressed through their inability to share food and drink, or bodily fluids to establish a proper relation with people in the region.

(Something Chinese personnel had strictly forbidden under corporate directions, but Shuar people remembered Western managers had not been shy to do.) While this resonates with wider Amazonian literature (Conklin 1996; Ewart 2013b; Overing & Passes 2000; Vilaça 2002), the point I wish to make here revolves around the importance that relations with 'engineers' played in the context of indigenous politics in terms of mining 'encounters' and the wider meaning this has within Shuar history.

Though 'engineers', as a category depicting 'professional white people', is a major part of everyday interactions within mining encounters (and the word is increasingly used amongst Shuar to describe growing levels of indigenous professionalisation), its meaning within indigenous politics, I believe, also sheds light on the role assigned to white peoples in Shuar history. The indigenous assessment that ongoing mining encounters are concomitant with ethnopolitical conflict at the core of *organización,* implies the endurance of such conflict and its re-enactment. In 1986, when the Shuar Federation broke into two large ideological blocks, missionaries, politicians, state authorities, and government officials were recruited, persuaded, and swayed to aid either *muruna shuar* or *samuria shuar* political objectives. Something very similar goes on today in mining encounters and the same ideological divides have been reinterpreted to accommodate the dichotomy between 'anti-' and 'pro-' mining stands.

Finally, Shuar use of hallucinogenic plants within the indigenous political sphere, further added a layer of complexity. Indigenous notions of personhood, leadership, and prestige emphasise the acquisition of *kakáram*, 'power', as an essential life pursuit, and visionary knowledge is essential to achieve it. The consumption of *natem'* (also ayahuasca, *Banisteriopsis caapi*), *tsánk* (tobacco, *Nicotiana tabacam*), and *maikiúa* (angel's trumpet, *Brugmansia arborea*) to induce and acquire courage, bravery, worthiness, fearlessness, physical strength, health, and visionary power is thus actively used within mining encounters. The attainment of visionary knowledge, furthermore, provides a confident look into the times and occurrences to come. Shuar use this knowledge of the future to act accordingly in life either by strengthening a chosen path or modifying a behaviour. Hallucinogenic plants thus enter the political realm

both by shaping notions of leadership and prestige and by acting as strategic guidance in decision making. Forecasting, planning, and deciding consequential matters is according clarified through visionary knowledge whilst visionary knowledge is pursued as a quest for power.

The *muruna shuar* groups actively resisting the incursion of industrial mining in their lands consumed hallucinogenic plants often to plan and determine political strategies and military assaults against corporate infrastructure. At the other bank of the *chumpias entsa*, the Chuchumbleza River, *samuria shuar* consumed the same plants with the end in mind of achieving ethnopolitical power and leverage their negotiating position vis-à-vis the state and rival ethnopolitical organisations. The martial overtones of *guerra*, 'war', often employed by indigenous and non-indigenous participants alike to describe resource conflict in the South (see introduction), hence have very different meanings and implications according to the context in which a situation may be better understood. Shuar, at least, are clever enough to simultaneously advance their interests through both these frameworks.

10 Conclusion

In this thesis, I have primarily argued for the continuity of indigenous political understandings in today's Shuar ethnopolitics. I have suggested that Shuar sense and notions of history are deeply embedded in the memories of internecine conflict that so prominently arranged Shuar political relations in the past. Regional historical conflict, the memory of ancestors, and the political relations these maintained with one another long ago, are therefore well remembered and still play a role in current ethnopolitics and everyday relations between Shuar people. The importance ethnopolitical organisation has nowadays in mediating between indigenous lifeworlds and colonial settings, I maintain, has extended indigenous political understandings into current mining encounters and resource conflict in the lands Shuar call the South. Shuar in this region, as a result, frequently perceive and understand ongoing mining encounters through indigenous historical knowledge and analyse resource conflicts as an extension of indigenous feuding. Shuar history, therefore, not only frames indigenous notions of change and continuity over time but presents a narrative in which the influence of white peoples to produce historic change is consigned under a continuity of indigenous political relations that explain and justify historic change.

Shuar hence see themselves as central agents of history and so understand change over time. The emphasis Shuar put on indigenous agency thus resonates with ethnographic accounts on indigenous history elsewhere in Amazonia (Ewart 2013a; Gow 1991; Hugh-Jones 2016). The historic interactions of Shuar with non-indigenous peoples, too, are apprehended and represented on indigenous terms. This, however, does not suggest a lack of understanding of the complex colonial entanglements and frameworks in which indigenous ethnopolitics are necessarily immerse in contemporary lowland South America. Quite to the contrary, Shuar understandings of history, and the notions of indigenous politics it maintains, are indeed characterised by the savvy incorporation of non-indigenous frameworks, knowledge, infrastructure, and institutions. The continuity of indigenous political relations that are maintained in Shuar history are consequently well-connected with complex colonial interactions and social and economic change presented through historical developments appear seamlessly incorporated into a coherent narrative.

Through this narrative, white peoples, as powerful outsiders, are often brought on board into indigenous political aims and rationale. Shuar emphasise the historic relations of enmity or alliance once established between ancestors and preserved through indigenous memory and ethnopolitics. These distinctions are maintained spatially through the political rapport between *centros* and neighbourhoods and in the remembrance of conflictive events through the landscape. In wider ethnopolitics distinctions are portrayed as ideological differences and white people, deprived of historic agency, are sometimes integrated into the current of such indigenous political relations. Though Shuar are well aware of the dangers of such interactions and certainly recognise how the presence of white peoples is frequently interrelated with external historical forces affecting indigenous life, the emphasis lay down on indigenous politics and the capacity to incorporate non-indigenous others into indigenous political frameworks indeed strengthens the maintenance of indigenous values and rationalities. Inherent logics are nonetheless maintained through a great malleability of forms.

The consequences here implied, as I have aimed to show, are considerable in a context of ongoing mining encounters. Shuar have interpreted resource conflicts as an extension of internecine feuding and ethnopolitical contention thus adding indigenous politics to the complexities of resource extraction. The presence of non-indigenous others within mining encounters is therefore immersed, too, into indigenous political frameworks. Shuar sense of historic agency and political value thus redefine the relations established within mining encounters with white peoples. The result is the superimposition of indigenous rationalities over external forces and the reframing of extractive politics on indigenous terms.

The primacy of indigenous agency that Shuar uphold may seem to tip the balance in mining encounters towards indigenous politics. This does not suggest, however, that colonial contexts, resource conflict, and mining politics are completely ignored. The capacity Shuar have to not only understand colonial contexts but to successfully pair their intentions and needs to non-indigenous frameworks appears to be inherent to their definition of Shuar history. I have described this competence as a capacity for political bilingualism and I believe that the simultaneous pursue of alternative frameworks is currently and important and defining feature in Shuar politics. In mining encounters, however, such an entanglement of indigenous rationales and pursues entwined and interwoven with resource conflict is often misleading; even more so, because of the competence and knowledge of non-indigenous frameworks that Shuar have. I have proposed that the notion of equivocations as understood in Amazonian anthropology is an apt definition to understand such misconceptions. I will maintain that the understanding of indigenous politics and the historical narrative with which people like Shuar make sense of political relations is an integral part of mining encounters in lowland South America.



Figure 38. Traditional *héa*, 'house', near Pumpuis. Use for shamanic treatment.



Figure 39. Woman carrying a *chankina* basket with produce from her garden in Pumpuis.



Figure 40. Author with the president of the Bomboiza Shuar Association.



Figure 41. Meeting at the Shuar Federation headquarters in Sucúa during an annual assembly.

Figure 42. Media and social media publications on Chinese industrial mining and Shuar struggles to defend their land (photo credits clockwise: Minka Urbana, Diario El Universo/Bonil, Naturaleza Insurrecta).



Figure 43. Protestors in Quito supporting Shuar struggles against industrial mining in their lands.



Figure 44. Protestors in Quito supporting Shuar struggles against industrial mining in their lands.

Glossary

apaach' [apaachi] 'Non-Indigenous South American'.

ayantás; ayantkás [ayantás; ayankás] 'River with shortcuts'.

centro [pl. centros] A nucleated settlement within a Shuar land reserve and traditionally the minimum territorial and political unit as recognised by the Shuar Federation and frequently the state. It is nowadays divided further into *sub-centros* in Morona-Santiago and *barrios*, 'neighbourhoods', in Zamora-Chinchipe.

chankínents'; chankínias [chankínentsa; chankínias] 'chankina basket river'.

chichim' [chichimi] '[river] turbulence'.

chichik naanch' [chichik naanchi] The indigenous name of San Carlos Limón, a small settler village.

chumpias entsa [chumpias entsa] 'Chumpia's [a man's name] River'; The indigenous name of the Chuchumbleza River.

inkis [inguis] A term equivalent to the Spanish 'gringo', used by Shuar mostly to refer to North American and European peoples.

iwia [ivia] The indigenous name of Indanza, a small settler village.

kanús [kanús] 'River of canoes'; 'big navigable river'; The indigenous name of the Zamora River.

minka [minga] A collective work party.

nankints' [nanguintsa] 'River of spears'.

nijamanch' [nijamanchi] Manioc beer ('*chicha*' in Kichwa and Latin American Spanish).

panants' [panántsa] 'River of masturbation'; 'River of the erect penis'.

panki [pangui] 'Anaconda'; the indigenous name of El Pangui, a small settler village.

pakints' [pakintsa] 'River of peccaries'.

pakunt' [pakunta] A man's name; the indigenous name of San Juan Bosco, a small settler village.

tiink' [tingui] A medicinal yellow flower; a man's name. The name of a large Shuar reserve (El Tingüi in Spanish).

tunim' [tunimi] 'Waterway of meanders'.

tuntaim' [tuntaimi] 'River of the quiver'.

warintsa [warintsa] 'River of turbulence and rapids'.

waysim' [waysimi] 'Place of the Guayusa plant'.

yantsás' [yantsasa] 'River of the fireflies'.

yumún [yumún] The indigenous name of Limón, a small settler village.

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Notes

Prologue

[1] *Declaración del jóven D. Manuel Jacinto Pérez, natural del Sigsig (Azuay) de profesión minero. 6 de febrero de 1942*. [Testimony of the young Mr. Manuel Jacinto Pérez, a miner native of Sigsig (Azuay). 6 February 1942]. Attached to *Carta al Dr. D. Julio Tobar Donoso, Canciller de la República. Padre Juan Vigna. Cuenca, 6 de febrero de 1942*. [Letter to Dr. Julio Tobar Donoso, Foreign Secretary. Father Juan Vigna. Cuenca, 6 February 1942].

[2] *Carta al Dr. D. Julio Tobar Donoso, Canciller de la República. Padre Juan Vigna. Cuenca, 6 de febrero de 1942*. [Letter to Dr. Julio Tobar Donoso, Foreign Secretary. Father Juan Vigna. Cuenca, 6 February 1942].

[3] *Carta de Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, a Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza. Documento Reservado 38-DL-25, asunto: 'Solicitase datos sobre avance peruano en el Zamora', Quito, 29-X-1940*. [Letter from Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Monsignor Domingo Comín, Apostolic Bishop of Méndez y Gualaquiza. Classified Document 38-DL-25, subject: 'Request for data on the Peruvian advance in Zamora', Quito, 29 October 1940].

[4] *Exposición e informe del provicario de las misiones Salesianas, Juan Vigna, sobre los últimos acontecimientos luctuosos de la zona oriental—provincia de Santiago-Zamora. Cuenca, 20 de diciembre de 1941*. [Report and explanation of the pro-vicar of the Salesian missions, Juan Vigna, regarding the latest mournful events in the lowland province of Santiago-Zamora. Cuenca, 20 December 1941].

[5] The number of gold panners killed by 1941 was calculated by Juan Vigna as sixty (Report and explanation of the pro-vicar of the Salesian missions, Juan Vigna, regarding the latest mournful events in the lowland province of Santiago-Zamora. Cuenca, 20 December 1941). There is to my

knowledge no official recount on the matter, but Vigna's estimate may well be an undercount. Shuar historic memory and missionary censuses of the time describe the presence of gold panners in the region in the thousands and Shuar often recount the casualties of the 1941 conflicts in the hundreds.

[6] *Carta de Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, a Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza. Documento Reservado 59-DL-37, asunto: 'Se agradece importante información' , Quito, 16-XII-1940*. [Letter from Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Monsignor Domingo Comín, Apostolic Bishop of Méndez y Gualaquiza. Classified Document 59-DL-37, subject: 'Important information appreciated', Quito, 16 December 1940].

[7] *Exposición e informe del provicario de las misiones Salesianas, Juan Vigna, sobre los últimos acontecimientos luctuosos de la zona oriental—provincia de Santiago-Zamora. Cuenca, 20 de diciembre de 1941*. [Report and explanation of the pro-vicar of the Salesian missions, Juan Vigna, regarding the latest mournful events in the lowland province of Santiago-Zamora. Cuenca, 20 December 1941].

[8] The territories inhabited by Shuar in Southeast Ecuador were at the time administered by the state as the province of Santiago-Zamora. This province was in turn divided in 1953 into the current provinces of Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe. (See Chapters 2 and 3, for a brief discussion on the religious divisions and its connection with settler colonisation that preceded and set off the current changes on state administration).

[9] *Carta al Dr. D. Julio Tobar Donoso, Canciller de la República. Padre Juan Vigna. Cuenca, 6 de febrero de 1942.* [Letter to Dr. Julio Tobar Donoso, Foreign Secretary. Father Juan Vigna. Cuenca, 6 February 1942].

[10] *Carta de Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, a Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza. Documento Reservado 1-DL-1, asunto: [sic], Quito, 2-I-1941*. [Letter from Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Monsignor Domingo Comín, Bishop Apostolic Administrator of Méndez y Gualaquiza. Classified Document 1-DL-1, subject: [sic], Quito, 2 January 1941].

[11] *Carta de Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza, a Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, Cuenca, 24 de febrero de 1941*. [Letter from Monsignor Domingo Comín, Apostolic Bishop of Méndez y Gualaquiza, to Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cuenca, 24 March 1941].

[12] *Carta de Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza, a Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, Cuenca, 3 de marzo de 1941*. [Letter from Monsignor Domingo Comín, Apostolic Bishop of Méndez y Gualaquiza, to Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cuenca, 3 March 1941].

[13] José Tendets', murdered by the end of November 2014, found dead on 2 December 2014 near the Mirador- mine, allegedly due to his opposition to mining developments (see Chapters 2 and 5).

[14] *Carta al coronel Samaniego, Jefe del IV Departamento, Padre Ghinazzi, Quito, 24 de noviembre de 1938.* [Letter to Colonel Samaniego, commander of the IV Department, Father Ghinazzi, Quito, 24 November 1938].

[15] C. J. Arosemena Tola, President of Ecuador in 1947-1948. The president of Ecuador during the 1941 war with Peru was Carlos Alberto Arroyo del Río, in office during 1940-1944. This seems to be but a small confusion on the part of Chumpí.

[16] *Carta al Dr. D. Julio Tobar Donoso, Canciller de la República. Padre Juan Vigna. Cuenca, 6 de febrero de 1942*. [Letter to Dr. Julio Tobar Donoso, Foreign Secretary. Father Vigna. Cuenca, 6 February 1942].

[17] Nowadays, the vicariate official name has changed to 'Vicariate Apostolic of Zamora in Ecuador'.

[18] This is perhaps best exemplified by an oft-told anecdote describing the first board of officials in the Shuar Federation having to 'beg' regional leaders in the area to join the newly founded institution.

[19] Most Shuar people today live in the southern lowlands and high jungle *montaña* regions of eastern Ecuador, though there are several enclaves of migrant Shuar groups near the South Pacific Coast and in northern Amazonian regions of Ecuador.

[20] It is also how Shuar from the Upano area were distinguished from people in other regions amongst Shuar. I henceforward use the denomination *aénts chicham*, just recently agreed upon in a regional congress between these peoples and researchers, to replace the pejorative exonym that were used in older ethnographic work. Past convention noted Shuar as 'Jivaro', a word they now consider to be very offensive and the cultural and linguistically group formed by Shuar, Achuar, and Shiwiar in Ecuador and Shiwiar (Maina Achuar), Achuar (Achual), Wampis (Huambisa), and Awajún (Aguaruna) in Peru, was noted as the Jivaroan 'cluster' or 'ensemble'.

[21] Harner (1984: 14) noted, based on information provided by missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, that northern Shuar in the Upano valley used this later term to refer to the Wampis, inhabiting the northeast banks of the Santiago river. Whereas my collaborators referred with this term to both Wampis and Awajún people in Peru and sometimes included Shuar settled in the Alto Nangariza area, in the southeaster edge of the Alto Zamora area.

[22] Such a history of Shuar people, repeated and represented over several centuries vis-à-vis colonisation, missionisation, and the state, features in introductions to missionary accounts, travel writing, bilingual school textbooks, documentary films, academic works, and no short number of ethnographic thesis. Shuar are usually represented as a fiercely independent people stubbornly devoted to egalitarianism and internecine war, that underwent a series of radical political transformations, triggered by missionary intervention and settler invasion of their lands, who have increasingly been incorporated into national society, whilst creatively assimilating the state to their own interest, purpose, and advantage. Most Shuar people, I believe, may also agree with such précis; most are well acquainted not only with their own history of contact with settler colonisation and how this story has been generally portrayed and understood by non-indigenous outsiders and historicised or told in films and academic works.

[23] Published by the Twitter account @shababaty on 16 December 2016. '*Se justifica arrebatar su tierra destruir sus casas a las comunidades ind[í]genas[...]? Los Shuar no son Gandhi, se defienden*.' 'Is it justified to snatch their lands [and] destroy homes in indigenous communities? Shuar ain't no Gandhi, they fight back'.

[24] It must be noted, too, that studies produced amongst neighbouring *aénts chicham* groups, such as Descola's and Taylor's observations of the Achuar in the mid-1970s, still note an important degree of continuity, not only between their observations and earlier monographic records (Descola 1994), but also with the ethnohistorical descriptions left by chroniclers and missionaries (Taylor & Landázuri 1994).

[25] A derivative outcome has been the production of a whole drift of anthropological literature in the subject. The list is long and includes unprecedented historical inter-tribal meetings (Turner & Fajans-Turner 2006); magazine covers embedded with symbolic capital (Conklin & Graham 1995); almighty protests catching the eye of the media (Ireland 1990; Turner 1991); decontextualized dance troupes and culture-conscious performances (Briggs 1996; Graham 2005; Oakdale 2008); self-made filmed political rhetoric (Turner 1992; 2002); and official representation in the bargaining tables of intercontinental summits, multinational lending agencies, transnational corporations, and international legal courts (Kimerling 2006; Ramos 2001; Varese 1996). These processes have on occasion also led to accusations and counteraccusation exchanged by environmentalists, businessmen, journalists, and anthropologists (Ramos 2001; Zanotti 2011).

Chapter 1. The Stream

[26] 'Monkey naughtiness' here and in general Shuar story telling often refers to the sight and noise of male *chuú* monkeys masturbating in the forest canopy. The sight, I have been told, seldom fails to attract the attention of people walking in the forest just as it never fails to make people telling such stories laugh.

[27] There are a handful of not enough studied Shuar communities in the provinces of Guayas and El Oro near the coast of the Pacific Ocean (FICSH 1976; Wajai Mashu 2000). These Shuar areas were established in an early migratory process of peoples from the South and certainly predate the arrival of Tentets'. Shuar people in lowland Southeast Ecuador migrated in that direction, fleeing the expansion of settler colonisation in the early 1960s and when an access road opened through the region in the early 1970s. Shuar men's temporal migration however precede even decades earlier to work as temporary labourers in banana, cacao, and rice plantations. Temporary work in shrimp farms along the same coastal area also became an important source of income for migrant Shuar men in the 1980s and 1990s.

[28] Shuar mostly think of shamans as inherently ambiguous people. They are often a source of political conflict, occasionally capable of many good deeds like healing and ensuring an abundant source of game and hunting fortune, but also perfectly adept at behaving as some wicked *suri* people in 'mean, petty, malicious, and stingy' fashion and even in murderous ways. The suggestion made by Pinchupá in his story here is not that there are no shamans (*uwishin* in *shuar chicham*) in Pakints' anymore. He means to say that the few remaining shamans in the region today are not as powerful as the shamans of the past. There are certainly no shamans today with the power of calling back the animals that left the centro. The ability to 'call', 'replenish' or 'communicate' with game animals was an important shamanic practice in the past and is commonly found in Western Amazonia beyond Shuar shamanic practice (Århem 1996; 2001).

[29] M. W. Stirling, in his 'Historical and Ethnographical Materials of the Jivaro Indians' provides a photograph of such a pig or chicken shed made by Shuar in the Yaupi area during a similar period (see Plate 26b in Stirling 1938).

[30] 'Hundreds', 'thousands', and 'millions', *cientos*, *miles*, and *millones* in Spanish, are preferred figures in Shuar narrative. The figures should be taken as a figure of speech that serves to describe broad degrees of abundance (comparable to each other in an incremental scale). In this case, however, 'hundreds' of pigs may indeed be accurate. Pakints' at the time was composed of seven extended houses, *héa*, and adult women (there were at least 5 adult women raising pigs in the 1950s and at least 11 women in 1976) have been reported to have kept between 10 and 40 pigs each. I heard

a confirmation of these largest estimates from a source close to a settler merchant in Gualaquiza who used to buy these pigs in Pakints'. In that version of the story it was stressed the paltry amount of money paid to indigenous peoples at the time and the dear earnings received by the merchant once he resold the same pigs in town.

[31] Itself a joint venture comprised of the state companies China Railways Construction Corporation and Tongling Non-Ferrous Metals Group (see Chapters 2 and 5).

[32] The eviction of Pinchupá, occurred on 16 December 2015. His forceful removal was but the latest in a number of forced evictions enforced to guarantee land access in the Mirador mine, located some 15 km away from Pakints'. These evictions followed a number contested, limited, and widely questioned negotiations with host communities in the 'areas of direct influence' closest to the mine. The forceful evictions in Pakints' were executed after the more publicised eviction of San Marcos in Tundayme, a small settler village whose relatively flat location in an otherwise mountainous region had been chosen to become the first tailings damn for the project. Pakints', if preliminary studies made by the previous developers of Mirador were to remain in place, may see at least part of an area of 200 hectares currently in corporate possession become another tailings dam for Mirador.

[33] The settler village of San Marcos, in the 'area of direct influence' of the mine, had already been destroyed in May 2004, after a rather irregular negotiating process with its neighbours (APRODEH et al. 2019; Bayón & Wilson 2015; CEDHU 2015b; Colectivo de Investigación y Acción Psicosocial 2016; Investigación Acción Psicosocial 2015; Vallejo et al. 2017). The dramatic procedure was captured by a few low-resolution videos shot on mobile phones that depict the destruction of the village, its church, and its school by bulldozers, and became the first of a growing series of footage circulating online through social media groups. The mining company had promised to relocate those evicted, provide just compensation, and monitor their process of adaptation to guarantee their wellbeing. The developers of the mine, however, according to the former inhabitants of San Marcos, systematically and often broke their offers (CEDHU 2017), and when, later, the mining project was acquired by different developers, past agreements were mostly ignored. Much of the land acquisition negotiations for the project were indeed carried out under Canadian management and negotiations over indigenous land were supposed to follow the guidelines of the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a member of the World Bank Group. When the project was acquired by Chinese investors, however, the new managers seemed unaware or unwilling to uphold past agreements and devise a framework or provide detailed regulatory guidelines to process conflicts regarding land acquisition for the mine. The current favoured approach has thus redirected land acquisition from Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) to the legal department and legal procedures largely replaced attempts at negotiation. Informal ownership and de facto land possession, commonly occurring in the region, has been ignored and communal property has been unrecognised.

Stacking unkept promises and the lack of a fair set of clear legal rules and regulations on how to proceed with evictions and land acquisition coalesced with deficient regulation from the state. The mining company refused to engage in collective negotiations, alleging it will complicate the process. Instead, separate negotiations were carried out with each landholder and agreements different were signed according to the negotiating ability of each and under the pressure of receiving lower benefits than neighbours who had already reached an agreement. When members of the community found out of the great disparities paid by the company to acquire adjacent and otherwise similar properties many felt scammed. The price paid for land was assessed selectively, managed individually (despite local requests and international guidelines), and ultimately established 'according to the difficulty found in the negotiation' (CEDHU 2015:56). This series of irregularities led most of the former inhabitants of San Marcos to regroup and form a local

collective to demand fair compensation and hold on the mining company accountable on a number of promises it had made concerning the relocation of the neighbourhood (Leifsen & Hogan 2017; Leifsen & Sánchez-Vásquez 2016). Over time, antagonism between the developers of the project and the forcefully evicted peasant collective grew. The latter moved from looking to secure a better deal to claiming the community back and from opposition to the project on economic grounds to growing opposition to industrial mining on human rights, environmental, and cultural conservancy motivations. They rallied the support of Salvador Quishpe, a charismatic Saraguro Kichwa sociologist, then prefect of the province, well-known in the country for his opposition to mine development, several human rights and environmental NGOs, and the national indigenous movement. In the process, the collective also played on identity politics and gained official recognition from the state as an indigenous community. They became very active and effective on their employment of social and traditional media, and had reoccupied the grounds of San Marcos, right before its second eviction, in December 2015, were a process was on-going to rebuilt and resettle the community.

In a matter of few years, the collective originated in the eviction of San Marcos had become the main and most vocal face of mining opposition in the region, largely bypassing Shuar initiatives while also capturing the allure of indigeneity in national and international spheres. In consequence, they were fiercely loathed by government authorities, corporate management, mining industry representatives, and CSR personnel. Their embrace of identity politics was a frequent matter of official question and they were routinely accused of identity opportunism for the purpose of finding economic leverage. Moreover, their recast on ethnicity not always sat well with most Shuar activists I knew working in the region nor on Shuar in most *centros* outside the valley of Tundayme. Shuar perceived this as a kind of cultural appropriation framed on the long and complex relation between Shuar and settler colonisers that had begun with the seizure of the former's land by the latter. In some other cases, however, people completely failed to see a possible connection between these settler peasants and indigeneity as they have grown used to conceived it. To make matters more compound, several people questioned the play on identity politics from within the group. It had been enthusiastically embraced by the leadership but failed to trickle down to the grassroots. It was clear that many settler peasants didn't see themselves as 'indigenous' nor did they want to be identified as such. The difficulties to organise a common front in the defence of shared land interests between Shuar and settler peasants in the region, which I analyse in Chapter 5, is affected, I shall argue, both by overlapping historical perceptions between Shuar and settler peasants and by Shuar perceptions on 'white peoples'. The presence and engagements of anti-mining activists and NGO personnel, whose unfamiliarity and unawareness of Shuar regional politics has so far contributed to strengthening Shuar intestine divisions rather than facilitated common ground.

[34] The Shuar Spanish '*comida propia*' provides a play of words. It both translates as 'real or proper food' and as 'our own or native food', distinguishing indigenous food from settler colonisers and 'good nutritious food' from 'chemical' processed foodstuff consumed by non-Shuar (i.e. non-real) peoples.

[35] Frequently used settler 'condiments' in the region (onion, tomato, peppers, pepper, cumin, turmeric, and fennel) are considered by Shuar to be a known cause of short longevity; some are widely disliked and thought of having a 'bad smell'. Beef, although broadly and frequently consumed by Shuar nowadays had in the recent past similar negative connotations.

[36] Shuar men seldom, if ever, cook and consider the activity, along with doing laundry, an inherently feminine chore. This consideration is strictly kept and so, during fieldwork, whenever men were faced with marital problems or were left alone for any other reason, it was a common sight to see them visit their mothers and sisters' houses to eat and hand over their dirty laundry.

[37] This is, in my experience, a very common belief in the region and it is held throughout broad Shuar territory. It seems, moreover, to extend as far back as the first quarter of the 19th century, according to missionary sources, although it is never certain if missionaries note the notorious longevity of several Shuar individuals based on their personal estimations or based on information received from indigenous sources (see Pancheri 1894:90, Mattana 1896:163, Tallachini 1902:273, Allioni 1907:401-402 in Bottasso 2014a and Allioni 1910:60 in Bottasso 2014b).

[38] According to my notes, during that time period, up to 96% of young men in Pakints' were employed or had at some point been employed at the nearby Mirador or Fruta del Norte mines. Work in the industry, however, as I shall further note in Chapter 5, and concurrent to perceptions and attitudes in the wider region, seldom had any corelation to political views and positionality regarding support for the development of industrial mining.

[39] Biography, Anne-Chrsitine Taylor notes, is reserved mostly for warriors and *kakaram*, 'strong men', and what is highlighted and maintained are the adversarial relations that need revenge and the enemies of kin that will become one's enemies.

[40] People referred to *asaak'* as much as markers of geographical location, 'A big *seike* tree near Wampash's *asaak'* behind my house'; or they referred to them to talk about the past, 'This is Paati's *asaak'*, and that is his *natem'* grove, used before for *natemamu* ceremonies'. Finally, people often pointed out to a patch of forest or a sandbank by the river and describe old warriors' feuds: 'That's where *capitán* Narankas' (a great regional warrior) held a *tsantsa* celebration after killing Ankuash' (another great regional warrior). Or, 'On that bend of the river my grandfather Ankuash' was killed by the people at the other bank of the Bomboiza river'. I explain more on this topic and revise the missionary writings available on these men and this period in Chapter 3.

[41] I have myself produced or collaborated in the production of various different versions of these maps and a genealogical chart as evidence in support of several legal procedures at the request of various indigenous organisations looking to defend or recover Shuar ancestral lands. Further research on indigenous topography and hydrography in the region was carried out with the collaboration of Maurizio Gnerre, a linguist and anthropologist, and various Shuar elders and schoolteachers on the Panantza, Limón, and Tiink' regions. Similarly, a short film depicting the location of the former houses of Shuar people in the settler town of El Pangui was produced by Alice and myself in collaboration with officials of the Panki Association and local elders. The map presented in this thesis is a simplified version of those more detailed versions. Overall, we have only mapped the areas that initially belonged to the Bomboiza land reserve and the Panantza region, and though I was able to collect data on several Shuar groups in many adjacent locations, further research is necessary to cover other areas in the South. The introductory sections to Part III include one such genealogical chart for Pakints'. Furthermore, Chapter 8 provides a section that exemplifies how memory in remembered and has been collected in the production of these documents.

[42] I'm omitting the names of people (ancient warriors) and places (sites of killing, war, or its celebration) as noted in my original notes because of the political implications this information has for their descendants today.

[43] The first two names reference the prominence of war and feuding that defined the period and the kind of warfare tactics as stealth ambushes, vengeance raids, and surprise attacks that Shuar warriors were most feared and renowned for in colonial chronicle and current indigenous memory. The later name underscores the ease, self-sufficiency, and dominance of space-time with which indigenous ancestors are considered to have lived before the arrival of 'white peoples.' Shuar men then lived mostly as hunters and warriors, and the stories that recall it, which while broadly ignoring the lives of women, focused on tales about intra-tribal feuds or inter-tribal headhunting

raids. The inherent characteristic of Shuar warfare, their perceived unmatched command of the terrain and hence the consequent advantage of the warriors over others is what is most remembered of this period by the Shuar today. In these narratives, *capitanes* were often referred and compared to guerrilleros, due to their ability to strike and outmanoeuvre invaders and state armed forces; and the conviction that Shuar are, no matter the opponent, invincible in the *montaña*, still casts a spell of confidence and pride in the Shuar imagination.

[44] Awajún peoples located at the other side of Cordillera del Cóndor, in what is today Peru, amongst whom people throughout the South assured their ancestors waged repeated wars. And the enemy Shuar groups known as *Patucuma* [Patukma], located in the Santiago River area and the groups of Limón, Indanza, and Méndez, with whom Shuar in the South maintained a constant and bitter feud as has also been recorded in the Salesian and Franciscan chronicles noted by the Gualaquiza and Zamora missions.

[45] Taylor (2007), writing about *aénts chicham* sense of personhood and self, shows that Shuar memory emphasises internal conflicts over external agents, and freedom, abundance, and wellbeing are, traditionally, individual rather than collective gains. Hers provides a good depiction of this time. One that Shuar today would agree explains the frequency of war and the conflictive and individualised politics of the time. In the second era, these depend on indigenous ability to deploy or neutralise the laws of the state and incorporate non-indigenous others into account. Affronts, 'paid with life' in the first era, are today avenged through political mobilisation of outward resources. Following this logic, both Shuar and state law are perceived as a set of norms to deal with conflict (and by extension internal and external others): 'rules of engagement' of both warriors and civilised men. Therefore, each era represents, as a collaborator put it, just a different 'version' of Shuar society in time. Further, as I have already noted in the introduction, Shuar narratives of the past correspond with a common Amazonian structure that contrasts 'wildness' to 'civilisation' (Gow 1991; Muratorio 1987; Taylor 2007; Whitten 1976; Reeve 1988; Sarmiento-Barletti 2011). For these times might as well be divided in two periods depending on the incorporation of others and relative autonomy.

[46] 'Shuar history', therefore, as I have noted earlier, provides a way to view the historical relation between Shuar and 'white peoples' from the indigenous perspective. As Taylor (2007) shows, memory emphasises internal conflicts over external agents; and freedom, abundance, and wellbeing are, traditionally, individual rather than collective gains. In the second era, these depend on indigenous ability to deploy or neutralise the laws of the state, thus, incorporating non-indigenous others into account. Affronts, 'paid with life' in the first era, are today avenged through political mobilisation of outward resources. Following this logic, both Shuar and state law are perceived as a set of norms to deal with conflict (and by extension internal and external others): 'rules of engagement' of both warriors and civilised men. Therefore, each era represents, as a collaborator put it, just a different 'version' of Shuar society in time. In both cases, Shuar appear as agents of their own collective history. First, refusing to acknowledge the capacity of others to impose change upon the native; and later, through their embracement of creative transformation, including the alteration of their bodies, and their mastery of new knowledge and technologies.

[47] See the Prologue, for a narrative description of the changes that led to the political 'moderation' of warriorship and the switch from 'Shuar law' towards state law.

[48] The arrival of industrial mining, too, it is maintained, would never have been possible without the determined collaboration of indigenous supporters and internal feuding (see Part III).

[49] I suspect that the name reference which strictly translates as 're-born youth' is generally used to name the 'present' as on-going development rather than a still-undefined historic period.

[50] The distinction I am refereeing to here is between a 'history of the Indians' and 'indigenous history', as advanced by Fausto and Heckenberger (2007a), also comes to mind when discussing the works on colonial and extractive industry produced around industrial mining in the South.

Chapter 2. Arrival

[51] The meaning of the indigenous name translates as 'Chumpias' River', or 'a river where a man named Chumpias once inhabited'.

[52] The Mirador mine was and stayed at a stage of construction throughout the entire period of our fieldwork (2015-2017). The mine was officially inaugurated and began extractive operations in July 2019 and has since remain operative. I discuss all infrastructural details about Mirador and mining project in the region in Chapter 5.

[53] Works for the modern road begun in the early 1960s, following the course of the Zamora River. With each kilometre cleared colonisation settled in and indigenous space contracted to the fringes. Shuar land along the Zamora valley, in what is now the province of Zamora-Chinchipe, was quickly grabbed, either by road construction workers, who complemented payment for their labour by parcelling the forest, or by the increasing numbers of settlers who were soon following the road. Overnight, a string of small hamlets mushroomed along the Zamora river. Settler colonists further organised themselves in land registration cooperatives and claimed large tracts of land under the banner of agrarian reform and colonisation law. These laws had declared most of Ecuador's Amazonian territories to be *tierras baldías*, 'vacant and available', and thus opened up for settler colonisation. To obtain a land title all colonists needed to do was to turn the forest into 'productive' states, either for agriculture or as cattle pastures. There were only a few minor rules in place. Settler colonists needed to submit their land claim publicly to the local authorities and wait 30 days to hear objections. If no objections were made land claims were registered and the land titling process begun. Then colonists needed to have cleared at least 50% of the land they were claiming in a period of two years to be granted a land title. Since opening up pastures was the easiest way to comply with the legal deadline, most colonist did exactly that (Rudel, Bates & Machinguiashi 2002b).

[54] Settler occupancy in Chuchumbleza eventually developed into a plan to create a major town at the expense of indigenous land along the namesake river. The head of the Franciscan mission, asked and 'tricked' the people of Pakints' to lend the mission a small plot of land at the site to build a school intended 'to benefit indigenous children in the *centro*.' The school grounds, however, cut Shuar access to the *chumpias entsa* and soon was used to legalise settler appropriation of the area. The establishment of colonisation in the river developed into grandiose colonial plans to establish a major city over the land of Pakints', advertised on national newspapers at the time (El Mercurio 1959). The strong opposition of people in the *centro* spur conflict amongst the Franciscan and Salesian missions and between Shuar and settler colonists in the area. Though the small hamlet that exists today along the river and the road never developed into a larger town and people in Pakints' have come to recognise its legal existence, the memory of the occupation of indigenous land is not forgotten and both people in Pakints' and Chuchumbleza maintain contentious relations over access to land.

[55] The mayor's office of El Pangui was in charge of basic services in Pakints' and managed the Shuar *centro* as a collection of 'rural neighbourhoods' practically annexed to its semi-urban centre. The cantonal government hence provided twice weekly garbage collection in the *centro* ('plastics' and 'plantain peels') and offered or maintained basic infrastructure such as public electrification, the

construction of sports grounds, mosquito spraying during the rainy season, and small amounts of petrol and weed-killer products to help Shuar *minkas*, 'collective work parties', in the centro keep common areas and access to households clear off of possible snake hideouts. It was also building, at the end of 2017, new drinking water facilities to serve the area (financed partially with mining royalties) and greatly expected by people in the *centro*. Throughout Pakints', families collected water for cooking, drinking, washing, and bathing from the stream through a system of pipes connected to each household, which meant that on occasions, when a sounder of peccaries came over to the stream to drink and bath, water came out of pipes heavily mixed with mud and sediments and unfit for consumption. I mention this because municipal administration has had a significant influence in reinforcing and intensifying the existing independence, division, and rivalry between the *centro*'s neighbourhoods.

[56] A note for clarity should be made here. The Salesian Vicariate Apostolic of Méndez and Gualaquiza was originally based in Gualaquiza some 20 kilometres north of the *chumpias entsa* river. The mission, however, later relocated its headquarters in Macas, some 230 km further north. The Franciscan Vicariate Apostolic of Zamora, is still based in a small colonial namesake city, some 90 kilometres to the south.

[57] In both Zamora and Gualaquiza, Franciscan and Salesian missionaries actively pursued and oversaw the construction of various connecting roads throughout the region. Hence, once Cuenca had access to Gualaquiza, and Loja had access to Zamora, in the 19th century, work set up to join the dots of a series of forgotten or emerging outposts following the flow of the namesake river to connect both missionary projects. In a South to North direction, up to Gualaquiza, that would set up the current towns of Cumbaratza, Zumbi, Yantzaza, Los Encuentros, El Pincho, and El Pangui. These have all been less than hamlets at the time, and no doubt benefited from the road immensely. Financial strain, labour scarceness, and political difficulties, however, delayed road planning until past the second half of the 20th century. The Zamora River, as I shall explain in the next chapter, though mostly unnavigable, is also known to be quite treacherous in the stretches that do allow outward motors. The newfound ease of access thus immediately commenced a colonising wave. Settler occupation, in fact, started with the road workers themselves, who whether officially or spontaneously, collected part of their payment in land claimed along the way. These men (for they were mostly men), often organised their colonial land seizure in 'cooperatives' to overlook the distribution and legalisation of land amongst themselves. The process inspired further colonial efforts and the migration of highland peasants to the region to either purchase or expand the lowland areas first opened by road works. The newcomers soon expanded their presence along the road, actively clearing up patches of forest and, especially in the territories under the administration of the Franciscan mission, easily displacing the relatively few and scattered indigenous population. I have noted how this process of depopulation was historically carried out in the maps opening this section.

[58] In contrast to other Shuar areas in the region, especially those closer or under direct control of the Shuar Federation, people in Pakints' were still, in 2015-2017, losing their land to settler colonists to write off outrageous debts: for instance, a thousand pounds' worth of chickens, bought on credit to settler neighbours all too keen to extend them in a moment of medical emergency.

[59] Industrial mining concessions reached almost 15% of the total country's continental landmass in August 2016, according to Sacher's estimate (including 6.3% of granted concessions plus 8.1% from pending concessions) (2017: 176). That figure peaked between 2006-2007, however, when it was estimated that up to 20% of the country's land was under a mine concession (Acosta 2009).

[60] Frequently noted in Kichwa as *sumak kawsay*, in Spanish as *Buen Vivir*, and translated in Shuar as *penkér pujústin*, and officially established as a 'national developmental aspiration' in the constitution.

[61] The consolidation of grassroots organisations and the reinforcement of relations with national environmental activism, yield a programme ofttimes characterised as *ecologismo popular* or 'environmentalism of the poor', in studies concerned with ecological economics and political ecology (Guha & Martínez-Alier 1997; Healy et al. 2013; Martínez-Alier 1994; 2002). This scholarship maintains that non-traditional ecological resistance shoots from struggles over use, access, and control of natural resources and the uneven distribution of ecological damage (predominantly burdening the poor). It begins when the articulation of social movements that incorporate environmental concerns in their traditional struggles connects with the 'fight for survival' of peasant and indigenous communities. This analysis became relevant not only as a common theoretical outlook to evaluate resource conflicts in the region but also as a blueprint for activists looking to push forward broad social and environmental struggles in the region.

[62] The characteristic motto of industrial mining during the administration of Rafael Correa has since been updated with the synonymous and correspondingly outrageous ministerial order: '*en el país va a haber mineria, sí o sí*', 'the country will have mining by all means' (El Universo 2019).

[63] The edited volume *La amazonía minada minería a gran escala y conflictos en el sur del Ecuador* by van Teijlingen, Leifsen, Fernández-Salvador, and Sánchez-Vázquez provides further analysis on government discourses on mining at the time (van Teijlingen et al. 2017).

[64] Bosco Wisum' was killed by an 'unidentified shooter' in Macas on a clash with the police during nation-wide protests against the approval of new mining, water, and indigenous education laws. Several policemen suffered injuries and many Shuar activists were detained. The schoolteacher was the only casualty. According to forensic experts, Wisum' died from a pellet shot rather than regular police service weapons (Plan V 2019a). Shuar protestors have accused the police of shooting at them to disperse protests at various times during the course of protests and indigenous organisations held the government responsible. The police, however, claiming to have been disarmed during the protests and arguing to never use the kind of ammo that forensic experts reported as the cause of Wisum's death, have instead accused indigenous protestors for the incident. Investigations over Wisum's death began soon afterwards and, though still inconclusive, led to the effective prosecution of José 'Pepe' Acacho, a reputed indigenous politician that acted as head of the Shuar Federation at the time. Acacho was signalled for 'political responsibility' over the clashes and eventually convicted for 'terrorism and organised sabotage' and using the Shuar Federation's radio station, *The Voice of Arutam*', 'to incite rebellion and violence' (Plan V 2019a). José Acacho was detained in 2011. He was freed seven days later through an Habeas Corpus. Two years later, in 2013, Mr Acacho was elected as member of parliament. That same year he was sentenced to 12 years in prison for having 'incomprehensibly radicalised an indigenous political protest' (Confirmado & Ciudadano 2013). He couldn't be detained, however, due to parliamentary immunity. Acacho appealed the verdict. In 2009, his sentence was reduced from 12 years to 8 months and his charges were switched from 'terrorism' to 'obstruction of public roads and services'. He appealed again but the judge denied his appeal. An arrest warrant was issued against him in July 2018. Before he was caught by police, however, Acacho ran into hiding in an undisclosed location in the forest, publishing pictures from the jungle online until the police managed to capture him in September 2018 (Plan V 2019b). The following month he was pardoned by the government that followed the Correa administration. Wisum's death hasn't yet been solved. It is still unknown who shot him, how, and why. The government named a 'millennium school' in the region after him in 2013.

[65] Freddy Taish', kin to prominent anti-mining leaders in the Gualaquiza area, was killed while peacefully fishing with his family along the Zamora River. The incident, still unsolved by justice, has been clouded in military secrecy. According to the official version, a military squad was deployed to crack down on illegal mining operations. The military squad seized two dredges found on a riverbank that day. On the opposite shore, on a Shuar *centro*, a non-indigenous man, the owner of the dredges, screams and shoots a gunshot in the air. This man, indeed a dredged miner by trade, was later identified as Quiñonez Llanos, married to a Shuar woman in the area, and would be accused as the main culprit in the clash that followed. Without further evidence provided, he was also accused of having links with Colombian narcotraffic and with illegal arms and gold trade networks (Vera Puebla et al. 2013). According to military officials, Taish' death occurred in a clash were military use of force was an act of self-defence. Following a public military statement, Taish' 'and other illegal miners' ambushed their squad with pellet shotguns before military personnel opened fire. Taish' was killed by military grade 9 mm munition, resulting in the ensuing fire exchange. The confusing events leading to his death unfolded as follows: The military seized two dredges found on a riverbank that day. On the opposite shore, on a Shuar *centro*, a man, the owner of the dredges, screams and shoots a gunshot in the air. This man, non-indigenous but married to a Shuar woman, would be accused as the main culprit in the clash that followed. Without further evidence he was also accused of having links with Colombian narcotraffic and with illegal arms and gold trade networks (Vera Puebla et al. 2013). According to the military, who claim the clash was an act of self-defence, Taish' and other miners ambushed their squad with pellet shotguns before they opened fire. Taish' was killed by military grade 9 mm munition resulting from the ensuing fire exchange. This version contrasts the reports of Shuar witnesses. It contradicts earlier military reports, too, which claimed that military personnel were unarmed that day and carried only rubber bullets and tear gas (Vera Puebla et al. 2013: 13).The narration of Shuar witnesses goes as follows: Quiñonez Llanos, aware of military presence, went to an islet in the river where Taish' was fishing with his family and asked them for help to stop the seizure of his dredges. They refused. Taish's stepfather ordered him to take his grandsons and head back home. He did that but encountered the soldiers on his way. It was then that he was shot death (Plan V 2019c). When word of the military attack reached the Shuar *centro,* men from the community took their hunting shotguns and, firing to the sky, went to face the military. They found Taish's dead body and the military cleaning up the scene of ammo caskets. The military squad fell back to the opposite shore of the river. A standstill ensued until the public prosecutors' office sent an expert witness. A report written a week past the incident by a human rights NGO states the following: 'The versions over whether Freddy Taish' was armed are contradictory. Some testimonies maintain he wasn't, some say that military men found him [dead] next to a shotgun, some assure that the soldiers themselves laid a shotgun next to Freddy's body [to incriminate him] and [then] took a photo' (Vera Puebla et al. 2013: 18). Quiñonez Llanos, on the other hand, has never denied opening fire against the military and confirmed that Taish' was fishing with his family when the military squad reached his location. The authors of this report found evidence that *washimia*, a poisonous root used by Shuar to stunt and asphyxiate fish when realised into slow running streams, had been indeed recently set in the islet (Vera Puebla et al. 2013: 18). Military authorities have consistently refused to release the log of the operation and the identities of military personnel operative in the area that day. Taish's death has thus remained unsolved and no responsibility has been acknowledge by military command.

[66] Mirador and Fruta del Norte began extractive operations in July and November 2019, respectively. Panantza-San Carlos, considerably slowed down by past social conflict and enduring indigenous resistance, is still in a liminal phase its developers officially call 'transition to advanced exploration' phase without a definitive schedule forward. The Mirador mine spans over a 9,320 hectares concession area superimposed over several Shuar reserves including Pakints', in El Pangui canton, and a number of settler peasant communities along the course of the Zamora river. Essential to this

project is a large-scale open-cast mine that aims to extract 6.5 billion pounds of copper, 26 million ounces of silver, and 3.2 million ounces of gold during—at least—the next 30 years. Panantza-San Carlos was located some 100 km north of Mirador, downriver the Zamora. It is also a large-scale open-cast mine based on copper with even larger mineral estimates and a concession area of 41,760 hectares. Fruta del Norte is composed of an underground gold and silver mine that aims to develop a 'high-grade gold deposit with probable reserves of 5.02 million ounces of gold grading at 8.75 grams per tonne' over a period of 15 years. The three mines are large-scale projects and are expected to transform the local economy, developed, and modernise what in Ecuador is otherwise perceived as a backwater frontier zone of little importance. The sensitive ecology of the region, however, and the fact that extractive developments extend into indigenous territory has raised many concerns and sparked strong opposition.

[67] Intelligence services, as leaked documents have shown (Constante 2013; Ecuador Transparente 2017; España 2017; Pallares 2017), were at the time monitoring closely political activities, personal communications, and bank transactions of various indigenous and environmental organisations. Political surveillance became as a result an all too common part of indigenous activism and anti-extractive opposition. The incorporation of cameras and drones in regular police equipment to examine social protest, strikes, political demonstrations, and extractive sites in the region, and the establishment of networks of espionage to infiltrate indigenous grassroots organisations, meant that, potentially, there was always someone recording and reporting on indigenous political activities. Non-indigenous and indigenous undercover agents, dressed up as civilians, marched along protestors or attended political rallies and grassroots meetings; and it was widely believed by indigenous activists and political leaders that their presence had widespread reach and considerable political implications. I was warned on more than one occasion by civil and military contacts that my research was itself a probable subject of intelligence concerns and so was urged to be very wary of surveillance. I pursued the subject as a third-tier research interest during fieldwork and indeed managed to locate and convince Shuar intelligence operators to confide me with an insight into the network of espionage that had been set up around the Shuar Federation and in which they were a part of. The information I received, in fact confirms the widespread reach of state infiltration into indigenous organisations, as feared and suspected by indigenous political leaders, and an equally intricate system of monetary transfers from various state offices towards indigenous intelligence operators always disguised in the most uncanny ways. It is my belief that these indigenous intelligence operators (though I don't know many) were not particularly motivated by ideological credence or support for extractive industries or the government but instead acted upon indigenous logics of political relations. Some seemed to see their actions primarily as a mean to advance their own political carers within Shuar federative structures and leverage against more senior officials.

[68] A valiant death, I was assured, is much preferable than aging in a bad life. Some environmental activists equated resource conflict in the region with a war of low-intensity (Corral 2014); some perceived traits shared with psychological warfare in military operations (Colectivo de Investigación y Acción Psicosocial 2016);

[69] The words of Ampam Karakras, a well-known Shuar Federation representative in the 1980s—described at the time as a man of a 'lively gaze' that spoke 'slowly in perfect Spanish' by a newspaper of the capital, captured the gist of the time and the political momentum: '[W]e shall stop envisaging this country as a homogenous whole. Our richness lies in the diversity of nationalities. We demand the recognition of such reality, respect for our languages, ways of life, ethnic customs. [...] Respect our communion with nature' (Riofrío 1984).

The half-witted title of the piece, '*Indigenous Peoples Become Aware*', published 17 May 1984, provides a further tipoff: this time not of overarching indigenous aims but of the broad settler society that

hosted them. Karakras, in a second press interview, published a year later, laid down another fundamental objection of the indigenous movement against the state: 'It is contradictory that, on the one hand, the government declares that its objective is to strengthen indigenous communities in the country and, on the other hand, opens Amazonia to foreign investment in agroindustry, mining, and other projects that impinge the integrity of our communities' (Hoy 1985a).

These and several other press articles, now in yellow mouldy pages, had been carefully cut out and kept by then officials of the Bomboiza Association in a dedicated folder in their archives. Whilst memory, anecdotes, and stories about the period circulated widely between elder indigenous leaders and younger anti-mining activists throughout the region. Their activism had even featured in the national press: The Bomboiza Association [hereby] leave proof of record of its total and thorough solidarity towards the brotherhood of indigenous peoples. The defence of indigenous Amazonian land is our joint cause (El Comercio 1985a). That was, indeed, the spirit of the indigenous movement at its dawn: the call for ethnic unity; land, the common cause. What follows is a very quick chronological summary of the causes that spurred indigenous mobilisation in the 1980s. I shall recall only a few headlines (which I have underscored) and some highlights from excerpts of the same texts. In August 1985, the government announced, through its Minister of Agriculture, the concession of 26,000 hectares of oil palm in Amazonia. 'The cultivation of oil palm, as it is known', the press reported, 'has the opposition of the region's indigenous communities. They consider that this kind of agriculture will affect the environment and displace them from their lands (Hoy 1985b: 1 B).There was a large agribusiness deal behind: 'The United Fruit Company and DNA Plant Technology Corporation announced plans to begin a joint operation to clone and sell oil palm plants of a superior variety' (El Comercio 1985b pp.D10). There was also a political roadmap in place. That December the government announced the formation of a 'Headship of Indigenous Populations', an office under its control to offset the independence and autonomy of the indigenous movement (El Comercio 1985a). That same month another headline noted: New land grabs in Amazonia. 'Indigenous peoples will be vigilant', the papers warned, 'of the ethnocide that these projects mean for them, and the parallel extermination of flora and fauna' (Hoy 1985c: 3 A). Things finally broke out with the dawn of the new year. In January 1986 the press reported: Amazonian natives ready to fight. 'Menaced by government concessions to settler colonisers and transnational corporations.' / 'They will defend their lands with whatever means they have'. / '2 death and 6 injured amongst settler colonisers and indigenous people'. Still, economic merits were also noted: 'Industrialisation and commercialisation of palm oil has resulted in a new seam of resources for the country.' As was an insulting recall of colonial intervention: 'with the participation of missionaries from different churches, the natives—in a state of semi-savagery—have gradually come to understand about the needs of the country' (Mirto 1986: 2).

[70] The story of Miguel Sharup': His arrival to region in the late 1940s, from the northern *yumún* area, known in Spanish as Limón, and the success he had almost immediately achieve for himself and his family, had been partly due to his modesty and politeness. His departure from Limón, almost three decades earlier, had been partly triggered by internal feuds and indigenous war. Don Miguel Sharup', the son of a great warrior named Sharup', whose fame as a merciless killer had already met regional renown, had been an 'educated man' ahead of most Shuar people in the South. He was perfectly capable of speaking fluent Spanish and was well-versed in *apaach'*, 'white peoples', customs and behaviour, at a time when missionary efforts to impose schooling amongst Shuar in the region had been all but broad. This had granted him a certain standing amongst both indigenous and settler populations that only grew when he told the story of his early life.

He had in his youth 'loyally served' General Leonidas Plaza, a man he would proudly refer to as *patrón* and call a 'benefactor', twice president of the country during the first quarter of the 20th century. He had met the famed military man and politician when he was but a boy and Plaza but a

mere lieutenant, on an army campaign into the region and decided to follow him into the highlands. There, and for many years, he had lived as a 'civilised white man' in one of Plaza's haciendas in the highlands, only to return, several years later, back to the lowlands in search of a Shuar wife and a land to call his own.

Once in Bomboiza, don Miguel Sharup' obtained what he desired in exchange of helping with the Salesian mission's early efforts to demarcate and organise the indigenous lands under their jurisdiction. Luis Cassiraghi, the first head of the Salesian mission of Bomboiza (a man infamously remembered for his authoritarianism and ill-temper, his use of physical violence in the classroom, and an obstinate dislike of shamanism—he was known for angrily kicking down ayahuasca cauldrons), gave him a parcel of land to compensate his service. Don Miguel Sharup' had thus found in the priest a second benefactor and a land to cultivate. And when his young wife died (Wishu's mother) a few years later, the priest quickly assigned him a new wife in marriage. The widow of Bosco Timiás, no less, another 'educated man', sent by the Salesians decades earlier to the Vatican, dressed in a three pieces suit, a stylish tie, and a pocket watch, to better display the progress of the mission.

Don Miguel Sharup' had nonetheless been appalled to marry an uneducated 'Jivaro' woman who barely spoke Spanish just as the widow, had been horrified by the prospect of living with a man so lean towards the odd customs of white peoples. Yet the priest had found the widow to be 'clean and hardworking', and she was certainly trustworthy and reliable, for the woman had long served him as a cook and in the cleaning of the missionary house. Thus, despite the reluctance of the groom and her fears and rejection of the wedding (she would beg and cry for days just to be allowed to continue with her single life dedicated to serving with the mission's chores), they married.

[71] For more than 10 years Wishu lived hunting deep in the forests in the northern lowlands, far away from any roads or markets, and some 700 km away from Pakints'. He had left the *centro,* along with two of his brothers, to 'colonise' the lands of other indigenous peoples, after settler colonisation invaded their own lands. Shuar in the Alto Zamora typically referred to the northern lowlands as *el otro Oriente*, 'a different Amazonia', replicating the differences perceived within their own region between Zamora-Chinchipe and Morona-Santiago, which was also referred with that exclusive notation. In the north, however, the good life was still possible. That had been the reason that compelled Wishu to his journey. There was plenty of meat and fish and still the abundance of animals that had disappeared from Pakints' when the road opened, and settlers began frantically clearing the forest to accommodate their cattle farms. Wishu and his brothers claimed a large strip of land along the northern frontier of the country and named it with their grandfather's name. The name that had become their family name when the missionaries recorded their father's birth at the registry office. The name of a warrior; feared and famed in olden times.

The land they found in the north was vast, good, and quiet; isolated enough to also be far away from the oil platforms that began expanding throughout northern Amazonian Ecuador in the early 1970s. It was so remote in fact that the only company Wishu and his brothers had for many years was a few friendly Cofán households scattered around and, occasionally, the less pleasant visit of FARC guerrillas coming from Colombia, demanding meat and manioc. When Wishu finally returned to Pakints', a decade or so later, to the wife and children he had left behind, and after the woman he found in the north had also left him, he built a house in a forested hill, as much apart as possible from the highway that traversed the *centro*. After all those years living in the forest, Wishu couldn't stand the noise of automobiles anymore and never slept well near them. The highway, however, had by then become a distinctive landmark in Pakints', engrained in local life, and almost everyone lived right by its side. The new paved road had replaced the old hunting footpaths that used to spun from each household to the forest, and people grew used to employ it as a pathway to move around between neighbourhoods. They had grown so accustom to its presence that even to

visit kin in other households, people walked along the pavement rather than through the patches of forest that separated each household from the next.

[72] Wishu happily commented on a number of ethnographic articles I presented to him during fieldwork and always liked to have books and magazines around him. He was known for having read the entire Bible three times over during his stay in the forested northern lowlands out of boredom as he had no access to any other piece of writing.

[73] Wishu personally travelled to Quito to pay the required government fee prior obtaining the reserve's land title. The fee ascended to 27,500 sucres which the people of Pakints' could only afford by selling pigs and cattle to the same settler colonist increasingly threatening to invade their lands.

[74] Thus, 'by the late 1980s the Shuar had secured approximately 40% of all arable land [...] for themselves' (Rudel, Bates & Machinguiashi 2002b: 148)

[75] Shuar land claims were dependent not only on local colonisers' economic interests, missionary work, or national military concerns, but also on political swings at the capital, 'right-wing and centrist regimes in Quito did not validate Shuar claims [...] but left-leaning regimes in the mid-1970s and again in the late 1980s processed all Shuar claims' (Rudel, Bates & Machinguiashi 2002b: 148).

[76] Fausto and Heckenberger (2007) distinguish this difference as 'indigenous history' and oppose it to what they call 'history of the Indians'.

[77] For scholarship outside lowland South American studies see: on memory (Antze & Lambek 1996; Berliner 2005; Bloch 1977; 1998; Halbwachs 1980); see: on historicity (Eric Hirsch & Stewart 2005; Lambek 2016).

[78] Wishu's generous collaboration and patience insistence on our careful examination of 'true history', was determinant in directing my research towards its present shape. The deep trust we shared greatly eased the process of moving to an unknown place and begin fieldwork in an area that turned out to be exceedingly conflictive. Not only did our friendship ebb the suspicion and mistrust that our presence in the region would've otherwise aroused, but our long discussions impel the theoretical approach that I now follow in this thesis. His openness to thoroughly examine regional kinship and traditional warfare with me, at a length that afforded me insights that other interlocutors would've call 'confidential', at least during early interactions, allowed me to relate indigenous history and industrial mining early on in fieldwork.

[79] Wishu's memories were populated by a mix of characters–settler peasants, missionaries, soldiers, lawyers, bureaucrats, politicians, and state authorities–that had, time and again, been in the region only to be confronted by the perspicacity of Shuar people. Like most Shuar of his generation, Wishu was educated in the Salesian boarding school in Bomboiza and stayed long enough to learn about the world of 'white peoples.' He deeply loathed the beating by the priests, the rigidity of the clock, and the feeling of always being hungry. With time, however, he learned to adapt and behave the way missionaries expected 'civilised' children to. He realised that the best approach to establish affable relations with 'white peoples' was 'to win over their will' by being 'courteous' and 'polite'. He learned, too, and it was easier to obtain what one wished for by demonstrating 'modesty' in front of missionaries. He also learned to steal the well-hidden bread of priests to compliment the meagre and rotten foods, infested with worms and weevils, that indigenous children were fed at missionary boarding schools. Shuar had always been a clever yet conflictive folk, in Wishu's words, and ancestral warriors, shamans, and leaders of *organización* before him had also quickly learned how to deal with, relate, and manage relations with outsiders, invaders, and newcomers.

[80] Research for this chapter included data collected in Pakints' (San Francisco de Pakintza), Bomboiza (*Asociación de centros de la nacionalidad Shuar de Bomboiza*), Tiink' (El Tingüi), Churuwia (Churuwia, Esta, Yanua Kiim), Nankints' (San Carlos Panantza), Panki (*Asociación de centros Shuar de El Pangui* and the canton seat of El Pangui), Wakis (*the canton seat of Gualaquiza*), Waysim' (the parish seat of El Güismi), Tuntaim' (the parish seat of Tundayme), and Samuria (the headquarters of various ethnopolitical organisations in the colonial city of Zamora). Most of our research, however, was conducted along the area surrounding the Gualaquiza, Bomboiza, and Chuchumbleza Rivers. Shuar collaborators in the localities of Guadalupe, Timbara, and Cumbaratza in Zamora-Chinchipe and Macas, Sucúa, Limón, and Indanza in Morona-Santiago helped to confirm, refine, and clarify the study presented in this chapter. I also reviewed the Salesian missionary archives and Ministry of Agriculture (INC and IERAC) records on indigenous land in Quito and the Franciscan missionary archives in Zamora. Further archival documentation that informs this chapter was provided by the Shuar Federation and some of its former officials, the Bomboiza Association and some of its former officials, retired Salesian missionaries, the Municipality of Gualaquiza, and church registries in Gualaquiza and El Pangui. Other notes were collected at archival and judicial records in various *tenencias politicas*, notaries, and police offices and military barracks in Sucúa, Gualaquiza, El Pangui, Yantzaza, and Zamora.

[81] The highway connects Zamora and Gualaquiza, the two major colonial settlements in the region. Shuar in the South frequently travel to these cities to buy and sell in markets, access the Internet, top up their mobile phones, and run errands pertaining to their children's schools or local governments. People also use the highway to socialise and connect with people of related or different kin groups in the area, and even mobilise across the road within their own *centros* to reach gardens or 'distant' households. It is a common sight to see Shuar women walking along the tarmac with a large woven *chankin*' basket full of garden produce on their heads, closely followed on a tightly knit line by young girls, children, and a few dogs.

[82] In colonial chronicles, the southernmost section of the South is said to be populated by the Bracamoro (or Rabona, Bolona, and Xiroa) people, a group now unambiguously identified as *aénts chicham*, who Spanish conquerors found along the Zamora watershed and on both sides of the Cordillera del Cóndor (Brown 1984; Mainville 2001; 2010; Saignes et al. 1998; Taylor 1999). The term 'Bracamoro', an exonym, probably comes from the Kichwa/Quechua term *paka muru* or 'red faced', given by the Incas to the people due to their red facial paint. It has since been associated with the defeat of Huayna Cápac, who, according to the chronicle of Cieza de León, deemed the region to be unworthy of his rule after a failed military expedition some 20 years prior to the arrival of Europeans (Steward 1948).

The same colonial sources also noted that the Andean plateau where Loja had been built was inhabited by a group of people since called the Palta who had comparable characteristics and close relations to the peoples occupying the lowland tracts of the Zamora River. The historic association of these highland people to the *chicham*-speaking ensemble, although hard to appreciate currently, has been convincingly argued in a number of linguistic analyses (Gnerre 1976; Rivet 1930; Jijón y Caamaño 1919) and various ethno-historical studies (Hocquenghem 1990; Saignes et al. 1998; Taylor 1999; Taylor & Landázuri 1994). Researchers on the area accordingly think that Palta, who are indistinguishable today from other Kichwa speakers in the Andes, probably spread into the highlands from the Shuar piedmont, and only disappeared from the *aénts chicham* cluster over time due to their integration into the cultural identity of the highland Andes. This may only have

occurred after the colonial intervention created, enforced, and established a stark division between highlands and lowlands as detached and opposing regions, which is a common attitude nowadays (Taylor 1999: 204, 217). The crux of Taylor's argument notes a fundamental connection between marginal groups such as Palta and *montaña* and lowland *aénts chicham* peoples located at the core of their ethnic territory. The acculturation of the former, she suggests, created a buffer zone between the hinterland and the colonial world that assured the cultural continuity, autonomy, and independence of the latter, and guaranteeing the physical existence of the former and their particular cultural identity. This argument echoes similar analyses of ethnic relations in colonial times that describe the comparative duality in missionary and colonial administrations by which indigenous peoples were classified into 'tamed', 'pacified', 'domesticated', or 'assimilated' *indios mansos* and 'wild', 'fierce' and 'pristine', or 'traditional' groups of *indios bravos* (Whitten 1976, 2011). This is similar to the contemporary relationship between lowland Canelos Kichwa and Shuar in the hinterland, as described by the same author (Taylor 2007). Shuar in the region frequently identified and recognised the Bracamoro as a related yet distinct ancient group. I, however, did not find any such association mentioned concerning Palta.

[83] The ethno-history of the region at the time of the European arrival has been examined by Renard-Casevitz, Seignes, and Taylor (1998), Taylor and Descola (1981), and Taylor (1999), who have analysed early contact between Europeans and *aénts chicham* peoples in the area, and the written accounts by the former on the latter. Taylor and Landazuri (1994) further provide a number of relevant colonial documents that shed light on both the quotidian administration of the region and the main Shuar revolts of the time (see also Taylor 1994, 1998).

[84] Anne-Christine Taylor (1994: 20-21) usually uses the word 'cities' in inverted commas, ironically aware that these settlements hosted 'no more than a handful of inhabitants' and sometimes no more than 'about 20 Spaniards'.

[85] Over the years, Zamora has been refunded, resettled, reinforced, or relocated more than once, usually in the aftermath of indigenous rebellion or attack. In 1663, the village of Zamora, previously abandoned in 1599, was resettled on the opposite riverbank. Shuar seem to have allowed the presence of a few 'Christian families' to live scattered in the surroundings on the condition that 'they will not work on the mines but instead dedicate themselves to cultivating the land' (Anonymous 1927: 20). By 1735, however, the city was again abandoned, and the church bell carried up to Loja (García 1999: 183). In 1776, a Franciscan commissioner reported that the road from Loja was 'impassable' (Anonymous 1927: 21). In 1861, two Italian travellers ventured to the lowlands through this road with the support of the governor of Loja, and manage to restore access. With the road re-opened, several people from the highlands who were reportedly very keen on pursuing 'industrial motives' ventured to the lowlands 'to extract cotton and husk bark and other products' (Anonymous 1927: 21). This again didn't last long, and the formal civil or ecclesiastic presence in the area was soon abandoned, following the killing of a settler colonist by Shuar.

[86] Overall, Ulloa estimates, the mines controlled from Zamora in the 16th century were responsible for the production of more than 800,000 pesos (equivalent to 380 kilograms) of gold per year until the depopulation of the indigenous inhabitants and their rebellion propelled the collapse of the industry (Ulloa 1936: 511-512).

[87] By the end of the century, outside Moyobamba there remained only a handful of settlers in the so-called Spanish 'cities': Some, like Logrono and Sevilla de Oro, simply disappeared; others shrunk to the size of a hamlet; and some, like Zamora, were only seasonally inhabited (see Taylor 1999:216).

[88] A Salesian chronicle entitled 'The origin and foundation of the village of Gualaquiza' notes: 'By the end of the eighteenth century, the desire to discover the ruins of the old city of Logroño arose

among the people of Cuenca to exploit again its land for gold panning, for the wealth of these was a thing of broad fame. It was intended that a road to ease access from Cuenca be opened by the Mainas missions and it was imagined to offer the advantage of turning these lowland regions into a mining and agricultural establishment. Incredible news about the city's mines and the wealth in these spread throughout and for over twenty years, research to locate the wanted mines never ceased to be practiced, until when, in the year 1815, a formal excursion was organised under the direction of Fray José Prieto, a Franciscan ascribed to a convent in Cuenca, who reached the place where it was thought the famous city [of Logroño] had once been (Crónica de la Misión Salesiana de Gualaquiza, 1893-1898: 1-2).

[89] An example of such colonial notions is accessible in Michel Harner's (1984) translation of Juan de Velasco's 1790 report.

[90] Shuar 'instantly admitted Jesus Christ's religion', according to Prieto's account. Prieto claims to have baptised '38 infants' not long after his arrival (Landívar 1977: 8).

[91] Not including some 500 more Shuar people from the neighbouring area of Méndez (noted as 'Mende' in Prieto's text), a three-day walk from Gualaquiza (see Landívar 1977: 5).

[92] The Cuenca elite had formed a commission (*Sociedad de Amigos del País*, 'Society of Friends of the Country') to put forward a project for the colonisation of Gualaquiza that was approved by the central government. The project included the recruitment of an armed force to protect Gualaquiza from indigenous attacks and substantial tax cuts for settler colonists willing to venture to the lowland region. In exchange, setter colonists were required to upkeep the maintenance of the connecting road. The military incursion of this force in Gualaquiza in 1842 led to a signed accord between military commanders and 'representatives' of Shuar populations around Gualaquiza and Zamora. The document, signed by several Shuar *capitanes,* is an unprecedented example of colonising efforts in *aénts chicham* territories. Here, Shuar *capitanes* agreed not just to cede land for the colonisation of Gualaquiza but, as the text notes, 'to formally and solemnly be under the protection of the government of Ecuador and transfer all the lands we own to it'. The document was sent as a 'petition' to the governor of Cuenca for the purpose of promoting official colonising efforts. It was presented as proof of the 'pacification' of the region and its indigenous inhabitants (Esvertit Cobes 1996: 140–141).

[93] Jesuit attempts to 'civilise' Shuar in Gualaquiza failed and have left no surviving memories in Shuar people near the village today. Unlike the Salesian missionary presence, which is well-remembered and widely discussed today, no one I asked during my fieldwork ever remembered having heard about the existence of a Jesuit mission. Jesuit missionaries, however, were responsible for the introduction of cattle to the region (these later passed from settler colonists to Shuar) and the spread of many Spanish ('Christian') names since accepted into indigenous use.

[94] Upon their arrival at Gualaquiza, Jesuit missionaries were very pleased at their having 'thoroughly won over' a local cacique, 'chief', and to have received the help of some Shuar people in building a church and other buildings for the mission. The mission, it was noted in Spanish, had begun con *los mas felices augurios*, 'with the most fortunate omens' (Crónica de la Misión Salesiana de Gualaquiza, 1893–1898: 4).

[95] Prolonged missionary endeavours, it turned out, were not met by Shuar with the same enthusiasm as they showed for initial encounters. The early success of the Jesuit mission, however, was no doubt exaggerated at the time by its missionaries, if not misunderstood completely, as demonstrated by a number of epistolary exchanges between missionaries in Gualaquiza and their superiors (Jouanen 1977; see Landívar 1977). Most amusingly, according to missionary records,

positive advances, relative success, and strong confidence in future progress were replaced by fear, despair, and the sudden need to flee the region in a matter of days.

[96] Especially people of *mestizo* heritage who had come from the adjoining highland hamlets of Sigsig and Chordeleg, some 100 km on the descending road to Gualaquiza, and worked as *entabladores*—'plantation peons'—in the Gualaquiza *entables* or 'plantations'.

[97] Or 'hunting peccaries and monkeys' (Spinelli in Bottasso 2014a:109–112).

[98] Production on the Gualaquiza *entables* depended entirely on the labour of *entabladores* (see previous footnote), and supplied Cuenca with cotton, coffee, cacao, sugarcane, cascarilla bark, wood, and toquilla straw (*Carludovica palmata*) used for the manufacture of panama hats in the famed artisan workshops of the city. Most *entables*, however, were owned by a landowning elite in Cuenca, whose economic power and political representation ensured that state policy could be directed towards the survival of their own estates. An opuscule from 1875 by Luis Cordero (Cordero 1875), a distinguished member of the progressive liberal catholic elite, *entable* landowner on the Sigsig trail, and president of Ecuador in the period 1892–1895 following a trip to Gualaquiza provides a striking illustration. His account, written in the scientific spirit of the time, addresses matters such as geography, infrastructure planning, botany, and indigenous customs. The author reviews the state policy towards the region and offers his view on what should be done to expand 'civilisation', industry, and production in the region. Cordero stated that he preferred civilisation to advance by 'school and church' rather than 'rifle and gunpowder', and framed colonisation and capital expansion in patriotic terms. The neighbouring countries were expanding their frontier in Amazonia, Cordero warned, and he urged Ecuador to do the same. See the notes of the Salesian missionary Father Spinelli (Spinelli in Bottasso 2014a: 114–115) for a detailed description of Gualaquiza's *entables* and some of its owners.

[99] The chronicle notes that the epidemic, referred to as *la peste*, 'the plague', by a later Salesian commentator, lasted eight months and began with the death of a settler colonist who had come from 'within the interior of the republic'. The disease ('unknown to [Shuar] before') spread among the indigenous population with deadly consequences. Fear, despair, and death were followed by indigenous rage and vengeance, with Shuar reportedly concluding that the disease had been 'imported by white women'. The written records, however, only note a tense encounter between a settler woman bathing in a river and an indigenous man who later fell ill, and provides no decisive evidence as to why Shuar thought that white women in particular were transmitting the disease (Crónica de la Misión Salesiana de Gualaquiza, 1893-1898: 7-9). The Jesuit priest and historian José Jouanen cites a letter from Father Pozzi detailing a number of deaths in his mission in 1870. Pozzi noted 21 people died in total, 19 Shuar and two settler colonists. Of the 19 Shuar people dead, 16 were recorded to have died from smallpox (1977: 57).

[100] The spread of the disease was initially noted by Jesuit missionaries as follows: Smallpox 'may be conquering [indigenous] territory for white peoples.' This state of affairs, however, drastically changed when Shuar in Méndez decided to attack Gualaquiza. The brief account that follows summarises the final months of the Jesuit presence in Gualaquiza. In February 1871, Father Pozzi, the head of the Jesuit mission, wrote a letter detailing how many settler colonists working in the haciendas were 'leaving daily'. By the middle of 1871, a force of four Shuar men killed six persons in one of the largest *entables* of Gualaquiza, evading a defensive force of 21 armed men stationed in the village. At the end of that year, 'some forty Shuar commanded by Gregorio Chumapi' killed the guards of another important settler estate (Esvertit Cobes 1996: 189). This time, the guarding forces chased the rebellious *capitán* and his people but, similarly to other such punitive expeditions sent out by Spanish authorities in the 17th century, this one also proved futile, not least due to the difficulties of locating Shuar warriors in the dense *montaña* forest (see Taylor 1994: 22–23). Such

Shuar attacks were recorded in the chronicles of the time, along with the suffering inflicted on the nerves of the 'easily impressed' Father García, whose time in the mission was, according to Pozzi, 'as [if he was] in purgatory, partly crazed among [Shuar]'. In October 1871, Jesuit missionaries were already questioning the success of their presence in the region. A report issued to assess the future of the mission mentions internal warfare among Shuar and the strong refusal of Shuar parents to send their children to the mission school as two central causes of the mission's seemingly continuing failure (Esvertit Cobes 1996: 190). At the start of 1872, the looming possibility of a large attack on settler colonists prompted the Jesuit mission to request military aid from Cuenca, which was granted. When the military forces were recalled to the highland city after a period in the lowland village, the Jesuits again felt unsafe and unprotected, and fearing new attacks (which, according to rumours, were inevitable), decided to leave the town and bring an end to their mission in May 1871 (Esvertit Cobes 1996: 190).

[101] See Esvertit Cobes (1996: 187; 207) and footnote 107 for more details.

[102] According to a British traveller with whom he conversed, Father Pozzi estimated that Shuar attacks in Gualaquiza between 1870 and 1872, when he had been the head of the Jesuit mission, left 29 deaths among the 'white peoples' (Simson 1886: 87; see also Esvertit Cobes 1996: 191).

[103] See Harner (1984: 125-132; 200) for a description of ritual trading partners, the extension of the trading network (in 1956–1957), and how indigenous trade networks grew to encompass Western goods.

[104] Daniel Steel (1999) has analysed Shuar warfare at the time around Gualaquiza, using the same Salesian sources as me. He argues that more access to machetes and firearms ('highly valued' manufactured goods) resulted in an increase in internal conflicts among indigenous peoples.

[105] Historians of the mission have noted, based on bitter Jesuit complaints, how the 'contradictions and incoherence on the part of colonising agents' brought all missionary efforts to a close (Esvertit Cobes 1996: 186).

[106] The missionary efforts in Gualaquiza represented the interest of a landowner elite with whom ecclesiastical authorities shared land interests, based on the hope that indigenous pacification would lead to the expansion of the system of *entables* and perhaps gold mining. Settler colonists, who mostly worked as *entabladores* ('peons'), had no real incentive to support the mission. Those were not the first ecclesiastical denunciations settler colonists in Gualaquiza received. The settler population in Gualaquiza and Jesuit missionaries clashed several times before over alcohol consumption and the recurrent refusal of the former to contribute economically to the maintenance of the mission.

[107] The Salesian missionary Miguel Allioni, for example, wrote in 1908 that Mauser shotguns and Remington rifles were common weapons carried by Shuar in Gualaquiza. The former was a shotgun was traded through Peru, according to Allioni, usually in exchange for a tsantsa ('a very fat pig'), while the latter was a rifle acquired locally in exchange for a pig weighing 150–200 kilograms. In exchange for gunpowder and ammunition, Shuar would produce cacao or rubber worth 'one *arroba*' (a unit of weight that amounted to an average of 12 kilograms). This, Allioni noted, generated considerable earnings for merchants and settler colonists who resold Shuar produce at much higher prices in the Cuenca market. Machetes, also frequently traded, were worth 'half an *arroba* of cacao or a kaap' of annatto'—a woven basket made by Shuar men with vegetable fabrics, used to carry things on their backs and usually measuring 50 cm in diameter and depth (Juan Bottasso 2014b: 97-98).

[108] The province of Napo was assigned to the Jesuits, Macas and Canelos to the Dominicans, Méndez and Gualaquiza to the Salesians, and Zamora to the Franciscans. These divisions at least nominally covered all of Ecuador's lowland region.

[109] Renewed enthusiasm to expand towards the lowland region spread among the landowning elite of Cuenca, and there were successful efforts among civil and ecclesiastical authorities to ensure that the Salesian order be assigned to this jurisdiction (Esvertit Cobes 1996: 385).

[110] The 'Gualaquiza tribe', as noted In the Jesuit chronicle, was in 1970 composed of 74 people (15 men, 21 women, and 38 children). José Jouanen's monograph (1977: 50) further notes that Shuar in Gualaquiza and its surroundings 'hardly surpassed 80, almost all of them baptised, but ignorant from childhood on matters of religion; they didn't even know how to cross themselves'. This Jesuit census, whose accuracy must be taken with a pinch of salt, also mentions a list of nearby 'tribes' at the time 'at war with the Gualaquiza group'. These are the 'Chicani' (*chicaña*), the 'Zamora', the 'Pachicosa' (*pachikuts*'), and the 'Patucuma (*patukma*'). The first three groups are said to have been composed of '60–80 people each', and the Patucuma group around 400 people in the nearby 'El Pongo' area (Father Pozzi, letter to Reverend Father Delgado of the Jesuit mission in Quito, 9 February 1872 in *Crónica de la Misión Salesiana de Gualaquiza*, 1893–1898: 11). Shuar memory today remembers *patukma shuar* as bitter and feared enemies, although Shuar in the South place these enemies close to areas of the Santiago River close to the international frontier.

[111] The first Salesian missionaries stayed at the property of Guillermo Vega, who came from a prominent family in Cuenca and was the only landowner to have spent considerable time in Gualaquiza. Vega is recorded to have used his economic and political power to push further settler colonisation of the region, and is also remembered for having maintained a close relationship with many prominent Shuar warriors in the area. Vega's knowledge and relations with indigenous people seem to have influenced the initial Salesian perception of Shuar and aided their understanding of indigenous politics in the region.

[112] The population figure suggests that at the turn of the century, settlers in Gualaquiza already outnumbered the adjacent indigenous inhabitants. By that time, as noted in missionary chronicles, Shuar in the area had retreated to Bomboiza or resettled in the areas surrounding the settler presence.

[113] The conflict between these two men is still remembered by Shuar people in the region, although the original cause of the feud has been forgotten. Shuar in Gualaquiza, Bomboiza, and Chuchumbleza see each other as close kin and remember having arrived in these areas from the Santiago River area and through Limón-Indanza after the war with *patukma shuar* (noted in missionary records as 'Patucuma') became unbearable. The networks of alliances and bitter feuds that arose between these two camps close to the Salesian mission have had a lasting role in shaping political discussions in the area. As I shall show in following chapters, contemporary organisations in Gualaquiza, Bomboiza, Chuchumbleza, and El Pangui have been affected by memories of war and feuding stretching all the way back to the conflict between Júa and Narankas reported by missionary chronicles.

[114] Júa seems to have held territories north of the Bomboiza River, close to the Gualaquiza mission, including what are today the *centros* of Kupiamais, Ayantás, Wakis, and Tiink'. Narankas and his people held the territories south of the Bomboiza River along the present-day *centros* of Pumpuis, Chumpias, and Pakints'. Shuar in the El Pangui and Tundayme areas appear to have been politically attached to the party of Narankas, although alliances were always fluid and betrayal common. Today, Shuar in all of the areas mentioned above consider themselves to be close kin. The same generally applies to Shuar groups located further south in areas known today as Pachicutza, Guadalupe, Yantzaza, Cumbaratza, and Zamora. I am not sure as to the exact nature of

the involvement of warriors in those areas in the feud between Júa and Narankas. Most of my collaborators and informants state that they participated in the conflict on the side of Narankas, although we did not collect any stories in which their active participation is specifically mentioned. I have further reason to think that the participation of individuals from Shuar groups further north might actually have been more direct. The areas known today as Calagrás, San Juan Bosco, and Panantza appear to have been inhabited by people close to Júa, while residents of what is now Limón and Indanza, whose relations are closer to Pumpuis, Chumpias, and Pakints', might have sided with Narankas. The map included with this section of the chapter is intended to be a visual aid and an outline for further research. It is my opinion that what Shuar in the region today know and tell about these warriors confirms and expands the written records left by travellers and missionaries of the Salesian mission of Gualaquiza during the last decade of the nineteenth century, and state and military records from the early twentieth century.

[115] We filmed and recorded a number of boarding-school experiences with collaborators in Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe. The notes I kept from these conversations detail a strict timeline from dawn to dusk, and gendered, ritualised routines performed every day. In short, from a very young age, girls cleaned, cooked, and served food, while boys worked the fields and learned to take care of cattle, always following a very strict timetable focused on religious piety, personal hygiene, and household sustenance.

[116] In 1857, Peru protested a contract signed between Ecuador and holders of its foreign debt that granted large concessions in disputed Amazonian territories to an English company. The land in question included 'a million square *cuadras* over the banks of the Zamora River, starting from the closest possible location to the village of Gualaquiza' (Esvertit Cobes 2001: 545–546) and several other concessions on territory populated by *aénts chicham* peoples. The incident triggered a war and a serious political crisis in Ecuador after Peru blockaded Ecuador's large port of Guayaquil, forcing a surrender treaty on the city's authorities in 1859 (Esvertit Cobes 1995). The crisis opened the door to the strong conservative regime of García Moreno in 1860–1875. Shuar resistance, especially in the areas surrounding missionary posts in Gualaquiza and Zamora, increasingly came to be perceived by state authorities to be 'one of the main obstacles to achieve the incorporation of the *Oriente*'. The urgent need to 'civilise' Shuar or, if necessary, 'eliminate them' was consecutively reinforced (Esvertit Cobes 2001: 558). Government authorities desperately looked to expand state control over the lowlands, pursuing the 'development' of its claimed Amazonian territories to defend the nation 'against foreign aggression' (Esvertit Cobes 2012: 474). While the first war seems to have had little effect on Shuar life in the South, the policy and preparations in its aftermath triggered a process of state expansion and settler colonisation in the region which, after the conflict in 1941, led in turn to broad colonial expansion over traditional *aénts chicham* lands, thereby radically altering Shuar existence and relations with 'white peoples' and the state in the future.

[117] The scheme was a fiasco. Settler colonists seldom acted according to the values the missionaries had expected. Hard alcohol consumption was introduced among indigenous populations and 'white peoples' often behaved lecherously with indigenous women or stole indigenous land and gardens, quickly raising tensions with missionary authorities and leading to a whole-scale rejection of the settler lifestyle among the indigenous population (Bottasso, Equisoain, Pellizzaro, Pullici, personal communication).

[118] A memorandum sent a few years before the war to the Ministry of Defence, signed by the five religious orders working in *Oriente*—as lowland Ecuador is commonly known—on 25 November 1937 (there was a military coup that year) clearly exemplifies this. The document contains a detailed account of what missionary activities among indigenous people ought to provide: 'religious education', including 'land labour for boys', and 'trades according to their sex for girls'. It also laid out a plan that would be followed in the coming decades with regards to colonisation: The

'commitment to keep the roads open', to establish 'indigenous and settler towns and colonies along these roads', and to 'draw blueprints and send to the government their land claims for their legalisation'. If a settler were to establish himself in a 'white' settler colony, he was to receive the property of the land and a subsidy of one hundred sucres per month for the first year. In an 'Indian colony', the subsidy was to be thirty sucres per month for the first year. In exchange for this work, the missions requested that the government refrain from granting military or civil authority to anyone who would libel or defame the missionaries. Finally, the government was requested to militarise the inhabitants of Amazonia, white and indigenous, with the support of the missions so 'they will be considered sons of Ecuador, obliged to maintain the territorial integrity of their nation'. Furthermore, the five missionary orders promise the government that in a period of ten years 'the face of Ecuadorian Amazon region will completely change', further describing this change as 'beautiful towns, roads, highways, and at least 200,000 inhabitants'. The accommodating position of the missions thus allowed them to maintain much of their influence during the process of state expansion that followed and, in times of peace, to continue their missionary activity among the indigenous population and remain relatively undisturbed, despite changes in national politics and outbursts of anticlerical liberalism. (*Memorandum para el Ministerio de Defensa Nacional 'en el IV Departamento relativo al Oriente Ecuatoriano'. Firmado por los representantes de las misiones Carmelitas, Josefinas, Dominicas, y Franciscanas, Quito, 25 de noviembre de 1937*. [Memorandum for the Ministry of National Defence, 'IV Department comprising the Ecuadorian lowland Oriente.' Signed by the representatives of the Congregation of Saint Joseph and the Carmelite, Dominic, Salesian, and Franciscan missions, Quito, 25 November 1937].)

[119] Perhaps unsurprisingly, one of the first translations broadly employed by Salesian missionaries in their missions was a *shuar chicham* version of the Ecuadorian national anthem, *Ekuatura tarachri anentramu*, still in use today and framed and hung on the walls of primary schools throughout Shuar territory.

[120] The next armed conflicts fought by the two countries (in 1981 and 1995) saw the recruitment of some of these peoples into the national armed forces, and in the aftermath, Shuar, Achuar, and Wampís were declared heroes by their respective sides.

[121] *Carta de Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, a Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza. Documento Reservado 14-DL-15, asunto: 'Sobre informe de las misiones de Oriente', Quito, 22 de febrero de 1941*. [Letter from Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Monsignor Domingo Comín, Bishop Apostolic Administrator of Méndez y Gualaquiza. Classified Document 14-DL-15, subject: 'On the report on the lowlands missions', Quito, 22 February 1941]; *Carta de Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, a Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza. Documento Reservado 18-DL-21, asunto: 'Recibido del informe sobre las misiones de Méndez-Gualaquiza', Quito, 3 de marzo de 1941.* [Letter from Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Monsignor Domingo Comín, Bishop Apostolic Administrator of Méndez y Gualaquiza. Classified Document 18-DL-21, subject: 'Report on the lowland missions in Méndez-Gualaquiza has been delivered', Quito, 3 March 1941].

[122] '...se *sirva Vuestra Excelencia, informarme cuando tuviere a bien en orden de los siguientes puntos: 1º.-Territorios que de ninguna manera deberíamos cederlos; 2º.-Territorios que podríamos cederlos en compensación de otros y cuáles; 3º.-Línea o líneas que en su concepto podrían admitirse y trazarse para límite entre Ecuador y Perú en la zona misional a su cuidado*. [Your Excellency may inform us, whenever it may be best for you, on the following points: 1.-Territories that we should in no way surrender; 2.-Territories that we may relinquish in exchange for others in compensation; 3.-A line or lines that you think may be drawn as a border between Ecuador and Peru in the missional area in your care'.] *Carta de Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, a Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza. Documento Reservado 2-DL-22, Quito, 2 de enero de*

1942. [Letter from Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Monsignor Domingo Comín, Apostolic Bishop of Méndez y Gualaquiza. Classified Document 2-DL-22, Quito, 2 January 1940].

[123] *Carta de Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, a Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza. Documento Reservado 21-DL-27, asunto: 'Sobre las misiones de Mendez-Gualaquiza', Quito, 12 de marzo de 1941*. [Letter from Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Monsignor Domingo Comín, Apostolic Bishop of Méndez y Gualaquiza. Classified Document 21-DL-27, Quito, 12 March 1941].

[124] *Carta de Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, a Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza. Documento Reservado 52-DL-34, asunto: 'Se pide informes', Quito, 11 de diciembre de 1940*. [Letter from Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Monsignor Domingo Comín, Apostolic Bishop of Méndez y Gualaquiza. Classified Document 52-DL-34, subject: 'Information request', Quito, 11 December 1940]; *Carta de Julio Tobar Donoso, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, a Monseñor Domingo Comín, Obispo Administrador Apostólico de Méndez y Gualaquiza. Documento Reservado 59-DL-37, asunto: 'Se agradece importante información', Quito, 16-XII-1940*. [Letter from Julio Tobar Donoso, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Monsignor Domingo Comín, Apostolic Bishop of Méndez y Gualaquiza. Classified Document 59-DL-37, subject: 'Important information appreciated', Quito, 16 December 1940].

[125] The advice received by a close collaborator in his childhood urging him to 'be the best student in his class to lift the name of the family, just as his father had done before him by showing no fear to his enemies', may be a point in fact. While this took place as recently as the early 1960s, the father of my collaborator was widely recognised as a great warrior in his time, and was one of the last surviving warriors in the area close to the Salesian mission.

The common use of state law we frequently observed during our fieldwork to sue neighbours on grounds of a shamanic attack or in cases of household violence affecting a couple's extended families (two accusations that used to be common causes of war and retaliation) also support the idea that education and professionalisation can play an important role in reducing internal feuding.

[126] One such attempt seems to have involved a call by Salesian missionaries that was extended to all major *capitanes* in the Gualaquiza area. The most important *uunt* and *kakaram* throughout the area were asked to attend an important meeting at the mission. These warriors were unaware of the purpose of the call, and didn't know that everyone had been invited at the same time; they had merely heard that there would be a great 'banquet' and gifts. Somehow, the missionaries persuaded all attendants to arrive disarmed (something that would have been unthinkable just a few years earlier). According to Chumpí, a man aged approximately 85 at the time we met him who heard the story from his father: 'The missionaries arrived and called all Shuar, even those who were enemies with each other, to gather in a Shuar *héa* of Gualaquiza, right next to the church'. The Salesian missionaries had organised the meeting place next to the mission in the extended house they had allocated for the comfort of Shuar when visiting the settler town. 'Everyone among the elders had been called: *capitanes*, *guerrilleros*, everyone. They were called by Father Spinelli and Father Mattana, who performed a ceremony in the Gualaquiza *héa*. The priests had brought clothes, all kinds of clothes, and distributed them to everyone. They made people hug each other, all of them. Even enemies hugged each other. "Now, pick up the clothes", they said, so people picked up the clothes they had received. "Now, exchange the clothes", and people exchanged the clothes even with their enemies. After that, they held a banquet and celebrated mass. "This is peace", the missionaries said. "Never fight again".'

[127] The war of 1941 between Ecuador and Peru came to an end with the signing of the Rio Protocol on 29 January 1942. From the Ecuadorian point of view, its result was disastrous: 'Ecuador ceded 200,000 km2 to Peru' (Rubenstein 2001: 267), and for the political elite, it was a late call to take action

in the country's long-neglected eastern region. 'The resulting commotion was expressed in a growing militarisation of the frontier [and] the establishment of [military] bases in several Amazonian zones' (Esvertit Cobes 2012: 476), as well as by 'turning the Amazon and [its] territorial defence into fundamental points of reference of the Ecuadorian national identity' (Ortiz Batallas 2017: 267). This in turn 'motivated and strengthened the "civilising" presence' along the line where the new frontier had been drawn (Gnerre 2012: 592) and added a renewed impulse to the claims and aspirations attested by 'orientalismo', *the patriotic ideology sustaining settler colonisation and state assertion of lowland Amazonian Ecuador* (Esvertit Cobes 2001). For the rest of the twentieth century, the Amazonian frontier became 'a fundamental symbolic element for the ideology of Ecuadorian nationality promoted by dominant groups' (Esvertit Cobes 1995: 660). Military planners tried to make up for the shortcomings of 1941 by linking national security with land reform policies in the Andes to promote the colonisation of the region. Nevertheless, the Rio Protocol meant not so much a change in the geographical extension of both countries as the culmination of a long and progressive process of Peruvian expansion into Western Amazonia. In contrast to Ecuador, whose claim to the region had been met with 'abandonment and immobilism' since its independence from the Spanish Crown, the Peruvian state had been advancing its position in a 'relatively planned' manner throughout the nineteenth century (Taylor 1994: 38). Taylor (1994), Esvertit Cobes (1995, 2012), and Salazar (1989) further note that the Peruvian expansion coincided with and was a consequence of the rubber boom in Amazonia, which also intensified territorial disagreements. Rubenstein (2001) has pointed to the involvement of Standard Oil in the conflict. Subsidiaries of this company conducted oil exploration in the Amazonian territories of both countries throughout the 1930s, until Standard Oil saw its contract with Ecuador cancelled in 1937 and the concession given to Royal Dutch Petroleum. According to Rubenstein, not only did Standard Oil give 'Peru financial and political support' in the 1941 war, but '[t]he new border ran exactly along the limits of the concession that Ecuador had granted the Anglo-Dutch company', after Standard Oil's contract was cancelled (Rubenstein 2001).

[128] Anne-Christine Taylor's analysis of the *chicham*-speaking Achuar's relationship with missionisation also notes 1941 as an important year in the advance of colonisation in the region (Taylor 1981).

[129] In the years following the war, the longstanding missionary failure among Shuar began to change. In 1944, President José María Velasco Ibarra publicly praised the Salesian missions 'because they knew how to turn fierce [Shuar] into men who sing the national anthem'. *Discurso del Presidente José María Velasco Ibarra, 24 de septiembre de 1944.* [Speech by President José María Velasco Ibarra, 24 September 1944]. Likewise, in 1943 and 1944, two expositions were held in Quito to show the progress that had been made in the pacification and nationalisation of Shuar (Ortiz Batallas 2017). These events were widely covered by newspapers of the time and included a small Shuar delegation, which further increased the prestige of the Salesian mission and the sense among the public that their missionary work was increasingly successful.

[130] The mission was established by Father Casiraghi, *el misionero que más llegó a dominar la selva*, 'the missionary who was most able to conquer the jungle', 'after four months of unspeakable sacrifice and work', as noted by a Salesian-trained Shuar teacher in a handwritten piece on missionary history. The short memory was written by the teacher Antonio Ankuash', an ex-supervisor of the radio school of Bomboiza and Zamora in October 1982, and was perhaps used as a teaching aid in Shuar classrooms. The Gualaquiza mission was then repurposed to focus 'on the spiritual needs' of settler colonists in Gualaquiza.

Following on from a few scarce census documents and notes attached to the chronicles of the Salesian mission in Bomboiza, it is noted that in 1964, the nine Shuar *anejos*, 'annexes' that originally composed the new mission, according to a 'cattle census', were inhabited by 164

indigenous (63 Christian and 99 'pagan') families who owned 353 head of cattle in total. In 1968, Shuar population within the reach of the Bomboiza mission was 1,300 people divided into 11 annexes, with 900 head of cattle. There were 550 'indigenous Christian' converts, and though they were still a minority among the overall Shuar population, they surpassed the population of 400 'white Catholics'. In Pakints', Christian conversation attempts were still unsuccessful as of 1969. Missionary chronicles note that this Shuar *centro* was composed of some 53 people in eight families, of which only one was identified as 'Christian'. In 1981, however, the population in Pakints' had doubled to 109, and 31 children from the *centro* were recorded as attending the Salesian boarding school in Bomboiza.

[131] The escalation in conflicts between the Salesian missionaries and settler colonists following the creation of indigenous reservations seems to have reached a peak in the Sucúa mission (see Gnerre 2014:557). Shuar and missionary lore today recall the day Father Juan Shukta, one of the central promoters of the Shuar Federation, had to jump out of a second-floor window wearing nothing but his trousers in the middle of the night, as the mission house was set on fire by angry settler colonists.

[132] The exchange of land for metal tools, radio transistors, distilled alcohol, and sexual favours were common barter practices between Shuar and settler colonists. It has been widely suggested in *aénts chicham* ethnography, however, that accounting for different conceptions of land use and ownership, indigenous land transfers in barter transactions were not equivalent to settler 'purchases' (see Rubenstein 2001).

[133] The idea behind the creation of indigenous reservations by the Salesians owes much to Father Juan Vigna, the idea's original proponent. The process of land titling in the Bomboiza mission (and later in other Salesian missionary headquarters) was led by Angel Andreetta, and today, most Shuar people in the area closely associate the indigenous reservations with him. Andreetta, who possessed a stubborn and strict character, brawny complexion, and short temper, was often described by fellow missionaries as 'a man of action', and championed the creation of land reservations for Shuar by helping on the ground. He was determined to impose missionary authority over land disagreements in the South.

[134] Frontier discrepancies between the vicariates of these two religious orders were ultimately dealt with in the Vatican in the 1920s, but only after many decades of exchanges of lengthy arguments in official letters that cited colonial documents and laws, topographic measurements, cartographic studies, and ecclesiastical edicts.

[135] Today, missionary wrongdoing in regional boarding schools is all but forgotten in both the Franciscan and Salesian vicariates in Zamora-Chinchipe and Morona-Santiago. Shuar people in Bomboiza and El Pangui have many deplorable stories they tell to their children and grandchildren about life under missionary rule. These stories, many of which we collected on video during our fieldwork, range from descriptions of the licentious relations between priests or nuns and boarding-school girls and boys to the atrocious and ridiculous occasion when the girls under the guardianship of a Salesian convent were taken to a basketball court in the middle of a deadly smallpox outbreak. The girls were informed by the nuns in charge that they were to be vaccinated and were told to form a line and walk in order towards the basket pole. A donkey was leashed to the pole, and the girls were urged to walk towards the animal one by one and, overcoming the fear of facing an animal most had never seen before, kiss it on the mouth. That 'kiss of vaccination' was how the Salesian mission in Bomboiza hoped to prevent smallpox.

[136] The cooperative, established as the *precooperativa de colonización San Francisco del Pangui* 'on 2,200 hectares of waste land', was originally integrated by the following 42 'Shuar family heads': Enrique Jimbicte, Afonso Jimbicte, Centro Cívico, Mariano Nuñinga, ~~Francisco Caamaño Unupe, Agustín Ávila, Juan Chumapi, Francisco Ashenda, Antonio Nuninga~~, Esteban Sharupo, Pedro Joaquín

Taisha, Leonardo Ávila Intza, José Antonio Nuninga, Francisco Caamaño Unupe, Agustín Ávila, Juan Chumapi, Francisco Mashenda, Antonio Samareño Najamde, Sonia Chumapi, Víctor Ávila, Alberto Chuncho, Pedro Gálvez, José Antonio Ávila, José Rmón Ávila, Fernando Caamaño Unupe, Victoria Nantipa, Antonio Borja, Miguel Aguananchi, padre, Carmen Chumapi, Luis Antonio Chumapi Antonio Mashenda, José Romero Ávila, Antonio Torres, José Guillermo Pinchopá, Víctor Samareño Yanbaueche, Cármern Jamba, Ángel Mashenda, Domingo Torres Nuninga, Luis A. Mashenda, José Antonio Pinchopá, José María Pinchopá, Miguel Aguananchi, hijo, Luis Felipe Pinchopá, Antnio Jimbicti, Carlota Dávila, José Chumapi, Samuesl Jimbicti, Jorge Caamaño Unupe, and Humberto Chelo Chumapi. [The crossed-out names were also retracted in the original document].

[137] Jaime Galarza, an observer from the city of Loja, visited El Pangui one year after the cooperative was established. His account, later published with the title *Los campesinos de Zamora y Loja*, presents a study of the agricultural situation of these provinces in El Pangui, based on interviews with 21 Shuar members of the cooperative who were '37 years of age on average'. Galarza, a fierce critic of the Franciscan mission, mentions that in 1976 there were only five Shuar in El Pangui over 50 years of age, which he attributes to 'massive and quick deaths' following the introduction of 'unknown diseases.' Despite the presence of the Franciscan boarding school and the promotion of schooling, this author notes a high degree of illiteracy: Out of 21 of the original signatory members of the Shuar cooperative, 11 were illiterate and only three had finished primary school. Except for the land owned by the Caamaño brothers, Galarza notes that plots hardly surpassed 50 hectares and were mostly destined to grow cash crops and local staples such as 'coffee, corn, plantain, and manioc' (Galarza 1976: 44-45).

[138] The account of Jaime Galarza of the San Francisco de El Pangui cooperative also notes the rising tensions between Shuar and the Franciscan mission. He notes how Shuar people in El Pangui expressed their anger at the mission by screaming: '*tsansa* Monsignor, *tsansa* Monsignor!' (Galarza 1976: 47-49).

[139] People from Pakints' have especially close ties to people in some of these far-off pockets, and it was common for young men in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s to visit these regions when fleeing missionary education or to seek jobs in the shrimp, banana, and rice industries.

Chapter 4. The Centro

[140] The relocation of the mission, as discussed in Chapter 3, further helped cement the reputation of certain missionaries who directed their interest towards indigenous rights issues, especially on land and culture. Their later involvement in Shuar political and land reclamation processes in centros and associations profoundly shaped the later reach of the Shuar Federation. This was a process that seemed to have developed parallelly throughout various Salesian missions. The important role played by Juan Shutka in helping establish the Shuar Federation in Sucúa (see Rubenstein 2001; 2002) benefited from the existing experience of early conflicts with settler colonists in Gualaquiza. Moreover, the indigenous reserves that Ángel Anddretta, working in Bomboiza, had already set up to accomplish in the South, including the acquisition of title deeds, laid much of the groundwork that established the Shuar land reserves later managed by the Shuar Federation.

[141] In Ecuador, mining played no role in early global market integration in the years after independence, as in Bolivia (Nash 1979), nor was it determinant in driving labour organisation and working-class identity during the twentieth century, as in Chile (Pavilack 2011). Furthermore, despite their considerable influence shaping the law and public policy, neoliberal reforms implemented to attract foreign investment in the sector in the 1990s largely failed to trigger an exponential and effective expansion of the industry as in Peru (Li 2015). Industrial mining only emerged as a relevant economic sector after the year 2000, coinciding with the price increase for minerals in the world market (Latorre 2013). However, this lack of experience with industrial mining in the country does not equate to an absence of extractive industries. Industrial mining has been largely conceived of as a timely substitute for declining oil reserves in Ecuador, and oil extraction has provided a comparative framework for resource conflicts to indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. The introduction of favourable legal frameworks and incentives then resulted in an uncontrolled and chaotic proliferation of mining concessions (Acosta:2016vg; CEDHU 2016).

[142] See www.corriente.com

[143] Two local subsidiaries were incorporated, each in charge of administering a number of ore deposits in concessions assigned to each. Technically, Mirador is managed by Ecuacorriente S.A. (ECSA), while Panantza-San Carlos is managed by Explorcobres S.A. (EXSA). Not surprisingly, ECSA and EXSA (both acronyms are pronounced identically in Spanish), are seldom distinguishable from one other. Local people referred to these two companies simply as *la compañía* ('the company'), or, when some contextual specificity was required, as *los chinos* ('the Chinese'). This happened when the junior partner Corriente Resources Inc. sold its copper-belt deposits to a major Chinese conglomerate in 2010 (see below). Since then, the two projects have belonged to a joint venture comprised of the Chinese central state-owned China Railways Construction Corporation, based in Beijing, and the Tongling Non-Ferrous Metals Group, based in the prefecture city of Tongling, Anhui. This consortium has also been in charge of further overarching developments concerning mineral extraction in the copper belt, including a 129 MW hydroelectric plant planned to supply part of the required electric power for both mining projects and the construction of a maritime port in the Pacific coast some 300 kilometres away (Puerto Bolívar, El Oro province), derivatively named *puerto cobre* ('copper port'), built for the purpose of exporting copper concentrate for industrial processing in China (Sagal Luna 2015).

[144] See www.lundingold.com

[145] It is estimated that since 1990, over 16.8 million gallons of oil have oozed into the environment from pipeline operations in lowland Ecuador (Kimerling 2006: 457). More than 4.3 million gallons of toxic waste produced from oil wells in the region have been spilled or discharged during the same period of time, without any kind of treatment (Kimerling et al. 1991: 31). The consequences today among local populations are alarming. Numerous epidemiological studies have connected oil contamination with high rates of cancer, birth defects, development disorders, miscarriages, skin and respiratory ailments, malnutrition, and diarrhoea (Hurtig & San Sebastián 2002; 2004; Kimerling 2006). Moreover, as social anthropologists have noted, pollution-related health problems have been 'exacerbated' among indigenous populations as a result of changes in subsistence patterns produced by land loss to settler colonists and widespread deforestation (Cepek 2012: 397-398).

[146] The consolidation of anti-extractive grassroots movements and strengthened relationships with national environmental activism have generated a programme often characterised as *ecologismo*

popular ('environmentalism of the poor') in studies concerned with ecological economics and political ecology (Guha & Martínez-Alier 1997; Healy et al. 2013; Martínez-Alier 1994; 2002). The literature maintains that non-traditional ecological resistance stems from struggles over use, access to, and control of natural resources, and the uneven distribution of ecological damage (with burdens predominantly falling on the poor), when the articulation of social movements that incorporate environmental concerns in traditional struggles connects with the 'fight for survival' of peasant and indigenous communities. This analysis became relevant not only as a common theoretical outlook to evaluate resource conflicts in the region but also as a blueprint for activists looking to push forward broad social and environmental struggles in the South.

[147] The suspension bridge was reinforced with barbed wire and guarded by additional military personnel in the following days. Some campaigners, however, still managed to cross over the bridge, and were stopped by military reinforcements from a garrison guarding the entrance to the mining camp. A total of 19 people were 'detained for investigation' by the military and held inside corporate facilities including Salvador Quishpe, a provincial politician from Pachakutik (Handal López 2007). Shuar in *centros* close to the Mirador mine remember the confusing days that followed in great detail, but the period before the clash was experienced in a very different way. The following account was provided by a Shuar woman who participated in the protests: 'The military and the police began walking with us and then moved forward. [People thought they were supporting us, and were going to the front to lead the protests.] I told a lady walking next to me: "They're not coming with us; they're not going to help us". And course, they didn't back us up! As soon as they had secured their positions [near the bridge], they opened fire. They began shooting at us, against the people, and we didn't have any weapons. "Let's leave, Rosa", I told a friend. "They're going to kill us". We left in a rush and didn't stop until we reached the main highway. Luckily, a car was passing and took us out of there. The [military] seized Quishpe there and took him away in a helicopter'. Tsamarent', an approximately 60-year-old woman, recorded conversation. Kampanak Entsa. January 2017.

[148] Indigenous politicians, intellectuals, academics, and grassroots organisations contested the intended mining, water, and education reforms on the following terms: The education reform (discussed in August 2009) was resisted because it moved the administration of bilingual education curricula away from indigenous peoples and towards state control. It was a clear reversal of social rights long fought for by the indigenous movement, and met with a unified rejection from intellectuals, academics, and politicians. Indigenous parents and students, however, were lured by the promise of new 'millennium schools', and showed less resistance, or were willing to at least give the new model a try. These new schools fused several rural one-teacher schools inside multimillion infrastructures that included the latest information technologies and the promise of an improved, modern education.

The water law (debated in September 2009) met with resistance because it denied control of water systems to peasant and indigenous communities, and instead allocated the distribution of water resources to the authority of a newly established, centralised technocratic office. Within the indigenous movement, pastoralists and agriculturalist peoples from the highlands who were most affected by the law and former hunter-gatherers from the lowlands who more often practiced some form of subsistence agriculture and were less affected by the law were split on what needed to be done. Similarly, peasant organisations and workers' unions disagreed on the extent of its harm. In any case, everyone agreed that there was an uncomfortable reminder of bygone colonial times: An era of *hacienda* landowners who could monopolise water resources for their own economic benefit, or to retain political control over a deliberately impoverished peasantry.

The mining law (approved in January 2009) met with resistance because it was passed in order to open large swathes of indigenous land and ecologically fragile ecosystems to environmentally

damaging transnational investments. The memory of oil extraction and its disastrous social and environmental consequences for indigenous peoples' wellbeing in the country was painfully engraved on Amazonian people's minds.

[149] Bosco Wisum', a Shuar school teacher, was killed in Macas on 30 September, during the early days of the protests.

[150] Shuar protestors marched the streets in Quito chanting '*El Shuar unido jamás será vencido*', 'The united Shuar will never be defeated', in reference to the *Nueva canción chilena*, a famous song popularised by folk bands Quilapayún and Inti-Ilimani in the 1970s as an anthem for the Popular Unity government in Chile. The scene can be seen in the short documentary *¿Por qué murió Bosco Wisum?* produced in 2010 by Lluvia Comunicación.

[151] On 5 October, Pachakutik officials, leading members of the indigenous movement, and officials from the Shuar Federation met Rafael Correa at Carondelet Palace, the seat of government and the country's presidential office. José Acacho, known to everyone by the hypocorism 'Pepe', then head of the Shuar Federation, spoke first, addressing the president and its cabinet members in Shuar, and requesting that an official translator be brought to the room to convey his words directly to Correa. In front of a microphone, looking surprised and unprepared, a middle-aged Hispanic woman, called in at the last minute, spoke haltingly, stuttered, repeated herself several times, then awkwardly smiled. Silence was interrupted by a rising murmur of Shuar complaints, bursting in a loud and tumultuous chant: 'She knows nothing!'

'With all due respect, Mr President', Acacho said again, 'That kind of translator will only make you uninformed: You have been told that we are organising an uprising, so you make mistakes.' Correa, in a mildly conciliatory gesture, responded: 'Speak in Spanish, and let us solve this concern immediately'. Then, less mildly, he added: 'And bring your own translators next time; but if there's any call for violence, we will take it to the courts'. 'What I was saying', Acacho translated his speech himself, 'Was [extending you] a greeting on behalf of our nation. We Shuar might not speak much because we are a warrior people. We act! And in this moment, we are determined to defend our territory from transnational corporations that want to take away our natural resources'.

Acacho proceeded to inform the central government in Quito that the province of Morona-Santiago, the Shuar heartland, had been recently declared an 'ecological region' that was 'free from pollution', and all industrial mining activities were to be immediately prohibited. Correa repeated Acacho's terms one by one to summarise them, and then asked where in the constitution it was written that the Shuar Federation could declare a province free from extractive enterprises. 'I am, however, open to accept such a petition', he concluded, 'and will do so by decree: Morona-Santiago and the Shuar territories will be free from extractive enterprises if in the future you also don't ask for electricity, drinkable water, public health, housing, education, or roads, because there won't be any money for them. This is our counterproposal', he finished. 'We agree!' a Shuar delegate exclaimed. 'Super agreed. Write that down! I want that decree'. Mr Correa, now visibly irritated, replied: 'Well, you're not the only people living there; let's consult *mestizo* settlers if they too want to do away with electricity'. The meeting ended without consensus and in a tense mood. Shuar insisted that industrial mining companies should leave their land, and defended the autonomy of their territories and their right to oppose the arrival of mining corporations.

[152] If a larger conflict were to break out in the region, some Shuar people argued, it would be better to use the mineral wealth of the land in defence of indigenous autonomy. Japan, Israel, or Russia, perhaps, or some other militarily powerful country might be persuaded to fund a Shuar war against increasingly predatory Chinese mining corporations and to establish an independent indigenous state in the aftermath. Some leading anti-mining Shuar officials went so far as to draft a letter to

then-US President Barack Obama to request military intervention against China in lowland Ecuador.

[153] Our time in the field further coincided with the reinstatement of land evictions that favoured future industrial mining developments, leading to the expropriation of nearby peasant and indigenous locations along the course of the Zamora River. Throughout our research we helplessly witnessed the forceful and complete destruction of San Marcos, a small settler village near the Mirador mine; the partial expropriation within Pakints' of Santa Cruz, one of the five neighbourhoods that constituted the *centro*; and the violent military takeover of the Shuar resistance outpost of Nankints' in the Panantza-San Carlos mine. Locals and activists in these three locations were violently evicted and their buildings razed by police or military forces and corporate machinery. The demolition of Nankints' led to the partial militarisation of the region, the declaration of a state of emergency, and the imposition of a two-month curfew.

[154] The road was later paved and widened to complement a new cement bridge over the Zamora River that replaced and rendered obsolete a barge, a wooden suspension bridge, and Shuar canoes. The pavement, however, only extended to corporate headquarters and the site of the mine, some 3 kilometres outside the village centre, so the road bypassed it almost entirely, leaving the town mostly mud-spattered.

[155] Academic researchers did not escape this suspicion. Industrial mining companies made little distinction between academic research and environmental activism, and activists and personnel from NGOs often complained of certain university researchers considered to be 'sell-outs' to corporate interests. Terms such as 'traitor', also used to refer to indigenous labourers and some indigenous leaders and organisations, were common among environmental activists. Equally disparaging political nicknames such as *vende patria*, 'national sell-out', and *ambientalista infantil*, 'infantile environmentalist', were deployed against activists and NGO personnel by representatives of state and corporate bureaucracies.

Chapter 6. Borders

[156] Invocations, pleas, or prayers traditionally sung by men and women as magical incantations in order to achieve desired goals in determinate contexts (see Descola 1989).

[157] People in the South generally referred to the conflict as the 'Kumpachuma rebellion' or *nuestra guerra civil*, '*our* civil war'. Sometimes, though less frequently, it was called 'the conflict of Pakints', signalling the importance of the *centro* in the development of these events. The term comes from the phrase 'Cumpa, ven, vamos a chumar' ('Mate [*cumpa*], come, let's get drunk [*chuma*]', with which the faction is said to have convened its meetings (see Chapter 7).

[158] Shuar describe the division as one of different *ideologías*, 'ideologies', where each group represents an opposite political viewpoint in Shuar organisation, and each includes a number of sister federations or provincial offices of various sizes throughout Shuar territory. The two groups can be listed based on the following ideological assessment: The 'Old Federation' is composed of the Federación Interprovincial de Centros Shuar (FICSH), based in Sucúa, Morona-Santiago; its autonomous provincial offices in the province of Orellana, the Federación de Centros de la Nacionalidad Shuar de Orellana (FECNSH-O); the province of Pastaza, the Federación de la Nacionalidad Shuar de Pastaza (FENASH-P); the province of Sucumbíos, the Federación Provincial

de Centros Shuar de Sucumbíos (FEPCESH-S); the province of Zamora-Chinchipe, the Federación Provincial de la Nacionalidad Shuar de Zamora-Chinchipe (FEPNASH-Z); and the self-governing association's council of the Consejo de Gobierno del Pueblo Shuar Arutam (CG-PSHA). The 'New Federation', meanwhile, is composed of the Organización Shuar del Ecuador (OSHE) (formerly the Nueva Organización Shuar del Ecuador [NOSHE] based in Macas, Morona-Santiago, the Organización Independiente Shuar de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (OISAE) based in Lago Agrio, Sucumbíos, and the Federación Shuar de Zamora-Chinchipe (FSHZCH), based in the city of Zamora. Today, among the people we worked with, the two parties are often known simply as 'federación vieja' and 'federación nueva', the 'old' and 'new' federations. The same classification is also used to systematise a subsequent series of divisions and splits from the original organisation established with the assistance of the Salesians. It ignores the institutions of other *aénts chicham* nationalities such as the Nación Achuar del Ecuador (NAE), which was once a part of the same organisational structure, and excludes federations like the Nación Shuar del Ecuador (NASHE), established by evangelical missionaries (see Cova 2015), which occasionally takes a stand in the ideological divide. The resulting fragmentation has furthered the atomisation of territorial management, already synthesised by the use of acronyms to name the organisations that emerged.

[159] It is common nowadays to hear about *la gran Federación Shuar*, 'the great Shuar Federation', used to refer to the political standing of the Shuar Federation before its partition in 1992.

[160] These two provinces were created out of Santiago-Zamora, an earlier state partition, to expand the presence of the state in the region, and accommodate a growing settler population.

[161] I heard the struggles of the period referenced many times when speaking with former Shuar Federation officials throughout Shuar territory, and often felt confused and overwhelmed by the choices and directions our conversations followed.

[162] Shuar people frequently discussed national, regional, and indigenous politics passionately and expertly, both among themselves and with us, since political debate is a common part of everyday *centro* life. The considerable amount of time and interest given to political matters by men and women of all ages, the historical significance assigned to *organización* within Shuar history, and how these matters interweaved with regular social activities within and between households made intelligible the otherwise unreachable presence of industrial mining enclaves in the region. Shuar history, in this context, transitioned effortlessly and fluidly between colonial and indigenous history with regard to ongoing mining conflicts and current events. The emphasis of this chapter is the arguments people in the South often make to describe contemporary struggles against industrial mining through their own previous conflicts and divergences within *organización*.

[163] The different missionary approaches between these two religious orders, as I have already explained in Chapter 3, refer to contradictory understandings and approaches inter-ethnic relations between indigenous and settler colonist populations under the control of each two vicariates. The Salesian mission after the Second Vatican Council favoured the rescue of indigenous land and culture, while the Franciscan mission favoured miscegenation and national integration. These alternate views were developed in a context of historical rivalry and border conflicts between the two vicariates.

[164] Provincial borders between Morona-Santiago and Zamora-Chinchipe, established in 1953, were created out of Santiago-Zamora, the previously recognised administration, and coincided with the religious borders that separate the Salesian and Franciscan vicarate administrations.

[165] The term barrio was itself a cause of dispute, so I have chosen to use the translation 'neighbourhood' over other possible options also used by the people of Pakints' with equal frequency (e.g. comunidad) to illustrate political implications not conveyed by equivalent terms.

Having said that, the word barrio is commonly employed in everyday life by people in Pakints' to refer to one's own dwelling place in relation to other resident groups inside the reservation, as well as to mark distance and differentiation.

At the beginning of our fieldwork I was frequently asked (often phrased as 'What kind of lies were you just told?') what type of conversations was I having. This was something I kept private, however, and after the second month or so, I was no longer asked that question. Later, I learned to recognise the kinship lines that made up larger rival groups within the *centro*, and distributed my time and efforts accordingly, keeping a balance between groups by prioritising within each group the people I found most interesting and keen to collaborate with my research. I also distributed my time equally between the five neighbourhoods. Eventually, I think, we all reached the tacit understanding that my relations with everyone were to be equitable and personal.

[166] Although the quality of foreign-language instruction was a subject of permanent complaint, children were taught English as a mandatory subject, and in later years Putonghua Chinese as part of a CSR programme financed by the Mirador mine owners.

[167] 'An immaterial principle', according to Phillipe Descola, generally appearing through ayahuasca visions in the form of the gosht of an ancestor to confer strength, protection, and revelation to a person seeking a visionary knowledge (Descola 1997: 419).

[168] The first few months of fieldwork I spent writing entry after entry in my diary about rumours and atypical stories. I was both fascinated and unsettled because these entries were testament to my own foreignness, and I questioned my belongingness and provenance. I had always thought that such stories served the double purpose of informing anthropologists as much as interlocutors, so both can make sense of where things stand and who one truly is. Several years later, a friend would 'confess' to me how scared people had been when we had first arrived. 'We saw you standing there with so many books and boxes, and people thought that in your books you had the names of each of us, that you'll be crossing us out as you'd killed us, one by one. We thought you, too, could be a *cortacabeza*, until we figured it out: you were not'.

From the viewpoint of Pakints', the neighbouring Bomboiza—only 15 kilometres down the *Troncal Amazónica*, and just across the Chuchumbleza River—was a place to be avoided, we were often told, due to the danger of running into a *cortacabeza*. The feared *cortacabeza* was usually a local killer usually acting on behalf of a *gringo*; he was a shrunken head provider acting for the international black-market trade in *tsantsa* (which white foreigners, it was believed, enjoyed displaying in their museums as a sign of wealth). Perhaps he would be the even more feared foreigner assassin himself, usually conspiring with shamans to commit such crimes. For this reason, the shamans of Bomboiza were looked upon with great suspicion.

The reason for such fears was that Bomboiza was considered to be 'more Shuar', where miscegenation was less common and therefore their blood was hotter, and it was also seen as less 'civilised'. To be from Bomboiza was to still drink manioc beer on a daily basis, the people of Pakints' explained, and to speak Shuar, but also to 'have ancient thoughts', as I once heard a mother-in-law complain about her daughter's choice of husband. If I was to learn Shuar, people usually agreed it was the place to go. Bomboiza, after all, with its boarding school and large reservation, was considered to be a regional source of all things Shuar ('*la mata del Shuar*' ['a bona fide source of Shuar (culture)']).

In turn, the people in Bomboiza thought of Pakints' and most Shuar areas south of the Chuchumbleza River (with some notable exceptions in the hinterland) as being populated by conceited and politically disorganised communities. That perceived lack of organisation had led them to lose their language, deny their culture, and give away Shuar federal structures. It didn't

help that federations in Zamora seemed to be constantly paralysed by internal conflicts, leading to further fragmentation. To be from Pakints' or a Shuar of Zamora-Chinchipe was, for the people of Bomboiza, to pretend to not understand one's own language out of shame, or to genuinely not understand it out of ignorance. It was to live in disarray outside the organisation, and to eat and drink food 'Shuar had not been created to consume', as I once heard a son-in-law reply. Many wondered why someone interested in Shuar culture as an anthropologist would choose to go to such a place, where people seemed unable to stand up against colonisation.

When we moved to Bomboiza later on in our fieldwork, similar opinions were expressed about Tiink' from the perspective of people in Bomboiza. The people of Tiink', a large reservation approximately half an hour's drive away from Bomboiza, were famous all over Shuar country for having especially hot blood in their veins. It was not a place one just went to visit, we were warned, whether or not one was Shuar; *any* outsider needed some kind of permission to be allowed in, such as being a family member or a trusted contact, or by possession of an official federation permit. Not even the military would ever dare to trespass. Tiink' seemed to be the pinnacle of good organisation, indomitable autonomy, and pure Shuar culture, if it existed in the region. All in all, the people of Tiink' took pride in this representation (I visited Tiink' at one point), which they felt to be accurate, but only up to a point. In good Amazonian fashion, Tiink' people pointed to the other side of the cordillera to the *chicham*-speaking peoples of Peru as even better keepers of culture, autonomy, and freedom from the state.

[169] Early on in my fieldwork, I felt overwhelmed by the animosity that the people living in Pakints' had for one another. Nobody could get along with anybody else, or so it seemed in the beginning. Different neighbourhoods in the *centro* were not on what one would call speaking terms, and even neighbours within neighbourhoods often had strong opinions of each other. I was continually told to trust no one and that I should watch my back for what others might say or do about me. The only 'true' friend I had, I often heard, was the person in front of me at that particular moment. Now, taking sides in such a situation (or to be perceived to have taken a specific side) is a problematic affair. When I went to the highway, for example, to visit neighbours around the reservation, people would never fail to ask me where I was heading to, and on hearing the answer, often voiced their opinion with irony or a grimace. I was asked the same question almost every day for the whole stretch of my two years of residence.

At the beginning of fieldwork I was frequently asked (often phrased as 'What kind of lies were you just told?') what type of conversations was I having. This was something I kept private, however, and after the second month or so, I was no longer asked that question. Later, I learned to recognise the kinship lines that made up larger rival groups within the *centro*, and distributed my time and efforts accordingly, keeping a balance between groups by prioritising within each group the people I found most interesting and keen to collaborate with my research. I also distributed my time equally between the five neighbourhoods. Eventually, I think, we all reached the tacit understanding that my relations with everyone were to be equitable and personal.

Shuar have been widely noted for their predilection for political and economic autonomy, factionalism, and dispersed dwelling places. Proper *aénts chicham* selfhood, Taylor argues, is linked to a 'structural relation with enemy partners', but one in which 'these Others are internal' (2007: 134). Shuar are a people 'against society', in the words of Rubenstein (Rubenstein 2012: 59). The *centro* can, therefore, be thought of as a micro-reproduction of a much larger and older structure, amplified by contemporary restrictions of space. There are no longer these dispersed and extended households, but rather a number of kin groups organised in neighbourhoods with increasingly less 'no man's land' (Descola 1993) to put between oneself and one's neighbour as a way to mediate relations.

This has led me to treat each neighbourhood as an individual, self-contained unit, to establish personal relations with each unit independently, and to keep everyone's trust by not discussing exclusive issues of a household with members of another household, or about a neighbourhood with neighbours from any other neighbourhood. This was, in the beginning, hard to do. The 'units' of Pakints' are both neighbourhoods and kin groups, and as I have mentioned, have conflictual relations with one another supported by past grudges and historical grievances as much as by ongoing litigation, and whatever one unit does will be viewed with suspicion and mistrust by all the others.

[170] I learnt about this during the early stages of my fieldwork. I had spent the first few months in Sucúa, mostly chasing down Federation officials (who were invariably too busy or on the move to meet) to get the Federation's approval for my project. When the president of the Shuar Federation finally found some time to read my research proposal, however, he came back to me with the following response: The proposal was fine, he said, but it couldn't be approved. The Shuar Federation had lost control of Zamora-Chinchipe long ago. If I wanted to go there, I would need the approval of the president of the 'New' Federation. I was baffled. How could I have not known about that? The abrupt departure of Zamora-Chinchipe from core *organización* structures and its strained relationship with national indigenous ethnopolitics, according to the people of Morona-Santiago, had left *samuria shuar* utterly unable to stand up for their rights and defend their ethnic interests vis-à-vis 'white peoples' and the state—including matters concerning industrial mining. In addition, according to Shuar from Zamora-Chinchipe, this same disruption had freed them from the tight and unfair grip of missionary control, intrusion, and intermediation whose benefits only, if ever, trickled down to a limited number of *muruna shuar* leaders trained by and loyal to missionary interests.

Chapter 8, Ancestors

[171] The following archival documents referenced in this chapter, with the exception of the document named '*Acta Transaccional suscrita entre la Federación Inter-provincial de Cent[ros] Shuar Achuar de Morona Santiago y la Federación Shuar de Zamora Chinchipe, ante los lamentables sucesos ocurridos en los sectores de Chuchumbleza, Bomboiza y Pakintza*' [Transactional Act signed between the Interprovincial Federation of Shuar Achuar Cent[ros] of Morona Santiago and the Shuar Federation of Zamora Chinchipe, given the unfortunate events that occurred in Chuchumbleza, Bomboiza, and Pakintza], cited later, are all included in police and judicial proceedings opened after the outbreak of conflict in Pakints'. I have cited these documents as included in the following legal cases: *Proceso Penal instaurado contra: Julio Tiwiram, Cristobal Naikia, Silverio Saant y otros. Por: Muerte, abigeato y robo de objetos de Domingo Wisum. Corte Superior de Justicia de Loja. Juzgado Segundo de lo Penal de la Provincia de Loja. Inventario no. 12.484.* Iniciado por: el Sr. Intendente General de Policía de Zamora Chinchipe, nueve de abril de mil novecientos noventa y uno [9/4/1991]. [Criminal proceedings instituted against: Julio Tiwiram, Cristobal Naikia, Silverio Saant and others. By: Death, cattle hunting and theft of objects by Domingo Wisum. Superior Court of Justice of Loja. Second Criminal Court of the Province of Loja. Inventory no. 12,484. Initiated by: the General Intendant of the Police of Zamora Chinchipe, 9 April 1991]. And *Proceso Penal Instaurado Contra Antonio Silverio Juepa Chiki, Angel Leonidas Sharup, Antonio Awak, Luisa Juepa Entza, Pablo Sharuo, Geovanny Juepa, Bartolome Juepa, Vicente Juepa, Jukio Tiwiram Taish, y otros. Por: Muerte, Abigeato y robo de objetos, aves de corral, ganado vacuno, caballar, y otros que van en perjuicio de los agravados Sres.*

Domingo Wisum Jimpikit, Pedro Hugo Ayuy Tasapik, Ruben Naichap Yankur, Raul Rafael Juepa Entza, y Carlos Kejeke. No. de juicio y juzgado de origen: 315.- juzgado segundo de lo penal de Zamora Chinchipe. Iniciado por: El Tribunal de lo Penal de Zamora Chinchipe. Zamora, a siete de enero de mil novecientos noventa y tres [7/1/1993]. [Criminal Proceedings Installed Against Antonio Silverio Juepa Chiki, Angel Leonidas Sharup, Antonio Awak, Luisa Juepa Entza, Pablo Sharuo, Geovanny Juepa, Bartolome Juepa, Vicente Juepa, Jukio Tiwiram Taish, and others. For: Death, cattle hunting and theft of objects, poultry, cattle, horses, and others that go to the detriment of the aggravated Domingo Wisum Jimpikit, Pedro Hugo Ayuy Tasapik, Ruben Naichap Yankur, Raul Rafael Juepa Entza, and Carlos Kejeke. No. of trial and original court: 315.- Second criminal court of Zamora Chinchipe. Started by: The Criminal Court of Zamora Chinchipe. Zamora, 7 January 1993].

[172] *Carta de la Asociación de Centros Shuar de Bomboiza dirigida al Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, Presidente Constitucional de la República del Ecuador, Sr. Presidente del Honorable Congreso Nacional, Sr. Presidente del Tribunal de Garantías Constitucionales, Sr. Ministro de Gobierno y Policía Nacional, Sr. Ministro de Defensa Nacional, Sr. Ministro de Energía y Minas, en Bomboiza, el 10 de marzo de 1991.* [Letter from the Association of Shuar Centros of Bomboiza addressed to Dr. Rodrigo Borja Cevallos, Constitutional President of the Republic of Ecuador, Mr. President of the Honourable National Congress, Mr. President of the Court of Constitutional Guarantees, Mr. Minister of Government and National Police, Mr. Minister of National Defence, Mr. Minister of Energy and Mines, Bomboiza, 10 March 1991].

[173] *Carta del Dr. Rafael Poma Neira, abogado del Sr. Domingo Wisum Jimpikit en la acusación contra Julio Tiwiram Taish y otros, dirigida al Señor Juez Primero de lo Penal de Zamora Chinchipe, en Zamora, el 5 de julio de 1991.* [Letter from Dr. Rafael Poma Neira, attorney for Mr. Domingo Wisum Jimpikit in the accusation against Julio Tiwiram Taish and others, addressed to the First Criminal Judge of Zamora Chinchipe, in Zamora, 5 July 1991].

[174] *Informe de comparecencia de la Sra. Nunkui Wisum Jimpikit ante el Sr. intendente General de Policía de Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 14 de mayo de 1991 a las 9:00.* [Report of the appearance of Mrs. Nunkui Wisum Jimpikit before the General Intendant of Police of Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 14 May 1991 at 9:00 a.m.]

[175] *Declaración de Domingo Wisum Jimpikit ante el Señor Intendente General de Policía de Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, el 3 de abril de 1991 a las 16:35; Declaración de Ruben Naichap Yankur ante el Señor Jefe Provincial del Servicio de Investigación Criminal (SIC) Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, el 3 de abril de 1991; Informe de la Intendencia General de Policía de Zamora Chinchipe firmado por el Licdo. Byron Muñoz Flores, Intendente General de Policía de Zamora, Zamora, 9 de abril de 1991.* [Testimony by Domingo Wisum Jimpikit before the General Intendant of Police of Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, on 3 April 1991 at 4:35 p.m. Testimony by Ruben Naichap Yankur before the Provincial Chief of the Criminal Investigation Service (SIC) Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, on 3 April 1991; Report of the General Intendency of Police of Zamora Chinchipe signed by Byron Muñoz Flores, General Intendant of Police of Zamora, Zamora, 9 April 1991].

[176] *Informe de comparecencia de la Sra. Nunkui Wisum Jimpikit ante el Sr. intendente General de Policía de Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 14 de mayo de 1991 a las 9:00.* [Report of the appearance of Mrs. Nunkui Wisum Jimpikit before the General Intendant of Police of Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 14 May 1991 at 9:00 a.m.]

[177] *Informe del Juez J. Briones y los peritos Sr. Hugo Marcelo Segura y Sr. Lcdo. Jorge Patiño Sánchez, referido como anexo en la carta dirigida al Señor Juez Primero de lo Penal de Zamora por el Dr. Rodrigo Esparza, abogado, a nombre de la Federación Interporvincial de Centros Shuar-Achuar, el 14 de junio de 1991.* [Report of Judge J. Briones and the experts Mr. Hugo Marcelo Segura and Mr. Jorge Patiño Sánchez,

included as an annex in the letter addressed to the First Criminal Judge of Zamora by Dr. Rodrigo Esparza, lawyer, on behalf of the Interporvincial Federation of Shuar-Achuar Centros, on 14 June 1991.]

[178] Judge Julio Mallaguari Carrillo, personal communication, Yantzaza, December 2016.

[179] *Jefatura Provincial de Investigación Criminal de Zamora Chinchipe, Of. No. 91-071/SIS/, adjuntando el Informe de las investigaciones realizadas en torno a la denuncia presentada por el Sr. Rubén Naichap ante el SIC el 3 de abril de 1991, Zamora, 5 de abril de 1991.* [Provincial Headquarters of Criminal Investigation of Zamora Chinchipe, Official letter No. 91-071 / SIS /, including the Report of the investigations carried out into the complaint filed by Mr. Rubén Naichap with SIC on 3 April 1991, Zamora, April 5, 1991].

[180] *Carta del Sr. Galo Tiwi Juank, Presidente de la Federación Shuar de Zamora Chinchipe dirigida al Sr. Bolívar Figueroa Castillo, Agente Fiscal del juzgado Primero de lo Penal de Zamora, Zamora, 9 de abril de 1991.* [Letter from Mr. Galo Tiwi Juank, President of the Shuar Federation of Zamora Chinchipe addressed to Mr. Bolívar Figueroa Castillo, Fiscal Agent of the First Criminal Court of Zamora, Zamora, 9 April 1991].

[181] *Carta de la Asociación de Centros Shuar de Bomboiza dirigida al Sr. Dr. Bolívar Torres Sandoval, Asesor jurídico de la Federación Shuar Achuar en Zamora Chinchipe, respecto al porte de armas, maltrato, y amenazas de disidentes de la Federación Shuar, Bomboiza, el 9 de junio de 1991.* [Letter from the Association of Shuar Centros of Bomboiza addressed to Dr. Bolívar Torres Sandoval, Legal Advisor of the Shuar Achuar Federation in Zamora Chinchipe, regarding the bearing of arms, mistreatment, and threats of dissidents from the Shuar Federation, Bomboiza, 9 June 1991].

[182] The Zamora River became an underground transportation route during the conflict: 'There was only one little man from Kayets' with an outward motor canoe. He came to chat with us and brought us news. He came back and forth along the river and that was our only connection [with the wider world] at the time. Here, as I said, there was no access' (Tukup', an approximately 60-years-old woman, Recorded conversation. Santiago Paati, 24 December 2015).

[183] Narváez, Kampanak Entsa, and Cóndor, at the banks of the Zamora River and Naichap', Pakints', and Wakis at or near the Zamora-Gualaquiza highway. Further Shuar *centros* in the valley of Tundayme and the area around El Pangui were also supportive of the dissention, yet their relative isolation from the main access routes in the area spared them significant clashes.

[184] The fateful coincidence of ethnopolitical divergences with uneasy memories of *venganza antigua*, 'old vendettas', across both banks of the *chumpias entsa*, may thus confirm early ethnographic reservations regarding the true extent of political adjustments conveyed at the Shuar Federation (Colajanni 1984; Taylor 1995).

[185] *Acta Transaccional suscrita entre la Federación Inter-provincial de Cent[ros] Shuar Achuar de Morona Santiago y la Federación Shuar de Zamora Chinchipe, ante los lamentables sucesos ocurridos en los sectores de Chuchumbleza, Bomboiza y Pakintza, firmado por el Comandante de la 21.BS "Condor", Sr. Crnl. de E.M. Victor O. Salas C.; el Comandante del BS.63 "Gualaquiza", Sr. Tcrnl. de E.M., Homero Vinueza M.; el Sr. Gobernador de Morona Santiago, Sr. Alfonso Dávalos; el Sr. Gobernador de Zamora Chinchipe, Sr. Prof. Jaime Gonzáles; el Provicario de Méndez, Sr. Padre Domingo Barrueco; el Sr. Capt. De Polícia, Capt. de P. Marcelo Suárez; el Sr. Presidente del cantón Gualaquiza, Sr. Prof. Galo Sarmiento; el Sr. Presidente de la Asociación de Centros Shuar de Bomboiza, Sr. Julio Tiwiram; el Sr. Delegado de la Federación Shuar de Zamora Chinchipe, Sr. Pedro Ayuiy; el Sr. Delegado de la Federación Inter-Provincial de Cent[ros] Shuar Achuar de Morona Santiago, Sr. Albino Utitiaj, en Gualaquiza, en el Batallón de Selva No. 63., 17 de marzo de 1991 a las 19:00.* ['Transactional Act' signed between the Interprovincial Federation of Shuar Achuar Cent[ros] of Morona Santiago and the Shuar Federation of Zamora Chinchipe, regarding

the unfortunate events that occurred in Chuchumbleza, Bomboiza and Pakintza, signed by the Commander of the 21 .BS "Condor", Mr. Crnl. by E.M. Victor O. Salas C.; the Commander of BS.63 "Gualaquiza", Mr. Tcrnl. de E.M., Homero Vinueza M.; the Governor of Morona Santiago, Mr. Alfonso Dávalos; the Governor of Zamora Chinchipe, Mr. Prof. Jaime Gonzáles; the Pro-vicar of Méndez, Father Domingo Barrueco; the [Regional] Captain of Police, Capt. Marcelo Suárez; the President of the Gualaquiza canton, Prof. Galo Sarmiento; the President of the Association of Shuar Centros of Bomboiza, Mr. Julio Tiwiram; the Delegate of the Shuar Federation of Zamora Chinchipe, Mr. Pedro Ayuiy; the Delegate of the Interprovincial Federation of Shuar Achuar Cent[ros] of Morona Santiago, Mr. Albino Utitiaj, in Gualaquiza, in Battalion No. 63., 17 March 1991 at 7:00 p.m.]

[186] *Boleta de encarcelación No. 012-JPPZCH-DJL, Juzgado de lo Penal de Zamora Chinchipe, Distrito Jurisdiccional de Loja, firmado por el Dr. Bolívar Ruiz Aguilar, Juez Primero Penal de Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 16 de abril de 1991; Boleta de encarcelación No. 025-JPPZCH-DJL, Juzgado de lo Penal de Zamora Chinchipe, Distrito Jurisdiccional de Loja, firmado por el Dr. Bolívar Ruiz Aguilar, Juez Primero Penal de Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 25 de julio de 1991.* [Incarceration ticket No. 012-JPPZCH-DJL, Criminal Court of Zamora Chinchipe, Loja Jurisdictional District, signed by Dr. Bolívar Ruiz Aguilar, First Criminal Judge of Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 16 April 1991; Incarceration ticket No. 025-JPPZCH-DJL, Criminal Court of Zamora Chinchipe, Loja Jurisdictional District, signed by Dr. Bolívar Ruiz Aguilar, First Criminal Judge of Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 25 July 1991].

[187] *Formulario de declaraciones para testigos y/o sospechosos, caso 91-069-SIC.18. Declaración de Roberto Juepa Chiki ante el Dr. Bolívar Figueroa Castillo, Agente Fiscal de lo Penal de Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 4 de abril de 1991; Carta dirigida al Señor Juez Primero de lo Penal de Zamora por el Dr. Rodrigo Esparza, abogado, a nombre de la Federación Interporvincial de Centros Shuar-Achuar, el 14 de junio de 1991; Informe del Instituto de Ciencias Penales y Criminología de la Universidad Nacional de Loja, firmado por el Dr. Giovanni Palacios Guerrero, médico legista, perito, e investigador del ICPYC y el Dr. Nietzsche Monteros Ullauri, Director del ICPYC, Loja, el 2 de julio de 1991; Reconocimiento No. 200-06-91-ML-PGE dirigido al Señor Juez Primero de lo Penal de Loja, firmado por el Dr. Miguel Ángel Brito Aguirre, médico legista de la Procuraduría General del Estado, Loja, 28 de junio de 1991.* [Testimony form for witnesses and/or suspects, case 91-069-SIC.18. Testimony by Roberto Juepa Chiki before Dr. Bolívar Figueroa Castillo, Criminal Prosecutor for Zamora Chinchipe, Zamora, 4 April 1991; Letter addressed to the First Criminal Judge of Zamora by Dr. Rodrigo Esparza, lawyer, on behalf of the Interporvincial Federation of Shuar-Achuar Centros, 14 June 1991; Report of the Institute of Criminal Sciences and Criminology of the National University of Loja, signed by Dr. Giovanni Palacios Guerrero, medical examiner, expert, and researcher at ICPYC and Dr. Nietzsche Monteros Ullauri, Director of ICPYC, Loja, 2 July 1991; Report No. 200-06-91-ML-PGE addressed to the First Criminal Judge of Loja, signed by Dr. Miguel Ángel Brito Aguirre, medical examiner of the State Attorney General's Office, Loja, 28 June 1991].

[188] This man, named Wampash', married to Mamaik', and father of Kukush', is a different person from the man also named Wampash', son of Kukush' and Nakaim'. Shuar and other *chicham*-speakers are known for 'recycling' names. As Taylor notes, 'the gift of reproduction can be obtained from the dead only by forgetting them, because human forms are finite in number and must be constantly recycled for new people to appear. This implies cleansing the recently deceased, through funerary treatment and mourning—a process of disremembering the dead and stripping them of any trace of evocability—of the shared affective memory that individualized or personalized the singular shape they acquired at conception' (Taylor 2007: 149). The practice of recycling names can be found everywhere in the South today. The erasure of memory and evocavilty in ancestors, however, as I have argued in this chapter, appears to be less strictly practiced in the region.

Chapter 9, 'Engineers'

[189] Over the time of our fieldwork, people certainly were increasingly reporting such violent crimes. There was another incident in Pakints', a few years later, much more serious, concerning a passing motorcyclist attempting to rape a teenage girl from the *centro.* The motorcyclist, never properly identified but recognisable for the denim uniform of mine workers he purportedly was wearing (the same of engineers), attacked the girl while she walked along the highway. The girl's screams fortunately alerted a neighbour (also a mine worker) passing nearby by the highway side and he was swiftly chased away.

[190] Another comparable example was the use of the *chicham* word *seichi*, 'brother-in-law', commonly used by indigenous and non-indigenous people in the region to refer to one another in a light-hearted tone.

[191] Similarly, a vague notion of 'hippies' and 'hipsters', increasingly attracted to the region in droves by ayahuasca rituals, had recently entered the global outreach of the area and indigenous and non-indigenous peoples alike had been quick in finding a connection. There was that group of British and American young men and women inhabiting an ecological commune somewhere nearby, devoted to fruitarianism. People knew them throughout the region for the coconuts they sold at the market every weekend—and stared in wonder. Many things in them were found unusual. 'It must be to save a penny or two, poor people', I once heard a stall seller at the market say, 'They must be so poor to not be able to afford even the cheapest kind of meat'. He was corrected swiftly by a plump energetic lady, 'They don't eat meat because they love animals! Just like those *ambientalistas*'.

[192] When we arrived in Pakints', there were no NGOs working in the *centro* either nor, unlike in Tundayme, where there was much experience with the comings and goings of social researchers or reporters. Nevertheless, in this division a temporal facet is essentially implied: as the project grows, as its expected to, it is also expected to develop further into its concession range, expanding future 'direct effects' into what are now 'indirectly affected areas'.

[193] Most reports, articles, and thesis have been produced about the directly influenced area, and focus on the settler peasantry that mostly populate this valley and a namesake main village at its centre.

[194] CSR personnel, personal communication.

[195] Thus, a number of 'success stories' citing a woman's association cleaning services or the efforts of secondary school students to commercialise fried plantain crisps recurrently feature in the press along with keywords such as 'support', 'cooperation', and 'local development'. How this 'productive linkage' is more often experienced locally is less grandiose. It simply involves the regular purchase by corporate agents or contract workers of pigs, ducks, chickens, or tilapia fish at prices slightly exceeding the market price from settler farmers and Shuar households.

[196] Worker's wages consisted of the basic salary (always fluctuating slightly below $400 throughout the years of fieldwork) plus a single-digit supplement tied to the number of years of employment. Management salaries always at least doubled that, in many cases exceeding the $1000 threshold.

[197] To put it in the words of a collaborator caught in a bitter conflict with a rival: 'What we would really want to do is hire a hitman and settle things the way old people would. Yet times have changed and these days if you were to do that you would go to prison. That is not worth it. Hiring a lawyer is just cheaper.'