

Inti Raymi: A dialogue with Pachamama

Strengthening indigenous identity and claiming cultural rights
through the celebrations of Inti Raymi in Ecuador

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*[The picture on the cover is a photo of the Inti Raymi celebration in Cayambe, 2010.
All photos in this thesis are taken by the author unless announced otherwise]*

Abstract

Based on anthropological fieldwork in Ecuador, this thesis studies indigenous identity and cultural rights through the meanings and practices of the Inti Raymi festival. It provides an insight on how indigenous celebrations do contribute to strengthen indigenous identity and how this is related to claim cultural rights. The Inti Raymi festivities in Cayambe are recuperated by indigenous actors in a process to strengthen indigenous identity in relation with the indigenous movement. By being the owner of their own cultural expressions, the indigenous leaders do claim their right to cultural heritage and indigenous cultural expressions. In this way the Inti Raymi celebrations can be considered practice of cultural right.

Keywords

Andean festivals, indigenous celebrations, indigenous identity, Inti Raymi, cultural rights,

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Table of Contents

Glossary & Acronyms	Page	5
Maps	Page	7
Introduction	Page	9
Chapter one Being indigenous in Latin America	Page	13
1.1 The feeling of indigenusness		13
1.2 Indigenous people and their changing relations with the state		14
1.3 The indigenous movement and their claim for rights		17
1.4 Claiming cultural rights		19
Chapter two Indigenous celebrations as a practice of cultural rights	Page	22
2.1 Cultural events in a multicultural society		22
2.2 Cultural events and public space and place		23
2.3 Indigenous festivals in Ecuador		23
2.4 Inti Raymi		25
Chapter three The recuperation of Inti Raymi in Cayambe	Page	27
3.1 Changing the name and traditions		27
3.2 Public place and space		30
3.3 Divided in two?		31
<i>Concluding remarks</i>		35
Chapter four Proud to be indigenous	Page	35
4.1 National discussions and ideas about being indigenous		36
4.2 Regional leaders and their intermediating function		37
4.3 Reflections on indigenous identity		39
<i>Concluding remarks</i>		46
Chapter five Contemporary meanings of Inti Raymi	Page	47
5.1 Preparing Inti Raymi		47
5.2 Social meaning		49
5.3 Spiritual meaning		49
5.4 Ethnical meaning		51
5.5 Economical meaning		53
5.6 Inti Raymi, indigenous identity and cultural rights		53
Conclusion	Page	55
Bibliography	Page	58
Attachments	Page	61
- Festival posters Inti Raymi and San Pedro 2010		
- People involved in this research and their affiliations		

Glossary & Acronyms

Campeños	Peasants
Campo	Countryside
Cantón	Region / district
Chicha	Maize drink
Choclo	Maize cob
Compartir	To share
Coplas de Cayambe	Traditional songs from the region of Cayambe during the festivities in the end of June (San Pedro / Inti Raymi)
Cosechas	Harvest, harvest season
Cosmovision Andina	Spiritual worldview of the indigenous people from the Andean countries, with close respect to the nature (pachamama) and the universe
Cuy	Guinea pig
Cruz Andina	Or <i>la Chacana</i> ; the Andean cross
Diabluma	Personage with a mask which represents the sun god Inti, with spiritual meaning in the Inti Raymi celebration
Dirigentes	Indigenous leaders
El Cayambe	Volcano 'The Cayambe', the only snowed-top-volcano at the equator, the middle of the world
Hacienda	A system of exploitation based on large holdings and on the power of the land-owning class
Indígena	Indigenous person
Indigenismo	Intellectual, political and artistic movement in Latin America that sought to valorize indigenous cultures into society in the first half of the 20 th century
Interculturalidad	Multicultural, intercultural
Inti	The sun god
Inti Raymi	Indigenous celebration in the Andean countries in June in honor of the sun god Inti with respect to pachamama and the harvest season

Kapak Raymi	Indigenous celebration in December, celebrated together with Christmas
Kayambis	Indigenous people from the region of Cayambe, provinces Pichinca, Imbabura and Napo
Kichwa	Quechuan language, spoken by many indigenous peoples in Ecuador
Killa Raymi	Or <i>Colla / Koya</i> ; Indigenous celebration of the moon in September
Mestizaje	The idea to mix the mestizos and indigenous peoples as a new national ideal race in Latin American countries in the first half of the 20 th century
Mestizo	Person of mixed indigenous American and European ancestry
Minga	Ritual to share, <i>compartir</i> , with other community members.
Mitad del mundo	The middle of the earth, the equator
Ñusta	Young indigenous woman who represents the community elected as 'princess of the sun' during the Inti Raymi festivities
Pachamama	Mother Earth, often referred to as the universe, the nature
Pachakutik	Political party of the indigenous movement; the political wing of CONAIE
Pawkar Raymi	Indigenous celebration in March, festival of the flowers
Plurinacional	Pluralistic / multicultural
Propio	Belonging / ownership, often used to say something belongs to the indigenous population or an indigenous group
Pueblos y nacionalidades indígenas	Indigenous peoples and nationalities
Puntiatzil	'The big temple of the sun', Sacred place in Cayambe on the middle of the world
San Pedro	Catholic celebration in honor of the Saint Pedro
Sentimiento	Feeling
Sumak Kawsay	Or <i>Buen Vivir</i> , an ideology to have a better quality of life, 'to have a good life'
Territorio	Territory
Toma de la plaza	Or <i>ganar la plaza</i> : the taking of the square/place; dancing ritual during the festivities of San Pedro and Inti Raymi in Cayambe
Whipala	Indigenous flag, symbolizes the indigenous movement in Latin America

Organizations:



CODENPE

CODENPE

Consejo de desarrollo de las nacionalidades y pueblos del Ecuador
Advice to develop indigenous nationalities of Ecuador



CONAIE

Confederación nacionalidades indígenas del Ecuador
Confederation of indigenous nationalities of Ecuador



ECUARUNARI

Confederación Kichwa del Ecuador
Confederation Kichwa of Ecuador



IPANC

Instituto Iberoamericano del Patrimonimo Natural y Cultural
Iberoamerican institute for Natural and Cultural Heritage



**Municipio
Cayambe**

Municipality of Cayambe, cultural department



**Pueblo
Kayambi**

Umbrella organization of indigenous organizations canton Cayambe



**Radio
Inti Pacha**

Local indigenous radio station in Cayambe (88.9 FM)



**Secretaría
de Cultura**

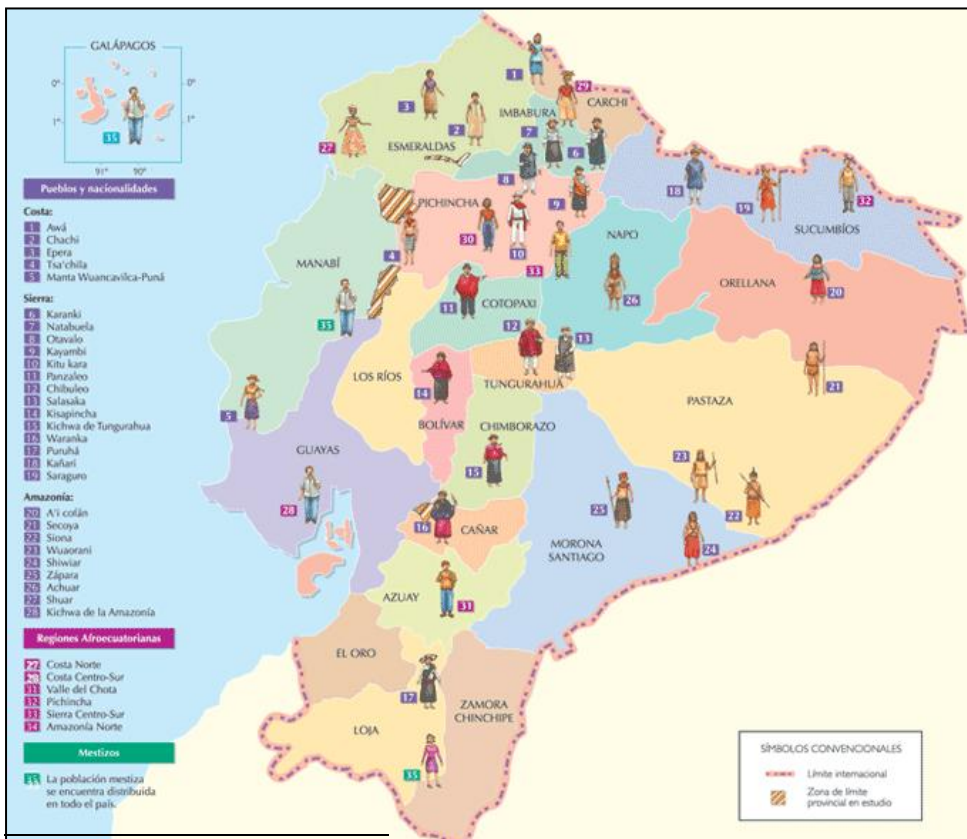
Cultural department of the municipality in Quito

Maps

Map 1. Ecuador¹ with Capital Quito



Map 2. Indigenous nationalities in Ecuador²



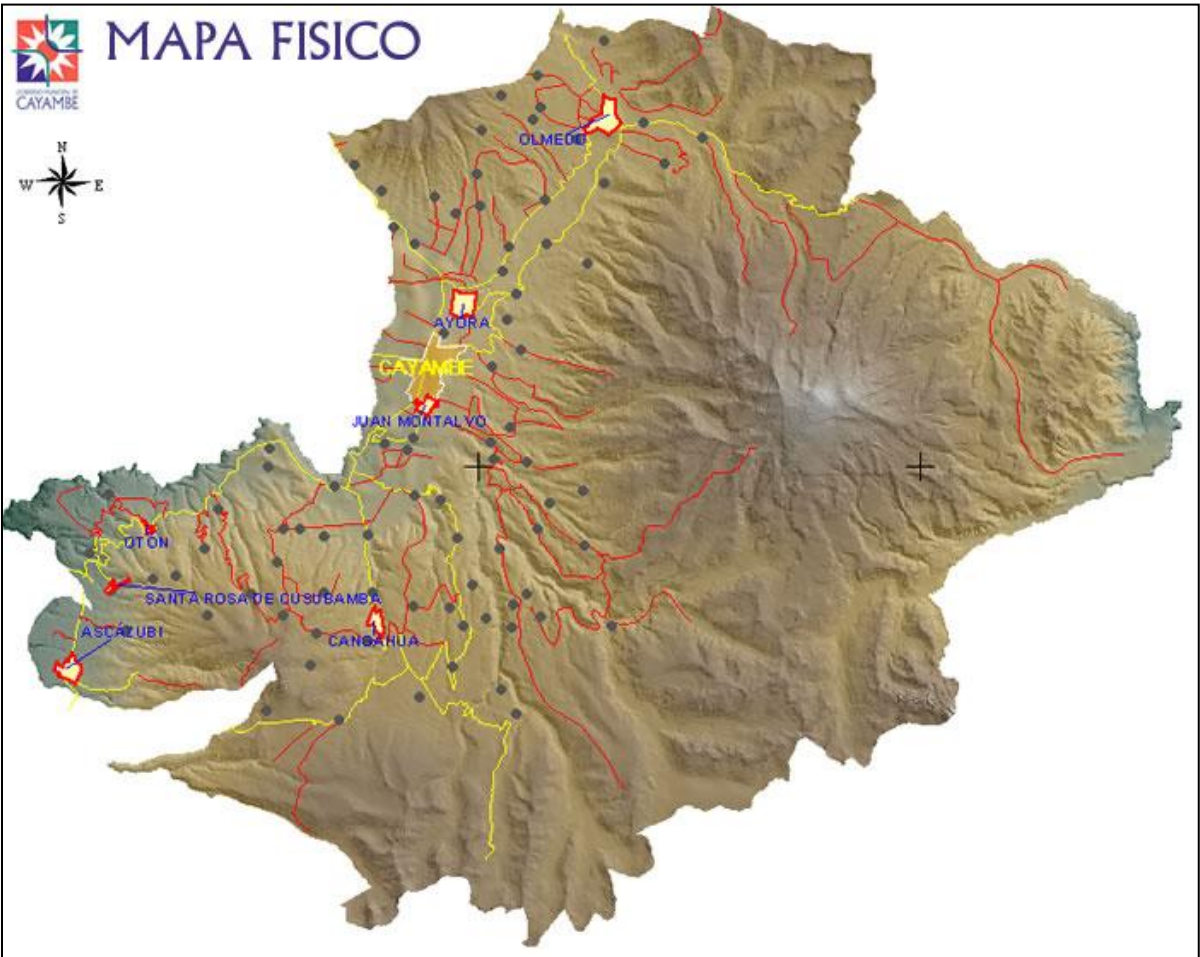
¹ <http://www.umsl.edu/services/govdocs/wofact2007/maps/ec-map.gif>

² http://bo.kalipedia.com/kalipediamedia/geografia/media/200808/01/geoecuador/20080801klpgeogec_2_Ges_LCO.png

Map 3. Cayambe located in Ecuador³



Map 4. Canton Cayambe⁴



³ http://www.fabec.org.ec/mapas/partinaire_ecuador.gif

⁴ <http://www.municipiocayambe.gov.ec/jpg/mfisicoa.jpg>

Introduction

Celebrations of Inti Raymi

Inti Raymi is a time of dialogue between us and pachamama. We want the nature to be happy, so that we can be happy too. In these festivities of Inti Raymi there is a lot of happiness. We are dancing with our own traditional clothes, we receive people in our houses, we express ourselves greeting others, conversing with others. We are sharing. It is a time of felicity, with Pachamama, the nature, with our community, with our family and with *Taita Inti* [uncle Inti, the sun god]. This is the highest expression of life. This is *Sumak Kawsay*; to be in happiness, living well and being healthy. All together, without boundaries and limits: this is Inti Raymi! (César Pilataxi⁵, June 2010).

A time of dialogue between the indigenous population and Pachamama is the most important significance given to the Inti Raymi festival by the indigenous population involved in this celebration. Pachamama, mother earth, is one of the main aspects in life of the indigenous people in Ecuador, related to respect for the nature and the universe. Inti Raymi is celebrated in the last weeks of June, in close relation to the harvest season on the agricultural calendar as the most important ancestral festival for the indigenous population in the Andean countries in honor of the sun god Inti. The meanings and practices of Inti Raymi express different meanings given to indigenous identity which does have a relation with the indigenous movement and their claim for cultural rights. This thesis analyzes how the celebrations of Inti Raymi are related to the strengthening of indigenous identity and the claim for cultural rights on national level in Ecuador.

For the indigenous population in Latin America the relation with the nation-state has always been problematic, indigenous people were placed in inferior position compared to the mestizos (Canessa 2005). State projects like *mestizaje* and *indigenismo* searched for ways to incorporate Indians to the nation state, it were not the indigenous people who made the decisions about how they were threatened and portrayed but this power has always been in hands of the *mestizo* state (Canessa 2006, Yashar 2005). The second part of the twentieth century is characterized by the emergence of indigenous movements, with a new focus on human rights (Kuper 2003, Yashar 2005). The upcoming indigenous movement helped the indigenous people to participate in the debate about their position in society. A significant response of the state was the implantation of pluri-ethnicity and multiculturalism, in Ecuador they refer to *un estado plurinacional*, which gave the indigenous people the recognition as a different ethnic group (Larrain 2000, Yashar 2005).

Ecuador has a population of more or less fourteen million people and a significant amount (around 25%) of this population is indigenous. The homogenous category of Indian incorporates many different groups (Clark & Becker 2007: 7) referred to as *pueblos y nacionalidades indígenas*. The majorities of indígenas live in the highlands and are often grouped under the global category of *Quichua* or *Kichwa*. They are part of the larger ethno linguistic Quechua group, the largest surviving

⁵ César Pilataxi is one of the main informants used in this thesis. He is from Cayambe and played a big role in the indigenous movement and identity politics in the last twenty years.

indigenous language in Latin America that stretches across the Andean highlands (Clark & Becker 2007: 10). In Ecuador the indigenous organization CONAIE⁶ developed in 1986 and is the strongest indigenous organization in Latin America (Yashar 2005).

The indigenous movement in Ecuador, under leading of CONAIE, wants to participate in the debate about indigenous culture. By strengthening the indigenous identity indigenous leaders try to achieve respect for indigenous traditions and culture (CONAIE, 2009), a central aspect of this is the link between indigenous identity and indigenous cultural heritage. Historical elements like traditional knowledge and indigenous spirituality come together in indigenous cultural expressions like dances, music and indigenous festivals (Robbins and Stamatopoulou 2004). The recuperation of history started 25 years ago as part of the process to strengthen indigenous identity (César Pilataxi, 2010). Inspired by the culture of their ancestors, rebellious indígenas tried to get the control on their indigenous cultural expressions. The recuperated celebration of the Inti Raymi celebration in Cayambe is an example of this. This is strongly related to ownership: by creating their own stage and meaning for these festivities, the indigenous population wanted to take control of their own cultural expressions. In this way a celebration like Inti Raymi can be considered a cultural right.

With this study I want to provide an insight on how indigenous identity and cultural rights can be analyzed through the meanings and practices of the celebration of Inti Raymi. I want to explore how indigenous people are claiming cultural rights in relation to their indigenous identity in a multicultural society. The central question used during this research is:

How to describe and understand the meanings and practices of the Inti Raymi festival in relation to indigenous identity and cultural rights in pluralistic Ecuador?

To answer this question I conducted five months of fieldwork in Ecuador, focused on indigenous organizations and indigenous people involved in the celebrations of Inti Raymi. The first part of the research I focused on indigenous organizations, mainly located in the capital city Quito. These indigenous organizations were important to obtain information about reflections on indigenous identity on national level and about cultural rights. The second part of the research I focused on the northern highlands of Ecuador to gather information about the meanings and practices of Inti Raymi and reflections on indigenous identity on a more local level.

Research location and population

The research is focused on the canton Cayambe, situated on the foot of the big snowed volcano top of *el Cayambe* and this is exactly on the equator line which marks the middle of the world, *mitad del mundo*. Because of flower production in the region, a lot of migrants moved to Cayambe from other Ecuadorian regions. This is why a lot of different indigenous ethnicities exist in Cayambe today⁷. The indigenous population in and around Cayambe refer to themselves as *Kayambis*. They have their own history, territory, and their cultural forms of organization, visions and traditions. The *Kayambis* are highly present in the indigenous movement; they are always attending mobilizations, protests and

⁶ Confederation of indigenous nationalities in Ecuador

⁷ <http://www.municipiocayambe.gov.ec/>

important meetings and congresses. They are proud to have some influential indigenous leaders coming from this canton. Dolores Cacaungo, Transito Amaguaña and others did have a lot of influence in the indigenous movement. Pueblo Kayambi is the umbrella organization of indigenous organizations in the region. The president is José Anrango and he, as well as the organization is close related to the indigenous movement in Ecuador. “We are together with our indigenous brothers from other Andean countries. We are indígenas, the authentic *Kichwas*, we are proud of our identity which we have to thank to our big leaders like Dolores Cacaungo, who started a big indigenous movement” (Pueblo Kayambi, 2009).

Research methodology

In order to gather data I made use of qualitative research methods. The most important methods were different types of interviews; informal, semi-structured, and structured, conversations, and participant observation. I upheld a field-diary and the notes were worked out every day on my notebook. To get in contact with indigenous organizations I used my networks in the cultural sector, which I created two years ago during an internship in Quito. Through contacts with the indigenous organizations CODENPE, CONAIE and ECUARUNARI I became closely related to people in the indigenous movement. By making use of the method participant observation to visit the offices, meetings, conferences and events, I have had many informal conversations with people related to the indigenous movement. To be present in public meetings I was able to get in close contact with people who became important (key) informants for this research, like Guillermo Churuchumbi (ECUARUNARI) and Angel Medina (CODENPE) who helped me to get in contact with people on the local level. Next to interviews and participant observation in indigenous organizations in total I have interviewed five informants from cultural organizations in Ecuador; like the cultural department of the municipality in both Quito and Cayambe, the organization IPANC and the Ministry of culture in Quito. By collecting information from both indigenous and mestizo/governmental/state organizations different opinions and discussions about cultural celebrations in Ecuador became clear.

On the more local level in Cayambe I came in contact with local indigenous organizations like Pueblo Kayambi and Radio Inti Pacha, using the contacts with indigenous organizations from Quito. Through these contacts it was easier to gain trust and to get in contact with the indigenous population of Cayambe. I interviewed both organizations and people from the communities involved in the celebrations of Inti Raymi in the region. Through contacts with the local indigenous organizations of the region Cayambe, Radio Inti Pacha and Pueblo Kayambi, I was able play a role within the preparation for the celebrations of Inti Raymi. Together with people from these organizations I was present at meetings, events, community-visits, office meetings and activities related to the preparation and celebration of the festival in Cayambe. By participating in these activities I have held more than ten semi-structured and structured interviews, with people involved in the celebrations of Inti Raymi on organization or community level. All people involved in this research are included as attachment of this thesis.

Content structure

This thesis contains two parts, a theoretical part and an empirical part. The first two chapters contain the theoretical foundation and the context needed for better understanding of the empirical chapter. Clear analyzes of indigenous identity and cultural rights can be found in the first chapter. It shows reflections on the theory about being indigenous and the changing relations between indigenous

people and the state in Latin America. Through the upcoming indigenous movements indigenous people want to take place in the debate about their position in society and about (cultural) rights. In relation with indigenous identity and cultural rights, I will reflect on theories about cultural celebrations with a focus on the Andean countries in the second chapter. This chapter also contains a description of the Inti Raymi festival which is contextualized in the case of Cayambe in Ecuador. To understand how the Inti Raymi was recuperated in Cayambe, in a process to strengthen indigenous identity and recover the culture of indigenous ancestors, I will analyze this in chapter three. It explains how, why and who the celebrations in the end of June in Cayambe changed over the last years. To understand what it means to be indigenous in Ecuador, with a focus on Cayambe, reflections on indigenous identity are analyzed in chapter three. This chapter reflects on 'being indigenous' and illustrates the indigenous population in Ecuador. The strong connection between the indigenous celebration of Inti Raymi and indigenous rights becomes clear in the last empirical chapter. It describes the contemporary celebrations of Inti Raymi and analyzes the relations of these festivities with indigenous identity and the claim for cultural rights.



Indigenous people dancing during the celebrations of Inti Raymi at the sacred place Puntiatzil, Cayambe 2010

Chapter one – Being indigenous in Latin America

With a focus on the indigenous population of Ecuador it is important to understand the position of the indigenous people in Latin America. This chapter reflects on *being indigenous* in Latin America, by analyzing the literature on indigenous identity and the changing relations between the indigenous people and the state in Latin America. I want to explain the emerging of the indigenous movement in Latin America and the influence of this movement on the position of indigenous people in society. Later it will become clear that the indigenous movement has influence on indigenous identity and the claim cultural rights. These notions are later going to be analyzed through the celebrations of Inti Raymi. The theoretical concepts in this chapter will also be explained in the context of Ecuador.

1.1 The feeling of 'indigeness'

The concept of identity is complicated, due to its diversity of applications in different fields of study, but also because identity is a dynamic process. According to Larrain the construction of identities is a social process and social expectations of others are essential (Larrain 2000: 24). Before the new visions on indigenous identity, which I will explain later, there were essential notions and primordialist notions of identity. 'Essentialists' or 'primordialists' considered ethnic groups as homogeneous and isolated entities, ethnicity was considered as something that was historically defined and something unchangeable (Rasch 2008). Political elites considered the Indian inferior to other groups in society. For these political elites the primordial and essentialist views on culture could not provide a framework for dealing with modernity and the indigenous identity, even though the indigenous population had many relationships with mestizo culture and spoke Spanish (Rasch 2008). After these essentialist and primordial views on identity, scholars changed their vision. Cultural content should not be the focus of identity research anymore, now the emergence of ethnic identities was explained through a focus on the boundaries between ethnic groups and on how their contact and interactions had impact on their ethnic identity. Scholars came to approach that Indians were not simply seen as cultural enclaves but as an oppressed group of peoples (Rasch 2008).

Today Western scholars have developed a more constructionist view of the concept of indigenous identity. Larrain explains how identity is reconstructed and redefined continuously. By explaining identity as a construct, there are three important elements: first Larrain points out the presence of 'group allegiances' (like religion, profession, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, class and nationality), these allegiances are culturally determined and add to specify the focus and the sense of identity. The second element is the material element of identity; the projections of 'their self', their own qualities into them according to their own image. Through this material aspect identity can be related to consumption and to traditional and cultural aspects. In the third place Larrain notes the existence of 'others', our self-image involves our relations to other persons. These 'others' are people whose views about us we internalize. The process of differentiation from others is important for the construction of your own identity (Larrain 2000: 25-26). According to Warren the constructionist interpretation is a process of representation, negotiation, struggle and appropriation of identity. It is about how culture changes and not why (Warren 1978). Thus, identities are created within a

framework which is shaped by “historical processes, pre-existing elements of communities and culture all shape collective identities, bonding individual members to the imagined community through a shared past and a common future (Wilson 1995: 12)”. In relation to the notions about indigenous identity there is a current debate about indigenous peoples in the world and the concept of ‘indigenusness’ and ‘indigenity’ which will be analyzed in the next paragraph.

By using two different views on the concept on indigenous identity and the approaches of ‘indigenusness’ I want to show the stratification of the concept of identity. Adam Kuper (2003) shows the difficulty of defining and identifying ‘indigenous people’ and he mentions that names used for particular indigenous peoples over all continents have undergone many changes. Kuper has a critical view on the concept of ‘indigenusness’, for him it is an empty concept and he accuses the idea of an ‘indigenous people’ as being ‘essentialist’. ‘Indigenous’ is just a new word for ‘primitive’, according to Kuper. It is the western society that defines indigenusness and controls decision making on indigenous problems, but nowadays Indigenous peoples have the potential for redefining ‘indigenusness’ (Kuper 2003: 396). Not all scholars agree with what Kuper states about the emptiness of the concept. Alan Barnhard (2006) mentions that when we call people indigenous it means more than that the people of a country are indigenous to that country. He does agree with Kuper that the definition of ‘indigenous’ is messy, but he mentions that this can be a very useful concept. He does agree with Kuper that an essentialist notion of indigenous peoples is philosophically problematic, but he disagrees on the implication of this for the political strategies of those seeking to reclaim lands of their ancestors or to link their causes with other ‘indigenous’ causes in the world (Barnhard 2006)

According to both Kuper and Barnhard, the notion of indigenusness, also called ‘indigenity’, is a Western construct and claims to it follow a western social construction of indigenous authenticity. Alan Barnhard notes about the ‘indigenous’ concept that it is “an ideological and social construct recognized by those who claim the status (Barnhard 2006: 7)”. According to him, if one could free the idea from its association with the ‘primitive’, the idea of ‘indigenous people’ might become acceptable. Barnhard mentions that self-definition is the fact that diverse groups may see themselves as indigenous peoples (Barnhard 2006: 9). According to Kneight, a community is Indian if it considers itself Indian, whatever its social and cultural make-up; thus, at the individual level, “an Indian is one who feels that he belongs to an indigenous community’, while “Indians are socially defined, with race being used as common but genetically unsound shorthand for ethnicity (Kneight 1990: 75)”. Thus it is important to understand that the term ‘indigenous’ has different meanings and definitions. ‘Indigenusness’ is an ideological and social construct. By doing research on indigenous identity the notion of self-definition of ‘being indigenous’ is one of the key elements to reflect on indigenous identity. Taking this into account it is important to explain how people included in this research reflect on their indigenous identity, also during the celebration of Inti Raymi. This will be analyzed in chapter four of this thesis.

1.2 Indigenous peoples and their changing relation with the state in Latin America

Recently there is an increasing indigenous mobilization in Latin America. Indigenous organizations and the indigenous movement claim their cultural rights, which include indigenous cultural expressions and celebrations like the Inti Raymi festival. To claim cultural rights through indigenous

cultural celebrations is something what is happening recently. Indigenous people and the state in Latin America have had a problematic relationship for a long time. The state has always placed the indigenous people in a marginalized position compared to the mestizo (Canessa 2005). Baud explains the relationship between state projects in Latin America as a variation between forms of state formation 'from below' and 'from above'. "On the one hand, the state is seen to be fragmented and contradictory; on the other, the indigenous peasant population makes a relentless effort to influence that same state and to create more favorable contractions at the local level (Baud 2007: 73)". Particularly in the Andean countries this triangular relationship links the regional elites, the indigenous populations and the state together. These relationships are showing the complex results of implementing ideologies of progress in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's in Latin America (Baud, 2007: 37, Clark 2007).

The marginalized position of the indigenous population is a result from the old *hacienda* system. The hacienda was a system of exploitation based on large holdings and on the power of the land-owning class. Indigenous groups were no longer referred to as Indians but as peasants who were to be assimilated into urban modernity which was defined by the new Western *mestizo* political elites (Himpele 2008, De la Torre 2000). After the hacienda agrarian reform laws performed by military regimes in the 1960s and 1970s reduced the power of the large land-owning class. These changes in power relations allowed a rise of an Indian middle class and the consolidation of indigenous organizations in a new international context that favors indigenous rights (Yashar 2005, De la Torre 2000). The relationships between the state and indigenous peoples show the complex results of implementing ideologies of progress in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's in Latin America (Clark 2007). Two of these implemented ideologies are *mestizaje* and *indigenismo*, which will be explained in the next paragraph.

The early decades of the twentieth century in Latin America were marked by nationalist racism and the exclusion of the Indian. In this period there was the idea of *mestizaje*, which Knight defines as "the idea to mix the race of mestizos and indigenous peoples as a new national ideal race". The process of *mestizaje*, sometimes seen as basically racial, is in fact social: mestizo is an achieved as well as an ascribed status, even though achievement may be difficult and, in the case of communities, may span decades (Knight 1990: 73)." Scholars pointed out that in the ideology of *mestizaje* the indigenous traditions were earlier mechanisms of the mistreatment by the Spaniards and that the indigenous population only existed in relation to the *ladino*, or mestizo identity. They started to focus on how the content of the indigenous culture changed, while the socioeconomic, subordinate, position of indigenous persons stayed the same (Warren 1978). Through *mestizaje* the indigenous population should be mixed with the mestizos and this became the ideal citizen. The idea of *mestizaje* was popular by the rising middle class but was characterized by a profound ambivalence toward Indians (Canessa 2005: 13).

A closely related important movement of the twentieth century is the intellectual, political and artistic movement in Latin America called *Indigenismo*. This movement sought to valorize indigenous culture in many Latin American countries in relation with national and regional identity (Canessa 2006). In the first half of the twentieth century *indigenismo* was a powerful discourse with important consequences also for the second half of this century. *Indigenismo* brought a literary, political, cultural and scientific approach that wanted to restore the value of the Indian population. It also wanted to incorporate the indigenous population in the dominant mestizo population, reserving the

folkloristic and exotic cultural traits of the authentic Indians. This occurred on the level of museums, but not on the level of the daily life. *Indigenismo* was an essential aspect in the ideology of the national population of Latin America, with the aim to create a new identity which was based on the mestizo. It is a process whereby the rising elites in Latin America became contented with their own mixed cultural heritage, with the mestizo as central symbol (Canessa 2006).

Important in this explanation is the point that the mestizo was the central iconic citizen in this practice. As a part of the *indigenismo* process, indigenous culture was overestimated. Through the detaching of indigenous cultural elements from the reality of indigenous life in the communities, folklorization occurred (Rasch 2008: 51). Indigenous folklore became popular and in order to create a new national identity the state sponsored folklore festivals. They encouraged folkloric dances in schools and enabled folklore troupes to tour through Latin America. The indigenous culture as it became national culture was folkloric and the principal nation building project was to assimilate Indians into a national mestizo Spanish-speaking culture (Canessa 2005). According to Yashar, *indigenismo* could also bring positive outcomes to indigenous populations. It countered ethnic arrogance and condescension; it made the indigenous social question more visible and opened the way for later indigenous political and cultural movements (Yashar 2005).

What we can see through the state's projects of the hacienda system and later *mestizaje* and *indigenismo*, is that ideas about how to incorporate Indians into society were changing. There is still a lot of racism against indigenous people in Latin American countries. In recent decades, ethnic identity and racism have emerged as social, political and scholarly concerns. In the whole world ethnic groups are coming together, generating social movements that seek for recognition for their ethnic identity, autonomy and diversity (Yashar 2005). In the next paragraph these theories will be explained with a focus on Ecuador.

In Ecuador

In colonial times Ecuadorian Indians had a particular status within society. Indians were placed in *Repúblicas de los Indios*, this separated the 'Indian republic' with the 'Spanish republic'. According to a law in 1821, Indian communal lands were to be distributed to the heads of Indian families, and members of indigenous communities had to pay tributes. Until 1857, with the abolition of tribute, Indians continued to belong to a separate republic within the state. Until the nineteenth century the distinction between citizens and Indians was primarily based on the survival of a colonial institution. In 1964 the law abolished Ecuador's feudal *huasipungo*-system which led to the expropriation of some *haciendas* and former Church lands in the highlands. The return to democracy in 1979 saw new attempts to incorporate Indians into the nation state (Sawyer 2004, Clark & Becker 2007).

The Economic boom in the second part of the twentieth century led to rapid urbanization, resulting in a social chaos. In this period Ecuador's nationalist political elites, civilian and military, saw the need to 'develop' and 'modernize' their country (Clark, 1998). For the political elites the fundamental obstacle preventing Ecuador from modernizing lay in the 'backwardness' of its indigenous and nonwhite population (Beck & Mijeski 2000: 121). The Indigenous population of Ecuador formed the majority and was waiting for the state to reach out to them to find opportunities to raise the standard of living (Clark: 1998). The assumption of Ecuador's national ideology of *mestizaje* was that Indians would automatically become real Ecuadorians and identify themselves with the national

culture if they were educated. If an Indígena learned Spanish, left behind his poncho and moved to the city, he immediately was part of the national culture as a Mestizo (Beck & Mijeski 2000, Clark 1998: 203). Everybody could potentially become a full member the Ecuadorian nation, thus the Indígenas became the shadowy form of the national population and their presence was simultaneously emphasized and ignored in social reform projects and national ideology (Back and Mijeski 2000). Being indigenous was not something to be proud of, the indigenous position in Ecuadorian society was marked by social and political exclusion and indigenous people were portrayed as poor peasants without political representation.

1.3 The indigenous movement and their claim for rights

Over the past twenty years there has been an increase in indigenous mobilization and the content of their demands has been changed profoundly (Yashar 2005). The emerge of indigenous movements around the 1980s was not only about land or hunting rights anymore, but it also had to deal with culture and identity. a new focus on human rights emerged, which also included cultural rights (Kuper 2003: 390). In the Andean countries indigenous mobilizations pushed their agendas for human rights, land reforms, education, and economic policies onto their national political stages; indigenous actors have entered into electoral politics where they are making claims specific to their status as native citizens (Yashar 2005, Himpele 2008). Organizations of indigenous people had been formed and the main thing was to identify new international thinking on 'indigenous' issues as described above. The public speaking of the indigenous leaders became more influenced by international agencies and NGOs, indigenous leaders do meet in many national and international conferences, often linked to international networks (Canessa 2006, Yashar 2005).

One of the responses of the state on the increasing indigenous movement has been institutional and constitutional reform which resulted in the recognition of pluri-ethnicity and multiculturalism (Yashar 2005). This changes the position of indigenous people, because the implementation of pluri-ethnicity and multiculturalism by the state gives them recognition as different ethnic group. As a reaction to this it became important to rethink the position of the indigenous population in society in the 1960s and 1970s (Larrain 2000, Yashar 2005). Around the 1980s indigenous organizations shared a commitment to organize and defend 'Indians as Indians' and they were fundamentally demanding that the promise of democracy should be fulfilled and that the state legally recognizes indigenous community rights to land and local forms of governance (Yashar 2005: 27). There was a fusion of material and cultural demands around the 1980s. Indigenous organizations were arguing that the loss of land was the same as the loss of culture and indigenous identity (Yashar 2005: 133). Land demands were representing a resistance of the space in which indigenous people describe themselves. "This understanding of 'land' is the fundamental base for the physical and cultural survival of our [indigenous] peoples" (Yashar 2005: 140). Thus the demand for land also included the right to achieve respect for indigenous traditions and culture. For the indigenous people it became important to participate in the debates themselves, to get their own right to speak and right to decide about their land and culture and that not the others decided about the indigenous population and their interests.

In Ecuador

Ecuadorian Indian intellectuals appropriated social and political discourses from the national and international arena and used these as groundwork for a movement that no longer spoke for the elite Indians, but through the voice of the indigenous population itself (Baud 2007: 75). Building on earlier regional organizations, CONAIE developed in 1986 out of CONFENAIE⁸ in the Amazon, and ECUARUNARI⁹ in the Andean Highlands. They demand a redefinition of citizenship that recognized indigenous rights to cultural distinctiveness and political autonomy (Eckstein 2001: 390, Yashar 2005). Since its formation in 1986, CONAIE has led the Indigenous population of Ecuador from relative isolation to a position at center stage of Ecuadorian society. This indigenous movement played a critical role in the countrywide protests, fueled by official increases in oil prices and a substantial drop in the value of the country's currency that deposed two democratically elected presidents. (Eckstein 2001, Sawyer 2004, Yashar 2005).

For CONAIE race as well as ethnicity became a basis of collective identity and collective mobilization for change. They give the indigenous people a voice in the rapidly changing world (CONAIE, 2009). CONAIE in general served to channel localized ethnic solidarities into an ethnic movement through which a new indigenous identity was socially constructed (Eckstein 2001: 390). In Ecuador the indigenous demands are not focused on the search for memory but to strengthen the indigenous identity and the demand for equal rights (Eckstein 2001, Yashar 2005). Important is CONAIE's view on multiculturalism, which states that: "a *plurinational* state respects and encourages the socio-cultural diversity of the population of Ecuador", in addition to this CONAIE notes that: "The state has to strengthen peoples and nationalities' cultural identity and their way of organizing socially and economically. However, the state has to simultaneously guarantee the unity on national level. This is reached by an intercultural dialogue between the people and nationalities that form the Ecuadorian society (CONAIE)". Thus CONAIE places itself as part of the dialogue about to strengthen the cultural identity of Ecuador on national level. To strengthen the cultural identity is important for this organization, this is why they are promoting indigenous languages and culture and CONAIE also teaches new generations be proud on their indigeness. CONAIE does also play a role in the promotion of celebrations and ceremonies, including the Inti Raymi festival (CONAIE, 2010).

Indigenous rights are claimed by different indigenous organizations; together these form the indigenous movement. The indigenous movement does also have a political voice with the indigenous party Pachakutik. The rights are claimed through congresses and assemblies, and also by indigenous marches. During indigenous marches the indigenous population shows their voice about specific themes and to show their presence in Ecuador. On meetings and conferences about new laws the indigenous movement shows their opinion and voice. If the indigenous movement does not agree, and they wanted change control in law proposals they make new proposals. Their ideas and interests are presented to the government and published on their websites. An example of this is what just happened in Ecuador with the water law; the government discussed about the water laws and decided to change these. The indigenous movement interpreted this as a privatization of water and did not agree with the decisions of the government. They presented their proposals about how to change this, but these were not accepted by the government. This is why CONAIE organized various marches and mobilizations to show Ecuador and the world that they did not agree. It shows

⁸ Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana

⁹ Ecuador Runacunapac Riccharimui

that the relation between the indigenous people and the state still is not constant and that the indigenous movement does not have a strong political voice in Ecuador.

1.4 Claiming cultural rights

Related to indigenous peoples, one of the reasons of the interest in cultural rights has emerged out of movements of indigenous peoples and other minorities (Robbins and Stamatopoulou 2004: 424). Robbins and Stamatopoulou (2004) reflect on culture and cultural rights, they argue that “cultural rights offer an alternative and too often underutilized foundation for defending and extending group rights, and in particular a ground for possible resolution of conflicts over indigenous rights that cannot be resolved in terms of self-determination” (Robbins and Stamatopoulou 2004: 426). Taking this into account I want to say that there is a difference between individual- and group rights, reflecting on cultural rights. Through cultural rights, indigenous people can achieve political goals. Cultural rights have a profound political significance because they are strongly interrelated with identity (Robbins and Stamatopoulou 2004), and a basis to claim group rights.

The ILO Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal peoples states that “self-identifications as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply” (ILO convention 169). As mentioned before the self-identification as indigenous group or community is an important criterion referring to indigenous cultural rights. The Convention notes that “governments shall have the responsibility for developing co-ordinate and systematic action to protect the rights of these peoples [indigenous peoples] and to guarantee respect for their integrity.” This includes “the measure for promoting the full realization of the social, economic and cultural rights of these peoples with respect for their social and cultural identity, their customs and traditions and their institutions (Article 2, ILO convention 169).” This shows that there is a close relation between indigenous cultural rights and their cultural identity, costumes and traditions. According to Robbins and Stamatopoulou, material claims are often pressed in name of a right to cultural heritage. Indigenous peoples are claiming protection for their cultural heritage and their traditional knowledge, for example the assertion of intellectual property rights to dances, music and festivals (Robbins and Stamatopoulou 2004: 430). Taking this into account, the Andean Inti Raymi festival could be considered a right to indigenous cultural heritage and traditional knowledge.

In Ecuador

Important to take into account about indigenous rights in Ecuador is the concept of a multicultural state, in Ecuador the indigenous leaders refer to *un Estado Plurinacional*. Including respect to indigenous symbolism and culture. As described in the document of Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas 2010: *Respeto a nuestros símbolos, por nuestro camino y horizonte de vivir bien, encuentran cada vez mayor apoyo y adhesión en el mundo porque se constituyen en una respuesta ante la crisis de vida*. That Ecuador is a pluralistic state means that they recognize more than just one different culture and nationalities; this is why they recognize more than 14 different *pueblos y nacionalidades indígenas*. It means that there are diverse cultures, with all the same respect and rights. Another important aspect to take in account is the concept of Sumak Kawsay, which means *el buen vivir*, is an ideology to have a better life and to join a better quality of life (*Buen vivir/ Vivir Bien*, CAOI 2010). This concept is used a lot in the indigenous movement in Ecuador to

refer to indigenous rights, the right to have a 'good life'. *Sumak Kawsay* is not just something for the indigenous population of Ecuador; it can also be used by mestizos.

The indigenous movement under leading of CONAIE has given birth to Ecuador's indigenous politicians, but they do not necessarily maintain the numerous political currents that have emerged in the country. "CONAIE forced Ecuadorian politicians to take note of indigenous people and to grant them the hearing that they had been denied. It placed discussions of culture, autonomy, land, territory, and education on the national political agenda" (Yashar 2005: 151). The indigenous people refer to the part of rights *de las comunidades, pueblos y nacionalidades* in the constitution of Ecuador (2008). César Pilataxi from Cayambe explains "In the constitution of 2008, in article 57, there are the rights of the *pueblos y nacionalidades indígenas*. There are 22 chapters in which they recognize our rights, including Cultural rights. It is about the recovery of our own symbols, our festivities, our own instruments, our clothing; all what constitutionally is a right" (César Pilataxi June 2010).

According to the Ministry of Culture there exists a proposal for a new culture law but this didn't pass through yet. In the document *Ley de Cultura* can be found all aspects about this possible cultural law in Ecuador and it also contains a part where they talk about cultural rights. They define cultural rights as follow: "They are inherent to human dignity and part of human rights. Cultural rights should be interpreted according to the principles of universality, indivisibility and interdependence. They may be exercised and claimed by individuals, communities and *pueblos y nacionalidades*." The six articles belonging to the cultural rights are: Cultural identity, Liberty of creation, Practice of cultural and artistic activities, Social and cultural memory, Ancestral knowledge, celebrations and rituals, and participation in public places.¹⁰ These elements, part of the cultural rights according to the Ministry of Culture, are not in the constitution yet, but according to them this will be soon in process to integrate into the constitution. The aspects of 'Ancestral Knowledge and the social and cultural memory' can be linked about what the indigenous people use to 'recuperate the history'. This does have a relation with the concept of *Sumak Kawsay* earlier explained in this paragraph, because this concept inspires the "reconstruction of the cultural identity of the indigenous population and the ancestral cultural heritage with the reconstruction of antique knowledge. It includes the national reconstruction of the right to have relations with Pachamama and the integral harmony with the nature." (Buen vivir/ Vivir bien 2010). That cultural rights and the claim of these is close related to indigenous celebrations in contemporary Ecuador will be described in the next chapter.

¹⁰ (Document *Ley de culturas; Derechos culturales* Ministerio de Cultura del Ecuador, 2007)

Chapter two – Indigenous celebrations as a practice of cultural rights

The celebration of Inti Raymi can be considered a practice of cultural rights. This raises questions about the relations between indigenous celebrations and cultural rights, which I am going to explore theoretically in this chapter. This chapter reflects on indigenous celebrations in a multicultural society and how these celebrations contribute to community feeling and the strengthening of indigenous identity. It will analyze these themes and describe the main elements of the Inti Raymi celebrations in the context of Ecuador, and Cayambe. The first paragraphs of this chapter intend to explore public events, where I will make use of the concept public place and space, because the physical movement between different places does have an important social and symbolic importance during indigenous festivals. By analyzing this it helps to explain how people give meaning to events and also how events give meaning to people, their culture and identity. The second part of this chapter reflects on the region where the fieldwork is conducted, the region Cayambe. These paragraphs will describe the celebrations of Inti Raymi in this region.

2.1 Cultural events in a multicultural society

Rachel Corr (2003) shows that in Andean countries 'traditional' knowledge of sacred places and the history of the region has become as symbol of cultural heritage and local identity. Sacred places in a region do have a central place in celebrations and festivals and these are not seen as only a symbol of cultural heritage but also as a part of their lived experience. One of the most important sacred places in Cayambe is Puntiatzli, which will explicitly be described in the empirical chapters. Corr argues that the construction of a cultural heritage serves to define the collective self as opposed to 'others' who do not share the same cultural heritage. In Ecuador, as she shows, cultural heritage is crucial to the self-definition of indigenous ethnic groups and a key element in the indigenous rights movement within the nation state (Corr 2003). Corr also points out that the sponsorship and payment of an indigenous festival has to deal with the old 'cargo' system, whereby 'a man was expected to pass through a series of hierarchical sponsorship positions' (Corr 2003: 41). Nowadays festivals and celebrations are organized by village sectors and all households in the village are paying contributions to fund the event (Bourque 1994). The changes in the payments and organization of the festival can be seen as a way of claiming cultural rights, where indigenous people are now able to make their own decisions related to their cultural expressions. The way payments are important in a cultural event or festival is important to take in account for the festivities in the region of Cayambe.

According to Bourque, the social landscape is also a religious one which is populated by saints and nature spirits. During indigenous celebrations there are representations of saints, animals and nature spirits in dances and processions (Bourque 1994). Cultural heritage is important in cultural events which creates a bond between their ancestors and the indigenous people. To practice the culture of their ancestors it makes the indigenous people more proud on their indigenousness. In the previous chapter it became clear that the notion of self identification is important reflecting on indigenous identity. As Wibbelsman shows, cultural events are important for indigenous communities to express their identity, which are important for the self-definition of indigenous ethnic groups. Wibbelsman (2005) notes that the misappropriation of symbols of authority and the empowerment of indigenous

people in historically mestizo dominated realms continues to underline cultural contrast rather than integration” (Wibbelsman 2005). According to both Bourque and Corr, indigenous traditional knowledge is an important notion of indigenous cultural heritage and local identity. This shows again that there is a close relation between cultural identity, cultural heritage and cultural rights.

2.2 Cultural events and public place and space

Culture and representation are related to means of our social life and our knowledge. Symbolic culture is the medium in which groups constitute and represent themselves and their differences to themselves and others (Himpele 2008). During an event the whole community is included in the celebration. This alters the ties of community membership and creates closer bonds between households and community members. Festivals do remind individuals of the importance of the community as a source of identity and strength (Bourque 1994: 241). Wibbelsman shows that the landmarks and historical and social changes of the landscape in the region are important for the collective association with the place. “Recognition of the surroundings and knowledge of the stories told in connection to the land helped not only of where people *were*, but also of *who* they were (Wibbelsman 2005: 210)”. Corr (2003) calls this ‘physical territory’ and she mentions that the festival not only emphasizes the structure of social groups but also links various groups to a formation of ‘physical territory’. This is also called ‘socialization’ of space and is an aspect of rituals widespread in the Andes (Corr 2003).

Bourque (1994) describes Andean Festivals and their spatial meaning. She argues that the village is an example of a public place, with a social meaning. Public areas are associated with the village as a whole and during festivals, villagers display unity as they are doing their activities (for example dancing and drinking) related to the festival. She notes that the movement between different public places (church, plaza, houses) in Andean indigenous festivals is important. There are continue shifts from place to place, which could be from outside to inside the community or in different villages of the region. Bourque (1994) notes that distinctions people make between different places reflects features that are well-known in social, economic, political and religious organization. ‘Movement in space involves the definition of boundaries and groups which are then manipulated and redefined in an effort to harness human, natural, and supernatural power’ (Bourque 1994: 241). Most of the time it are the bands or the dance groups who are the most important in the movement between places. The move from different places will be leaded by the music or dance group. The movement between different public places will help me to understand how indigenous people give meaning to the places and to the activities during the festival.

2.3 Indigenous festivals in Ecuador

An important part of the cultural heritage and the content of indigenous festivals is the ‘festival calendar’ of the past. This so called ‘festival calendar’ played a crucial function in the organization of seasonal rhythms of agricultural, *fiestas*, celebrations and other aspects of communal life (Larson 2004: 58). In the region of Cayambe the festivities of Inti Raymi are closely related to the agricultural calendar, and the festival takes place in the period of the harvest season. The Spaniards implemented the Catholic celebration of San Pedro next to these festivities of the harvest season, which mixed up

these two festivities. For centuries the people from the Andean countries have appropriated and transplanted Christian symbols and institutions so that Christian and indigenous gods could be together in dynamic cultural religious blends (syncretism). The indigenous peoples used the Christian gods and devils and combined them with of the Andean religious practices and specific local gods, sacred places or rituals (Larrain 2000). The Ecuadorian indigenous festivals and traditional culture are something static or self contained, locked into a continuous cycle of reappearance. The tradition in these festivities exists because it is being produced and reproduced constantly. These traditions are dynamic, heterogeneous and ambiguous processes, constantly borrowing, lending, and changing (Wibbelsman 1998). A reassessment of ritual and myth challenges us to link about continuity and change, both conservation of form and new cultural meaning, not in contrast to each other, but in interdependence (Wibbelsman 1998: 5). This can be considered as a way to see cultural rights as a foundation for defending and extending group rights. Claims that are made are often pressed in a name of right to cultural heritage, and cultural events are an important assertion of this (Robbins and Stamatopoulou 2004).

2.4 Inti Raymi

The Inti Raymi is the most inspirational expression of gratitude to Father Sun, held at the 21th of June, when the position of the sun is disposed to the northwest. In the Andean cosmic vision, the Inti Raymi is a spiritual ceremony related to Father Sun, a God who creates life in nature. In the Andean world, which depends on solar energy, the quantity and quality of agricultural production is important. Also significant is the Andean knowledge that is contrasted with natural science and the process of photosynthesis, where sunlight plays a crucial role in the life of plants and food. The Andean knowledge, wisdom, science and technology turn around the cycles which have daily contact with Pachamama. The most four important Andean celebrations rotate around agro-ecological cycles: Vital, Ritual and Astral (Flyer Inti Raymi Cañar, 2009).

Today the Inti Raymi is one of the most important ancestral celebrations in the Andean communities of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. In Ecuador the Inti Raymi is the strongest celebration of the indigenous communities and the celebrations are the strongest in the Northern Province Imbabura; there the festival has become commercial and also a touristy attraction. Indigenous communities are visiting sacred places, such as waterfalls and holy waters to carry out communitarian rituals. This has to deal with the Andean cosmovision. These rituals allow spiritual purification of the human being, the recuperation of energy and revitalization of the relationship with Pachamama. The festivity of the Inti Raymi is closely related to the cultural, historical and natural treasure in the Andes. Important in the celebrations of Inti Raymi is the use of representations of saints, animals and nature spirits in dances, music and processions¹¹.

Inti Raymi Ecuador

The Inti Raymi festival is one of the four important Andean celebrations (Kolla or killa Raymi, Kapak Raymi, Inti Raymi and Pawkar Raymi) in Ecuador. These festivities are related to the *Cruz Andina*, or harvest calendar, this calendar has a close relation to astronomical views of the indigenous populations and ideas, but the celebrations are not always on these exact dates. According to Manuel Espinosa, director of Culture in the municipality of Quito, exact dates for these Andean

¹¹ http://www.exploringecuador.com/en_ar_inti_raymi.htm

festivities do not exist, but it is related to different periods in the year. This in strong relation to the nature and the four elements: sun, water, fire and air (Manuel Espinosa, March 2010). According to José Solorzano, the director of Culture in the municipality of Cayambe, there was a transformation of indigenous festivities to religious festivities, called Catholic Syncretism. The Spaniards changed the names of the celebrations in names of catholic festivities; this is why a lot of indigenous festivities are still celebrated but with other names (Jose Solorzano, 2010). This will become clear in the empirical chapters. This scheme shows the Andean celebrations and the Catholic celebrations implemented by the Spaniards close related to each other.

Andean celebrations	Catholic celebrations	Calender
Pawkar Raymi	Carnaval/ Semana Santa	(21th of) March
Inti Raymi	Corpus Christi	(21th of) June
Killa Raymi	Romería a Santuarios de Virgenes	(21th of) September
Kapak Raymi	Navidad	(21th of) December

Not in all Ecuadorian regions all these four festivals are celebrated. A lot of regions lost their tradition and also the names and meanings of the festivals changed. In Cayambe the celebrations of Inti Raymi are celebrated on the same time with the Catholic festival San Pedro. In the theoretical chapters I will show how the indigenous population separates themselves from the festival of San Pedro in Cayambe. This is embedded in the national ideas to strengthen indigenous identity by recuperate their history, to go back to their ancestral celebrations

Inti Raymi in the region of Cayambe

During the whole year there are several celebrations and cultural activities, but the most important month is June, when both San Pedro and Inti Raymi take place. In Cayambe they refer to the *mitad del mundo*, the middle of the world, talking about the festivities in June. Nowadays the indigenous population of Cayambe celebrates Inti Raymi and the mestizo population celebrates San Pedro, which will be pointed out in the next chapter.

The celebration of Inti Raymi is not related to a specific date, but it is a period of celebrations and reunions with the family and community. The festivities in this period are not only concentrated in the centre of Cayambe, in all communities local community organizations and the people organize their own festivities related to the celebration of Inti Raymi. That the Inti Raymi is a celebration close related to the harvest season will be described further in the last chapter of this thesis Important for the indigenous population in the celebration is the sacred place Puntiatzil. ‘The big temple of the sun’, which is located right in the middle of the world, the ancient path of the sun, a few blocks away from the main park of the city Cayambe. Here they have the most grandiose ritual during Inti Raymi that shows worship to the sun god where they thank Pachamama for the good harvest. The 29th of June is the strongest festival day for both Inti Raymi and San Pedro, all

communities are coming together to the main square of the center for the *toma de la plaza*. This means: dancing, music, food, drinks and a lot of people from all different identities (mestizo, indígena, extranjera, etc.). Around 13.00 PM the indigenous people are going to their sacred place Puntiatzil. The mestizos are dancing in the park or are going to other places around the city center.

The main activities of the Inti Raymi in Cayambe, are organized by indigenous umbrella organization Pueblo Kayambi, which are ordered in the following scheme:

Celebrations	Date and Place	Responsible
Festival de coplas	20 th of June Centre Cayambe	Radio Inti Pacha / Pueblo Kayambi
Toma de la plaza	29 th of June Centre and Puntiatzil	Pueblo Kayambi
Election ñusta	29 th of June Puntiatzil	Pueblo Kayambi

During the Inti Raymi there are few characters that are present in the different dance-groups; these have a spiritual meaning for the people involved in the celebrations. One of the most important and most seen personages during the Inti Raymi festival is the *Diabluma*. In other regions of Ecuador the name is *Diablo Uma*. This is the head of the Sun God (Inti) and the horns (12, for each month one) are the sun rays. There different *diabluma* masks in all colors and with other prints. There are other personages seen during the festivities, as clowns, devils and men dressed in woman’s clothes. In the next part of this thesis, the empirical chapters, the meanings and practices of Inti Raymi in Cayambe become understandable. I will point out how these festivities were recuperated about 25 years ago and how these celebrations are still important for the people celebrating this.



Diabluma, Inti Raymi Cayambe 2010

Chapter three –The recuperation of Inti Raymi

The streets of Cayambe are full of people, dancing, eating, drinking and celebrating. All shops are open and there are hundreds of stalls with all kind of food and drinks. There is music all over the place and people are selling things from out of their houses and they invite people to eat, to drink and to dance together. The central square in front of the church is the most crowded place I have ever seen. Thousands of people, indígenas and mestizos are dancing and singing, in small groups of about 20 people they are dancing in circles, with all kind of instruments leaded by flouts and guitars. The people are all dressed up in their most beautiful and colorful clothes, with some wearing costumes of clowns and *diablumas*. All these people are dancing because it is the 29th of June, the celebration of the sun. But, when the afternoon begins the indigenous people start to walk up to the sacred place named Puntiatzil, to celebrate 'their' Inti Raymi. The mestizos stay in the city center, to dance in front of the church for the holy San Pedro... (Observations 29th of June, 2010).

Described above is the dancing ritual *Toma de la plaza* on the 29th of June during the festivities of San Pedro and Inti Raymi in Cayambe. For years all people in the canton Cayambe celebrated just one festival, the one of San Pedro in the end of June. The festival of San Pedro is a Catholic celebration, implemented by the Spaniards during the colonization. During their cultural exchange, the Spaniards placed this event on the 29th of June, in honor of the Christian apostle Pedro, close to the celebrations of the Sun which the indigenous people were used to celebrate this period. 24 years ago, the indigenous population of Cayambe started the process to separate themselves from the festival of San Pedro, and they created their own festival with the name Inti Raymi. The creation of their own festival is part of the process to recuperate the history which became an important discussion for the indigenous population in Ecuador during their search for indigenous identity in the last twenty years.

This chapter illustrates the process of how indigenous leaders recuperated the Inti Raymi festivities in Cayambe by changing the name of the festival, changing the traditions and the public place. The first two paragraphs describe the differences between the two festivities San Pedro and Inti Raymi in Cayambe. By using discussions between people of the municipality and indigenous- leaders and organizations the different perceptions on the changes in the festival the last twenty years become clear. It shows that the indígenas and mestizos in the region of Cayambe are divided in two groups in Cayambe, with different festivities. The physical movement between different places does have a significant social and symbolic importance (Bourque, 1994). In the third paragraph this will be described in the case of Cayambe, where public place and space of the festival play a big role.

3.1 Changing the name and the traditions

According to José Solórzano, director of culture in the Municipality of Cayambe, the Inti Raymi is the ancestral festival in the region of Cayambe; related to the ancestral festival of the Sun celebrated before and during the Inca-period. He explains that, before the Spanish conquest, the Ecuadorian Andes respected the only visible 'sun god' and celebrated this in the end of June in a period called

Inti Raymi or 'festival of the sun'. After this the Spaniards came and implemented Catholic celebrations San Pedro. For years everybody is celebrating this festival in Cayambe, but a few years ago the indigenous people wanted to have their own festivity and they divided the festivities in two (José Solórzano, April 2010). To understand why there are two festivities at the same time in Cayambe, it is important to understand the motives of the changes from 24 years ago and now on. This paragraph makes clear how and why the indigenous population in Cayambe recuperated the Inti Raymi celebrations.

With his long hair in a tail and a colored shirt of the indigenous movement, César Pilataxi enters the office of radio Inti Pacha for a meeting. He comes from the community *San Pablo Urco* in Cayambe and is an influential person within the indigenous movement and well known for his active intervention for the rights of indigenous people in the region of Cayambe. César Pilataxi does have his own foundation in Quito named 'Kawsay', to develop the indigenous identity and multiculturalism with close relations to the indigenous movement. 25 years ago he was part of a rebellious group indígenas, who wanted to fight for the indigenous identity and their culture. Their main goal was to recuperate the history, to keep the values of their ancestors. According to César Pilataxi the indigenous people needed a change; one of these changes was the transformation of the festivities in the end of June in the region of Cayambe:

In the year 1986 the discussions about the festivities started. In general the Municipality of Cayambe organized the festivities and integrated the indigenous communities in the program to show some folklore to satisfy the tourist companies and municipalities who came to see the festivities here. Simply we were just dancing for the tourists who were making pictures, and also for the restaurants and other companies to have more clients during the festival. Because of this we wanted a change. We wanted us [the indigenous communities...] to be the owner of our own festival and culture! We, a group of rebellious indígenas, started to create our own space and we started to recover the Inti Raymi in Cayambe. We investigated and found out that before the Colonization our people had always celebrated the festival of the sun, the Inti Raymi. This was not just a celebration implemented by the Incas, but all original *Pueblos* in the world had celebrations in honor of the sun. So we used the name Inti Raymi again for the 'festival of the sun in the end of June. (César Pilataxi June 2010).

César Pilataxi makes clear that they wanted to be the owner of their own celebrations and their own culture. This rebellious group indígenas did not longer allowed that other, non-indigenous; people had benefits of expressions of indigenous culture. That they, led by indigenous leaders like César Pilataxi, wanted to take control of their own celebrations does have related to the claim for cultural rights. Indigenous people are claiming protection for their cultural heritage and their traditional knowledge; they do this by claim property rights to dances, music and festivals (Robbins and Stamatopoulou 2004). Mónica Pacheco, working for the organization IPANC¹² in Quito, explains that the claim for cultural rights by claiming protection for cultural heritage is about ownership: "Cultural rights, in relation to festivals and events, are about the property of the festival. So that not everybody can make himself 'the owner of the festival' and that the community who practice the

¹² Instituto Iberoamericano del Patrimonio Natural y Cultural

celebration is the owner of it as well. Who is the one who receives the money? The community? The idea is that all benefits will be for the community” (Mónica Pacheco, June 2010). To change the festival name and by separating the festival of the Catholic festivities of San Pedro the indigenous leaders tried to get the procession back to the community like the times before the Spaniards came.

César Pilataxi speaks about the recovering of the Inti Raymi; this relates to the festivities of the sun that their ancestors were used to celebrate before and during the Inca period in Ecuador. The change of the name back to the name that their ancestors used also strengthens the indigenous identity. Nestor Pilataxi, a teacher on the primary school *Humberto Fierro* in the community *San Pablo Urco* explains: “Before the Spanish came, the festivities were called Inti Raymi. The Spanish implemented other religious names to the indigenous festivals. But now we want to recover the history, for our cultural identity. Because of this the festivities are called Inti Raymi again. This is good for our indigenous identity, to not forget and to not lose our culture and our ancestors” (Nestor Pilataxi, May 2010). Referring to the history by using ideas and expressions of their ancestors in current rituals and celebrations is part of the process to strengthen indigenous identity, which became important for the indigenous movement in Ecuador in the second half of the twentieth century. This will be explained further in this thesis.

In the process to construct their own celebration of Inti Raymi the rebellious group indígenas did not only change the name of the festival, but they also changed traditions of the festivities in Cayambe. The most important ritual for the festivities in Cayambe is the dancing ritual described at the beginning of the chapter, when all communities are dancing together on the main square in Cayambe: *La toma de la plaza*. The main square in Cayambe is an important place which is close related to the theories about public place and space during indigenous festivities; this will be explained in the next paragraph. César Pilataxi continues his story about the recuperation of Inti Raymi and explains how the indigenous people, under leading of indigenous leaders, changed the dancing ritual they were used to dance during San Pedro:

We wanted our own festival. One year we started dancing in another place during the festivities of *San Pedrito*. The committees of the festivities were really worried about what was happening. ‘Why are the indigenous people dancing in another place?’, was what they were asking. We took another route and the whole world was in shock. ‘Why don’t they dance in the park? *San Pedrito* is waiting for them!’ was what they said. From this time on it started to change. The priests of the church didn’t agree, and they said that I was a Satanist and that I was promoting another religion about the sun and the moon, against the Catholic religion. It was a terrible debate and even the historians from Cayambe didn’t agree with me... (César Pilataxi June 2010)

Against the opinions of the mestizos in the region they implemented changes to separate themselves from the festivities of San Pedro. This was not only a separation of the festivities, but also a separation of people; the indígenas and the mestizos. Larson (2004) and Corr (2003) both mention that the construction of a cultural heritage serves to define the collective self as opposed to ‘others’ who do not share the same cultural heritage (Corr 2003). By creating their own celebrations and rituals, by changing the route, they separated themselves from the mestizo population. They referred constantly to their cultural history and their ancestors who had always celebrated Inti Raymi, which is

a different history compared to the mestizo. In this way the construction of the cultural heritage (the name, rituals and forms of the celebration referred to their ancestors) and the history from the indigenous population creates a more collective self, opposed to the mestizos in the region. The dance-route and the importance of this during indigenous celebrations can be related to the theories about public place and space. The next paragraph shows the importance of the place Puntiatzil for the indigenous celebrations of Inti Raymi in Cayambe.



Celebrating Inti Raymi at Puntiatzil, Cayambe June 2010

3.2 Public place and space

The main festival of the indigenous Inti Raymi in Cayambe is organized by the indigenous umbrella organization Pueblo Kayambi. In the communities around Cayambe small community organizations organize their own small Inti Raymi celebrations in the last weeks of June. The festival of San Pedro is organized by a festival committee of the municipality in Cayambe, which are all mestizos. Important for the indigenous population in the celebration is the sacred place Puntiatzil, 'The big temple of the sun', which is located right in the middle of the world, a few blocks away from the main park of the city Cayambe. Here they have the most grandiose ritual during Inti Raymi that shows worship to the sun god where they thank Pachamama for the good harvest. For the mestizo population the most important place is the main square of Cayambe in front of the Catholic church, where they have processions with the image of San Pedro with an orchestra or band, drinks and dances along the Holy honored image.

The different public places do separate the two festivities, but also do separate the two groups because the meanings given to the public place and space are different. The public place does have a significant meaning to the people involved in the celebrations of an event. "Recognition of the surroundings and knowledge of the stories told in connection to the land helped not only of where people *were*, but also of *who* they were" (Wibbelsman 2005: 210) and also Rachel Corr (2003) makes clear that in Andean countries the traditional knowledge of sacred places and the history of the region has become a symbol of cultural heritage and local identity. Sacred places in a region do have a central place in celebrations and festivals and these are not seen as only a symbol of cultural heritage but also as a part of their lived experience (Corr 2003). By recovering the festivities of Inti

Raymi, the indigenous population of Cayambe also created a new public place for their celebrations, to get control on their own celebrations, but also to feel connected to their lived experience and cultural heritage. César Pilataxi explains how they took the place Puntiatzil for their celebrations of the sun:

In the year 1991, after some activities like the example of the dancing in another place, we investigated and we found that Puntiatzil was always an important sacred place where our ancestors had their meetings and there was a lot of indigenous knowledge related to this place. We wanted to retake this place, so we took Puntiatzil. The whole world, the municipality, was against our plans. But we danced with thousands of people, with force, and we entered Puntiatzil. The majority of the communities did agree with this because we had some projects and a campaign to teach them why we should celebrate the Inti Raymi. There were others who didn't understand and they didn't want to know anything about it because they were used to San Pedro, another kind of festivity. (César Pilataxi, June 2010)

For the indigenous population in Cayambe, Puntiatzil is a sacred place, related to the indigenous ancestors and indigenous knowledge, which can be seen as an aspect of cultural heritage and tradition. That Cesar Pilataxi speaks about his ancestors talking about the sacred place makes clear that there is a relation to cultural heritage or tradition and the meaning of the place. As Wibbelsman (2005) point out this does have a strong relation to *who* they where, which shows that there is a connection between these 'ancestral' places and indigenous identity. During festivals physical movement between different places does have an important social and symbolic importance. The movement between different public places (church, square and houses) in Andean festivals is important. In the festivities of Cayambe the movement between the places is important (the route of the dancers through the city to Puntiatzil and for the mestizos to other places (Bourque 1994).

3.3 Divided in two?

Many mestizo people in Cayambe still do not agree with the changes that the indigenous people created and with the name Inti Raymi. Luis Gúzman for example, who works in the library of the municipality in Cayambe, does have critical opinions about the name Inti Raymi for the festivities in the end of June in Cayambe:

The Inti Raymi does not exist in Cayambe! The festival in Cayambe has never been called Inti Raymi. This festival comes from the Incas and only exists in Peru, it has never been something good for Ecuador and because of the *Peruanization* of Ecuador right now all this is coming back and the indigenous people think it is something *propio*. The indigenous politics want to implement these Peruvian festivals to Ecuador and to make it something of them, but we have always celebrated festivals for the sun but these festivities just don't have anything to deal with the name Inti Raymi. (Interview Luis Gúzman 29-04-2010).

He is completely against the name Inti Raymi for the celebrations in June in Cayambe and argues that the indigenous people from Cayambe use names from Peru to make it their own. Luis Gúzman agrees

that there always have been celebrations of the sun, but this does not have anything to deal with Inti Raymi for him. The name Inti Raymi is implemented by the Incas, who were in Ecuador for just 34 years (Luis Gúzman, April 2010) and according to him, this is not something *propio* of the people in Ecuador. His opinion towards indigenous people is that they have to modernize, to forget their past and to integrate with the mestizos. Some people from Cayambe share his opinion, but he is well-known because of his strong opinions. Like the majority of the people working in the municipality of Cayambe, he refers to *interculturalidad*. According to them this means that different people with different cultures do celebrate together, and not divided in two groups, as what the indigenous people do (Luis Gúzman, April 2010). In his point of view the indigenous people challenge the pluralistic notion of Ecuador because they do not want to integrate.

For Cesar Pilataxi this problem with the name is simple to explain. "Our ancestors have always celebrated the festival of the sun in the end of June, like in a lot of places in the world. In our language, Kichwa, 'festival of the sun' is translated as Inti Raymi. Festival or *fiesta*, is Raymi and the Sun God is Inti" (César Pilataxi, June 2010). In this explanation the name is not related to the Incas but to the festival of the Sun, which was, according to all informants, already celebrated in Ecuador and Cayambe before the coming of the Incas. These two visions on the celebrations of Inti Raymi by the indígenas and the mestizos does reflect two different visions on pluralistic Ecuador.

Since few years the organization committee of the festivities of Cayambe from the municipality changed the name of the festival San Pedro in the name '*Festival del sol en la mitad del mundo*' (The poster of this celebration is added as annex). They do still refer to San Pedro with the festivities, but also to the festivities of the sun, to create a multicultural festival for both mestizos and indígenas. According to José Solórzano this name includes the two festivities; these two festivities become one through this name. But the indigenous people from Pueblo Kayambi in Cayambe are very convinced; they are just celebrating Inti Raymi and don't want any linkage to the festivities of San Pedro. José Solórzano, director of the cultural department of the municipality of Cayambe, explains why he thinks the festivities could be celebrated together:

The indígenas say 'your festivities are religious and our festivities are traditional'. But it is not like this because both festivals have the two components. This is my point of view, my criteria is: it is impossible to divide these festivities in two. Because with the years, they mixed in a lot of ways with each other. For example the 29th of June, when all the communities are coming to the central park to celebrate the *Toma de la plaza, ganar de la plaza*. They are all dancing in front of the church, which is a really religious aspect! In this festival, of 29th June, everybody participates; indígenas, mestizos, tourists, migrants, everybody! It is not an exclusive indigenous festival. I don't believe and I don't think that it is necessary to divide these festivities in two, there are no exclusives. It is not just Inti Raymi or San Pedro, we can call it Festivities of the sun in Cayambe (José Solórzano, Cayambe 2010).

The municipality of Cayambe, mainly mestizos, does want to work together with the indigenous organization to create one big festivity, without separation of the two groups. José Solórzano says that the indigenous people are those who want to separate them from the festivities of the mestizos, but that they cannot expect the festivities of the sun exclusive for indigenous population. The

municipality, the organizer of the festivities, wants integration, rather than separation. But, as César Pilataxi shows, the indigenous population wants to create their own festival. By separating themselves from the mestizos, the indigenous people in Cayambe show that they want cultural contrast rather than integration. As Wibbelsman (2005) notes “the misappropriation of symbols of authority and the empowerment of indigenous people in historically mestizo dominated realms continues to underline cultural contrast rather than integration” (Wibbelsman 2005). As noted before by César Pilataxi, the mestizos from the municipality of Cayambe took the decisions related to the festivities, they decided and controlled the events and they got the benefits out of these celebrations. Now the indigenous people want to be the owner of their own festivity and culture. They want to have control over their own cultural expressions.

The municipality of Cayambe shows concern about the dividing of the two festivities. José Solórzano explains how the municipality had the plans to integrate the festivities more for this year, 2010:

This year is the first time that we are going to have different stages of the festival. The first stage will be just to celebrate the equinoctial; from 17th of June till the 21st of June this will be exclusive ancestral [indigenous culture]. There are *propias* activities like thanking pachamama and *dios sol* for the harvests. This is the indigenous part where we want to start with. The activities are related to the most original rituals and ideas of the region, the times of the Incas and before. About the history and about the festivities of the Sun: *fiestas del sol*. After this indigenous celebration we have another stage which will be San Pedro, the 28th and 29th of June. These festivities are more about what the Mestizos want to see: bullfights, 4x4wheeldrife, miss-competitions, parade of roses; related to the Spanish traditions. We want to get more participation of the indigenous population the next years, more *interculturalidad*. There are a lot of people who don't agree with these new ideas, the festivities for them are only INTI RAYMI or SAN PEDRO. But everybody needs to accept that there are two different point of views here in the region... (José Solórzano, April 2010)

On one side he notes that he wants to make one festivity out of the two festivities to create something multicultural, but on the other side he mentions that there is a more ancestral part related to the indigenous culture and another kind of celebration for the mestizos. In this explanation José Solórzano shows that not only the name and the place of the festivals are different, but that there are also different meanings given to the festivities in June in Cayambe.

In practice the plan of the municipality did not work like described above. The indigenous people had their own festival and they wanted to keep their own festival (Pueblo Kayambi 2010). José Anrango, explained me that everybody can come to celebrate Inti Raymi or to watch the indigenous people celebrating, but they are not changing their festival to integrate more in the festival organized by the municipality (José Anrango 2010). That the Inti Raymi is *abierto para todos* does not mean that they are integrating with the other festivities. This shows that the indigenous people have taken matters in their own hands. People in Cayambe can decide by themselves if they want to join the indígenas or the mestizos, and taking all above into account the choice is to dance the San Pedro or Inti Raymi. But, in some cases one can dance San Pedro at Puntiatzil. César Pilataxi explains: “What is happening now sometimes is that the people are practicing syncretism; they both dance the San Pedro and the Inti Raymi. This because those [indigenous] people were used to dance San Pedro and did not used

to the changes yet. For me this doesn't matter, the most important is that they are proud of their OWN culture, their own community" (César Pilataxi June 2010).

The possibility to celebrate the two festivities on the same time is different on the level of the indigenous leaders and representatives. Those who have a relation with the indigenous movement are expected to have a stronger position reflecting on indigenous identity and culture. This becomes clear in what Angel Medina, president of CODENPE, noted: "Of course some people from the indigenous communities do dance for some Catholic saints during San Pedro, because they are used to that. But you will never see an indigenous *dirigente* dancing in front of the church or for the Catholic saints!" (Angel Medina, June 2010). He shows that indigenous leaders cannot practice this 'syncretism', as how César Pilataxi calls this above, because together with the indigenous movement they want to recuperate the history and stand for the andean cosmovision and not to cultural aspects implemented by the Spaniards. How indigenous leaders related to the indigenous movement do have other ideas reflecting on indigenous identity and cultural expressions become clear in the next chapter.



Dancing for San Pedro in front of the church, 2010



Dancing for sun god Inti, Puntiatzil 2010

Concluding remarks

In a process to recuperate the history the indigenous leaders changed the name of San Pedro into their 'own' Inti Raymi. They changed the dancing ritual and they created a new public place to celebrate their Inti Raymi. By doing this they separated themselves from the mestizos in the region, and created cultural contrast rather than integration. By showing the process of indigenous leaders recuperating the Inti Raymi inspired by the cultural heritage of their ancestors they created a separation between two different groups during the festivities in June. By creating different traditions and a different public place the distance between the two groups has become bigger which created cultural difference between the indigenous population and the others in the region of Cayambe. Notable is the difference between the indigenous leaders and the communities. The indigenous leaders are the ones who create and implement the differences and the indigenous population from the communities are just followers, they don't take initiatives to change. The difference between these two levels will become more clear in the next chapter about indigenous identity.

Chapter four – Proud to be indigenous

I am Indígena
Which I carry in my heart, in my blood
I have my own language and my own identity
Conserving Pachamama
Working to unite and integrate the community
To keep the values of my ancestors
For what I feel today, tomorrow and always
Proud to be “Indígena Kichwa speaker”

This poem¹³ comes from a document about the festivities of Inti Raymi in Cayambe, written by Fernando Farinango, the director of Radio Inti Pacha in Cayambe, and Bayardo Lanchimba. It contains the most important aspects of how the actors involved in the Inti Raymi festival reflect on their indigenous identity. The discussions about indigenous identity in Ecuador started in the second half of the twentieth century, with ideas coming from influencing indigenous organizations to strengthen the identity of the indigenous population (CONAIE 2009). The recuperation of the history, described in the previous chapter, is embedded in the process to strengthen indigenous identity in Ecuador, in relation with the indigenous movement.

This chapter reflects on indigenous identity, which is important to understand the relation between indigenous identity, indigenous celebrations and cultural rights. How indigenous people involved in the celebrations of the Inti Raymi see themselves in the *plurinacional* society in Ecuador is strongly related to their thoughts to strengthen and express their culture by festivals like the Inti Raymi. The first paragraph of this chapter contains the discussions about indigenous identity through the years which shows how identity and the importance to strengthen this became important for the indigenous movement in Ecuador. Local discussions about indigenous identity have relation with the indigenous movement on national level. Important to take in account is the difference between meaning given to indigenous identity comparing indigenous leaders to people from the communities. This will be analyzed in the second paragraph. The discussions about indigenous identity fall into different elements, which are important to explain how the people involved in the celebrations of the festival reflect on their indigenous identity. In the third paragraph the elements of the poem in the beginning of this chapter are used to explain how the people involved in the celebrations of Inti Raymi reflect on the different aspects of their indigenous identity. The main elements are: the feeling

¹³ Translated from Spanish: *Soy un ser indígena. Llevo en mi corazón, en mi sangre en mi lengua y tengo mi propia identidad. Conservo la madre naturaleza, trabajo en minga tejiendo la unidad, mantengo los valores propios de mis Antepasados. Por lo que me siento hoy, mañana y siempre, orgulloso de ser "indígena kichwa hablante"* (Yupay Chany, Jorge Illescas, documento 'sistematización histórica de las festividades de Inti Raymi in Cangahua, Cayambe, junio 2006).

of 'being indígena', conserving pachamama, the community life, the values of the ancestors and pride on the indigenous culture.

4.1 National discussions and ideas about indigenous identity

The process to construct the Inti Raymi festivities in Cayambe is embedded in the discussions about indigenous identity in the end of the twentieth century. Around 1986, when the CONAIE was formed, there was the focus of the indigenous movement in Ecuador to strengthen the indigenous identity. Claims by the indigenous population in Ecuador were based on a shared identity. The last 25 years the idea of strengthening the indigenous identity continued, to support indigenous cultural identity CONAIE helps to promote indigenous languages and culture. This organization also teaches new generations to be proud on their indigenous identity (CONAIE 2010). Cesar Pilataxi, who was one of the indigenous leaders who changed the Inti Raymi festival in Cayambe, did always have a close relation with the Indigenous movement. He is one of the founders of Pueblo Kayambi in Cayambe and of Pachakutik, the politic wing of the CONAIE. He explains why and how in 1984 and 1985 the discussion about indigenous identity became an important discussion in Ecuador:

We were always portrayed as *campesinos* and *pobres*, there was always the difference between the rich and the poor and we were the poor. The discussion about the indigenous identity started as an element of political and historical change for the indigenous population. In the whole country there were discussions about the identity, cultural identity and the language. When we lose the language, we will also lose our culture and our indigenous identity. I was an activist in the left movements in this period and with a small group of youngsters we started to let our hair grow. This was part of the rebellion. When we started to let our hair grow, there was a lot of racism. They marked us as gays and long hair was just for woman in our region. But for us this was to show that we were against the system, it was part of the rebellion, part of the manifestation. We wanted to show that we were proud of our culture (César Pilataxi 24-06-2010).

He mentions that the discussion about indigenous identity started as an element of political and historical change for the indigenous population in Ecuador. These changes are related to the emergence of the indigenous organizations like CONAIE, to give the indigenous people a voice in the Ecuadorian society, as explained in the first chapter. The rebellious group where César Pilataxi was part of was against the racism and the way the indigenous population of Ecuador was portrayed in society. According to them the indigenous culture and identity should be more respected and the indigenous people should be more proud on their identity. The process of the indigenous movement to strengthen the indigenous identity in Ecuador is still going on, just like in other Latin American countries (CONAIE, 2009). Nestor Quilo, from the community *San Pablo Urco* in Cayambe, explains that indigenous people are starting to get more proud of their culture and identity: "Right now we are living new times. We are waiting and preparing ourselves for the new time. New definitions of the *pueblos indígenas*, new definitions of identity. For example for the youngsters identity is a difficult definition, they don't know who they are and are confused. But now we are going to be more proud to be indigenous" (Nestor Quilo, May 2010). Nestor Quilo shows that the pride of being

indigenous is growing, but that the intensions from the indigenous organizations and leaders are not reached yet. The ideas and intensions from the indigenous movement are reaching the indigenous communities through indigenous leaders and local indigenous organizations; this will become clear in the next paragraph.

4.2 Regional leaders and their intermediating function

Indigenous movement is really important. We as indigenous people suffered a lot of years ago in the *haciendas* where we were working. The indígena was less than a cow; there was a lot of discrimination. We didn't have not even a spirit or a soul! And now you know, more than ever, that we need to go on with the movement. We are *luchando* for everybody, for a better life. These struggles make us feel that we are alive, that we exist and that we have rights! (José Anrango 2010).

This demonstrates the position the indigenous people had in Ecuador and how they were portrayed in society. Under leading of the indigenous movement they want to change indigenous position in society and to translate national interests of the indigenous movement to the communities' local indigenous leaders have an intermediate function. According to José Anrango they explain the visions of the indigenous movement on national level to the people in the communities. For example when the indigenous organizations are planning mobilizations it is up to the regional representatives to inform the people from the different regions to join. Not only the translation of the interests from 'above' to the community-level is a task of these leaders, they also have an example-function for the people. It is important for indigenous leaders and representatives of indigenous organizations to show their identity by wearing traditional clothes, speaking indigenous languages related to the *cosmovisión andina* (José Anrango and Angel Medina 2010). That many indigenous leaders from indigenous organizations on a more local level are worried about the indigenous identity and losing the indigenous culture is shown by different informants from organizations. Also José Anrango worries about the indigenous identity in 'his' region. During a meeting about intercultural healthcare with the hospital of Cayambe and Pueblo Kayambi he told in his speech:

Compañeros, we are losing that what is ours. Our own knowledge, our plants and or food. It all goes to other countries, they make medicines and afterwards we buy our own products in the pharmacy! We are also losing our culture. For example the traditional clothes. I am using jeans and an American blouse... only the woman still identify themselves with that what is ours, the men are just using the sombrero sometimes... and the youngsters even worse! They don't even know if they are indígena or mestizo...! But we are lucky with that small group of young people who keep fighting for our culture, for our identity. They are going on with our own traditions and our culture, they are going on being real *Kayambis*¹⁴! (José Anrango, May 2010).

José Anrango worries about losing indigenous culture and indigenous identity. He mentions the importance to go on with indigenous traditions and culture, like clothing and food, to be real

¹⁴ *Kayambis*: term that indigenous people use referring to the indigenous population of three provinces in the North of Ecuador, around Cayambe.

Kayambis. Those indigenous leaders like José Anrango refer to their ancestors and their traditional knowledge and culture is strongly related to interests of the indigenous movement to strengthen indigenous identity by look back to their cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is crucial to the self-definition of indigenous ethnic groups, and a key element in the indigenous rights movement (Corr 2003).

Another important element from what José Anrango is saying is related to the self-identification of indigeness. As Knight states “an Indian is one who feels that he belongs to an indigenous community” (Knight 1990: 75), which shows that people can define themselves indigenous or not. José Anrango shows this by considering himself being indigenous while not wearing indigenous traditional clothes. He declares himself indigenous, but is not proud on the expression of his own indigenous identity, by not wearing traditional clothes. This shows that he wants to promote the ideas to strengthen indigenous identity of the indigenous movement, but does not practice these ideas himself. By referring to indigenous products which are used by international companies to create medicines he shows a link to possession; the indigenous people are not the owner of their own products and culture anymore. This can be seen as a cultural right and if the indigenous people do not keep their pride on their culture and identity they will lose the rights on their own products and traditions. As what Robbins and Stamatopoulou (2004) note, indigenous people are claiming protection for their cultural heritage and their traditional knowledge. This is closely related to indigenous identity.



The indigenous movement during a mobilization in Otavalo, June 2010

Not all indigenous people do or can identify themselves with the indigenous movement or with the indigenous leaders from their region. According to Roberto Parce, a youngster from Cayambe, the indigenous organizations in Ecuador are using symbols and words coming from the worldview of the Andean indígenas, which they want to teach to the communities. He explains that he is indigenous but he does not feel a connection with the indigenous movement and its worldviews: “physically I am Indígena, but I don’t identify myself with the indigenous people, indigenous leaders and the indigenous movement. There are two different levels of indigenous people, the indigenous leaders, *los dirigentes*, and the people from the communities. A lot of indigenous leaders do forget about where they come from when they enter politics or the indigenous movement” (Roberto Parce, 2010). When indigenous leaders become active in the indigenous movement and the politics and sometimes forget about their own communities, is the reason for Roberto to not feel connected with the indigenous population. The different meanings given to ‘being indigenous’ shows that identity is reconstructed and redefined continuously. Elements as group allegiances like religion, profession, ethnicity and class do specify the focus and the sense of identity (Larrain 2000). Indigenous identity as a construct is layered and this is not an essentialist approach.

Edison Analuiza from the Cotopaxi province, but working in Quito, as well is skeptic about the indigenous movement and indigenous leaders:

Before we brought water and our own food to the mobilizations, now they have lunch-boxes of KFC with Coca Cola. CONAIE has a lot of money, and they are modernized because of the globalization. I think that we have to go back to our water, *chicha* and our own food. The indigenous leaders are used to a different lifestyle and they do eat different food, they sleep in expensive hotels. The people from the community still uses traditional food and they are still like before, which I really like. On the level of the leaders, *dirigentes*, there has changed a lot (Edison Analuiza March 2010).

The actors involved in the organization or celebration of the Inti Raymi festival do reflect on indigenous identity using different elements. These meanings given to the festival are formed by status, origin, relation with indigenous organizations and education. In the next paragraph reflections on the most important aspects of indigenous identity are analyzed using the poem from the beginning of this chapter. It shows how elements of indigenous identity are related to the Andean cosmic vision and that there is a difference in meanings given to indigenous identity by indigenous leaders and people from the communities.

4.3 Reflections on indigenous identity

Taking this in account there are five important elements of indigenous identity: the feeling of ‘being indígena’, conserving pachamama, the community life, keeping the values of the ancestors and the pride on the indigenous culture. To show the different levels of these reflections on identity I will separate two different groups, the indigenous leaders (national and regional) and the people from the communities.

“I am Indígena, which I carry in my heart, in my blood”

According to the people I spoke to on as well leader- as community level local level, they mention ‘the feeling of being indigenous’ as they talk about their indigenous identity. Kneight defined Indian as “one who feels that he belongs to an indigenous community” (Kneight 1990: 75), which shows that somebody is indigenous when he considers himself indigenous. Edison Analuiza, a teacher on a secondary school in Quito, indicates this by talking about his feeling referring to his indigenous identity:

It is not just the *Kichwa* language or the traditional clothes that make me feel indigenous. I don’t speak a lot of *Kichwa* and I don’t use traditional clothes, but I have profound roots of being indígena. You can see when somebody is indigenous, physical looks and the color of the skin. *Ser indígena es el sentimiento*. I think all indigenous people do have a close relation to the earth, we have contact with the earth. To be indigenous is to be in contact with the earth, to feel the earth. I always touch the earth, to feel who I am... (Edison Analuiza, April 2010).

Edison Analuiza makes clear that people can determine or feel by themselves if they are indigenous or not. As mentioned before in this chapter people can consider themselves indígena without using traditional clothes and speaking *Kichwa*, indigenous identity is related to the self-identification. Indigenous people are aware of elements related to indigenous culture, but it is not necessary to practice all elements to feel yourself indigenous. As described before this is different on the levels of indigenous leaders, who do represent an indigenous organization and they have to express their indigenous identity more. As Sonia Jinde, a youngster working for ECUARUNARI, said that she is obligated to wear traditional clothes in the office because they are an indigenous organization related to the indigenous movement (Sonia Jinde, May 2010). It shows again that there is a significant difference in people related to indigenous organizations and indigenous leaders do give other meaning to expressions of their indigenous identity.

“I have my own language and my own identity, conserving pachamama”

Pachamama is very important for the indigenous population in Ecuador and other Andean countries and is a major part of the Andean cosmovision. The indigenous population lives in close relation with the nature and they want to protect pachamama. All informants refer to the respect for pachamama reflecting on indigenous identity. Pachamama is something spiritual, something that you can’t see directly, but you can see her in the living nature and in all that comes from the earth. In the literature indigenous spirituality is cited as being a significant element of indigenous identity (Bourque 1994, Wibbelsman 2005). The most important ‘rule’ in the indigenous world is to show respect to the nature, to pachamama. According to Nestor Pilataxi, from the community *San Pablo Urco* in Cayambe, pachamama is ‘the time’: “the communication with pachamama is important for us, the conversations are the four stations of weather, the rain, the sun, the climate. She indicates the time.

We, indígenas, work on the fields. The harvest, related to pachamama, is part of our identity” (Nestor Pilataxi, May 2010). Nestor Pilataxi refers to the communication, a dialogue, with pachamama, these conversations are related with the four seasons. In the next chapter about the Inti Raymi festival it becomes clear that indigenous people see the festival in close relation to pachamama, as a conversation with the earth.

The importance of pachamama is significant on both indigenous leaders, as community level. Pachamama is a normal aspect of the daily life; in the house, on the fields and in community meetings. When animals die or when there are leftovers of food, this will be offered to pachamama. Sonia Jinde explained me, while she was burying a dead guinea pig (*cuy*), that she offers this to pachamama to thank her for life and for the alimentations that they receive from her (observations, March 2010). Also in the festivities and rituals on indigenous meeting they sometimes offer a little bit of beer or other drink to pachamama by throwing it on the ground. This shows that pachamama is something spiritual and that Mother Earth is strong integrated in the (daily) lives of the indigenous people.



Offering of alimentations to Pachamama, ritual Inti Raymi 2010

“Working to unite and integrate the community”

Indigenous people from the communities often mention their community as being important to reflect on their own indigenous identity. All individuals belong to a community, and in this way they are part of the group of people from the same community. The community in the indigenous world is not only the community, or village, where they come from, it can also be ‘the indigenous community’. This means the whole indigenous population in Ecuador, which relates to meetings,

conferences and events related to the indigenous movement or indigenous organization on national level. One of the most important aspects talking about the community is sharing. Marlon Santí, the president of CONAIE, said to 'his' people during a mobilization: "When one person has food, the community has food, when the community has food, every person has food" (Marlon Santí CONAIE, 2010). This means that the people always take care of each other, in the community the people share everything: *compartir*. During the festivities of Inti Raymi this sharing aspect as part of the community bounding is really important, this will be explained in the next chapter by analyzing different meanings of Inti Raymi.

An example of this *compartir* is *la Minga*. This is a concept that all *pueblos indígenas* use, to help each other. Edison Analuiza explains: '*La minga* is an element of help, to give your hand to help one another. For example to help on the field, or to help receiving people in your house when there is place. Coming together and to give your hand to help, to construct a relation. The whole community is helping, like volunteers. *La Minga* is really strong in indigenous festivities, without *la minga* it is impossible to have festivities. People are helping the community with land, housing, cooking and other things" (interview Edison Analuiza, April 2010). In the daily life in indigenous communities they can have *minga* every week, or sometimes once a month. Carmen Antamba, working in the administration of Pueblo Kayambi, tells me that every Saturday there is *minga* in her community. All people help cleaning the roads, cleaning public buildings or helping on the land.

It is really important for the community because otherwise nobody is going to do the work. The president of the community organizes the *minga*. He passes through the streets to invite everybody; if they are not able to go you can pay someone else to go for you. If not you have to pay a fine and your reputation in the community will be bad. They will think you are a bad neighbor and when you need something in the future the people won't help you (Carmen Antamba, June 2010).

To be a good neighbor or a good citizen it is important to help one another, which makes someone a good person. According to this you should always help in *la minga* to show that you are a good indígena, a good member of the community on local level, but also on national level. The *minga* is also important on national level, meetings between indigenous organizations, events and congresses are sometimes called a *minga* as well. These *mingas* are more organized and they can be seen as a meeting between people to come together and to help each other.

"To keep the values of my ancestors"

As Wilson states "historical processes, pre-existing elements of communities and culture all shape collective identities, bonding individual members to the imagined community through a shared past and a common future" (Wilson 1995: 12). The indigenous people from Cayambe belong to the group *Kayambis* and as described in the introduction, they have their own history, territory, visions and traditions. The *Kayambis* feel strong connection to influential indigenous leaders, who were important in the upcoming indigenous movement in Ecuador. José Anrango notes "We are indígenas, the authentic *Kichwas*, we are proud of our identity which we have to thank to our big leaders like

Dolores Cacaungo, who started a big indigenous movement” (Pueblo Kayambi, 2009). The way how their ancestors lived is important for the indigenous people from this region, on both leader and community level. This will be explained more detailed in the next chapter about the strengthening of indigenous identity during the celebrations of Inti Raymi.

In Ecuador the discussion about indigenous identity and culture started in an international debate about indigenous rights and their place in society. Indigenous people started to refer to their ancestors talking about their identity. The indigenous leaders used their cultural heritage, the knowledge of their ancestors, to strengthen the indigenous identity and culture. By referring to the same history and the same future, the indigenous identity is getting stronger. An important aspect related to this is the Andean cosmivision. This cosmic vision shows how indigenous people see the world, their symbols and their spirituality. This vision is used a lot by indigenous leaders to teach their people about the indigenous culture. There are some symbols and aspects important for this world vision, which are; Pachamama the *Cruz andina (chakana)* and the harvest Calendar, *La Wiphala*, the rainbow, maize, the condor, nature spirits related to pachamama like the mountains, the sun, the moon and the stars. These symbols and elements are used a lot in indigenous books, documents, flyers and posters for indigenous meetings and events. These elements are also coming to the fore in the festival posters of Inti Raymi analyzed during this research. In the next chapter I will deepen this out.

*“For what I feel today, tomorrow and always. Proud to be
“Indígena Kichwa speaker”*

This aspect contains the way indigenous people are proud on their indigenous identity. This aspect includes different points about how people reflect on being proud on their identity; language, traditional clothes, traditional music and dance and traditional food.

Indigenous language

The indigenous language *Kichwa* is spoken by many indigenous people from the highlands *la Sierra* in Ecuador. In indigenous organizations and meetings the conversation are in Spanish, but most of the time there is also a translator who translates everything in *Kichwa* for the public. This is not because they do not understand Spanish, but it is to show that they are proud of the language. In this way the language gets a political meaning, but next to this also a cultural or social meaning. According to Nestor Pilataxi, who is giving classes of *Kichwa* on the school *Humberto Fierro*, the *Kichwa* speakers in the communities around Cayambe are getting less. He thinks that this is does not have negative influences for the indigenous identity, because he respects the *interculturalidad*, which means that he respects that people want to speak Spanish and in some cases English, also to have more opportunities for the future looking at education and work. For him it is not necessary to speak *Kichwa* because of the economic opportunities you will get if you speak another language. They know that speaking *Kichwa* is something just on community level and national or international this is not that important.

Traditional clothes

Also traditional indigenous clothes are important when people talk about their pride on the indigenous culture and identity. Not all indigenous people in Ecuador do use traditional clothes, but traditional clothes are mentioned by almost all people involved in this research as being the most important aspect of showing their identity. There are indígenas who are not using these clothes and they do consider themselves as indígenas, as written before in the case of José Anrango. Thus it is not necessary to use traditional clothes to feel indigenous.



Traditional clothes in Cayambe, showed during the festivities of Inti Raymi

In general there are more women than men who use traditional clothes. In the offices of the indigenous organizations like ECUARUNARI and CONAIE almost everybody uses traditional clothes. Sonía Jinde says: “Normally I didn’t use traditional clothes, but when I started working in the office here I am using it, to show my indigenous identity and also because it is more formal”. This shows again that the indigenous world vision is implemented by the indigenous organizations, when you are going to work for them it becomes more important to show your indigenous identity by clothes. The indigenous *dirigentes* of the indigenous organizations are always using *ropa típica*. As Angel Medina, president of Codenpe, says: “I have to represent the organization and the people, the *dirigentes indígena* are a reference, we have a responsibility. This is why I am using my traditional clothes. For my work or when I am visiting communities I am always using my traditional clothes. When I am at home I don’t always use this clothes, and I don’t use it if I don’t want anyone to recognize me...” (Angel Medina, April 2010). This means that for the indigenous leaders the indigenous traditional clothes also have a politic function, to be an example for the other indigenous people and to show their political choice. Also for the people in the communities we can see that in public meetings, events and mobilizations almost everybody is using traditional clothes or accessories that show their indigenous identity. Colored shawls, flags and buttons with logo’s and the rainbow colors. To use traditional clothes in public occasions is something formal, something to represent yourself, your community and to show identity, which gives traditional clothes a political significance. This shows

that connection with the indigenous movement changes ideas and 'rules' about wearing indigenous clothes.

Music and dance

The indigenous people from Cayambe on the community level refer a lot to indigenous music when they talk about the indigenous culture and their identity. A big percentage of the indigenous people involved in the Inti Raymi festivities in Cayambe are dancing in indigenous dance-groups or are giving dance-lessons to people in the communities. The Andean music or the Folklore has a strong meaning of spirituality. For Nestor Quilo the music he makes with his music group, Kayambikuna, is a way to express his indigenousness (Nestor Quilo, April 2010). People involved in the celebrations of Inti Raymi give strong importance to their *instrumentos propios*. Many interviewees mentioned that while they are listening to or making indigenous music with their own instruments they feel the most connected with their indigenous identity. The utilization of *propia* instruments is also used by Pueblo Kayambi as one of the main pillars talking about the expression of indigenous identity during the celebrations of Inti Raymi.



Dancing and singing with their own music instruments, Cayambe 2010

Traditional alimentations

Many interviewees refer to special indigenous food, which are products of corn, *cuy* and the traditional drink: *chicha*. Corn is really important, as a symbol but also as a food product, they refer to corn as: *comida sagrada para los pueblos indígenas*. The indigenous food, like indigenous music, has an important spiritual meaning; they feel more connected with their indigenous identity. In indigenous meetings they always refer to *nuestra propia comida*, which they see as the healthiest form of life. Right now with the exploitation of products from other countries and supermarkets the traditional indigenous food is under attack, as José Anrango said in a meeting: "We have to go back to our own traditional food. Our children do eat pizzas and chips, and they don't even want eat *habas* and *choclo* anymore. We need to go back to our own alimentations to keep our children

healthy. Our grandmothers and grandfathers were strong because of their good and strong alimentation, if we want to stay strong and healthy we shouldn't eat all that supermarket-food but our OWN traditional food". In this way the alimentation gets, next to a cultural or traditional meaning, a meaning of wellness and health. This is another example of recuperation of history.

Concluding remarks

Discussions about indigenous identity started in the last years of the twentieth century and the indigenous movement searched for strategies to strengthen indigenous. Embedded in this search to strengthen indigenous identity is the recuperation of the values of the indigenous ancestors, as also explained in the first chapter with the recuperation of Inti Raymi. Reflections and ideas about indigenous identity have close relation with the indigenous movement, portrayed by indigenous leaders who give meaning to their identity strongly related to how this is portrayed in books of indigenous organizations. People from the community give meaning to their indigenusness on other ways. On both levels the meanings given to indigenous identity are directly or indirectly related to the Andean cosmovision. The main elements of how people reflect on indigenous identity are presented by the poem. Most important is that people can 'feel' if they are indigenous or not and their relation between them and the nature, or pachamama, which is also an aspect of the Andean cosmovision. It also became clear that the community is important for indigenous people, which became understandable by the sharing 'ritual' the *minga*. With the use of indigenous music, food and traditional clothes the indigenous people express their indigenous identity to show pride on the values of their ancestors and on the indigenous culture. During the festivities these aspects of indigenous identity are strongly present, which will become clear in the next chapter about the contemporary celebrations of Inti Raymi and the meanings given to these celebrations.

Chapter five – Contemporary meanings of Inti Raymi

*Por las calles de Cayambe
cantaremos, bailaremos
Por las calles de Cayambe
cantaremos, bailaremos*

*Cuando llega el Inti Raymi
cantaremos, bailaremos
Cuando llega el Inti Raymi
cantaremos, bailaremos*

(Detail songtekst 'Puntiatzil' by Kayambikuna)

The lyric above is a song of the indigenous music group Kayambikuna from Cayambe. During the celebrations of Inti Raymi on the 29th of June people are dancing and singing, all together at *Puntiatzil*. There are few typical songs during these celebrations, these songs are called *coplas de Cayambe*. For many people in Cayambe the music and dancing is the most important aspect of the festivities in June. These celebrations of Inti Raymi take an important place in the lives of the indigenous population of Cayambe, for some it is an event with a lot of spiritual meaning, for others it is a period to be together with family and friends. This chapter analyzes the contemporary celebrations of Inti Raymi in Cayambe by reflecting on the social, spiritual, ethnical and economical meaning of the festival. The aspects of indigenous identity analyzed in the previous chapter come to the fore by explaining the relation between Inti Raymi and indigenous identity. The first paragraph contains notions about the preparation of Inti Raymi and how this is related to the festival calendar implemented by the Spaniards. How the community is embedded in the daily life of the indigenous people is showed in the previous chapter by explaining family- and community bonds as social aspect of the celebrations. The next paragraph reflects on the spiritual meanings of the Inti Raymi, it becomes clear that these festivities have a strong relation with the Andean cosmovision and the spiritual visions of indigenous people related to pachamama. That Inti Raymi is strongly related to the indigenous movement will be explained in the next paragraph about the ethnical meaning. In the paragraph about the economical meaning of Inti Raymi the payment of the festival, including sponsorship, is pointed out. The last paragraph reflects shows that indigenous identity becomes stronger during the festival and that people feel more proud on their indigenusness during Inti Raymi.

5.1 Preparing Inti Raymi

Larson (2004) states that the festival calendar, implemented by the Spaniards, has played a crucial role in the organization of seasonal rhythms of agricultural celebrations and other aspects of communal life (Larson 2004: 58). According to the people involved in the celebrations of Inti Raymi in Cayambe, this is not a festival related to a specific date but to a seasonal rhythm, or period. As

Fernando Farinango mentions: “Every year this event starts around the 21st of June, and continues all weekends in June, July and in this region even August. This period is related to the solstice of the north when the sun comes from the north” (Fernando Farinango, May 2010). This corresponds with Larson, the Inti Raymi in Cayambe is a period with close relation to the harvest season in the month June, where the Spaniards implemented San Pedro. Both festivities are related to the celebration of the harvest season. Apolinario Alcasiga says that they have been dancing every year with the *cosechas*, the harvest season. For him it is to celebrate the harvest of the year and, as noted before, for him this festival is not related to the name San Pedro or Inti Raymi, but to the celebration of the season (Apolinario Alcasiga, May 2010).

The seasonal rhythm of the agricultural celebration of Inti Raymi is not just the festival itself, but includes the period of preparation. César Pilataxi explains how the festival is a process for the people who are celebrating it. Not only the people need to prepare themselves for the festival, also the food, instruments and clothes do need their preparation:

It is not just ‘let’s dance today’. The Inti Raymi comes from the heart. It takes about three or four months to start the festival. We have to prepare with the whole spirit of the event, this is born in the soul of the person. It is a sentiment that is born in these periods. From March or April we begin to prepare the Inti Raymi with the preparation of instruments, clothes and food. Need to work on the preparation of land, the process of the alimentations to have the product of the harvest. We have to say thanks to the sun, the earth, la Pachamama; who gives us live because she gives the product of alimentation, to live (César Pilataxi, June 2010).

This shows that the process of preparing the festival is very important. With the colleagues of Pueblo Kayambi I helped to prepare the communitarian drinks, *chicha* and alcoholic drinks, before the festivities. It is tradition to share everything during the festivities and the organization of the event is responsible for the drinks. If there is enough money through sponsoring and gifts, they also prepare food for everybody involved in the celebrations.



Preparations of *chicha* with Pueblo Kayambi, June 2010

5.2 Social meaning of Inti Raymi

During the Inti Raymi festival in Cayambe everybody helps each other during the festivities. As José Anrango from Pueblo Kayambi state: “without the community we will not be able to have festivities” (José Anrango, June 2010). The importance of the *minga* became clear in the previous chapter, with the *minga* and the aspect of sharing, *compartir*, this is totally embedded in the daily life. During indigenous celebrations the community aspect is getting stronger. As pointed out from the literature indigenous events alters the ties of community membership and creates closer bonds between households and other community members. According to Bourque, festivals do remind individuals of the importance of the community as a source of identity (Bourque 1994: 241). That the Inti Raymi festival is an exchange of people and communities is explained clearly by Apolinario Alcasiga, old men from the community Cangagua in Cayambe:

With the food for the Inti Raymi everybody from the community helps. We eat guinea pigs, potatoes, chicken, and products of maize. We drink a lot, beer, *chicha* and other alcohol. We are dancing and drinking till we fall down. We celebrate the festival of the harvest, with the whole family and the neighbors. We share chicken and food. It is an exchange between communities; we give food to other communities as well, because we are all indigenous. These festivities are important for our culture, when we were young we already knew the festival (Apolinario Alcasiga, May 2010).

He shows that the whole community helps with the preparation of the food, which is really important for the festivities. He mentions that the communities are also sharing with other communities, with their neighbors, because they are also indigenous. Next to the community-feeling, also family bonds are getting stronger during the celebrations of Inti Raymi, thus the festival has a gigantic social meaning. Apolinario Alcasiga explains that the festival is important for the community life and also for the exchange between different communities in the region: “We celebrate the harvest festival. To meet with the family, with our people, the neighbors, and we share chickens. It is an exchange between communities, we all share food and drinks. We are all indígenas and the festival is important because it is OUR culture. We know these festivities from our childhood, from grandfather to grandfather” (Apolinario Alcasiga, May 2010). Also Nestor Quilo explains: “The festivities of Inti Raymi are really strong here in Cayambe, all people who are living in other places are coming back to visit their communities and their family in the Inti Raymi period the end of June. They are coming back to stay with their family and to eat and drink together. The period of Inti Raymi is the strongest of the year. This period contributes to family-bonds” (Nestor Quilo, April 2010). This makes clear that the indigenous festival does have a social meaning and in this way Inti Raymi is important for the social bounds between and in the communities.

5.3 Spiritual meanings

The celebration of Inti Raymi is related to the Andean cosmivision, which is strongly related to the aspects of indigenous identity analyzed in the previous chapter. César Pilataxi gives a clear vision on the relation between the Andean cosmivision and the celebrations of Inti Raymi.

I think that the Inti Raymi is a manifestation with a relation to the *andean cosmovision*, and with the worldview of the *Kayambis*. This festivity is close related to the elements that we find in the nature. For example the volcano *el Cayambe*, which is one of the fundamental references related to the indigenous people from this region. Also the movement of the sun, the movement of the earth is related to this. (César Pilataxi, July 2010)

An important element from what César Pilataxi mentions is the volcano *El Cayambe*. This sacred mountain is, also according to José Anrango of Pueblo Kayambi, really important signification in the celebrations. He explained that the indigenous world vision is strong related to the nature, with respect to the mountains. These mountains like *el Cayambe* do also have spirits in the indigenous visions (José Anrango, June 2010). By what they are saying it becomes clear that the Inti Raymi does have spiritual meanings, which the people relate to elements in the nature.

These elements from the nature are also remarkable analyzing the different flyers and posters I collected about Inti Raymi celebrations in Ecuador. There are various symbols that are used frequently: images of the sun, pachamama, mountains, images of maize, images of animals like condors, guinea pigs and chickens, *la Chakana*, or *Cruz Andina*, pictures of the festival (dancing people in their traditional clothes) and music instruments. All posters are really colorful and full of indigenous symbolism as described above. The most texts are in Spanish but they also use Kichwa words. According to the people working for Pueblo Kayambi it is important to show the traditions but also to show something that comes from pachamama. The festival is about the relation with the nature, with the universe, with pachamama; this is why they make use of seeds, maize and other alimentations on the posters. These images and indigenous symbols are close related to the Andean cosmovision. These symbols and elements do have spiritual meaning for the people.

Indigenous leaders like César Pilataxi and José Anrango, or community representatives and organizations do have a different way to explain what Inti Raymi means for them than the people from the communities. The way these leaders describe the festival is more related to how the festival is described and portrayed in books, documents and the indigenous movement. Roberto Parce, a painter from Cayambe, notes this difference: "It is not only a festival how indigenous leaders do see or describe it. They have other things when talking about indigenous identity and their Andean cosmovision. They think as how it is written in books and documents and the indigenous movement, but not all people think like this. Not all people from the community are dancing for pachamama and the sun god, they just want to dance and to get drunk" (Roberto Parce, May 2010). This is because most indigenous leaders are involved in the indigenous movement and are expected to learn their community about indigenous culture and identity, as described before in this thesis.

Taking this into account it could be said that there are two kinds of spirituality related to Inti Raymi. The spiritual meaning that indigenous leaders give to the celebrations, close related to the Andean cosmovision is a different meaning people from the community give, which is not directly related to this world vision. In a secondary way they do refer to the same pillars as the indigenous leaders from the region. For example Apolinario Alcasiga, who is an old farmer from the community Cangagua the dance and the music are the first things he talks about thinking about the festival. "The 29th of June we are all dancing with our own instruments, yelling 'huyyy', huuuuuy'. With the whole community! At

puntiatzil the 'huyyy' is the biggest and the strongest. The people meet with each other and there is food. Everybody is happy and the people bring more flouts, more guitars and more music!" (Apolinario Alcasiga, May 2010). Apolinario mentions that they whole community and the family is happy together; dancing and singing. He is saying that it is important to meet people and to dance with each other, which is indirectly linked to what indigenous leaders should call the bounding of the community. By noting that they dance with their own instruments, he refers to an expression of indigenous culture and identity. As described in the previous paragraph the instruments are one of the most important aspects during the festivities related to indigenous identity. The different meanings given to the festivities show that indigenous identity is a layered construct.



The community of Pesillo presents themselves, Puntiatzil Cayambe, 2010

5.4 Ethnical meanings

The indigenous movement plays a big role in the strengthening of the indigenous identity in Ecuador. These big indigenous organizations are promoting indigenous languages and culture to teach the new generations to be proud on their culture and identity (CONAIE, 2010). Pueblo Kayambi, the organization responsible for the Inti Raymi celebrations in the region, has close ties with the indigenous movement. For them it is important that national and regional indigenous leaders are present at the celebrations organized by them. Thus there exists a relation between the Inti Raymi festival in Cayambe and the indigenous movement, with this the festivities do have an ethnical meaning with is related to the intentions to strengthen the indigenous identity and the cultural heritage by the indigenous movement.

When the colleagues Geronimo Lanchimba and Ernesto Catucado of Pueblo Kayambi had an interview at the local radio station *Echos de Cayambe* to promote the Inti Raymi, they had to answer

the question if they were inviting people from the indigenous movement. Their answer was “we want to invite everybody, from the whole country and international, to get to know our rich culture in Cayambe. As every year we have invited some indigenous *dirigentes*. Marlon Santí [CONAIE] and Delfin Tenesca [ECUARUNARI] are coming”. The response of the radio promoter was “so the authorities from the government cannot come, because Marlon and Delfín from the indigenous movement are invited”? And the answer of Geronimo Lanchimba was: “During the Inti Raymi we are not bringing the political flag, this festival is to unite, to have a multicultural celebration. We want to show our culture in Cayambe. We invite everybody, also people from the government, and also from the indigenous movement. Inti Raymi is for everybody and these days of festivity we will all celebrate together” (Radio *Echos de Cayambe*, June 2010). This shows that it is important to invite indigenous leaders, but not to continue with the discussion about indigenous people and the government during the festivities. These festivities are a period of felicity and not to unite everybody.

5.5 Economical meanings

Drawn from the literature the payment of indigenous festivals in the Andean countries does have a relation with the old *cargo*-system. This means that people from the community are expected to pass through a series of hierarchical sponsorship positions (Corr 2003: 41). Every year individual households were responsible for the organization, providing food, music and buying the firework. The literature also points out that nowadays these indigenous celebrations are organized by village sectors and the households from the communities do pay contributions to fund the event (Bourque 1994 among others). In Cayambe the Inti Raymi festival is organized by Pueblo Kayambi and this is also the organization who funds the event; Pueblo Kayambi provides food, music and they buy the firework to invite the people from all communities (José Anrango, May 2010).

Aymé Quijia from Nayon and Edison Analuiza from Quito explained that for the organization of the festivities there are few *priostes*, these are persons who are responsible for one element of the festival organization or celebration. Mainly in the communities there are people responsible for different tasks like food, drinks and the music- and dance groups. In the communities around Cayambe, who are coming to join these festivities in Cayambe, these responsibilities still exist. According to Apolinario Alcasinga, from the community Cangagua in Cayambe, everybody helps each other with the payment for the festival. “Nobody pays the whole festival, everybody helps, everybody brings something. The organizations Pueblo Kayambi prepares the *Chicha* and some alcohol and all people help to bring food; *cuy, papas, callinas, mote, choclos*. We drink a lot, beer, *chicha, trago*. We drink and we dance, we drink and we dance”. (Apolinario Alcasinga 2010).

Pueblo Kayambi does have some organizations who are helping them to finance the event, these are shown on the communication posters¹⁵. Geronimo Lanchimba and Galo Valverde working for Pueblo Kayambi explained that the organizations on the poster did help with the money or organization tasks for the event, but that others [also named on the posters] are paying afterwards. This shows that it is not really clear and organized who is helping or not because they don't know if these organizations shown on the posters are helping after the event. Some of these sponsors on the poster are big indigenous organizations like ECUARUNARI and CODENPE, this shows that there is a

¹⁵ The poster of Inti Raymi, and as well the poster of San Pedro, are added as annex of this thesis.

link with the Inti Raymi in Cayambe to the indigenous movement. The municipality of Cayambe is also sponsoring the Inti Raymi organized by Pueblo Kayambi. On the posters of the Inti Raymi the sponsoring organizations are showed. Strange is that on the poster they show organizations like Codenpe and ECUARUNARI, who didn't help them with money or other things.

5.6 Inti Raymi, Indigenous identity and cultural rights

Nestor Quilo is a young *indígena* from the community *San Pablo Urco* in Cayambe and gives courses and workshops about multiculturalism to people working in the healthcare sector. According to him it is really important that people know about the diversity of people there are in Ecuador, to treat all people with the same respect. For Nestor the celebrations of Inti Raymi are strongly related to indigenous identity. During an interview about indigenous identity and Inti Raymi he explained that the indigenous festivities make the communities more aware of being indigenous:

In June, we celebrate and share, to not forget that we are *indígena*. In the festivity of Inti Raymi one can identify himself with where he comes from. This is a fundamental aspect of the festivity. The indigenous population wants and needs to recuperate the history for 'our' identity. With the Inti Raymi we identify ourselves, with the festival of San Pedro or San Juan not. Inti Raymi is a theme of re-identification with the culture and it is necessary to look for the origin to understand this culture, it is necessary to look for the origin (Nestor Quilo, May 2010).

There can be said that the indigenous festivities like the Inti Raymi help to reconstruct and strengthen the indigenous cultural heritage and elements of identity. Cultural events are important for indigenous communities to express their identity (Wibbelsman 2005). Edison Analuiza from the Cotopaxi province agrees: "These four important Andean festivities help to reconstruct cultural heritage. Nowadays the indigenous people feel more proud of their culture and the feeling of indigenusness is getting stronger" (Edison Analuiza, April 2010). What Nestor and Edison note is related to the process to recuperate the history which is embedded in the processes of the indigenous movement to strengthen indigenous identity. He mentions that the he, as indigenous person, cannot identify himself with the festival San Pedro or San Juan but only with the indigenous celebration of Inti Raymi.

That people celebrating Inti Raymi feel more proud on their indigenous culture and identity during the Inti Raymi festival is shown by the traditional clothes they are wearing, the music that they play with their own instruments and the traditions and rituals related to the festival. An example of showing their indigenous identity and pride is the Election of the *ñusta* Inti Raymi. This is an event what they realize in honor of the indigenous woman in Cayambe. This election is realized after the *toma de la plaza*, during the festival, 29th of June. *La ñusta* is the 'sacred princess of the sun', and represents her community. Young woman from different communities want to be the *ñusta*, because this gives them more respect in the community and she will learn a lot about the indigenous movement and indigenous culture because the *ñusta* of the year has to join Pueblo Kayambi to regional and national meetings. These young girls have to dress themselves in traditional clothes and they have to answer some questions about indigenous organization, the indigenous movement or

about the Andean cosmivision front of all Inti Raymi public. When a girl speaks fluently *Kichwa* this is really appreciated, and gives her more change to the title of *ñusta Pueblo Kayambi*. This ceremony intends to let young woman feel proud about their indigenous identity, and keeps the use of traditional clothes, the language and other rituals alive. The *ñusta* is chosen by judges, most of the time leaders of indigenous organizations. The rules for the *ñusta* in Cayambe are declared by Pueblo Kayambi.



Election of the *Ñustas* during Inti Raymi, Puntiatzil 2010

Indigenous people are using their identity to claim protection for their cultural heritage and their traditional knowledge, by claim their property rights to dance, music and festivals (Robbins and Stamatopoulou 2004). According to Juan Lema, the president of the *Pawkar Raymi* celebration in Peguche, cultural rights do have a strong relation with the indigenous identity and cultural expressions like the four Andean celebrations. It is about receiving and respecting the indigenous culture, which does have a link with nature, pachamama, and historical traditions and cultural aspects (Juan Lema, February 2010). According to Monica Pacheco the festivities of Inti Raymi are definitely a way to strengthen indigenous identity in relation to the indigenous movement and in relation with cultural rights. Indigenous leaders are working to recuperate the history and the culture and traditions by starting to read and write about their culture, is to make the community owner of their own cultural practices. She notes this as being part of cultural rights that all benefits that come from the festival are for the people who are celebrating it (Mónica Pacheco, June 2010).

Conclusion

In this thesis I searched to an answer on the central question: *How to describe and understand the meanings and practices of the Inti Raymi festival in relation to indigenous identity and cultural rights in pluralistic Ecuador?* This question seeks to an insight in how indigenous celebrations on local level are related to identity politics and the claim for cultural rights. It tends to explain the linkage between indigenous identity and cultural rights through the indigenous celebration of Inti Raymi. Taking into account that the indigenous celebration of Inti Raymi is important for the indigenous people in Ecuador, I focused on indigenous organizations and indigenous people involved in these celebrations. To understand the linkage between the elements of the question I will briefly reflect on the three main concepts; indigenous identity, cultural rights and indigenous celebrations, before I examine how indigenous festivals focused on the celebration of Inti Raymi in Cayambe express struggles about indigenous identity.

I have analyzed the festival of Inti Raymi using the concepts of indigenous identity, cultural rights and indigenous celebrations. These three concepts do have a triangular relationship and are strongly related with each other. The last twenty years the influence of the indigenous movement increased in Latin American countries, and by indigenous organizations it became important to strengthen the indigenous identity (Yashar 2005, Kuper 2003). To strengthen the indigenous culture and identity indigenous leaders referred back to the culture and knowledge of their ancestors to recuperate the history (Robbins and Stamatopoulou 2004). With a focus on the indigenous population involved in the celebrations of Inti Raymi in Cayambe I have explored that these celebrations are a practice of cultural rights and a way to strengthen indigenous identity. This raises new questions about how these indigenous people reflect on their identity and how this is related to the recuperation of the history embedded in the process to strengthen indigenous identity by indigenous movement in relation to cultural rights.

The people involved in this research do reflect on indigenous identity referring to different aspects of identity, most important is their place in the community and the relation with Pachamama. It became clear that indigenous identity is a social construct and created within a framework shaped by historical elements of communities. Indigenous people are bounded to an imagined community through a shared past and a common future (Wilson 1995). The mention of self-definition is important, people can define by themselves if they are indigenous or not (Bernhard 2006, Kneight 1990). People who do not speak indigenous languages and do not use traditional clothes, can consider themselves being indigenous, referring to the feeling of indigeness (Kneight 1990). How people reflect on their indigeness is close related to the indigenous movement in Ecuador. To strengthen the cultural identity CONAIE, the biggest indigenous organization in Latin America, is promoting indigenous languages and cultural expressions like Inti Raymi (CONAIE 2009). Their interests and ideas about indigenous identity are implemented on the indigenous communities by indigenous leaders. There is, however, a significant difference between indigenous leaders connected to the indigenous movement and the people from the communities how they perceive their indigenous identity. These indigenous leaders from Cayambe and on national level do have an intermediate function between the indigenous movement and the indigenous people in the communities. Through them the people from the communities in Cayambe are learned and informed

about the interests of the indigenous movement. The reflections given on indigenous identity by indigenous leaders is strongly related to the Andean cosmovision and the indigenous cultural pillars as described by the indigenous movement and in books. People from the community do indirectly relate their reflections on their indigenusness to this Andean worldview, but do point out more aspects of daily life as community bounds and indigenous food. This different perceive on indigenous identity shows that this is a layered construct.

Indigenous people are claiming protection for their cultural heritage and their traditional knowledge; by claim the property rights to dances, music and festivals (Robbins and Stamatopoulou, 2004). This shows that indigenous identity is expressed in the claiming of cultural rights. The recuperation of the Inti Raymi festival in Cayambe is a significant illustration of this. To recuperate indigenous celebrations like Inti Raymi the indigenous people take their control on their own cultural expressions, by doing this they are claiming cultural rights. Taking this into account the celebration of Inti Raymi can be considered a cultural right. By taking the possession of their own culture they separated themselves from the mestizos, who had always been the 'owner' of the indigenous culture.

Cultural events are important for indigenous communities to express their identity, these cultural events are important for the self-definition of indigenous ethnic groups. (Wibbelsman, 2005). During indigenous festivals there is the importance of public space and place with a strong symbolic function. The recognition of the surroundings and knowledge of the stories told in connection to the land helped not only of where people *were*, but also of *who* they were (Wibbelsman 2005: 210). The movement between different public places helps to understand how people give meaning to places and to activities during the festival (Bourque 1994). This movement between public places involves the definition of boundaries and groups (Bourque 1994) as in Cayambe where indigenous people separated themselves from the mestizos. This underlines cultural contrast rather than integration, which challenges the pluralistic status of Ecuador. Indigenous festivals do remind individuals of the importance of the community as a source of identity and strength (Bourque 1994), which shows that indigenous festivals do have a strong social meaning. During the celebrations of Inti Raymi in Cayambe the people involved in these events noted the community- and family bounds one of the most important aspects of the festival. Indigenous people refer to the culture of their ancestors and indigenous knowledge to make them feel stronger and more proud on their indigenous culture and identity, expressing this by using traditional clothes, practicing their own dances and music and elect the *ñusta*. During Inti Raymi people feel more connected to the indigenous *pueblo* they are part of and they feel more connected to their ancestors. As Edison Analuiza said clearly: "The four important Andean festivities help to reconstruct cultural heritage. Nowadays the indigenous people feel more proud of their culture and the feeling of indigenusness is getting stronger" (Edison Analuiza, April 2010).

To conclude, this thesis contributes to the studies about identity politics in Latin America. It provides an insight on how indigenous celebrations are related to indigenous identity and the claim for cultural rights. Through the meanings and practices of the Inti Raymi festival this research explored how indigenous people are claiming cultural rights in relation to their indigenous identity in a multicultural society like Ecuador.

Taking all above into account, the meanings and practices of the Inti Raymi festival expresses the way indigenous citizens perceive meaning to indigenous identity. By recuperating the history in the process to strengthen indigenous identity in Ecuador, indigenous festivals like Inti Raymi are a practice of cultural rights and in this way it contributes to the position of indigenous people in pluralistic Ecuador. Indigenous traditional knowledge (as Inti Raymi) is an important notion of indigenous cultural heritage and local identity. There is thus a close relation between indigenous identity, cultural heritage and cultural rights (Bourque 1994, Corr 2003).

The celebration of Inti Raymi can on the one hand be considered as a product of the recuperation of the history in a process to strengthen the indigenous identity based on specification of the indigenous movement, used to claim cultural rights. On the other side these celebrations do propagate to express indigenous identity in different ways, which shows that indigenous identity is layered because perceptions of identity do partly determine the meaning of Inti Raymi. By recuperating indigenous festivals like the Inti Raymi the indigenous movements seeks to strengthen the indigenous identity and a strategy to claim cultural rights. They do this by creating more interaction between indigenous leaders and the community, promoting the importance of these celebrations. Indigenous leaders on local level have become the link between the indigenous population in the communities and the indigenous movement. The celebration of Inti Raymi in Ecuador has become a stage to show and express indigenous identity on local and national level, in contribution to a more respected position for the indigenous cultural expressions in pluralistic Ecuador.



Bringing the (indigenous) political flag during the celebrations of Inti Raymi in Cayambe

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(Last visited by author of this thesis: august 2010)

Attachment 1: Festival posters Inti Raymi and San Pedro 2010

CONFEDERACION DEL PUEBLO KAYAMBI
INTI RAYMI 2010

TUKUY KUNALLATAK ÑUKANCHIK
 KAWSAIKUNATAK SINCHIYACHISHPAK
 KATISHUNCHIK

Lugar: Templo Sagrado de Puntiatzil
 Fecha: 29 de junio

ORGANIZA: CONFEDERACIÓN DEL PUEBLO KAYAMBI.
 PARTICIPAN: UCISPAL, UNOCIGS, UNOPAC, UCIJUM, UCICAB, UNOCC, COINO, TURUJTA, COINCCA, UCICAO, ÑURUJTA, UCOPEM, COCIJM, OYACACHI, COMUNIDADES INDEPENDIENTES Y BARRIOS.

^{0° 0' 0"}
Cayambe

San Pedro 2010

Fiesta del Sol en la Mitad del Mundo
 Del 13 de Junio al 5 de Julio

Logos: MEGRA, Well Street, Pilsener, PANARTE, DPA, CAYAMBE, MINISTERO DE TURISMO, Ecuad, etc.

Attachment 2: People involved in this research

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