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NOT FORGETTING WHO I AM, AND WHERE I AM GOING: INDIGENOUS AMAZONIANS NEGOTIATE IDENTITY THROUGH PARTICIPATORY PHOTOGRAPHY.

ABSTRACT

Using participatory photography, we explore ways in which indigenous, Amazonian Peruvians define and negotiate their multiple identities (as native people, Peruvians, and global citizens) with a focus on those who leave their communities to seek education in the city. We show how they maintain a foot in each world without forgetting where they are, who they are, or how to navigate obstacles to reach their goals. At times they adopted a national message of Peruvian identity, but always held firm to their identity as indigenous people who functioned as brokers between their native communities and the wider world.

KEYWORDS

Participatory Photography, Peru, Amazonian Peruvians, Peruvian Identity, Indigenous People

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INTRODUCTION

What does it mean to be an indigenous, Amazonian Peruvian today? How do indigenous Amazonians define and negotiate their multiple identities – as native people, as Peruvians, and as global citizens? These were the guiding questions behind a project that used participatory photography as a means through which to explore the self-defined identity of a group of educated indigenous Peruvians who straddle several cultural milieux.

In the international popular imaginary, Peruvian indigenous people are often associated with Andean culture, dominated by the iconic images of Macchu Picchu and other Inca sites, where proud people gloriously defended their territories against fierce Spanish Conquistadors. Yet recent census figures record 332,975 indigenous people in Peru's Amazon region, with a significant proportion belonging to the Awajún (Aguaruna) and Wampís (Huambisa) ethnic groups (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2008).[1] All are culturally distinct from those of Andean heritage, being categorized in the Jivaroan linguistic family (Pozzi-Escot 1998). They have a unique place in the classical anthropological literature, as well as in popular perception, in which their warrior tradition and culture have been exoticized, with particular emphasis on head-shrinking practices and use of hallucinogens (Harner 1972). Such representations have created particular challenges of identity in the contemporary world, in addition to the issues that affect other indigenous groups, primarily globalization and the invasion of their territories by modern world interests.

As Clifford (2013) writes, one of the major consequences of post-colonialism and globalization has been the struggle for rights of self-definition, as indigenous people "reach back selectively to deeply rooted, adaptive traditions: creating new pathways in a complex modernity (Clifford 2013:7)." This study contributes to an understanding of how Peruvian Amazonians articulate this struggle for what it means to be indigenous today, expressed through creation of images intended to represent the various forms of identity they negotiate daily. As defined by Woodward (1997), "Identity gives us an idea of who we are and of how we relate to others and to the world in which we live. Identity marks the ways in which we are the same as others who share that position, and the ways in which we are different from those who do not" (Woodward 1997:1-2). For indigenous Amazonians, these questions of "who we are" in particular cultural circumstances, become especially pressing when they leave

[1] Aguaruna and Huambisa are the Spanish names used by mestizos (i.e., Peruvians of mixed descent) to identify the Awajún and Wampís, respectively. Our Wampís and Awajún participants agree that their cultures are similar and their languages are mutually intelligible. Many agree that the Ecuadorean Shuar and the Peruvian Wampís are exactly the same group of people, separated only by national territorial borderlines. For this reason, some participants call themselves Shuar rather than Wampís. Census figures refer to the 2007 census (published in 2008); recent 2017 figures have not yet been published.

their more homogeneous natal communities and move into an urban context where national and international values may compete with the local Amazonian traditions they left behind.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

In order to interpret the specific findings from the photography project, some context is needed. This research took place against a backdrop of heightened tension between Amazonian indigenous people and the Peruvian government, sparked by government actions and policies that involved their ancestral territories – and by extension, competing definitions of indigenous identity and rights. Some governmental decrees were intended to dismantle the distinctive communal property regime of indigenous communities in order to make these lands appealing for global private investment like logging, mining, and oil. (Renique 2009). This tension peaked in 2008, when two presidential decrees sent to Congress led to angry rallies and road blockades organized by the Peruvian pan-Amazonian indigenous organization – *Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de La Selva Perúana,* or AIDESEP (Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest). In particular, indigenous people objected to Law 1090, *La Ley Forestal* or the Forestal Law (El Comercio 2009a:A6), which was perceived as turning over the Amazon and its wood to private corporations for commercial exploitation (El Comercio 2009b:A2). On June 5, 2009, indigenous demonstrators blocked a road called *la Curva del Diablo* (Devil's Bend) in the Amazonian town of Bagua. Police opened fire on Awajún/Wampís armed with machetes and spears, and 35 people died, including 24 mestizo police officers and 10 indigenous people (El Comercio 2009c:A2). One police officer disappeared(El Comercio 2010:A10)(El Comercio 2010:A10) (El Comercio 2010:A10); a year later, a cell-phone photo appeared in newspapers across Perú, showing a mob of young indigenous protesters with spears in their hands parading the bloodied police officer, while defiantly performing victory gestures for the camera (El Comercio 2010:A10). Extensive media coverage of Devil's Bend, both at the time and when the photo surfaced, confirmed public perceptions of indigenous savagery, while obscuring the larger question of indigenous rights. The Peruvian President at the time, Alan Garcia Perez, suggested the Awajún and Wampís were "not even first-class citizens," and that they "do not have the right to say, do not come to our land, to

28 million Peruvians," (The Real Avatar 2011) remarks that were seen as particularly provocative.

Meanwhile, even as the protests and deaths were happening, new government actions and policies were underway that were designed to create a more inclusive Peruvian identity. The year 2008 saw the publication of the *Diseño Curricular Nacional de Educación Básica Regular* (National Curriculum Design for Basic Regular Education), specifying 11 objectives through to 2021. These included the growth of a personal, social, and cultural identity for a democratic, intercultural, and ethical society in Perú; the mastering of Castilian Spanish to promote communication among all Peruvians; the preservation and promotion of native languages; the knowledge of English as an international language in the framework of globalization; and the mastering of information technologies to promote autonomous learning (Ministerio de Educacion 2008:21-30). These policies led quickly to the expansion of communication technologies throughout the country, one of which aimed to provide almost 4,000 isolated communities with telecommunications infrastructure and services (Luna 2010:A12). Within this set of policies, we see the tensions that were articulated by participants in our project – the explicit goal of creating national identity, with expansion of opportunities to all, while also affirming the value of indigenous culture, raising questions about how comfortably these goals can be accommodated. This period was thus one of rapid change that was inevitably affecting the values, ideologies, and culture of indigenous people – most particularly the young urban Amazonians and other older, college-educated leaders who had left the village to participate in an increasingly global environment as university students or professionals, while maintaining an acute awareness of the Devil's Bend confrontation (sometimes known as the Bagua Massacre) and the larger issues it symbolized.

ESTABLISHING THE ETHNOGRAPHER'S EYE

In this study, we used participant-generated photography as a way to work alongside indigenous Amazonian Peruvians as they explored their sense of themselves as simultaneously indigenous, Peruvian, and global citizens. Our research participants were either preparing to study at the *Universidad Nacional Major de San Marcos* (San Marcos Major National University), were already studying there, had graduated from the university and were pursuing a graduate degree (in San Marcos or elsewhere), while two were older leaders with college education.

The decision to use visual methods grew from Villamar's experience as a teacher of English, as well as his earlier research in the Amazon. Furthermore, his own identity also played into the motivations for this research -- born and raised in the city of Lima, he considers himself an Amazonian mestizo, and maintains traditions passed down through his father, such as drinking *ayahuasca* to heal and cleanse the body (Dobkin de Rios 1970). And thus a note on reflexivity is in order. As Sarah Pink notes, "reflexivity should be integrated into processes of fieldwork ... in ways that do not simply explain the researcher's approach but reveal the very processes by which the positioning of researcher and informant were constituted ..." (2003:187). As an English teacher in 2010-11, Villamar came to know his students both in the classroom and in the district where many of them lived. Many were interested in learning English in order to apply to scholarship programs in the United States or Europe. The classes were approved by AIDESEP, which often functioned as the first contact point for many Amazonians who came to Lima. People in this situation live in a complex world in which they are in close contact with nature and tradition, and also with modern global languages and technologies. They speak two or three languages, as part of ancient neighboring traditions and also a modern nation-state. They plant yucca in their gardens and grow up eating what they harvest and the game their parents obtain from their ecosystems, but later on in life – even in their Amazonian communities – spend sweaty afternoons chatting online in a hot, non-air-conditioned Internet café for S/1.00 ($0.40) an hour.

A few years earlier, Villamar had conducted research in indigenous Amazonian communities (Villamar 1997). Two observations, experienced during these two phases of his life, became landmarks on a path toward the use of participatory visual methods, guiding the way to establishing a particular "ethnographer's eye" (Grimshaw 2001). First, in an uncomfortable encounter with local elders of an Awajún village, he was initially denied access during his early attempts to do fieldwork. After presenting his plans, he was rejected with an emphatic explanation by the elders of the community: "you anthropologists come and go, watch us like animals in a zoo, make money out of it, and we never see any changes in our communities" (Villamar 1997:79). He learned that, notwithstanding his personal sense of Amazonian identity, he was seen as just another exploitive outsider. As it turned out, the elders reconsidered their decision once Villamar used his

camera to take pictures of village families at their request, and then returned them as gifts. He began to think about the power of photos as ways to connect with people. A second insight came later, when teaching English in the city, he noticed how oral proficiency in the language improved during assessment when students were encouraged to describe people and places in photos they had taken. In both these contexts, the relationship shifted from a reliance on textual methods of "data" collection by an "inquisitor, to a more natural dialogue between equals. Indeed, as Gubrium and Harper (2013) note, "participatory visual and digital methods are unusually effective in opening up the research process to collaboration" (Gubrium and Harper 2013:43). In particular, Villamar noted in these conversations the complexity of life for the indigenous, mostly male young people who had left the village to obtain higher education and learn English, while also planning (and being expected) to return to their homes and provide leadership. This also connected with his observations in the earlier work in the Amazon, where at annual meetings of Awajún and Wampis *Apus* (Chiefs), he had noticed how when discussions centered on incursions into ancestral territories by the mestizo or multinational corporations, younger and college-educated *Apus* were the most emphatic guardians of their ancestral land. For some time, there had been heated debates in indigenous areas about such incursions, college-bound people, were often seen as key resources to be nurtured in the struggle against outside interference, being put into the position of becoming cultural brokers and intermediaries. This sense of "being in two worlds" was reflected in the photo-inspired discussions in English classes, and this laid the groundwork for a more formal research project employing visual approaches to explore this issue.

In developing the parameters of the study, we found the concept of "adaptive agency" useful. As Kottak and Kozaitis (2012) describe this, people use such agency "reinterpret and tailor global cultural influences to maximize meaningful ways of life at the local level" (Kottak and Kozaitis 2012:299). An example of such adaptive agency would be the use of computer technology and the Internet by indigenous villagers to create official community documents and send them to government agencies. Some research exists on adaptive agency among the Andean Aymara in Lima (Suxo Yapuchura 2007; Suxo Yapuchura 2008), and there is important work by de la Cadena (2000) and Garcia (2005), on the role of educated and technologically-literate Quechua as local leaders.

Little research has been done on comparable issues faced by Amazonians, and almost none on those faced by members of the Jivaroan linguistic family. Most relevant in both theoretical framework and methodology is the work of Morelli (2017) with Matsés[2] children still living in ancestral villages. Her research, in which she used participant-driven photography, offers some useful parallels, especially in relation to generational differences in identity resulting from major social changes. Morelli shows how Matsés children "are not merely caught up in these ongoing changes but are actively responding to, engaging with, and negotiating them, and in doing so shaping the possibilities of a future that remains undefined" (Morelli 2017:138). In her work, Morelli, who explores the lives of children still living in ancestral villages, points to the value of visual approaches in exploring questions of changing indigenous identity.

WHY PHOTOGRAPHY?

Participatory photography stresses the "active role of participants in the generation and interpretation of photos and understands it as a research method that hands over the cameras to people—individuals or groups—for the purpose of eliciting information to inform a research project and stimulate self-reflection and interactions with others" (Gotschi, et al. 2009:293). This approach is, of course, part of a broader rejection in anthropology of the notion that "ethnography can or should be objective or scientific or that the ethnography represents expert knowledge that clearly distinguishes the author from those depicted" (Harper 2012:51). In visual anthropology in particular, it is a reaction to the appropriation of images of "exotic" people, with little or no regard for the rights or interests of those people, as reflected in Awajún responses to Villamar's first foray into the field. The Amazon region has long been a focus for critiques of the visual appropriation of indigenous culture; the famous Yanomami films of Napoleon Changnon and Timothy Asch have been blamed for perpetuating stereotypes of hallucinogenic-loving, wife-beating, blood-thirsty indigenous Amazonians. There could be no better illustration of the eroded trust between Amazonians and anthropologists than the initial scene of a well-known documentary by Jose Padilha "Secrets of the Tribe" (2010), showing a Yanomami elder shouting at the camera in anger, "Look, here they are taking my picture again. Rather than taking my picture again you should be ignorant of us. But here you are taking my picture again. I say this because

[2] The Matsés, or Mayoruna, are indigenous to the Peruvian and Brazilian Amazon; their language belongs to the Panoan language family.

you Nabäs are always such liars. I don't like to believe anything you say because you always lie" (Padilha, et al. 2010).

Thus for good reason, the Awajún/Wampís have historically been suspicious of photography. Jivaroan people's story of contact with outsiders dates back to the first attempts made by the Inca, and then the Conquistadors to subdue them (Harner 1972; Regan 1993). Later Catholic and Protestant missionaries' more successful incursions into their territory (Larson and Davis 1981), and the current wave of official and NGO incursions of today (Garcia 2005), have produced negative reaction toward visitors who come, equipped with cameras and notepads, to ask questions about their lives and customs. This project, then, emerged from a conscious rejection of the academic observer's "gaze" (Trouillot 2003:104), aiming to take a more reciprocal stance, in which the creativity of the participants would drive the research with participants themselves able to have "greater reflection and thoughtful ways to communicate their own meanings and understanding" (Holgate, et al. 2012:314). Most important in the utilization of participatory photography was the fact that it allowed for a change in the power dynamics during the research process. The power differentials were decreased and participants were able to actually teach the researcher (Holgate, et al. 2012; Lorenz and Kolb 2009) about their lives. Participant photography seeks to break down understandable suspicion by providing people with a way to frame the research themselves, both creating and interpreting their images. As Wilder notes, "The act of taking a photograph is an opening for communication; the camera becomes a channel for the exchange, an excuse for two people to enter a dialogue" (Wilder 2009:35). Indeed, such participatory photo methods are often not primarily about the content of images, but about that communication, and the insights it brings. In describing the power of "photo elicitation" methods, Douglas Harper argues that this approach breaks the conventional frame of the interview, and produces different information; "when two or more people discuss the meaning of photographs they try to figure out something together" (Harper 2002:23).

Much has been written about participatory photo methods, which have been used in anthropology since the early work of John and Malcolm Collier, although in recent years the focus has often been on Photovoice, a specific variety of the approach, developed by Wang and colleagues. Our research was not truly a Photovoice project,

since it was not aimed primarily at "changing policy," and it did not employ framing topics generated entirely by participants (Wang 1999:188). Nonetheless, the framing questions were not "top-down," in that they had actually emerged from the deep level of familiarity gained by Villamar in his previous work with indigenous people, as he realized how central the issues of multiple identity were in their lives. And although the explicitly Freirian goal of consciousness-raising in order to effect change was not primary, one important goal was to make participants aware of the potential this approach could have to affect their lives (Wang, et al. 2004). For instance, issues generated during the interviews could provide arguments to make to educational policymakers aware of the need to be more responsive to local concerns, or the experience could encourage participants to find ways to present their own insights in other forums (which some subsequently did, as we shall see).

Thus this work, although inspired by Photovoice, is guided more by anthropological and sociological approaches such as those used by Clark-Ibanez (2004), or Oliffe and Bottorff (2007), who researched the experiences of urban children and men living with prostate cancer, respectively. For each of these authors, as for Harper and Wilder, photos create the opening for a conversation, allowing participants to act "as curators, with a share in the representation of their own lives" (Wilder 2009:35). As Oliffe and Bottorff (2007), note, "the data collected, as well as the subsequent analysis, were grounded in what participants chose to share rather than being based entirely on responses to predetermined interview questions" (Oliffe and Bottorff 2007:853). Such approaches may be especially useful when working with indigenous people, as Castleden and her colleagues (2008) note. They argue that participants might not always be fluent in the dominant language and culture, and may feel more comfortable with oral and visual forms of communication, even if participants are quite acculturated.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Thus the research began, not with definitive hypotheses of what might emerge, but rather with an open-ended curiosity about how participants might represent and then interpret their own senses of identity. With the assistance of a former AIDESEP indigenous employee and three key indigenous consultants, and drawing from the first author's existing network, 20 participants (16 male and four female) were selected from about 40 students

and leaders in Lima,[3] using a snowball sampling approach. Although the initial intent was to confine the study to current students, we included some older, college-educated individuals who were essentially already in the roles to which students were aspiring, since they expressed a wish to participate. Thus the ages of participants ranged from 18 to 50.

In the first stage of the study, participants met the researcher in groups, when the nature of the research was explained. Those willing to participate signed consent documents and agreed to spend a week taking photos, before meeting with the researcher for an individual photo-elicitation interview. They were modestly compensated with payment amounting to about $35.00, plus bus fare and snacks as needed. Seven Vivitar Vivicam 5.1 and 7.1 MP digital cameras were used, for their low cost and availability, and because they facilitate the downloading and quick management of photos and images. To make the process manageable, the participants were placed in three groups, two of seven and one of six. During an initial session with each group, technical instructions on the use of the cameras were given, along with a discussion of issues of power and ethics (Castleden, et al. 2008), and a list of three broad framing topics was distributed. The topics (originally stated in Spanish) were: (1) Please, take pictures that capture, illustrate, or represent what it means to you to be Awajún/Wampís; (2) Please, take pictures that capture, illustrate, or represent what it means to you to be Peruvian, and (3) Please, take pictures that capture, illustrate, or represent local (Awajún/Wampís or mestizo) and outside (national or international) influences that you had growing up in your community and your school, and those you have now living in Lima (or any other urban area).

The groups worked sequentially; when the first group returned the cameras after a week and began the interpretive process, the next group received the cameras. During the interviews that followed the photography exercise, flexibility was maintained; participants interpreted these frames in many ways and were allowed to guide the conversations, and more themes inevitably emerged. Interpretation of the images followed a protocol based on Photovoice approaches, starting with selection, in which the participants choose those that best matched their concerns, followed by contextualization, in which participants discuss the images, and codifying, in which themes are identified (Freire 2003). The three stages take place in a participatory manner, aiming to engage participants

[3] The gender imbalance accurately reflects the fact that young men are much more likely to come to Lima for further education.

in conversations. All interviews were digitally recorded (audio) to ensure accuracy. As facilitator, the first author tried to maintain input at a minimum, to allow participants to produce knowledge that was significant to them with little direction, other than the initial framing topics. Villamar is a native Spanish speaker, and the interviews were all conducted in that language; all participants knew enough Spanish to be able to pursue a technical certificate or university degree in Lima. As John Collier wrote long ago when defining photo-based research, "no type of fieldwork requires better rapport" (Collier 1967:51); Villamar had known some of the Awajun participants for years, which was important in establishing rapport with all of those included.

Participants were asked to select five photos for each of the three framing topics. At the end of the research period, we collected 240 photographs without captions and 105 photographs with captions for a total of 345 photographs. All photos were taken by participants, who had signed informed consent documents; anyone else shown in the photos also signed release documents. Two photos used here were actually images taken of existing photos owned by participants, which included children; in these cases, faces are blurred to protect anonymity.

As part of the interpretive process, we used PhotoScape, an open-source software program with simple features that were useful (PhotoScape N.d.). It allowed participants to bring up a photo from a folder containing their images, group them up by topic and discuss them. During the final stage of the interview, participants were asked to to choose five of their images and write captions, using the Photoscape program. The interviews took from 90 minutes to two hours. All the participants knew how to use computers, regularly using email and messenger apps to communicate with family and friends in the Amazon. The technical quality of the photos varies considerably; some are out of focus, poorly framed, or otherwise lacking. However, it was clear that participants chose them for their meaning, rather than for aesthetics.

Initially, we had planned to conduct focus groups, in which participants would come up with themes based on the visual text they produced – an approach that is more in tune with established participatory visual methodologies (Wang, et al. 2004; Wang, et al. 1996). However, Awajun consultants urged against this because of the political turmoil caused by the Bagua Massacre incident, suggesting that the incident was so polarizing that it would inevitably come up, and would create ten-

sion and animosity between those with different political views, The individual sessions, using Photoscape, were used instead, and were found to be effective.

NEGOTIATING INDIGENOUS IDENTITY

One of the strengths of photo-based research is also one of its challenges – the data in the form of images is so rich that choosing representative photos is difficult. After careful consultation, we agreed that the images presented here, together with the conversations around them, are among the most effective in speaking to the issues of negotiated identity. In some cases, we present several images together in the form of a collage, underlining the point that common themes emerged in the photos chosen by participants.While the participants were guided by the framing questions, they also shared a sense of independence and control over the conversations (Holgate, et al. 2012), sometimes addressing many topics in both photography and conversation, which enriched the interviews. It became apparent that the three levels of identity suggested in the questions – indigenous, national, and global, were not viewed as distinct by participants, but rather as constantly intertwining and related, and thus we do not treat them as distinctly separate themes in this analysis. For instance, several participants spoke to the issue of their identity as Peruvians, while also being Awajún. Juan Pablo, 19, took a picture of a poster on his wall, showing a map of Perú, filled in with the colors and symbols of the national flag (FIGURE 1).

FIGURE 1: JUAN PABLO'S IMAGE OF A POSTER OF THE PERUVIAN FLAG: "WE SHOULDN'T USE ANOTHER FLAG."

He commented that it "represents our flag, our country. We, as Peruvians ...shouldn't use another flag. It ... represents our national symbol."[4] Juan Pablo was very aware of the national glorification of the ancient Inca and Andean past, mentioning the importance of encouraging tourists to come to Macchu Piccu; he also photographed a postcard of the iconic site. Essentially, he accepted the importance of symbols that represented national identity, even if they did not represent his own indigeneity. This did not mean he rejected his indigenous identity; he knew his father was a mestizo from Lima, but he always described himself as an Awajún who did not speak much Spanish, but wanted to learn and be able to study at the university. He said he dreamed of walking in his graduation wearing a traditional headdress and apron, to be respected and admired by his people.

FIGURE 2. TOMÁS'S MORE CRITICAL VIEW OF PERUVIAN MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY: "A SINGLE TEXTBOOK FOR EVERYBODY... MEANING THAT AN INDIGENOUS STUDENT KNOWS MORE ABOUT A POLAR BEAR THAN ABOUT HIS LOCAL GALLITO DE ROCA."

Tomás, 24, an Awajún law student, presented a different and perhaps more critical notion of national identity. He took a photo of an image showing many children dressed in traditional Peruvian costumes from different regions of the country (FIGURE 2). He remarked,

As I say here, we only utilize this for touristic objectives, to make money... politics. For instance...let's talk about law... it's pluriethnic... diversity and all that. The question is... under that framework, what is the educational policy for the indigenous peoples? Are there textbooks for the indigenous peoples? There aren't. Now, the constitution in some way includes that under the principle of universality, right?...A single textbook for everybody...meaning that an indigenous student knows more about a polar bear than about his local *gallito de roca* (local bird)...makes me uncomfortable...annoys me...

Tomás points clearly here to the dilemma of maintaining indigeneity in a nation trying to create a national, if pluralistic identity – simultaneously trying to value lo-

[4] All interview comments and participant-generated captions were translated from the Spanish by the first author; all names are pseudonyms.

cal knowledge and literacy as well as creating common national and global literacy. The multi-faceted nature of identity was illustrated through the pictures participants took of themselves as Awajún or Wampís individuals, and the value they placed on their cultural artifacts and activities, as they try to practice their culture in a hostile mestizo world.

The traditional *corona* (headdress), is an especially important symbol, and many participants took photos of it, either as an artifact or as worn (FIGURE 3).

FIGURE 3. COLLAGE OF IMAGES THROUGH WHICH STUDY PARTICIPANTS USED TRADITIONAL SYMBOLS TO DISCUSS INDIGENOUS IDENTITY.

In the first photo in this collage [1], Socorro, 25, a linguist, explained the image of her family member who posed for the picture as "an Awajún student who identifies himself with his culture by dressing in typical attire, and showing that [they] can be intellectuals like any other person from any other culture without forgetting [their] language or culture." Patricio, 51, a well-respected *apu* (chief) leader, and former psychology major, explained the picture he took of himself [2]: "the utilization of some cultural elements like the headdress and other things, makes people understand the genuine expression of the practices of the Wampís." Perhaps related to his age and seniority, Patricio was especially emphatic about the need to consciously practice key elements of his culture, "Including... customs, language, songs, typical... Expressing the feelings and emotions as they are... writing or dancing or singing... utilizing typical attires." Patricio clearly believes indigenous people need to *do* in order to exist. His narrative, like that of many participants, is one of awareness and action, of combining literacies of the mestizo with those of the Awajún and Wampís. Juan Pablo, 19, took a picture of a computer screen after he looked up images of Awajún warriors; as noted above, he had mentioned his dream of graduating dressed as an Awajún.

His picture [3] has a caption: "It is important because

it represents what it is to be an Awajún, and this could be used in an official meeting, performing activities as an Awajún."

FIGURE 4. FRANCISCO'S PHOTOGRAPH OF BOWLS USED TO DRINK MASATO. HIS CAPTION READS: "WE CANNOT FORGET WHAT WE WERE TAUGHT, AND WE CONTINUE TRANSMITTING KNOWLEDGE FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION SO THAT GLOBALIZATION CAN ONLY EXIST FOR US TO COMPLEMENT WHAT WE KNOW, AND NOT TO FORGET OUR CULTURE."

In our study, participants consistently pointed to specific cultural symbols as representative of a fluid Awajún or Wampís identity. Artifacts and traditions summon memories of family and ethnic identities (Pahl and Rowsell 2005); participants engage in a "deployment of indigenous symbols" (Conklin and Graham 1995:700-706), when they use their photos of *coronas* and other items to represent their indigenous lives. Notably, the participants consistently used the verb *practice* (Spanish, *practicar*) when commenting on cultural activities; they believe symbols must be used in order to remain vital. Francisco, 28, a law and political science student, expressed this in the picture he took of *masato* (manioc beer) bowls that he had at home (FIGURE 4). His photo shows only one bowl of certain Awajún origin (at left). The others are of different, but Amazonian origin; his intent was to show the importance he places on *masato* drinking as a practice, and the variety of different bowls (representing different Amazonian groups) available to carry on that tradition.

Since the research took place in the city, participants often represented themselves in city clothes, performing their daily tasks; in their conversations they talked about who they are, what they do, and the importance of education, especially in order to help their community in the future, showing how their indigenous identity is never absent. Many photographs are related to study, work, or daily activities in or for the mestizo world. For instance, traveling by bus is something most participants did not enjoy, particularly when they first arrived, as it took time to get used to being squeezed in and out of the minibuses and living with so many people around them. Many participants took pictures of the public transportation services (FIGURE 5).

FIGURE 5. FRANCISCO (TOP LEFT) IN HIS DAILY COMMUTE TO THE UNIVERSITY. HORTENCIA'S PHOTOGRAPH OF HER DAILY BUS TO WORK (TOP RIGHT), AND SALVADOR'S IMAGES CAPTURING THE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE VIEWS OF THE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM (BOTTOM LEFT & RIGHT).

Photos also captured the images of the newsstands or kiosks they encounter daily. Conversations on these pointed to their strong desire to be informed of what is going on in the nation, coupled with their lack of money to buy the paper; they stand by the newsstand, reading the news before taking the bus (FIGURE 6.)

Conversations about daily activities also delved into participants' distrustful relationships with the *apách[i]* or mestizo -- the customs they acquire from them, the way they feel accepted while working as professionals or educated people in the current job market, or rejected when they are not treated with honesty and respect, or have no jobs. Many expressed the need to be very careful during daily interaction, including during their conversation with their mestizo interviewer (the first author), even while acknowledging the trust that had been established. Law student Francisco epitomizes the tensions; he maintains a good relationship with some mestizo and foreign

individuals, but believes trust is only possible when the mestizo help members of the indigenous communities, not when they ask for things in return or land privileges for exploitation. One unavoidable topic was the 2009 Bagua incident, seen as resulting from government plans to give away indigenous land to multinational corporations. Few photos were taken that directly referenced Bagua (unless taken of news articles or computer screens), but all the participants mentioned it and the unfortunate comments of the President, and it was clear that accounts of indigenous/mestizo interaction were colored by the post-Bagua environment.

COMMUNAL VALUES

Some Amazonian migrants gain a great sense of accomplishment when they acquire jobs in organizations or government agencies that deal with their region's issues. (FIGURE 7). They are working and making money to contribute to their families, and they also are able to go back to their own communities to do training sessions or assessments, as these are among their main responsibilities. Clearly this offers a sense of belonging to both the Peruvian nation and their own communities. Locally, feelings of respect and admiration come if benefits are felt by community members. Pilar, 26, and Benedicto, 38, showed photos of themselves arriving in their villages to do training sessions; Pilar, at the time the picture was taken, worked for a faith-based research-oriented organization, and Benedicto works for a branch of the government. Again, the Bagua massacre was often referenced as a catalyst in their desire to give back. Participants all emphasized values of collaboration and looking for the common good, which they learned from their families and communities. At the same time they understood that they had to accomplish individualistic goals in their education in order to help; the knowledge they gained (or

FIGURE 6. PHOTOGRAPHS OF NEWSSTANDS USED BY PARTICIPANTS TO READ THE NEWS WITHOUT BUYING THE PAPER IN LIMA TAKEN BY ANDRÉS (LEFT), JUAN ANTONIO (MIDDLE), AND SALVADOR (RIGHT).

plan to gain), is a Western instrument to be utilized for community benefits. Toribio, 23, preparing to apply to the university, dreams about finishing his studies to be able to contribute back home in Santa Maria de Nieva. Even though he has been away for a while and does not remember much of the language, he says, "no, it doesn't matter…I always think of myself as an Awajún…in a few years, maybe I finish my studies and I can work …for my people." Leonidas Rogerio, 24, a linguistics graduate student, took a photo of a picture he had from back home, explaining his communal values in his caption (FIGURE 8). While emphasizing the communal, Leonidas Rogerio also characterized himself as a Peruvian, who actively adapts and accepts what the mestizo world has to offer. Thus he took a picture of himself, to represent himself as an Awajún, but also the importance of mestizo tools (i.e., his glasses), without which he could not do anything due to his near-sightedness (FIGURE 9).

FIGURE 7. PHOTOGRAPHS OF PILAR ON A PEQUE PEQUE (LEFT), AND BENEDICTO HOLDING A MAP (RIGHT) IN THEIR NATIVE COMMUNITIES OF THE MARAÑON.

FIGURE 8. LEONIDAS ROGERIO'S PICTURE OF A PHOTO HE ALREADY HAD, ILLUSTRATING THE COMMUNAL NATURE OF LOCAL LIFE: "BUILDING A HOUSE. IT SHOWS THE AWAJÚN'S UNITY IN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS."

FIGURE 9. LEONIDAS ROGERIO'S PHOTOGRAPH OF HIMSELF: "IT REPRESENTS THE YOUNG AWAJÚN STUDENT, BUT IN THE CITY, WHO ACQUIRES CITY ARTIFACTS, AND THAT MEANS THAT THE MESTIZO GIVES SOLUTIONS TO THE AWAJÚN PROBLEMS."

FIGURE 10. MANUEL OCTAVIO'S PHOTOGRAPH (LEFT) OF HIMSELF: "STUDYING TO IMPROVE OUR LIVES AND HELP OUT." JOSÉ PHOTOGRAPHED AN ELECTRONICS STORE IN LIMA (RIGHT): "DO PROFITABLE ACTIVITIES THAT BENEFIT OUR PEOPLE.ENTREPRENEURS PREFER TO INVEST LITTLE AND MAKE EXCESSIVE PROFITS, CARING LITTLE FOR HOW MUCH HARM THEY CAUSE."

Several others took photos that also address the need to carefully and selectively adopt new practices that in turn may be used to improve lives back home. Electronic engineering major Manuel Octavio, 22, for example, wanted to finish his studies, then go back and support community projects where he could apply his skills (FIGURE 10, left) while business major José references his knowledge of the competitive corporate world, stating the need to care collaboratively instead of just thinking about money (FIGURE 10, right). Others, like Benedicto, 38, an environmental engineer with a Master's degree, are already applying their knowledge in the local communities. Benedicto's photo (FIGURE 11) shows a trip in which he and other professionals were training local people to combine traditional collaborative organizational practices with mestizo methodologies and strategies. Salvador, 28, a graduate student in political science, argues that Awajún and Wampís have much to contribute not only to their own people, but to the nation as a whole, referencing the injustice of the president's remarks about them:

> ...Years ago, when we had the Cenepa conflict with Ecuador...it was the people of the area over there who went to...to defend, right?... Those things many people forget...and they use adjectives, those about being a second class citizen, right?

Ignacio, 28, talked about Alan Garcia's comments in the context of how other countries might believe the president, and conclude that the Awajún and Wampís are ignorant of the modern world:

> Why do they say..."your country is...poor, right? And in your...eh...rainforest, they are illiterate... The president who does not worry about it...isn't he embarrassed...because other countries might think about us that way, and when they ask him...? "You know that you do not support your rainforest, but why? ... He probably responds, "No, because I am of first level..."

FIGURE 11. BENEDICTO'S PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE FIELD, WHICH HE HAD VISITED WITH THE CAMERA PROVIDED. HIS CAPTION FOR THE FIRST PICTURE (LEFT) READS: "IT SHOWS THAT I AM DOING A LEARNING WORKSHOP, WHERE I AM EXPLAINING HOW TO DEVELOP THE METHODOLOGY FOR A TOPIC, AND WE GIVE TALKS TO OTHERS SO THAT THEY CAN LEARN AND STRENGTHEN THEIR CAPACITY." HIS PICTURE OF A MEETING (RIGHT) IS CAPTIONED: "WE ARE GATHERED TOGETHER TO AGREE, PROGRAM, AND PLAN ACTIVITIES THAT WILL TAKE PLACE TO BENEFIT THE ENTIRE LOCAL POPULATION, AND THAT WAY WE CAN HELP OUT ONE ANOTHER."

ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES

The natural environment was a recurring topic in both interviews and photos. Domínico, 21, who was preparing to apply to university for computer science, shared the feeling of many:

> "The rainforest…imagine… it is the lungs of the entire planet, as they say…this is the most important thing I have to say…" Many participants' photos identify themselves with their natural environment (FIGURE 12). It is notable that Manuel Octavio's picture of a palm tree [1] is actually from the San Marcos University campus; he uses this creatively to talk about the Amazonian rainforest. His caption reads, "Shuar, the children of nature." Pilar, 26, pointed out in her image [2] that "Perú is characterized for being mega diverse, and one of the things that represents this diversity is the ecology. We have diverse wonderful places, in particular the rainforest, which is the lung of the world."

Ignacio, 28, described the photograph of his father in the Amazon [3]: "Protection of the Peruvian Amazon: It is very important to protect and not contaminate our natural environment." Toribio, 23, took a picture of another picture of the Marañon [4], and wrote about his life as an Awajún: "This photograph means how natural Awajún life is. Awajún life is as natural as that rainforest." Domínico, 21, spoke of the importance of water and natural resources in the life of an Awajún:

> Water is the most important…the most basic… if you don't have water how are you going to survive? …what are you going to drink…oil? …It can rain…but…it is very acid…because that vapor that spreads…also contaminates the plants…Nor do I want the companies to…come in…they do not

FIGURE 12. PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY PARTICIPANTS TO EXPRESS THE IMPORTANCE THE RAINFOREST HAS FOR THEM.

> know how to use it, right? All of them…they come, take, and after that what happens? …polluting rivers…the land…the plants…

Domínico also took a picture (FIGURE 13) of a niece and her Amazonian pet parrot, symbolizing the importance of nature, not only as a resource, but as a source of spiritual happiness. Domínico shared the view of most participants, arguing that incursions by strangers are the main cause of degradation of the natural environment. Unlike some others, Manuel Octavio, 22, a computer technician and electronic engineering major, thought about solutions to environmental problems:

> Basically, the rainforest, nature…there is too much pollution in the world that affects our Amazon rainforest…and consequently our planet, right? And we must do something about it…and we, the Shuar who live there…because they are already practically destroying it all … the logging … and agriculture, cattle ranching and different things, right? …We must protect our rainforest and… in my family, we're going to buy land …in our village, right? Take care of a large area, right? In order to protect it…

Like Manuel Octavio, many study participants continue to value nature in their daily lives in Lima, taking photos of city scenarios including water or trees, using them to describe their distant, beloved Amazonian rainforest (FIGURE 14), and explaining how human life depends on water, plants, and nature. As Brown (1985) notes, the

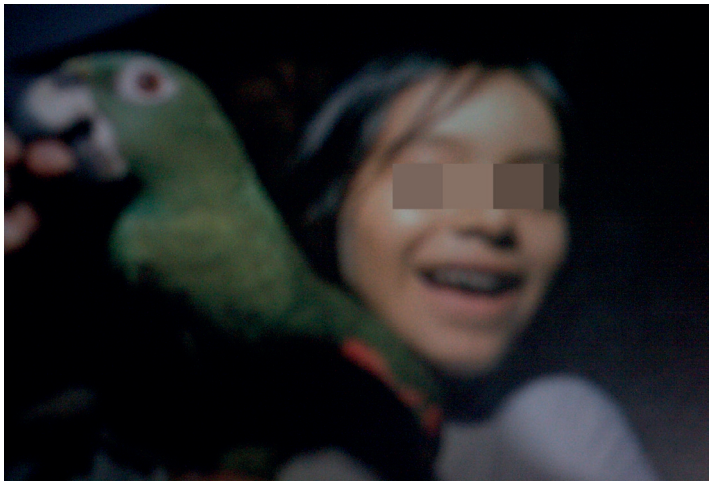

FIGURE 13. DOMÍNICO'S PHOTOGRAPH OF HIS NIECE HOLDING HER PET PARROT: "LIVING WITH OUR NATURE MAKES US FEEL GOOD."

Awajún consider their gardens, forests and water sources not only as productive resources, but also as "a spiritually charged realm that possesses dangers to the unwary or imprudent" (Brown 1985:97). Gardens are symbolic spaces where most of the participants were raised. Chaotic life in Lima, and lack of care with parks, plants, or a river, is opposed to their belief system, and upsets them.

GLOBAL IDENTITIES

Even these "natural" spaces, where the participants' families still live, such as the communities of the Marañon, Cenepa, and Santiago rivers, are increasingly influenced by globalization, and this theme was often illustrated in their visual and linguistic narratives. Participants maintained a strong link between language and culture, but also allowed room to open up additional spaces of dialogue by acquiring new linguistic skills, as long as their local languages and customs were left untouched. They acknowledged the discrimination that exists in Perú against anyone speaking languages other than Castilian Spanish. Salvador's opinion was typical:

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

FIGURE 14. JUAN PABLO CAPTIONED HIS PICTURE OF TREES IN A LIMA PARK (LEFT): "JUST THE SAME, THE LANDSCAPE IS IMPORTANT, AND IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO TAKE CARE OF IT." DOMÍNICO (RIGHT) TOOK A PICTURE OF A MAN WATERING PLANTS IN LIMA TO DEFINE WORK, FRAMING IT IN RELATION TO NATURE (GARDENING): "WORK IS BASIC, WE DEPEND ON IT."

Kottak and Kozaitis (2012) concept of adaptive agency is helpful in showing how these indigenous participants tailor global tools and influences to make them fit and have significance at the local level. Just as they embrace useful technology, they understand the need to learn Spanish in order to study or work in Lima, while English or another language will be needed to apply to scholarships abroad or communicate with international institutions that could help local Amazonian communities. Thus Salvador speaks about the uses of other languages, when talking about a photograph he would have liked to take, but could not:

> An… indigenous… leader maybe… who… knows how to speak English too, right? Not necessarily perfectly…but those who know how to speak it, right? And who somehow have been able to express …the needs of their people…with other people, right?

In terms of global technologies, many photos represented computers, cell phones, and the Internet. Socorro, 25, took the picture of her laptop, and her caption (FIGURE 15, left) reads, "Now, we the Awajún should know how to use these devices in order to utilize them in favor of our communities."

FIGURE 15. SOCORRO'S PHOTOGRAPH OF HER LAPTOP (LEFT), AND JUAN ANTONIO'S IMAGE OF HIMSELF WITH HIS NETBOOK (RIGHT) SUMMARIZE MANY PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS ABOUT APPLYING MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF INDIGENOUS AMAZONIANS.

Juan Antonio, 30, an anthropology student, wrote: "Access to information, communication and education," and he shows a small netbook playing the movie *Spirit (*FIGURE 15, right). Others made similar comments, noting that resources available in the city are now also accessible in the Amazon. In the Marañon, the digital creativity common in more urban areas is steadily growing, as young people create music blogs, post YouTube videos of their *cumbia* bands performing, and make video clips to share.

Juan Antonio, 30, verbally and visually articulated the message about his agency in being educated, communicating globally, yet maintaining his traditional identity, by taking a picture of himself holding a paper where he wrote "I am Shuar" in Spanish, English and Shuar (FIGURE 16).

FIGURE 16. JUAN ANTONIO'S PHOTOGRAPH EXPRESSING HIS MULTIPLE IDENTITIES: "SOY SHUAR, I AM SHUAR, SHUAR KAKARAM."

AYAHUASCA VISIONS

The complexity of indigenous identity in the contemporary world is perhaps best captured in discussions of participants' relationship with traditional hallucinogens. The Awajún and Wampís manipulate and communicate with souls both through naturally occurring dreams when they sleep, and in "visions" induced by hallucinogenic plants (Brown 1985:57). Many species are known, including *Toé*, *Tobacco*, and *Datém* or *ayahuasca* (Brown 1985:58), a Quechua generic name that means Vine of the Dead (Dobkin de Rios 1970). The vine is boiled and the broth or tea-like substance is drunk, either to obtain the spirit *Ajútap,* which speaks to those who drink

it and will protect them through life, or to see an image of the dreamer's future. In either case, there is a practicality in this practice, involving affecting or manipulating the world of humans through the spirits and visions obtained, with a goal of experiencing the Good Living or *Pegkeg Pujut*. *Ayahuasca* is also drunk by mestizos in the Amazon, as noted previously, and its use has been referenced in Perú to exoticize the Amazonian rainforest as a tourist site. An Awajún friend of the first author (not a research participant), noted, "*Ayahuasca* for us is not meant to be taken lightly. We can take it but only once or twice in our lives. It is the shamans who are trained to take it all the time." All our participants had opinions about *ayahuasca* as part of the practices that should be followed in order to truly be Awajún or Wampís.

Participant discussions of *ayahuasca* were distinctive in that it was not possible to represent this visually. In most of the other themes, a common thread was the intertwining of indigenous and national identities, represented through a non-indigenous technology – photography. Discussion of *ayahuasca* centered on its indigenous uniqueness, and thus the inappropriateness of attempting to represent it with non-indigenous technology. For instance Martín, 18, told a story about the waterfalls back home, and a *múun* (respected elder) who leads young people there (including Martín) to drink *ayahuasca*. This *múun* did not want them to let outsiders or the mestizo take pictures because he was afraid they would come and take all the ingredients of the broth and the natural resources surrounding the waterfalls. He said, "he distrusts … that the flavor and all of it will be plagiarized, taken out and the whole world will come, he talks like that about it; it is forbidden to take photographs."

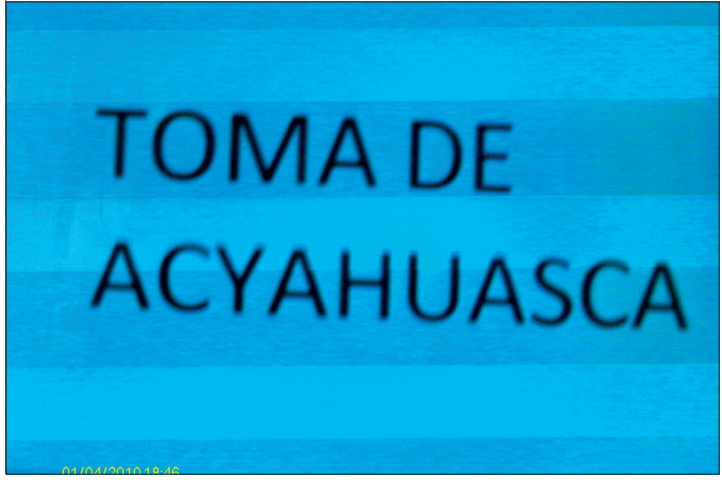

FIGURE 17. LEONIDAS ROGERIO CREATED THIS IMAGE DURING THE ELICITATION INTERVIEW, ILLUSTRATING WHAT IT IS TO BE AN AWAJÚN. "TOMA DE ACYAHUASCA; DRINKING AYAHUASCA." (AYAHUASCA IS MISSPELLED)

In keeping with this, participants talked about *ayahuasca*, but did not try to represent it with images. In the one exception (FIGURE 17), Leonidas Rogerio uses a computer and a global tool (Microsoft Word) to represent the custom, but the image consists only of words.

All the research participants had acquired knowledge about *ayahuasca* during their childhood, and all understood its purposes. They talked about it as an important knowledge that makes them into complete human beings, and which crucially sets them apart from non-indigenous people.

Some explain the experience by contrasting indigenous and Western paradigms, such as law student Tomás, 24:

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

CONCLUSION

Participant photography, coupled with elicitation interviews and participants' self-generated photo captions, proved to be an effective strategy to tease out the complex ways in which indigenous Amazonians negotiate their identity; an entirely verbal interview approach could not have elicited the rich self-reflection that our participants shared. And although follow-up action was not a specific goal of the research, since the study concluded, at least three of the 20 participants have extended their visual creativity by making cultural representations of Awajún or Wampís aspects of life on blogs or social media sites. As Underberg and Zorn (2014) note, in discussing the "ubiquity" and 'user-friendliness' of digital technology" today, these kind of outlets are becoming increasingly important for indigenous people, as they utilize iMovie, blogs and wikis. Underberg and Zorn wonder, "How much technology does the public (or, in older anthropological parlance, do informants) need to know to create their own self-representations?"(Underberg and Zorn 2014:7). The answer would seem to be "relatively little." Villamar has collaborated as English translator for articles published in more than two web pages created by

former participants of this study. One of them, is a blog (Cultural Awajun [Awajun Culture] N.d.) where he translates posts/articles to English per request of the bloggers with the bloggers' goal of internationalizing Awajun Culture (please see: culturaawajun.blogspot.pe/p/the-awajun-or-inia-alphabet-according.html). Thus, the ethnographer fulfills the role of collaborator and "cultural expert," extending the collaboration begun in the participatory photo study (Underberg and Zorn 2014:7). Our work shows how the participants, as actual or potential cultural brokers, maintain a foot in each of their worlds without forgetting where they are, who they are, or how to navigate obstacles to reach their goals. At times they adopted a national message, and at times they rejected it, but they always felt Peruvian and never contested their nationality, even as they objected to the linear trajectory of Peruvian history that ignored anything other than the Andean past. Juan Antonio, an anthropology student, articulated the complexity of indigenous Peruvian identity:

> To be Peruvian, is important for me because it has to do with the idea of a nation … framed in our historical context that involves South American realities, right? … When I talk about my being a Shuar, what if I am not represented? Furthermore, they don't even respect me … Consequently, we have a social conflict in defining what a nation is, and what I try to capture in these photographs is exactly what I would call the profound Perú, right? A Perú where we observe not only the cosmetic make-up that we can show as tourist attractions or representative culinary dishes to the outside world, but instead what they do not show abroad, which is that face we have - the face of Peruvians who have little to no opportunities …

And so participants hold tight to their indigenous identity as a defining core of who they are. While acknowledging the need to adapt and develop new forms of literacy, they consistently articulate a sense of pride and agency in being Amazonian indigenous. They believe they know things no other Peruvians know about the ecosystem – the place they come from. This place – the physical location of their traditional practices and culture -- becomes a key point of reference, internalized as a source of life for the entire world, a source of rich biodiversity, and a source of knowledge that only they, as indigenous people – as *originarios* of the planet – share and act on day by day.

And they take seriously their role as cultural brokers, whose goal is to help their people survive in a changing world. In that sense, they represent Gramsci's notion of the "organic intellectual," who contests the cultural hegemony of dominant groups by persuading through discourse (Gramsci, et al. 1971:9-10). Their photographs tried to give us a picture of indigenous identities that contest the "noble savage" stereotypes, or the image of the jungle warrior who shrinks heads. Indigenousness, while being celebrated for its beauty and richness of customs and traditions, is not to be archived in a museum of *tsantsa* (shrunken heads) and *coronas,* but should be reimagined as a different but equal narrative that is as valuable as singing the national anthem or eating the national dish. The views expressed through the participants' photos mesh well with Rubenstein's (2004) discussion of how Shuar migrants in New York perceive the *tsantsa* displayed at the American Museum of Natural History, representing a core Western narrative that focuses on the shrunken head as a symbol of the "savage" state of indigenous peoples (Rubenstein 2004:16). While some Shuar reject *tsansa* displays, and demand their repatriation,[5] others focus more on the historical discontinuity of the displays with the lives of the Shuar today – or in our case, the Wampís (Shuar) and Awajún. The participants in our study are well aware that the shrunken heads or village raids were practiced by the *antiguos Peruanos* (or ancient Peruvians, as some participants called their ancestors, but they wanted to disassociate that history from their lives in the contemporary world. This is not a rejection of tradition at all; our participants valued their traditional past and took pride in speaking their languages and keeping their customs alive. But they also rejected the idea of a past frozen in time, like the narratives of the anthropologist or the display in a museum. The images they captured (and the conversations and written text that accompanied them) showed a fluid interchange of cultural elements from their beloved Amazonia with the globalized languages, tools, and contexts of modern Peru.

Thus our participants strive to survive and achieve the Good Living or *Pegkeg Pujut,* by embracing the little opportunities provided by the wider world, while maintaining their native core values. A photo by Manuel Octavio, an electronic engineering student, creatively captures the complexity of identity for people who live in two worlds. He took a picture of his shadow on the floor as he was walking (FIGURE 18), explaining: "it does not matter where [he goes], [his] tradition and language, are

[5] Rubenstein (2004) elaborates this point when describing meeting three of his Shuar friends at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and discussing what should be done with tsantsa being displayed in museums around the world. On a related note, Villamar also found an actual tsantsa donated by a patron many years ago in the hall of South American Peoples of a museum near the university where he was teaching in the Midwest. He reported this to one of his Awajún activist friends in Peru. She immediately asked for the contact information of the museum so she could discuss the reason the tsantsa is still being displayed for the public, emphatically stating, "We need to get that back."

like [his] shadow, [he] can't and will never forget them. They will always go with [him]." His caption read: "No olvidandonos de quien soy, y a donde voy" [Not forgetting who I am, and where I am going]. He hopes to find a scholarship to study abroad once he graduates, before returning to help his people; his words and image express his identity as a Shuar, who also represents the future of the nation and the world.

FIGURE 18. MANUEL OCTAVIO'S PHOTO: "NO OLVIDANDONOS DE QUIEN SOY, Y A DONDE VOY (NOT FORGETTING WHO I AM AND WHERE I AM GOING)."

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