

Kalinago communities with such frequency that it is now the most commonly used label.

Migration to the islands of the southern Caribbean meant the establishment of several Kalinago communities. In 2011, the largest group resided on 3,700 acres (1,500 hectares) of land on the northeast coast of the island of Dominica. This community has approximately 3,000 inhabitants, but there also are smaller communities in Santa Rosa, Trinidad, and Saint Vincent. The Dominica Kalinago community is governed by an elected chief and a tribal council, but the Santa Rosa and Vincentian communities are less structured in their political organization. As a result of racial mixing between Kalinago peoples and the different ethnic groups in the region, most Kalinago families have some other ethnicity besides Kalinago in their ancestry.

Before the Europeans arrived in the last decade of the fifteenth century, the Kalinagos supported themselves by small-scale agriculture, hunting, and fishing. They traveled to and from nearby islands in dugout canoes and had a basket weaving tradition, as well as a system of herbal medicine. Kalinago religious ceremonies and observances reflected a respect for the natural world and a reverence for their ancestors, but this changed with the introduction of Christianity into the region in the early sixteenth century.

The Kalinago play a significant role in the history of the Americas because they were among the first indigenous peoples to come in contact with Europeans. Despite the lack of archaeological or anthropological evidence that the Kalinago were cannibals, this belief persists; the earliest references to the Kalinago demonstrate that ineffective communication rather than material evidence fostered this idea. The earliest references to the Kalinago can be found in the writings of Christopher Columbus and Diego Alvarez Chanca. However, an analysis of these writings reveals that beliefs about cannibalistic practices among the Kalinago predate actual contact with the Kalinago.

Columbus's diary marks the first reference to the one-eyed, dog-snouted people who consumed human flesh, a group that he believed were the Caniba or servants of the Grand Khan. During his second voyage, Columbus encountered the Kalinago, whom Chanca referred to as Caribbees and whom, at this early stage in contact, the Spanish viewed as cannibals. The preservation of the bones of deceased relatives in Kalinago households for religious ceremonies was thought to be evidence of human consumption in the absence of a common language for communication.

Kalinago resistance to the colonization of the Caribbean by the Spanish was persistent, but futile, and by the late 1600s, only about 400 Kalinago remained. However,

their population recovered, and there are approximately 10,000 Kalinago throughout the Caribbean.

Contemporary Kalinago communities are most concerned with cultural and linguistic preservation, ensuring political autonomy, and the maintenance of traditional lands by choosing to emphasize their ethnic identity over their national identity. This has brought them into conflict with some governmental leaders, such as Dominica Prime Minister Mary Eugenia Charles during the 1980s and 1990s. Other groups, such as the Labour Party on Dominica, have worked to help the Kalinago keep a degree of autonomy and assist their efforts to preserve their culture. The most important political issue in modern Kalinago communities centers on community survival and economic development of their 3,700-acre (1,500-hectare) reserve on Dominica through economic initiatives such as ecotourism and participation in academic research.

Leah Stewart

See also: *Issues*—Colonialism; Language; Social Customs.

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Kichwa

The Kichwa (or Quichua) of Ecuador are part of a larger ethnolinguistic group of Quechua people living in an area that stretches across the South American Andean highlands from Colombia to Chile, which roughly corresponds to Tawantinsuyu, the former Inca Empire. In Ecuador, the Kichwa people are divided into many different ethnic groups—the Chibuleo, Karanki, Kayambi, Kisapincha, Kitu, Otavalo, Panzaleo, Pasto, Puruha,

Quisapincha, Salasaca, Saraguro, and Tomabela—spread across the spine of the Andes Mountains, as well as related groups in the eastern Upper Amazon Basin. Together, they represent the largest indigenous nationality in Ecuador, numbering about 2.5 million of the country's 14 million inhabitants.

Origin and History

The origins of the Kichwa language in Ecuador are unclear. Some scholars believe that the Inca introduced Quechua (which later evolved into Kichwa) in the region less than a century before the arrival of the Spanish in 1532, as they moved northward from their base in Cuzco in central Peru; it also may have been spread north and east into the Amazon by people fleeing the Inca advance. Other historians contend that the language originated in the Amazon and spread to the highlands as a trade language. Still other evidence indicates that Spanish missionaries used the language as a tool for religious conversion and that its wide use later was a legacy of the colonial administration. No matter how the Kichwa language emerged, it appears to have coexisted, perhaps as a trade language, with earlier languages for hundreds of years before its last speakers died in the eighteenth century.

As the Inca spread north into Ecuador, they met fierce resistance from the people already living there. As a means of domination, the Inca brought in colonists (called *mitimakuna*) from the heart of their empire to civilize the newly conquered areas, and they extracted the most troublesome native leaders to undercut local resistance. For example, the Salasaca and Saraguro, two indigenous groups from Bolivia, may have been brought north. Furthermore, with their emphasis on efficiency and production, the Inca relocated populations in order to increase economic output (for instance, moving weavers closer to llama herders). The result was a complete mixture of ethnic groups. Although strong local variations in dress and dialect persist in the region, many of the Kichwa-speaking peoples in Ecuador have lost much of their linguistic, religious, and cultural distinctiveness.

During the early sixteenth century, Inca leader Huayna Capac encountered the stiffest resistance from the Karanki in northern Ecuador. After a fierce seventeen-year battle, the Inca finally triumphed by massacring their opponents. Huayna Capac died shortly thereafter from smallpox, which spread before the arrival of the Spanish. His death sparked a dynastic war of succession between his sons, Atahualpa and Huascar, with Atahualpa finally emerging as the ruler.

The Cañari or Tomabela in southern Ecuador were among the first groups conquered by the Inca. When the

Spanish arrived some sixty years later, they greeted the new invaders as their liberators from Inca tyranny and entered into strategic alliances with the conquistadores. Somewhat ironically, the Cañari today are the most likely of the Kichwa people to identify with the Inca.

In the seventeenth century, Jesuit priest Juan Velasco argued that a "Kingdom of Quito" existed before the Inca arrived in present-day Ecuador. Most scholars dispute the presence of a political organization approaching the level of the state, but indigenous activists have embraced this idea in claiming what they call a "Kitu" ethnic identity.

The Inca made little headway in spreading their culture into the Amazon Basin. Likewise, Spanish colonists faced difficulties subjugating the area, leaving most of their efforts to Catholic missionaries; however, the Spanish did colonize the Kichwa in the highlands through their economic submission as laborers on the landed estates known as haciendas. Amazonian Kichwa held more tightly to their indigenous ethnic identities, whereas those in the highlands increasingly came to see themselves as *campesinos*, or peasants. These different modes of colonization had a lasting effect on the formation of ethnic identities and class consciousness among the Kichwa, serving to divide rather than unify the lowland and highland Kichwa groups.

An example of the integration of highland indigenous peoples through economic means comes from the Otavalo weavers of the northern province of Imbabura. The Otavalo are the most well known of the highland groups, and they have gained broad renown for their weavings and other textiles. Though some critics disdain the commercialization of Otavalo products, others point out that the successful marketing of their commodities is their long-term strategy for the survival of their indigenous lifeways. They market their products themselves in Colombia, the United States, and Europe. Although they have retained their indigenous customs, dress, and beliefs, many among the Ecuadorian elite respect the Otavalo because of their entrepreneurship, and they view them as different from other Indians.

Other Kichwa peoples also have gained a certain degree of success through their economic activities. The Salasaca in the central highland province of Tungurahua copied the Otavalo in building a positive reputation through the marketing of their weaving. The Cañari in southern Ecuador began manufacturing Panama hats in the 1950s as a way to cope with increasing poverty, caused by their gradually losing much of their land to the white population.

The Saraguro of southern Loja Province earned a degree of economic independence through cattle production. Many Saraguro own large cattle ranches, and this

sometimes puts them at odds with other Kichwa communities, which are composed mostly of poor people who are chronically short of land. Chimborazo, in particular, has the highest concentration of indigenous peoples in Ecuador, but also some of the highest levels of poverty.

Historically, the Saraguro have been known as Ecuador's most rebellious highland indigenous peoples. Fernando Daquilema epitomizes this history of rebellion: For a week in December 1871, Daquilema launched an uprising from his community of Yaruquíes. It quickly spread to neighboring communities before being suppressed by the government. The central issue in this struggle was not land, but taxes, which indigenous people were forced to pay to the Catholic Church and the government. Activists remember this uprising as one of the largest, strongest, and most important of their revolutions in the nineteenth century in Ecuador.

The Kayambi, neighbors of the commercially suc-

cessful Otavalo in the northern highlands, also survived on an agricultural economy and gained a reputation for their ability to organize movements in support of their demands. In the 1920s, Jesús Gualavisí organized the first rural syndicates to fight the owners of neighboring haciendas for land rights. Together with other activists such as Dolores Cacuango, in 1944, he organized the Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios (Ecuadorian Federation of Indians), Ecuador's first indigenous federation. In the 1990s, the Kayambi organized themselves as a people, providing a model that other Kichwa communities would emulate.

Modern Life

Scholars commonly divide the Amazonian Kichwa into the Quijo of Napo Province and the Canelo of Pastaza Province. Although this division reflects cultural differ-

LUIS MACAS

Luis Macas is one of the most important indigenous leaders in Ecuador. He has led the country's strongest social movement, the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE, Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), organized several powerful uprisings, run for the presidency of the republic, and held both elected and appointed posts in government.

Macas was born on June 3, 1950, in the Saraguro community in southern Ecuador. During the 1970s, he earned a degree in linguistics from Catholic University in Quito, as well as a law degree from Ecuador's Central University. While studying in the capital, he became involved in regional and national indigenous organizing efforts leading up to the formation of CONAIE in 1986. Macas served as CONAIE's vice president from 1988 to 1991. During that time, he gained national exposure for his leadership of a June 1990 uprising demanding social, political, and economic rights for indigenous nationalities. Macas subsequently served as CONAIE's president from 1991 to 1996, organizing uprisings in 1992 and 1994.

Macas resigned the leadership of CONAIE when he won a congressional post as a national deputy with the newly formed pro-indigenous political party known as Pachakutik. He was the first indigenous person ever elected to a countrywide office in Ecuador.

In 2002, Macas ran unsuccessfully for the Andean Parliament, which worked for regional integration among Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. Indig-

enous ally Lucio Gutiérrez won the presidency that year and named Macas to head the Ministry of Agriculture. Macas served in that post for half a year in 2003 before quitting because of disagreements with the president's neoliberal economic policies.

Macas returned to the presidency of CONAIE from 2005 to 2008 to fill a perceived need for the guidance of a veteran leader to return the organization to a position of strength. In 2006, Macas ran for the presidency of Ecuador on the Pachakutik ticket. Despite conducting a serious and dedicated campaign, he came in a dismal sixth place (out of thirteen candidates), with just over 2 percent of the vote.

In 1994, Macas won the Goldman Environmental Prize, which is awarded annually to grassroots environmental activists. He has organized several international indigenous meetings in Quito, including the First Continental Conference on 500 Years of Indian Resistance in 1990, the Second Continental Summit of Indigenous Peoples and Nationalities of Abya Yala in 2004, and the Encounter of the Original Peoples and Nationalities of Abya Yala in 2010.

In 2004, Macas helped establish and became rector of the Intercultural University of Indigenous Nationalities and Peoples. The following year, he founded and became director of the think tank Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas (Scientific Institute of Indigenous Cultures). He frequently speaks internationally on indigenous rights issues.

Marc Becker

ences, Amazonian Kichwa identity is less homogenous and is better considered at the community level. Furthermore, these Kichwa have intermarried with neighboring groups, including the Huaorani, Shuar, and Zápara, further blurring ethnic boundaries. Although these Indians share a language similar to that spoken by the Kichwa in the highlands, their forest culture is quite different. Regional divisions remain strong, and identity continues to be overwhelmingly local.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Kichwa communities organized ethnically based political organizations to fight for their rights. In 1972, indigenous activists in alliance with progressive elements of the Catholic Church influenced by liberation theology gathered highland Kichwa into a federation that they called Ecuarunari, a name derived from the phrase *Ecuador Runacunapac Richcharimui*, or “Awakening of the Ecuadorian Indigenous Peoples.” In the 1990s, the group changed its name to the Confederación de Pueblos de la Nacionalidad Kichwa del Ecuador (Confederation of the Peoples of the Kichwa Nationality of Ecuador). Organized in this manner, Ecuarunari became one of the strongest and most militant indigenous federations in Ecuador, meeting annually to articulate the common goals of the Kichwa and forming a locus for cooperative protest and action.

In the Amazon, the Napo Kichwa formed the Federación de Organizaciones Indígenas del Napo (FOIN, Federation of Indigenous Organizations of Napo) in 1973 to advocate civil and citizenship rights, defend landownership, and fight economic exploitation. By the 1980s, their main goal was to defend their territory, languages, and cultural traditions. The organization changed its terminology, shifting from “indigenous classes” in the 1970s to “indigenous federations” in the 1980s and, finally, to “ethnic nationalities” in the 1990s. These developments reflected the politicization of identities that drove indigenous organizations in an increasingly radical direction.

In 1978, the Pastaza Kichwa, together with the Shuar and Zápara, formed the Organización de Pueblos Indígenas de Pastaza (OPIP, Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza), which sought to promote unity and organization among the peoples of Pastaza, obtain land rights to their ancestral territories from the Ecuadorian government, and press for environmental policies for the conservation and sustainable management of natural resources in their territories. The organization was particularly active in petitioning the Ecuadorian government for autonomy over native lands. It worked with urban environmental groups such as Acción Ecológica (Ecological Action) in an attempt to stop foreign oil companies, such as the Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO), from mining petroleum deposits on their lands. Rather than exploiting the land for short-term benefits, OPIP’s natural resource

management plan strove to preserve the environment “for the benefit of the children of our grandchildren.”

In 1980, FOIN and OPIP joined with other groups of indigenous peoples in the Amazon to form the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon). Together with the highland federation Ecuarunari, in 1986, Amazonian activists formed the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE, Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) as a central federation organized on the basis of fourteen indigenous nationalities.

Strong regional divisions split Ecuador, and these are replicated among the Kichwa, separating those in the highlands from those in the Amazon. Amazonian Kichwa commonly wear Western-style clothing that is indistinguishable from that of surrounding mestizo colonists, whereas highland Kichwa generally maintain their traditional dress. Amazonians, however, are more likely to speak Kichwa than those in the highlands. Furthermore, Amazonians have maintained a sense of indigenous cosmology and religion, whereas highlanders are more likely to emphasize their class or economic interests as small farmers. In spite of the efforts of ethnic groups to construct a singular Kichwa nationality and unify the various groups along linguistic lines, historical and cultural differences have continued to pull them apart.

Educators and activists also have advocated new linguistic policies. One project involves creating a standardized written and spoken “unified Kichwa,” eliminating local variations so that the language might survive. Others seek to eliminate words taken from Spanish with the goal of purifying the language, as well as to create uniquely Kichwa words for modern devices such as computers and automobiles. Finally, some linguists consider languages as naturally occurring phenomena and embrace the various ways that Kichwa has come to be spoken in indigenous communities.

Indigenous militants long have fought to have Kichwa and other indigenous languages granted official status. Ecuador’s 2008 constitution stopped short of this goal: It declared Spanish the nation’s official language but granted Kichwa and Shuar official status for intercultural relationships and defended the use of other ancestral languages in areas where they are spoken. Some observers interpreted the inclusion of Shuar, a regional tongue spoken only in the southeastern Amazon, as an attempt to undercut Kichwa, the only indigenous language that is popularly spoken on a national level.

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See also: Countries—Chile; Colombia; Ecuador. *Issues*—Language; Political Participation.

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Kuna

The Kuna are an indigenous group residing on the Caribbean coast of Panama and in a few villages in Colombia. Kuna villages are spread across three semi-autonomous *comarcas* or territories: Kuna Yala, which encompasses a stretch of more than 300 islands and a portion of coastal territory (with a capital at Porvenir), and Kuna Madugandi and Kuna Wargandi on the mainland (capitals at Nurra and Akua Yala, respectively). Of the three territories, Kuna Yala, also known as San Blas, is the oldest, officially recognized in 1938. The Kuna refer to themselves in their language as Tule, meaning "the people."

In 2005, the Kuna population was estimated to be more than 60,000, with some 60 percent living in Kuna Yala, about 5 percent in Kuna Madugandi, and 3 percent in Kuna Wargandi, and the remainder living in Panama

City and other urban areas. The Kuna rely on farming but also supplement their livelihood with fishing. Coconuts and plantains are the primary Kuna cash crops, much of which they trade with Colombian merchants. Since the last few decades of the twentieth century, the Panamanian government has allowed the Kuna to travel to cities to engage in wage labor. Women also sell appliqué-style *mola* blouses to tourists, as well as baked goods.

Households and villages are central to Kuna social and political organization. The household symbolizes the ancestral lineage and serves to keep the kin structure intact. The male head of each household commands great respect. A daughter's spouse, for example, is subordinate to the head of the household. In public, men display authority, whereas in the home, women enjoy significant power as decision makers. Village leadership roles are elected offices. The political and spiritual leader of the village is known as the *saila*. There are two types of village gatherings: Ritualized chanting and singing ceremonies are open to all members of the community, while gatherings dealing with political matters are open only to adult men. The Kuna General Congress, which governs Kuna villages in Kuna Yala, meets several times throughout the year, with villages sending delegations. As in the village gatherings, decisions must be unanimous in order for actions to be taken.

Catholic and Protestant missions have a long history among the Kuna. While some Kuna are Protestant and Catholic, many do not subscribe to either religion, but instead continue to practice their indigenous religion. A significant number of Kuna are bilingual, speaking both Spanish and Kuna, and a few are trilingual, speaking English as well. The younger generations speak mostly Spanish, while the older generations tend to speak primarily Kuna.

Origin and History

There is a great deal of debate over the Kuna's origins. Several historical accounts and Kuna oral histories claim that the Kuna originated in present-day Colombia, while others argue that their roots can be found in the Caribbean. At the time of European contact in the early sixteenth century, the Kuna were a loose set of communities or chiefdoms. As in other parts of Spanish America, the Spanish Crown relied on missionaries to oversee the pacification and conversion of indigenous peoples.

In the 1630s, the Dominican order founded four missions for the approximately 1,400 Kuna along the San Blas coast. Conversion was vehemently opposed by most Kuna, and many resisted submission to both the Spanish crown and the church. During the 1650s, troops were sent to the region when religious overtures failed to produce