INTERPRETATIONS OF CULTURE
IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Norman E. Whitten Jr.,
General Editor

A list of books in the series
appears at the end of the book.

Victims and Warriors

Violence, History, and Memory in Amazonia

CASEY HIGH

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield

2015

Introduction

In September 2005 I made a trip to Amazonian Ecuador to visit the Waorani village of Toñampari. A few days after arriving, I joined my old friend Toka and his family on a fishing trip a few hours downriver from his village to visit his parents' house. It was on the final night of my stay that several children in the house gathered around my friend's elderly father, Awanka, listening to him tell stories. Awanka, who is known for his skill in storytelling, spoke about past times when many babies died as a result of witchcraft, leading to a cycle of revenge killings with which his own generation is associated today. He warned the children that they should be careful not to speak to a shaman at night when his body is inhabited by his adopted jaguar-spirit (*meñi*). He said that if the children were even to joke with the jaguar-spirit as it speaks through the shaman's voice, telling it to scare people, a jaguar might kill the people they named. Even after a shaman dies, explained Awanka, his or her orphaned jaguar-spirit continues to live and kill people out of sadness and anger for its adopted parent.

During my fieldwork, old people like Awanka often told me how their relatives and ancestors became victims of violence, be it from shamans, spear-killing raids, or the shotguns of outsiders. In this case, he was explicitly warning his grandchildren about their behavior in reference to violent conflicts that occurred in the past. It is stories like this one, and people like Awanka, that attracted my interest in the meanings past killings hold for

the Waorani today and, more particularly, the multiple ways they evoke the past in their homes, during treks in the forest, and on visits to urban areas in Amazonian Ecuador.

This book is about how Waorani people experience and remember past violence and the role these memories have in the context of ongoing social, political, and economic changes in Amazonia today. It is principally an ethnography of how Waorani people of different genders and generations remember violence in ways that evoke indigenous understandings of social difference and shared experience in the context of social transformation. However, it is equally an account of how my Waorani hosts reflect on and engage with *kowori*—a word they use to refer to non-Waorani people, whether other indigenous groups, missionaries, Ecuadorian mestizos, or an increasingly diverse range of non-indigenous people who have become part of their lived world.

Like many indigenous Amazonian societies studied by anthropologists, most Waorani people live in small villages in a remote part of the Amazonian rain forest. The location and scale of everyday social life in places like these has tempted some ethnographers to confine their analysis primarily to relations within and between indigenous communities. Although much of my fieldwork has involved living in relatively remote villages, Waorani sociality and cultural imagination also concern people and events that extend well beyond the ethnic reserve on which most Waorani people live. Understanding contemporary violence and social memory demands that we consider social and cultural processes that cannot be characterized simply in terms of the "local" or the "indigenous." This recognition of translocal and intercultural relations does not, however, diminish the importance of ethnography. One of the strengths of contemporary anthropology is an increasing attention to how culturally specific practices and ideas are embedded in wider historical transformations and increasingly global imagery.[1] Indigenous Amazonian people relate to these intercultural dynamics in ways that allow us to reconsider the key themes of violence, history, and memory in anthropology.

For centuries outsiders have imagined Amazonia as a place of violence, whether in colonial European accounts of "Amazon warriors," contemporary ideas about "wild Indians" in South America, or famous studies of "tribal warfare." Although much of this image can be attributed to enduring stereotypes about Amazonia, at certain times anthropologists too have conceptualized violence as a purely localized or even primordial aspect of Amazonian culture. Understanding the experiences of Waorani people

today requires a different approach to the anthropology of violence, one that draws on interethnic relations, the history of Christian missionaries in Amazonian Ecuador, and even popular film imagery. This allows us to consider the cultural meanings and political force of violence in terms of indigenous cosmology and a much wider set of relations that are part of Waorani experience. I examine violence not simply in terms of "tribal warfare" or "revenge killing" but as a symbolic practice through which Waorani people today understand themselves, their ancestors, and kowori people.

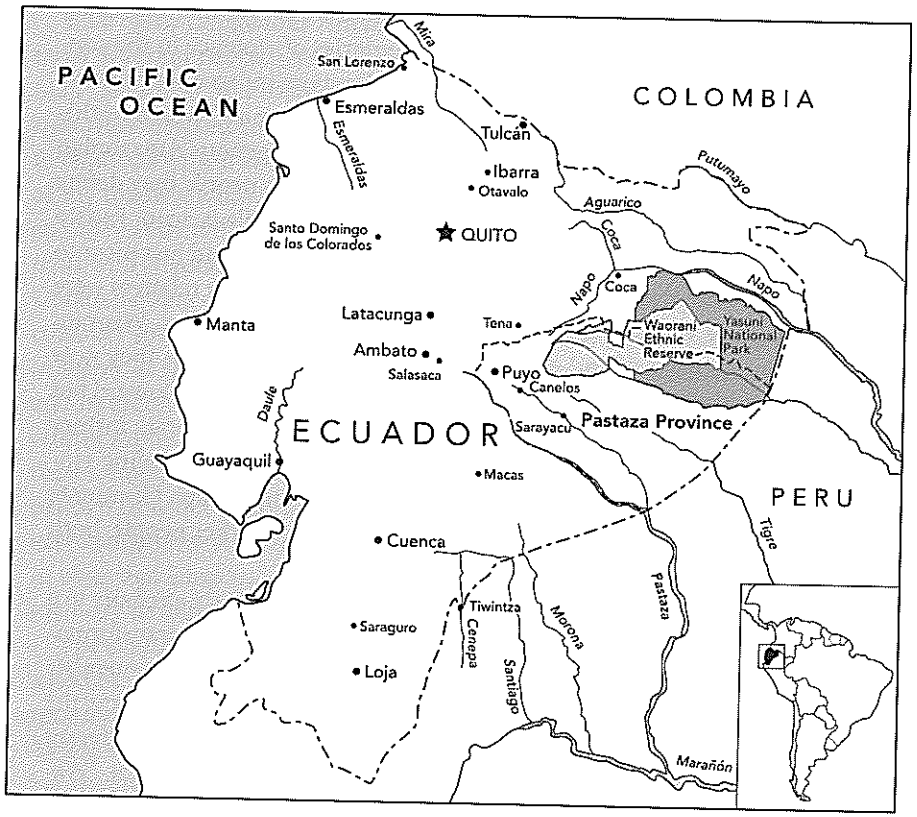
In recent years anthropologists have described how Amazonian cosmology and sociality depart in significant ways from conventional Western understandings of "nature" (Descola 1992, 1994), "society" (Viveiros de Castro 1992) and "culture" (Viveiros de Castro 1998a, 2011). Only recently, however, have we begun to consider how these ideas relate to contemporary political and economic processes that extend beyond the "local" or the "indigenous." Here I consider not only what Waorani people themselves say about violence but also what happens to memories of violence in the context of social transformations such as urban migration, indigenous political activism, and interethnic marriages with former "enemies." Much of this discussion concerns relations of "alterity"—or how indigenous Amazonian people understand their past and present relations with people they define as "others" of various kinds (Viveiros de Castro 1992; Vilaça 2010; Fausto 2012; Ewart 2013). When Waorani elders talk about the period just prior to mission settlement in the 1960s, they often describe how their relatives were killed by other Waorani groups (*warani*) or by kowori outsiders. Waorani understandings of self and other are changing not just because they now experience relations with an increasingly differentiated group of kowori but also because many Waorani today live in villages that incorporate former "enemy" Waorani. Their memories of violence, rather than revealing violence as a primordial or unchanging feature of Waorani culture, illuminate their ongoing engagements with a diverse landscape of other people, both within their villages and beyond.

Many of the practices, ideas, and relations anthropologists attribute to a given culture or society can be best understood in terms of their transformation. Although most of this book focuses on how Waorani people remember and comment on past events, written historical sources also reveal how the interethnic relations I observed in my fieldwork were reportedly different in previous decades. However, rather than speculating about what "Waorani society" was like in the past or assimilating indigenous perspectives to conventional Western ideas of history, my central concern is the mean-

ings past violence holds for Waorani people today in their homes and in their relations with an expanding constellation of kowori people. Whether asserting the bonds of kinship or calling for revenge killings, Waorani ways of remembering evoke relations of difference and mutual experience that challenge our own ideas of history, tradition, and identity. More than a question of historical accuracy or cultural continuity, these memories are a moral practice that calls for a certain kind of relations in the future.

Waorani Ethnography in Historical Perspective

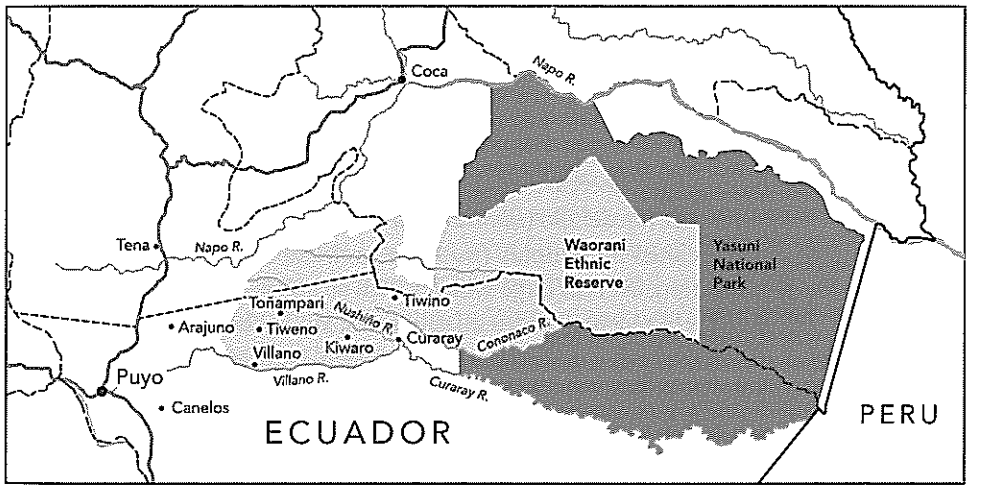
The Waorani people I describe here live on a vast reserve in eastern Ecuador and speak an indigenous language (*Wao-terero*) that is unrelated to other South American languages (Peeke 1979; Klein and Stark 1985). Their



MAP 1. Ecuador

economy is based primarily on hunting, gathering, and gardening on their official ethnic reserve of more than one million acres between the Napo and Curaray Rivers. Most Waorani today live in one of more than thirty villages, many of which have airstrips and schools that provide key links to the broader national society. While the past four or five decades have marked a dramatic transition from highly dispersed and relatively nomadic households to larger and more permanent settlements, their long treks in the forest, residential movement between villages, and temporary migration for employment with oil companies operating within the reserve continue to constitute a mobile way of life for the Waorani.

Despite being a population of only around twenty-five hundred people, the Waorani have for many years held a prominent place in popular imagination in Ecuador and beyond. For much of the twentieth century they were known for their violence, isolation, and assumed resistance to contact with outsiders. Until recently, they were most often referred to by other Ecuadorians as *aucas*, a derogatory term meaning "wild" or "savage."[2] Much like indigenous societies assumed to be inherently violent elsewhere in Amazonia at various historical moments (Muratorio 1994; Taussig 1987), the Waorani came to be defined by their violent encounters with outsiders. This reputation for violence and general "wildness" has made them a target of attention from explorers, missionaries, tourists, and researchers.



MAP 2. The Waorani territory in Amazonian Ecuador

Their reputation for violence brought the Waorani international fame in 1956, when five North American missionaries were killed on the banks of the Curaray River during an attempt to make what was assumed to be "first contact." This event, referred to as the "Palm Beach" killings in subsequent missionary writings, was to become one of the defining moments in twentieth-century missionary lore. The Waorani became not only an icon of Amazonian "savagery" and violence but also the target of one of the most intensive and highly publicized evangelical mission campaigns in the world by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)/Wycliffe Bible Translators in the 1960s (Stoll 1982). The resulting missionary literature describes how, with the establishment of the now legendary "*auca* mission," the Waorani converted to Christianity and all but completely abandoned internal revenge killings and violence toward outsiders.

Anthropological and missionary writings have emphasized Waorani isolation from other indigenous groups and their famous spear-killing raids prior to their "pacification" in the 1960s. The earliest ethnographic accounts describe a society on the verge of disappearance prior to mission settlement, primarily as a result of an intense cycle of internal revenge killings (Yost 1981). While the cause of this violence has been debated from ethnopsychological (Robarchek and Robarchek 1998), historical (Cipolletti 2002), and sociobiological (Beckerman and Yost 2007) perspectives, it is clear that Waorani people envisioned their conflicts with kowori outsiders as a relationship of predation. Still today, older adults describe how they once feared that all kowori people were cannibals intent on killing and eating them. This is part of a broader Waorani logic that locates personhood in the position of the victim or "prey" to outside aggression (Rival 2002). Oral histories and commentaries about contemporary relations with kowori tend to emphasize Waorani victimhood in the face of powerful outsiders, even after the dramatic decrease in violence since mission settlement. As in previous times, the household (*nanicabo*) and a tightly knit endogamous group of closely related households (*waomoni*) remain the primary units of social organization, even in large villages with as many as two hundred residents.[3] And yet in recent decades missionaries, local schools, oil development, and tourism have made relations between Waorani and kowori people more frequent and varied.

One of the key changes after missionary settlement in the 1960s has been the emergence of interethnic marriages between Waorani and neighboring indigenous Quichua (Runa) people in relatively permanent communities. These villages were established in the aftermath of the joint resettlement

efforts of SIL missionaries, the oil industry, and the Ecuadorian government. In recent years rural schools in many of these villages have become the central link between Waorani communities and the Ecuadorian state (Rival 1996). Interethnic marriages between Waorani and Quichua people, as well as those between former enemy Waorani groups, have for the most part replaced raiding as the primary mode of inter-group relations (Robarchek and Robarchek 1996). Celebrated by missionaries as the miraculous conversion to Christianity of "the world's most savage tribe" (Wallis 1960), this changing process in which former enemies became affines brought together members of numerous Waorani groups at larger settlements.

As described elsewhere in Amazonia (Turner 1991; Jackson 1995; Graham 2005), Waorani people have become increasingly aware of themselves as one of several indigenous "ethnic" groups in Ecuador. This political consciousness has coincided with their struggle to have their traditional lands recognized by the government as an official Waorani ethnic reserve. It is also partly the result of Waorani political involvement in the national indigenous movement and the relations of friendship, employment, and affinity they have established in recent years with various kowori people. However, the strict distinction they draw between *Wao* (singular of Waorani) and kowori remains a potent identifier of an internal "we" and outside "others." My occasional reference to "Waorani people" or "Waorani society" should not be taken to suggest that there is a coherent social whole to which all Waorani subscribe but refers instead to this distinction my Waorani interlocutors make between themselves and non-Waorani people. This is not the only way in which they distinguish other people, as the term *warani,* for example, is used to denote other Waorani not seen as particularly close relations and even enemies (see Rival 2002, 55). Another key relational context is that between household groups (*nanicabo*), as household autonomy remains an important value even in large villages like Toñampari, where people embrace the notion of living together in a wider *comunidad* (community). It is for this reason that I use the term "intergroup relations" at times in reference to relations between Waorani groups and at other times to describe interethnic relations between Waorani and neighboring indigenous people, such as Quichuas.

The settlement of most Waorani in villages coincided with a renewed international interest in oil development in and around their territory. Since the 1960s dozens of multinational companies and their subsidiaries have conducted oil exploration and production within the reserve, a trend that, if anything, is increasing at present. In the 1990s many Waorani became ac-

tive in protesting oil development and particularly the destructive oil roads and the resulting colonization of indigenous lands that came in its wake. This relationship between Waorani communities and the oil industry led to the establishment of an official Waorani political office, the Organization of Waorani Nationalities of Amazonian Ecuador (ONHAE) in 1990.[4] With the establishment of organizations like ONHAE, Waorani people today engage with regional and national indigenous politics in a country noted for its strong indigenous movement (Whitten 1996, 2003; Becker 2008; Roitman 2009). Indigenous political activism and the legal recognition of an official territorial reserve have contributed to a sense of Waorani solidarity as a wider ethnic group. However, this comes in the aftermath of strong internal divisions that in some cases continue within and between Waorani communities. Their entry into wider indigenous politics in Ecuador has also coincided with a growing international interest in indigenous Amazonian people as natural stewards and protectors of the rain forest (Conklin 1997, 2002). The presence of international NGOs and a growing "eco-tourism" industry are bringing the Waorani face to face with foreigners who have their own imaginations and expectations of Amazonian peoples.

While this book is centrally about the Waorani who hosted me during my fieldwork, their relations with Quichua-speaking people form a major part of my analysis of intergroup relations and their transformation (High 2006; Reeve and High 2012). Quichua-speaking people constitute the dominant indigenous group in Ecuador in terms of both population and political power. They have a prominent place in Waorani social life today, at least in part because Quichua villages are found along the borders of the reserve and because Quichua people have for years been at the forefront of the regional indigenous movement. As a source of violent conflict in the past and in much of Waorani discourse still today, the transformation of Quichuas from enemies to affines is a key example of the shifting relations of alterity in which Waorani are engaged. During my fieldwork I have often listened to the perspectives of Quichua women and men who live in the Waorani villages and kindly welcomed me into their homes. However, the chapters that follow should in no way be seen as any real attempt to write Quichua ethnography, a task that has been taken up extensively elsewhere (Whitten 1976, 1978; Whitten and Whitten 2008; Muratorio 1991; Macdonald 1999; Reeve 2002; Uzendoski 2005; Kohn 2013). However, I do attempt to bring about a better understanding of the Waorani as part of a wider system of intergroup relations in the region, of which Quichua-speaking people are a key part.

Between History and Memory

The forms of violence I explore in this book should be understood in terms of a complex intersection of history and memory in Amazonia. Owing to the relatively small scale of its indigenous population and relative lack of scholarly attention until the 1970s, the Amazon was until recently assumed to have little in the way of history at all. However, anthropologists, historians, and archaeologists today recognize the dramatic social and ecological effects of colonialism and other historical processes that transformed the social landscape of Amazonia long before the arrival of anthropologists (see, for example, Roosevelt 1994; Lathrap 1970; Whitehead 1993; Balée 1995; Denevan 1976; and Heckenberger 2005). It has become clear that Amazonian societies should no longer be seen through the lens of an anthropology that ignores the dynamic processes by which culture is constituted and transformed.[5] This historical approach is particularly important when considering the current position of the Waorani, who inhabit a region that suffered colonial mission settlements followed by relative abandonment and the infamous rubber boom at the end of the nineteenth century. These processes surely had an influence on the prevalence of violence and isolation for which the Waorani became known during much of the twentieth century.

As important as this historical context is for understanding past and present Amazonian societies, I am centrally concerned with the meanings past violence has for Waorani people today, or what Maurice Bloch calls "the presence of the past in the present" (1998, 118). Such an approach evokes the much-debated distinction between "history" and "memory." Western understandings of history tend to be based on a notion of "historicism" that implies a sense of disconnection between the past and the present. Eric Hirsch and Charles Stewart (2005) describe this view of history as "a factual representation (usually written) of the past, intentionally researched and composed according to rational principles. Alongside—perhaps beneath—this set of suppositions lies the naturalized assumption that 'history' belongs to the domain of the past. The past is separate from the present and this separation allows the recognition of history as an object" (263). Rather than criticizing this concept of history—or the undeniably important uses of historical methods in anthropology—my aim is to contribute to a historical anthropology of violence that focuses on how Waorani people relate the past to the present in ways that do not appear to follow conventional definitions of "history" (Gow 2001). Waorani understandings of violence

CHAPTER 3

Like the Ancient Ones

The public performances of warriorhood described in the previous chapter and the generational changes of which they are part have an important gendered dimension. While both women and men take part in these performances at village schools and in the city, young men are more closely associated with the imagery of violence that defines Waorani people in these intercultural contexts. They also tend to have more experience with kowori people and Ecuadorian cities than do Waorani women and elders. This is partly the result of young men working for oil companies, their dominant presence in urban indigenous politics, and the increasing frequency of interethnic marriages between Waorani men and kowori women. In this chapter I consider how, despite a strongly egalitarian ethos in much of Waorani social life, women and men experience generational changes in different ways. This requires a closer look at indigenous understandings of gender, agency, and the body, and how these understandings relate to urban migration and the increasingly global images that have become part of everyday life in Waorani communities.

While these translocal encounters make new kinds of manhood imaginable, recent social and economic transformations have not led to the pronounced gender antagonisms between men and women familiar to many other parts of the world. Waorani people instead engage with these transformations in terms of indigenous understandings of gendered agency,

in which women are associated with the production of "interiority" and men with relations of "exteriority." In a context where intergroup violence and missionary "pacification" are vivid in social memory, and where the local ideal of "living well" is expressed in terms of remaking past enmities into productive relations, certain practices associated with male elders are either unachievable or illegitimate within Waorani communities today. Whereas elders frequently contrast past warfare practices to what they call "civilization," imagery ranging from the rain-forest warrior in the national imagination to Bruce Lee and Rambo in popular film has become part of the way young men understand their own masculinity. This is not because indigenous Amazonian men (or men in general) have a universal need to express violence or antagonistic gender relations but because violence is a key facet of the cultural imagination produced at the intersection of Waorani and kowori worlds.

The ways specific generational forms of Waorani masculinity draw on global imagery of violence challenge the tendency to view indigenous peoples and cosmologies in isolation from broader political and economic relations in Amazonia. How, for example, might indigenous understandings of gender illuminate the ways Waorani youth interact with mestizos in urban areas? And how do Waorani men become "engendered" in the context of multiple and contradictory gender discourses? Understanding these processes requires viewing masculinity not as fixed in time but as constantly produced and remade in a dynamic process of historical transformation (Hodgson 1999). It is precisely in the context of translocal relations between Waorani and other people that these transformations come into view.

Gender and Agency in Amazonia

In recent years anthropologists working in Amazonia have prioritized the constitution of personhood, the body, and broader relations of alterity over those between men and women.[1] Descola, for example, argues that in Amazonia "the sexual division of labor is not based on a native discriminatory theory that would rank activities on a scale of prestige according to whether they are performed by men or women" (2001, 97). This view is consistent with a more general regional emphasis on egalitarianism and the collective production of consanguinity through living and eating together (Overing and Passes 2000). McCallum (2001) challenges the very notion that gendered relations in Amazonia can be characterized as a form of "hegemonic masculinity," instead framing Amazonian sociality in terms of

non-dominant male and female agencies located in the body. She argues that since Amazonian cosmology posits a "unitary human identity" rather than "multiple gender identities inferred from a set of distinct subject positions" (165), sociality is not as much about producing women and men as it is about producing bodies and persons.

Even as being a victim can be seen as a generalized expression of Waorani personhood, there are also important gendered dimensions of indigenous cosmology and social life. Waorani men and women are not positioned in relation to violence in the same ways, even in a society in which people distinguish themselves as "prey" to predatory kowori. While Waorani men and women generally have equal social status, gendered differences emerge in the context of violence, as men are seen as susceptible to being overtaken by the non-human "predatory" desire to kill. Rival suggests that this is because men's "souls" are seen as less firmly attached to the body than are those of women, allowing the perspective of predatory spirits to control their minds and bodies (2005, 296). There is always the risk that a man who is overcome by anger (*pii*) after the death of a kinsman may himself become a predator, leading him to kill enemies or even members of his own household. While elders explain that men, women, and children died in past spear-killing raids, it was most often men who were targeted in these revenge killings.[2] Whether in oral histories or in commenting on contemporary marital relations, women are rarely singled out as specific targets of male violence.

Waorani understandings of gender can also be seen in the distinct roles that constitute married life. Adults describe marriage as a productive relationship between women and men that is closely linked to having children and collectively consuming abundant food through mutual support. This ideal is voiced at wedding ceremonies in which elders sing loudly to remind the bride and groom of their expected roles. It can also be seen in couvade practices in which men and women are expected to share dietary restrictions during and after pregnancy (Rival 1998a). While many marriages are arranged by elders, and a small number are polygynous, marital relations are generally stable and amicable.[3] Waorani marriage practices are characteristic of what anthropologists have called a "brideservice model," in which marriage does not involve a direct exchange or pooling of resources (Collier and Rosaldo 1981). Whereas the brideservice model suggests that conflicts and inequalities are generated by men's attempts to assert their rights over women (Collier 1988), such occurrences are rare in Waorani communities. The general absence of spousal abuse or a visible gender hierarchy, coupled with the flexibility and informality of most gendered activities, is part of a

wider egalitarian ethos that pervades much of Waorani social and economic life. Whereas women typically reside in their natal homes after marriage and are associated with processes of regeneration and familiarization, a man ideally distances himself from his natal household, eventually to be incorporated into his wife's group.

Waorani understandings of male and female roles in violence and marriage practices illustrate what other ethnographers have described as a native distinction between masculine and feminine agencies in Amazonia. From this perspective, women are transformers of forest and garden products in the domestic sphere of consanguinity, while men are seen to have a predatory role in hunting, warfare, and affinal relations (Taylor 1983; Viveiros de Castro 2001).[4] The notion of gendered agency that I adopt, however, refers not just to the gender identities or actual roles of women and men, but also to an indigenous theory that attributes distinct capacities and symbolic values to male and female bodies. This formulation resonates with McCallum's argument that gender in Amazonia should be seen as "an epistemological condition for social action" embodied as male or female agency (McCallum 2001, 5).[5] In this context, emergent forms of Waorani masculinity reveal how specific embodied processes attributed to men and women enable particular capacities and relations, and how these processes change from one generation to the next.

Durani Bai: Hunting, Killing, and Masculinity

Understanding the place of violence and memory in contemporary Waorani gender dynamics requires closer attention to the meanings of the expression durani bai ("like the ancient ones") by which young people describe their public warrior performances. Statements about certain people, practices, and objects being durani bai have significance for Waorani people beyond the school events and folklore festivals described in the previous chapter. They constitute part of an everyday discourse through which young people comment on and identify themselves with practices they associate with previous generations. It is not uncommon to hear male teenagers using this term openly to admire elders and ancestors for their perceived autonomy, strength, and ability to kill. During my fieldwork they also praised as durani bai the few so-called "uncontacted" groups (*tagaeri taromenani*) who continue to refuse village settlement and peaceful relations with kowori outsiders, describing such groups as fearless and able to kill people by throwing spears from long distances.[6]

Members of my host family often used this expression to describe particular objects and actions associated with the past or in reference to previous generations. Blowguns, spears, gourd bowls, ceramic pots, and other locally produced objects are described as durani bai, as are traditional group dances and songs. Talk of this sort can often be heard at intervillage feasts, where people indulge in plentiful amounts of manioc beer and game meat, and dance and sing late into the night. In everyday life, durani bai is offered as an approving response to activities associated with past times of abundance. An elderly woman used this expression in describing to me a feast she attended in a distant village where the hosts provided enough food for guests to return home with extra monkey meat. For young men, it is a way of asserting one's own abilities and achievements in continuity with previous generations.[7]

One practice closely linked to the idea of durani bai yet seldom observed in Waorani households today is the whipping (*pangi*) of children with a forest vine after peccary hunts. When talking about their childhood, men and women recall how they suffered from the painful lashes they received from their fathers and grandfathers. On several occasions elders explained to me that this practice made children strong enough to hunt peccaries themselves one day. Beyond ascribing a role specifically to male elders, these explanations suggest that whipping is seen as a way of transmitting knowledge or ability from one person to another. In a parallel example described by a missionary in the late 1950s, one of the first Waorani men to be brought by missionaries to an Ecuadorian town commented that he wished to be beaten by a tractor driver so that he would acquire the ability to use the machinery in his home village (Wallis 1960, 256). Being subjected to physical beatings not only enables children to acquire the skills of adults but also reflects a more general Amazonian conceptualization of the "physical creation of social qualities through bodily states" (Fisher 2001, 122). Rather than being a form of punishment to correct misbehavior, the whipping of children reveals an understanding that bodily experiences constitute the acquisition of specific kinds of knowledge and agency.[8]

This notion of the body as a locus of acquired knowledge presents a contrast to what I described in the previous chapter as an embodied form of generational memory. Whereas performing on stage "like the ancient ones" involves remembering and performing a highly visible yet generic image of ancestral warriorhood that mediates intercultural relations, being whipped by an elder creates a kind of bodily memory that defines the subjective identity of an individual person in relation to ascending generations. As such, it is a kind of social memory that, instead of uniting them in a generalized image of "Waorani people," differentiates people based on their individual experiences. In his famous characterization of the body as a "social skin" (1980), Turner describes how Amazonian people alter the external form of the body in order to "mark and help bring about transformations in the social identity and subjective perspective of persons" (2009, 33). While visible body ornamentation such as spears, feathers, and body paint establish a certain kind of "social identity" for Waorani youth in folklore festivals, it is the experience of being whipped by elders that is seen to bring about the transformations by which they become strong and able to carry out the tasks exemplified by elders.

Although Waorani elders in Toñampari say that they stopped whipping children during the missionary period, this practice continues to have a presence in how Waorani people envision gendered and generational relations today. Parents lament that the current generation of boys and girls is weaker than previous ones, who they describe as stronger and better able to withstand long treks in the forest. Elders explain that this deficiency is a consequence of children today not having been whipped like they themselves were in past times. While the resulting lack of embodied knowledge is said to have affected boys and girls alike, the absence of this practice appears to have had a disproportionate effect on the skills and abilities of young men, who are said to be unable to hunt peccaries with spears because they were not whipped as children. Given the importance Waorani place on peccary hunting and its association with masculinity, it was difficult for me to see why most people abandoned the practice of whipping children. When I asked the senior man in my host family why he does not whip his children, he responded that young people today cannot withstand the lashes because they eat too much "foreign food" (*kowori kengi*), referring to the rice, noodles, oatmeal, and other features of the lunches supplied by local schools. He explained that, as a result, their arms and legs are too weak and would break from the whipping.[9]

This idea that people, and particularly men, are becoming physically and culturally deficient as a result of changing ritual practices resonates with Conklin's work in Brazil with the Wari, who say that previous generations of men grew larger, stronger, and more capable than men today who have never experienced specific enemy-killing rites after warfare. What becomes clear in both of these cases is that men are seen as unable to "actualize their masculine potential" (Conklin 2001, 155) as a result of not experiencing specific bodily transformations. In contexts like these, the perceived problem

is not just that men today are failing to fulfill their expected gender roles but also that they lack specific capacities attributed to previous generations of men. Whereas younger Waorani generations are seen as being less "hard" or "strong" (*teëmo*) than elders, the few remaining "uncontacted" groups are said to have remarkable physical abilities due to their strict diet of "Waorani" foods and because, in contrast to "civilized" Waorani who became Christian and today live in villages, they continue to whip their children. This understanding of how knowledge and agency depend on specific bodily practices has important consequences for the ways young men today envision their own masculinity. The following brief sketches of men from different generations point to how the experiences of Waorani men have changed dramatically in recent decades:

Pego is one of the oldest men in Toñampari, having grown up in the decades prior to the arrival of the first missionaries. He was born in the eastern part of the Waorani territory, where his father was killed in a series of revenge killings with other Waorani groups. Pego, who is known for his humor and exciting hunting stories, describes how he was brutally whipped as a child by his senior kin and as a result became an expert hunter of monkeys, birds, and peccaries at an early age. When he was a young man, he married a woman his kinsmen abducted in a raid against an enemy group. In the late 1960s Pego and his wife joined the missionary settlement at Tiweno, where they lived for several years and had four children. In the late 1970s they joined several other families to establish the village of Toñampari, where they have remained intermittently ever since. Pego has voiced to me his frustrations about the noisiness of village life and often goes on hunting trips alone for days or weeks at a time. He has built a hunting lodge about a day's walk away from the village along the bank of a small river, where he receives visits from his children and many grandchildren during school holidays. He also makes extended visits to his ancestral territory far to the east, where he says he enjoys better hunting, visits with relatives, and food gifts from oil companies operating in the area. An old and gregarious man, Pego complains that young men spend too much time in the cities, where their laziness and diet causes them to become "like outsiders" (*kowori bai*). Yet he also asks his grown children to bring him manufactured goods and medicines when they visit urban areas, and he is known to block oil roads on Waorani lands with felled trees, demanding that oil workers provide him food and other gifts. When in the village, Pego and his wife live in the home of his oldest son, Wareka.

Pego's relationship with Wareka is generally relaxed, friendly, and informal. Although Pego is a major provider of game meat to Wareka's large household, he says he prefers to live away from the village and often decides to leave without consulting his son's family. Wareka, who is in his late thirties, grew up on the mission and later attended a missionary school in the city for about a year. As a boy he enjoyed hunting birds and monkeys but has never killed peccaries or other large game. As a teenager he married a Quichua woman with whom he today has seven children. While his parents' generation consists primarily of monolingual speakers of the Waorani language, Wareka speaks Waorani, Quichua, and Spanish. After working intermittently for several oil companies, he was among a group of young men who established the official Waorani political organization in the early 1990s. As a result, he spends several months at a time working and living in the regional capital. In his home village he has been elected to various community offices and is active in local school events. Wareka speaks of his father and other senior kin with admiration, as people who live durani bai ("like the ancient ones"). He praises his father's ability to live on his own in the forest, never failing to return home with meat. On occasions when Wareka is able to provide large amounts of fish, game meat, or goods procured in the city, he often compares these acts to his father's providing monkeys and other meat for his family and neighbors. He explains that he is able to work hard because, as a child, his father whipped him after peccary hunts. Wareka regularly takes his children to visit his parents' distant hunting lodge, where his father joins the young men on fishing trips and enjoys entertaining the children with his storytelling in the evenings.

Dabo, who is twenty-two years old and unmarried, grew up in the largest Waorani village and is the third oldest of nine siblings. His father grew up on the mission in the 1960s and is today one of the few remaining Waorani active in the local evangelical church. Dabo was among the first Waorani to graduate from the new village high school, speaks Spanish fairly well, and often goes by the name Juan. He is a skilled fisherman and also enjoys dancing to Ecuadorian pop music. Since graduating, Dabo has worked on temporary contracts to clear roads for oil companies. He says that the work, in addition to providing wages, allows him to visit friends in other parts of the Waorani reserve. Dabo also makes frequent visits to the regional capital where he sees relatives, shops for clothes, and occasionally joins friends at local bars and dance clubs. Despite his experience in the city, he says he is uninterested in becoming involved in the Waorani political organization

and instead aspires to study business or tourism at a university in the capital. When in his home village he stays with his parents and younger siblings, though he is frequently away for extended periods. Dabo often described his father to me as a skilled hunter who, like his ancestors, is able to kill monkeys, peccaries, and other large game. He seldom accompanies his father on hunting trips but occasionally joins him on group peccary hunts near the village, despite never having killed large game himself. At times Dabo insists that he will someday establish his own longhouse deep in the forest, where he and his older brother will live and hunt "like the ancient ones." At other times he speaks of his desire to become an oil company truck driver and to travel abroad.

The contrasting life experiences of these three men hint at how the roles and expectations of Waorani men have changed considerably from one generation to the next. While each grew up in radically different historical contexts, they emphasize a common ideal of autonomy and providing game meat associated with being "durani bai." It is striking that peccary hunting is a particularly important expression of manhood for men of all three age groups. Waorani people make strong symbolic associations between hunting peccaries and killing people in warfare (Rival 1996b), a link that has been described in much of Amazonia and is even represented in the urban Andean "Yumbada" festival in Quito (Salomon 1981; Whitten and Whitten 2011). In previous times peccaries were among the only animals hunted with the same type of spears used for killing people, and there remains a link between killing peccaries and the admired strength and bravery of men who have killed people. Some of the most impressive and long-winded household stories are about the fortunes and misfortunes of men hunting peccaries. In recalling past hunts, they describe the act of killing large animals and collectively eating and sharing the meat as durani bai and *waponi* (pleasing) activities. Peccary hunting is today emblematic of a masculinity idealized by young men, despite the fact that few have themselves speared peccaries. They show great interest in these hunts and tend to know who has killed a peccary and who has not, much like they know who has killed a human enemy. When older men return to the village with a dead peccary, an adult woman may whip its body with her hands or the dull edge of a machete. Treating the dead animal in this way is said to bring about successful hunts in the future and prevent other peccaries from invading manioc gardens.

The fact that both peccaries and (in previous times) children were whipped after the hunt suggests a degree of perceived continuity between

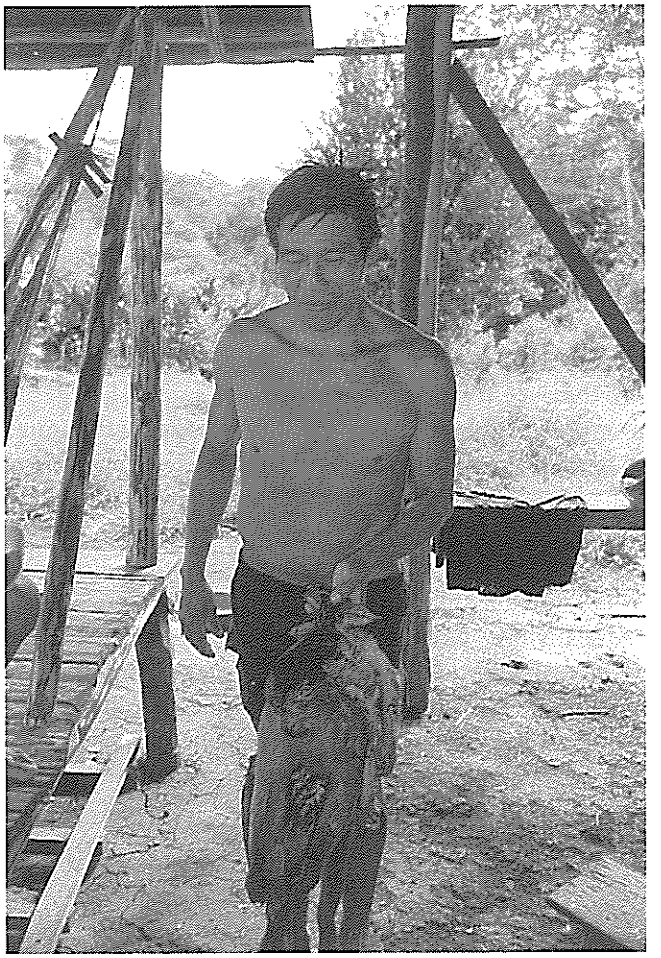


FIGURE 9. *Durani bai*: a man returns from the hunt with a peccary

people and peccaries familiar to studies of animist and perspectival cosmologies in Amazonia (Descola 1994; Århem 1996; Viveiros de Castro 1998a). In everyday life Waorani jokingly compare human behavior to that of peccaries, such as leaving behind a muddy path in the forest when large groups travel together. It is these perceived parallels between killing people and peccaries that make peccary hunting a key index of Waorani masculinity for young men today. Whereas most living male elders and ancestors are known to have killed people in warfare, and many of the men who grew

up at the mission settlement in the 1960s have speared peccaries (and not people), few young men today have killed animals or people with spears. For teenage and young adult men whose parents converted to Christianity and all but ended the revenge-killing vendettas of preceding generations, peccary hunting has come to be seen as a quintessentially durani bai practice through which they claim a certain connection with "the ancient ones."

The ways the current generation of young men embrace peccary hunting as an expression of masculinity can be seen in the exaggerated or completely embellished stories they tell about killing peccaries. On one occasion a young man named Nenki approached my house carrying a massive, white-lipped peccary over his back. That morning, about a dozen men had raced down the river in canoes after a local man spotted a large herd crossing the river upstream from the village. After dropping the animal on the ground in front of the house, Nenki explained how he and the other men tracked the peccaries to a swamp where several animals were trapped in the mud. As is typical of hunting stories, he showed the movements of the flailing animals with body gestures and mimicked the noises made by the peccaries. The account culminated with Nenki's killing two large animals and subsequently giving one of them to his relatives. I later heard from two older men who participated in the hunt that Nenki's story had been almost completely contrived; he had little to do with killing the peccaries, having trailed behind the lead group of armed men and arrived only after the animals were killed. Apparently, Nenki received the animal he carried to our house from another hunter who killed two peccaries and had more meat than he needed. I later discovered from Nenki's close relatives that Nenki has in fact never killed a peccary himself.

Another young man explained to me that in order to marry his Quichua wife, he had to hunt enough game meat to fill several large baskets for her family. After hearing his stories about tirelessly hunting peccaries, tapir, and other animals, I later discovered that his senior male kin actually did the hunting because the young man was unable to kill peccaries himself. Just as young adult men attempt to position themselves as durani bai in embellishing stories about peccary hunting, male teenagers claim that their experiences of being whipped as children have made them stronger than younger siblings who they say were not whipped.[10] In this way young men associate themselves with the assumed strength, endurance, and knowledge of older men, even if they admit to not having carried out a number of durani bai practices themselves.

Violent Imagery and Masculine Fantasy

Of course, peccary hunting and warfare are not the only measure of Waorani manhood. To understand the seemingly contradictory ways Waorani masculinities are produced today requires consideration not only of Amazonian cosmology and generational changes but also the experiences of young men in broader political, economic, and intercultural contexts. This is because young Waorani people, especially men, spend an increasing amount of time in Ecuador's frontier cities and because mass-media sources are becoming more readily available within Waorani communities. All of this contributes to new masculine fantasies in which Waorani men draw on both popular film imagery and notions of ancestral continuity.

The characters young people see in popular Hollywood films are among the diverse images and practices they describe as durani bai. Films have become more accessible in the past decade with the arrival of televisions and video players in Waorani communities. Violent action-adventure movies are especially popular and attract large audiences to the few homes equipped with electric generators. As a result, many young Waorani are as likely as North Americans to be familiar with actors such as Jean-Claude Van Damme, Sylvester Stallone, and Jackie Chan.[11] At the time of my primary fieldwork between 2002 and 2004, *Rambo II* was the most popular movie among young Waorani men, who appeared to be fascinated by imagery of violence in film. After viewing scenes of Rambo killing people in the forests of Southeast Asia, they compared his ability to trick and kill enemies from hidden positions to their own ancestors, describing him as durani bai.[12] While watching a Rambo film, a male teenager explained to me that, upon finishing his studies at the village school, he planned to move to a remote part of the Waorani territory where, like his ancestors and Rambo, he would live "free" in the forest. Statements like these often emphasized an ideal of autonomy and independence from larger settlements and kowori people, as well as a desire to live in traditional longhouses (*durani onko*) and hunt game with spears and blowguns used by elders.

Bruce Lee and the martial arts are another popular image, particularly for the male teenage students who stay at the school boarding house in Toñampari.[13] At the time of my fieldwork, they would hang Bruce Lee posters and painted Chinese calligraphy copied from the packages of videos onto the inner walls of the building.[14] Martial arts fighting became so popular among young men that the students' residence was transformed into a martial arts

clubhouse. In the household where I lived, a teenager decorated the wall with posters of Bruce Lee, which he placed next to a small wooden spear and a feathered crown. When asked about the images and objects displayed on his wall, he described them as "durani bai" and explained that his ancestors refused to become "civilized" and live in villages like the Waorani today. He said that, like Bruce Lee, they defended themselves fearlessly against many enemies. Other young men involved in the martial arts club evoked similar comparisons in describing their fighting abilities as "durani bai." Without assuming that young men see in Rambo or Bruce Lee practices that they envision carrying out themselves in the future, the imagery in these films resonates with capacities that young people ascribe to previous generations of men. Much like their parents killing peccaries and their ancestors killing enemies, they represent a form of manhood characterized by autonomy, strength, and endurance in the face of physical danger.

The enthusiastic reception of violent imagery associated with characters like Rambo is not uncommon around the world, especially among young men with historical or first-hand experiences of war (Kulick and Wilson 1994; Richards 1996; Wood 2006). Whereas male youth elsewhere have been described as seeing these images as "tools for the active construction of their own modernity" to be emulated in actual warfare (Richards 1996, 105), young Waorani men emphasize the continuities between Rambo and an idealized form of masculinity associated with their ancestors. Despite this emphasis on generational continuity, such an ideal is itself a product of historical transformation. In various contexts colonialism, the presence of missionaries, and tourism campaigns have all had a role in the historical production of masculinities that emphasize "warriorhood" (Hodgson 1999). Young Waorani men, who interact with mestizo Ecuadorians on a regular basis, draw in part on popular imagery of "Amazonian warriors" when they compare themselves to Rambo. I suggest that violence in film is attractive to these men because it constitutes what gender theorists have described as a "fantasy" of masculine power. The notion of fantasy is useful here in referring to the sense of what kind of person an individual aspires to be and how he or she wants to be seen by others (Moore 1994, 66). While voicing plans to engage in specific acts of physical violence is very rare in Waorani communities, Bruce Lee and Rambo embody a fantasy of masculine power and generational continuity that young men both idealize and fail to demonstrate in everyday life. In this context of shifting male roles, masculinity is produced out of multiple, coexistent discourses and images that speak to the widening gap between how gender is constructed culturally and how it is lived in the present. This tension has considerable bearing on the experiences of young Waorani men who migrate to urban areas.

Not all Waorani place the same values on practices they describe as durani bai. Just as the imagery of violence that attracts young men differs from the emphasis on suffering and victimhood in narratives told by older generations, men and women place themselves differently in relation to the past. While for young men, masculinity is associated with the perceived strength, violence, and autonomy of their ancestors, women associate themselves more closely with the creation of interiority out of differences. Women at times also make comparisons between violent movie characters and their ancestors but are less inclined to praise imagery of Rambo and Bruce Lee. This is not because older generations or the past in general is associated exclusively with male practices. While killing people and peccaries is an unambiguous expression of masculine agency, other practices described as durani bai, such as the collective consumption of plentiful food and generously hosting visitors, are associated with both men and women.

The ability to provide for visitors in the home and at village-wide feasts (*eëme*), though less exclusively gendered than warfare and hunting, is more closely linked to female agency. For example, the production of manioc beer (*tepe*)—a key component of the Waorani diet and an expected feature of visits between households—is clearly demarcated as the realm of women. They brew this drink by masticating boiled manioc roots (*kene*) to make a thick pulp (*keë*), which is later mixed with water to be served.[15] The transformational power of manioc beer is evident in the Waorani notion that its repeated consumption over time leads to household members sharing a single, distinctive body. Since the making and serving of manioc beer is one of the few exclusively female activities, women have a special part in the creation of internal consanguinity, just as masculinity is more closely associated with relations of exteriority wherein men become detached from the social body, such as warfare and uxorilocal marriages (Rival 2005). Despite the contrasting capacities associated with women and men, Waorani adults often emphasize the necessity of both male and female activities for tranquil marital relations, the production of children, and "living well."

Alongside accounts of past violence, the oral histories of Waorani men and women also reach back nostalgically to an idyllic past when related households invited one another to drink massive amounts of manioc beer together. These events continue today in festivals sponsored by schools or entire villages. In addition to making and serving manioc beer at these events, women sing songs that emphasize closeness and solidarity between

different Waorani communities. These songs often welcome visitors and emphasize alliance and friendship between the hosts and visiting groups. Whether through providing manioc beer and songs for outsiders or familiarizing in-marrying husbands into their natal households, women's agency is characterized by the ability to incorporate and transform exteriority into interiority and thus constitute the household group. These understandings of gender and agency support the broader assertion from masculinity studies that manhood should be considered in terms of relations between women and men (Brandes 1980; Gutmann 1997). However, rather than asserting masculinity and femininity as gendered oppositions, Waorani men express their gendered agency in relation to previous generations and kowori people and images. It is perhaps for this reason that emerging masculinities are not predicated on gendered antagonisms and seldom lead to male violence against women.

Urban Masculinity: Gender in Crisis?

As in many other parts of the world, the gendered experiences of men and women in Amazonia have changed dramatically as indigenous people become increasingly involved in wage labor and the market economy (Seymour-Smith 1991). In these contexts emerging idioms of "modernity" and aspirations to acquire commodities often contribute significantly to gender antagonism and inequality. In much of Amazonian and Melanesia, as men earn cash and prestige through wage labor and urban political leadership, women's roles in agriculture and domestic life are devalued in relation to the cash income of men (Knauft 1997). These changes reveal that femininities and masculinities are never fixed but instead are "formed and reformed through interactions with broader historical processes and events" (Hodgson 1999, 125). Given the shifting nature of gendered experiences, masculinity should be understood not only as historical but also as multiple and contradictory.

The experiences of Waorani men have changed considerably in the past few decades, even beyond the general transition from warfare to relative peace. The majority of young men older than about age eighteen have at some point left their communities to work for oil companies or at the Waorani political office in the regional capital. As their expected roles outside the home have transformed from that of killers and hunters to students, oil workers, and politicians within just a couple of generations, it appears that the lives of men have changed to a greater degree than those of women.

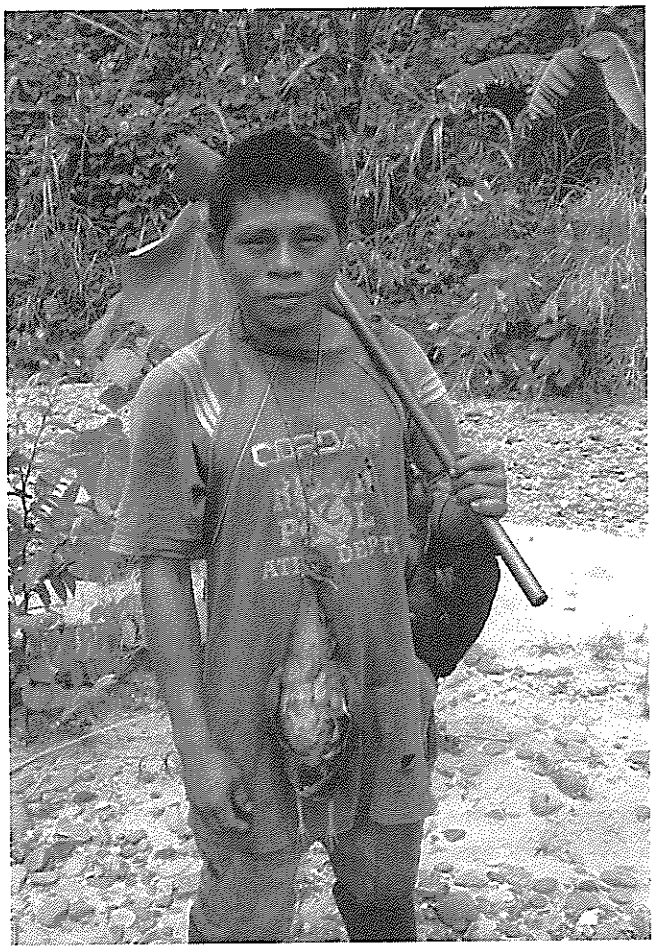


FIGURE 10. A young man hunts birds along the Kerememeno River

The emphasis many Waorani place today on being "civilized" and living in a "community" conveys a stark contrast to stories about young men in the past being trained in the methods of spear-killing.

Although women's lives have also changed considerably in the past fifty years, there are few, if any, gendered practices associated with previous generations that Waorani women are today unable to carry out. The establishment of larger villages with schools and the decrease in intergroup violence have probably expanded the possibilities for feminine agency as a broader

FIGURE 11. Feeding a household pet

range of outsiders, including former "enemies," are incorporated more readily into kinship relations and household visits. While older women lament the difficulty of producing manioc and other garden foods in past times when revenge-killings demanded constant relocation, younger adult women often proudly describe how they serve plentiful amounts of manioc beer to their guests. Even if men's involvement in the wider national economy and indigenous politics has increased women's domestic labor burden, it can equally be said that Waorani men are less successful than women in terms of fulfilling their expected gender roles.

With the growing expectation that boys should attend school, learn Spanish, and eventually work for wages, oil development and indigenous political activism have become part of a new masculine ideal for young men. In contrast to previous generations in which elders arranged marriages between cross-cousins in their early teenage years, parents have explained to me that their male children should work for oil companies to earn money before marriage.[16] Young men tend to agree and often attempt to avoid marrying until reaching their twenties. In this context, masculinity is seldom stated against a notion of "tradition" but is instead cast much in the same light

as older adults providing abundance for their household. Whether as oil company employees or urban politicians, young men are expected to bring large amounts of goods from the city back to their family and community. This expectation is particularly strong for men who are elected to positions in the Waorani organization.

While some young men achieve a degree of prestige through wage labor and politics, their roles have changed in ways that reveal their diminishing ability to achieve particular forms of masculinity associated with previous generations. Insofar as women's agency is associated with the creation, regeneration, and expansion of the group, women have become increasingly successful in their expected gendered roles in the decades since mission settlement—a period marked by wider intergroup alliances and rapid population growth.[17] Men, however, even when successful in urban politics and wage labor, are compared in various ways to past generations of killers and successful hunters. Waorani political leaders, who are almost exclusively young men, face criticism from their kin when they fail to satisfy the expectation that they generously provide large amounts of goods obtained from external (kowori) sources. When they fail to provide generously enough, they are contrasted to elders and ancestors who are said to have shared plentiful game meat for their household and neighbors. These men come to be seen by their male and female peers as becoming more like "outsiders" and are described as *kowori bai* ("like non-Waorani people").

Young men respond to this situation in a number of ways. For the initial generation of Waorani political leaders based in the regional capital, one strategy has been to negotiate contracts with oil companies. Enkeri, a man in his late twenties who has worked at the Waorani political office for several years, explained to me the difficulties of reconciling urban life with the expectations he faces in his home village. He complained that, in contrast to his home community, where his kin provide food for each other without payment, one needs money to live among kowori people in the city. Enkeri lamented that his low wages make it impossible for him to provide the wealth of manufactured goods that his kin have come to expect from him. Despite having participated in a number of protests against oil development on indigenous lands, this same man proudly explained to me his role in signing an agreement with an oil company that he hopes will provide school and health supplies to his home community.

These contexts reveal how, through wage labor, men come to be measured increasingly in terms of the cash and commodity goods they provide for their families. This process has not led, however, to the gender polarity

and antagonism anticipated by theorists who envision an emerging global hegemonic masculinity based on male domination. Spousal abuse remains extremely rare and is a much-criticized practice that Waorani associate with kowori Ecuadorians. Women are not expected to be subordinate to their husbands, nor has female sexuality become commodified or noticeably more restricted. Even as it is generally young men who are elected to leadership positions within the official Waorani political office, women continue to have an active role in voicing their opinions and influencing decisions in local political debates. Conflicts in Waorani communities are very rarely voiced in terms of gender oppositions. Like men, women complain that indigenous leaders are selfish—not because they are men but because they fail to demonstrate the generosity expected of both men and women.

Urban indigenous politics are in part an extension of the Waorani logic that, just as female agency is associated with creating, expanding, and regenerating sociality within Waorani communities, relations with kowori "outsiders" involves a specifically masculine form of agency.[18] Rather than having mutually antagonistic gendered roles in their engagement with broader political and economic processes, men and women demonstrate distinct capacities within indigenous Amazonian notions of gendered agency. In the context of recent social transformations, crisis and antagonism are instead expressed primarily in terms of generational differences and interethnic relations that put the masculinity of young men in question. This is not to say that Waorani gender relations are entirely equal, harmonious, or unchanging. As we have seen, the roles of men have changed considerably in recent decades, and it remains to be seen whether the forms of manhood produced in ever-expanding Waorani villages and in urban interethnic contexts will lead to a more pronounced gender hierarchy in the future.

Young Waorani men inhabit a world of multiple, contradictory, and constantly shifting masculinities (Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994). They increasingly find themselves in urban contexts where, in the eyes of other Ecuadorians, they embody a specific image of warriorhood. As we have seen, although they are unable to demonstrate many local durani bai practices, in the city these men sometimes embrace their allocated position as "wild Amazonian warriors" in popular Ecuadorian imagination. Just as they celebrate stories about peccary hunting, images of Rambo, and the idea of superhuman "uncontacted" relatives living "free" in the forest, performing as warriors in front of mestizo Ecuadorians and tourists confers a form of masculinity that is elusive in the villages where young men grow up. In these urban settings, the Amazonian warrior becomes yet another element

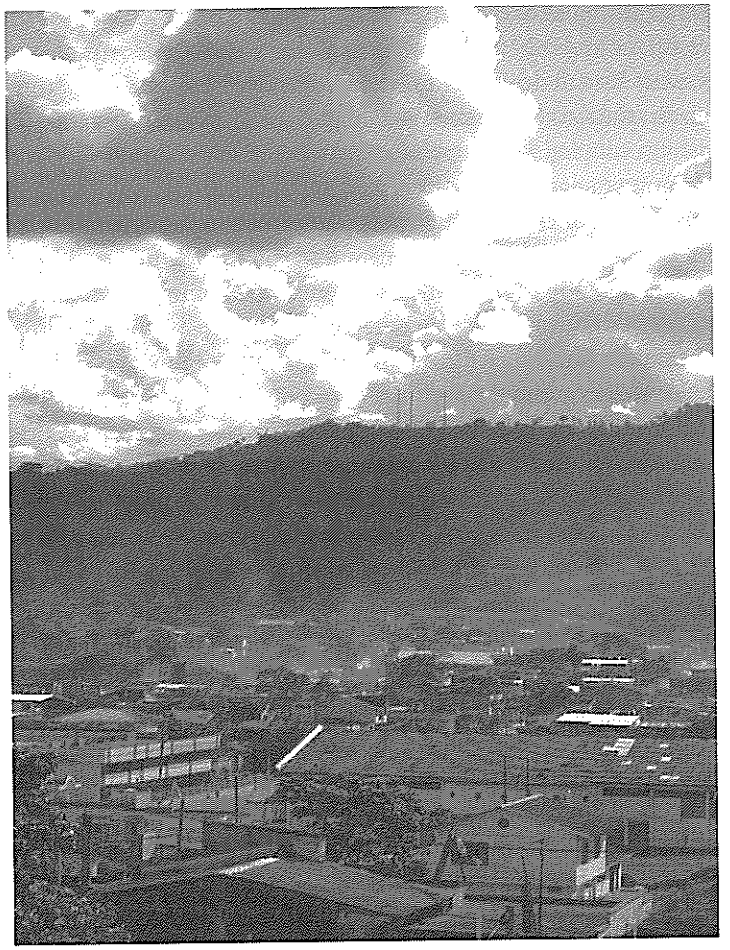


FIGURE 12. *Kowori onko*: the Amazonian frontier city of Puyo

of masculine fantasy for young men who themselves describe their dress and performances as being "like the ancient ones."

Indigenous Amazonian notions of gendered agency are today only part of the lived experiences of Waorani people, especially for men who stay in the regional capital for months or years at a time. Some of them befriend mestizo Ecuadorians and join them in drinking sessions and the male sexual banter familiar to studies of masculinity elsewhere in Latin America (Brandes 2002; Gutmann 1996; Wade 1994). Young Waorani men

say that drinking at bars is an important part of being "amigos" (friends) with mestizos and other Waorani men in the city. In these urban environments, what Knauft describes as "a new collective life of male fraternity" can be seen in relations between Waorani and mestizo men (1997, 241). These friendships, coupled with popular stereotypes about Waorani violence, have placed young men at the crossroads of contradictory forms of masculinity. Even as leaving one's household was part of becoming a man in previous generations, young Waorani men now find themselves in a position where they must negotiate the demands of their home communities and the expectations of urban Ecuadorian society.

While male bonding in urban areas has not led to the devaluation of women or strict gendered oppositions, recent social transformations reveal the tensions and contradictions between indigenous and popular Ecuadorian measures of masculinity.[19] Whereas manhood in Waorani communities is measured in terms of a man's ability to demonstrate autonomy, provide abundantly for his family, and engage in productive relations with kowori people, the expectations of urban mestizo masculinity tend to emphasize sexuality, gender hierarchy, and solidarity between men through the collective consumption of alcohol.[20] Without attempting to draw an all-encompassing contrast between "egalitarian" Waorani and "patriarchal" mestizos, it is clear that young Waorani men are measured differently in urban areas than in their home communities. Increasingly, Waorani men fail to satisfy specific expectations of manhood both locally and in the city. While they lack the "hard" bodies that make older generations of men able to hunt with spears, they are also seen as deficient in key aspects of mestizo masculinity. Waorani political leaders, who come from villages where alcohol has only recently become available, are said to be unable to handle social drinking, often ending up belligerently drunk on the streets at night. Even as Waorani public folklore performances are consistent with mestizo Ecuadorian ideas about "wild Amazonian warriors," these men often fail to fulfill the expectations of masculinity on the streets of the regional capital, where they are as likely to be accused by mestizos of "losing their culture" when they drink as they are of being anti-social if they don't.

Conclusion

Anthropological studies of masculinity often evoke the challenges and contradictions men face when their identities and practices are "out of synch

with those regarded as 'traditional'" (Viveros Vigoya 2004, 28). In contrast to questions of identity and sexual antagonism that have preoccupied much writing about gender, the young Waorani men whom I have described in this chapter are involved in a struggle to reconcile urban intercultural relations with idealized forms of manhood associated with previous generations of Waorani men. In specific contexts, such as the village martial arts club and urban "warrior" performances, they are able to emulate the practices they attribute to elders and "the ancient ones." And yet the expectations of peaceful conviviality in contemporary Waorani communities and new forms of interethnic male fraternity have transformed the ways masculine agency is produced and performed. Rather than approaching these changes only through the lens of indigenous Amazonian cosmology, I have attempted to explain how contemporary Waorani manhood is also made and remade through increasingly global media imagery and intercultural relations. In situations like these, masculine fantasies of power draw simultaneously on multiple gender discourses rooted in indigenous Amazonian understandings of gendered agency, local oral histories of violence, global media, and colonial imagination.

Even as would-be warriors and peccary hunters are today becoming oil workers and urban political leaders, these changes have not led to widespread violence and gender antagonism between men and women. Without implying that Waorani sociality is fixed in time or entirely egalitarian, the experiences of young men reflect Amazonian understandings of gender and agency that associate women more closely with interiority and men with exteriority. While previous studies of "men as men" demonstrate that masculinity is often constructed and performed in opposition to women (Bourdieu 2001), what is striking about Waorani forms of masculinity is how they are seldom constructed explicitly against or even in reference to femininity. This is not to ignore the important differences Waorani and other Amazonian people envision between women and men. Since masculinities are always a product of historical transformations, it remains to be seen whether urban migration and intercultural relations will lead to more hierarchical gender relations in the future. For young Waorani men today memories of ancestral warriorhood, mestizo Ecuadorians, and Bruce Lee are all part of the generational and intercultural relations through which they express their own ways of being men.