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University of Victoria

CONSTELACIONES

Undergraduate Journal of Hispanic and Italian Studies

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We acknowledge and respect the Lək̓ʷəŋən (Songhees and Esquimalt) Peoples on whose territory the University of Victoria stands, and the Lək̓ʷəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day. We would also like to acknowledge with respect that this journal volume has contributions from around the world, created on various Indigenous territories.

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We would like to extend heartfelt appreciation to all editors of this publication. Due to leadership turnover and the long-term nature of this journal volume, some editors may not be listed. Please email us if you are an unlisted editor at hispitaljournal@uvic.ca.

ABOUT

Constelaciones endeavours to publish exceptional undergraduate work that promotes research, scholarship, and creativity in all areas of Hispanic, Italian, and Latin American Indigenous Studies at the University of Victoria.

SUBMISSIONS

Academic papers, creative writing, and artistic submissions are all accepted by the Journal. Papers may be written in English, Italian, or Spanish. After each issue's submission deadline, *Constelaciones* will submit the submissions to an intensive selection process, including peer-review by undergraduates from both the Hispanic and Italian sections of the Department.

Reviewers will address areas including clarity of writing, presentation, relevance to the theme of Hispanic, Italian, and Indigenous Latin American Studies, originality, interdisciplinary relevance, and contribution to research in the area. Should a number of submissions pertain to the same topic, the selection process may become competitive. Submissions not selected for publication may be considered for a following issue, as declared by the Editorial Team, and with permission from the author at the time of submission.

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CONSTELACIONES EDITORS' STATEMENT

As our publication continues to grow and evolve, so too does our understanding of decolonization and best practices to move forward in a spirit of reconciliation and allyship. With that said, we are pleased to announce that we have chosen a new title for our journal – *Constelaciones*. We feel that this title is a more inclusive one, representative of the myriad perspectives we strive to reflect in our study of the Hispanic, Italian, and Latin American Indigenous worlds.

This edition is slightly different from previous ones, incorporating artistic submissions rather than just academic papers. We feel that including artistic styles and creative writings opens up the journal to a more diverse and broad spectrum of viewpoints into the Hispanic, Italian, and Latin American Indigenous communities and cultures. As we continue to navigate our way through a post-pandemic world, we have combined our submissions from the 2021-2022 academic year with those from 2022-2023 to create a larger edition.

The students involved in this journal, as well as the writers and editors all bring unique and insightful outlooks through their individual studies and research of the Hispanic, Italian, and Latin American Indigenous worlds. We are incredibly grateful for all their hard work and dedication they've contributed to our journal and would like to extend our thanks in helping us to successfully put out another edition of the department's undergraduate journal, *Constelaciones*.

Sincerely,

Tara Matthews & Lily Trithart

Co-Editors-in-Chief (2022-2024)

FOREWORD FROM THE ACADEMIC ADVISOR

The publication of this double issue of *Constelaciones* attests to the creativity, commitment, and resourcefulness of our undergraduate students in Hispanic and Italian Studies. It has been a pleasure to work with Lina Maria Clevenger, Tara Matthews and Lily Trithart over the last three years, in which, amidst the challenges brought about by the pandemic, we collectively worked to find a new name for a journal that aims to bring students together in their pursuit of academic excellence. *Constelaciones* is inspired by the brilliant innovations of the *La Constelación de los Communes*, which aims to create new modes of knowledge creation and mobilization while envisioning a more sustainable and equitable future for everybody.

With that aim in mind, this issue gathers a plurality of contributions that reflect our students' interests in the cultural debates that surround Spanish and Latin American cultural production. A multiplicity of perspectives highlights the centrality of the arts in this vast and complex area of the world. From interdisciplinary perspectives, the articles here showcase their involvement in cultural and gender studies, decolonial enterprises, and an enduring interest in social justice.

As the Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies joins the new School of Languages Linguistics and Cultures, we collectively hope for a brighter and more sustainable future.

Marina Bettaglio

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Oliver Kerr

I am profoundly grateful for the support of Adam Barron, former editor-in-chief of this journal, an unparalleled Spanish teacher, and with any luck, my friend. His endless patience and merciless editing sessions were essential in allowing me to believe that I could succeed in the academic world. From the time I was sixteen, I hoped I could someday thank him in the acknowledgements of my first published work, and I am honoured to do so now.

Carmen Rojas Vélez y Angelina Basilio Sánchez

Deseamos agradecer al profesor Cristhian Chu por su valiosa orientación en la elaboración de este ensayo, realizado como parte del curso de Bases Romanísticas en la Universidad Científica del Sur. Su experiencia y conocimiento fueron fundamentales para la construcción de nuestras ideas y el desarrollo del contenido del ensayo. Esperamos que este pequeño trabajo contribuya a la comprensión de la importancia de la negociación indígena y su relación con el Derecho Indiano en la historia de Perú y América Latina.

Luca Nemet

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my professor, Dr. Gabriela McBee. I wrote this paper for her wonderful class, Spanish 304, Indigenous Latin America, Eco and Social Justice. Without her encouragement, I would not have submitted this paper for publication. I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to the team of editors who worked on this issue of Constelaciones, especially Tara Matthews and Lily Trithart. Your transformative suggestions made this paper something I can be proud of. Finally, I am grateful to my parents for their unwavering support and to my partner for his constant reassurance and endless patience. My completion of this paper would not have been possible without you cheering me on, faithfully bringing me cups of tea, and reminding me that it doesn't have to be perfect.

2021/2022 SUBMISSIONS

La autonomía corporal en las pinturas de Leonora Carrington

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The aim of this short essay was to first analyze the masculine gaze as a Surrealist artistic method and secondly to determine how and to what extent the works of British-Mexican artist Leonora Carrington intentionally defied this default view. Using three specific paintings as examples, it looks at representations of binary gender, specifically the embodiment of femininity, to determine the feminine characters' levels of inherent agency versus their fate of resting as the "complementary feminine" muse to the masculine artist.

Durante la primera mitad del siglo XX, la necesidad de una musa promovió muchas obras surrealistas. En un sentido general, el tratamiento del cuerpo femenino por los pintores mostró un tipo de mujer que se adaptaba a las necesidades de su escena: la realidad de la mujer a través de los ojos de un hombre. Nacida en un patrimonio familiar en Inglaterra, Leonora Carrington (1917-2011) fue una escritora y pintora surrealista quien se mudó a México y encontró su lugar como una de las grandes pintores. Su contribución al movimiento surrealista incluyó figuras binarias e imágenes de la mujer que desafiaron las normas y limitaciones patriarcales. En un estudio de sus imágenes masculinas y femeninas, con el contexto contemporáneo de la objetivación del cuerpo de la mujer, la manera en que interrumpe la mirada masculina se vuelve más claro.

El feminismo puede ser definido por el acto de trabajar para la liberación femenina y la igualdad de derechos de todos los géneros. "La mirada," y bien la mirada masculina, tiene un papel en la creación de la imagen de la mujer como la virgen pura, la niña inocente y la

diosa celestial, o como una hechicera, una admiradora y un objeto erótico para ser exhibido (Malt 107). Estas expectativas artificiales de lo que una mujer debe ser, según los pintores masculinos y la forma en que vieron y usaron sus "musas," crearon el icono de lo "femenino surrealista" (Conley 8). Es misógino de manera que coloca a la mujer como un concepto secundario, incluso cuando el cuerpo femenino es la pieza central de la obra. El surrealismo, como movimiento, juega con lo irracional femenino y lo racional masculino como una interpretación binaria de la conciencia interna y de cómo es la realidad (8).

Fig. 1. Leonora Carrington*, Grandmother Moorhead's Aromatic Kitchen,* 1975.

Es decir, para separar lo subjetivo femenino y lo objetivo masculino del objeto femenino y sujeto masculino, los cuerpos de las mujeres pintados por los hombres son usados para mostrar las realidades de los hombres. Esta necesidad de una "femenina complementaria," o de una feminidad y una mujer que existen a través de su relación con un sujeto externo, está inherentemente centrada alrededor de una percepción y perspectiva de un hombre (2). Vale la pena preguntar en qué medida el cuerpo femenino, como objeto de una pintura, tiene autonomía, y en qué medida es una extensión del punto de vista masculino.

Las obras de Carrington muestran la división entre la mujer como personaje o tropo y la mujer como creadora. No pinta a las mujeres de forma romántica, pero tampoco están desfiguradas ni fragmentadas como las representaron muchos surrealistas masculinos (Levitt 7). En cambio, se enfoca en las relaciones y experiencias y esencias que vienen con ser mujer. Ella centra la feminidad de una manera que ni limita su trabajo a oponerse a la visión masculina ni la hace responsable de reclamar una verdad otra que la suya. Los cuerpos femeninos que ella pinta están a la vez sujetos a restricciones patriarcales y son libres. Sus cuerpos están obligados por las expectativas y la colocación de la cocina o guardería, pero también están llenos de colores y energía que provienen de la tradición y cultura (The Mexican Museum, 14). Es el espacio entre los sueños y la realidad donde las mujeres que ella pinta pueden valerse por sí mismas, como imágenes y no objetos para ser usadas ni contrastadas.

La imagen de arriba, *Grandmother Moorhead's Aromatic Kitchen (1975),* muestra una escena de mujeres en la cocina, participando activamente en la creación de una comida destinada a contrarrestar la energía del enorme ganso (14). Es un mundo donde las acciones de las mujeres son fundamentales para el funcionamiento del mundo. Carrington acepta las tradiciones y su trabajo refleja temas personales: es el arte basado en la introspección, investigando la mente inconsciente y el espacio entre los sueños y las interpretaciones filosóficas (Kunny 174). La estufa, el ganso, el vestido folclórico y los tipos de ingredientes, de ajo a pimienta a berenjena, representan una mezcla de culturas. Es la culminación de sus raíces irlandesas e inglesas y sus recuerdos de infancia, y su nueva vida elegida en México (Conley 7). La cocina es el lugar para la magia y para una gran transformación de uno mismo. Tiene posibilidad, y es representativo del espacio para hablar, pensar y crecer como mujeres: un lugar donde hay limitaciones de la mirada masculina y expectativas sociales, pero también del potencial e identidad. Carrington usa los cuerpos vestidos y cubiertos y vistosos para mostrar que hay belleza y poder en la feminidad si las mujeres son vistas como son y cómo se ven a sí mismas. Representa la autonomía femenina, contrariamente al perspectivo de otros pintores, que piensan que las mujeres servirían como las mejores musas (Kunny 171).

Fig. 2. Leonora Carrington, *Grandmother Moorhead's Aromatic Kitchen,* 1975.

Más allá del perspectivo surrealista del cuerpo como "musa," la idea de la femenina complementaria afecta la representación de la autonomía de los sujetos. Es un reflejo de la mujer como objeto transformado por el deseo proyectado sobre él, un tropo común en la pintura surrealista en general pero que no existe en las obras de Carrington. Usa la imagen de la mujer fuera del pedestal en que la sociedad la coloca y como persona misma: los objetos, a pesar de que las figuras femeninas de sus obras sean sujetos u objetos, tienen vidas propias (Conley 3). Es el surrealismo encarnado, en el sentido que una imagen bidimensional vuelve a la vida y se le da un voto sobre cómo se percibe. Si la mirada masculina es como el hombre representa a las mujeres a través de su propio vocabulario y la percibe a través de sus propias experiencias, Carrington interrumpe esto haciendo lo contrario. En su obra, *Night Nursery Everything (1947)*, ella intenta una reintegración del poder de la mujer. La mujer es el sol, la luna y la Santa Trinidad; usa la juventud con la niña a la izquierda y el contraste con la sabiduría y la madurez con los colores dorados a la derecha (The Mexican Museum 12).

Fig. 3. Leonora Carrington, *The Naked Truth, 1962.*

En *The Naked Truth (1962)*, los patriarcas barbudos son clérigos cristianos listos para juzgar. Vestidos de pies a cabeza, es como si estuvieran usando este uniforme religioso para protegerse contra lo que no encaja en sus ideas rígidas de cómo la vida debe ser. Hay tres que escuchan lo que el otro patriarca les está dictando. Es decir, son estáticos en su confrontación con las formas de conocimiento que existen fuera de su percepción, o los métodos que siempre han usado. Esta es una manera de contrastar algunos sistemas de poder y la "naturaleza subversiva" del poder femenino (23). La figura blanca a la derecha, desnuda debajo de la jaula de alambre de púas que casi se asemeja a un miriñaque, está leyendo activamente y es brillante contra el fondo. Tiene también cierta suavidad de los rasgos de una mujer. Su desnudez la deja vulnerable. Esta vulnerabilidad representa el conocimiento y la sabiduría que los humanos pueden obtener cuando se deshacen de sus ideas preconcebidas y están dispuestos a aceptar la novedad. Un cuerno de unicornio crece de la cabeza de la mujer, para mostrar las percepciones mágicas que obtiene por abrirse a la novedad.

¿Quién da la agencia a las mujeres en las obras de arte, la artista o los espectadores? Cuando Leonora Carrington reintegraba el poder de las figuras femeninas en sus obras, ella estaba diciendo que el patriarcado imponente y opresivo puede ser opuesto por la

autonomía corporal de la mujer— la libertad de existir para ella misma sin caras distorsionadas o ser etiquetada como una musa estereotipada. Carrington no solo está contrarrestando la forma en que los surrealistas masculinos ponen a las mujeres en cajas metafóricas para mantener sus propios egos; también, ella crea como una artista ingeniosa que usa una mezcla de su propio pasado, presente y futuro para crear su interpretación individual del mundo tal como es real para ella.

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Burn The Ancient Flints Bright: Proving a Unique Colonialism in the Andean Region

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Drawing on the works of Latin American intellectuals such as Pablo Neruda, Ernesto Guevara, and Jose Carlos Mariátegui, this paper explores the limitations of the commonly used academic definitions of 'settler' and 'exploitative' colonialisms. The Andean region is used as an example of an area that cannot be easily categorized into those labels due to its unique geographic location, the population demographics that emerged shortly after the initial Conquest, the nature of Indigenous participation in the new society, and the motivations of the Spanish colonial forces. The impacts of these unique factors on the modern Andes are used as a proof of why it is important to question Eurocentric definitions of subaltern experiences.

The Andean region of South America has long been seen as something of a spiritual centre for Indigenism. Prominent Latin American intellectuals such as Pablo Neruda and Che Guevara have drawn on the unique energy of the "navel of the world" (Guevara 103), with particular reference to the legacy left by the Inca Empire. Yet the Andes and their Indigenous inhabitants were colonised by Iberian powers in the Conquest, the same as the rest of Latin America. The question remains as to how and why the Andean nations, defined here as the modern states of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, retained their roots in the face of foreign domination and oppression.

Colonialism is defined broadly as "a system of external rule and settlement [by a foreign power] in a territorial space" (Baylis et al. 162). In discussions of the experiences of formerly colonized nations, the further labels of 'settler' and 'exploitative' are employed to categorize and understand the structures of colonialism that occurred in a given area. Settler colonialism functions through the replacement of local populations with an invasive settler society. (Baylis et al. 165). The invaders disregard Indigenous ways of being, impose their own culture, and are generally concerned with acquisition of territory. Native peoples are expected to assimilate into the foreign culture. Classic examples of settler colonialism can be found in Canada, Australia, Israel, and South Africa. In exploitative colonialism, the interests of the dominating power revolve primarily around economic gain, and as such involve less migration from occupying states to the colonies. While local populations are allowed to remain in place, their traditional power structures and practices are disrupted and replaced with systems that serve the interests of the occupying nation. Native peoples are further exploited as workers on the industrial projects of the colonizers (Baylis et al. 166).

The Middle East and much of the African subcontinent experienced exploitative colonialism. As much as these definitions can be useful in understanding and discussing colonialism and the decolonial movements that followed, not every experience can be so easily categorized. The Andean states are one of those problem cases, rarely mentioned in discussions of colonialism because of the difficulties in ascribing a label to the events that started in 1532. This paper will argue that the Andean region of South America experienced a unique colonialism that does not fall under either of the two categories previously outlined. The case of the Andes varies from classic understandings of colonialism largely with regards to the way the occupying forces, in this case the Spaniards, interacted with Indigenous populations. Specifically, racial demographics and the creation of the mestizaje identity, the ways in which Indigenous peoples participated in industry, and the intentions of the colonizers are key concepts that prove the unique case of Andean colonialism and decolonial movements. In analysing colonialism in the Andes, attention must also be paid to the historical development of the Spanish presence.

The first colonizers of South America came from Iberia and hit the eastern Atlantic coast of the South American continent first,

arriving in the late fifteenth century. Many chose to stay on the beaches and inlets of Brazil and Argentina. The sheer difficulty of the trip further West meant that only the hardiest men chose to navigate the Pacific seaboard. From there, even fewer conquistadors penetrated the wilderness of the Andean cordillera, members of that "special class of men... in whom a craving for limitless power is so extreme that any suffering to achieve it seems natural" (Guevara 85). Their dreams of limitless power quickly ran up against the logistical issue of being profoundly outnumbered by an Indigenous population used to the regenerative advantages of a resilient food supply (Graber, "Farming like the Incas). And if there was a lack of Spanish men willing to aid the colonization effort, even fewer white women came to what was known as New Granada. The bulk of colonizers were "viceroys, courtesans, adventurers, priests, lawyers, and soldiers" (Mariátegui 45), and they never arrived en masse. These demographics alone negate any possibility of Andean colonialism being settler colonialism.

There were no campaigns encouraging Spaniards to emigrate, and Indigenous peoples were not forced into reservations to make way for settlers. The other unique consequence of the population imbalance was a high degree of racial hybridity, which began early in the Conquest. Due to the lack of suitable Spanish brides, white men started having children with Indigenous women. Some of these mestizo children would remain with the families of their mothers, speaking Quechua and coping with the new world order. Others, most often the sons, would go with their fathers to be trained in the continuation of the Conquest. (Poma de Ayala 342). This degree of miscegenation is not typically present in settler or exploitative colonialisms, as both those systems try to uphold racial purity. This is not to say that the Spanish and Inca peoples wanted to mingle in this way. Scholars from both societies called for racial segregation (Poma de Ayala 267), and the majority of the unions between conquistadors and Incan women happened through force. The unique factor in the racial demographics in the Andes is not the sentiment from which it was borne, but the extent to which it occurred. The large mixed-race population also had a significant influence on the social dynamics of the New World. The mestizaje identity is not entirely reliant on genetic hybridity, but miscegenation certainly played a role in the creation of this phenomenon.

Before addressing the ways in which it impacted Andean colonialism, a clear definition of mestizaje must be given. While it is a concept with a great deal of personal and regional variety, it is possible to define in broad terms as being the fusion of Spanish culture with Indigenous practices to create a third, unique identity. Note that it is a separate concept from the racial marker of 'mestizo', as Andean mestizaje goes beyond miscegenation. It is the precious marble *chakana* of the Incan kings, suspended in the sacristy of a Catholic church built on the stone bones of ancient palaces (de la Vega 73). It is the timeless stone pyramids on the hillsides, topped with crosses in a Jesuit attempt at compromise (Guevara 97). Physical markers such as these speak to the fusion inherent in mestizaje, and to the way mestizaje presents itself in the Andean region.

This subsect of the identity is entirely original to the Andes, for the simple reason that the local Inca culture existed nowhere else on Earth. The empire that created the Inquisition, the novel, and the vanity of mirrors put its fiery spirit on great galleon ships and outsourced its passions abroad. Conquistadors brought with them their "terrible Spanish Christs and the religion of suffering" (Neruda 83) and were met by the Inca, who in their mountain temples sacrificed virgins to the sun and stored their magnificent histories in strings of knots. (Cartwright, "Quipu"). The culture clash was often violent, but had the effect of creating powerful new identities, traditions, and ways of being. The intersection of any dominating colonial power with Indigenous peoples would inevitably influence the future of all societies involved, but the Andean iteration was unique regarding the degree to which Indigenous practices were incorporated into the new society. Under traditional exploitation colonialism, local peoples are used as labour in imported modes of production, without playing a role in the formal epistemologies created by the profiteers. Settler colonialism attempts to erase local peoples from the new world entirely, without using them or their knowledge in industrial projects. In the Andes, Indigenous traditions played a significant role in post-Conquest economic and social arenas. A particular example of this phenomenon can be found in the primary material undertaking of the colonies: mining.

The Spanish soon realized that there was money to be made from the mountains, and set about extracting it in the form of silver and gold. In this pre-Industrial world, precious metals held the

highest value, and they were summarily stripped from the hillsides and sent back to Europe. The profits made from these natural resources went on to fund further expansion of the coastal urban areas and rural mining communities (Mariátegui 52). The relatively small colonial settlements in the mountainous regions were only there to serve the mines, as the Spanish "never really felt themselves masters [of the Andes]" (Mariátegui 14). It was only the presence of precious metals that drew them into the hills. This hesitance reveals another discrepancy between Andean colonialism and settler colonialism: Despite the land being entirely capable of growing crops and sustaining communities, the Spanish showed no interest in settling the land for themselves. Partly because of this reluctance to establish true artisan communities, the Spanish bosses relied heavily on mining practices already used by the Andean peoples. Local technologies such as the *wayra*, a small, windblown smelter, were responsible for as much as half of the silver ore extracted during the sixteenth century. (Carreño 137). The operators of such machinery, known as yanacona, held high status under the Incan regime, and maintained a degree of independence in Spanish systems of production, (Zori 380), as the Spanish understood that their mining efforts would not be possible without Indigenous knowledge. It is also possible that they saw no need to reinvent the wheel, or in this case the *wayra*. By acknowledging the legitimacy of Indigenous tools, skills, and trades, the Spanish subverted general trends of exploitative colonialism, which prioritizes imported knowledge over local practices.

Another key element of the Andean colonial situation were the international systems of the era. The conquistadors that went to the New World were still part of a feudal world order, albeit one on the wane. Capitalism was limited to the burgeoning realm of the English wool markets, and the acquisition of capital was not the primary focus of any nation. Instead, notions of territorial expansion and religious indoctrination informed the actions of great powers. The empire that went into the Andes possessed and was motivated by military and ecclesiastic power rather than political or economic strength (Mariátegui 277). Spain had recently shaken off eight hundred years of Moorish influence and was riding high on the spirit of Catholic triumph and the acquisition of land for the Spanish crown, which was itself seen as a powerhouse of faith. The relationship between Catholic religiosity and Spanish political power was carried over to South America, and as such "[the Spanish] conquest was the last

Crusade." (Mariátegui 265). The desire for land and converts was the same abroad as it was in Spain, and this changed the nature of the colonialism it inspired.

Resource extraction was a significant motive for the Spanish advances into the Andes, but it could not have been the primary goal of the conquistadors, for they did not know that the Andes were rich with precious metals when they initially sailed out from Spain (Eastwood and Pollard 68). They did know that they were going to encounter land and people, or new Spanish landholdings and new Catholic souls. This is entirely different to exploitative colonialism, which holds capital gain as the ultimate priority of the colonizing state. Considerations of territorial expansion are present but are still subordinate to the exploitation of resources (Baylis et al. 163). While the Spanish became increasingly interested in material gain as the centuries continued, the absence of capitalist systems in the initial push into the Andes mark their colonial experience as unique.

As for religion in exploitative colonialism, religious factors can be present but are not the direct concern of the state. If an exploitative colonial state is using religion as a justification for its abuses of power, it is to validate the relations of production it is imposing on the local systems (Baylis et al. 163). For the Spanish, ecclesiastical concerns were foremost among their reasons for colonizing the Andes. The imposition of religious and social norms shows shades of settler colonialism, but it must be remembered that there were never enough Spaniards to replace and displace the Indigenous populations. The motives for Spanish colonialism in the Andes are yet another aspect of the unique situation present in the region.

The religious factor went on to further influence the particular social and cultural dynamics of the Andes. The conquistadors saw the New World as an arena for the dissemination of Catholicism, and their desire to spread the word of God gave them a reason to interact with Indigenous peoples outside the context of labour and production. The religious orders that came to the Andes had a notable degree of success in creating positive relations with locals. The Jesuit order established a strong base in the Andes and were adept at learning from local ways of being, in particular the agricultural practices that allowed the Inca empires to grow to their impressive size.

The religious encounters between Spanish Catholics and native Andeans followed a general trajectory: The two worldviews

clashed, each adapted to the other as necessary, and the newly modified traditions started the progress over again in a gradual progress towards unification (Mills 243). The Jesuits in particular had great success with hybridity. They learned Inca practices, incorporated the ones that suited them into their own ways of being, and taught their own trades when they felt that they would actually suit the environment. This dual system of knowledge created varied productive communities throughout the Andes. The Jesuit approach was based in positive syncretism and succeeded beyond religion. The impulse to convert was the spark for the interaction, but what followed transcended any one aspect of enculturation. It included economics in the form of farming and minor handicrafts, education in the convent-schools (Mills 247) and the first university in the Americas, and politically in the formation of new conceptualizations of power and authority. The cultural exchange spearheaded by religious orders did a great deal for the creation of the Andean identity, understood here as mestizaje. The Jesuit interactions are another indicator of the particular situation of the Andes, as they were borne from an intent not in line with exploitative colonialism and had an outcome that defied the usual structure of an unyielding occupying force that holds its own beliefs as ultimately 'correct.'

The unique spirit of the Andes still exists, and is still a major influence on political movements in the region. In particular, it can be seen in modern environmental movements, which are often spearheaded by Indigenous groups. The *Buen Vivir* or *Sumak Kawsay* ideology is an excellent example of the hybrid nature of modern Andean society and politics. *Buen Vivir* is partly a reactionary environmental movement, partly a social philosophy, and entirely rooted in notions of the collective (Balch). It is a transnational sentiment, espoused by activists and politicians in all modern Andean states. The Ecuadorian constitution was revised in 2008 to include the statement "We... hereby decide to build a new form of public coexistence, in diversity and in harmony with nature, to achieve the good way of living" (Smith). Indigenous practices are at the heart of the *Buen Vivir* philosophy, particularly the idea that natural resources cannot be subordinate to human practices, but that both are equal partners in harmonious systems of maintenance and gain. Eduardo Gudynas, executive secretary of the Latin American Centre for Social Ecology, acknowledges that *Buen Vivir* is not entirely an Indigenous movement. "It is equally influenced by western critiques [of

capitalism] over the last 30 years, especially from the field of feminist thought and environmentalism," he explains. "It certainly doesn't require a return to some sort of indigenous, pre-Columbian past" (Balch). This modern movement is in many ways a product of the legacy left by Andean colonialism. It draws on Indigenous epistemologies, takes a holistic view of society that does not prioritize economic systems, and takes equal inspiration from Western worldviews and theories. These are all echoes of the spirit of the Andes, from the syncretism of European and Indigenous ways of being, the creation of the mestizaje identity, and the desire to create economic systems that draw on various systems of production. By examining modern political movements in the Andes, the long-lasting effects of the unique colonialism can be seen.

The validation of Andean colonialism was never an option. The Spanish conquistadors were brutal in their treatment of the Indigenous peoples with whom they interacted. They were forced away from their traditional ways of land management and community structures and into exploitative, hegemonic labour relations. Being granted a degree of independence was no substitute for genuine freedom. The Spanish had motives beyond economic gain, but that does not detract from the negativity of what came of their greed. In outlining the unique case of the Andes, the goal is to gain a greater understanding of the ways in which colonialism impacted the region, not to justify the actions of the conquistadors and their heirs. By looking beyond the labels of exploitative and settler colonialism, the religious and territorial inspirations of the conquistadors can be better examined, as well as the mestizaje identity created by interactions between colonizers and Indigenous peoples. The world in which the Conquest took place was unlike the world of later colonialisms. A feudal system still dominated the political structures of Spain, which carried over into the way the New World was conceptualized by its colonizers. The special traits of Andean colonialism deserve to be understood outside restrictive labels, to understand the legacies it created and the identities it engendered.

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Todas las madres: An Exploration of Diverse Cathartic Maternity in Pedro Almodóvar's *Todo sobre mi madre*

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Following a brief introduction on the work of Pedro Almodóvar, this essay examines the diverse maternal figures in the Spanish director's film *Todo sobre mi Madre* with a focus on how the motherly actions of the main protagonist, Manuela, help her to overcome the traumatic loss of her child. This essay was written in the fall semester of the 2021-2022 academic year for Dr. Silvia Colás's class on Spanish culture which explored, amongst other themes, the colourful *movida madrileña*.

Introduction

Pedro Almodóvar is a world-renowned filmmaker and a pillar of Spanish cinema. His first humble movies appeared during the *movida madrileña* and reflected the freedom enjoyed by this 1980s movement in post-Franco Spain. Almodóvar's movies break taboos, exhibit a distinguishable ambience, and boast a "heady mixture of melodramatic emotion, comedy, sexuality, colour and sound" (Davies 12). His name often appears at the beginning of the credits, "so that the director's credit precedes that of the actors and implies that Almodóvar's is more of a commanding presence within his films than are his actors" (12). Almodóvar films have evolved dramatically since the self-taught artist produced his first feature film in 1980. As Mark Allinson notes in his book exploring the fundamentals of the Spaniard's work, Almodóvar's "career is an exercise in the art of the possible, from low-quality DIY to Oscar-winning mastery" (6).

The Oscar-winning mastery of which Allinson speaks begins with the film *Todo sobre mi madre* (1999). Almodóvar's thirteenth film follows the journey of single mother Manuela (Cecilia Roth) as she copes with the death of her son Esteban (Eloy Azorín) on his seventeenth birthday. Mothers are one of the most important characters in Almodóvar's films and "la figura de la madre siempre está representada dentro de un seno familiar derruido gracias a la ausencia del padre" (Gallegos Vargas 97). Consequently, Manuela's character is nothing out of the ordinary in the Almodóvar world. Following the death of her only child and the resultant destruction of her family, the independent mother figure moves from Madrid to Barcelona where she searches for Esteban's estranged father and forms a new family with unconventional mother figures. In this essay, I will explore the diverse maternal figures of *Todo sobre mi madre* with a focus on how Manuela's motherly actions help her to overcome the traumatic loss of her child.

Esteban

Twelve minutes into the movie unfolds the scene of Esteban being struck down by a car as he runs after the actress Huma Rojo (Marisa Paredes), a scene considered "the most powerfully dramatic in all of Almodóvar's work" (Allinson 167). Manuela's agonizing screams for her son are echoed when she interprets the theatrical character Stella in *A Streetcar Named Desire* later in the film. In his psychoanalytical book *Aesthetics, Ethics and Trauma in the Cinema of Pedro Almodóvar*, Julian Daniel Gutiérrez-Albilla describes Manuela's preformed screams to be "a compulsive re-enactment of the earlier traumatic experience" (70) of losing her son. I, on the other hand, interpret the distressing screams as Manuela expressing sorrow for Stella because she knows of the pain that awaits the character as she becomes a mother, the pain inherent to deeply loving and caring for another.

Fig. 4. Manuel screaming after Esteban is struck, *Todo sobre mi Madre*, 13:18 (image cropped).

Manuela has navigated the torment of her son's death and the shocking end of an invaluable relationship: the opening scenes of the movie portray a close bond between the mother and son. They watch movies and play together, and Manuela's heartfelt and enthusiastically received birthday gift for Esteban substantiates that their relationship is one of connection and understanding. Manuela loses an essential piece of her identity when her son is pronounced dead. Through this loss, the haunted mother learns that the more you allow yourself to love someone, the more intertwined your lives are, the more you expose yourself to tremendous anguish when that connection meets its end. Despite Manuela's knowledge of the risk inherent to building valuable relationships that are vulnerable to the perils of mortal existence, she goes on to care for multiple characters throughout the film and is in fact healed by these relationships.

Agrado

First off, Manuela shows signs of healing through helping when she is reconnected with her old friend Agrado (Antonia San Juan), the film's comedic outlet. Agrado is a transgendered woman who works as a prostitute. The two are reunited when Manuela sees a woman being attacked and only realizes the victim is Agrado after saving her from the assailant. Manuela smiles for the first time since her son's death when she saves Agrado. Similarly, Manuela begins to wear colourful clothing again as she prepares breakfast for Agrado and does her laundry the next morning; these traditionally maternal tasks

bring her back from the darkness of her profound depression induced by the loss of her son.

Fig. 5. Agrado directing the violent man to help, *Todo sobre mi Madre,* 23:35 (image cropped)**.**

Agrado herself is a unique maternal figure. She mentions multiple times throughout the movie that she goes by Agrado because she has always tried to make life enjoyable for others (*agradar* meaning "to please"). The truth of this statement is shown in the aforementioned scene when Manuela and Agrado are reunited. After Manuela debilitates the man attacking Agrado, the injured Agrado sends the assailant off with instructions on whom to see for medical aid. This scene represents a mother's ability to forgive even the most abhorrent of human acts. While having no children of her own, Agrado cares for Huma and scolds her lover, Nina (Candela Peña), for her drug use in a motherly way. She not only provides Manuela with someone to care for, returning more purpose to her traumatized friend's life, but Agrado also mothers those in need of support or guidance. Agrado is also the character who brings Manuela to meet Sister Rosa (Penélope Cruz), a relationship that benefits both characters immensely.

Fig. 6. Sister Rosa helping sex workers, *Todo sobre mi Madre*, 21:52 (image cropped).

Sister Rosa

Sister Rosa is another nurturing, maternal figure in this Almodóvar production. She is first shown aiding sex workers and continues to perform altruistic acts in following scenes. She "spends her life helping those who have been either expelled from or aggressively assimilated into the body of Spanish society in the late 1990s: prostitutes, transgendered subjects and illegal immigrants" (Gutiérrez-Albilla 83). Rosa is incredibly vulnerable: she must be on bed rest due to a high-risk pregnancy and is dolorously infected with the HIV virus. She is the first Almodovarian character to suffer from AIDS (Allinson 62) and represents one of many subtle comments on societal issues within the film. Rosa's pregnancy could be seen as an "event with catastrophic consequences … or … as the condition of possibility for Rosa giving birth to a child who will live on after her who will succeed, however implausibly, in completely neutralising the HIV virus" (Gutiérrez-Albilla 82). Once again, growth and healing bloom from pain and loss. Sister Rosa's pregnancy not only creates a miracle child that allows Manuela to continue in her maternal role, but also contributes to the research on AIDS.

Fig. 7 Manuela caring for Sister Rosa's son and smiling, Todo sobre mi Madre, 1:27:40 (image cropped).

As her own mother is frigid and "embodies a conventional notion of maternity within a patriarchal, bourgeois, heteronormative social and symbolic order," (83) Sister Rosa seeks Manuela's gentle, alternative mothering. The two live together and Manuela even facilitates a connection between Sister Rosa and her unsympathetic mother. Manuela benefits from mothering Rosa in three ways. First, this relationship gives Manuela a fulfilling reason to stay in Barcelona while freeing her position as Huma's personal assistant for Agrado; this allows Manuela's friend to step away from her dangerous position as a sex worker. Second, Rosa's death and subsequent funeral reunites Manuela with Lola (Toni Cantó), a transgendered woman who is the biological father of both Manuela and Sister Rosa's children. Manuela is finally able to tell Lola about their son's existence and his death. This emotional encounter brings Manuela closure as she can indirectly fulfill her son's wish to know about his father. Finally, Sister Rosa dies in childbirth, but her son survives and becomes Manuela's charge. While this mimicked mother-daughter relationship brings further heartache to Manuela's life with the death of the young, compassionate Sister, it also brings her purpose, closure, and a surrogate son.

Conclusion

Manuela transforms from a biological mother to a replacement maternal figure, and the film closes with her acting as an adoptive mother. Following these transitions, Almodóvar represents diverse modes of maternity that stray from the societal norms in *Todo sobre mi Madre.* The broad spectrum of motherhood is glorified in this Oscar-winning film and characters without children or, in Manuela's case, characters who have lost their children are allowed access to the rewards of altruistic maternal actions. These characters are "entes netamente maternales por las actividades que desempeñan: son madres por sus actividades realizadas" (Gallegos Vargas 100). The diverse and non-traditional maternal figures support each other and are cared for in return. The network of support Manuela creates does not replace her son nor heal her entirely. However, the transformation of Manuela from a bereaved, colourless woman to a vivacious, colourful woman with dear friends and an adored, adopted son represents life-changing convalescence.

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Soy una paloma

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Soy una paloma

No hay lugar para aterrizar

Agua

La ignoré

Perdí al menos una semana

No se me olvidará ella

Quiero comer

Tragada, revolcándome en la muerte

Estoy siendo consensualmente sometida al submarino

por un remolino Casi me muero

Me despierto

Soy un remolino

Mojado

Un pájaro acaba de volar dentro de mí

El poema se llama "Soy una paloma". Me inspiraron la biblia, la mitología griega, y las experiencias personales. Empiezo el poema con una metáfora; elegí la paloma porque en la biblia, después de construir su arca y salvar dos de cada animal del Diluvio, Noé usa este pájaro para determinar si las aguas han retrocedido. Al principio, el ave no tiene un lugar para aterrizar. Para mí, la paloma representa las buenas intenciones. Entonces, en mi poema, un remolino traga la paloma cándida como consecuencia de su ansia por encontrar comida. Este remolino es una alusión a Caribdis que es un remolino monstruoso que traga los barcos. En la *Odisea*, Odiseo tiene que navegar alrededor de Caribdis. Finalmente, mi poema termina con el interlocutor despertándose. Resulta que es de hecho un remolino y ha acabado de tragar un pájaro. Como el agua, la comida, y la muerte tienen connotaciones sexuales, el poema entero es una metáfora para un sueño sexual. Fue una experiencia divertida y catártica escribir este poema, y aprendí mucho sobre mí mismo.

Narco-culture, Narco-aesthetic and the Plastic Surgery Phenomenon in Colombia

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The topic being discussed in this paper is the influence of narco-culture and narco-aesthetics on gender ideologies, emphasized femininity and the plastic surgery phenomenon in Colombia. Narco-culture is a subculture which originated in Colombia and Mexico in the Narco era (1960s-1980s). Narco-culture aims to reorganize relationships to match the ideals of the drug trafficking world. Such ideals are based on misogyny (fear and hatred of women with power) and sexism (the favoring of one sex over the other, both ideologically and in practice) (Wade and Ferree 35). The social construct of narco-culture revolves around the idea of a "macho" (emotionless and powerful) man and his ownership of a voluptuous, objectified woman. Narco-aesthetics is the perception and construction of beauty influenced by narco-culture, which is characterized by women with perky breasts, large behinds, and a curvy toned physique (Salazar et al. 63). Consequently, women in these cultures surgically modify their bodies to match such social construction of beauty: this has been described as the plastic surgery phenomenon.

Narco-culture and Narco-aesthetics are of great significance to the study of sociology of gender. Narco-culture alters gender ideologies (widely shared beliefs about how men and women are and should be) to match those of the drug trafficking world (Wade and Ferree 27). Narco-aesthetics promote emphasized femininity (an exaggerated form of femininity oriented to accommodate the interest and desires of men) and encourages women to surgically alter their

bodies (Wade and Ferree 45). In addition, the plastic surgery phenomenon observed in Colombia is a retrograde movement that promotes the patriarchy and discourages female empowerment (Salazar et al. 82).

Colombia is a country that has been strongly affected by armed conflict, drug trafficking, and corruption. Up until the 1940s, postcolonial Colombian society was based on the Catholic religion and the patriarchal model that accompanies it. The armed conflict that started in 1964 and the further rise of narco-trafficking in the 1980s led Colombian society to change abruptly. In the 1980s, the exponential increase in drug trafficking, drug cartels, and armed conflicts caused the adoption of narco-culture. Although the patriarchal model stayed intact, gender roles and ideals completely changed. Men who were previously expected to act as good family men were now encouraged to act degrading towards women and were praised for their objectification of females. There was a shift in general hegemonic masculinity. Men were now seeking to match the gendered ideals of narco-culture through the use of arms and violence to prove their superiority. Women's gender roles also changed: their new role was to be objectified and shown off for their physical attributes. Previously, Catholic religion encouraged women to cover themselves; however, narco-culture promoted the showing of skin through low cut shirts and mini-skirts. This was the adoption of narco-aesthetics which is formally defined as "a social phenomenon that modifies the system of relationships of subjects in a specific domain of interaction: drug trafficking. In this scenario the female body is subjected to decorative-ornamental surgical changes modifying the representations and mindsets of beauty" (Salazar et al. 63).

Those involved in the drug trafficking world were always seen with a voluptuous woman by their side; consequently, this became the female ideal of narco-aesthetics. There was a shift in what was considered beautiful in a woman; large behinds and perky breasts were now sought by men and desired by women. The reinforcement of emphasized femininity caused by narco-culture led to the plastic surgery phenomenon, in which women surgically alter their bodies to match the unrealistic ideals of narco-aesthetics. It is argued that in the case of Colombian women, the trend to surgically alter their bodies is explained by their desire for social acceptance (Salazar et al. 70). Narco-culture only acknowledges women for their physical

attributes; therefore, surgical alteration to match the narco-aesthetic ideals would bring attention and social acceptance. Salazar, Pena and Giraldo explain that when a woman alters her body, the man she is seen with is viewed as socially powerful as he possesses a female body that has been altered for his needs and satisfaction (71).

The Colombian plastic surgery phenomenon remained even after the end of the narco-era. After drug trafficking decreased around the 1990s, the trends, ideals, and roles imposed by narco-culture persisted. Sociologist Anthony Elliot attempts to explain why the plastic surgery phenomenon has been adopted in contemporary societies. Elliot interviews plastic surgeon David Hargraves who explains that the exponential increase in aesthetic procedures in the 1990s caused the field to become more lucrative than humanistic. Hargreaves argues that a great portion of individuals get aesthetic procedures as a marketing technique to increase opportunities. Since we live in a society in which we are instantly judged by our appearance, altering the body to match the ideals of society causes an increase in labor opportunities (Elliot 147).

Hargreaves uses the example of one of his patients, Amanda Brown, to clarify the effect of gender roles on the large demand for plastic surgery. Amanda Brown first came in for a breast reduction; however, Brown returned for a second surgery to modify her implants from a size C to a double DD. Brown expressed how she needed to get the second surgery because she was not meeting her husband's expectations of standing out physically as his companion in important social events related to his work. In the case of Brown, she was being required to embrace emphasized femininity and aesthetically alter her body to meet gender ideals for her husband’s satisfaction and social acceptance. It is explained in this analysis how the female ideals imposed in places like Colombia are extremely unrealistic. Narco-aesthetics display the desire for perky, round breasts with perfectly proportioned nipples. Elliot explains how such ideals of the perfect breasts are those that would only naturally be seen in an adolescent, making them unattainable for an adult woman to obtain without a surgical procedure (Elliot 148). When young females are surrounded by narco-culture in their upbringing, the reinforcement of unrealistic body expectations leads to body dysmorphia. Elliot explains how plastic surgery has become a social drug that enhances acceptance in societies strongly affected by unrealistic gender ideals, such as those found in Colombia (Elliot 150). This is a vicious cycle; the large rate

of aesthetic surgeries reinforces narco-aesthetic ideals which promotes female oppression which encourages plastic surgery. The sexist and misogynistic views of narco-culture and the gender ideals of narco-aesthetics will keep being engraved into Colombian culture as long as the demand for plastic surgery prevails.

Throughout his analysis, Elliot demonstrates the connection between the plastic surgery phenomenon, globalization, and a need for economic development. Plastic surgery is a million-dollar industry which feeds off insecurities and fear of social isolation (Elliot 160). The cosmetic surgery industry in Colombia has been exponentially growing due to high demand and medical tourism. Consequently, the reinforcement of the narco-aesthetic ideals in Colombia serves an economical purpose. From a capitalistic standpoint, it is beneficial to reinforce unrealistic female ideals. Colombia gained a reputation internationally as one of the best locations for medical tourism; it is currently rated second in most medical tourism patients per surgeon (Campbell et al. 1). The income from medical tourism has become vital for Colombia's economy over the last decade; thus, the government has invested millions in infrastructure and publicity (Campbell et al. 1). In a study measuring patient satisfaction in Colombia conducted by Campbell, Restrepo, and Navas, it was found that there is a satisfaction rate of 97-100% reported by international customers (2). The government itself has invested in publicity that reinforces the stereotype of Colombian women to attract tourism. Brochures with females in bikinis displaying their large attributes encouraging tourists to travel to Colombia for medical purposes are spread internationally (Campbell et al. 2). Although this publicity is effective, it does promote the objectification of Colombian women and takes advantage of the gender roles and ideals imposed by narco-culture.

It is estimated that more than 250,000 plastic surgeries are performed in Colombia every year–this number excludes those which are performed illegally (Salazar et al. 64). In the last 5 years, plastic surgery rates in Colombia have increased by 70% among the female population (Salazar et al. 63). The high demand for plastic surgery caused Colombia's medical system to adapt to the needs of society. Consequently, millions were invested into new plastic surgery methods, plastic surgery ICUs, and plastic surgery residencies. In Cali, Colombia, more than 20 million dollars have been invested in

the past 5 years to build 20 new plastic surgery clinics despite 110 clinics already operating with the same purpose (Salazar et al. 78).

There is a famous and renowned Colombian saying that states "sin tetas no hay paraíso" which translates to: "without tits there is no paradise". This sums up the ideals of narco-culture, narco-aesthetics and the extent to which these views have been engraved in Colombian society. The narco era greatly harmed Colombian society by influencing gender roles and promoting female objectification and oppression. Narco-aesthetics, narco-culture, and its ideologies regarding female beauty have prevailed in Colombia even after the end of the narco era. The great need to match narco-aesthetics beauty ideals has created an exponential increase in plastic surgery normalizing the act of aesthetically altering the body for means of social acceptance, giving birth to the plastic surgery phenomenon. The great demand for plastic surgery shaped Colombia's economy and constructed an internationally sought industry which reinforces negative stereotypes and female objectification. The adoption and prevalence of narco-culture in Colombia and its effects on society are a phenomenon of great importance to the study of sociology of gender. Narco-culture has created a retrograde social movement that promotes inequality, supports unrealistic female ideals, and places women in an inescapable position of inferiority.

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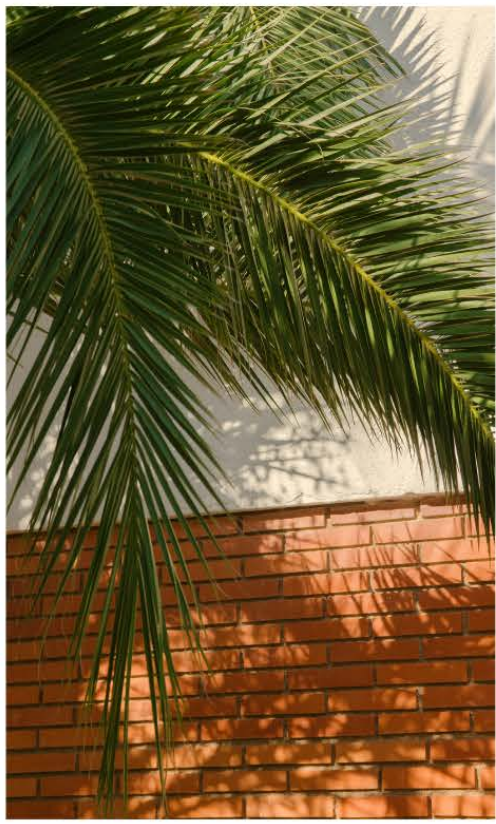
Silencio en el paraíso

Emile Rougelin

Estas fotos fueron tomadas en un contexto bastante funesto. Fue en Agosto de 2017, dos días después de los atentados de Barcelona y de Cambrils. Los terroristas yihadistas atropellaron a civiles causando la Muerte de 16 personas: 15 en Barcelona, incluido dos niños, y una mujer en Cambrils. También dejaron más de un centenar de heridos. Habíamos planeado pasar unos días en Cambrils - una pequeña ciudad de Tarragona en Cataluña- con nuestra familia. Habíamos visto las noticias en la televisión y habíamos pensado en cancelar el viaje. Finalmente, después de reflexionar, nos decidimos a ir. No queríamos dar la razón al terrorismo y quedarnos paralizados ante de la situación, que al final es el objetivo de los terroristas.



Era pleno verano, hacía mucho calor y el sol pegaba fuerte. Sin tener en cuenta el contexto lúgubre, todas condiciones eran las ideales para una estancia perfecta en la costa española. Sin embargo, el ambiente no era de fiesta; en el aire reinaba una sensación muy extraña, no había muchos turistas, ni mucha gente en las calles y playas. No nos sentimos inseguros, de hecho, nos sentimos bastante protegidos con toda la atención policial. Pero aun así fue una estancia especial y difícil de describir, no era para nada el ambiente habitual de unas vacaciones en el mar.

Realmente no tenía ninguna intención con estas fotos, pero creo que reflejan bastante bien el ambiente que reinaba allí en este momento: Una atmósfera de luto. El silencio en el paraíso. La calma pesada en la estación balnearia.

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2022/2023 SUBMISSIONS

Less Shipwrecks, More Navigators: Decolonial Perspectives on Bolivian Lithium Extraction

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Bolivian lithium is a highly contested resource with environmental, economic, and cultural significance to actors at both local and international levels. This paper employs an ethics of decolonial pluriversality to critically evaluate the rival claims to truth being made by the various lithium stakeholders. Through this lens, it is found that an approach that centres the experience of Indigenous Bolivians is favourable under that ethical framework.

Fig. 8. (Winter). Uyuni Salt Flat, Bolivia. (Winter).

The Bolivian Andes have long been prized for the resources hidden below their surface. The Inca Empire operated meticulously organized mining projects from the cordillera to the Altiplano (Zori 379), and when the Conquistadors arrived, one of their primary objectives was to exploit the richness of the land to the greatest possible extent. They sent their galleons back to Spain loaded with gold and silver in what is often considered to be the beginning of a new capitalist world order (Greenfield). After the end of formal colonial rule in the 1825, the violent campaigns started by the Spanish were continued, often by foreign investors from the Global North. The mines were the source of frequent discontent, with labour strikes and protests being common throughout the twentieth century (Neruda 135). In recent years, the bloody history of the mines has become harder to reconcile with the modern decolonial principles espoused by those in power and by local Indigenous groups. Yet, mining makes up a significant portion of the region's GDP and provides a large majority of Bolivian exports ("Bolivia – Market Overview"). In addition to this economic dependency, Bolivia holds a large amount of the world's total lithium deposits. The silvery metal is a valuable component in powering green technologies that can reduce international dependency on fossil fuels. Lithium is essential for the manufacture of the batteries that power electric vehicles, which are touted as a major focus of many nations' plans to go green. The state of California under Governor Gavin Newsome has even expressed plans to end sales of fossil fuel-powered vehicles by 2035, instead turning to electric transportation (Pfeiffer). However, lithium extraction is not a simple matter of economic growth and sustainable energy. This paper will take a decolonial perspective in examining the ethical dilemmas facing Bolivian lithium mining operations. I will argue that by operating within the frameworks of pluriversality and border thinking, it is possible to determine an ethical course of action for the development of Bolivia's lithium reserves. By placing an emphasis on the revitalization of Indigenous mining practices, it may be possible to reach an ethical and sustainable conclusion to the issue of contested development in Bolivia.

To some foreign developers, Bolivia is "the new Saudi Arabia" (Krauss). The country's vast lithium deposits have become increasingly sought-after as the global desire for rechargeable electric technologies has increased. These technologies are essential in many

governments' planned transitions away from fossil fuels and may not be possible without lithium. The Salar de Uyuni, a four-thousand-square-mile plain of salt flats high in the Andes, contains one of the world's largest reserves of lithium. These largely untapped deposits have become of particular interest to foreign investors: as of 2021, eight foreign companies from China, the United States, and Russia are competing to establish trials to work with Bolivian lithium. They are not the first to try to develop the Salar – local projects exist, like the state-owned production plant opened in 2013 (Krauss). Foreign developers are having more difficulty getting boots on the ground in the Salar, largely because of a local government wary of outside investors. Marco Pumari, a government official, former miner, and the leader of the 2019 protests against foreign development, demands a tripling of royalties for his province of Potosí and local involvement in the ownership of any future lithium enterprises ("How Bolivian Lithium Could Help"). There is more than enough historical precedent for his caution: the city of Potosí, in the eponymous state, was founded by Spanish conquistadors eager to mine silver from the surrounding mountains. The resulting riches spurred the globalization of the world economy while devastating the environment and the Indigenous population of Potosí (Robins 76). In addition to the structural damage done to the mountain from uninhibited and largely unplanned mining, the process by which silver ore was refined has the unpleasant side effect of releasing mass amounts of mercury into the surrounding environment. Vaporized mercury fell to Earth, where it entered the waterways and soil of Potosí, poisoning the land (Robins 109). In addition to its effects on the earth, the element is most readily absorbed into the bloodstream in a vaporized form. The effects of mercury poisoning include neurological problems, kidney disorders, and insanity. In 1680, when silver production was at its peak, mercury concentration in the air around Potosí was over thirty thousand times higher than modern recommended limits near the smelters (Robins 116).

The brutalities of the past may be reason enough for Bolivia to keep foreign investors at bay, but there are additional reasons to limit mining in the Salar. In the modern era, high mercury levels and their associated risks are still common near mines. Elva Roca, who lives by a river downstream from a major gold mine in the north of Bolivia, records over ten times the safe level of mercury in her bloodstream. She is aware of the dangers of her environment and says

that "we know that over time [mercury pollution] will get worse. And only God knows what will happen then" (Mendoza). Adding to the concerns over environmental degradation in the Salar, the salt flats are a sacred site to the Quechua locals, who believe the Salar was formed from the tears of a goddess (Legends of the Salar). Polluting this landscape would ruin its spiritual integrity. The uniqueness of the environment has led to the formation of a rare and diverse ecosystem and a leading tourist attraction for Bolivia (Osborne). The push to preserve the Salar, then, is motivated as much by the realities of the present as it is the tragedies of the past.

The decolonial-environmental sentiment is not only held by minor activist groups. Since the 2006 election of Evo Morales, fairly elected Bolivian governments have leaned towards leftist policies. During his two terms in office, Morales led a radical campaign to nationalize industry, prioritize Indigeneity, and reduce dependence on international neoliberal organizations such as the International Monetary Foundation (IMF) (Castro et al. 120) At the time of his inauguration, Bolivia was the poorest nation in South America despite holding the continent's second-largest reserve of natural gas (Castro et al. 122). One of the defining moments of Morales' early term was the nationalization of the hydrocarbon industry. Previously, foreign companies paid eighteen percent of profits to the state. Morales reversed this balance, collecting eighty-two percent of profits and leaving the rest to private industry (Castro et al. 122). While this move upset investors, it helped fund a successful campaign to eliminate illiteracy and boost Bolivia's net hydrocarbon income from $173 million in 2002 to $1.3 billion by 2006 (Castro et al. 136). Morales is a proud decolonialist and self-described "permanent nightmare of the United States." His successor, Luis Arce, is also a member of the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) party.

During Bolivia's initial period of nationalization, Arce was Minister of Finance and the primary architect of the policies that disrupted the hydrocarbon industry. The current lithium industry is unlikely to find an ally in Arce, much to the dismay of speculators. Teague Egan, who is leading the American investigation into the Salar, is quoted by Clifford Krauss as saying that "in Bolivia they are so sensitive about the politics. I just don't understand why they should not do what is in the best interest of the country." Egan's moralized statement is open to criticism by those who may argue that

an exponential increase in state revenue and national education programs would, in fact, be better for Bolivia instead of further foreign interference. Evidently, there is a diversity of opinions on what is best for Bolivian lithium, all of which are competing for the same resource.

One of the seminal questions of decolonial theory is the following: how do we assess rival claims to truth? This problem is heavily tied to discourse around expanding the definition of who can produce valuable knowledge (Hutchings 120). Neocolonial systems are ones in which formal external rule has ended but the values, morals, and habits of the colonizers are still upheld through economic or political meddling. In these systems, the Euro written-language, peer-reviewed system is favoured as producing the most empirical or "correct" knowledge (Hutchings 118). In the case of Bolivia's lithium, the rival claims to truth come from a variety of backgrounds, some of which fall outside hegemonically preferred ontologies. To work with the issue of varied interpretations of what is morally just, decolonialism's theory of pluriversality draws heavily from Indigenous Latin American philosophies to assert that "there are actually multiple worlds, ontologically different from the Euromodern world, and with different ethical and political implications" (Hutchings 116). The Mexican Zapatista movement of the early twenty-first century brought international attention to pluriversality, with their rallying cry of "*un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos,*" [a world in which many worlds fit] (Schacherreiter 4). The distinction between pluriversality and mainstream views of diverse societies relies on an understanding of worlds with genuine external variations in the former, rather than internal or personal differentiation in the latter (James). In the overlapping worlds of Bolivia's lithium, there exists the world of the Quechua, and the Salar is a goddess's tears. For many Global North environmentalists, the Salar is one of the keys to green technologies that will reduce global dependency on fossil fuels and improve planetary health. And for investors like Egan, the Salar is a frontier of capitalist possibility. Having accepted these rival claims to truth as all having a degree of worth, the pluriversal system must now avoid the hazard of "a relativism of anything goes" (Dunford 392), in which there is no ethical override to structure actions taken within the pluriverse. Strong decolonialism, of which pluriversality is a key component, understands itself as more than an option within the field of

international relations. To achieve its goal of defying colonial norms, decolonial theory must form unique moral principles and substantiative values (Dunford 393). As decolonial theory finds its footing in the international realm, a variety of approaches have emerged to answer the call of the ethical imperative.

Resource development, despite being largely perceived as an economic-technical undertaking, is highly normative in nature. Decolonial ethics are based largely in refuting the colonial matrix of power – an "intersectionality of multiple, heterogeneous global hierarchies… of sexual, political, gender, epistemic, economic, spiritual, linguistic and racial forms of domination and exploitation" (Grosfoguel 12). The practice of border thinking, which simply refers to approaching issues using non-colonial knowledge traditions, can be used as a response to the potential weakness of pluriversality. As it seeks to defy the colonial matrix by highlighting the ontologies of groups who have been historically marginalized, it can create pluriversalities that acknowledge the validity of differing points of view but chooses to emphasis those that, in simple terms, have not yet had their turn to make decisions about the policies or matters at hand. Border thinking emerged from Latin American decolonial theory in response to the destruction wrought upon Indigenous societies by the conquistadors (Mignolio 137). Being intentionally separated from their traditional ways of understanding the world created "people without histories" throughout Latin America, at least by the purview of mainstream social sciences (Parasram 109).

Subaltern knowledge, defined by Antonio Gramsci as being produced by people who have been excluded from hierarchies of power in colonial or neocolonial societies, is of great importance to border thinking. The value found in these ideals is not an exercise in pity or cultural relativism, but rather exists "because the centuries old experience of coloniality and dehumanization provides colonized subjects with important perspectives" (Maldonado-Torres 250). Border thinking provides a way in which to improve upon the dreaded 'relativism of anything goes' by prioritizing worlds that have been historically marginalized and suppressed. In the case of Bolivian lithium, border thinking tasks the worlds that benefit from the colonial matrix to engage with Quechua knowledge, as those ways of being are the product of a tradition that has experienced centuries of sidelining by colonial projects.

Decoloniality finds the ethical approach to Bolivia's lithium to be one guided by Indigenous knowledge. But what would that knowledge look like in practice? Bolivia already offers a strong model for incorporating grassroots Indigeneity into economic governance in the policies established by Evo Morales and Luis Acre. The risky decision to force the hand of foreign developers by increasing profits paid to the state returned benefits, as the companies stayed in Bolivia despite their frustration. A similar arrangement for lithium-related enterprises would prove favourable to Bolivians, who would then benefit from the resources of their land. Distribution of profits is not the only concern of ethical mining, as the enterprise must also consider the environmental impacts of operations. The Salar is a fragile, unique ecosystem, and holds spiritual value to the Quechua. Even if all profits from lithium mines went to Indigenous groups, a purely extractivist model would defeat the proposed initiative of a just lithium mining enterprise.

Conveniently, Bolivia has a history of sustainable mining that long precedes the Spanish presence (Zori 380). A modern reclamation of the small-scale practices used by the Inca, which had included wind-powered smelters and single-file tunnels (Zori 379) would not be able to exactly replicate past conditions. However, the philosophies behind the indigenous approach to mining in the Andes could be applied to modern technologies. Central to the Quechua epistemology is the acceptance of nature as an equal moral agent, on even footing with humans. This concept is often personified as the earth goddess Pachamama (Zori 377). Resource extraction requires the developer to make a deal with Pachamama. She is content to supply precious metals, given that greed does not accelerate development beyond reasonable bounds. If this pact is broken, reprisal will come in the form of earthquakes (Salas Carreño 155). This understanding of the natural world as something to be negotiated with provides a structure for sustainable mining that allows local communities to benefit from the resources in their land as well as to preserve sacred nature. Refined lithium can play a role in protecting the natural world. Its importance as a component of green technologies is legitimate, and the world outside Bolivia is not wrong for taking an interest in its lithium. A decolonial approach and the adoption of a subaltern extraction ontology can protect the immaterial

riches of the Salar de Uyuni and provide capital for those who will respect the land that created the resources being used.

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More Than Meets the Eye: A Look at Mapuche Resistance in Chile

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For nearly two centuries, the state of Chile has dispossessed the Mapuche Indigenous Nation of their lands and met Mapuche resistance efforts with violence. The Mapuche have continued to resist oppression, with some groups taking more violent and direct action. In response, the Chilean government has criminalized and ostracized the Mapuche. State-sponsored media outlets have misrepresented the Mapuche, portraying them simultaneously as an internal threat to national security and as outsiders. Existing research on the Mapuche Conflict is overwhelmingly focused on instances and consequences of violent, direct action. My research challenges the dominant perspective on Mapuche resistance by examining nonviolent resistance strategies. I chronicle Mapuche resistance strategies in Chile from the Pinochet era to the present in order to demonstrate how the Mapuche mobilize in diverse, peaceful ways to realize their desired outcomes.

Introduction

For nearly two centuries, the state of Chile has dispossessed the Mapuche Indigenous Nation of their lands and met Mapuche resistance efforts with violence. Under former president Salvador Allende, national agrarian reform made some progress in returning Mapuche lands (Carruthers and Rodriguez 744; Crago 22). After Augusto Pinochet came to power, however, multiple Mapuche territories were declared forestry lands and repurposed for industrial use (Molina). More than thirty years after the conclusion of Pinochet's dictatorship, multinational forestry

corporations still own and exploit Mapuche territories (Molina). Resource extraction that occurs on Mapuche lands continues to benefit the Chilean state at the expense of the Mapuche (Bernauer et al. 36). In this context, the Mapuche are employing diverse resistance strategies to assert their rights to land and autonomy. The Chilean government continues to criminalize Mapuche resistance in order to maintain control over Mapuche lands and a reputation as a thriving neoliberal democracy (Waldman 61).

State-sponsored media outlets characterize the Mapuche simultaneously as existing "outside the nation" and as an internal threat to Chilean state sovereignty (Waldman, 55). Consequently, many non-Mapuche Chileans have developed harmful prejudices against the Mapuche (Bernauer et al. 36). Chilean media coverage of the Conflict homogenizes Mapuche resistance by overwhelmingly focusing on hostile land takeovers and sabotages of industrial equipment (Richards 75). Therefore, the dominant narrative is that Mapuche resistance takes only one form: that of violent, direct action.

My contribution to the contemporary discussion of the Mapuche Conflict will counter this established narrative. By synthesizing research on resistance strategies, I will demonstrate that the Mapuche mobilize in diverse, peaceful ways to realize their desired outcomes. The resilience and survival of the Mapuche is an under-studied topic in comparison with the oppression of the Mapuche through colonial acts and policies. In an effort to combat this damaging focus on violence and conflict, I will not be including any examination of land occupations or other forms of sometimes-violent direct action.

Mapuche resistance under Pinochet

When General Augusto Pinochet came to power in 1973, his government instituted several harmful anti-Indigenous policies and programs designed to assimilate the Mapuche into 'civilized' Chilean society. One such program was Plan Perquenco, introduced as a part of the national counter-agrarian reform. Crago explained that Plan Perquenco was created "to ensure that after land division, Mapuche men would become private landowners and market-oriented farmers" (vii). Based on the belief that Mapuche communities were inactive, Plan Perquenco developed recreational programs in the Perquenco

region to assimilate Mapuche men and women into Chilean society (Crago 180). As explored by Crago, a group of Mapuche youth known as "los Guitarreros Caminantes" learned to create music through lessons with Perquenco's appointed music teacher (201). Eventually, the band began performing songs with hidden subversive ideas (Crago 209). As a mixed-gender band focused on musical rather than agricultural production, los Guitarreros Caminantes were resisting the patriarchal gender roles that Plan Perquenco was created to enforce—those of the male farmer and the female homemaker (Crago 211). Additionally, the band employed the symbols and themes romanticized by the Pinochet regime, especially rural life and agricultural production, for their own ends by writing music that promoted Mapuche cultural values, practices, and identity (Crago 213). Furthermore, the band created songs that advocated for communality and solidarity, and that referenced Mapuche agricultural gatherings banned by the regime (Crago 216). Therefore, the music produced by los Guitarreros Caminantes can be considered a form of resistance against a regime that sought to assimilate and 'civilize' the Mapuche people.

Mapuche resistance in democratic Chile

In 1990, after eighteen years under a military dictatorship, Chile returned to democracy. Mapuche organizations collaborated with Patricio Aylwin's government to create the Nueva Ley Indígena. This law symbolized a commitment by the state to addressing Indigenous rights. Nueva Ley Indígena "called for a new institution to promote the cultures and development of Indigenous Peoples" (Carruthers and Rodriguez 746), and thus led to the creation of the Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (CONADI). CONADI was an institution designed to address Indigenous concerns and represent Indigenous Nations, including the Mapuche, in governmental negotiations (Carruthers and Rodriguez 746). From this point onwards, Mapuche organizations were hopeful for lasting change. However, successive governments and institutions like CONADI have followed in Pinochet's footsteps by prioritizing economic development over Mapuche lives (Bernauer et al. 36; Carruthers and Rodriguez 749; Waldman 63). While a more radical branch of the Mapuche movement did emerge in response to government failures, the Mapuche did not abandon collaboration and turn to violence, as

the Chilean media would have the public believe (Bidegain 103; Carruthers and Rodriguez 750). Instead, the Mapuche movement began to align with the environmental, human rights, and pan-Indigenous movements (Carruthers and Rodriguez 751). By forming connections with large social organizations, the Mapuche have garnered international backing in multiple forms, including legal aid, solidarity protests, and environmental campaigns (Carruthers and Rodriguez 754). Thus, coordinating social actions with NGOs is an effective form of Mapuche resistance that applies pressure on the Chilean government to recognize and rectify the oppression of the Mapuche.

Social linkages can also facilitate resistance through digital media. As discussed by Hernández, Mapuche groups began to engage in digital activism from the late 1990s (221). At the outset, this approach involved the creation of informational websites to educate a wide-ranging audience about Mapuche issues (Hernández 229). Among the first sites launched was Mapuexpress, a news collective that continues to promote resistance today. Crucially, Mapuexpress reports not only on direct actions taken against extractivist projects, but also on legal actions concerning collective rights and land titles, as well as community-based cultural resurgence initiatives (Hernández 226). Websites like Mapuexpress were developed to accomplish one or more of three central aims: to give the Mapuche a voice, as mainstream media continued to exclude Mapuche perspectives; to facilitate social organization, allowing Mapuche groups to gain support from other movements; and to share and preserve Mapuche culture (Hernández 227). With the emergence of social media, Mapuche digital activism expanded to Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter. In 2018, a Mapuche-led social media campaign attracted enough international attention to ensure the release of the Machi Linconao, a community leader who was accused of involvement in the murder of two estate owners and unlawfully detained (Hernández 235). Across multiple social media platforms, many community members spoke up on behalf of Linconao and prominent organizations shared these testimonials (Hernández 236). Ultimately, this campaign successfully induced change because it contradicted the unsympathetic perspective of the Chilean media.

Subverting the dominant narrative is a common goal of the diverse forms of Mapuche resistance. As demonstrated by Richards and Morales, Mapuche women elders preserve the memory of the

Mapuche through storytelling (44). The women do not only tell of violence against the Mapuche, but also share stories of creation, action, and personal and cultural survival (Richards and Morales 36). Such positive stories, Richards and Morales asserted, are just as "central to how we must think about decolonization and sovereignty in the contemporary world" as are those that relate violence and suffering (36). Thus, narratives of resilience and struggle are both forms of protest against the exclusion of women in discussions about decolonization (Richards and Morales 41). Moreover, the decision to share positive stories is an act of resistance against the characterization of Indigenous women as passive recipients of rights and victims of state oppression (Richards and Morales 32). Mapuche women elders also express the hope that youth will decolonize their mindsets and regain the sense of community that is central to Mapuche culture (Richards and Morales 39). In this way, Mapuche woman elders advocate for the revitalization of Mapuche culture and the resurgence of Indigenous knowledge.

Conclusion

By examining several different forms of resistance, I have demonstrated that the Mapuche mobilize in diverse ways. I have identified some communalities among resistance strategies, the most prominent of which being adaptability to colonial or otherwise non-Mapuche structures. For example, los Guitarreros Caminantes exploited the productivist language of Plan Perquenco to produce music with anti-assimilationist undertones. I contended that these forms of resistance often involve refuting the dominant narrative of Mapuche as unproductive and 'backwards,' or otherwise helpless, members of society. The songs composed by los Guitarreros Caminantes accomplished this by producing songs that honoured Mapuche culture and memory. Similarly, the Mapuche resisted through the human rights and environmental justice frameworks when they formed connections with other social movements. Mapuche digital activists have likewise countered this narrative by creating information channels and organizing resistance campaigns online. Through storytelling, Mapuche women elders are resisting exclusion from relevant discourse and misrepresentation by state-sponsored media outlets. Therefore, while violent conflicts have become more common in the past two decades (Bidegain 110), they

are not the only means through which the Mapuche are resisting today.

I have authored this paper as an act of solidarity with the Mapuche resistance movement. Even amidst international criticism, the state of Chile continues to weaponize legislation against the Mapuche and state-sponsored media persist in misrepresenting the Mapuche as violent terrorists (Waldman 64). Scholarly literature on non-confrontational forms of Mapuche resistance lacks nuance. If the focus remains on violent acts of resistance, non-Mapuche Chileans will remain ignorant to the oppression of the Mapuche and will not mobilize alongside them to demand justice. By providing an account of the Mapuche resistance as diverse and nonviolent, I have endeavoured to shed some light on the various forms that Mapuche resistance can take. I hope that my work will help to further challenge the existing stereotype of Mapuche people and Mapuche resistance as violent. Further research on this topic could influence the Chilean public, media, and government to re-evaluate their perspectives on Mapuche resistance.

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La negociación o contrato andino: una revisión de su historia

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El presente ensayo examina el significativo papel de la negociación indígena en la historia del Perú. Una etapa en que los indígenas participaron activamente tanto a nivel cultural como político durante el Virreinato. Este análisis se divide en tres partes: la primera explora la historia y características de la negociación andina, la segunda evalúa cómo la negociación indígena se presenta en la conquista, y la tercera presenta conclusiones sobre la importancia de la negociación andina actualmente. La negociación indígena no fue un proceso sencillo, sino que involucró parámetros establecidos, apoyo jurídico y delimitación de áreas de influencia. Se discute cómo las negociaciones indígenas permitieron la formación de alianzas y la construcción de un orden original y dinámico. En conclusión, la negociación indígena en el Virreinato del Perú fue un factor clave en el desarrollo del proceso de la conquista, y su estudio permite una comprensión más objetiva de la historia.

Introducción

La historia del Perú está enriquecida de muchos aportes culturales a la sociedad actual. Podemos observar esto en tradiciones dancísticas, cantos, construcciones arquitectónicas y creaciones artísticas que, en general, son de origen quechua. Por otro lado, también hay aportes que, en su momento, permitieron una convivencia social, tales como la negociación o el contrato indígena, los cuales no solo ponen en cuestión la narrativa que señala que en el antiguo Perú el régimen

hispánico solo existía violencia y abuso, sino que también permiten entender las formas de diálogo político entre los descendientes de los incas y los conquistadores españoles. En el presente ensayo se verá que la negociación indígena, como señala Cunill (392), permitió la creación de un "orden híbrido y dialógico en el que los indios participaron plenamente a nivel tanto cultural como político" del régimen del Virreinato.

A continuación, se realizará una revisión de la historia de la negociación andina, entendida como un acto político y económico, que se convirtió en un ensayo de forma de gobierno consensual bajo ciertas condiciones y principios, y que terminó siendo adecuada para la paz social. En ese sentido, el ensayo se dividirá en tres partes. En la primera parte, se hará una reseña sobre en qué consistió la negociación andina, identificando sus características más relevantes y sus nexos culturales, sociales y económicos. En la segunda parte, se analizará la negociación indígena para determinar si realmente esta acción niega la narrativa de los abusos españoles en el régimen del Virreinato o, si por lo contrario, contribuye a generar una nueva narrativa más objetiva y ajustada a la historia. Finalmente, en la tercera parte, se expondrán las conclusiones que afirman que la negociación andina es un aporte valioso para la sociedad actual y que permite romper con la narrativa existente sobre la forma en la que se gobernó en el Virreinato del Perú.

Negociación indígena. Historia, contexto y características.

¿Qué es la negociación indígena? Según lo propuesto por Ruiz (57), el régimen hispánico instalado en la colonia ciertamente tuvo que implementar su fuerza a nivel político y económico, pero también permitió un espacio de negociación con los sectores dominados y conquistados. Es decir, los pueblos colonizados tuvieron que aprender a negociar. Por eso, se puede afirmar que la dinámica entre dominantes y dominados se estableció con el elemento de la fuerza, pero también con la oportunidad de la negociación (Cunill 392).

Entonces, podemos identificar que bajo determinadas investigaciones se ha ubicado que el régimen hispánico posibilitó pequeños espacios para que los indígenas puedan establecer negociaciones. Estas negociaciones pueden ser interpretadas de

diferentes maneras, tales como alianzas o uniones políticas. Por ejemplo, las investigaciones de Waldemar Espinoza muestran la existencia de una alianza entre los españoles y los huancas (De la Puente 88). Estas alianzas significaron una convergencia de fuerzas entre los líderes huancas y curacas, dado que desplegaron "estrategias de adaptación" (De la Puente 90).

En la misma línea, Marguerite Cattan señala que la existencia de estas negociaciones implicó "un cambio de regentes españoles y soberanos incas durante los primeros años de la conquista", algo que generó en determinados momentos inestabilidad en las negociaciones entre los líderes indígenas y los españoles (9). Como se observa, si bien es cierto que los españoles, además de la fuerza, utilizaron la negociación política para conceder una parte minoritaria del gobierno a sectores indígenas que se les aliaban, es cierto también que debido a la naturaleza de estas negociaciones se generó un escenario de precariedad política, cuestión que precisamente los españoles buscaban desterrar.

Por otro lado, estas negociaciones pueden ser entendidas como parte de la articulación que se dio entre el mundo andino y el mundo colonial. Según lo propuesto por Dueñas, luego de los primeros tiempos de la conquista, los "Andes se convirtieron en un mosaico de múltiples articulaciones de formas indígenas, europeas y africanas de pensar, vivir y tejer un orden social que continuó cambiando" (3). Es decir, lo que plantea Dueñas, al igual que los autores citados anteriormente, es que las instituciones españolas, así como su forma de gobierno y control político, no fueron calcadas de España o implementadas de manera dogmática. Por lo contrario, existió una articulación que permitió la configuración de una "compleja amalgama de articulaciones que caracteriza las importantes intervenciones de los actores indígenas coloniales" (Dueñas 3).

Por ende, no cabe duda de que los indígenas intervinieron en la toma de decisiones y que esto se puede evidenciar en la cultura mestiza que fue construyendo en el Virreinato. De no haber existido esta oportunidad de negociación y consenso, se podría concluir que la cultura amalgamada entre los indígenas y españoles no hubiera existido tal como la conocemos ahora. En efecto, la historia de la negociación indígena evidencia que esta surgió al poco tiempo de que el régimen hispánico se instalara en tierras peruanas y que no ocurrió de manera desarrollada y organizada, sino que solo buscó

generar espacios que beneficiaran a los hispánicos. En ese sentido, la negociación permitió que los indígenas pudieran tener cierto poder y contacto con los hispánicos. Ello trajo como resultado secundario el surgimiento de una cultura mestiza. Entonces, a pesar de que se pueda definir a la negociación indígena como negociaciones dentro de la "esfera legal, puesto que pretende situar la posición indígena en los juegos de jurisdicciones y de alianzas que caracterizaban el funcionamiento político del Imperio ibérico" (Cunill 392), en realidad, ello va más allá.

Ahora bien, resultó beneficiosa las negociaciones indígenas en el contexto de invasión española en lugares como América del Norte, en las regiones que corresponden a las antiguas civilizaciones mexicanas. Tales son los casos de Tlaxcala, en el centro de México, como lo señala Jaramillo (2), pues la negociación implementada por los españoles permitió no solo la conquista de dichas tierras, sino el establecimiento de formas institucionales para el gobierno, traspasando así las estructuras de gobierno indígena a las instituciones españolas de gobierno. Por ello, esta especie de cabildos, permitió un contacto entre indígenas y españoles, además de vincular a los mecanismos sociales y políticos de los indígenas a las burocracias monárquicas de España. Esto permitió la aparición de normas legales que contribuyeron a un mejor gobierno de parte del dominio hispánico.

En ese sentido, se puede apreciar que la negociación indígena nos abre un panorama distinto a lo que la narrativa nos tiene acostumbrados, es decir, de reducir a traición o alianza la interacción de un determinado sector indígena con el régimen hispánico. Esto resulta ser más complejo a la simple afirmación anterior, pues en primer lugar no se habla simplemente de alianzas hechas al azar, sino de una negociación que produjo concesiones entre el imperio español y un control por parte de los indígenas. Al mismo tiempo, las negociaciones indígenas para conformar un poder político, también implicó la unión de culturas y su posterior amalgamiento. Sobre esto profundizaremos a continuación.

El lugar de la negociación indígena en las narrativas sobre el gobierno en el Virreinato

Como señala Cunill, solo hablar de la existencia de una negociación indígena generaba antes contradicciones entre los investigadores

(391). ¿Por qué sucedía esto y a razón de qué se establecían estas contradicciones? Ya hemos ido explicando la presencia de narrativas en torno a la invasión y conquista española. Dentro de estas narrativas, se encuentran las que se conocen como la leyenda negra y rosa, que pinta una imagen negativa y exagerada de la conquista hispánica, mientras que la leyenda rosa presenta una imagen positiva y romantizada. Estas posiciones, crea una falsa dicotomía en una realidad compleja como el proceso de la conquista, estableciendo posiciones opuestas e imposibles de tener contacto. La realidad, en cambio, señala otro escenario. El estudio de las negociaciones indígenas viene cuestionando esta dicotomía y estas narrativas, que no implican con precisión y verdad el panorama de alianzas entre invasores y conquistados.

Por ello, como señala Cunill, "la teoría de la negociación indígena altera la percepción del lugar que ocuparon los indios dentro del Imperio ibérico, al asumir que estos fueron actores no sólo del mantenimiento de su propio mundo, sino también de la construcción de un discurso y un orden coloniales, originales y dinámicos" (391-392). Esta afirmación puede explicar un poco el fenómeno de la cultura Huanca[1] y el apoyo que éstos brindaron al imperio hispánico en desmedro del gobierno Inca. Esta narrativa puede ser cuestionada con la teoría de la negociación, pues los Huancas fueron aliados de los españoles, pero también de los incas, lo que evidencia la gestación de alianzas en base a negociaciones de partes involucradas de acuerdo con sus intereses (De la Puente 95).

Esta afirmación, de la existencia de un principio de negociación, el cual permitió que sectores indígenas establezcan concesiones y alianzas, es evidenciado por Cattan al analizar la instrucción del inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui, en torno a las negociaciones de paz con el régimen español (10- 11), por ello no resulta sorprendente que civilizaciones preincaicas como los Huancas o Chachapoyas hayan buscado las alianzas más

[1] La cultura Huanca fue una civilización precolombina que se desarrolló en la región central de los Andes peruanos entre los siglos XI y XV. Fueron conquistados por los incas en el siglo XV. Para mayor ilustración sobre su participación en la conquista hispánica revisar Espinoza, Walter. "Los Huancas aliados de la conquista. Tres informaciones inéditas sobre la participación indígena en la conquista del Perú. 1558 – 1560 – 1561." Anales de la Universidad Nacional del Centro del Perú, Talleres Gráficos P. L. Villanueva S.A., Lima, 1971.

beneficiosas para ellos. No obstante, estos antecedentes proyectaron un escenario de inestabilidad, pues, como ya lo hemos señalado líneas arriba, las negociaciones generan, de no ser concluidas a tiempo, procesos políticos con poco soporte estable.

Asimismo, la teoría de la negociación indígena pone en duda el argumento de un poder guiado de manera central y único, pues, como afirma Yanna Yannakakis, esta negociación interrelacionó a "intermediarios nativos, los funcionarios españoles y los aldeanos nativos [quienes] construyeron y dieron forma a un marco significativo a través del cual negociar y seguir luchando por dar forma al gobierno local" (88). En otras palabras, el poder en las tierras de los indígenas, bajo el dominio español, era un poder constantemente disputado, que establecía dinamismos y tensiones en torno al control de España y a la autonomía de los indígenas.

Por último, un punto clave en el aspecto de las negociaciones llevadas a cabo, y que podría apuntalar fuertes cuestionamientos a otros argumentos, es que los indígenas que negociaban lograron acceder al mundo jurídico que supuestamente solo estaba destinado para los españoles. Este es un punto clave para entender las negociaciones indígenas: no fueron solo acuerdos establecidos oralmente, como confusamente se cree, sino que tuvieron un aparato legal que los respaldó, como afirma Dueñas (12). De esta manera, se puede afirmar que las negociaciones indígenas tuvieron una base legal y un respaldo administrativo-político correspondiente.

En definitiva, lo que podemos presentar como idea central, basándonos en el análisis comparativo entre la negociación indígena y las narrativas que tratan de explicar el dominio español, es que este tipo de negociación en primer lugar no fue algo sencillo ni fácil de realizar, sino–fue una negociación con parámetros establecidos, apoyo jurídico y con delimitación de lugares de influencia. De esta manera, podemos afirmar que la negociación llevada a cabo por las culturas indígenas en los andes peruanos con los españoles tiene un lugar importante en el Virreinato; y puede explicar en gran medida la forma en que se desarrolló el proceso de dominación española, dejando de lado los apasionamientos y leyendas, la verdadera dinámica de relaciones entre los indígenas y los europeos.

Las negociaciones indígenas y el derecho indiano: ¿por qué pactaron con los españoles?

A lo largo de este corto ensayo, se ha indicado el significado de la negociación indígena y, a su vez, explicado la forma en la que el estudio de estas negociaciones resulta relevante para entender el proceso de invasión y conquista durante el período del Tahuantinsuyo. En este breve apartado desarrollaremos la forma en cómo estas negociaciones indígenas se vinculan al Derecho Indiano y la razón por la que surgió estas negociaciones. Es necesario anotar que, por Derecho Indiano, nos referimos al conjunto de normas y leyes que fueron aplicadas en los territorios americanos colonizados por España durante los siglos XVI al XIX.

Comprender la relación entre las negociaciones indígenas y el Derecho Indiano implica entender por qué los indígenas llegaron a acuerdos con los españoles. Como se ha señalado anteriormente, las culturas prehispánicas se encontraban inmersas en una compleja trama de disputas políticas y económicas que se solían dirimir a través de alianzas y acuerdos. Durante la invasión hispánica, estas prácticas se mantuvieron vigentes, pero adquirieron nuevas connotaciones y desafíos. Por un lado, los indígenas veían en los españoles una fuerza externa capaz de ayudarles a resolver sus conflictos internos y, por otro, percibían la necesidad de defender sus intereses y su identidad frente a la amenaza que representaba la conquista. En este complejo escenario se establecieron derechos para los indígenas dentro del marco del Derecho Indiano, que es un sistema jurídico que estableció las pautas de las colonias españolas hasta, por lo menos, sus independencias (Dougnac 6).

Desde esta perspectiva, el Derecho Indiano fue una respuesta a la necesidad de armonizar las diferencias culturales y jurídicas entre los colonizadores y los colonizados, y constituyó una importante herramienta para la supervivencia y la adaptación de las sociedades indígenas. Muestra de ello, es la obra de Zuloaga que explica la supervivencia de la cultura Huaylas durante la época Incaica y la del Virreynato a través de negociaciones y pactos, es ahí donde da cuenta del esfuerzo del régimen hispanista por reproducir o reflejar en gran medida las estructuras políticas e institucionales incaicas y preincaicas (61). Todo ello a través de un marco jurídico y reformas legales flexibles importante que, en la línea de desmantelar las

narrativas sobre la invasión española, enriquecen el análisis sobre cómo se aplicó el derecho en la colonia peruana.

Conclusiones

La negociación indígena pone en duda todo tipo de argumentos en la que se coloca a las culturas indígenas de esa época como un grupo social sumiso, desposeído e incapaz de pugnar por el poder y totalmente subordinado al Imperio español. Por el contrario, como hemos visto, su capacidad de negociación permitió la configuración de acuerdos y alianzas que conllevaron a que estos sectores puedan obtener cierto poder y control de las áreas donde vivían.

Por otro lado, la negociación indígena también tuvo una influencia significativa en la síntesis cultural que se dio durante la interacción entre los mundos andino e hispánico. La combinación de tradiciones y costumbres, tanto en el plano material como simbólico, permitió la emergencia de nuevas formas culturales que expresan la creatividad y la capacidad de adaptación de las culturas prehispánicas. Además, la negociación indígena contribuyó al origen del Derecho Indiano, que fue un sistema jurídico en el que podemos observar las normas legales de conformación política y administrativa del Virreynato a través del mantenimiento de prácticas previas a la conquista.

En conclusión, la negociación indígena nos permite comprender el pasado y desterrar leyendas, lo que a su vez nos ayuda a establecer la verdad histórica de los sucesos que marcaron la composición social del Perú. Como señaló en su momento el historiador Jorge Basadre (1931), al decir que el Perú era un problema, pero también una posibilidad, la negociación indígena apareció para resolver el problema de la organización política y la administración del poder durante dicha época, podemos reafirmar que esta comprensión histórica es necesaria, además, para América Latina, ya que también representa una posibilidad.

Por lo tanto, es crucial que reconozcamos y valoremos el papel de la negociación indígena en la construcción de la sociedad peruana, la síntesis cultural de la región y la formación de leyes. Además, es importante que se promueva y se respete la autonomía y el derecho a la autodeterminación de los pueblos indígenas, y que se fomente un diálogo intercultural que permita una convivencia armoniosa y justa

entre los distintos sectores de la sociedad. Solo de esta manera podremos construir una sociedad más justa, inclusiva y respetuosa de la diversidad cultural que caracteriza a América Latina.

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