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**The Dissertation Committee for Cristina Herencia Certifies that this is the approved  
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**THE NATIVE ANDEAN GENDER SYSTEM:  
THREE INTERPRETIVE ESSAYS**

**Committee:**

---

**Henry Dietz**, Supervisor

---

Bryan Roberts

---

Brian Stross

---

Pauline Stross

---

Harry Cleaver

**The Native Andean Gender System:  
Three Interpretive Essays**

**by**

**Cristina Herencia B.A.; M.A.**

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## Dedication

To my mother Carmela and my daughter Estefanía, whose lives are woven in this work.

To Salvador Herencia Medina, my father, who offered his life for the right of *Ayllus* in *Provincia 2 de Mayo*, Huánuco, to keep their ancestral lands.

To my American sister Bobsy Draper: it takes a pure heart to envision the Northern Eagle and Southern Condor embrace to secure a shared future.

To *Mallku* Richard Schaedel, who took me under his wings as his last student -- for his love of past and present Andean and native peoples, keeping in sight the World's people.

To John Murra, who more than once protected and encouraged my call and flight, as his own awakened at first sight of *Pachamama* in the Andes.

To *Amauta* Virgilio Roel Pineda who gave unfailingly profound, sensitive, and tender advice.

To Martha Hardman de Bautista, whose commitment and clarity about gender in the Andes, inspired and sustained me through the years.

## Acknowledgements

This work condenses efforts, concerns and collaboration in different disciplines over three decades. To simplify, I will present my due thanks for each study in the dissertation, in succession. Then I will recognize the more general theoretical, formal and practical contributions to the overall product.

Study 1, the socio-anthropological study in *Pueblo Joven* M. M., years ago, owes a lot to British social anthropologist Peter C. Lloyd. He introduced me to field methods, practical concepts and the logic of his discipline, a most illuminating experience after an exclusive training in experimental psychology that lacked a social, cultural and historical context. Peruvian anthropologist Luis Millones facilitated our encounter, one of a British scholar in search of a Spanish-English bilingual assistant, in social sciences training, with a qualified Peruvian looking for a practical immersion in social research in Peru. To both go my thanks and friendship through the years. The dignity and grace of the M.M. residents themselves, while sharing their lives with us, gave substance, in facts and details, in content and form, to the direction my life had already taken. Here, a personal recognition to the community in the leadership provided by *Mallku* Sr. Laura, perfectly balanced by his wife, Sra. Hermelinda, to symbolize my thanks to the whole community. They represent the Andean value stand on which their children, as well as other people in M.M. and similar shanty town communities, can have - in the words of Javier Lajo - a *Qhapac Ñan* (the righteous, correct way) to traverse from past to future times.

Study 2 involved a symbolic ascent to the high Andes and high Andean history of pre-modern Peru and Andean area. Bobsy Draper financed the semester in which I carried out the basic research. Her intuition matched that of my main advisor, Dr. Richard Schaedel, in her unlimited love for native peoples and her sensitivity for the timeless, good and valuable. In the process, she could not get enough of the details, and for my own benefit, I reported my findings to her every step of the way, the way an award-winning journalist would demand clear, meaningful facts. To get, at the end, her satisfied comment: “You made it, Nina, you have arrived where you needed to be,” still encourages me. She knew we had culminated the ascent and what was left was to follow up theoretical and practical implications.

For this historical study and other work on gender in the Andes, if Martha Hardman de Bautista had not passionately backed my hunch, when we met earlier, I would have had less strength. The inspiration that her status as a fully-established US researcher and woman co-founder of *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*, in amiable and equal collaboration between U.S. and Peruvian scholars (e.g., Luis E. Valcárcel, John Murra, Virgilio Roel, Richard Schaedel, et al.), was invaluable. The transcendence of the Great Andean Rebellion was clear to my advisor, Dr. Richard Schaedel. He immediately recognized it and suggested I put aside everything else to concentrate on it. The empathy of Professor Harry Cleaver to the topic and objectives of that research in spring 1999, contributed greatly. Finally, it was Professor Sandra Lauderdale Graham who made the daring and marvelous suggestion that I assumed that topic as a project in her history course: “Towards a gender reconstruction of social history of Latin America.” She, and

the small group of young and brilliant classmates in that seminar, not only opened the door to critically explore the history of gender in Latin America, but was my first exposure to the making of the discipline, to incorporating time in society and culture, to the treasure of archives and old records!

Study 3, the last, on gender in the Indigenous movement of the Andes today, also has its own debts. The first is to Dr. Schaedel's encouragement and inspiration to the very end of his life, when he learned I would be observing the sessions of the Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples of the World at the United Nations. He knew natives were finally on the brink of having their history and culture back in their hands. In that perspective, the sacrifice of our almost-approved "Andean Studies Center" at LLILAS for an "Indigenous Peoples of the Americas Center," which Schaedel proposed to serve their research needs and analogous human riches and wisdom in the continent and further, that cost me the funding for my studies, made sense. My thanks are also to the Americas' Indigenous Women's Network, through *hermanita* Rosalía Gonzalez, who extended to me the invitation to attend the UN as an observer in three consecutive sessions. My participation in their caucus, and in the Latin American Indigenous People's Caucus, made it possible to substantiate the hypothetical proposals of study 3, dealing with present trends in the indigenous movements in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. The enthusiastic understanding and collaboration from their personal research money by Drs. Pauline Strong and Sam Wilson of anthropology, counted enormously. Trusted scholar-friend of Dr. Schaedel, Dr. Bryan Roberts, consistently contributed to expenses in the meeting for three years.

The sum and articulation of all three studies and the support to get it all done are all due to the kindest determination of my present dissertation advisor, Dr. Henry Dietz. I benefited from his love to Peru in a congenial and supportive collaboration through the complexities of university bureaucracy. It was not easy to inherit the direction of a project in a complex assortment of disciplines and broad scope of interests of an often discouraged student. His own input in clarifying and simplifying language and later supporting an editor to correct non-native mistakes in wording of arguments and proposals in the dissertation are eternally thanked. My invaluable editor-friend Jude Filler's keen intelligence, her perceptiveness of the poetic and profound, and her humanity were at hand when those qualities were needed. Yet, even in that she was tested: emigrating from this house of learning owes much to her simply pushing to get the job done. Perennially, I enjoyed the best of the supportive, empathetic, intelligent role that Academic Secretary of LLILAS, Ann Dibble, provides to generations of students.

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**THE NATIVE ANDEAN GENDER SYSTEM:  
THREE INTERPRETIVE ESSAYS**

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Abstract

My dissertation addresses and responds to research and practical interventions on gender in the Andean area. In it, I argue for the native Andean gender system's pertinence as an explanatory variable of past and present gender relations. This gender arrangement's name is 'Complementarity and Parallel Lines of Descent' (CPLD) (Silverblatt, 1985; Harris, 1987; Hardman, 2005; Vieira, 2005); it holds equivalent and complementary functions for women and men inside and outside the home. CPLD prevents women's subordination and the over-valuing of men's actions and characteristics on the basis of women's independent access to vital resources and the non-separation and non-primacy of the productive/public over the reproductive/private sphere (Roel Pineda, V., 1981-83; Lajo, J. 1985-6).

Three independent studies show the empirical and theoretical importance of CPLD: 1) social identity observations during socio-anthropological field work on rural-to-urban migration in Lima, Peru (Lloyd, 1981; Herencia, 1985); 2) an historical monograph on CPLD's manifestations in the Tupac Amaru II Rebellion of the 1780's (Herencia, 1999); and 3) a political sociology essay on contemporary social movements in the Andes, seen through the prism of ethnicity and gender (Herencia, 2006). The transformation of gender relations through social identity moments (Study 1) serves to propose the theoretical co-existence and evolution, in a dominant/dominated condition, of engendered Native Andean and Western capitalist socio-cultural systems. For this reason, observations of gender at any point in time should consider the relation between the two. Also hypothetically, the Andean socio-cultural system's distinctive quality may result from Andean women's unrestricted social involvement, in contrast to that in the Western patriarchal capitalist system (and others).

From a native people's perspective, conserving worldview and culture in past and present times implies preserving native gender relations. CPLD manifestations are ubiquitous in the Andean socio-cultural system's traditions, beliefs and practices. Indigenous social movements need to fend off ideological barriers that obscure this gender system's existence, consciously ratifying and honoring the gender relations that continue to sustain the social reproduction of communities in not less than half the population of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and surrounding areas. CPLD's intrinsic merits are indispensable for a genuine response to capitalist patriarchy.

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# Chapter I

## Introduction

My dissertation consists of three independent studies in different disciplines, anthropology, history and political sociology, and I examine them from a socio-psychological perspective. The topic studied in each of them is so rich that could be pursued in numerous angles of research, but here - reduced to a minimum expression - I use them to build a comprehensive thesis about complementarity and parallel of descent (CPLD), the Andean gender system, *vis-a-vis* Western patriarchal gender. My concern for many years has been how to provide an adequate interpretation of gender in individuals and social groups in the Andes, given the evident and urgent practical implications of a real understanding of what is really going on in this regard. I believe that each of the two gender systems, native Andean and Western *Criollo-mestizo*, manifests in distinct behaviors with personal and collective political consequences, which in addition result in a particular quality of society and culture. So, in agreement with feminist scholars I believe that gender in the Andes and elsewhere is not just a matter of fairness to half of humankind, but it affects the quality of society and culture we create and sustain.

Originally my thesis was simply that there were critical differences in gender roles in the Andean world and the *Criollo-mestizo* one. This derived from my own experience, growing up in Peruvian South-Andean provinces, but contradicted the commonly held hypothesis that "*machismo*" was the norm to characterize gender relations in all of Latin America. I investigated the problem in the literature with some

positive but inconclusive results, especially because the supportive information in different disciplines was absent or misrepresented. I conducted my own research and was able to confirm my hypothesis but, with the discrepancies, I realized I had to examine gender not only as part of that being observed, but as an effect coming from the observers themselves.

As a result, after reflecting on the gender manifestations staged especially in the two cultural worlds that presently co-exist in the Andes, I arrived to the consideration of long lasting socio-cultural systems that affect the ways to view and sustain reality. As Marx said it regarding capitalism, by framing information and selecting data, socio-cultural systems act with their own logic, above and beyond individual intentions or awareness. Because of the way things are in global patriarchal capitalism, gender - i.e., the meaning of the presence of women - is core to the logic of these systems. For that reason, the scope of my dissertation work extends from the assortment of empirical information: research results, field data, in different time periods (the 1980's, the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> hundreds, and the first years of the millennium), to a few social theory proposals, and to highlight some of the area's current gender practices and their political results. The reason for me to point their importance is to influence the disciplines that study and intervene in the very making of human beings: psychology, education, social sciences.

The thesis on the difference of Andean gender with Western patriarchal gender has been with me ever since my 'age of reason' on academics.<sup>1</sup> Thus I was hardly 'unbiased' when I approached my first and founding field work experience in 1977, here

the subject of Study 1.<sup>2</sup> I went to the field to look for different child rearing practices on sexual roles among the residents of a shanty town in Lima. I compared native Spanish speaking criollo-mestizo residents, to native Andean Quechua speakers with scarce or varying bilingual capacity in Spanish. Coming to field work with experimental psychology background, the mere narration, analysis and discussion of events and facts, without some sort of controls and a qualitative sense of ‘limits of confidence,’ made me uncomfortable. For that reason, I defined the context of my study in terms of ‘variables,’ either socio-economic (kinds of economic activity, therefore class), length of permanence in the city (time), and place of origin or, as an indicator of culture belonging, whether or not the residents of the shanty town, here ‘*Pueblo Joven*’ (Young Town), spoke a native language. The ‘dependent variables’ were child upbringing practices, in gender and other traits popular in social psychology at the time (achievement, affiliation and power motivation), and the use of different ‘behavior control’ techniques, i.e., various kinds of rewards and punishments.

The results showed that my hypothesis on culture (place of origin-native language spoken or not), was not only confirmed - there were indeed differences in the two groups observed - but opened a much wider spectrum of issues: What was that caused this effect? What meaning did it have in the native culture? How did it relate to the rationale of the whole Andean socio-historical experience? In sum, that field work gave me both, a key piece to understand everyday manifestations of ‘Andean gender,’ at that point yet

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<sup>1</sup> My first public presentation of a paper in psychology as a member of an international panel was “Machismo as a descriptive category of the sexual differences in Latin America, 1973.

<sup>2</sup> See Lloyd, Peter “Slums of Hope? Shanty towns of the third world.” Penguin Books, 1979.

unnamed, and fuel to ponder on the implications of gender in societies and cultures, in Peru, Andean and *Criollo-mestizo*. The concept of social identity was the empirical key to both objectives, a concept that emerged from my own field data, independently from its academic underpinnings in European social psychology of 70's and 80's (Tagfel, et al., 1978...etc.). The difference was that these studies had been confined to artificial experimental settings, had not used real life social situations like those at hand through anthropological field work. In my research, social identity proved to be at the center of all that is 'social' and 'personal psychological.' The five social identity groups found in the analysis of biographical recounts of *Pueblo Joven* residents became the natural residing place, the embedding, of the variable that brought me to this point, gender, as well as of others of theoretical interest, like political ideology and participation, and 'mestizaje.' The validity of this last particular concept, of common use in national self-representations in Latin American countries and scholarship, was accessible to analysis in the actual personality structure of individuals, as well as in its social and cultural repercussions through the identified social identity groups. Moreover, the social identity groups in the study could stand as synchronic and diachronic manifestations of socio-cultural systems operating in various spans of time, in relation to each other.

Regarding gender, however, this could not only be explained and harbored in the more comprehensive concept of 'social identity,' but the prevalence of certain social identities also implied a certain gender character in a socio-cultural system. The most important implication is that the 'socially identified, engendered' human beings have assumptions in their practices about what women and men in society are like, whether

they count or not, and in what way, which gives place to a certain texture and dynamics in social systems. In sum, what Study 1 contributes to the thesis proposal is a detailed anthropological description of the meaning of gender as expressed in individual values and options, and social practices: as a concrete expression of the social in the psychological, as ‘social identity.’ With this concept at hand it was metaphorically possible to ascend up the Andes in search of answers and insights on the questions above. I could look for further confirmation to observed traits in Andean migrants, in places where the practices that gave place to those traits originated. Field studies in Andean Indian communities in the late 1980’s, and extensive readings on Andean culture up to now answered my questions.

Study 2 does not deal with contemporary issues but with the most significant event in the modern history of the Andes: the Tupac Amaru Rebellion. As known, the so called “Great Andean Rebellion” two and a quarter centuries ago (225 years), was the earliest colonized natives’ rebellion against European colonialism. It was also the most massive organized rebellion of natives of the Americas, whose symbolic and political consequences still bear on their present day conditions. In addition, it was notorious for the record-breaking engagement of women in the rebellion, which is the purpose of the study to examine for various ‘gender’ reasons. One is to document the rationality of Andean gender in action, not adequately addressed in existing literature, through angles such as the following:

- 1) To note the individual characteristics of Andean women that attest to the psychological consequences of the Andean gender system.

- 2) To show Andean women's public political performance and their power holding capacity and culture weight. It has been already noted in the literature that the conquest of the Americas specifically meant a defeat of women (Vieira, K., 2002). What Study 2 adds is that in the history of the Andes, the defeat of the Great Rebellion was the most severe after conquest blow to women in the area, possibly followed by recurrent public political reprisals to women in the following centuries, which the literature do not mention.
- 3) It shows the actual and symbolic importance of Andean gender roles, of reiterating the cultural significance and partnership of women and men in an uprising led by Inka and Coya. It underscores the significance of women and men's inseparable, complementary and equivalent roles in Andean culture.
- 4) With regards to the nature of gender roles, the chapter entertains the possibility of featured characteristics in Andean men different from Western '*macho*' men. If the Andean socio-cultural system socializes them in line with a universal preference for certain values for the whole of society (i.e., negotiation and peaceful resolution), aggressiveness and the monopoly of violence might not be their trademark. Likewise, it provides a natural containment for these traits when the system allows the expression of strength by women, in their closeness to the protection of life and the sources to secure it. If men's roles are not opposite but complementary to Andean women's practicality, strength and courage, Andean men may be, among others, sensitive and caring in ways Western men are not.

- 5) In addition, Study 2 documents the Andean culture or social system inner workings or strength, which despite the catastrophic demographic decline of natives after European occupation, still preserved - in their bare reconstitution by the 1780's - the same gender logic that sustained pre-Hispanic societies.
- 6) Visualizing the rebellion with social identity eyes from Study 1, in turn, could help explain more closely facts so far only approached with descriptive sociological or cultural categories. Replacing them with socio-psychological ones might give more nuanced explanations of facts of the rebellion. For instance, the cases of noble caciques deflecting from the rebellion could be explained by social identity, i.e., degree of assimilation to dominant values and beliefs, when circumstances gave them primacy over ethnic affiliation.
- 7) A critical review of the literature in Study 2 forces to turn our eyes from the reality being observed to the observers, to the reasons why the envisioning of the rebellion contains unintentional, unconscious, unregistered biases. That is, the essay also addresses the production of knowledge as site of power in the Andes, not only in the recognized – though not often enough counteracted “class” domination -- but in its ethnic-gender oppression character. Such angle is extremely relevant for the examination of the contested present by Andean natives. It is not only the reality as it is, but the way it is portrayed and how these representations are themselves terrain of struggle for concrete political gains. As I discuss in Study 3, native peoples need to re-appropriate these representations to surf through the present global historical juncture.

- 8) Study 2, while allowing the introduction of the concept of social identity to better read the nature of individual participation in the rebellion, it also allows to see their sum and conjoined action as socio-cultural systems in action, in mutual and competing relation, with a logic greater than individual intensions, and goals accomplishable variably in space or in extended periods of time.
- 9) Finally, it is fundamental to recall the gender-stamped character of socio-cultural systems. Study 2 contributes this perspective to deal with the indigenous movement at present time. It inherently possesses a gender character as part of a socio-cultural system attempting to realize its objectives, to enact its logic historically. Such is the topic of Study 3.

The purpose of Study 3 is to discuss the character of the Andean Indian movement in contemporary times, with a particular emphasis on Peru's apparent inaction-default. It does that by proposing a native Andean explanatory framework: different base organizations of the Andean movement are simultaneously and independently claiming historical linkages to *Tawantinsuyu*, the conventionally-called 'Inka Empire.' Natives define and defend its reconstitution as a politically-articulated confederation of nations that shared the same history of conquest and domination, as well as the present efforts to recuperate autonomy and independence. The resurgence of the Andean Indian movement in the area, in context of the continent and world at large, in their own terms, with their own categories, should be interpreted as a gradual and massive collective recovery of historical memory. The process of re-owning fundamental

assumptions, such as their relation to ‘Mother Earth’ should be considered an extension and a public re-activation of a world view and political practices that have historically sustained Andean Indian communities throughout the region. Study 3 presents the hypothesis that the unevenness of the process in the area results from the variance of historical events affecting the area, and especially the superimposition of the dominant society’s perspective over the native Andean understandings and logic of what belongs together and for what reasons. It was in the interests of European descendants to destroy and deny the existence of an indigenous perspective both, on landmark territories and character of annexation or relatedness. In the same line, the process has also been difficult to acknowledge by observers – not innocent to interests of domination - because of their participation in the assumption of Indigenous peoples’ death and disappearance as a done deal. To believe that natives could not have even possessed their own categories or held on to them, justified continued domination.

In addition to the re-organizing of information according to the natives’ proposed perspective, Study 3 extends the pliability of social identity, as the psychological expression of culture and society (of a socio-cultural system - from Study 1), to explain process differentials in the area. Specifically, because gender is inseparable from social identity, the dynamics of gender manifests unevenly in different parts of the Andes. Study 3 presents the discussion of gender in two levels: at a level of its actual and hypothetical existence in native social movements of the area, more than it would happen only by chance, and significantly different from women’s presence in non-native Andean movements; and at a critical level, in the perceptions and knowledge coming from the

dominant socio-cultural system – the determinations of epistemology – that obscure and invest in deforming or co-opting these manifestations. Study 3 also provides elements to extrapolate macro-social theorizations on the nature of gender and world socio-cultural systems in the final discussion.

To summarize, the relation between the three study units is as follows: Study 1 presents the micro-social processes on identity and gender that explain the character and dynamics of macro-social historical relations, in both the Andean and Western socio-cultural systems. On this basis, Study 2 brings up the evidence of a robust public manifestation of Andean gender, at a time when despite past destruction of people and culture with occupation and early colonization, the resurrected psycho-social structures still pristinely sustained the Andean socio-cultural system. From then on, in the Andes and elsewhere, the aggression towards women has only progressed with time, despite the dominant system's apparent compromises and accommodations. Acting on its own male-framed individualistic logic, it gives in to grant women equal rights, etc., but it preserves a monistic uncontrolled-ruling patriarchy that continues to stamp the character of global social system. Since gender pertains to worldview, values, systems of meanings, culture practices, it engages and compromises everything in society, from individual psychological dispositions to social practices. Study 3 analyzes impressionistically the contemporary Andean Indian movement in light of the difference that the emergence of Andean gender makes in the above portrayed reality. The information basis for Study 3 comes from current news in electronic media about the developing Andean Indian movement (last year and half). In this information, I search for evidences of its political

identity sedimentation, of its ambiguities and advances, in face of social movements in the continent and world.

Because academic work cannot be disengaged from a social anchoring, the present work is an expression of the movement, and envisions with acknowledged partiality, both in the sense of being biased as well as limited, what is going on from the perspective of Andean women natives. The three studies here also represent snapshots at a sequence of methods/disciplines and times frames: from Anthropological field work a quarter of a century ago, to a historical archival and secondary literature analysis of an event two and a quarter centuries ago, to analysis of news, literature and observation of ongoing developments in Andean social movements, in dialogue and relation with the global world. The past four sessions of the Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples at the UN, continental politics in presidential elections and social movements in reaction to global entities aggressive intervention continue to furnish insights to that understanding.

The dissertation conclusions and discussion (Chapter XXXIII), raises theoretical and practical questions regarding gender, not as an added factor, free to take or leave, or edit in to ‘complete’ an understanding of society but as fundamental principle of explanation and action. Never has knowledge (or lack of it) been more relevant to the direction that social movements and changes can take. Gender is not just a guideline to orient or understand Andean Indian people’s resurgence, but a practice of resistance to current social policy practices that affect millions, perhaps for generations. So, since each of the studies involves a different disciplinary perspective and method, the conclusions provide leads to follow in each for research. For instance, the original work

for Study 2 forecasted social identity changes in the future. Enough time has gone by to assess whether these projections were true, sufficient time to test generational directions in values and especially in gender aspects. Similarly, Study 2 argues for the key importance of an ethnic perspective in the revisit of history in the Andes, specifically one that incorporates the natives' perspective on territory, for instance, or doesn't result in conventional un-engendered perspectives. As a whole, finally, Study 3 opens a hypothetical panorama. It alerts for perceptiveness to view evidences in the direction noted, and for the importance of active interventions. If the present work, in sum, broadens the vision in different disciplines, specifically in the Americas, many can harvest useful leads to clinical and research practice in psychology, to re-interpretation of research pieces in various social sciences, and of course, to modify their perspectives in new research. All of the three studies generate few theory proposals to use, especially history and anthropology, which as matrix disciplines offer avenues of inquiry to other disciplines, as well as non-academic concrete knowledge and practice.

Obviously the character of this work goes beyond testing a hypothesis or the exclusive reliance on established literature – it is an integration of early established insights and extensive dialogue, particularly with native thinkers. They are not in condition or have other tasks in the movement than writing a document like this. Perhaps what I have learned and gained myself from them I convey through this medium. I do not necessarily do them justice, but advance their voice with proposals in the international social science arena. This, by the way, includes psychology, which for the discipline's practitioners in Latin America of which I am part, is a social science.

# STUDY 1

## The tectonics of Gender in Social Identity - Implications for Socio-cultural Systems in the Andean Region

### Chapter II: Introduction

As in other Latin American countries, the problem of national identity in Peru is controversial. It has merited many articles, essays and a few books, especially after the Juan Velazco Alvarado's government (1969-1975). Indeed it was his policies that opened the discussion on national identity. Protagonists of the debate are anthropologists, sociologists and historians -- in that order. For theoretical or practical reasons, any social science professional or intellectual with public notoriety or courage to formulate 'universal judgments' on urgent matters of practical concern in education, culture, folklore, mass media, enters the debate. Everyday press also covers 'the national problem,' in some cases in search of news, in others to clarify practical issues that derive precisely from the question, "Who are we?"

The participation of psychologists in this discussion has been smaller in extent and impact than other professionals. Among the few adding the touch of the discipline to the national debate are social psychologist Carlos Franco (1982) and psychiatrist Max Hernandez (1983). Franco's concern was not identity, *per se*, but the psychological dimensions of political evaluations. Hernandez, in turn, discussed identity from a psychoanalytic perspective. His subject was paradigmatic Peruvian *mestizo*, Garcilazo de la Vega Inka, for which he used biographical information and the content of his work.

Generally, the national identity discussion in Peru is theoretical and ideological. Based on assumptions whose extrapolated proposals are re-combined to accommodate the experiences or data handled by researchers, it does little to clarify, even piecemeal, the controversy. Three are the main positions in the debate, sketched below in an 'ideal type' composite of characteristics:

1) Peru is basically a Western and Christian country. One should appreciate the remnants of pre-Hispanic native culture because they represent the past, but it ceased to exist as a current and viable culture due to its inherent inferiority. This inferiority accounts for the present 'cultural deficit' of the country, i.e., 'underdevelopment,' which can only be overcome if Peru pledges to Western democratic goals, i.e., if it completes its assimilation to 'civilized' forms. Although few conservative politicians explicitly advocate this position, its acceptance, in an implicit, veiled form, is much wider.

2) Peru is essentially a '*mestizo*' country. Applying uncritically the concept of biological hybridism to socio-cultural phenomena as an 'ideal type,' (though biologically also more complex than its abstract representation), *mestizaje* would consist of a well-integrated mixture of an equal number of native and Western cultural components. For advocates of this position, in concrete terms, Peru is in the process of becoming evenly mixed. However, as in the first position, they would consider Peru a *di facto* Western-culture country, like the rest of Latin America, even when doubts about national identity would never rise in other countries to the level it does in Peru. The official use of Spanish as language and Catholicism as the religion supposedly make Peru unquestionably part of the Western world. The destiny of indigenous physical and cultural traits that persist in the country, which, in theory, constitute half of its heritage, is to merely season, virtually

disappear, in the newly-integrated hybrid entity. Some spokespeople for this position go so far as to recognize the need to amend/correct long-standing discrimination against Indian people and culture in Peru. They suggest re-valuing and ratifying the native components of a true *mestizo* race and culture, in much the same way Mexico did after the Mexican revolution. In this view, broader in number and variety of shades than in the other two, it is only reasonable and necessary to vindicate/enforce *mestizaje* as national self-image.

As a national identity proposal, the *mestizaje* perspective manifests in political positions from center -- social democrat -- to left. It includes many well-known progressive intellectuals and social scientists. In the Marxist camp, for instance, the thesis generally holds that Peru is pluri-cultural and multi-ethnic. The most radical would apply to Peru the Chinese model of 'multiple nationalities' present within one single state. However, in that multiplicity still the saving unifying factor is the Spanish language and *criollo-mestizo* culture. There is, however, a breach between the peace of mind that this proposal gives its advocates theoretically, and practical policies that could be quite within their reach. A multiple nationalities thesis could manifest itself on the officializing of native languages, for instance, in particular Quechua, the language spoken by approximately half of Peru's population. If, for whatever reasons, national political changes were impractical, specific education and community development projects, often left-promoted, could easily negotiate a local implementation of native languages. Equally consistent would be its use in left-leaning civil and party politics. Often individuals in this position have leverage in NGO's, and the like, so requests in this direction are plausible. In the end, the pluri-cultural thesis has little practical effect in terms of urgent educational, cultural, administrative and political problems.

3) Finally, a recently re-kindled position, still barely outlined in the mass media, recognizes a fundamental cultural bi-polarity in the country, of native and Western culture. Indeed more than cultures, it proposes the opposition of two models of 'civilization' represented by actual and potential politically leading groups in the country, *Criollo- mestizo* and Native-Andean. With their mutual relations characterized by domination and exploitation, traceable to the original European invasion and colonization, each would still fashion internal cultural and linguistic variations and social class manifestations. This thesis incorporates a scenario of multiple nationalities or ethnic groups in Peru, easily confirmed in the contrast of jungle and Andean Mountain natives, and, within each, of different ethno-linguistic groups, besides diverse ethnicities in urban and coastal areas (Asian, African and White European). However, it provides a comprehensive differentiation among them, natives and newcomers, each sharing, in the context of Peru, different societal models. Furthermore, the thesis states that the forming of independent republics in the 19th century by no means resolved their contradictions; indeed, as a result, conditions for native peoples only deteriorated with time.

Presently, there is only a small minority of recognized intellectuals who hold the position that there are two plural societies: 1- native Andean peoples with multiple nationalities; 2- incoming Westerners who also represented an array of nationalities. The relations between the two socio-cultural systems are marked by a power differential which has never been resolved or even scarcely articulated. Obviously, there is little chance of public discussion of this reality in face of *criollo-mestizo* political power, its media monopoly and consequent audience-control. However, its potential is much greater considering that the position primarily advocates for, or addresses, a native population

that does not share language, culture, or even public space to adhere or take part in the national identity discussion.

For spokespeople of the first position, the diagnosis of Peru's present problems, 'the lack of national identity,' is evidence of a truncated process of assimilation to Western socio-moral standards. Its resolution presumably lies in completing the process by joining the new global economy. For advocates of the second position, Peru's national division would be resolved by a thorough '*mestizaje*,' forging a true new hybrid identity. An adequate re-valuation of Indian traits would guaranty the quality of the new identity (and, in their eyes, this is presently happening). The academic progressive wing of the '*mestizaje*' position might concede that *Pueblos Jóvenes* ('Young Towns,' *i.e.*, slums) are the natural and ideal laboratory to forge the needed national identity, because they are in the process of negotiating and mixing antagonistic cultures (Matos Mar, 1985). If the new identity is not achieved there, academicians, especially Marxist ones, would assume the new national identity might have to be "a heroic 'creation' of the revolution," in the words of José Carlos Mariátegui, founder the Socialist Party in Peru. It is not clear if this would be formed in the process or as result of the revolution.

The difference between the second and third positions, *mestizaje* and 'two distinct socio-cultural systems,' is their departure point for the interpretation of the national problem. In the *mestizaje* position, the reasons for the social and cultural divide in the country are minimized at the cost of what is left of an autonomous Indian culture. the demise of Indian peoples as nations is a fact assumed, and, for that reason, there is only a need to integrate, fast, the dissimilar elements of the broader 'Peruvian nationhood,' to fabricate *at once* a harmonious hybrid national self. In contrast, for advocates of the third position, the divide persists because the historical causes of the problem have not

disappeared, the native nations persist and resist in different ways. For them, to ignore this fact is not to deal with the essence but only superficial manifestations of the problem.

National identity, as extension of social identity, should definitely be special study topic in social psychology and/or psychological anthropology. The collection of papers of which this originally formed part shows that in practice, in our part of the continent, social psychologists understand this. The problem, however, is how to assess it theoretically and empirically. For the last, there is a need for innovative methodology to assess with precision the phenomenon as it occurs in real life.

### Chapter III: My research

In 1977, I worked as a research assistant in a socio-anthropological study on rural migration to the city, in a shanty town of Lima (Lloyd, 1980). My project in the study was to observe child socialization practices and family relations in migrant Andean peasants, as compared to Spanish-speaking peasant or non-peasant residents (among them, urban poor families) in the same settlement. A key aspect of the research was gender differences. The research setting itself could have ‘tested’ any of the three positions presented earlier. If there were no differences between Andean and non-Andean groups, the first and second ‘Peruvian identity’ proposals, basically Western, or mixed ‘*mestizo*’ identities would have been true. To decide for one or the other alternative one needed only to determine the worldview and value character of the socialization practices. If, however, there were marked differences between the two main groups, then the third proposal was valid. To follow up the thesis of multiple nationalities within Andean migrants and Non-Andean compounds (above), there was a need to weigh internal differences within each group. The training in US psychology I brought to the field influenced me to look for values, norms and attitudes that corresponded to concepts like need of achievement, affiliation and power (David McClelland). Field research could help place them in concrete social structure and dynamics, and relate them to social mobility, community relations, political participation, integration in national culture, etc.

Rural migration to cities is one of the most notable traits of social change in Peru in the past 60 years. It has been extensively studied, descriptively, to understand its character in Peruvian society, and for practical social policy programs. Its manifestations are marginal settlements called *Pueblos Jóvenes*, established via collective occupation

(invasion) of public or private-but-vacant lands around the original structure of the city. Before Velazco Alvarado's regime, the denomination of *Pueblos Jóvenes* was 'barriadas,' literally 'slums.' The new name, in accord to the re-valuation of national culture of the time, was to overcome negative connotations, stressing will and hope, positive traits of struggling migrants in search of a place in the city. If anything, my own account of field data from interviews with *residents* of the chosen *Pueblo Joven* has the same leaning. Being myself a sociologically-informed Andean, I could interpret their life strategies culturally as long-standing Andean ways, whose complexity and intrinsic worth were pertinent to the 'national identity' debate. For this reason, the socio-psychological traits that emerged in this study need to be confirmed in further studies.

In the description of social identity in the *Pueblo Joven* that follows there is a massive transference from a clearly defined Andean social identity (with its national implications), little known in the urban context up to this time, to another more diffused Non-Andean social identity, also not adequately described. The last obviously is identifiable as the Peruvian national identity, whose underlying value basis is distinct from the first. In the coming pages I will expand on some of the research results that support this statement. Crucial to the topic of this dissertation is that social identity is thoroughly gender-marked. The biographical information of residents of M.M. shows clearly that the extreme poles of social identity embody two contrasting gender systems whose logic is cultural (values, beliefs, worldview), and whose consequences are social (ways of organizing collectives for social reproduction) and psychological (attitudes, behaviors, motivations). All of these are readable and practicable in matters of enormous consequence: how to raise and educate children, how communities should be organized, how countries should be governed, etc. The importance of social identity as the

embedding of gender (or vice versa?) is that in the transition from one pole to the other what is at stake is the character of two social projects. Since, as will be seen, the Peruvian social identity is patriarchal by definition, where men stand for humanity itself, embodying and subsuming the rest of society, what we have is once more a face to face encounter of pre-conquest alternatives: the abstraction, hiding, subordination or indirect ‘representation’ of women, versus their full concrete, visible and equal presence on equal grounds, for what their concerns, visions, needs and interests are. I conclude discussing the results in light of the above-delineated discussion on national identity in Peru, pointing out some implications for the theory and practice of social and political psychology in Latin America, but most important, bringing forth Andean gender’s multifold relevance in social movements and policies.

#### **THE COMMUNITY: PUEBLO JOVEN *M.M.***

When the study took place, *Pueblo Joven M.M.* was a small settlement located in what was forty-five years earlier a gorge serving as irrigation outlet to the Pacific Ocean from cultivated lands around Lima’s old aristocratic horse race track. Some of the first *residents* worked as gardeners and in other capacities at the horse track. About 25% of the total population (between 650 and 700 people, about ninety families, with an average of 7+ people *per* family) had lived there for more than thirty years. Family, community of origin, work and old-neighborhood connections added newcomers to the original nucleus. It was thus a relatively old settlement, with the longest tenured families having young adult children, several of whom were already married. These, in turn, had little children already beginning the third generation living in the *Pueblo Joven*. From its start, *M.M.* had an exceptional closeness to the dominant sectors: in addition to its being surrounded by an upper middle class district, in 1983 the government added middle class

housing project to the compound. Moreover, *M.M.* connected easily to the center of town via main transportation arteries.

In his book on this research, Dr. Peter Lloyd answered questions about how the physical closeness of *M.M.* to dominant sectors might affect its dynamics and how representative it was as a study on migration. Being one of the earliest studies on the structural fabrics of community dynamics in Peru, he answered that his study only meant to provide a detailed view, in reduced scale, of processes operating in larger *Pueblos Jóvenes (PPJJ)*. In addition, for the sake of my report, given the intra-personal nature of processes described here, the intensity of *M.M.*'s relation to dominant sectors could, in any case, underscore the significance of observed behaviors and trends. The fact that they exist in daily and frequent interaction with dominant sectors make them even more meaningful than in geographically marginal *PPJJ*, where this contact is less intense. The critical traits that distinguish the two sectors here studied also allow their easier recognition in communities with more robust Andean culture dynamics.

**Geographic/cultural place of origin** About 30 % of the families in *M.M.* came from Huancaray, a district in the Department of Andahuaylas, the Southern Sierra of Peru (see Table 1). From 35 to 40 % came from different other provinces in the Andean mountains: Puno, Cusco, Ayacucho, Junín, Huancayo, Cerro de Pasco, Ancash, and Cajamarca. Between the two, they made up the majority (around 70%), which was also the typical rural migrant group in Peru with high-Andean cultural background.<sup>3</sup> Most were Quechua speakers originally, from agrarian communities organized in the traditional Andean, pre-Inka or Inka ways. However, due to the increasing pace of destruction of Indian ways of life by market and state activities, not all of them grew up

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<sup>3</sup>A translation of '*Alto Andino*' as synonymous of more preserved Andean culture strongholds.

in such communities. Nevertheless, most of these residents kept, in different degrees, family and ethnic links to Andean enclaves, in their traditional linguistic and value manifestations.

Most of the remaining 30% of residents came from rural but Spanish-speaking areas in the North, north-eastern rain-forest area, and provinces close to Lima. A few residents had just moved from other locations in Lima itself. Some of these families practiced local cultural traditions and held festivities that could be traced to indigenous roots in the areas from whence they came. However, due to their physical and historical distance from indigenous groups that could claim them, their customs had been re-defined within *criollo-mestizo* civil or religious traditions. Racially this group was also more heterogeneous than the highland one. There was many more *mestizo* than Indian families among them and their racial mix included a small Black component.

Table 1

**Geographic place of origin**

<b>District</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Region</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Huancaray	Andahuaylas	South Sierra	Quechua	30
	Puno, Cusco, Ayacucho	South Sierra	Aymara-Quechua	12
Chongos Alto	Huancayo, Junin, Cerro de Pasco	Central Sierra	Quechua	20
	Ancash, Cajamarca	North Sierra	Spanish-Quechua, Bilingual	12
	Trujillo, Amazonas,	North, Jungle	Spanish	15
	Ica, Lima	Central Coast		11

**Occupations** Making the best use of their past agrarian experience, Andean migrant men, with some orientation by townsfolk and neighbors on ornamental plant care, worked as gardeners on wealthy mansions surrounding *M.M.* Women worked in domestic service, although generally part-time, or on specific tasks (cooking, laundry, etc.). Both had a kind of semi-independent work that implied personalized relations with the *patrón* (employer). This gave place to work arrangements of a predominantly private nature and paternalism. These two made up approximately 23% of the residents, 15% men and 8% women.

Table 2

**Occupations of men and women in M.M. in percentages**

Gardening or domestic service	men	15%	23%
	women	8%	
Independent workers	men	12%	29%
	women	17%	
Formal work	men	23%	30%
	women	7%	
Unemployed or undefined	men	6%	18%
	women	12%	

About a third of the adult population (29%) labored as independent workers, in what has been called “marginal petit bourgeois” positions. Here the strategies required to survive were individualism (implying concern with individual family survival) and market competition, i.e., familiarization with the politics of product and labor demanded or offered. Interestingly, as small merchants and artisans, women made up a bigger group than did men (17% vs. 12%). In the case of women, however, it was always part-

time work while men's dedication was full-time. The third kind of work was in factories and institutions with structured labor conditions. As blue-collar or marginal white-collar workers, the residents could join unions for negotiating salary and other labor conditions. Forms of horizontal association could foster common concerns in lieu of defined factory management or employer, which not infrequently was the State. This group made about 22.5%, of which the majority was men, 23%, and women 7%. Finally, 18 % of residents were unemployed or did not have a defined labor situation. Women, with occupation '*su casa*' (housewives) made up about two thirds of this small group (12%), and men, more clearly unemployed, one third (6%).

For their income, all residents, with the exception of about five families with middle class comparable income, clearly occupied different gradations of lower socio-economic class (low, middle and high). However, due to their social characteristics, i.e., their location in the lower Peruvian socio-economic class was clear. For that reason, I considered that the study had a natural control of the socio-economic variable. What was left was to compare psychosocial traits, behavior, life strategies and values in reference to place of origin/geographic-cultural variable, correlated with native language use as mother tongue.

## Chapter IV: Social Identity - Provisional Definitions

To present my data, I define ‘social identity’ functionally and in contrast to the ‘personal identity’ concept. While personal identity refers to self-presentation and the display of individual characteristics or behavior, basically before members in the same reference group, *social identity* is presentation of oneself before members of other groups where it is important to point out, explain and justify, implicitly or/and explicitly, the character and traits of legitimate groups to which one belongs, in the perceived constellation of them in a particular society. While personal identity emphasizes meaningful traits in relation to members of one’s own group, social identity establishes behavior differences among members of different groups. At times personal identity uses references to social groups to which one belongs, but its purpose is to underline personal, individualized characteristics. In contrast, social identity’s self-placement in a perceived social structure justifies a status and certain values, expressing group-based behavior to an ecumenical audience rather than to only one’s own group. Moreover, the concept of social identity is dynamic. It starts with the individual’s past and present experiences in multiple groups and changes, as groups do, allowing individual agency and participation in the name of a group within a larger social body. Social identity occurs when neither the individual’s place in society, nor society itself, are fixed and determined for good but on the contrary, change constantly. Social identity is thus sensitive to continual external monitoring of and from external reality.

To clarify the concept of social identity it is useful contrast it with that of social role, although this is not as used anymore. The concept of social role is akin to social

identity in that it refers to individuals in society. Social role refers to positions that individuals occupy in a social structure which demands adjustment and performance. In it, social groups form by default, not obligatorily by connection and interrelation. It implies a set script of tasks to perform and character traits to manifest in accord with social structure positions. Towards this end, society appropriately allocates rewards to performance, eventually resulting in internalized values and attitudes for those positions. In contrast, in social identity, individuals represent groups defined historically with a class or ethnic foundation. Social identity implies agency and participation by individuals as carriers of interests, motivations and views of their groups, thus, expressing a particular societal dynamic, larger social tensions, power relations, conflicts, and struggles. Although individuals may eventually be one with the goals and purposes of the occupied social position, social roles epistemologically express first the constraints of the system on the individual, while social identity recognizes individuals, not only fashioning but manifesting group goals in a social body that can itself be characterized historically.

For this reason, when individuals of different groups meet, more than representing their own selves personally, in isolation, they represent group relations and power positions in their society. Their interaction has an intrinsic and objective power-relations character. This influences the quality of their interaction and even self-perception. An example relevant to this paper is a person's public presentation as an Indian in Peru, which does not lead, in the least, to social acceptance. On subsequent occasions, the person is less likely to self-recognize as 'Indian,' not only avoiding self-presentation as such, but even subjective self-referral in that condition. When that happens, self-naming makes use of euphemisms, to avoid or not stress the target term's negative connotations. However, independently of self-reference forms, the evaluation of reality in terms of

social norms, of event characterizations, corresponds closely to the fundamental social matrix of functioning groups that the interacting individuals represent. In sum, power relations in society stamp the form in which one presents one's social identity before others, and before oneself.

Next, I will describe the self-presentation of *residents* of *Pueblo Joven M.M.* as members of any of the social groups recognized in Peruvian society at large. As indicated earlier, the analyzed data was biographical information based on interviews. Residents of *M.M.* responded freely to motivating themes proposed in daily fieldwork interaction, later transcribed in written notes that served for this analysis.

## Chapter V: Social Identity in *M.M.*

Residents of *M.M.* do not refer explicitly to the groups to which they belong in all cases. On the contrary, and for reasons also to be explained, little more than half were inhibited about making direct references to their own groups or particular social category. In these cases, their statements about other social groups to which they referred explicitly served to imply, by opposition, their social identity. Using their frame of reference to locate the 'other' groups in which they did not include themselves, I inferred by contrast their corresponding social identity. To illustrate, if the person called the 'other' 'adversary' group 'the Whites,' or 'the rich,' 'the wealthy,' 'the moneyed people' but did not denominate his/her own group, then by implication theirs was ethnically different (non-White, in other words 'Indian'), class different (non-rich, poor, lacking means). The underlying categories used for others and by implication oneself were revealing of the perceived society's character (ethnically or class differentiated) and where they fit in it. By implication, one could then explore, for instance, how they conceived their potential political action.

The residents' social identity seemed to extend as a gradient, from a pole of defined Andean or native Indian cultural identity to an equally defined non-Andean or non-Indian identity pole. The biographical material of *M.M.* residents made possible to distinguish five social identity groups, with distinct references to themselves and others, and a particular constellation of behavior traits. The frequency and intensity of characteristic behavior traits manifested also in sequence, correlating closely to their social identity. To appreciate panoramically the information that follows, these groups in

estimated percentages have been called: Distinct Indian Identity (DI, 10%), Defensive Indian Identity (Def-I, 32%), Fractured Indian Identity (FI, 25%), Blurry Indian Identity (BI, 15%), and Non-Indian Identity or Peruvian Identity (NI or PI, 18%).

Table 3

**Panoramic view of social identity groups in P.J. M.M. and estimated percentages**

Distinct Indian Identity (DI)	10 %
Defensive Indian Identity (Def-I)	32
Fractured Indian Identity (FI)	25
Blurry Indian Identity (BI)	15
Non-Indian Identity or Peruvian Identity (N-I or PI)	18

The information that follows on each of the groups is not equal in extension. For theoretical reasons, I wanted to underline the characteristics of the Defined Indian Identity group, which for socio-psychological reasons I found remarkable. I also emphasized transitional points of social identity, such as the one that occurs in the fourth group. The characteristics of second and third groups, to which I dedicate less space, can be extrapolated in relation to neighboring groups. If pertinent, when describing a group, I discuss theoretically controversial topics, which also contributes to make the discussion of the groups uneven.

**Defined Indian Identity** The first social identity group was small; of the 90 families of the neighborhood, about seven were clearly located in this group. They were scarcely bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers who predominantly spoke Quechua and in

one case Aymara. The native language was used for intimate family communication and with some frequency in social relations with extended kin. Their dress kept features of native garments to a greater extent than did other groups. For instance, women wore long gathered-in-the-waist skirts and long braided hair. In turn, even when men wore more conventional urban outfits, they would still use ‘*ojotas*’ (sandals) for daily wear, or even to work, or when pertinent and cold, men and women donned knitted bonnets in the Central Sierra style.

However, besides garments and frequent use of native language, what placed these families in the same group was the way they referred to themselves and the ‘others’ in Peruvian society. They recognized and acknowledged the distance that separated them from the *mestizo-blanco* world, placing themselves at a considerable distance from these ‘others.’ In their apartness from *White-mestizo* world, they emphasized values and worldview perspective more than socio-economic distance. It was as if life ethics mattered more than anything else in the felt difference with the official mainstream representatives of urban society. “We have our own customs, maybe the others have other ways...” said a speaker from this group to justify his own activities.

In one occasion I heard a member of this group, as if making a concession to me, say, “We, the *cholitos*, *señorita*...” or some other times also, “We the poor people, we know how to work, (that is why) we will not die of hunger...”, etc. (when asked about the impact of the economic crisis in their homes). The most frequent self-reference, however, was as members of highland communities: “We, the people from Chongos Alto...” “In our community of Huancaray...”

In the groups to be described next there were also mentions of place of origin to define social identity. However, references to geographical place of origin, especially if

they were small Indian communities, became fewer as we distanced from the first group. Furthermore, the defined Indian identity group (DI) did not seem to need to ascertain precisely who were they, or who the others were. They considered these differences to be obvious, so clear that they did not require defining. Congruent with aplomb in their self-reference were clear behavior norms, as it will be seen next.

**A question of (old) values: AMA Q'ELLA (Do not be lazy)** Social and individual behavior in families of this group revolved around the value of work. Industriousness was continual, throughout their life course, in daily activities, in social relations. To show their capacity to work hard and well from early childhood, to act independently and efficiently were, apparently, the most prized and consequently reinforced behaviors in the immediate social group. The value of work was fundamental not only in domestic economy but also in the 'individual psychological economy,' i.e., the administration of personal resources, talents and virtues. For this reason it gave a special character to relations between spouses, child up-bringing, filial relations. The universal reason proposed by spouses of this group to select their life partner was: "She is a good hard-working woman..." or "He was a good, hard-working, determined (*empeñoso*) man." The complementary-negative value of non-work had more a connotation of moral scandal than a simple social inconvenience: "A lazy man or woman... what are they good for?!" expressed one of the DI residents. Thus, work-rationality was not only a desirable social quality, it was also a necessary ethical quality. For them the two realms did not exist apart. A lazy man or woman, or someone who was too talkative, were not only socially unacceptable, they were morally wrong. Their condemnation for 'work ethic' violation was mockery, corrective ridicule, even disdain.

For instance, a person who made the mistake of engaging him/herself in marriage or consensual union with one who was not hard-working, who was careless, ostentatious or wasteful of resources, committed not only a serious personal mistake, but appeared to break a moral code, an inherent natural order. This is because the work value was inseparable from a natural adhesion to rationality and frugality, rationality being the prevalent moderator of work and use of resources. The work value was so important that it even affected people's esthetic appreciation. Without any fetishism about physical appearance, a 'good looking' man or a woman, expressed by them with flirty grace, were, above all, physically strong and healthy people, apt and competent for doing all kinds of jobs. There were no rigid demands on qualifying conditions of physical standards of beauty, a person was perfectly estimable for his/her intelligence, interpreted as practical ingenuity to create or obtain resources, and for a cautious reserve and prudence.

Mutual productivity and competence brought about the partnership among spouses. Uncomfortable feelings or jealousy for the greater economic success of wives by men, for instance, did not seem to exist. Women's achievement was instead a reason for pride in husbands, their children, and close relatives. In turn, the fact that there would be only work opportunities for men, that they would be the only ones able to succeed, and the only source of support disturbed women of this group: "Why should it be only he (who succeeds)??.... If I can also work?!" assertively demanded a woman of the DI group when explaining her multiple economic activities.

If the strength of an affective relation depends on the spouse's productive capacity and intelligence, then neither accidents, that could occur in the course of life, as indeed happened in four families of this and the next group, nor the natural passing of time, break conjugal sobriety and fidelity. The couple's engagement in multiple family and

community relations, in Pueblo Joven and home community contributed to this end. Various agencies and community supports reinforced work and social solidarity values.

**On child raising** The characteristic work value of Indian identity families stamped the quality of child upbringing. This was particularly obvious in contrast with families of the fourth and fifth group, who, as will be seen later, replicated as best as they could middle class *mestizo-criollo* ways. Although Indian parents treated their children firmly, there was little use of physical and psychological punishment to teach good habits, how to work responsibly and with respect. In fact, respect was possibly the value that colored all relations.<sup>4</sup> One could say, Indian identity parents spoke little to their children beyond what was indispensable. Their relationship followed the natural course of daily tasks to perform, in the house and outside. Children accompanied parents, other adults and older children to familiarize themselves with work from early in life. With the parents' instruction, children joined in the tasks at the measure of their physical and psychological abilities. To be '*acomedido*' (prove oneself useful, hard-working, watchful, contribute constructively in whatever environment one found oneself, in any pending task) was consistently acknowledged and recognized, in the characteristic, sober Andean way.

Even though there was varied physical contact between parents and children, especially early in life and in the course of daily chores, no effusive demonstration of feelings towards them was apparent, as is common in *criollo-mestizo* sectors. Children up to three years of age, for instance, explored freely the mother's, older siblings or grandparents' facial features, hair, etc. Relaxed moments allow that type of physical contact which gradually diminishes, being replaced by respectful restraint as the child grows older. Aside from an almost total absence of theoretical prescriptions, the

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<sup>4</sup> Recently two books on the subject, Andean culture as a culture of respect, on the basis of extensive field work in remote communities of the Cuzco area, remark this important trait independently, and in situ. See.....2003; 2005.

fundamental trait in child rearing is modeling and accompanying parents or older siblings in regular activities, in which the child participates. Of course, an activity where either children or adults cannot enter severs modeling on parents, such as schooling and formal work that, not by chance, derive from *criollo-mestizo* culture demands. However, since parents impress on their children the precept to commit wholeheartedly to assigned work, for the challenge of doing the task well, their actual presence for achievement may not be necessary. It may be however important for relationship and connection, and for empathy with adults, at large.

The challenge to measure up to the difficulty of the task is the main ingredient of work motivation observed particularly in this Indian identity group as well as in the next. When trying hard to repair a broken faucet, a task more difficult than anticipated a DI parent expressed: “How could it be that this little faucet is going to beat me?” -- Smiling -- “Could it be so?” As observed in similar cases, with quiet patience and committed to the task, his effort paid off, he repaired the faucet. It was clear that adults, in their daily dealings with children, taught them to respond cleanly to objective challenges of reality. On one occasion, during a family visit, a little girl of around two years tripped over a table and fell, not being able to calculate with certainty yet her place in space. The mother quickly lifted her up, without endearing expressions, like the ones commonly used by *mestizo-criollo* groups, who in their effort to console the child, would go as far as to blame the environment, to the make-believe point of personifying objects (e.g., ‘Did that bad table hit you?’). The symbolic implications of this behavior are twofold: 1- to raise the parent to such heights that he/she could defend the child even from his/her own mistakes; or 2- to make the child believe that he/she is so important -- the human world so above nature -- that her/his mistakes are the environment’s responsibility. Inanimate

objects then, or the environment, are to blame and suffer for the child's (the human beings') mistakes.

In contrast, the observed Indian mother corrected the child with a joke: "How is this so...? Haven't you been able to keep your two feet marching together in the same direction??... Ha, ha!" Hearing the mother's expression, the little girl sobered up short of shedding tears and quickly got up as if to show her mother that, of course, she could walk correctly. The child looked a bit mad at her mother, but also assumed the funny side of the situation. In turn, the mother was present in the troublesome event, but gave no concessions about what must be learned. As a result the child accepted the maternal challenge to be on top of circumstances. In general, parents fostered their children's independence and competence, giving them stern though timely advice and feedback.

Witty remarks and jokes used as behavioral correctors when facing challenging situations, and shared tasks to be performed by both parents and children, brought about trust and enabled a horizontal relationship among them. The result of these distinctive traits of child rearing and social control in early childhood of the Indian identity groups (one and two) is visible later. These residents' older children and adolescents are respectful, attentive, poised, reserved and autonomous when in search of needed resources. These traits account for their notable achievements in both education and work, despite adverse and difficult circumstances. Seven of the nine university students observed in the course of field work, came from the first three social identity groups considered here, despite their parents' lack of familiarity with urban culture and linguistic limitation as well as the racial/ethnic discrimination, which favored the other groups. In percentages, 87% of the university students came from the groups with less familiarity with the dominant language and culture, which made up 58% of *M.M.*'s population. This

is even more remarkable when the trend was also to greater academic success the closer young people were to the Indian social identity pole.

The context of individual progress of children in school was also the parents' approval and encouragement of respect, which extended from filial relationships to cases of almost veneration of elders and authority figures, at times evocative of biblical stories. Teachers were particularly recipient of this surprising trait, whose origin evidently lies in something other than Christian ethics. Religion and Catholic rituals seemed mostly a convenient formula to keep traditional beliefs in this DI and the Def-I social identity group. In contrast, adhesion to Catholic beliefs and rituals became more overt and common as we approached the non-Indian identity groups, where filial devotion and obedience and the ethics of respect became less prevalent.

The combination of 1- respect and honoring of parents and adults, and 2- the fostering of children's independence, which in *mestizo-criollo* sectors (and the West) would associate with defiant individualism and separation from parents and siblings, was outstanding. Independence in this case did not defy parental authority nor draw children away from close familial bonding. Children were expected to obey parents and give each other effective support, from childhood on to adulthood. Later in life they tended to each other's needs, e.g., by providing work contacts and housing assistance by locating available space/land or helping to build a house. Links of mutual support and protection extended frequently to members of larger kin, nephews and nieces, aunts and uncles, and cousins at large, with whom they established similar types of reciprocal work exchange and service arrangements. In these exchanges, however, the impression was always that the personal independence of each one was zealously preserved. Whatever the intervention was in each other's life, this had an objective and constructive tenor, more

than an emotional one. However, in the setting of these carefully and mutually minded 'independences,' fine courtesy rituals and treatment, depending on the degree of interpersonal affinity, adorned interpersonal relations.

It is important to qualify these observations as relative and limited. Besides not being able to express their cultural universe in full, due to the physical, economic and social constrains, there were linguistic handicaps - theirs in a second language and mine a Quechua rudimentary command that prevented an understanding of extent and richness of their cultural universe. Full familiarity with Andean language and culture would help do justice to the quality of adults and children's interaction, making the meaning of set phrases, speech styles, precepts, etc., more accessible. It might confirm what from a socio-psychological angle seems a most notable ethics and esthetics of interpersonal treatment.

In sum, the observed work value is not so much as in the Western "achievement motivation" (a desire for individual success in relation to others, or even only measuring up one's own competence in relation to a set task). It is fundamentally a social and moral responsibility. Mastering tasks relates to the well-being of the immediate and larger community, both founded on the assumption of an inherent natural order. Within this context, then, it is possible to combine and give direction to affiliation needs with inter-individual competition and measuring up to a set task!

**The 'right' gender upbringing** When work infuses worth to a person's life, and there is no division of work inside or outside the house, there is no privileging or arbitrary assignation of tasks on the basis of gender. Male and female children, in the first two Indian identity groups, support their parents indistinctly in tasks at hand, assuming responsibility to help out according to their age competence, for instance, carrying bricks

to a construction site to help their father, or cooking, or taking care of younger siblings. Equally, both parents can assume the children's supervision, given the need for it. In fact, there was no marked difference in the expression of filial affection on the basis of gender. More important than sexual differences are age or generation conditions. The capacity to express feelings towards children could be, in this sense, more notable in grandparents than in parents.

This does not mean, however, that there is no effective separation of tasks to perform for each gender. Seemingly, gender interacts with age, so that, from a certain period in life, tasks are gender specific, or stop being so. The assigning of tasks does not result of a belief in an inherent capacity, with ensuing connotations of superiority-strength, or inferiority-weakness. Instead, it results from consideration of objective physical and psychological competences founded on developmental and life course conditions of individuals, as in the case of children and older people. All of this complements, or would have its reason for being, in the little formal separation between the domestic and extra-domestic realm. Work performed inside or outside the home apparently weighs the same in the family's allocation of labor resources.

Vocational and professional options for young adults in Indian identity groups confirm and substantiate the particular gender role socialization of children. Since tasks assigned or beliefs in innate potential to perform them do not set limits on physical and psychological aptitude development on the basis of gender, young women and men of these two groups surprise us, breaking conventional patterns of vocational and professional pursuits. Young women choose work or professions in the natural and formal science areas, just as often as in arts, humanities or social sciences, while young men do not discount professions like nursing, education, social work, identified with the

female role. If young men do not consider these options more frequently, it seems only because of low economic compensation, not due to the kind of work involved. Given the results-gear drive in Indian identity families, that is, their need to prove concrete results of work, feminine options count less for Indian young men and women when selecting occupations. So, it would be *the system's* gender and ethnic constraints, not internalized feelings of incompetence, that hold Indian identity young women back from certain education and labor slots, making them still land in predominantly feminine and socially less prestigious occupations. Of course, a novelty effect would alternatively explain this 'unusual' choice of professions: a first exposure to the dominant culture's education and professional options. Only a comparison of ethnic groups, emphasizing gender role differences, in Western ways or not, could test this alternative in the face of proposed Andean child socialization effects on young Andean women and men.

In sum, for young women of first two groups of Indian identity, who are very much alike, tasks and occupations performed, predominantly feminine and less prestigious than men's, result from ease of access or limitations placed to them by the dominant system, not as a result of early socialization inherent dispositions. Among the factors limiting women's access to equivalent occupations to their brothers are the parents' expectations of objective returns on their investment. Equally, if the majority of men opt for professions of greater economic compensation and social prestige (in the case of the *Pueblo Joven*, engineering), it is due to conditions and facilities provided to them in the official system, an effect to which the parents 'realistically' respond.

Finally, as may be presumed to this point, the 'Indian identity' groups' values and worldview (work, affiliation and others yet undetermined in this examination), compared to other social identity groups, have important consequences for political consciousness

and participation. Because politics is crucial to understanding the nature of socio-cultural systems' relations in Peru, the residents' consciousness and political participation will be discussed separately in a final section.

**Defensive Indian Social Identity (Def-I)** More than remarking on their own traits, or self-affirming what distinguished them from the 'others,' thus talking about themselves, this group of residents opted for concentrating instead on the 'others,' the dominant groups. Curiously, they referred to them as 'the Whites' though not excluding synonyms of social location such as '*mistis*' (from Quechua 'lords,' 'gentlemen'), 'moneyed people,' 'well-off people.' Larger than the DI identity group, this included about 30% of the residents with heterogeneous Sierra provenance, from provinces mainly in South and Central Peru. Neither was this second group (Def-I) different from the first (DI) in world view and values, and in vigorous links with the native community. Periodic visits reinforced community attachments and exchanges, which their children and grandchildren kept, even if increasingly at a symbolic level.

Another indication of losing their hold on culture traditions was less evidence of public and private use of native language in Def-I than in DI individuals. Likewise, their public presentation offered less open signs of Indian origin in dress and physical appearance. Even though they basically kept regional garments and food habits, and still practiced patron saint festivities and some rituals of their communities, these were being circumscribed or re-defined in domestic and semi-private spheres. What is Andean begins to be confined to a smaller sphere or ritualized. As in the DI group, industriousness is a way of life. Work is the main value in the family's social and psychological economy, which determines the social and moral worth, and even esthetic qualities of people.

Presumably, the centrality of the work value is the reason for the remarkable economic and educational success of this type of families, again in context of quite adverse circumstances. However, in comparison to the first group, Def-I individuals have a greater mastery of urban cultural ways. Thus they learn that work, honesty and respect, especially for elders, and assistance to relatives and community members, are not exclusive criteria for success in the dominant society. They begin to see that ‘success’ criteria are in good measure a social given because, if they were only educational or achievement-related, they could certainly obtain them. They confront the fact that social mobility depends above all on racial and/or ethno-cultural criteria. Not surprisingly then, families in this group delineated racial traits to distinguish their own group from the dominant society. From this Indian identity group onwards it is clear that the only condition for native peoples to secure access and success in the dominant society is to abandon, deny, or in the last instance reduce their ethno-cultural character to an idealized symbol. This process can remain totally outside the protagonists’ conscious awareness.

**Fractured Indian Identity (FI)** It is in the third social identity group that the residents’ tendency not to talk about themselves but about the others, the dominant group external to the *Pueblo Joven*, becomes more apparent. ‘The rich,’ ‘the people with money,’ ‘the well off people,’ are pointed out with mixed feelings, with a denouncing tone but also admiringly. The change from earlier groups is in the use of class terms to plot social identity. That is, differences are a matter of material possession, resource control, rather than solely racial or ethnic. Smaller than the former group (about 20%), this group is called Fractured Identity because it presents two simultaneous value systems and social norms. It is opportunistic, as if dealt in a game: depending on circumstances it either comes up the Andean social identity, or the non-Andean “*criollo mestizo*.” Given

the nature of social relations in Peru, however, it is more convenient to handle/deal with the social identity dominant façade, keeping the Andean subaltern. This is kept every time more and more confined to intra-domestic practices, while the second affirms its presence in the dominant society via work relations, formal education and exposure to media and surrounding culture. Some families of the FI group play the dichotomy as open divergence between husband and wife, each pulling to either side of the value spectrum. In others, the simultaneous character of behavior norms results from incomplete families, due to temporary or permanent absence of one of them, generally the father. In the last case, it is difficult for one parent alone to confront multiple pressures from an external world contrary to one's own normative orientation. Still, Andean vigorous links with kin and community relations can somehow neutralize the effect but without offsetting entirely the absence of a unified family nucleus.

In comparison to the former two groups, where the children's educational and labor success is the norm and the exception is not, in the FI families this is no longer the case. An equal number of children achieve success (getting and culminating university studies satisfactorily), as fail in them. An equal number surrenders to difficulties and frustrations, or worse, has little motivation to tackle objectives that imply ambition and effort, as those who do. Even so, this group is still culturally Andean although, due to circumstances, with a fractured, deformed or hidden identity.

Variability and unpredictable answers, individually and as a group, are behavior characteristics that typify the FI social identity group. For instance, a man would attend a community meeting if a *compadre* pressures him to do so, or only in an emergency. Also members of this group could participate in community life out of mere sociability, a trait especially manifest as main motivation in the next social identity group (Blurry Indian

identity). Equally, if female neighbors convince a woman to attend the meeting in community center or Mothers' club, she will do it, if not she would stay doing domestic chores or watching television at home. This was not the case in the former groups, where women would attend community meetings if issues were important to them or if work did not interfere.

Another example is a young man able to pass competitive exams to attend the university where many young people fail, keep a good standing in it, but half way into the course of his studies his motivation wanes. This occurs despite the fact that he keeps on working with enthusiasm and ingenuity in various physical and manual jobs to help pay school expenses and also helps at home, as corresponds to his Andean work and family (solidarity-respect) value legacy. In contrast, the norm among *criollo-mestizo* university students is full dedication to intellectual work and dismissal of any physical or manual labor. However, the dominant youth sub-culture begins to influence individual consumption and recreation habits, for instance, he will go drinking with friends, which young people of earlier Indian identity groups would not do.

**Blurry Indian Identity (BI)** After the Defined Indian identity group (10%), the fourth social identity group, Blurry Indian Identity, is the second small (around 20/15%) of the *Pueblo Joven*. In this group, rather than focusing on 'others,' as in the Def-I and FI (second and third) groups, the residents return to speak about themselves (like the first group, DI). They push forward a self presentation as 'we the poor,' 'we the humble people,' as if bragging about it. This obviously responds to the interviewers' perceived status as dominant society legitimate members, with whom they need to reaffirm links. Although they still kept a sweet and playful Andean demeanor, BI individuals sought

recognition as a little less of the same, their attitude contrasting with that of earlier groups to the same perceived status, which was sober and distant.

Something crucial occurs in this group regarding the social identity location. Even when sharing ethnic ancestry with the other groups, here social identity re-defines within the boundaries of the official society. They are not outsiders anymore; they are only apologetic for being marginal in the dominant society whose values and perspectives they accept in the category of newcomers, as 'poor' and destitute. They have become part of the system, with all of the psychosocial implications of that self-ascription. In their biographical accounts, these residents present the circumstances of their origin as remote, practically inaccessible. The reason is that birthplace, reproductive family and childhood are filled with painful memories. They remember their past with a mixture of nostalgia and profound sadness, placing a "safe" distance from it, as if to insist in situating themselves definitely, though precariously, in the non-Indian cultural plane.

Symptomatically, the majority in this group were real or symbolic orphans. Either one or both of their parents died when the residents were small, or had to leave the family, maybe permanently, in search of work. To survive they (or their parents) worked as servants from infancy, placed in White or *mestizo* families. Whatever the case, their earliest memories contain intense feelings of early loss, hardship and abandonment.

Particularly obvious in the 'Blurry Indian identity' group was the physical and socio-psychological destruction of the family. Approximate case statistics for the total population of M.M. are striking. About 40% of the adults of the Pueblo Joven lost both parents early in life. On top of this, only about another 20% kept the other one. Some 25% adults, although having their parents alive, may not have been able to really live with them. So, scarcely 15% could have had something like a normal family

socialization, with both of their parents and kin, in early childhood and adolescence. In these non-intact family situations, only a few could live with extended kin. Many adults had spent their growing up years with culturally unconnected third parties, not infrequently in harsh exploitative conditions. Family destruction or orphan-ness is a crucial point to consider in the current panorama of Indian social identity. [It could also be contemplated as an instance of flagrant violation of human rights deserving separate, detailed analysis in itself. This is not the place to do it, but it is imperative to elevate this as urgent topic of research regarding conditions of present day native peoples. Specifically in the Andean area, information from *M.M.* deserves comparison to other parts of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, home to sizable native Andean nations.]

By comparison, we transpose *M.M.*'s experience to a conventional middle class – what would its value and worldview consistency look like if only 15% of its members counted with physical integrity of family in early life and 85% did not, and of this, about 60% were physical or psychological orphans? Only a cataclysm or war could explain such situation! How have Andean Indian people been enduring the last for generations of pretended peace? It has been like an ever running mill that destroys the most meaningful markers of social existence, ancestors and possibilities of preserving historical memory, as possible through early socialization of the young by their own families, in their language, within their own traditions.

Family destruction statistics that result in full, partial or temporary 'orphan-ness' in *M.M.* above applies in greatest extent to the BI identity group. This is one reason to explain the BI group's constant search for closeness to outside visitors. They are the most receptive and welcoming of any outsider, be they social workers, missionaries of all kinds, researchers, state officers, community workers, politicians. It is as if, through this

contact, they look to confirm or back their uncertain position as social group. One reason might be their objective condition of being orphans in the past, which has present repercussions in the present. Traits of personal insecurity, dependence and liability to be influenced are evident in BI individuals, more than in all of the other *Pueblo Joven* groups.

A second reason could be the greater number of open or pent up family conflicts that characterize them in the present, due to spousal abandonment and mutual disagreements which in part originate in a greater number of marriages with diverse background/community origins. If the couple is of Andean background, given the traits already present in these individuals, it might be conflictive because it is hard to reconcile regional differences such as a person from Cajamarca marrying another from Cusco. It is even more serious when marriages are between people with different degrees of abandonment of own cultural patterns or diverse degrees of assimilation into the dominant culture. The highest value discrepancy occurs when one of the spouses typifies him/herself as *criollo* (member of the Coastal anti-Indian popular culture) and the other retains precariously, even if in isolation, whatever is possible of the personal remote ancestry and hazardous past history, in absence of significant relations in the present. Indeed, keeping cultural patterns in marital relations, child up-bringing and community relations is easier when partners come from the same community, which was more common in the first two identity groups.

Finally, a third theoretical reason to explain the BI residents' outward gregarious nature, intimately connected to the two above, is abandonment of original value enclaves and desperate search for firm strongholds. They need to sustain themselves in the

dominant society, to which they were expelled and where they aspire to belong, since they lost all significant links with their past.

Socio-psychologically significant in the BI group is the value inversion regarding work in their personal and social life, in contrast to former groups, particularly the DI and Def-I identity. More than a natural component of existence, work becomes a painful burden, only justified as instrumental to survive. The subjection of BI individuals to abusive conditions of work in the past accounts for their response, and their minimally, if at all, compensated labor and lack of immediate social support to buffer and mediate the effects of exploitation. In its association with painful and frustrating conditions, work begins to be perceived as such. At the same time, due to their greater familiarization with the dominant group's social norms, vicarious experience through them or in them, BI individuals know efforts do not guaranty securing resources or success. Instead these can be equally procured through other means: wittiness, physical, psychological or social ingratiation with the dominant sectors. The resulting compound trait is the widely valued Limeñan '*viveza criolla*,' which stamps the official 'national' personality! For BI residents to curry the favor of dominant sectors can be as effective a means to achieve success as outright work. At the same time, a variable and unpredictable reinforcement of non-work, that doesn't come all the time but in always unpredictable circumstances, tailors a persistent response regarding work dispensability. For them, the success rate for honest labor is no greater than for short-cut means.

The value reversal with regards to the Indian identity groups manifests in the intention and efforts to obtain education. Aside from luck or '*viveza*,' education becomes for this group, at least theoretically, the other trusted means for social ascent: it becomes exclusively instrumental for social advance. For that reason, the BI group emphasized

educational pursuits to the point of tyranny, as observed in the case of a youth in this group who acquired it but at an enormous psychological cost. This was the exception; most frequent were parents' expressions over-valuing work, praising education too much without providing children the structure or behavior strategies to warrant their pursuits, as in the Indian identity groups. After high pitched, but content-empty sermons to press them to study, youths in this group are personally attributed the responsibility of their frequent defeat.

As with work, the BI group features a substantial value change regarding gender roles in the family and society-at-large, again, in contrast with former identity groups. It is to this point increasingly expected that women circumscribe to the domestic sphere as dependent or, in any case, exercise 'feminine occupations.' This gender trait of the dominant society replicates closely, in a tighter packet, in the fifth social identity group to be seen next. If BI women perform an active role in the family economy, according to their stories, it is due to unavoidable circumstances rather than to free option. Likewise, the occupational aspirations of young people in this group fall into conventional sex role patterns, with only minor 'realistic' adjustments and lower social ambition. Girls conform to auxiliary positions of lesser social prestige proposed as 'decent' or 'adequate' or 'successful' for women in the media: hairdresser, boutique sales person, secretary. Boys, in turn, want to become public employees, police department officers, security guards and the like. Comparatively to previous groups, their modest social aspirations could just mean having internalized the place assigned to them as their best option in the system.

**Why 'poor' instead of 'Indian'?** Up to this point we have dealt only with Andean culture groups of close or remote extraction (not further than 40 years back). It is important to remark that none of the residents referred to themselves as Indians in their

biographical recounts. This is explainable both in deep semantic sense, being not a native term but imposed with occupation, and because residents of M.M., more than their rural siblings, are fully familiar with its negative connotations. For a long time, Andean natives circumvented the dominant world racial/ethnic prejudice utilizing synonyms to identify themselves: *cholo* (i.e., acculturated Indian, corresponding here to the BI social identity group just discussed), '*campesino*,' recent official ethnic euphemism, or more commonly the term *pobre*. The last is characteristic self-presentation in this group, though it occasionally also occurs in other Andean identity groups. Here, however, 'poor' is not self-identification before members of one's own group (who would also be 'poor'), but used individually and collectively with those perceived as alien and dominant.

The ease of use of 'poor' as self-denomination in Andean individuals has a social and a cultural reason. The sociological reason is that the term makes reference only to class; it does not allude to a dominated peoples' condition (nationhood). Indeed it serves a dual function: 1- for natives it lessens and blurs the pain of national domination and, 2- for non-natives it diffuses the character of their domination, eventually disaggregating it as mere 'racial,' or 'cultural' discrimination. In Peru the term 'poor,' as noun or adjective, does not have the class connotations it has in more capitalistic-ideologically bourgeois countries, where, allegedly, everyone shares values and possibilities. In the latter, if one lacks material or psychological resources, i.e., is poor, as individual or group, one attributes that to deficiency of one's own or to the reference group used for defining identity. Poverty then means responsibility for it, and attempt to conceal it, either in shame or guilt, according to the depth of personal adherence to dominant values.

But if 'poor' is simply a synonym of the term 'Indian' which it replaces to avert ethnic connotations and facilitate social circulation, one can recognize one's poverty

openly, with no sense of personal inadequacy. Only when living on the assumptions of equal opportunity for all, freedom to pursue goals and respect for legal procedures derived from universal consensus does 'poverty' mean destitution due to one's own direct or indirect deficiency. Only then would one avoid using 'poor' as adjective or noun for self-reference, which does not happen in Peru. The BI group represents the critical rim of class domination and cultural oppression, to which coincidentally the work of S. Rivera Cusicanqui referred in her work about Bolivia "*Oprimidos pero no vencidos*" (1989?).

The cultural reason why 'poor' is common for self-reference was clear when a resident of the second identity group referred to his adolescent son, whose achievements in school and work made him very proud, as 'This little poor one, my dear-little Black kid, from the highlands I have brought him here...!' (*Este pobrecito, mi negrito, de la sierra me lo he traído...!*). Not only was the use of "poor" tender, endearing and protective, but 'little black one' (*negrito*) also had positive affective connotation. The Andean culture interpretation of poverty (and "*negrito/a*") carry over to middle class sectors in South Peru. Again, their use expresses protective love, not self-deprecation or self-pity. Both differ from a capitalist interpretation of poverty as deserved destitution (or denigrated race), or from mere commiserating, patronizing, feudal one (V. Roel, 1985).

In sum, the two reasons for the frequent use of 'poor' for self-definition in Andean descent groups, are to substitute for another with negative ethnic weight ('Indian'), and for its peculiar Andean culture connotation, a positive affective weight. The tendency to use it for social identification increases with no alternatives present for self-identification (such as home community, formal work status), as in the BI group. It also occurs when pain and suffering associated with the past, and the social cost of

recognizing oneself as 'poor' or marginal, are less problematic than identifying as inferior outsiders to the dominant system.

**Non-Indian Identity or Peruvian Identity** The fifth social identity group of the *Pueblo Joven* (20%) consisted of residents with varied socio-cultural background. On one hand they could be of distant Andean descent, for instance, with native language monolingual or bilingual grandparents. They could also have Indian ancestry but from neighboring central-coast communities that had endured a more prolonged and thorough ethnic destruction than had the rest of the native country. They could also be non-Indian residents of a different ethnic origin: predominantly Black, poor White or *mestizo*, or with complex hybrid racial and culture mixtures in their family and personal history. The last two cases correspond to life experience of urban lower class, traditionally employed in domestic service to Limeñan upper classes. A trait they shared was no trace of native language, in the case of coastal natives for several generations.

In comparison with other residents of *M.M.*, this identity group contained wage laborers, in industry or auxiliary positions in public service, i.e., traditional low-income urban work. They were privileged in comparison to other residents: they had a regular salary and enjoyed employment benefits like social security, health insurance. Protected by labor legislation, they could organize and go on strike to protect their interests. Their social background (Spanish speakers, Western fashioned urban clothes) and privileged labor position made them look down on their neighbors, to whom they euphemistically referred as 'uncultured provincial peasants.' When they spoke about national problems they contemptuously referred to 'Indians' as the reason for them. Not surprisingly, they felt discomfort at sharing space with them, so much so that some families in this group

took measures to educate their children outside M.M., even housing them permanently with relatives to avoid being tagged as living with “*serranos*” in a *Pueblo Joven*.

The spite felt by some members of these groups for their neighbors reflected in their lack of interest in participating in community life, even when it was in their interest to do so. M.M. had a long history of fighting: for its right to exist in the first place<sup>5</sup> and later to install public city services: electricity, water, garbage collection, etc. (see Lloyd’s book for this). These were not easy community struggles because they were against powerful people, either members of aristocratic neighborhoods surrounding *M.M.* who objected to their presence, or ambitious entrepreneurs eyeing the area for tourist-recreation purposes. *M.M.* overlooks the Pacific Ocean in a beautification project of the city of Lima called ‘*Costa Verde* circuit.’ In these efforts the N-I identity group’s familiarity with dominant urban ways, for instance, literacy, being native Spanish speakers and knowing their way through bureaucratic and social dominant ways would have facilitated *M.M.*’s official negotiations. However, despite their frequently advocated social democrat or even leftist positions, only exceptional *provinciano* members of this group, not really urban folk, helped in community official dealings.

This N-I or ‘Peruvian official’ identity group featured two sub-groups, an upwardly mobile and a stagnant one. The first descended remotely from Andean natives and seemed to have kept, despite changes in social identity, a work ethic redefined from community to close family circle. The benefits of their individual performance, ‘need of achievement,’ circumscribed to parents, children, siblings, defined against everyone else. That is, the industriousness of this faction was somehow compatible with Western work ethics, though perhaps less individualistic. In contrast, the other faction of this group had

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<sup>5</sup> The original struggles to be allowed to retain their land against powerful neighbors and the State was even the theme of a popular urban play in the late 1970’s.

given in to the dominant 'work as punishment' value. Their main motivation was to enjoy life, be liked, and socialize, both in the extended family and in the community. With little ambition to neither triumph nor criticism towards the system and dominant values, which they, more than other groups, assumed as an unmovable and natural order, this sub-group could reproduce its own condition endlessly. More that any sector of the *Pueblo Joven* they had assimilated the dominant values with regard to society, in general, and with regard to themselves, in particular.

Due to the good quality of their work, some adults of the upwardly mobile faction entered work positions of responsibility. These included labor union positions, with a social democrat bent, but also left-leaning. However, their union participation or lefty-stance did not necessarily imply solidarity with exploited workers, nor engagement in actual struggles for social and political change in the country. Neither did it imply support for community concerns. Occupying these positions seemed more a result of the system's absorption of necessary cadres to keep it going, i.e., available recruits for pre-established positions. So, their quite eloquent discourses on workers' exploitation or need to unionize could be paired simultaneously with individualistic-bourgeois behavior norms. More than other groups, the Peruvian identity residents shuffled expressions like 'only hard work warrants success,' 'one cannot trust anybody,' and prescriptions for the self-made man, the individuals' responsibility for one's own success or failure, etc. They were also the only group that looked down on their neighbors and despised 'Indians' in general. In fact, it was the only *Pueblo Joven* group where the expression '*Los Indios*' was heard openly and with the same prejudicial tone of middle class sectors. Interestingly, the hard work as guaranty to success that the N-I groups sermonized about, the Andean identity groups put in practice, but in a substantially different value frame.

This takes us to the configuration of the work value in this N-I (anti-Indian?) identity group. Here work becomes exclusively instrumental, a means to obtain something else: material benefits, social position, power and/or wealth. With this as a basis, children's up-bringing differs in the upward mobility and stationary 'factions.' Like middle class sectors, the upward mobility sub-group provides abundant theoretical prescriptions. There is more regularity and predictability to the application of physical and psychological punishment than in the conflictive Fractured and Blurry (FI and BI) identity groups, where they occurred almost haphazardly. This group applied behavior controls with certain rationality. Likewise, as in the middle class, children tend to be overprotected physically, as a way to prepare them for future white-collar, 'decent' abstract tasks. The love for all kinds of work, including concrete, objective and physical labor that Andean identity groups embraced willfully, almost enthusiastically, is lost for good. In contrast, in the 'stationary' mobility group, rewards and punishments to socialize children tend to be more inconsistent and arbitrary than in any other group in the P.J. In this sub-group, children's upbringing abounds in rote prescriptions that not even parents follow, and of course, physical labor attains negative connotations. So, occupations to aspire to here are in the service sector, including as little strenuous physical activity as possible. Also, possibly as a result of parents' insecurity about dominant social norms and values that they pretend to follow, the only consistent trait reinforced is affiliation. Maybe as a way to palliate the social tensions they must endure, or as a collective defense mechanism to protect their own, affective, emotional areas implied in affiliation take on an enormous importance in this last sub-group. Given its friendliness and strength in expressive areas, by dint of chance and fortune, individuals in this group do occasionally succeed in arts and sports.

However, fundamental to the evolution of social identity discussed here is that the generic self-ascription, 'we Peruvians' resounds with achieved legitimacy in this fifth group, as a whole, as in none before. Citizenship and belonging are no longer mentioned with an aspiring tone or idealizing distance heard particularly in the third and fourth groups (BI and FI). Paradoxically, however, self-assurance for becoming full members of national Peruvian society manifests also in a devaluation of the national Peruvian identity. 'We Peruvians are lazy,' 'Peruvian people steal and cheat, they are selfish,' 'In Peru it is not possible to succeed,' 'We are under-developed and for that reason... (Add any negative trait), are common expressions. The consequence of this negativity towards one's national self is to look outside for models to follow or imitate, towards anything foreign, be it Australia, Asia, Russia, but especially North America and Europe. The presumed inferiority of Peruvian people is attributed especially to Indians, but at times just as freely to the Spaniards who conquered Peru. Peruvians are to pattern themselves after any country or system outside the borders. However, the goal to become something other than what one is seems pretty much unachievable. In their eyes there are insurmountable barriers to change things or rather deep inside there is a lack of desire for even attempting it. Indeed, there might even be a comfort, vested interests for things as they are. Finally, the ever present aspiration of N-I identity group is to emigrate to a 'developed society,' to live among 'cultured, educated people, not backward as Peruvians.' Arrival to achieved citizenship at last crowns them with the lowest collective self-esteem of the entire set of social identities. Hope has been left behind and, at the end, the only desire that prevails is to flee from oneself... anywhere!

In the Non-I Peruvian identity group, as in the BI group, the acquired ideological patterns filter selectively any merits of their Andean neighbors. They overlook the

objective positive traits 'Indian' neighbors have and are quick to attribute to them negative ones without empirical demonstration or logical support. Naturally, this negativity extends to the Andean population at large (from the P.J. to the countryside, and vice-versa, from over there to here), which was particularly emphasized in the upward mobility subgroup. The 'stagnant' subgroup, with more affiliation needs, followed the current trend without much need of proof. If there is any sign of social criticism in the 'Peruvian' identity group, this deals less with the arbitrary use of power by dominant sectors, than with the inherent 'backwardness' and 'ignorance' of Indians. Even the group's seemingly 'progressive' individuals readily accept the physical or psychological reduction or elimination of Indians to achieve progress. However, this is indeed a hard socio-psychological predicament. Substantially it implies that we 'Peruvians' have to do away with ourselves!!...

## Chapter VI: Politics and Social Identity

The fieldwork information about the crossroads of conventional politics and social identity in *M.M.* is so abundant and rich that it deserves discussion in a separate section. In the first place, what do *M.M.*'s residents think of Peruvian national politics and how do they participate in it? Specifically, how do politics look, in terms of ideology and participation, from each social identity perspective? Can the expressed political leanings of the social identity groups be good sensors of politics at large in the country, especially in recent decades?

This useful and illuminating exercise, however, provides only an introduction to the most substantive political fact taking place along the social identity continuum in the *Pueblo Joven*: the re-structuring of gender relations, the displacement of women out of a position where they have a say on all matters affecting theirs or their families' life, from participating actively and equivalently to men in work and community affairs, to dependency and subordination to direct or indirect authority and hegemony of men in society, the main concern of this dissertation. While the first uses a conventional interpretation of politics and it is illuminating in itself, the second departs from a critical interpretation of the term politics. As a gender charged concept, 'politics' takes us to substantive issues of power and its distinct allocation in the two socio-cultural systems operating in the Andes. I will discuss the two points in sequence, beginning with the peculiarities of the Indian Identity groups (DI and Def-I, FI) regarding Peruvian politics at large, followed by their specific relation with the political right and left that involves a

short discussion on values. To contrast that, I will discuss the non-Indian identity groups (BI and N-I) in relation to the same matters, with a sample mapping of their political ideology. To close this section, an overview of all of this material from a gender perspective will help tie up particular gender arrangements with the character of the two socio-cultural systems in the Andean region.

#### POLITICS AND INDIAN IDENTITY GROUPS

Naturally, DI identity individuals relate distantly to national politics and have minimal information about it. For most individuals in this and the Def-I groups, national politics are of exclusive concern to dominant groups. Entirely barred from any official public role until the Velazco Alvarado regime in 1969, as a dominated group, 'Indians' well knew they had no role to play in it. If their concept of what politics is were to be defined in contrast to dominant groups, politics for M.M. Indian identity residents is necessarily plural, collective and concrete. It involves people organized in multiple and heterogeneous base groups collectively deciding on issues that pertain directly to their daily needs. Apart from our restrictions in data collection, e.g., not posing the right questions, or from the right angle, this understanding derives from their answers to questions. None of this is necessarily either overt or conscious. The reasons for the unprocessed nature of their beliefs are the restrictions on their social environment and the immediacy of their needs, as they struggle to insert themselves successfully into an alien setting. Their natural reserve regarding political beliefs may also express culturally set patterns. They were cautious to discuss more issues than those they could directly tackle

themselves, in their circumspection often only confirming the interviewers' lead questions.

Nevertheless, living in a *Pueblo Joven* of the country's capital, a center that monopolizes whatever is done in national politics, places them in a privileged position. They can observe and get acquainted with its pulse, actors and characteristics. As non-committed spectators, the residents experience politics in the dominant system in two levels. The first involves central government operations and political parties performance, and the second their work relationship, either with factory owners and unions if in a formal labor setting, or with *White-mestizo* bosses and clients if they are informal or semi-dependent workers.

Not directly linked to formal politics is their experience in neighborhood associations to secure resources and services for their community and to satisfy its needs. Among them are projects that involve negotiations with city or central government to obtain needed services: water, garbage collection, electricity, property title, and those that involve community work for everyone's benefit, e.g., paving the main access road, and getting facilities like a community center, mothers' club, school, sports field, etc. national politics rarely link to local community politics (which have concrete and punctual problems to solve). If they did, it would surely freeze the momentum of community initiatives. Community politics revolve around how to establish consensus on problems, best manage interpersonal relations, and ways to organize work. These draw directly on the cultural capital brought from ancestral homelands. With women as centerpiece agents, this capital specifically consists in arriving to decisions by consensus,

work done by rotation, and reciprocity or mutual assistance. *Mita*, *minka* and *ayni*, (Quechua terms), old time institutions surface to assist: *Mita* is work by everyone for a community project, *minka* is community work for one person, when this support is needed due to special circumstances, and *ayni* is exchange of reciprocal labor and services. Though hardly reported in due measure these traits surface in all *Pueblos Jóvenes* of Peru.

In the first two Indian identity groups, the homogeneous attitude of men and women towards national and work-center politics was as uninvolved spectators. In both, residents calibrated the actions of politicians against their own values. Were they hard working or not, were they honest, were they substantial (consequent) or not in promoting the common good? Their reaction after an account of observations, when it was possible to gain this level of trust from them, was as in awe at the break of basic moral tenets, scandalized: ‘How can they? They are crooks! They steal... they try to make the most for themselves!’ In addition, when they had chance to physically approach politicians they not infrequently experienced first hand their disregard of them as ‘Indians.’<sup>6</sup>

Formal work, wage labor, due to level of education required and other reasons, was a minority privilege granted by the dominant system predominantly to men, not women. Here, the residents’ perception of union leaders, in their words ‘*criollitos*’<sup>7</sup> who justifiably protested and were frequently fired for it, called forth their reserved feelings of

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<sup>6</sup> Of course that was true thirty years ago. Now each candidate running for office makes it his/her campaign center piece to dance, to don native clothes, to be photographed in affectionate gestures to indigenous children and people.

<sup>7</sup> The term in diminutive has a connotation of young, well-intentioned but not too sound individuals, added to its culture connotation as superficial, quick return, scarce effort urbanites.

empathy. However, as some male residents and involved and interested female spouses voiced in interviews, their precarious economic condition and lack of power, added to pressing needs to support their families, prevents them from manifesting overt support. On the other hand, it was never too hard for them to intensify their labor, the number of working hours, if only to get subsistence income. They were conscientious and punctual workers, respectful of their bosses, certainly as a projection on them of their own cultural beliefs on authority. In not a few cases, they seemed to trigger reciprocity responses from them (possibly on grounds of left-over traces of Andean culture in *mestizo* bosses!). In turn, these were often appreciative and willing to acknowledge and compensate their work performance and attitude, at times appointing them to positions of responsibility.

Positive human relations with bosses, however, also reduced their political independence from dominant sectors. It could limit horizontal relations with other workers, especially if the latter were loose about the work value. Andean identity workers would hardly be attracted to a close relation with people who did not work hard, not respected authority, or disregarded women. With prolonged time of having the privilege of formal work, however, their work environment also gave entry to values and norms of dominant sectors and could produce a certain accommodation on their part. It eroded native culture values regarding work as the sum of Andean ethics, inseparable from honesty, fairness and rightful authority. The process singled out some values against the others (e.g., work against solidarity or honesty). Finally, formal work conditions also disrupted the relation of women and men at home, breaking the complementarity and equivalence in power and decision making of the native gender role. Indeed, one of the

most subtle and enticing changes was male hegemony and privileges, to which these pobladores still managed to resist balancing responsibilities and allowing women to have their own business, occupation, sources of wealth (land in the community, etc.)

If formal work environment could not foster Andean identity residents' political independence as workers, paradoxically to conventional thinking, the most frequent informal work in *M.M.* (about 40%) could. In this case while preserving the work value and still pronounced vertical links with employers, in contrast to formal work settings, it gave greater opening for solidarity building with other workers. Most importantly, because this did not exclude women (like formal work environments), and combined with neighborhood organization where women participated fully, it successfully reproduced the native non-separation of productive and social reproductive areas. Informal work then could potentially have greater impact on political organization, and provide room for ethnic awareness at a macro and micro level. Politically then, on the basis of *M.M.*'s experience, residential spaces could generate not only economic and social but also ethnic independence for Andean identity residents in face of the dominant non-Indian system.

#### **THE LOVE FOR ONE'S HOMELAND**

If we defined patriotism as love for the homeland, honoring it with the best of oneself and a sense of dignity implied by serving it, Andean identity residents felt it genuinely. Patriotic feelings in Indian identity groups had the vitality and purity of something uncontaminated. "*Patria*" was for them perhaps a community of communities,

when these, in turn, rested basically on place of origin, as physical landscape and connection with living and ancestral community. In this, elders acted as link to origins and destiny - the last of which read as a fulfilling of duties of dignity and respect. Actually, the frequent physical representations in pictures and handmade paintings of community of origin landscapes in home décor (to be discussed later), may have stood indirectly for reverence to Mother Earth and honoring of its provisions. However, explicit references to Mother Earth occurred only in a few cases of healing. Our approach dealt more with ordinary events than with extraordinary happenstances of the sacred. The point here is that for Andean identity residents to measure up to elders' expectations, under their guidance, in achievable, concrete and positive objectives, infused love to '*la patria*' with a sense of responsibility and honor. Despite their modest conditions in life, these values inspired young people to feats of personal realization. Without any ideological elaboration or conceptual definition, the effectiveness of the sentiment was nonetheless clear, as shown in the case that follows.

A reserved and amiable fifty-five year-old man of the Def-I group, decided not to re-marry after losing his wife, even when, as a father of five children, this could have helped. He indicated that a new engagement would have implied additional demands of income and attention to a new spouse, on top of duties and obligations he already had. Objectively his five children - he said - meant already full time dedication on his part to get them through. He wanted them to be good, decent people. In return he could only wish that they became "exemplary citizens, who would serve '*la patria*' loyally." His prescription to arrive to such end was hard work, carrying out one's duties faithfully,

being punctual, honest, obedient and respectful of authority. Through him we learned that his oldest child's had already become a successful satellite technician and was working on special assignment for ENTEL-PERU (Tele-communications Company of Peru), a job with a future if there was ever one. The young man, said the father, remained respectful and devoted to him even when far away, as was also his 16-year old son, whom we interviewed. This one, polite and humble, got tears in his eyes when talking about how much his father meant to him. His efforts in high school were all to be obedient and make his father proud. An older sister assumed some of the household responsibilities while continuing to study, and in general older siblings shared responsibility in caring for two other younger children. In a tightly knit engineering of domestic and other tasks they all performed their chores on the basis of respect and affection for their father.

Civic and patriotic feelings are apparent in the house decoration in Indian identity families. Their homes display repeated priced civic-patriotic motifs along with all sorts of credentials, from school certificates to recognitions of merit and achievement of all family members. Homemade mural-like paintings of national heroes and symbols (emblems, flags), photographs and drawings of their home community or representations of patron saints abound, either centrally in the living room or in the dining place. As one advances to the other social identity pole, such features disappear. Direct civic references, parents and children's school and merit credentials, specific community patron saints, give way to urban religious images such as Limeñan '*Señor de los Milagros, Cristo de Pachacamilla*' (Lord of Miracles, Christ of *Pachacamilla*) and indeed the more Catholic

Sacred Heart of Jesus, shared with middle classes. As with them, the non-Indian identity individuals' house decoration lacks entirely patriotic or social-ethic inspiring symbols.

### **CONSERVATIVE POLITICS AND ANDEAN VALUES**

In their prescriptions for a good life, the Indian identity groups expressed/implied that there was a natural hierarchy in life. This is based on virtue/wisdom gained through work, honesty and respect for others. In conventional politics, however, hierarchy associates with conservatism, especially when political center and left stress horizontal relations and might not be firm enough especially on work ethics. Just abiding with their industriousness, Andean identity individuals can obtain economic rewards and social prestige, which channel them or their children into politically conservative tracks. However, the process not only disaggregates values that go together, but singularizes individuals. It subtracts the last from family, home community and neighborhood relations where the other values, honesty and respect, counterbalance work and provide culture support for all. It is in their original and newly re-created communities where these values exist in interdependence, where they function fluidly and naturally.

Even when Indian identity groups do not participate in national politics, the conservative politicians' discourse centered on industriousness and popular participation can lure them holding their attention and natural empathy because these are culturally latent values in them. And so are constructive goals expressed with a peaceful and dialoguing countenance, never in a belligerent or threatening tone. This explains the success of some conservative politicians who exploit the value disposition of native

Andean people for their own programs, supposedly to promote ‘popular cooperation-participation,’ the nation’s construction, etc. In its first period of government, the APRA party and later Mr. Fujimori tapped directly the same Andean values. Both addressed race, culture, traditions and, in theory, use of native tongues as forgotten Indian roots of ‘Peruvian-ness.’ Up to what point this discourse convinced Indian identity individuals is not clear, because, if hierarchy is important, and principles of work and respect their support, honesty is also a must. Unacceptable in their culture are wordy, empty statements, devoid of facts, which, as seen earlier, privileges action over verbal elaboration, even in child up-bringing. There is a natural mistrust of elegant rhetoric in favor of a Spartan use of words, which relates to a need to deduce things from facts, from objective consequences of action in real life. On the basis of their negative long-standing individual and collective experiences with dominant ‘national’ politics they should not have much base to trust. Native Andean popular art and folklore represent Whites, *mistas*, *criollos*, *mestizos*, as talkative, noisy (besides quite lazy). Possibly their present expectations are modest in the absence of key political players who are similar to them, to assure a different course of action.

A natural hierarchy of virtue and wisdom unfolds in another prized value: solidarity, not only horizontal but also vertical. Conservative hierarchies based less on virtue than material power fall short in protection of the weak by those in power, compassion, this vertical show of solidarity, as they instead use punishment and violent repression. Andean identity individuals reject cruelty or unnecessary use of force, especially with the weak. They avoid violence and despise crafty and cunning ways of

obtaining wealth with little effort, as in the non-Andean '*viveza*,' or stealing it from others. This also sets them apart from conservative positions. For that reason, if aware of them, feelings of social solidarity and spontaneous commiseration with everything human, leads Indian identity families to empathize with the reason for the stands of leftist political activists, even in extreme actions, such as guerrilla struggles. At the same time, however, they naturally tend towards realism and objectivity *vis-à-vis* concrete achievements. Most importantly, there is in them a fundamental rejection of violence. Simply, their conclusion can be, as heard from a resident: "Good, of course (guerrilla fighters), but crazy, what has it served for?"

But their moral repulsion before unjustified killings of peaceful unarmed people, by anybody, produces in them a horror of a fundamental transgression. They express it, however, with extreme caution, maybe because of a realistic assessment of their economic precariousness or fear of unnecessary risks. It could also be due to their relative isolation from kin and identity-inclusive defined ethnic groups. That is, their caution may be due to fact that their feelings are not shared collectively, i.e., the fundamental insecurity of their community. Particularly in comparison to N-I identity individuals, in which adherence to 'human rights' issues seems rhetorical, (for the nature of their insertion in the system, to be discussed next), in Indian identity groups it has a socio-moral undertone, always expressed with discretion. Their reserved style also prevents them from openly manifesting solidarity, if informed about them, during unfair international situations, such as an invasion in Latin America, or an unjustified bombing

of unarmed, defenseless people. If their circumstances allow them to be aware of them, their reaction would be principled based socio-ethical one rather than merely political.

#### **INDIAN IDENTITY AND THE POLITICAL LEFT: SOME INCOMPATIBLE GROUNDS**

The relation of Indian identity individuals to the left contrasts and complements their response to conservative parties and politicians. To consider in this relation are three aspects: 1- the left's public representatives, its leaders and spokespeople; 2- their political discourse, its content and pertinence to them; and 3- its actions, the objective reading of its facts/deeds. All of them present obstacles to engage Indian identity individuals.

Socio-cultural and ethnic barriers obstruct the connection of spokespeople of the left with Indian identity individuals. The Andean principle of hierarchy by authority, which coincides with experience and wisdom, and generally associates with age, is a socio-cultural barrier when the left's activists (thirty years ago), with few exceptions, were young leaders coming to public note after involvement in university politics. The old *'kurak'* (elder) notion of authority, which does not exclude women, is more attuned to negotiation than to the fiery confrontation of the young, generally male leaders. In addition, ethnic and class exterior signs that separate or make them alike, are important for Indian identity individuals. Their closeness or empathy to leftist leaders (as well as to parties of the right) follows outward appearance, as evident in their voting response to election processes. Quechua-speaking candidates are popular, even when knowing little of formal politics, e.g., being performance artists, and so are those who dress modestly, or

in ways similar to Indians. Popularity is also high when women and men become public figures and still recognize themselves - always implicitly - as Indians, or if they explicitly advocate for their interests, as in case of 'peasant' struggles. On the other hand, leftist representatives in Parliament, identified by them through exterior signs as *criollo-mestizo* individuals (White, or the like urbanites), have little impact in this group of residents even with a coherent, rational and strictly logic defense of popular interests.

The influence of class in leadership and base following of leftist parties is crucial. The diversity of vision/political programs in numerous left parties, at the time, correlated with social class/ethnic background, from upper middle class urbanites, to provincial middle and lower classes, to urban and rural working class. Given the nature of the *Criollo-mestizo* state, citizenship in Peru had cultural prerequisites, then more than presently perhaps. While youths of Non-Andean upper and middle classes enjoy a de facto citizenship, Indian-*mestizo* descent youths need to prove their legal citizenship with formal education. Representatives of the left, who by their appearance would have been close to DI or Def-I identity individuals, were commonly university graduates and thus had undergone a re-definition of social identity.<sup>8</sup> Up to that point, the left was part of the Western culture apparatus and stood on an educationally constructed cultural distance that separated Andean descent youth left cadres from Indian identity pobladores. Indeed, in the continuum of social identity here discussed, leftist militants would generally belong to the Non-Indian 'Peruvian' identity group.

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<sup>8</sup> At the end of the 1980's decade, the options of social identity in university students opened up to Andean or native self-definition, not only Anti-Indian, conservative or progressive.

Second, the left literally phrases its political discourse in a language alien to DI and Def-I groups, in Spanish. In addition it does not use the traditional terminology with which, with some effort, they could have been familiarized. For them, a class-framed thought and worldview implies an initiation into a whole new set of categories. For instance, they discover what proletarians are, and in some cases, they find they may be ones themselves. The left further implies a new look to Peru and to the world as it is today, which means an opening to understanding its dynamics and their position in it. In their elementary transactions, to avoid being stepped upon by the state or market economy, Indian identity individuals realize that in their traditional agricultural activities they count only as a socioeconomic category: peasants. To assist in their defense, leftist parties often mediate in the acquisition of that terminology or worldview. In the past the term 'Indians' was a legal euphemism that marked their relation to the state, even when not used informally for individual and collective self-reference. It preserved the essence of their condition as an oppressed people-nation. The dominant system imposed both terms - peasants and Indians - with different connotations, and they have shuffled them as fit in their relation to state and official society. In any case, the left subscribed more to peasants. Up to what point and in what capacity/quality Indian identity individuals will use 'Indians' as self-reference will depend on future political conditions of interpretation.

Leaving aside the difficulties of assimilating in a short time and for various reasons, a whole new worldview that the left represents, there are historical facts that contribute to Indian identity individuals' political response. (Symptomatically and not surprisingly, though also superficially, this occurred in the Fractured and Blurry identity

groups). For instance, there has not been in recent Peruvian history a single political leader of the left with the public stature of Haya De la Torre, the founder of APRA, with an Indian mass following, for concrete political actions. Only General Velazco Alvarado would have come close to filling this gap on the left, without being a Marxist or without the political sophistication of Haya, during the so-called Military Revolution of 1968. José Carlos Mariátegui, mentioned in the introduction, the lucid Marxist founder of Peru's socialist party, where most of today's parties of the left derive, addressed an urban, Spanish-speaking working class, in his times even smaller than today. Although referring to the Inkas' socialist organization with admiration, and he expressed solidarity with Indians, Mariátegui circumscribed and re-vindicated only land property rights, i.e., politically he did not address Indian nationhood. As a non-Indian himself, although respectful, he placed their culture (and national identity), second to economic demands.

Perhaps not guiding themselves by Mariátegui's main purpose, later the left's ideologists and parties circumscribed themselves to the textual boundaries of his work. They did not serve Andean Indians more than in partial economic conquests, such as a limited agrarian reform in Valle de la Concepción (Cusco, early 1960's), or others of minimal and transitory, albeit useful legal benefits. The main problem in the left's politicians and discourse is the stand from which they launch revolutionary ideology, that is, the social identity, value enclave and worldview from which they steer social transformation. This, which will be clear in the next section and final discussion, is the barrier for Indian identity residents. Up to now, the condition for any dialogue or

participation in the left, with a handful of exceptions, is that Andean individuals acquire characteristics and reference terms of left, rather than the other way around.

Finally, in third place, the language of actions gives the left's leaders some advantage over traditional politicians. There is less evidence of abuse of power, use of public resources for their own benefit, of *viveza* and ethical mishandlings in their case than there is in traditional politicians. In the socio-moral evaluation (two inseparable areas for them) that Indian identity residents make of the political left, this is a point in their favor. Honesty is for them inseparable from work. Through it they assess the behavior of the left, as both individuals and as a group, and they find a serious limitation. Even when individuals in the left could work hard, their defense against economic exploitation in unions and nationally coordinated actions is to strike, to paralyze labor to defend workers' rights, to stop working! Abused and devalued, work slow downs as a means of political struggle have turned into a blanket characterization of leftist activism.

For individuals programmed from infancy to view work as intrinsic to human existence, the left's strategy to stop working as a form of economic protest goes (for Indian people) against all natural logic. At best, the lesson appears to be: work when they pay you; stop working when they don't. (At its worst, it is better to live without working). In other words, in the language of actions, the left, reacting to a long history of work exploitation, proposes to 'extrinsicate' work motivation: measure work according to pay or salary. This disrupts the Andean Indian socio-psychological articulation, where work stands as core of life ethics. Indeed, for them, deep down, the political left and right are no different in underlying values: for both, work is a negative condition in human life; the

ideal is not to work. Although for the left work's redemption in theory will come in a future utopia, a classless society.<sup>9</sup>

For Andean identity groups, work is neither punishment, nor instrument, nor justification for human life; it is a necessary normative reality. It is presently maintained as culture heritage of a society organized so that any of work's alleged 'inherent' negative or frustrating conditions were offset *vis-à-vis* its positive effects/consequences in human life. Most important, its imputed negative characteristics were interpreted differently. One lives because one works; one works because one lives. The historical and anthropological information through which Andean communities make a celebration out of work, begin or finish symbolically with it, is coherent with observed behavior patterns in the two full Indian social identity groups in the *Pueblo Joven*.

Those who work in formal labor settings in these two groups are few, and for this reason, to go on a strike is not an option. Their acquisition of the value of money in relation to work, the process of internalizing the value of money in relation to their own efforts, to their life, comes slowly, gradually. Generally during times of labor stoppage, they involve themselves in multiple other activities, paid or not, important for the family economy, which does not correspond to Western 'domestic economy.' In a way similar to informal market economy, Andean family economy resurrects in its real sense of independence from the sphere of public official work. It does so, however, as an individual, atomized and desegregated answer from a socio-cultural system unable to bring back in the process its collective, community-based inherent meaning.

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<sup>9</sup> This is not however Marx's position, whose philosophy is based, instead, in the intrinsic value of work-

The majority of workers in Indian identity groups, as well as in the rest of the *Pueblo Joven*, are independent workers with varying patronage relations. They do not enjoy social benefits such as vacations, retirement, social security, and housing funds. If they don't work, they don't eat, and they like to work. For them, non-work is not only a moral-social scandal, it is lack of common sense. Leaving aside the content of the leftist leaders' political discourse, always partial and incomplete (besides alien in relation to Indian peoples' total condition), to them these leaders simply appear to promote laziness. In their socio-moral call to reject laziness, Indians can conditionally embrace rightist political lines. Nonetheless, other precept considerations (honesty, in words and deeds, and reciprocity in a hierarchy of virtue and experience, thus compassion and protection of the weak), seriously limit their commitment to the right.

#### **ON 'POLITICS AS USUAL': IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN FRACTURED, BLURRY AND NON-INDIAN IDENTITY INDIVIDUALS**

The political behavior of Indian identity groups can only be appraised in contrast to the groups that are in the process of abandoning Indian values and those who definitely adhere to non-Indian values and worldview. When asked to obtain information about the residents' political activities, our first impression was that there was very little. We learned that only one resident, a mining worker, i.e., a 'proletarian,' whose family stood in the Fractured or conflictive Indian identity (third) group, had been an active APRA (social democrat) follower a few years back. He had several children, one of whom was a university student who overtly expressed affinity with FER (*Frente Estudiantil*

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activity, even for the transformation of human beings into the *homo sapiens* species they are.

*Revolucionario*), a university leftist group. Children of Indian identity residents who were also university students, when asked about politics, manifested discreet empathy with leftist positions, but were far from being activists. Their professional work/studies took most of their time and interest.

When reviewing field information, I found more evidence of desire to discuss politics, even vehemently, in the BI and Non-I 'Peruvian' identity groups. However, this was never salient among residents of *M.M.* as a whole. Individuals in the BI group could manifest outright affiliations, although they were evidently superficial and context dependent (*coyunturales*). Political parties could serve as reference group in few cases since their social self-definition was particularly precarious in this group.

The political discourse of one resident from this group on the surrounding socio-political situation was revealing of a process of value assimilation that later results - in the N-I identity group - in a clear portrait of politics in the system. This man spoke with pride about his successful feats when young, as a result of his "*viveza criolla*," which means, in essence, how to obtain goods with the littlest effort possible. He pointed out that to achieve a good position in life one needed good connections ("*la vara*," in Peru means favoritism and protection from powerful people). However, he said he preferred not to get any gifts, that it was much better to obtain things "by one's own efforts," as Cassius Clay, the boxer, did. "He who knows how to fight triumphs in life," he said. Aware of the abuses by rich people that he himself had witnessed, he said the only way to protect people from those more powerful was by joining other workers and unionizing. Nevertheless, he immediately added, this was objectively difficult, almost impossible -

factory owners were always firing activists and most workers didn't have regular jobs anyway, so they lacked conditions to organize. So, even when theoretically to unite is to have strength, since this is unrealistic, the best thing is to save oneself. The sensible norm to adopt then is to take care of oneself without minding others, even when that may produce some guilt or uncomfortable feelings for breaking moral norms (to mind your neighbor) or the like. The latter, too, in what one could see, can only exist as ideals to which one aspires, but without having a true holding in real life.

As indicated earlier, the BI group begins to present a process of deformation in social perception. For instance, by experience one female resident recognized that the best leader the *Pueblo Joven* had ever had was Mr. L., a prototype Indian identity resident, who had minimal, if any, formal education. In her words, Mr. L. courageously defended the *Pueblo Joven* from its powerful neighbors committed to eradicate it from the area. He organized the residents in community work teams to provide urgent services by taking turns. However, when asked her opinion about the kind of leaders the *Pueblo Joven* needed, she was emphatic: educated, cultured ('*cultos*') leaders, who spoke well (in good Spanish, obviously), to represent the *Pueblo Joven* adequately before external instances. If she had added details to the description, surely the ideal leader would have worn a suit (dressed formally), and if he was not, he had to at least appear White. What is clear is that, in this group, the residents' assimilation of dominant values is such that their assessment of reality is already stamped by the dominant ideology; the real experiences they may have had become dispensable. Apparently, a fortunate combination would be a leader with the characteristics of the dominant groups, talking on behalf of the

‘poor,’ defending their frequently stepped-upon interests by the rich. The abuses that they cannot deny they perceive, it gives the impression they would prefer to. Likewise, a perceptual deformation operates in relation to neighbors with less disturbed indigenous characteristics who tend to have a fast rise economically, soon owning solid homes and other goods. In the perception of N-I identity residents, their ‘Indian’ neighbors still don’t know how to live well; they are untidy and packed up in a single room, because they are ‘ignorant Indians.’

The tendencies tentatively manifest in the BI group become concrete features in the ‘Peruvian’ identity group, in criteria to make sense out of reality and to articulate a political presence in it. Learned in school, the conceptual elements for both come exclusively from official and informal dominant media. The ‘Peruvian’ identity individuals express their political position coherently, although more cautiously than do BI individuals, where this comes out precipitately. As earlier said, some individuals in the upward mobile subgroup participated in left leaning unions, though with responsibilities confined to organization level which had modest, concrete achievements. These, and the real gains in economic stability, allow individuals of this social identity group to gain confidence in their ability to deal with official instances and apply pressure. However, these are far from collective struggles to control political and economic power. Their achievements are miniscule in relation to a comprehensive view of political power. The extrapolation to make from their petty conquests in labor rights to drastic political change would sound too daring if they voiced them, which also occurs exceptionally here. It is in this group where way of life, as lived values, solidly supports the system,

aside from verbal expressions. For this reason, the majority of N-I 'Peruvian' identity residents are explicitly conservative and/or a-political.

Prescriptions for success in this group indicate that one must succeed individually, seeing with pessimism the possibility of common action outside family boundaries. Pessimism extends, as noted earlier, to Peru as a nation, with arguments derived from all directions. They complain about the powerful because they are unjust and arbitrary, though they possibly also envy them in secret and aspire to have their privileges. They complain a little less of the middle class, equated to bureaucracy and inefficiency. However, being almost part of that sector (this is, after all, the most established group in the *Pueblo Joven*, corresponding perhaps to a upper lower class?), as aspiring middle class, their frequent concern is acquisition of goods and consumption. And, of course, they complain about 'Indians,' the main reason for Peru's backwardness and dependency. Peru will progress when Indians stop being so, through education; when they convert to the official '*Peruanidad*' they themselves represent (?).

In all, N-I identity residents' fundamental pessimism about the country, and their projection of dreamt paradise to everything foreign, is solid. In their words their vital motto might sound like this: 'I am not, myself, going to do anything to change things. I say I don't like them, but indeed I am well installed in them. I accept them without looking at the consequences because I am afraid I may find myself partially responsible for them. The only way out of the vicious circle is to escape to a different reality, maybe a foreign country, when given the chance or urgency to do so!

## **Chapter VII: The social tectonics of power –**

### **Gender and social identity**

The second aspect of this discussion relates specifically to gender, to how women and men's power reconstitutes along the social identity continuum. To discuss what I call the social tectonics of society, the first step is a critical scrutiny of the concept of 'politics.' In a conventional sense, the word evokes matters of government, parties, elected officials, decisions and macro changes needed in a country, or perhaps in city or community government, at a more micro level. Politics is the *par excellence* expression of the 'public.' The public sphere in patriarchal societies, from which we propose this reflection, is a monopoly of men, with recent small or token participation of women.

What we described earlier, when matching the culturally-loaded concept of politics and the social identity continuum was really a calibration of a gender-charged concept, a stronghold of masculine power in Western capitalism, with the simultaneous expression of two cultural worlds in the social identity of *M.M.* residents. When we discussed political ideology and participation in social identity groups, we really examined two worlds interacting in an arena provided by only one of them, the dominant world, in which, the N-I 'Peruvian' identity pole corresponds, is a part of, resonates and abides by its assumptions. We only established the misfits and discordances of the Indian identity groups with the dominant system and pointed out the flaky nature of political action/thought of the non-Indian identity groups. However, to broaden the scope of the discussion to a neutral arena, non-culturally charged field, we need to talk about politics

as a concept that simply refers to the area of universal collective action on behalf of the interests of everyone, in a community, a region, a country, the world. This is especially important when the definition of “all” in one of the social identity poles would never assume the absence of half of its members – women - as natural, when without their presence as decision makers and effective doers of programs and actions for collective well-being, the mobilization of social power, ‘politics,’ lacks sense.

Regarding that essential meaning of politics, the discussion earlier missed two crucial readings of social power represented by the groups themselves: the fact that the groups differ on this very essential point: 1- universal participation on matters of everyone’s concerns, and 2- the fact that the five social identity groups in *M.M.* are not just five groups living next to each other, unchanged, but express themselves a political continuum of power - the weight of dominant system transforms one into the next. The resolution for that twofold expression of power, the ongoing application of both diffuse and direct power on them, forces them to turn and transform patterns and quality of social relations of one into the other, targeting gender relations as the most substantive area. It is substantive because anything that cancels half the size of the population from counting, to become an assumed and ‘represented’ sector; secondary in opinion and action, depriving it of direct say or expression, indeed re-defines power in the collective. As we will see next, it does so by both numbers, and by the quality of its participation.

The first fact in the relation of gender and the sequence of social identity is that women and men’s response to politics in the Indian identity groups is uniform and homogeneous. Men and women are not different in interest, involvement, participation

in activities that relate to everyone's benefit. Equally committed in everything that affects them daily, the Andean culture institutions of *ayni*, *minka*, *mita* guaranty a universal recruitment of all for collaboration. Although at the beginning of the spectrum, Indian identity individuals, both, women and men, feel equally distant from the dominant 'politics,' an arena where for all purposes only men count, still Indian women show lively and, most important, equivalent interest to men. In contrast, in the last social identity group the husband, father, brother, son, any male family member, represent women's opinions and voice perceptions of dominant politics. An appearance of 'propriety' and 'decency,' justifies the alleged women's protection as precious possessions (their 'representation'), which ends up disengaging them from 'public' issues and full human agency. Their supposed protection discourages them from even learning or understanding matters that later fall entirely on men's hands. The process of banning women from thinking about and engaging and acting on issues of common concern occurs through multiple channels. The experience of families in *M.M.* will show them as they take place in the social identity continuum. Their transition can illuminate changes brought about historically, in the Andes and elsewhere, where women may have equally started on the same platform as men, but lost their place over time.

In the Defined (D) and Defensive Indian (Def-I) Identity groups, formal work is the first form of disruption of the native gender system. Offsetting the basic complementarity and equivalence of power of women and men as providers and decision-makers, it does so by privileging men. Originally women can cancel out this disequilibrium by having their independent source of income, a small business, a part

time job, etc. Perhaps it is good that formal work occupies only a minority of residents and that informal independent work counterbalances its concomitant bad effects on family dynamics. It is also good because the whole family can get involved in economics, preserving for some time the native gender relations. A number of scenarios and cases show the complex picture of a gender system/socio-cultural world facing a dominant one, discriminatory against women, in more detail.

First, the father works in a factory or in an institution, and, since salaries are meager, the woman does service work or owns a little business. The family contributes to all of the non-formal work. Both incomes cover the basic needs of the family. The man respects and supports the wife and she has a say in the decisions of the family and what happens in the community. She owns her own opinions about what happens in the country and in public life.

Second, both spouses work independently; they could have two independent business, or one in which the whole family works. This arrangement is possibly the most fruitful for ethnic independence.

Third, one of the spouses is absent, due to work or premature death. If it is the father, the woman heads the household; temporarily or permanently she has the hardest time. If, in contrast, the wife dies, as we saw in an earlier example, even though the family survives, it does so at the cost of a woman's larger input. This is not a result of Andean culture dynamics or male demand; a man could readily assume feminine activities if needed, but rather the result of the constrictions by the dominant world outside, which is distinctly biased against women. As in the example earlier, women

assume most of the household socio-reproductive activities at the cost of their own development and independence in the money-compensated work outside, and other options for education and even social life.

Women always had the hardest time, even if the privilege of formal work falls on them. The case of an adult woman, I., who was able to get a factory job because she had attended up to high school -- through the efforts of her widowed mother -- illustrate this. As she struggled to be the main support of her mother and younger brother, labor conditions and low compensation for women at her factory were so depleting that she scarcely had any energy left after work. She and others tried to organize in defense of their rights but the retaliation was so ferocious that the tension to keep it, plus the exploitative nature of work, left her scarcely any time or space to relax and enjoy life. In addition, her devotion to her mother and obligation towards her younger brother, for whom she was the provider, prevented her from making herself available for personal relationships that might lead to her forming her own family. The Andean culture grace, resourcefulness, ingenuity and joviality of her widowed mother amounted to little in the dominant world where women did not count, that made things so much harder for women- headed households. In turn, the young man, in the hands of two socially-battered women, seemed to feel more vulnerable with than without them.

One symptomatic aspect shows how anti-women the system is: illnesses, both, physical and mental, afflict women, reducing or maiming them for life. Two cases of schizophrenia, and two serious cases of physical paralysis out of five cases of serious illness (4 out of 5) observed in the period of fieldwork, affected women. In all of them,

the reason appeared to be deficient, careless, or discriminatory and prejudicial conventional medical attention to 'Indians.' Equally in the Indian identity groups, solidly socialized girls who could assume all kinds of work were forced into low-level positions, where their capacity and talent put them at a clear disadvantage to their brothers.

The case of two sisters, whom I placed in the 'Fractured' Indian (FI) identity group, can illustrate the removal of women from agency and control of community or public affairs and decision-making at home. One of them, the oldest, married a man who took a job far away, in a mine, which left her alone to deal with the everyday management of household and family. Even though the man supported the family, he was not present. It is not clear if at the end a temporary separation resulted in a permanent one when he chose another partner in the place where he worked. *Doña H.* was a fully Andean identity individual who counted on the love of her several children, neighbors and community. For all effects of public representation she faced a discriminatory patriarchy as she struggled against the non-Andean influence on her children, with only the possible indirect support of neighbors and relatives. Her younger sister married an Andean identity fellow who became successful as a technician in the treatment of fine horses on Lima's race track. He found himself able to provide for his family with income that could have easily placed him in a middle class area, had he shared its language, culture and racial characteristics. His wife, an attractive, friendly and engaging woman hardly knew what to do with her time. Having plenty of income placed her in a position of just being a housewife. She tried artisanship; she participated in community meetings, but paradoxically her income had made her inanely dependent. His

Andean values and ideas could not counteract the results of media exposure and consumption, which later resulted in her inability to guide her children to the success that income and Andean ethics could have provided.

Indeed, the turning point in the gender and family change came about in the fourth group, the Blurry (BI) Indian identity group. Its trademark was the destruction of the family and its norm disheveled incomplete households, most frequently made of up of orphans who had been robbed of early socialization in their native Andean background. They were ill equipped to face an exploitative and discriminatory world against Indians and women. Single mother homes prevail in this group, and the women struggle heroically alone to support, feed, and educate the children. Sometimes the children perceive and assume the mother's sacrifice and can mature and take on responsibilities and succeed. Moreover, through the connection and support of sensible neighbors and surrounded by an ethnically rich community, somehow the children absorb the significance of activities and make the best use of community parenting. This group fashions, for the first time, the appearance of super-women: mothers who overcome all sorts of misfortunes, tragic events, husband's abandonment, and through sacrifices and boundless resourcefulness come out triumphant, supporting two or three generations of offspring. These Maverick-mothers are able through their own sacrifice and utmost virtue to keep their families going, which makes the community treasure them and their gained wisdom, as do their offspring. However, by devoting all of their energy to survival in generally informal and multifaceted work, taking care of their families -- absorbed by survival work and socio-reproductive concerns -- these mothers become founding

elements of a patriarchal ideology that reveres motherliness to the exclusion of everything else. They have little time to become aware and involved in any public concern and end up delegating their public concerns to their male children or grandchildren.

The dominant society has family units but redefined in gender role. Women are pushed into a heroic role and recognized only in an exclusively motherly role, devoid of worldly experience, facility and interest to intervene in public affairs. Her male children would soon do that for their sake, “representing” them as well as their sisters and other female ‘dependents.’ At best, female offspring in this group identify with maternal activities and virtues, their earmark being abnegation and sacrifice. So, even though the women are crucial for family survival, this is considered an exclusive private matter that only deserves token public recognition in “Mother’s Day.”

In the fifth group, this model of the feminine rises to cult-like heights, right when women’s options, due to assimilation to the dominant culture (language use, schooling), are limited to formal work or full time housework. The work place delineates women’s work according to patriarchal specifications: women’s feminine tasks, with women’s characteristics of protest (unionization). They have to be milder and more docile than male workers. For them, community/public concerns become totally dispensable in their interest, as taking care of family and home becomes their main/exclusive concern. They have no say and do not worry about public affairs. Such is left for their husbands or perhaps to their uneducated Indian women neighbors. It is for them a class privilege that they have only their domestic interests to mind.

The transition in all of this occurs so naturally, so ‘unconsciously’ for everyone concerned, and yet its results are monumental in social dynamics. The tectonics of social relations has changed. Fifty percent of the population has been removed from public participation in community affairs. Once achieved, the change is ingrained in the new generations as justification via socialization, maiming the full human development of girls and deforming young boys. The costs for society are not only the personal negating of an individual woman’s input on issues that affect everyone’s life, but also their effect on the dynamics of “public” social relations. Instead of force, logic or power derived from material considerations, the style of women would favor conciliatory avenues for negotiation of conflict and the rewards obtained by the satisfaction of needs (gift). In a world that closes the door to women, these traits tend to disappear in the dynamics of public exchange/engagement as well as family considerations, in which women are experts. Dealings become unrealistically impersonal and detached and then this mode becomes normalized and enforced. Since attraction for women by men still exists, their approach would be to bring them for company and pleasure, not especially as dialoguers and co-participants. The women’s objectification results from men’s needs of men comes afore, not the consideration of women’s needs in the public arena, which centers first on their children’s protection, and second on the company of men. At the end, it is the single-minded attraction for partners by men, not necessarily the benefit of children and family – paramount for women - that comes to the fore of public arena. The resentment of women’s power by men, of women’s logic (gift and need satisfaction rather than exchange) puts men at war against women: a perverse relationship that ends

up in the explosive and highly symbolic combination of sex and physical destruction. Women are equated with weaknees, with children, and in its most aberrant expression, patriarchy today targets them all in a mixed package of sex and violent aggression.

Of all of the means to arrive, in the fifth identity group, to the elimination of women out of the public sphere, the most drastic measure is the physical destruction of the family. It takes the forced separation of children from their parents' care; it takes the destruction of men – by separation, death, utmost exploitation – so that women are left alone to support her children under the worst conditions of destitution, to destroy the power of women. If women survive, if the children make it, the lesson learned is that the presence of men is only allowed in the family on condition that women remain subordinate and submissive to men. If women make it on their own, they know they have no rights. Their only compensation is to save their children, even physically. For women, it is good enough; it is plenty until conditions change. And then later, of course, the systems preserve the lesson for young women (and men) about their roles, their value in life. Little girls learn from early on that they are less than, they should expect more difficulties, more scarce and meager rewards, be more burdened with work/responsibilities that need not be compensated. Their privilege is to monopolize virtue (women are saints), for that's a woman's role in life. How far is this from women and men being able and competent to do things in equivalent and complementary ways!

## Chapter VIII: Discussion

Described in too much detail for a theoretical article, and too lean and unsubstantiated for an empirical research, I have combined findings and theoretical insights to formulate proposals on Andean Indian identity on the basis of my research in *Pueblo Joven M.M.* There is abundant and dispersed anthropological information that could corroborate the observations here. However, a detailed, critical review of existing literature requires more time, so this social identity proposal, its extension to the 'national' identity discussion, and its most pertinent (and transcendent) gender implications, are hypotheses to explore empirically and theoretically. If confirmed, their psychosocial and political implications would be considerable.

The discussion that follows consists of three parts: The first summarizes the results of the study and discusses its psychosocial and socio-structural implications. The second examines the national identity proposals of the introduction in light of these results. The third part discusses gender, which -- more than solely pertinent to national identity in Peru -- concerns the nature of socio-cultural systems in the global world.

**The social identity continuum in a glimpse.** The present report underlines a social perception continuum in *M.M.* residents, from those who see themselves as separate and distant from Peru's dominant groups, to those who identify with them physically and symbolically. The continuum extends from clear-cut ethnic differences remarked first in oneself (Defined Indian identity), as the subject stands outside an inaccessible world, separated from it, to a second moment when he/she underlines ethnic-racial differences in the 'other' (Defensive Indian identity). In third and fourth moments, social class markers of difference, the money one possesses or not, come to the fore, first

in the 'other' ('the wealthy ones, the rich' - Fractured or Conflictive Indian identity group), and then, in oneself ('we, the poor,' Blurry Indian identity). In the process of summoning class traits, first in the others and later in themselves, FI and BI groups simultaneously accommodate and adjust to dominant *criollo-mestizo* society demands.

The emphasis placed in being 'poor' in Peruvian subordinated groups, and particularly in BI individuals, results from a combination of Andean culture peculiar connotations of the term (*pobrecito* –small, in need of protection) and Catholic feudal ethos. Although, among others, it is a negative condition, in neither culture/worldview being poor is solely one's own responsibility, as under a capitalist belief system. In the fifth group, at the end of the social identity sequence, the most salient difference, most remarked distance, is no longer with the dominant group. Re-taking ethnic criteria of difference, these residents use it to refer to their Andean culture neighbors, 'the Indians.'

It is socio-psychologically significant that each of the observed stages in the perception sequence forms part of a totality of organized behavior. This 'whole,' is social identity, which gives direction to individual psychological traits and becomes, in the end, a better predictor of behavior than do separate or interacting explanatory variables. So the perception of 'the other' and of 'oneself' as members of distinct social groups relates directly to social identity. This, in turn, expresses the particular dynamics of social groups in Peruvian society. Social identity represents a totality of organized behavior that links the social system, through group membership, to individual behavior and psychological dispositions.

The social identity stages described here (along with the proposed social identity concept), needs testing/corroboratorion in other research in urban and rural settings in Peru and other Andean countries. Despite apparent culture differences, geographical locations

and levels of exposure to dominant Western capitalist-stamped culture, native peoples could share (as they did in *M.M.*) the same value matrix and worldview -- a reason for which comparative research is imperative. One important implication of the sequence is that it reflects a transformation in time. It is quite likely that the process took place in the past in predominantly 'mestizo' countries of Latin America (e.g., Mexico, Venezuela, and Chile), where the problem of identity is also discussed.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the results outlined here could generate hypotheses to test, with adjustments to different latitudes and over time, i.e., after European occupation. From the perspective of work in Peru, it is, above all, pertinent how such transformation takes place in countries with a pronounced or majority Indian presence, like Guatemala and Bolivia.

**The national identity discussion in light of the social identity continuum.**

This chapter opened with the question of national identity in Peru, a debate in which the social identity concept here proposed can add clarity. National identity can be considered an extension of social identity applied to a larger collective. The defining traits of 'national identity' would be a common origin, a shared history and worldview, and a base-territory of reference their consequence, as well as the ability to act autonomously on one's own behalf, i.e., political self-determination. However, while worldview -- the social representation of reality a group possesses, its interpretation of its own character and history, i.e., beliefs, values and norms, shared to face daily living -- is essential to national identity, the derived elements -- territory and self determination-- are relatively dispensable, at least temporarily. It can be said that the quality, clarity and originality of worldview elements determine national identity.

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<sup>10</sup> Maritza Montero's concern in her research about 'national identity' in Venezuela (1985), for instance, was the over-valuation of things foreign, and the low-esteem of things national. In contrast this problem does not occur in Cuba, (see Carolina de la Torre, 1985), which shows how politics can influence the construction of these feelings. The problem of Venezuela, at that time, could be easily identified as symptomatic of the fifth social identity group in this sequence.

In our sequence, the DI identity (first) and the ‘N-I ‘Peruvian’ social identity groups (fifth) would come close to fitting national identity conditions. Under the present political conditions, the N-I ‘Peruvian’ identity group expresses this possibility. With minor adjustments, its worldview corresponds to the (capitalist-dependent) West, its consciousness of territorial rights corresponds to Peru’s official limits as a Republic. In theory, it would also trust it can affect the direction of Peru’s political scene. In contrast, the Indian Identity individuals’ worldview – (here only deduced from their behavior, not directly assessed) expresses distinct historical origins, is consistent and cohesive in its elements, e.g., work value and work behavior, solidarity and respect in family and community, etc. However, place of origin (home community) and *Pueblo Joven* are their direct territorial reference and object of ‘political’ self-determination.<sup>11</sup>

The collective experience within a given territory can provide groups an historical and symbolic reference: a sense of belonging, identification or ‘ownership’ of natural landmarks and resources. In Western culture and modern nation states, identification and belonging within a given territory is secondary to possession and ownership, founded on the notion of private property. In contrast, for Indian identity residents of *M.M.* (first two groups) their communities’ physical set-up (territory-landscape-resources) are not so much owned but the ‘owners’ of residents, from which they receive meaning and goods (they belong and depend from them). They attribute other individuals the same relation with their communities, assuming their being ‘owned’ by their own landmark territories, which gives to them only a possibility of alliances and exchange. So, the underlying feeling of ‘national identity’ in one case does not imply connection with community, but does so in the other. Lacking community membership, Non-Indian identity residents

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<sup>11</sup> Indeed we face a pre-capitalist notion of use of territory and sense of community and self-determination, which contrast with the constructed ‘modern’ notion of ‘national’ state that the other group has.

relate to a supra-organization – the nation-state- as individuals, while Indian Identity residents would relate to the world outside their community according to their own experience as ‘other’ communities, i.e., assuming groups with close interpersonal connections, bonding and responsibilities. As known, a specific territorial setting is not required to many ‘national’ groups for various reasons, to act as conscious collectives, e.g., Roma “gypsies”, or other groups historically without territory, whose motivation to recover it not only persists but constitutes legitimization effort to nation-state claims.

On the other hand, conventional Western forms of self-determination, such as those manifested in voting, are so culturally loaded as to be un-interpretable in other culture contexts. Moreover, from a Western-capitalist perspective, human groups can live, more or less transitorily, with a limited consciousness of political self-determination. In *M.M.*’s case, consciousness of political self-determination in the N-I identity group was limited and legitimated by electoral exercise but scarcely went any further. What is clear is that in the Indian identity groups it did not even get to the electoral exercise. In sum, we are talking here of a social class condition of little felt effectiveness regarding political self-determination in both poles, that all of the *Pueblo Joven*. In the Indian identity groups the objective historical oppression of native peoples sufficiently explains such absence of ‘territorial criteria,’ in a Western way, and, more clearly, its expression in ‘modern’ conventional acts of political self-determination. For native peoples its forms are, not only culturally alien but often objectively implausible, due to literacy requirements, distance to travel to vote, and unfamiliarity with voting gadgets.

Thus, we face two opposing social identity groups, one the Indian identity with coherent internal and external conceptual elements to characterize the world (worldview and derived behavior norms), and the other the N-I ‘Peruvian’ social identity group, with

inconsistent quality in both -- this on the basis of observed fit between values and norms, the presence or absence of positive feelings towards their own group, and lack of optimism about the possibility of 'national' construction. Indian identity individuals possess the core elements of national identity but are unable to express an explicitly mature and elaborate territorial identity and political self-determination in a macro sense for three reasons: 1- their social oppression; 2- their profound and substantive differences in worldview regarding territory (*Pacha Mama*-- to community members a collective with equal participation in decisions pertaining to their own lives), and 3- their relation to other peoples, who for them, should be communities, rather than isolated individuals organized in a macro non-community, impersonal entity-state. For them, the state has neither a close relation to *Pacha Mama*, nor is it a composite of *Ayllus* (communities).

Maybe one or two generations ago some N-I 'Peruvian' identity groups were ethnically similar to Indian identity ones. However, prolonged processes of culture denial, forced them to re-frame their identity as the essentially anti-Indian one that stands for the country's official national identity, despite its precarious/inconsistent underlying value system and worldview. In the success outcome, when Andean individuals can progress for their work and social ethics, the processes are indirect and invisible; in the failure alternative the process is plagued with suffering and exploitation. In the end, both stamp a self-rejection/hate imprint on the result. For this reason, the non-Indian identity groups are obviously emotionally ambivalent as a social group and pessimistic about the possibility of any consensus on national goals with practically any group in Peruvian society. Paradoxically, even when ambiguous and vulnerable, the 'Peruvian' identity group manifests an explicit notion of territoriality and self-determination, the two other elements pointed out for national identity. It is defined in contrast to an invented 'alien'

or 'enemy' outside its geo-political borders, but possibly more meaningfully addresses a latent enemy inside its own territory, Indian culture holders. As a result, N-I 'Peruvian' identity residents' loyalty and territorial consciousness without a vigorous sense of self-determination, based on a precarious value system, sounds more like an empty, high pitched formula, as if compensating for the things it substantially lacks.

The intermediate social identity groups are transitional, with different degrees of abandonment of native culture patterns, or alternatively, different degrees of assimilation to dominant culture. This can be seen in the enormous individual and social behavior variability in these groups. As we saw, the fourth and fifth groups could also represent alternative processes to achieve non-Indian social identity. Thus, more than a lineal sequence, these alternatives may be socio-psychological ways of integration into the dominant system. More than differences in essence, the fourth and fifth social identity groups may be different class forms of attaining Peruvian social identity, which beyond being merely non-Andean is actually anti-Indian, as we will see next.

There are two alternatives to the 'national Peruvian' identity configuration on the basis of Andean culture loss which have precursors in earlier stages of Indian identity evolution. One is in the Def-I identity, headed towards a successful insertion in the system on the basis of work motivation, limited consumption and material ostentation. Family-community cohesion, that characterizes Indian identity groups, breaks up in the process -- as in the Fractured-Conflictive Andean Identity Group (third group) -- and comes to constitute, in the 'Peruvian' identity group, the upward mobility subgroup. In this, work ethics remain strong and solidarity circumscribes mutual help within the family circle, which is not nuclear, including the reproductive couple's parents, siblings and nieces and nephews. Still, the broader family circle does not develop into an organic

immediate 'ethnic' community. The other alternative, anticipated in the B-I group, represents the path of the least fortunate sectors whose close family nucleus is mostly destroyed. In it, meaningful links with relatives, community members, etc., who could provide emotional support, sense of belonging and symbolic transcendence to individual life, have been lost. This group would constitute, in the 'Peruvian' identity group, the families with downward or at least stationary mobility, where it is possible to see Oscar Lewis' 'culture of poverty' traits. Condemned to reproduce endlessly the dominant system's set expectations for them, this subgroup assumes them as the only way to make sense out of their own existence.

But the most crucial implication of these social identity alternatives in the system is that both - success or failure - imply abandonment of essential Andean culture values. The dominant system decrees a death sentence for Andean culture to keep itself as a referential axis for its constitutive members' social identity (even when Andean Indian culture has nominally stopped being so for centuries.) The dominant system does not leave Indian individuals or collectives a chance to preserve their social self-definition within the bounds or molds of Andean culture, of their own historical aboriginal source.

Years ago, while teaching Social Psychology at the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima, we discussed the psychosocial implications of oppression and alienation on dominated groups. Up to the 1950's the native Indian population in the country lived under conditions of oppression based on separate legal statutes, which although producing various forms of accommodation to dominant groups' demands, it did not lead to the destruction of ethnicity. Psychologically, it meant preserving fundamentals of their inner dispositions and structures, and life strategies, i.e., a psychological economy traceable to the historical past of native cultures. However, with accelerated rate of

migration to cities in the last three decades exposure to formal and informal influence from N-I dominant groups has intensified. Pervasive mass media, even in remote places, and evermore frequent state and private ‘modernizing’ institutions, affect Indian people all over. It is likely that a massive assimilation of Indian groups to Western ways will take place in the near future, in similar modalities to those contemplated here.

The new forms of domination will be thorough and intimate, the invasion of subjectivity its ultimate goal. As dominated people, it means giving up the native value axis around which Indian identity people still revolve, to incorporate that of dominant groups. The culture of poverty, used frivolously in practice to characterize all Latin American ‘popular culture’ represents now only the tip of the iceberg in Indian peoples’ condition of domination. Placed at the non-Indian (non-ethnic) identity pole, the culture of poverty means lack of recognition of historical roots, individually and socially, and loss of control over the existence of one’s own social group, that especially results from long forgotten and over-looked cultural usurpation. The psychosocial mechanisms of domination pointed out here could clarify the present dilemmas that Indian people live in Peru and in the rest of Latin America. To understand the far-reaching social and political tendencies expressed in the flesh of individual and collectives requires not merely a theory of social classes in conflict, but of socio-cultural systems, whose logic of conflict unfolds historically.

In the introduction, I presented three proposals regarding national identity in Peru. The observations discussed here do not support the first position which denies the existence of a vigorous and on-going Indian culture in Peru that influences individuals’ behavior, in both the rural and in the urban centers to which it has been transposed. Neither do they support the second position, of a national *mestizo* identity, which in the

observed groups of *M.M.* would correspond to the fifth N-I 'Peruvian' identity group. While adhering (perhaps defensively) to Western Christian values, this group's observed individual and social activity consistently denies and rejects Indianness. Surrounding circumstances derived from various social institutions (thus inconsistent norms), the mass media, or the market affect and elicit in this group also variable responses, insecurity and consequently affective depression.

Despite their constant denial and rejection of 'Indianness' in the N-I identity group, which meaningfully self-refers as '*criollo*' (White and urban in Peruvian context), paradoxically still manifests some Andean-stamped cognitive styles and behavior norms. In the upward mobility faction, for example, Andean values may sustain its psychological economy by preserving characteristics, such as 'on-track' work motivation and social solidarity. Some kind of intervention (group psychotherapy?) might help them re-trace the cultural character of the few consistent, supporting norms and values, which keep the group afloat. However, unless done intentionally, the present trends in Peruvian society will not spontaneously allow this to occur. For this reason, there is no justification to call the N-I 'Peruvian' identity group '*mestizo*' mixed or hybrid. Andean culture has become alien, remote and negative for these individuals, when they face it directly, in neighbors, or indirectly in their ancestry. This does not prevent them, however, from rote-schematic and idealized lauding of the Inkas in the remote past, as flippantly as the dominant groups in Peru. They do so at a safe distance: what is Indian is accepted and valued only if geographically and psychologically remote. This is the contradiction of proposing a viability of a supposedly 'Peruvian' *mestizo* identity.

The observations provide support only to the third position on national identity, which fundamentally establishes the existence of two different worldviews and value

systems in opposition and unequal power relations. There is, in effect, a social group typified by Andean culture external traits (language, dress, costumes, geographic-cultural origin), that responds to a defined and coherent belief-value-norm system, which is qualitatively different from that of the other groups. However, the Indian identity families presently lack explicit expression and consciousness of territory and political self-determination as in conventional criteria for national identity. Their past and present domination, their concrete situation in the *Pueblo Joven*, not only account for this lack, but give them little base to consider themselves citizens with equal rights to others in Peruvian society -- unless, of course, they abandon their own conceptions of community and political action, that is, decide to quit being who they are and become something else.

The social identity sequence here represents an identity transformation process as a result of unequal power. The process of destruction and re-configuration of social identity under other molds, that *M.M.* residents of original Andean cultural origin suffer presently, point to historical changes in the past, and changes taking place right now in different geographical settings/conditions of the country and abroad. What is theoretically meaningful is to examine the pro-*mestizaje* proposal from the perspective of social identity processes seen here. To do it, it is important to understand exactly what the spokespeople of this position mean when talking of the national identity problem in Peru. Their diagnosis of Peru's national malady, 'the lack of (national) identity,' can refer to any of two things: 1) great heterogeneity of component groups that makes it impossible to arrive at any consensus over common goals, articulated nationally; 2) lack of substance in values or definition of social norms, mass 'anomie' supposedly characteristic of Peru.

If group heterogeneity were what concerned proponents of national identity problem, it would be logical they refer next to the distinct groups in Peruvian society and

the power differential that separates them. To solve the national problem one would have to mention the groups and their differences in power. Since that is hardly mentioned, we can assume the diagnosis corresponds instead to the second interpretation, i.e., the lack of a firm or stable value-ideological axis to guide individual behavior and national action. Curiously, this is the normative context associated with the nominally racial *mestizo*, the ‘acculturated’ group that corresponds here to the fourth and fifth social identity groups -- those who abandon and/or negate the native culture, and for the same reason do not even recognize its objective virtues *in lieu* of the dominant culture. Apparently, the move to accept and abide by the dominant system values and norms does not provide enough sense of security or meaning for their social existence.

To corroborate this point, it is useful to consider the ‘national problem’ from the perspective of the Indian identity groups. For them, the main problem is not identity in the sense of lacking defined values and beliefs or cohesive behavior norms that are, however, growingly exposed to further erosion with domination. The problem is that these values and worldview be manifest, that they have freedom to be expressed. To develop them to their full extent, there is a need to remove any and all restraints to their free expression, to become self-evident to Indians. For the Andean social identity groups, the main problem is not a lack of ‘national identity’ in the first sense pointed out above. It is, instead, national liberation in the proper sense of the term, with processes to be revealed, understood or promoted as political extension by social psychology, as Pablo Fernandez Christlieb contemplated in Mexico regarding similar issues (1986).

To appreciate how misplaced the proclamation of ‘lack of national identity’ is to all of Peru’s social groups, the percentages of identity groups in *M.M.*, not particularly remote to dominant sectors, is indicative. The wholesome Andean social identity groups

in this *Pueblo Joven* make no less than a third, but possibly up to two fifths of its total (two first groups). At a national level, this percentage could easily reach up to a 55 % of the population. So, in reality, groups with substantial coherence in values and worldview could easily benefit the rest of Peru with their influence, if given power, especially sectors with broken or conflictive identity. Politico-ideological processes can modify these conditions if they address historical processes and point to effective goals: they can reconstruct, repair and build up collective or group self-esteem. The short-lived Velazco Alvarado regime did so in oppressed Indian and *criollo-mestizo* middle and lower class sectors.

I conclude this section underlining the meaning of culture versus class domination in Peru as reflected in the two extreme social identity groups of the *Pueblo Joven*, the Defined Indian Identity and the Non-Indian Peruvian Identity. With comparatively smaller income and social power than other urban sectors that 'do not own of the means of production,' *M.M.* residents are part of the dominated lower socio-economic class. However, while one group stands in material and cultural-spiritual oppression, the other was made to share and accept the criteria for their own domination in exchange for some material and social benefits. Present before our eyes is material domination in the contrasting picture of either contained and unexpressed ethnic resources, or an occupation of subjectivity in exchange for limited short-term social mobility advantages. Therefore, the question is not only whether to edify national identity in Peru on the basis of the majority, but also the character of that option. This is whether to go to one with deep and singular ethnic, cultural, spiritual-resource base, profound historical roots, or a relocatable one that supposedly shares more universal values, that fit well with those imported from outside designs. The option of character also sets up the direction of

collective identity and destiny. If the question is on what basis to edify national identity in Peru, to which alternative to bet, those are the options.

**Al di la (further than) class and nation: Gender!** The experience in *M.M.* shows us that Indian Identity groups of several ethnic groups (nations) operate with assumptions of gender different from the apparent universal rule of patriarchy. My report indicates that the overriding consensus of the subordination of women, of considering women secondary does not hold for native peoples of the Andes. The experience in this particular *Pueblo Joven*, would seem odd, were it not for a new voices coming precisely from many other nations, previously likewise cornered, reduced to unimportance (primitiveness) and lacking representation, who are increasingly more vocal about their experience. Some Western feminists are absorbing creatively their challenge which often implies departing from past hegemonic perspectives that housed them (e.g., [www.suppressedhistories.net](http://www.suppressedhistories.net)).

To close this discussion I want to propose that non-patriarchal gender, of the sort presented here, point to the probability that gender systems like the Andean one are more frequent than presently recognized. So, the problem is not their non-existence, but their invisibility in the world's view. This, itself, is a consequence of the massive effects of the gender tectonics of power in patriarchy acting on their recognition, obscuring and silencing their reality. The fact is that women continue doing what they have done for ages: providing and caring for family and household needs, now with some paid work, as much (or more?) than they ever did in the past. Women's essential work for the continuation of society, as seen in countries' statistics, as well as world reports on the condition of women, continues the same or has even been intensified. However, as *M.M.* shows, what changes with the sub-ordination of women -- the assault on their power and independent voice -- is the devaluation of their contribution and their essence as human

beings. After silencing their existence, patriarchal ideology invests on actively producing their inferiority and subordination, both in social structures and in their very humanity. In the first case, it places them in conditions of invisibility, subordination, and marginalization. In the second, it artificially reduces their physical strength and their human development, in a process denounced especially by countless women historically and at present. Later the system justifies the artificially created condition as inherent incapacity of various kinds: their doing physically demanding work, highly specialized work (e.g., inborn deficiency for the sciences and mathematics, etc.). The manifold resistance of women (and a few men) to that monumental lie, when in the belly of the system itself, could search for evidences of the truth outside the confines of Western culture or in its past historical evolution (see the Matriarchal Studies webpage). Tired of systematized lies about their condition, and the fort that male-framed epistemology has formed in academia, some women are pushing the lines of research to restore their rightful place in society and history independently. For instance, they propose instead to frame the world in conditions of women's non-elimination – like in the Andean case-- or in a few cases, simply under women's hegemony, "matriarchy." This, they bet, is qualitatively different to male hegemony: it means inclusion of men and different age groups. The reason is the dynamics that their own epistemology and specific gender conditions put in motion (e.g., gift and collaboration among un-equals, among others). The model drastically contrasts to a male hegemony that condemns and limits both, the incorporation of females and inclusion of family networks or varied-age groups.

What I propose here is that the basic tectonics of gender social power operates on the control of informal and formal epistemology. One ground level manifestation of this epistemological conditioning surfaces in language as a social creation. Martha Hardman

de Bautista (2005) discusses this specifically in relation to Andean languages, whose structure contain grammatical and semantic markers of equivalence that prevent the diminishing of women in thought (in Quechua, there is no gender marker in persons, including male and female pronouns, which means actions of ‘people’ – not men or women – count the same in thought). Language structures would be perhaps where this basic tectonics of power directly manifests, affecting the epistemological foundations of a culture. At the other extreme are its effects on sophisticated intellectual creations, for instance, the telling limitations of Western romantic or ‘scientific’ ‘utopias,’ whose assumptions grounded on the same gender tectonics fail to provide viable models of society. If they circumvent, ignore or gratuitously ‘assume’ women in the formula without allowing their independent expression and genuine voice, if women do not count, no matter how elaborate and sophisticated the ‘logic,’ the ‘science,’ the brilliance of creation is: it ends up faulty and false. The base-line of faulty epistemology prevents them from being real and truly offers alternatives for society’s make-over.

From this discussion, what is important to the effects of this dissertation is that, in terms of the ‘national identity’ problem of Peru earlier, the issue is not the projection of Andean gender to the ‘national state’ of Peru. This would not be possible – the presence and participation of Andean identity women correspond to a social system organized in *ayllus*, communities of production and reproduction, where their representation is direct and by turns, as service to others. Likewise, the *ayllus*’ representation to a higher socio-political level presumes “citizen *ayllus*” rather than ‘individual citizens.’ So, the ‘ideal’ of an Andeanized Peruvian modern state, where women would be equally represented, if it turned out to be a reality, it would possibly be false or falsified; perhaps it would have co-opted its essence and diverted it to become fodder of some other version of domination.

The re-making of women's condition in society, according to the old rules of complementarity and parallel lines of descent, would bring back forms of social articulation, of a kind unfit for the nation-state the way it presently is. However, in this case will not be totally new it, it will not be a '*creación heroica*,' an invention out of the blue: it would be backed by a long-standing historical trail and real precedents on rules and procedures. An historical example, in Chapter III, will allow a glimpse at its effects operating at the level of political leadership in a rebellion, and more than that, at the level of interpersonal relations and complementary responsibility of men and women. From there we will project its effects on Andean social movements in present time (Chapter IV). Indeed, Andean gender enhances the limits of this study to more than local or regional pertinence. It makes is relevant in a universal arena of socio-cultural systems in present day global arrangements.

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## STUDY II

### **The Great Andean Rebellion in Gender Shades – Informants: Micaela Bastidas Puyucagua, Tomasa Titu Condemayta, Marcela Castro and daughter Cecilia Escalera Castro**

*Donde se ha visto en el mundo  
lo que aquí estamos mirando.  
Los hijos propios gimiendo  
y los extraños mamando.*

*Epígrafe en lienzo de 1780, año de la  
Revolución de Tupac Amaru II.  
(Allpanchis, 17/18, 1981).*

### **Chapter IX: Introduction**

The agrarian production system of old Inka times was still largely in place in the South Sierra of Peru of the early 1780's. However, a system that had in previous times worked to satisfy the *ayllus*<sup>12</sup> needs, turned now into an endless siphon of resources and labor. Forced to work in mines and fields following an Inka practice of collective work duty, *mita*, they were also imposed the payment of tributes, taxes, levies, duties to Spanish colonial authorities and Church. The Indians' unfamiliarity with money as the means of exchange of services and goods put them always at a loss. On top they were required to purchase of overpriced useless imported merchandise. The result of these practices was being perennially in debt, a form of indentured servitude. The physical destruction of the family by premature death or forced separation of members was the norm. A constant sense of loss, of mourning, for immediate relatives, for things past, permeated daily life.

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<sup>12</sup> It is an Indian community, a basic social unit in Andean Indian society. See Glossary for the interpretation of Quechua and Spanish italicized words in text.

In this condition only the mutual support and affection of relatives and community members' made subjugation and servitude bearable. It was this community cohesion that helped people to come to terms with the situation, harboring a capacity to respond to it.<sup>13</sup>

In these circumstances ayllu Governors Don Matías Canal and Don Agustín and Don Lucas Nuñez de la Torre received the following letter dated December 7, 1780, Tungasuca.<sup>14</sup>

"Dear Sirs of all of my appreciation:

By now you must have gotten the news of the enterprise that my husband, Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, is undertaking. However, for your full information, I will summarize its main points so that you can communicate to your Indians and other nearby towns' *kurakas* the content of the present, which they should have as their own.

Zealous as my husband is about the collective good and peace of natives and of Spanish *criollos*, due to the force of his commitment he was granted the providence to exterminate and put an end to the wrongful introductions of forced sales, levies, taxes, duties. As a result, as anybody can testify, he has fully absorbed himself in these devotions, in whose purpose I have no doubt you will collaborate, making your people available to the said husband of mine.

And if Your Honors would have the people to capture the *corregidor* and other Europeans, or requesting help from other *kurakas*, do it. *For besides taking away our possessions and goods with so much tyranny, being ourselves in our own lands, they see us unable to defend ourselves in the way that my husband is showing now.*<sup>15</sup>

This is the time that you make the effort, as Indians and Spaniards of the provinces of Tinta, Chumbivilcas, Carabaya, Lampa, Azangaro, Paukartambo, Qispicanchi, Paruro and others are presently doing after requesting my husband's

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<sup>13</sup> Jurgen Golte *Repartos y Rebeliones, Tupac Amaru y las contradicciones de la economía colonial*. Lima, 1980 and Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Ensayos de Nueva Historia*, Lima, 1984 treat the background economic conditions of the rebellion.

<sup>14</sup> Colección Documental de la Independencia del Perú (CDIP), Vol. II, p. 332-333. Translations and emphases throughout the paper are mine.

<sup>15</sup> The italicized lines, a sample of Micaela's core ideological proposals for the rebellion will be analyzed in page 61 here.

assistance.<sup>16</sup> In the present circumstances he has more than eighty-seven thousand Indians,<sup>17</sup> besides representatives and Spaniards of the eight parishes of Cuzco; so with the support of these forces, you have nothing to fear, nor any other one who pledges obedience to him because you will be protected as well as liberated from the above mentioned liabilities. Furthermore, I exhort Your Honors to send your people to burn the bridge over the Apurimac River, as soon as possible, if you can. They should be heedfully cautious to prevent the fleeing of *chapetones* to Lima where there is word they are quickly escaping.

Also, I notify you that adequately provisioned troops led by my husband will shortly take over the city of Cuzco. For this reason it is important that Your Honors set your people on alert to march with him the moment I send the news.

I warn you that if you fail to obey this order of mine, I will eliminate you as I have already done with some (who did not comply).

In the mean time, may God our Lord keep you for many years.

Yours sincerely, Doña Micaela Bastidas<sup>18</sup>

Most of Doña Micaela Bastidas' communications are straightforward and equally authoritative. A pass for itinerant merchant Agustín Herrera, and the order to other district Mayors, show the same tone.

"All of the guards and Indian spies will cause no harm to the passage of Don Agustín Herrera's cargo. Furthermore, he should be allowed to transit through the

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<sup>16</sup> Never after them, and for many years before them, the addressing of provinces, districts and, above all, Indian communities, by José Gabriel and Micaela sounded so personal. The collective subjects' distinct personality, dormant for centuries, appeared to briefly come back to life at the call of the Inka. Moreover, the geopolitics of the area obtained an entirely different configuration. Notoriety was given to the heavily Indian population and culture areas, ignored and postponed both in the colony and even more so in the Republic, for instance, the case of the Chichas, district of the Condesuyos province in the Department of Arequipa.

<sup>17</sup> Peruvian historian Francisco A. Loayza (FAL), in "Mártires and Heroínas," (Serie Los Pequeños Grandes Libros de Historia Americana, Lima, 1945), Tomo X, thinks Micaela at this point may be exaggerating the count of support for recruitment reasons, and so does Leon G. Campbell, p. 174.

<sup>18</sup> The length and variety of contents in this letter deserves comment. Contents range from the italicized ideological, to references to her husband, to strategic recommendations (burning of the bridge and getting people ready for the Cuzco assault). The uniform authoritative tone of the letter and the final military type command disagree with the closing statement, "May God keep you." The explanation could be the language in use, Micaela's second, her lack of formal education and the difficulty to separate the personal and formal, the private and public spaces, especially for women. However, if the explanation is cultural, José Gabriel's letters would show a similar style. In a superficial examination of his papers, this would appear to be the case.

<sup>8</sup> Colección Documentaria de la Independencia del Perú, (CDIP), II, p. 307.

towns he finds most convenient for the sale of his products without anyone causing him minimum harm on his way. Anybody that disobeys this order will be punished. Tungasuca, November 27, 1780 - Doña Micaela Bastidas."<sup>19</sup>

"The Mayors of the town of Sanca will help Bernardo Carrasco to bring potatoes, peaches and other edibles from the seized haciendas to this municipality. No one should obstruct his passage. Tinta, February 18, 1781. - Doña Micaela Bastidas. (P.S.) The cows and rest of seized animals will be put at the disposal and orders of the Inka to support him at any time needed. No person should interfere with their destination; if so, expect due punishment.

Micaela Bastidas."<sup>20</sup>

Doña Micaela, or "*La Señora Gobernadora*," is the wife of José Gabriel Condorcanqui, Tupac Amaru II, recognized by Indians and non-Indians as a rightful successor of the Inka rulers. While her husband makes his cause known to the densely populated and exploited Indian communities of Upper Peru (present Bolivia), Micaela is in charge of the rebel provinces around Cuzco. It is the Tupac Amaru uprising of the late 1700's, "The Great Rebellion in the Andes" as it is called in recent papers and scholarly meetings. To the rebellion's Indian followers, she is also their "*Muy Venerada Madre*" (Most Honored Mother).<sup>21</sup> In the words of a sympathetic provincial priest, who feels bad for not being able to honor her kneeling at her feet, she is "*la Madre de los Pobres*" (the Poor People's Mother).<sup>22</sup> The women supporters, the few who knew Spanish and had access to literate people who would write notes for them, address her as "Most dear and honored lady" and sign "the most humble servant who wishes to be useful,"<sup>23</sup> or "your most passionate and loyal servant."<sup>24</sup> To her relatives, she is "*Muy amada hermanita*" (Dearest little sister).<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>CDIP, II, p. 502.

<sup>21</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Letter of Martin Castilla, CDIP, II, p. 324.

<sup>23</sup> Cecilia Catalina de Salas y Pachacuti, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>24</sup> Cecilia Catalina de Salas y Pachacuti, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

For political officials and Spanish witnesses, who "knew more rebelliousness in her than in her husband, more arrogance and more pride, in a way that she became more fearsome than her husband,"<sup>26</sup> "the *Cacica*, his wife, is not less of a monster of cruelty than he is..."<sup>27</sup>

Even today, the Tupac Amaru rebellion, whose center covered Southern Peru and Bolivia, is singled out among the Americas' events of its kind for its extensive geographical reverberations and its political repercussions. It took place almost exactly midway through the current European occupation of the Americas, two and half centuries after the first Spaniards set foot in Tawantinsuyu. This means the native population had from eight to ten generations to confront and process the effects -- or rather the costs -- of the 'encounter' with Europeans. It was a time in which Andean Indians were, once more, able to coordinate an organized resistance at a regional level.<sup>28</sup>

The Great Rebellion's large Indian following was due, undoubtedly, to the perceived legitimacy of the Inka descendant José Gabriel, as their leader. His presence engaged the Andean people's readiness to act collectively to repossess their territory and kingdom. It took place after recovery from long-lasting and periodically reinforced traumas of the conquest which shocked their civilization. A huge population decline, which hit its lowest point a hundred years before the rebellion, intensified the trauma. Over 150 years, the Indian population had decreased from around twelve million to one

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<sup>25</sup> Spanish captain Pedro Mendigure married to her cousin Cecilia Escalera Castro. See here p. 45-50, to end; quote from FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>26</sup> CDIP, II, p. 501.

<sup>27</sup> Declaration of Manuel Galleguillos, CDIP, II, p. 712.

<sup>28</sup> The multiple local ways in which people of the Andes had been resisting has only recently been systematized. See Scarlett O'Pheland Godoy, *Un Siglo de Rebeliones Anticoloniales, Peru y Bolivia 1700-1783*, (Editorial Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolome de las Casas) Cusco, 1988.

and half million people, an eighty five percent fall from its original numbers.<sup>29</sup> If this giant population loss had only been the result of natural disasters it would have already meant enormous cultural and ideological costs. However, it was often the result of unprecedented exploitation, massacres, and not few cases of organized terror, quite similar to the one which was to come after the Great Rebellion's defeat.<sup>30</sup> The consequences were profound historical traumas, with their own time demands for healing and re-structuring an ideological universe that repositioned the Inka society in the context of what was, for the natives, a truly discovered new world.

In the elaboration of that perspective, in the pressure to rebel, in the participation in the struggle and, finally, in assuming the consequences of defeat, Indian women were crucial. While everyone in the community -- men, women, and children -- suffered, the patriarchal colonial system was distinctly biased against women.<sup>31</sup> In marked contrast with past Inka times, they were not recognized as subjects, participants, spokespeople of their communities.<sup>32</sup> The colonial system not provide women with either the linguistic and cultural tools or the required familiarity with the dominant society that men had, a fact that possibly lessened the extent of female leadership in the movement. Moreover, rebellion documents reveal a clear cultural contrast in gender systems in the two worlds, European and native. That contrast would explain why (through rebellion documents)

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<sup>29</sup> Population loss information is controversial. See discussion on this topic in John Hemming, *La Conquista de los Inkas*, Edit. Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1982, p. 424. A critical demographic account of population counts as they refer to the Indians of the Americas was produced by

<sup>30</sup> Terror as a form of political control arrived with Europeans and was not an extraordinary happening. See Hernan Amat Olazabal's "Cronología de la invasión y genocidio español en América", in *La Deuda de España al Perú*, by Roel, Amat, et. alt., (G/H Editores, Lima 1992). The genocide-ethnocide modalities, by periods or stages, throughout European colonization in the area, has yet to be systematized in its effects on physical and cultural reduction of the native peoples.

<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, Magnus Morner, a scholar with extensive work on the rebellion, would characterize the European conquest specifically as an assault against women. See reference to this reaction in Leon G. Campbell, Women and the Great Rebellion in Peru, 1780-1783, in *The Americas*, Vol. XLII, July 1, 1985-April 1986, p. 164.

<sup>32</sup> Irene Silverblatt's work on women in the Inka Empire and early colonization constitutes a landmark for the study of gender in the Andes. See *Moon, Sun and Witches - Gender Ideologies and Class in Inka and Colonial Peru*. (Princeton University Press, 1987).

the colonial gender restraints placed on Indian women ideologically and in action appear external and imposed. Old Inka cultural practices can be seen to explain the natural disposition towards full agency in the case of the four women examined in this chapter. The first is "*La Señora Gobernadora*," Doña Micaela Bastidas, co-leader of the movement with her husband, the Inka José Gabriel. The second is Doña Tomasa Titu Condemayta, the wealthy native *Cacica*,<sup>33</sup> and later military collaborator in the rebellion. Doña Micaela and *Cacica* Tomasa Titu clearly break Western patriarchal gender conventions of physical and public restraints. The third and fourth women, Marcela Castro Puyucagua and Cecilia Escalera Castro, mother and daughter, stand here as part of a constellation of family figures devoted to the rebellion, with the added suggested consideration of parallel lines of descent at work. Both women pay the price for subscribing to the rebellion ideas despite never stepping beyond the bounds of conventional gender roles. Totally committed, they both actively promote -- in the words of José Gabriel -- 'the Indian nation's cause.' The description of their roles in the rebellion and their personalities will follow a succinct presentation of the rebellion's context and its main leader. The chapter closes with a discussion of Andean gender as manifested in their lives and its treatment by various authors in historical literature.

This chapter uses fundamentally primary sources in dealing with the three women, and secondary sources for general issues of the rebellion. Due to the extent of primary sources which, even when not referring directly to our characters could throw

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<sup>33</sup> *Cacicas* were certainly not infrequent in Peruvian colonial history, for instance, *las capullanas* in North Peru and some others in the Central and South Sierra. They are mentioned, among others, by Peruvian historian Judith Prieto de Zegarra in her comprehensive *Mujer, Poder y Desarrollo en el Peru*. (Editorial Dorhca, Callao, Peru, 1981). However, for this research, I have not come across any contemporary study into the subject as of their numbers, their geographical locations, how they actually fared in early and late colonization and republic. In Chapter IV I propose to look for the present evidences of this type of native leadership in the Andes now under the guise of different modalities of women's public presence.

light on their role in the rebellion, I have privileged use of primary sources that had been previously selected: letters, edicts and pronouncements by or about the three women, such as those contained in the work of classic Cuzco historians, Francisco Loayza and Jorge Cornejo.<sup>34</sup> The primary sources consist mainly of full transcripts of trials and other documents captured after the main leaders' arrests, which contributed to their sentences and eventual executions. These documents have been compiled from different national archives in Spain, Peru and Bolivia, or in city archives of Lima, Cuzco, La Paz and other cities. The government of Peru published some in the Sesquicentennial commemoration of Peru's Independence, in the early 1970's, and the rest in the Bicentennial commemoration of the Tupac Amaru uprising in 1981. Only time constraints prevented a complete analysis of available references: there are some 14 volumes of primary sources alone, apart from relevant secondary sources. The Tupac Amaru rebellion has constituted the life work of no fewer than twelve top level scholars, and a substantial number of years dedicated to the subject by about ten more. In this context, I intend to apply to this material a few theoretical insights on the intersection of gender and culture in the Andes.

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<sup>34</sup> The work of these two founding members of modern Peruvian history contains an Andean informed look into the events.

## Chapter X: The last Inka

*“... (this system) that knows no fear of God, mistreats the naturals of this Kingdom as beasts; taking the lives only of those who do not know how to steal, all of this worthy of the most serious reprehension...”*  
*(José Gabriel Condorcanqui Tupac Amaru II, excerpt of declaration).<sup>35</sup>*

José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noguera, Cacique of Tungasuca, Surimana and Pampamarca, summed up the conditions of public leadership of Inka descendants after two and half centuries of Spanish occupation in the Andes. He embodied the Indians' collective interests by being a native of the culture and yet having the exposure, and comfort with and in, the Spanish institutions.<sup>36</sup> He was born in Surimana on March 19, 1738 and was a great grandson of the last Inka, Tupac Amaru I, assassinated by Viceroy Toledo in 1572. His father was Don Miguel Condorcanqui Tupac Amaru, whose *cacicazgo* and titles José Gabriel inherited, and Doña Rosa Noguera, a mestiza woman. His mother died in her early thirties, and his father remarried Doña Ventura Monjarrás, the mother of José Gabriel's younger brother, Juan Bautista. Don Miguel also died relatively early, when he was 48 years old.<sup>37</sup> When he did, Don Miguel's brothers took care of the *cacicazgo* and of José Gabriel until he was ready to assume his local political responsibilities.

José Gabriel grew up in an Andean community, in the surviving daily culture of his ancestors. Two witnesses, one of them an *ayllu* elder, give an indication of how much José Gabriel belonged to everyday family life of his community. In the Andean way of

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<sup>35</sup> CDIP, Tomo II, Vol.2, p. 313.

<sup>36</sup> Carlos Daniel Valcarcel, La Rebelion de TupacAmaru (Edit. Universo, Lima, Peru 1969).

<sup>37</sup> CIDP, II, p. 855-890.

older siblings taking care of younger ones (regardless of gender), the Inka carried his younger brother, Juan Bautista, on his back until he became a youth.<sup>38</sup>

If he did that, for sure he also took part in doing chores, norms and rituals of *ayllu* life, perhaps simultaneously with his initiation into formal western education. His willing tutor was the parish priest, a *criollo* born in Panama, Ignacio Lopez Soza, who would become a life time friend.<sup>39</sup> He taught him the basics of reading and writing in Spanish, perhaps some Latin and other courses, due to his position, and in preparation for attending the school for *caciques'* sons conducted by Jesuit priests in Cuzco, the old Inka capital, then a regional center of colonial provincial administration. With this exposure, José Gabriel gained quite an adequate Western education for its time, a few years before the Jesuits were ousted from the Spanish colonies.<sup>40</sup> The purpose of these schools was to secure the adherence of the native leadership to colonial interests through a familiarity with formal Spanish and Latin, some humanities, sciences and mathematics as well as Christian doctrine. It equipped the *caciques'* sons for a mediating role between the Indian masses and the Spanish administration.

Although it had to be approved and enforced by Spanish authorities, a *cacique* (or *cacica*), was guaranteed possession of lands derived from native status, based on Indian lineage. Thus, *caciques* could have a comfortable material life. Since the Indians recognized them as natural authorities, the colonial administration used them to collect

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<sup>38</sup> "A este lo andaba cargando de criatura el dicho rebelde José Gabriel Thupa Amaro a las espaldas de *muchachoncillo*," to what the other witness adds, "*todo Surimana puede atestiguarlo*," Juan Baustista Tupac Amaru's trial witness; CIDP, II, p. 826, 827.

<sup>39</sup> Carlos Daniel Valcarcel, *Ibid.* (Edit. Universo, Lima, Peru 1969).

<sup>40</sup> Jesuits were thrown out in part for their progressive ideas. Carlos Daniel Valcarcel, *Ibid.* (Edit. Universo, Lima, Peru 1969).

tribute and to recruit forced labor and forced consumers for the Spanish economic enterprises. *Caciques* or *Kuracas* participated in policy implementation consultations for their areas and as links with the Church, which added to their prestige in both cultures. In exchange for their services, colonial officers granted them privileges, such as a periodic stipend and permission to wear Spanish garments and use arms like Spanish nobility. Often these privileges extended to their male and female children, in terms of options for education and placement. For this reason, *Kurakas* juggled continually their individual family benefits against their communities' interests. Not surprisingly, many turned their backs on their *ayllus* and became effective instruments in their exploitation. The Crown's rewards paid off their loyalty, to which a few generations of miscegenation greatly contributed.

After José Gabriel finished his education at 18 years of age, he returned to Surimana, his original home town, to be officially in charge of his ancestors' *Kuracazgo*. A few years later, in 1760, he married Micaela Bastidas Puyucagua, then fifteen years old, a native of Pampamarca, one of the communities under his jurisdiction. For generations the Puyucaguas had been related to the Condorcanqui Noguerras.<sup>41</sup> Their first two sons, Hipólito and Mariano, were born in 1761 and 1762. The third, Fernando, was born six years later, in 1768.

For a few years after their marriage, José Gabriel established himself as political representative of his communities. At the same time, he consolidated his business as '*arriero*' or muleteer, transporting merchandise from Lima to Potosi and as far as Buenos Aires. His mule packs consisted of between 300 and 700 animals, which must have made

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<sup>41</sup> See Cornejo, *Sangre Andina*, (Cuzco, 1949).

an impressive caravan of a good number of operators, attendants and administrators.<sup>42</sup> He had a prosperous business and solid social status, not only recognized by Indians but also by Spanish officials and Cuzco city dwellers. He visited the city often for administrative and business dealings, adding to his contact the Jesuit school and the learned community. Apparently, his connections included also the local Masonic league.<sup>43</sup> He read the first written accounts of his ancestors' history, such as Garcilazo de la Vega Inka, and became quite knowledgeable about colonial Indian legislation. In theory, the laws were meant to protect Indians from exploitation but, in reality, José Gabriel saw that they were bluntly ignored. Thus, from early in his life, he manifested concern for his people's well being, still trustful that right and just authorities could solve the Indians' problems, simply by enforcing the law.<sup>44</sup>

In 1776, José Gabriel had to take about a year and half of his time to contest the challenge to his noble descent by a mestizo family of Cuzco, the Betancourts. They also claimed equal rights to Inka succession, had bribed Cuzco authorities and had forged or stolen documents.<sup>45</sup> His only hope for resolving the issue was at a higher authority in Lima, to which he traveled. In that city, José Gabriel's family line was legally recognized but he was told to wait, indefinitely, for a final resolution. His stay in Lima gave him direct exposure to its idiosyncratic bureaucracy, to its frivolous indifference to problems lived in the hinterland. It demystified his hopes in affecting power by reason or right,

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<sup>42</sup> Luis Miguel Glave in *La Rebelion de Tupac Amaru*. (Centro de Estudios Andinos Bartolome de las Casas. Cusco, Peru. 1982). p..., is of the opinion that José Gabriel's animal capital was of 700, and Leon G. Campbell, in *Women and the Great Rebellion*, in *The Americas*, Vol. XLII, July 1985-April 1986, p. 171, of 300 animals.

<sup>43</sup> Oscar Llerena, *Multitud y Lucha de Clases*. (TAIS, Lima, Peru, 1987), p.49.

<sup>44</sup> Carlos Daniel Valcarcel, *Ibid*.

<sup>45</sup> This family was after the rebellion's defeat actively instrumental in the detention, trial and final holocaust of the relatives of both José Gabriel and Micaela. See Cornejo, op. cit.

thus his trust in established authority. His stay of one year and a half became an unduly prolonged, relatively unproductive period that even affected his health.<sup>46</sup>

While José Gabriel still hoped the final resolution to his case would be forthcoming, he decided to undertake another mission in Lima, as an ancestor of his had decades earlier, to denounce the abuses committed against the Indians.<sup>47</sup> These were *mita*, *repartimientos* and *encomiendas*, the infamous institutions applied to Indian communities that put them in conditions equivalent to slavery.<sup>48</sup> The main agents of this exploitation were Spanish *corregidores* and Indian or mestizo *cacique* intermediaries. This part of Tupac Amaru's agenda in Lima, denouncing the abuses committed against Indians, did not go further than submitting requests to look into this matter. He was again told to just wait for an answer.

The results of the visit to Lima were frustrating but instructive. It exposed him directly to the higher colonial administration corruption and indifference. He could see for himself the lack of moral principles on which the functionaries' authority rested. It was obvious he could see no point in waiting for justice. In words of his wife Micaela, in Lima, José Gabriel 'got his eyes opened' (*le abrieron los ojos*).<sup>49</sup> In Lima, however, he also had a time to meet restless *criollo* and *mestizo* elements unhappy about arbitrariness and abuses. They introduced him to progressive European ideas of social reform.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Carlos Daniel Valcárcel, op cit.

<sup>47</sup> Don Blas Tupac Amaru, a great grandfather of his supposedly had gone all the way to Spain to protest abuses against the Indians and was mysteriously assassinated in Seville. Cornejo, op.cit.

<sup>48</sup> One form of abuse consisted in the forced transfer of male workers to work in distant mines using the old Inka institution of *mita*, which was originally obligatory community work in the benefit of everyone. Another abuse was *repartimientos*, the forced acquisition of overpriced European goods by Indians. Because they had no currency, indebted Indians had to pay off debts with their labor, either in agricultural work in distant haciendas or in manufacture plants of textiles and others called *obrajes*. However, it was not only these engaged debts that pushed the Indians into forced labor; it was also the payment of tribute to the crown and to the Church. Since this was exacted in money and Indians did not possess it and lacked experience with it, the products of their labor were taken instead or directly paid with their work, both undervalued to the limit by Spanish officials and private enterprises. Glave, Luis Miguel, document for public education on the rebellion. (1987?).

<sup>49</sup> Declaration of Mariano de la Banda, CDIP, II, p. 718.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 718.

Impressed with his credentials as rightful successor of the Inka kingdom, they, along with the Public Prosecutor who was looking at the legitimacy of his succession papers, suggested taking action on them, not only nominally but politically.<sup>51</sup> Lima was also useful for exposing him to the larger context of the country, its castes, and its conservative and liberal political expressions. Most important, in Lima his lineage was immediately recognized by a few Indians who, learning who he was, automatically rendered him obedience, considering him their legitimate representative.<sup>52</sup>

During this time, as well as during the prolonged periods of José Gabriel's absence for commerce, Micaela assumed total control of agricultural and local political responsibilities, in addition to her daily domestic activities.<sup>53</sup> As characteristic of Andean communities, their household had close connections and reciprocal services with relatives and affiliated helpers. Nevertheless, her responsibilities still involved specialized negotiations, like tribute collection and the regulation of work services by *ayllu* families. That must have been almost too much to handle for Micaela along with her own lands, property, animals, workers and domestic duties. At that point also, the usually self-contained local economy was undergoing the impact of an economic crisis. It was an artificially produced grain scarcity, the product of its incorporation into the larger market, which further increased poverty.<sup>54</sup> Micaela must have empathized with the tribute-paying Indians and decided not to impose more harsh payments on them. So, when José Gabriel

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<sup>51</sup> This lawyer was encouraging, to the point that initially José Gabriel himself may have resisted to the idea "Don't get me in trouble," to which he replied "Don't be silly, if it were in my hands, I would hand over the kingdom to you this very day." CDIP, II, p. 724.

<sup>52</sup> The same lawyer was also resolving a litigation of Indians from Huarochirí. When José Gabriel coincided with them in his studio, they were told "he was busy in the dealings of their King Tupac Amaru." From that moment they came to present their obedience to him. CDIP, II, p. 724.

<sup>53</sup> The reconstruction of Micaela's life is based on biographical accounts presented by Cornejo Bouroncle, *Op. cit.*, and Alfonsina Barrionuevo, *Op. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> Many Tupac Amaru authors have written about the economic conditions underlying the revolt. See Jurgen Golte *Repartos y Rebeliones, Tupac Amaru y las contradicciones de la economía colonial*. Lima, 1980. Also see Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Ensayos de Nueva Historia*, Lima, 1984. A summarized presentation is given by Luis Miguel Glave, *Op. cit.*, talks about the market crisis, and so does Llerena in less specific terms.

returned to Cuzco, he had plenty of pending obligations, the most urgent of which was collection among his Indians of tribute arrears. A newly appointed *corregidor*, José Antonio Arriaga, demanded the immediate payment 'the cacique's debts to him,' his Indians' tributes.

Arriaga seemed especially abusive, or desperate to justify the high bribes paid to colonial administrators for the right to have this position.<sup>55</sup> In the late 1700's, the Bourbon monarchy in Spain hardened the line of forced extraction of surplus labor from its colonies. It increased tribute and taxes, strictly imposing more unequal exchange values for labor and merchandise. Spain was undergoing an economic crisis, due in part to wars with England and the challenges of the growing industrial capitalism. The Spanish Crown in crisis became more rigorous in collecting its dues and Arriaga had to get his own share. To pressure José Gabriel into collecting the money, he threatened to kill him along with his whole family.<sup>56</sup> As a result of his experience in Cuzco and Lima, José Gabriel saw no possibilities for resolving these issues with justice. Having contemplated the idea for some time,<sup>57</sup> José Gabriel took Arriaga prisoner after the local priest's birthday celebration and sentenced him to hanging for his abuses. It was November 4, 1780 and the beginning of the great revolt. In its first period, which finished with José Gabriel and Micaela's capture and death, along with their immediate supporters, it lasted scarcely seven most intense months. The chronology of the events and a map showing the extent of the rebellion are shown in the Appendix.

José Gabriel was an insider in his own culture. Socialized in organic communities that survived from the past, he also had a view of his culture from the outside: he had

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<sup>55</sup> Carlos Daniel Valcárcel, op.cit.

<sup>56</sup> Arriaga threatens to kill J.G.'s family.

<sup>57</sup> The earliest influence in his determination to claim his rights as natural representative of Indian people seems to have come from priest Lopez Sosa. This is mentioned in the documents both by Micaela and Tomasa Titu Condemayta.

read written accounts of his ancestors' past kingdom. This offered him a perspective that placed it, however precariously, in context of the 'newly discovered Western world.' He had confronted the evils of colonial exploitation in the skin of those under his charge, and now risked suffering them himself. Local justice seemed uncertain at best and, in Lima, he had personally witnessed the corruption and hopelessness of the legal system. He got recognition of his natural right to defend and represent Indian people by sympathetic *criollo* and *mestizo* elements, and Indians outside his immediate surroundings. The threat of *Corregidor* Arriaga to hang him and his family if he did not deliver the owed *ayllus'* tributes overcame his capacity to temporize. In his decision to rebel, his wife's backing appears to have been crucial, as well as that of close relatives and associates.<sup>58</sup> In addition, there is evidence that consultations about the rebellion with progressive mestizos and Indian leaders, as far away as Lima and Potosi, took place much earlier.<sup>59</sup>

Even with all the above considerations, the stage for the Tupac Amaru rebellion rested on precarious socio-historical conditions. Active resistance to the European occupation existed from the beginning of the conquest, even if the means were ineffective due to military inferiority, or culturally specific means, i.e., negotiation rather than confrontation. Perhaps the power to be effective at both was absent, with the dramatic population decline in the first two centuries of European occupation. There had been only a modest recovery in this regard shortly before the rebellion, and in that condition, the drainage of *ayllus'* vital resources had continued for decades at the same pace, threatening to increase in that particular moment. Nonetheless, this rebellion was the first native organized armed resistance in the continent addressing the need for immediate social reforms and to eliminate quasi-slavery conditions imposed on Tawantinsuyu natives. It

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<sup>58</sup> See notes 22 here.

<sup>59</sup> At the trials, the secretaries testified they heard Micaela say that coordination for the rebellion had gone on for at least three years and maybe even seven years before the rebellion with people in Bolivia and in Lima. CDIP, II.

was also a peasants' revolt, of people without a cultural proclivity for war who armed themselves as they could, with self manufactured, primitive arms. For this reason, in the process, they tried to appropriate the more sophisticated weapons and expertise of the colonial army. However, at the end, they could not equal the long term logistic provisioning and technical military expertise of their enemies. Or, perhaps it implied value changes in their culture that they could not accept.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, so far it has been the only large scale Indian led rebellion that contained the seeds of a society fashioned after native ideas of social organization and power. Maybe because it did, it anteceded by about 50 years the earliest proclamations of abolition of Black slavery in the Americas.<sup>61</sup> When, at the millennium's dawn, the condition of the continent's Indian people remains unresolved, the Tupac Amaru II rebellion's projections still entice, they are ideologically and practically pertinent.

In terms of casualties, it was by far the greatest rebellion against Spanish colonization, between 120,000 to 500,000 people died in the revolt and its aftermaths.<sup>62</sup> Of this, about eighty five percent were Indians, which means yet another twenty percent reduction in the surviving count of Indian population. It extended throughout all of Southern Peru and Bolivia over the four years it lasted in its two distinct periods. The first was led by Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas in Cuzco, and the second, in High Peru, from 1780 to 1784, by Tupac Katari and a coterie of women collaborators, his wife

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<sup>60</sup> "The disorganized army above mentioned *is commanded by* the referred traitor José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, and the parts in which it is divided, *his wife Micaela Bastidas*, his children, relatives, some Spaniards and mestizos that for their enormous crimes have taken refuge under their flags." (Letter of Mariscal José del Valle, January 1, 1781, Cornejo, *Ibid.* p. 42) (my emphasis).

<sup>50</sup> Anti-slavery band or announcement.

<sup>51</sup> See Campbell, Juan José de la Vega, Carlos Daniel Valcarcel and Boleslao Lewin for the different accounts of rebellion casualties.

<sup>52</sup> The leadership of Tupac Katari was complex and sequential with his brothers. It also had an extraordinary feminine participation.

Bartolina Sisa, and his sister Gregoria Apaza in the local nucleus.<sup>63</sup> Diego, Andrés and Mariano Tupac Amaru, first cousin, nephew and son, respectively, of the main leader supported with ambiguous results Katari's uprising in Q'ollasuyu. Geographically its repercussions went further, from Colombia, Venezuela and Panama, to Chile and Argentina.<sup>64</sup>

In sum, much in contrast with the republics' independence, fought for and won five decades afterwards, a native Indian leadership led this anti-colonial struggle that allowed the original Indian nations to look into their past for inspiration in government and social organization, that is, to resume their own historical path. The wars of independence led by *criollos* and *mestizos* replicated afterwards the continental dimensions of the Tupac Amaru rebellion. However, they founded republics fashioned superficially after the French republic, which gave no equality, liberty or fraternity to Indians.<sup>65</sup> Thus, the proclaimed 'universal' human rights, paradoxically inspired by early accounts of societies in the Americas, never extended to the Andean countries' native majorities. They continued being the most oppressed, even when they had constituted, as usual, most of the casualties in both the liberators' and royalists' armies.

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<sup>64</sup> Lewin, Boleslao, "Resonancia de la Revolucion de Tupac Amaru en America y Europa. Coloquio Internacional de Historia, Tupac Amaru y su tiempo," Lima, 1982. There have been numerous reported studies of Indian communities, from Colombia in the North all the way to the Southern tip of the continent, which had repercussions, reproductions and inspiration in the Great Revolt and the Inka Tupac Amaru. it is possible there are still many untapped in this sense.

<sup>65</sup>Criollos and mestizos leading the independence war.

## Chapter XI: Gender in the rebellion

Within the above context, this paper reviews documents pertaining to the three women mentioned due to the abundant materials on their cases. My interest is the analysis of gender in the rebellion, as expressed and implied in those documents. By looking at the male and female participants' behavior during the rebellion, as well as the response by the colonial system, I intend to show that Andean gender roles contrasted sharply with those in Western patriarchy. The three women chosen here -- Micaela Bastidas, Tomasa Titu Condemayta and Cecilia Escalera Castro -- have frequently been the focus of traditional and contemporary accounts of female participation in the Tupac Amaru revolt.<sup>66</sup> Their participation, however, was only to illustrate their undeniable civic/patriotic merits and conventionally, an effort to rescue the great women who, for sure, contributed to a fundamentally male enterprise centered on Tupac Amaru II. But, as we will see in this examination of documents, women supported the Great Rebellion with as much force and determination as men, in the front line as well as in the background. The challenge is to explain adequately the extent of that participation, both, in terms of gender systems and of the social structure that allowed that particular manifestation of traits. The following paragraphs will answer that challenge.

The long endured postponement and heavy burden thrown upon women by the Spanish colonial policies motivated their actions in the rebellion. On the women's

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<sup>66</sup> To Francisco Loayza, a pioneer Peruvian historian, we owe the first transcription of documentary evidence from Seville about the three women. Jorge Cornejo, an inspired Cusco historian of the 30's took these accounts and developed them. Contemporary Peruvian historian Juan José Vega did the up-dating in the seventies, and so did Alfonsina Barrionuevo. Finally the three women are touched in research oriented papers, especially those of Cusco women historians in 1982 and most especially Leon Campbell in 1985 with a more analytic and suggestive critical view with regards to gender roles.

shoulders lay the weight of having to reproduce -- feed, sustain, protect, educate -- what was left of their genocide-threatened families. This is historically not an exceptional condition among women in different parts of the world, but it is especially so in colonized areas. Often women can withstand their suffering indefinitely with the help of ideological justifications of one sort or another. Under certain conditions, they can fight back, especially if male allies -- their children, brothers and husbands, in that order -- assume the women's cause as their own. Nevertheless, for that to happen in patriarchal societies, women and men must conquer the enemy within. They have to overcome the internalized markers of oppression and feelings of worthlessness, substantial and universal in the case of women, and conditional on exercising the assumed masculine superiority over the feminine condition, in the case of men. Women's readiness to fight back in the Great Rebellion, their resourcefulness, the numerical and qualitative extent of their response, and the immediate collaboration of men and women, evidence non-patriarchal underlying cultural elements.<sup>67</sup> After all, that readiness to assault things public, assumed to be exclusive to men in Western culture, cannot be created in the spur of the moment. It requires long socialization processes and concrete socio-structural conditions to ground belief systems.

Since *ayllus* sustained life in the Southern highlands of Peru at that time, one can assume that they fed into gender belief systems and socialization practices that, in turn, got from them a distinctive meaning and life quality. What was at stake for women was the defense of their families, their communities and by implication, their nation. For them, also, the preservation of their rightful place, as important, neither secondary nor limited in comparison to men, seemed at stake. Native women still enjoyed this status in

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<sup>67</sup> Leon G. Campbell relates that "Of the seventy-three members of the Tupac Amaru family who were apprehended in Tinta on March 25, 1783, thirty two were females." Women and the Great Rebellion in Peru, 1780-1783. *The Americas*, Vol XLII, July 1985-April 1986.

their *ayllus* because of their cultural practices continued from the past. The documented acts of the Inka José Gabriel show that he knew and acted according to these basic premises. While he could perform according to the patriarchal script imposed by the colonial system, his practice fundamentally challenged it, and so did the behavior of other Andean men who followed him. This paper, though, will not focus on men as much as on women because of the abundance of material to cover in a short time. Its purpose is to begin understanding gender assumptions current at the times of the Great Rebellion.

In sum, women's behavior in this event can be accounted by women's agency laid in the structure of gender roles that does not restrict or confine them, psychologically and in action, to a segregated private domestic sphere. Even now, despite all restrictions imposed on them, Andean women tend to actively participate in the public sphere.<sup>68</sup> To do this, they take their family along with them. Likewise, not only men participated and belonged in the 'private' domestic sphere in a gender flexible and complementary way, but children and everyone one else involved in the basic reproductive unit participated in the public sphere. At that point in Andean history, men did not conceive of denying, obscuring or limiting the vital input of women, because they had not separated from them yet, from the family, community and nation effectively sustained by women.<sup>69</sup> Since women and men shared private and public spheres and had not separated from each other basically men adhered or revolved around a family-based, woman-promoted project. This may be why the Great Rebellion was a family-based project. A step further in this

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<sup>68</sup> My own study (Chapter II here), and others in the Andes today (Alcántara, Elsa, 1981), remark on the high economic participation of women. Often they lack gender explanation. On the other hand, women's political participation is smaller than men's simply because the public official is patriarchal and culturally alien to them.

<sup>69</sup> The Quechua term "*taq'e*" (storage of grain or harvest products deposit, Lara 1997; Roel, 1981) to refer to first-born girls in the family points to women's association with wealth and stability.

thinking is that it was in the interest of preserving the value of women in their communities/culture that women and men rebelled.<sup>70</sup>

However, if we just wanted to concentrate on women and gender, we would see that women in the Tupac Amaru revolt did not subvert gender categories. They acted on their own ones, which had been evolving in parallel way, with few points of compromising contacts, with those of their oppressors.<sup>71</sup> The gender arrangement of women and men in the revolt was, by all evidences, corroborated in the sequence of the rebellion in Q'ollasuyu – the Bolivian Highland plateau, *Altiplano*, - and possibly also so in other South American rebellion repercussions, none of them considered here.<sup>72</sup> However, that gender arrangement, if seen fit here and confirmed further in other research, would bear testimony of the *sui generis* character of the pan Andean culture.

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<sup>70</sup> The Andean gender system would preserve the natural societies conception of 'mother's right,' as proposed in Matriarchal Studies (see G. Vaughn, 2003; 2005), that is, the maternal capacity to distribute goods and rule by love.

<sup>71</sup> I made that proposal as a result of a study on gender roles in child upbringing, education and work aspirations, as well as conjugal relations, in Andean and non Andean families in a Pueblo Joven of Lima. See "La identidad cultural under class and under culture domination in Peru: Implications for national identity." *Psicología Política Latinoamericana*, (Editorial PANAPO, Vol. II, 1984).

<sup>72</sup> Bolivian historians have worked the documentation of the Tupac Catari revolt, noting also on the extraordinary nature of women's participation. See Siles de Suazo woman (quote) although the gender and culture interpretation of this remains, to my understanding, to be done. On the other hand, Campbell, 1992, op.cit. presents this most extraordinary transcription of the 'rebelion de comuneros' in Colombia, which I reproduce here.

## Chapter XII: An Imperishable *Coya*

..”*tan superior en la viva penetración de espíritu y natural despejo de ánimo...*”

CDIP, II, p. 762. (See translation p. 25 here).

For the freedom of my people I have given up everything. I will not see my children flourish...

From Habla Micaela, by Alfonsina Barrionuevo, p.7

### ORIGINS AND CHARACTERISTICS

Micaela Bastidas Puyucagua was born in Pampamarca around 1745, daughter of Joséfa Puyucagua, an Indian woman native of Pampamarca. Her father was Manuel Bastidas,<sup>73</sup> a *mestizo* man with black ancestry, who was either a merchant or a *Presbyter*, a parish priest assigned to the area for a few years.<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately, little is known about the life of Micaela and her family before the rebellion. After the rebellion's defeat, many family documents that could have incriminated relatives, up to the fourth generation, were quickly destroyed or hidden.<sup>75</sup> Micaela's parents were not married, but they lived together, at least briefly, and had at least two other children, Antonio and Mariano, who also collaborated in the rebellion. Growing up in a basically Indian setting, and not in a *mestizo-criollo* town, like Cuzco, must have protected Micaela from Catholic morals and Spanish legitimacy laws, where she might have at times felt abashed as a child of unmarried parents (even more so were she the daughter of a *presbyter*). Here Micaela embraced naturally her Indian maternal heritage as the stronghold of her identity, which

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<sup>73</sup> CDIP, II, p. 19.

<sup>74</sup> Information of the basics have been extracted from secondary sources, in this case, Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle and Alfonsina Barrionuevo, and when directly available from primary ones. Various authors of the rebellion have been divided about the identity of Micaela's father. In a Catholic country, the merchant interpretation became prevalent over the priest one in part to avoid the added discomfort of a sacrilegious relationship over that of illegitimacy, felt possibly more by the readers of history than by Micaela herself.

<sup>75</sup> Alfonsina Barrionuevo, p. 103-104.

was only cemented in a marriage with the highest exponent of the native Andean past, an Inka. From a racially inclusive Indian standpoint also, this *mestizaje* of white with Black and Indian that her father in all likelihood represented, must have also served as nexus with other racial groups. It served to incorporate Black former slaves, mulattos and also *criollo* participants in the rebellion. It is known, for instance, that one of her brothers, Antonio, a so-called *zambo* like herself, and a captain in the rebellion, was married to a black woman.<sup>76</sup>

Micaela grew up in the shadow of her maternal family that was originally from the area and had strong and long-lasting community and family relations with the noble Condorcanqui *Kuracas* of the area.<sup>77</sup> In the Indian world, she must have also felt protected from the *criollo-mestizo* notions of patriarchal legitimacy, because in Indian communities, then possibly more than now, all children are welcomed.<sup>78</sup> Most important, Micaela was the daughter of an Indian woman and by the Inka succession traditions that still held at the time, mothers frequently transmitted to their daughters their last names, status and possessions, as men/fathers to their sons.<sup>79</sup> Joséfa Puyucagua Sisa, either the mother or grandmother of Micaela carries one of the insistently female only last names, Sisa, that testifies on the holding of Indian succession traditions in the area. Curiously, in some of the documents, children being legitimate offspring of two parents would carry

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<sup>76</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>77</sup> Bartolome Tupac Amaru, the grandfather of José Gabriel, along with his uncle Sebastian TA, were witnesses at the wedding of Dona Joséfa Puyucagua Sisa with Mateo de Castro, in Surimana, in 1717. CDIP, II, p. 861. It is possible these were the parents of Dona Marcela Castro, of whom we will read more, but it is not clear what the relation of this Joséfa Puyucagua, who has the same name as Micaela's mother, is with Micaela. She could be her grandmother. If so, the relationship with Marcela is very close, Micaela would be her niece. There is nothing in the documents to clarify this. It is, however, a good example of interrelationship of the families, the mutual visits and intermarriages.

<sup>78</sup> Two reasons - their potential work contribution and because honor, related to sexual property of women, is based on private property - do not exist. This information comes from my own fieldwork on Child Upbringing in Andean communities, 1987-89, sponsored by FAO and Swiss Technical Cooperation.

<sup>79</sup> Carlos Daniel Valcárcel, editor of Volume II of CDIP makes comments to the list of documents still existing in the Parish Archive of Pampamarca on the Tupac Amaru family. He says it is still possible to see how sons carry the name of the father and daughters that of the mother, p. 850-851. More formally, Szeminski confirms this in the use of female and male children's last names at times of the rebellion. (1982).

the last name of neither.<sup>80</sup> A closer look at documents than is possible here could, with these indicators, support the shelter of female legitimate succession that Micaela found in her Indian ancestry.

Some sort of inter-family arrangements must have been made for Micaela's marriage to José Gabriel because their wedding, which with all formality, happened when she was fifteen.<sup>81</sup> The priest of Pampamarca, Antonio Lopez de Sosa, *criollo* of Panamanian birth mentioned in Inka's short life account, must have also watched the girl grow before his eyes, as he did José Gabriel, whom he baptized and taught the first letters before his departure to the Jesuit San Borja School in Cuzco. He also celebrated the wedding and became a friend-counselor of the couple until the last stages of the revolt when he disappears from the documents. He must have witnessed, by merit if not by birth, the turning of Micaela into the last Coya of Peru through her outstanding role at the side of his pupil, José Gabriel. In turn, Micaela saw his influence in José Gabriel's determination to pursue the legitimacy claims on Inka succession and, subsequently, the actions leading into the Great Rebellion.<sup>82</sup> In the trials, she declares that, because they loved him, they stored some of Lopez Sosa's possessions in their home so that they would not be lost in his absence.<sup>83</sup>

Micaela was fluent in Spanish, but her first language was Quechua.<sup>84</sup> It is highly likely that she knew how to read (probably through the tutoring by Lopez de Sosa) but she may not have known how to write, which was not at all unusual, even in Spanish

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<sup>80</sup> CDIP, II, p. 855-870.

<sup>81</sup> In Pampamarca, her home town, the people still keep two handsome large rugs, - one containing Inka symbols that have not been deciphered yet - which supposedly were made specifically for the wedding of Micaela and José Gabriel. See Del Busto, José Antonio, *Tupac Amaru antes de la Rebelion*, Pontificia Universidad Catolica, 1982.

<sup>82</sup> Declaration- accusation of Tomasa Titu Condemayta, CDIP, II, p. 742.

<sup>83</sup> CDIP, II, p. 737.

<sup>84</sup> For easier use of maternal language by Micaela, see CDIP, II, p. 723.

women at this time.<sup>85</sup> In spite of this, through the help of many *criollo* and *mestizo* secretaries, she maintained an outstanding amount of correspondence during the rebellion. She wrote extensively to José Gabriel, to Spanish officials, to priests and to multiple Indian leaders and captains of the revolt. She was the author of numerous edicts, announcements, official passes, which she personally checked and ordered re-written if she did not agree with the contents.<sup>86</sup>

The references to her physical appearance are scarce. Micaela must have been attractive in the presumed Indian conventions of beauty, where health, strength, and intelligence -- that is, the capacity for work and ingenuity in creating resources, constitute features more prized than the particular configuration of facial or otherwise physical features.<sup>87</sup> The only direct reference to her physical appearance in a document is that of a *criollo* official Mendiburu. He says that Micaela was "an outstanding woman for her beauty,"<sup>88</sup> despite the fact that for Whites, and in those circumstances, the beauty of an Indian woman could have been overlooked. She must have been a good match for a man whose noble composure was remarked by observers,

"(José Gabriel)... had majesty in his appearance, and his natural severity a few times would dissolve in laughter. It seemed that such a soul would find itself continually retired in its own bosom (if one can speak this way) and always concerned with great issues."<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Andrea Esquivel, wife of Spanish secretary Figueroa, who testified against them, indicated could not sign because she did not know either. CDIP, II, p. 727. If Micaela was the daughter of a *Presbítero*, and had some relation to him -- in the understanding *presbíteros* were not irresponsible or abusive fathers -- and this fact was known even to the family friend Lopez de Sosa, it adds to the likelihood that Micaela was fully literate. The conditions of the trial and the prejudiced notions of Spanish officials may have just caused her to go along with their imputation of non-literacy. For a short discussion of Micaela's literacy, see Barrionuevo, *Ibid.*, p. 104-105.

<sup>86</sup> Declaration Francisco Cisneros, CDIP, II, p. 710.

<sup>87</sup> Herencia, *Ibid.*, p. .

<sup>88</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>89</sup> Barrionuevo, *Ibid.*, p. 110.

Micaela was only 35 years old at the time of her death, so, the splendor of her years, physically and psychologically, she dedicated to the cause of the rebellion and the Inka, her husband. We know that she was strong and agile – at one point she covered over 25 miles by foot,<sup>90</sup>

"...an Indian came with the news that in Velille, province of Chumbivilcas, they were surrounding the Cacique José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, and that he was asking for help; with this his own wife took off promptly, in the company of about a thousand men of all classes and castes of people, as it was said by the very same people of the house; and that because of the haste the *Cacica* Micaela Bastidas left on foot, and afterwards they took her horse." <sup>91</sup>

She must have also been a good horseback rider because it is known that on several occasions she personally led her armies of up to 5,000 Indians.<sup>92</sup> In the chronicles of Melchor Paz, an account of "the pitiful operations executed by the traitor José Gavriel Tupac Amaru,"<sup>93</sup> a glimpse at Micaela through the eyes of the enemy helps us place her role in the rebellion:

"Finding himself afterwards in the town of Livitaca of such province (Quispicanchis), the wife of Tupac Amaru appeared to him with a reinforcement of more than five thousand armed men, because they had learned that in this town they were not obeying his orders; and the ones that know them both, confirm in such *Cacica* a more intrepid and bloody temperament than in her Husband. She had the greater intelligence in the punishment of *Corregidor* Arriaga, and in the midst of the feebleness of her sex, she would strengthen the unjust diligences of such homicide, carrying in her own shawl the bullets necessary for the guards. She made up for the absence of her Husband when he was away, organizing herself the Expeditions even to the point of riding on a horse with arms to recruit

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<sup>90</sup> Calculation made by Campbell, who also reproduces the anecdote. *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Francisco Loayza, reproduced by Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>92</sup> See note 91 here.

<sup>93</sup> CDIP, II, p. 401-433.

people in the Provinces in whose Towns she would send repeated orders with rare intrepidity and courage, authorizing the edicts with her signature."<sup>94</sup>

Although ethnically biased, Cecilia's defendant lawyer in the trial (see page 50) gives us another glimpse at Micaela's intellectual capacity. In his words Micaela was: "so superior in the keen acuteness of her mind and natural lightness of heart" (*tan superior en la viva penetración de espíritu y natural despejo de ánimo*).<sup>95</sup> Also surprising for a political military leader in the midst of the rebellion's pressures are her moral character and social sensibility, as in the remark: "...mind that the Black women are not uncared for, giving them their beds and that they do not lack food."<sup>96</sup> Not only was she physically strong and agile, intelligent and resourceful; she was also diligent and sensitive. The documents show a self-possessed and poised woman; she appears autonomous, knows what to say and when, as in the following instances. According to Cornejo, "in a letter of the beginning of December she declares to her husband she has not followed his orders because she had already done something similar and to repeat it would be impractical. In other complementary aspects, she manifests she will carry them out when it is convenient."<sup>97</sup> Here need to work preventively, hard and fast is constant. In another letter to José Gabriel, she recommends that he sends an emissary to cautiously cut the Pachachaca bridge, as soon as possible, and then she closes, "Any way, you will decide as the one that understands this the best, but if you cannot do it, tell me so that I do it without delay, because in this is the danger."<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> CDIP, II, P. 402.

<sup>95</sup> CDIP, II, p. 762.

<sup>96</sup> CDIP, II, p. 376.

<sup>97</sup> Cited by Barrionuevo, *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>98</sup> Barrionuevo, *Ibid.*, p. 115.

## **Chapter XIII: Andean Gender Epitomized**

### **Bridging Andean culture socio-moral principles to Western Ethics**

Throughout the documents, we clearly see the life of Micaela is an expression of the act of reconciling, bridging and interpreting the Andean into the Western set of values, privately and publicly. She, even more than José Gabriel, was fundamentally raised in the local domestic culture. Her moral values then, her traits, reflect basic Andean life ethics. Her virtues in the documents are readily identifiable with what is commonly highly regarded in present Indian culture.<sup>99</sup> Firmness, fairness, and justice (see page 65) were reflected in personal, private traits, and also in public political action. Revealing of her moral stamina, for instance, is the fact that, both under torture and the threat of imminent death, she is careful not to denounce anybody whose participation had not been already confirmed or confessed.<sup>100</sup> Her loyalty to friends of the cause and ever-present circumspection are outstanding.

As a political leader, she also had to translate Andean principles into palatable Western forms. The belief in the justice of their cause makes Micaela and José Gabriel identify the rebellion's goals with Christian principles. In this view, they had the support of lower echelon provincial priests, such as Pampamarca's Lopez Sosa, Justo Gallegos,<sup>101</sup> Don Gregorio de Yopez, Antonio Centeno, Pedro Juan de Luna, and several others. An example of this adhesion comes in a letter from Sicuani, from Antonio Chavez Mendoza, a priest godson of hers, at a time (March 25, 1781) very close to their capture,

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<sup>99</sup> See Chapter II, here.

<sup>100</sup> An instance can be seen in CDIP, II, p. 719, observation confirmed by Loayza. FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 14 .

"Every Sunday I tell all of the Caciques and Spaniards that they should send all of the people to keep the person of the Inka; later, when peace comes, the good will be for everyone; for this reason they chew me up but cannot swallow me; and this is the truth, as God is present to everyone..."<sup>102</sup>

However, just as there are some who see the Indian people's suffering as a moral responsibility of the church, there are many others who are accomplices of the hierarchy and actively boycott the rebellion. For this reason, Micaela makes a special political effort to affirm the ethical aspects of the rebellion, keeping the necessary forms, e.g., holding religious services, protecting priests, many of whom the Indians wanted to punish themselves for their not so infrequent abuses.<sup>103</sup> Another task was controlling the negative official propaganda against them, activated through other parish priests, led by Juan Manuel Moscoso, Arequipeñan *criollo* and Cuzco Bishop.<sup>104</sup> When this happened, Micaela had to close some churches and watch as closely as she could the priests, always stressing the rebellion's commitment to ethical principles and its not being against the Church. Towards this purpose she was punctual in the payment of tributes and in providing protection and contributions to priests.<sup>105</sup> Privately, she and José Gabriel often saw the need to pray, as indicated in their mutual correspondence and that of others. *Cacica* Catalina de Salas and Pachacuti writes that she was, "praying to God and the

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101 Silva, Vidal, Guevara y Vizcarra, La Mujer en la Revolucion de 1780, p.318.

102 CDIP, II, p. 593.

103 FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 14, 17.

104 The role of Moscoso in the rebellion is so complex and pervasive that it almost equals the relations of Tupac Amaru with the Church itself. After originally supporting the disciplining of Arriaga he changes to condemning and opposing the rebels. He writes extensively, his documents being themselves worth of separate analysis, as done among other by Leon G. Campbell, "Church and State in colonial Peru: the role of the clergy in the Tupac Amaru rebellion in Cuzco, 1780." Journal of Church and State. 1980, 22: 251-70.

105 Barrionuevo cites Carlos Daniel Valcárcel on the issue, *Ibid.*, p.135.

Virgin for you to have success and that you come out victorious... We are requesting masses to be said..."<sup>106</sup>

José Gabriel's original contact of with Bishop Moscoso regarding common issues of concern, like *Corregidor* Arriaga, whom Moscoso had met during his earlier appointment to Buenos Aires, was followed by the bishop's almost obsessive effort to dissociate from the rebellion. Almost from the start of the uprising, Moscoso promulgated an excommunication edict against the rebellion and anyone associated with the Tupac Amarus.<sup>107</sup> Given the power of the Church at the time, this was a most serious political blow to the movement. Micaela in this shows again her surprising stature. Not only did she order the removal of the publicized excommunication edicts from churches' walls and public places,<sup>108</sup> but she personally replaced them with her own pronouncements. According to her, the excommunication "did not apply to them, people should dismiss it because God knew their intention."<sup>109</sup> In an effort to offset the political effects of the edict, she ordered her troops to wear hats with the sign of the cross on them to indicate "their being good Christians."<sup>110</sup> She also emphasized the moral principles of the rebellion. This involved disciplining her 'troops,' by punishing those who stole or destroyed unnecessarily the property and belongings of Spaniards or *criollos*.<sup>111</sup> It is for the official prevention of all kinds of banditry that the movement has been called

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<sup>106</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>107</sup> Moscoso's excommunication note took place early in the rebellion, possibly early December 1780.

<sup>108</sup> CDIP, II, p. 736.

<sup>109</sup> Micaela's answer in trial, CDIP, II, p. 716.

<sup>110</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>111</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 25.

'aristocratic or elitist' in contrast to other popular uprisings.<sup>112</sup> Micaela was, again, the main author of that restraint, for, in her words "what are they going to say, that we are against everyone."<sup>113</sup>

To the principles Micaela held, she added firmness in her decisions. Her orders showed consequences and it was not extraordinary for her to carry out punishments as she had forewarned,

“Here I send this commission to *Don* Andrés Castello so that upon immediate receipt of the present he acts to remove the excommunication announcement in the towns where it is posted, in the company of a two soldiers. Should he refuse to obey this order he will be jailed with leg irons.”<sup>114</sup>

Sound principles combined with firmness resulted in professed obedience by very diverse people. District mayors, *ayllu kurakas*, rebellion officers, men and women: all expressed adherence. "We got Your Grace's letter and obeying your warning, we remain informed about your orders."<sup>115</sup> "And seing the context of your letter, I have put the most active efforts forth so that your precepts are accomplished."<sup>116</sup> Or, "I am not capable of contradicting your orders, nor is there any need to do so."<sup>117</sup> When food shortage became a problem, "These people confuse me with food requests, and not having orders of Your Mercy I cannot give it to them without your orders."<sup>118</sup> Instead, her "surrendered son Juan

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<sup>112</sup> See Leon Campbell, "Banditry and the Tupac Amaru Rebellion in Cuzco, 1780-1784." Bibliotheca Americana, 1983, 1, 3 (Miami): 164-80; and same author, "Ideology and Factionalism," in Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World. (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994). p. 131.

<sup>113</sup> CDIP, II, p. 324.

<sup>114</sup> Silva, Vidal, Guevara and Vizcarra, La Mujer en la Revolucion de 1780, p. 314.

<sup>115</sup> Mayors Alfonso Guisa and Diego Chilo, FAL, Ibid. p. 21.

<sup>116</sup> Recruiting people in Marangani, letter of Simon Callo, FAL, Ibid., p. 25-26.

<sup>117</sup> CDIP, II, p. 342.

<sup>118</sup> Marcos de la Torre, FAL, Ibid., p. 29.

Quispe... dared to take food from the *hacienda* for the people's support giving each half a measure of barley and half a sheep and a basket of coca..."<sup>119</sup>

#### **MANAGING THE INSURRECTION LOGISTICS: SECURING EVERYTHING - FROM FOOD TO ARMS**

One of Micaela's outstanding roles, recognized by observers and researchers of the rebellion, was her extraordinary feat of resourceful engineering for the Indian army, from food to munitions that lasted for about seven months. It was so despite the difficulties of the terrain, for not only the transport of goods and news; the number of 'soldiers' mobilized, according to her accounts was about 80,000. Indeed, towards the last months of the rebellion food scarcity became a problem. "There is no food, at the other band (in the royalist army) they are giving plenty..." "What to do then?" asks Mayor Tomas Guaca, on Dec. 15, 1780.<sup>120</sup> A priest, Antonio Chavez Mendoza, remarked from his perspective, "The people are perishing of hunger due to the extreme poverty that exists. -- I am burying people without payment; it would be too cruel and inhuman to ask for money..."<sup>121</sup> The resources had to be mobilized over great distances, such as ordering to bring them from Andahuaylas, called "the granary of the rebellion,"<sup>122</sup> and Majes and other places in Arequipa, as Ramon Ponce reports.<sup>123</sup> Micaela assumed two key tasks in managing the rebellion logistics. The first was that of providing food, clothing, and money for expenses. The second was the military one, supplying arms, ammunition,

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<sup>119</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>120</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>121</sup> CDIP, II, p. 593.

<sup>122</sup> Campbell, *Ideology and Factionalism*, p. 128

recruiting people and coordinating the movements of Indian troops. Her challenge was how to support the people she had actively recruited during mobilization, in times of crisis, while the 'soldiers' were, at the same time, the families responsible for the production to support daily living in the country.

There was a disagreement between Micaela and José Gabriel regarding when Cuzco should be taken. She wanted to take Cuzco earlier in the rebellion; José Gabriel, instead, favored and acted on delaying that takeover. Their disagreement has been an ardent topic of discussion among the rebellion specialists. It centers exclusively on military strategy, overlooking the pressures that Micaela must have faced managing the rebellion logistics in precarious conditions for an extended period of time. Being directly in charge of this aspect must have factored into her opinion to take Cuzco sooner, just as much as military considerations did. Specialists seem to have overlooked this factor, much as housekeeping operations are assumed as a given when there are other 'important' male concerns in mind. Micaela and close collaborators oversaw providing food, clothing, blankets, money, fuel, candles, and at the end, palliatives to hunger: coca and rum.<sup>124</sup> They were the main providers of goods needed, which they seized from *obrajes* and *haciendas*, or in the last instance, ordered their production themselves. In this regard, Micaela's brother, Antonio Bastidas, appears to have acted as a reliable administrative assistant.

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<sup>123</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>124</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

"I am not sending the bread because it cannot be found, I have little money left in my power, when I order some bread to be made I will send it to you."<sup>125</sup>

His letters contain warnings about preserving resources and requesting essentials,

"They have finished the plowing bulls and sheep and the little they have left of sheep they want to destroy..."<sup>126</sup>

"Send me coca and rum - they are finished now and they are the ones that keep our army up. Equally [important], send money for our expenses so that I don't see myself lacking of these things at the best moment..." Also send *charqui* (beef jerky) and wheat to hand out as salary to people because there is nothing left... It has been three days since the last I handed any out... You know these are needy children..."<sup>127</sup>

In turn, Micaela reports sending him "cheese packs, rice, sugar and herbs."<sup>128</sup> Since more than bread is necessary in a confrontation, Antonio asks to be sent, "a telescope to see the enemy at the distance, and gun powder and bullets..."<sup>129</sup> He requests as well to tell "the Inka to send bullets because they are very scarce."<sup>130</sup> A collaborator in Acomayo requests arms, for they are very limited,

"I notify you that in these towns there is not a single rifle... Your honor should send over here 100 soldiers with their guns and ammunition, then we will know the day to advance"... "...and send a Captain with a more rational disposition (*'un hígado más racional'* -- less emotional?) to govern these people of Acomayo, for they are like beasts of burden; for this reason we wait for your intervention, and Your Grace should not be careless nor allow that any ruin fall upon us."<sup>131</sup>

Marcos de la Torre, December 15, 1780

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<sup>125</sup> CDIP, II, p. 501.

<sup>126</sup> Feb. 7, 1781, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>127</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>128</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>129</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>130</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>131</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

On January 28, 1781 Julian de Escalantes, from Acos, reports sending cloth, arms and ammunition to her. He also sends arrowheads and cane to build floating boats for the Paruro Indians to cross the river.<sup>132</sup> In sum, Micaela is, at the same time, overseeing and delegating from mixing gun powder in rudimentary workshops,<sup>133</sup> grinding to flour for bread and biscuits.<sup>134</sup> She is consulted about the movement of Indian troops,<sup>135</sup> told about threats to highland people from those of the lowlands, and asked for indications of what to do.<sup>136</sup> According to a Spanish officer's report, it was

"(Micaela) who advised him (José Gabriel) that those men -- the Spaniards captured -- could be useful to fix arms, melt cannons and make bullets, especially Galician Figueroa, whose ability in these matters was well known, and in fact, was safely placed in prison with guards on duty, and made to do so" under her direct supervision...<sup>137</sup>

Her talent at managing this immense logistics role is enough to amaze any observer. As will be seen next, however, her life is also a textbook example of Andean culture gender.

#### **THE ORGANIC ARTICULATION OF THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE**

Micaela is put in the position of performing the most varied tasks and, correspondingly, manifests multiple talents. Her practice of combining political-military involvement with domestic concerns enables her to reconcile psychologically

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<sup>132</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>133</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>134</sup> CDIP, II, p. 342, 343.

<sup>135</sup> Letter of Gurrpide, FAL, *Ibid.*, p.24; Buenaventura Benavente, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>136</sup> Fernando Gurrpide and Agustín Aucagualpa, Dec. 16, 1780, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>137</sup> CDIP, Tomo II, pg. 257, "Relacion del mas orrendo atentado que cometio José Tupac Amaru..".

determination and firmness with social sensitivity. That is an unlikely combination from a conventional perspective, in a patriarchal system where the two spheres are irreconcilable. The ease with which she assumed both would show that in Andean culture the connection between these spheres is not impossible under certain conditions. That is, they are not dissociated and segmented by gender. The way she writes a note to send her son Mariano's spurs illustrates that motherly angle of Micaela's life. So does her brother Antonio's expectations that she take care of family needs.

"Mariano says that Susana's sister picked up his spurs, from Luisa and Candelaria's room. You need to quickly send them with an Indian because he needs them badly." <sup>138</sup>

"My sister and lady:

They have told me that my wife is sick and there is no one to take care of her. Please, send her a maid to look after her, because she says she wants to go to her mother in Tungasuca. You should not allow that, if I myself were over there would be little need to bother you..."

"Your Mercy should not overlook that poor wife of mine, that even when she is black, it is enough that she is on your side. For all of this God will bless you first and then me."

Pucacasa, February 13, 1781, Antonio Bastidas.<sup>139</sup>

A few days later, from Antonio himself,

"I am sending you a pack of peaches so that you distribute a part to my wife and another to Don Miguel's, because they've told me you have plenty. Please tell me everything, (especially) if my wife is sick."

Pucacasa February 15, 1781. Your brother, Antonio Bastidas.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> CDIP, II, p. 376.

<sup>139</sup> CDIP, II, p. 501.

Yet Antonio gives her a brotherly warning regarding undue pampering of the secretaries' wives on whom she depended for all of her correspondence, "Only Your Mercy is nursing the secretaries' wives, even when they can wrench the eyes from your face..."<sup>141</sup> In a later note, she gives sisterly advise to him, "to be careful about the enemies."

Symptomatic of the domestic angle is her attention to details. In her final confession she retains names and details of who is keeping pieces of houseware, clothes, and small amount of money for whom, and how they should be returned to their owners.<sup>142</sup> In sum, she conciliates her public role with the private sphere with ease and fluidity, with a very womanly demeanor. Her feminine character might also be the reason why other women are loyal to her. There are few references to their commitment because women had little access to literacy. The few that exist are indicative, however. *Cacica* Cecilia Catalina de Salas y Pachacuti returns extra change in coins in a letter that signs "Your most passionate faithful servant."<sup>143</sup> She further indicates her commitment to the Inka's cause, she "would not ever want to move from the company of my Lord Don José."<sup>144</sup> Likewise, Francisca Herrera puts herself at Micaela's service for transmitting directives or information. She calls three Indian mayors to present themselves to Micaela and later reports two cannot come right away because "they are too old" (*están*

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<sup>140</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>141</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>142</sup> CDIP, II, p. 737.

<sup>143</sup> Yanaoca, December 16, 1780, FAL, *Ibid.* p. 33.

<sup>144</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

*achacosos*).<sup>145</sup> Or, she actually shows her devotion by reporting "a suspicious looking guy" who may have been spying...<sup>146</sup>

## THE SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL FACILITATOR OF THE REBELLION

Some armies have symbolic mothers. In Catholic cultures, soldiers use the Virgin Mary image or a female patron saint to symbolically sooth the wounds, weaknesses and fears of soldiers. It is more common to use God's ideal presence, un-gendered, to care for feelings and emotions. In the Indian rebel army not only were women present, as soldiers and high command, but Micaela's leadership in the movement and the army placed her concretely in the role of socio-emotional facilitator of the rebellion's high command. Because this was not matter of controversy, there are only scattered evidences of her compassion and kindness, such as in the above example of feeding and providing well for the Black women. What are more frequent, however, are complaints. For her people, she is the mother to whom difficulties on administrative issues can be taken. Julian de Escalantes, notifies her from Acos that the Hanacmarka *Cacique* is "doing stupid things"<sup>147</sup> complaining that someone may be stealing things.<sup>148</sup> Micaela's "disorganized troops" report to her robberies, lies and disobediences.<sup>149</sup> In the following letter excerpt she is notified of interpersonal problems regarding a young man,

"He's been targeted, and the bad will that they have had towards this young man, Francisco Torres, is because he has carried out all of Your Mercy's orders so well,

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<sup>145</sup> CDIP, II, p. 349.

<sup>146</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>147</sup> January 28, 1781; FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>148</sup> January 28, 1781; FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 36.

with dedication, without altering them a bit. That is why they have him between their teeth".... "It is real hate that they have with the poor kid..."<sup>150</sup>

However, what is gender instructive in the documents is that they show José Gabriel crying and very frequently reported in acts of compassion, more than a Western military leader in his position would. This again points out the fact that gender roles refer to both men and women, to the structuring of qualities and traits in both.

### **A CONJUGAL RELATION IN LIGHT OF ANDEAN CULTURE OR REBELLION CIRCUMSTANCES?**

Finally, conjugal relation archetypes need to be undressed of their particular cultural connotations to characterize the relationship of José Gabriel and Micaela given the relative short duration of their lives. Their love for each other must have started at a tender age and grown through the years. Perhaps it started in the idyllic grounds shared in childhood in Tungasuca, Surimana and Pampamarca,<sup>151</sup> and extended through the forming of their family, their state, and the common struggle that led to their deaths. Her premonition, left by an observer, that "*she would die where her husband died,*" was fulfilled.<sup>152</sup> Her admiration for the Inka, her husband, for his goals and dedication, are

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<sup>149</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>150</sup> Miguel Ninaco, January 27, 1781, FAL. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>151</sup> The area is remarkably beautiful, according to visitors like Carlos Daniel Valcárcel and Juan Antonio del Busto, who both did extensive work on the subject. "Without knowing places and peoples like these in Peru -- says Carlos Daniel Valcárcel -- one cannot understand the greatness of a past burdened with glory, nor the psychology of a vigorous man as the Indian, simple peasant, nor feel astounded before the negligence and pedantic later misunderstanding.." CDIP, II, p. 850. The now dainty colonial towns are set in the setting of the South Andean landscape of terraced mountains, snowy peaks in the background and a beautiful lake now baptized "Tupac Amaru." The mountain cliffs formed by the powerful Apurimac river where children still go fishing for trout as it must have been in times of José Gabriel add breath-taking views, a spiritual gift, says Valcárcel.

<sup>152</sup> From FAL, reproduced by Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 42.

evident in the way she refers to him: he was finally showing Indians the way to defend themselves, he was sleepless over, "...the public good and the repose of the Indians and Spanish *criollos*."<sup>153</sup> As the provisional government head in his absence, she backed him thoroughly: "Do not bother Francisco Torres because what he has practiced has been approved by the Inka;"<sup>154</sup> or orders "to arrest Francisco Sucacahua for contradicting the orders of my husband José Gabriel Tupac Amaru."<sup>155</sup>

The declarations of José Gabriel when forced to confront Micaela in her trial, illustrate the kind of relationship they had while sharing enormous political responsibilities during the rebellion.<sup>156</sup> In the trial, lawyer Gregorio Murillo intends to change an already pronounced death sentence for her and her relatives up to the fourth generation. Their crime was '*delito de lesa Majestad*,' political crime against the Spanish King. In a parody of defense, Murillo's defense is based on José Gabriel's presumed cruelty to his wife. He supposedly terrified Micaela to the point that she was unable to run away from him, especially due to her "weaker to ponder sex."<sup>157</sup> In "honor of the truth" and within the mark of a presumed culturally-approved practice, then and now,<sup>158</sup> José Gabriel recognized that he had hit Micaela at some time before the rebellion. However, he indicates that far from inspiring fear in her, "he consulted Micaela on all of

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<sup>153</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>154</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>155</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>156</sup> CDIP, II, p. 729-739.

<sup>157</sup> CDIP, II, p. 731.

<sup>158</sup> Physical abuse between spouses in the Andean world has been represented stereotypically in the popular dominant culture, much as the negative social characteristics among Black people in the United States or oppressed groups in other countries. An alternative socio-psychological interpretation of the problem was suggested to me by Jeanette Paez of Ecuador. Moreover, as seen in Chapter II here, increasing wife and children abuse in family relations manifested as Andean families in *M.M.* advanced towards *Mestizo-criollo* acculturation. This observation was confirmed by Martha Hardman de Bautista, personal conversation, 1989.

his decisions and she encouraged him to put them in practice." When asked, "whether or not it was true that she lived in close obedience to him and was in blind fear of him," he replied serenely, "Micaela did what he ordered her but, in the same way, he also did what she commanded him to do, and it is untruth that she had great fear of him."<sup>159</sup> At another point, when asked whether she followed him out of fear he says "that far from following him in fear, his wife sent him money to succor the people." When asked whether or not it was true that Micaela was not knowledgeable of the uprising, that he kept it hidden from her, he says, "From the time he came from Lima, he only communicated his intention to rebel to Micaela." Finally, projecting a Spanish cultural practice of sex segregation and exclusive communication among men on important matters, Murillo proposed that the sentencing of *Corregidor* Arriaga was something consulted only with his cousin (Diego Tupac Amaru) and excluding his wife, who just witnessed their secretive conversations.<sup>160</sup> José Gabriel replied:

"It is untruth what the question implies, because since the month previous to *Corregidor* Arriaga's detention, when this one said I should leave the *curacazgo* in the period of twenty-four hours if I did not deliver what I owed of the tributes and other dependencies, otherwise not only I would be hanged, but also my wife and children, I fully transmitted that to Micaela; at that very time she expressed that it was urgent to execute what we had deliberated about."<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 735.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 734.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 735. José Gabriel had opened his declaration saying that even though Micaela was his wife, he was not going to lie for this reason. His declarations now may be considered a valuable testimony in behalf of his wife and other women, and of a culture that was only enriched with their full contribution.

In effect, that mutual trust extended for years before the rebellion outbreak. One witness overheard Micaela in Quechua refer that, for at least four years, José Gabriel and she had deliberated about the uprising. In his words, earlier "she had held him back telling him it was not yet the time, until he had raised more followers (*'hasta que sembrara gente'*).<sup>162</sup>

In contrast to the couple's sharing and collaboration in responsibilities, the defense attempts arguments that are themselves evidence of Spanish gender assumptions. The Spanish law reiterates the status of women as minors when lawyer Murillo alleges 'natural reason' to protect Micaela's relatives from being condemned.

"Natural reason says that one cannot extinguish fully the family of Micaela because those found guilty by extension in kinship are not punishable with death but only with not inheriting a part of the property, if they were men; a fourth part, and in food products, if they were women."<sup>163</sup>

Both, of course, the Spanish law and its supporting 'natural reason', disregarded openly, in the trials, the protection of the 'weaker sex' of women participants. The threat posed by Micaela, and José Gabriel, to the colonial system must have been so great that indeed it merited the elimination of all of their relatives, legally and in fact.

Something else should be said about José Gabriel and Micaela's correspondence to close the topic of their conjugal relation in the context of the Great Rebellion. Given the conditions in which they were written, their letters were concise, direct and condensed with vital, meaningful information. Through them, their love, mutual trust and reliance on each other were subtly expressed until the end, despite their difference

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<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 723.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 731.

regarding the urgency to take over Cuzco earlier in the uprising (Micaela's view). The successive generations of scholars on the Great Rebellion have been divided about this.<sup>164</sup> Interestingly, the issue of gender itself enters in the discussion, as to whether it is possible to accept that women could be wiser than men in areas of political and military strategy, an exclusive male domain under patriarchy. It is also a gender issue in the substantial cultural and historical sense that concerns us here. This man trusted his wife absolutely in all capacities, and in the end, he may have failed where she did not. Two of Micaela's letters show the affection in their relationship.

"My son Chepe:

I have celebrated infinitely that you have happily arrived (?). I am here in Pomacanchi, gathering more people, because there were too few in Tungasuca. The news is that the first troops have left Cuzco and are arriving to Urcos. They also want to surround us from Paruro. For all of these reasons I have moved forward and here I wait for you, so come in this direction. May God keep you well for years!

It is your Mica. Pomacanchi, December 16 1780.<sup>165</sup>

Mister Governor Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaru Inka.

Son of my heart:

I send five hundred and twenty six raffle cartridges with bullets with the carrier; likewise thirty cannon cartridges for the same purpose, but no gun powder because there is none left right now, barely some for the cannons. He is also

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<sup>164</sup> The dilemma, simplified, centered around the need to besiege Cuzco right after a victorious operation at Sangarara, playing on the Indian troops' high morale and the element of surprise, versus the alternative of recruiting more people and securing larger bases of support in the solid Indian areas of South Peru and present Bolivia. Early in time, the assault on Cuzco could have counted on the support of some urban sectors, "parishes of Cuzco" that José Gabriel and Micaela mention, which were and still are old *ayllus*, and the political collaboration of a few *criollo-mestizo* progressive elements. The delay allowed the reinforcement of the Spanish army and the mounting of political preparation effectively promoted by the hierarchy of the Church. Moreover, with time, the logistic precariousness of the rebel forces became more evident.

<sup>165</sup> CDIP, II, p. 357.

taking six *pesos*, two *coca* baskets, all of which the conductor will deliver. May God keep your honor for many years! Of Your Grace, your loving daughter,

Doña Micaela Bastidas

Tinta April 7, 1781.<sup>166</sup>

"My son Chepe," "Chepe mio," "Chepe of my heart," signed by "Your loving wife," or simply by her nickname "your Mica" are frequent greetings and closing phrases. In his part, "My daughter" "Daughter of my heart," "Daughter Mica" and "Your Chepe" are devoutly opening and closing phrases. Rebellion specialist Leon Campbell puzzles over the meaning of Micaela and José Gabriel's mutual addressing in filial terms.<sup>167</sup> Although their letters were dictated to secretaries and written in Spanish, *Runasimi* (Quechua), their mother tongue, still seem to affect their content and grammatical construction. Likewise, José Gabriel and Micaela's choice of that filial terminology to express their love may have a cultural interpretation. These terms could be expressing Andean assumptions on the quality of human bonds. A filial relationship, more than any other, expresses giving and protecting the other without expecting reciprocity, that is, gift giving.<sup>168</sup> It may be significant that they are also used in the context of authority in the Andes. But, the rebellion was defeated, the main leaders captured and Micaela sentenced to death along them. The official description of Micaela's death was the following:

"Being the main Plaza of this city respectable by the presence of the Royal Army and the justices and various peoples of distinction, Micaela Bastidas was brought out from the jail where she was held prisoner at the regular hour of the morning, dressed in a Mercy robe with a "esparto" rope around her neck, her feet and hands

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<sup>166</sup> CDIP, II, p. 533.

<sup>167</sup> Campbell, Leon, *Ibid.* p. .

<sup>168</sup> Genevieve Vaughn "The Gift Economy," Plain View Press, Austin, TX 1997.

tied, preceded by the usual loud announcement of her crime. She was dragged in this way to the place of sacrifice, where she was made to sit in the bench, she was tied up with the instrument of garrote, her tongue cut, and after death with such instrument, she was hanged, all of this being carried out by executioners.

In the afternoon of the very same day her body was dismembered at the foot of her sacrifice place, her head was placed in Callanca, the common city of Cuzco entry and beginning of Piccho hill, an arm was destined to Tungasuca, another to Arequipa, and one of the legs to Carabaya and the rest of the body to the same Piccho hill. And there, it was burned in a fire set for such purpose, together with the one of her husband, according to the sentence, in whose execution he was present. And so that it is written, I signed the present and in Cuzco on May 18, 1781 as testimony of the truth. José Palacios, Royal Public Notary."<sup>169</sup>

This testimony, written as official formal report, does not reveal details. Micaela was not immediately killed by garrote because her neck was too thin.<sup>170</sup> Executioners had to kill her by blows in the stomach, breasts and back. She had witnessed already the torture and death of close collaborators, her brother Antonio, her nineteen-year old son Hipólito, and Tomasa, who preceded her. She knew her husband and her youngest son, twelve-year old, Fernandillo, were being forced to witness everything. And yet, according to accounts, she did not utter a word and died like a queen.<sup>171</sup>

The details of Micaela's life are spread throughout the rebellion documents and related accounts. There would still be room for an analysis of the content of her letters and other documents regarding military, political, ideological, religious positions. So, the

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<sup>169</sup> CDIP, II, p. 739.

<sup>170</sup> Juan José Vega, 1999.

story of Micaela is not over in this section or with this paper. However, in terms of the paper's purpose, to illuminate issues of gender in Andean culture, through rebellion documents, Micaela Bastidas stands as the outstanding example of what Andean Indian gender can potentially set women up to be. Micaela's socio-cultural identity cannot be misplaced. It is from the ground of Andean culture, as an Indian woman, that she negotiates her position with the *criollo-mestizo* culture. Until we know more about the father's precise identity, the links with her *mestizo* father appear weak and uncertain. In contrast, those in her mother's ancestry were at hand, were vigorous and were clearly tied to old Indian traditions of parallel lines of descent by gender. This Inka heritage would explain Micaela's extraordinary display of political and executive talents, while being still firmly a wife and a mother.

This, in effect, would show that 'the feminine' in Andean culture does not imply lack of physical or moral strength, or lack of independence. It is the possession of those qualities in Micaela that account for her capacity to command thousands of subordinates, her ingenuity to create resources and sound judgment. This was in absence of any formal Western education, which would have had to be comparable to that of men to do just that. For this reason also, the cultural source of her stand on justice, moral principles, loyalty to collaborators, her unrelenting fidelity to the rebellion's cause, did not derive though it overlaps with Western ethics. She herself made the effort to identify her principles with aspects of Christian teachings. On the other hand, an understanding of gender roles, among themselves and with the external world, different from those in the Spanish

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<sup>171</sup> Valcarcel, C.D., op.cit.

culture, is the basis for Micaela and José Gabriel's relationship. This, as clearly seen in the Spanish law used to defend Micaela, assumed inequality and subordination of women to men. It advocated her inferior status as a woman, a case that we will see repeated with Tomasa and Cecilia. The wonder of Spanish officers before Micaela's actions is further evidence of the day and night contrast of gender systems in the Andean and Western worlds.

## Chapter XIV: The Cacica of Acos

<i>Ama wayqey manchankichu</i>	Don't you be afraid my dear brother,
<i>wayqeychallay fulanito</i>	my dear brother whoever you may be
<i>yawar mayu unupina</i>	even when you see yourself surrounded
<i>rikukuspapas</i>	in a great river of blood
<i>Ayrampu unullan kayqa</i>	And say that the blood
<i>nillanki mareee...</i>	is but tinted 'ayrampu' water...

From "Habla Micaela" by Alfonsina Barrionuevo, p. 56-7.

Tomasa Titu Condemayta was the *Cacica* of Acos, a comparable political role to that of her relative José Gabriel Condorcanqui Tupac Amaru II. She also belonged to noble Inka families and, as *cacica*, enjoyed some of the special privileges described earlier. The privileges that she did not enjoy, such as lack of access to formal education and the restrictions placed on her actions and potential, were because she was a woman. This Tomasa articulates in a way that reminds us of other Andean women's testimonies in colonial times collected by Irene Silverblatt.<sup>172</sup> In the quote that follows Tomasa writes Micaela about the challenges of sustaining the Pilpinto pass defense for over a month as commander of a group consisting mainly of women, but also men.<sup>173</sup>

"... here we are so compressed by those in the other side of the river *that being a woman I have done plenty to defend myself in my position*; so much that Don Marcos is recklessly jabbering that I am too boisterous, and in this understanding I do not know what to do. *I am so disfavored to be a woman, but with all of that I have done my share to stop them as much as I have been able*, and so mind us in this place." <sup>174</sup>

In her trial she indicates that she knows how to read but does not write; that she had her letters written for her.<sup>175</sup> For that reason, she says, she could not sign her confession.

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<sup>172</sup> Silverblatt, I., *Ibid.*, 1987.

<sup>173</sup> CBTA, III, p. 76.

<sup>174</sup> CDIP, II, p. 341.

<sup>175</sup> CBTA, III, p. 496; CDIP, II, p.743.

However, in another place she indicates that she cannot sign because of a sprained wrist (*la muñeca desconcertada*).<sup>176</sup> Although it is possible that mistreatment and torture before the trial injured her hand, she could have also lied because of feeling inadequate, in her position and wealth, not being able to write. The discriminatory policies of Spanish institutions prevented schooling for Indian girls,<sup>177</sup> even when giving legal recognition to Indian women's right of succession in government. The schools intended to equip natural leaders to mediate their domination were for the *caciques'* sons, not their daughters, even though *cacicas* performed the same duties.<sup>178</sup>

Fundamentally, however, Tomasa's case shows how the strongly gendered legal statutes of the colonial administration, at this time, had not eroded yet the Indian succession rights that allowed women to assume full rights in government and property.<sup>179</sup> While the right to property was not of particular importance in the Andean society, the right to government was. Of course, the opposite was true or at least more feasible in the Spanish system. Colonial authorities thus extended and accommodated the Spanish right to property to the Indian right to lead, within the framework of an Indian legislation separate and subordinated to the Spanish law. For this reason native women with political roles were recognized by Spanish legislation in Peru up to the 1700's, along the Northern coast<sup>180</sup> and in other parts of the country. The provision to allow women in government was possibly passed because of its anticipated exceptional occurrence, which indeed became truer with time.

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<sup>176</sup> CBTA,III, p. 507.

<sup>177</sup> Of course, this is more the product of a gender discrimination than a cultural-ethnic one. Illustrative is the case, in the documents themselves, of a Andrea Esquivel, Spanish woman that declares against the rebels, and cannot sign either because she does not know how to. CDIP, II, p. 492. Being a nun meant, for a common woman, access to literacy, as is also discussed in reference to Peru by Martin, *Women in Colonial Peru*. 1987.

<sup>178</sup> CDIP, II, p. 492.

<sup>179</sup> Judith Prieto de Ramirez in *Mujer, Poder y Desarrollo en el Peru*. Editorial Dorhca, Callao, Peru, 1981.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

Tomasa's participation in the struggle appears to have started accidentally. Fernando Cabrera, the *Corregidor* of Quispicanchis called her and other *caciques* of the area to fight off José Gabriel after the news of *Corregidor* Arriaga's death.<sup>181</sup> At the time of enlisting, and maybe for this reason, her Indians rebelled against her, burning her house and leaving her with the 'clothes on her body.'<sup>182</sup> At that time she still entertained friends and connections of her Spanish husband on her estates. According to witnesses' declarations,<sup>183</sup> the burning of her house occurred because her Indians, who were very ready to participate in the rebellion,<sup>184</sup> thought she was hiding Spaniards.<sup>185</sup> Threatened to death by them, Tomasa fled from her town and sought refuge in the Sangarara's priest's house.<sup>186</sup> From there she was taken to the house of José Gabriel and Micaela, for protection from her Indians, where "she was well attended and relaxed" (*bien regalada y paseándose*).<sup>187</sup> In this situation, both must have personally explained to her the reasons for the rebellion. The result was a total commitment of Tomasa to the movement, as an important provider of people,<sup>188</sup> informer<sup>189</sup> and conductor of military actions, both armed and logistic,<sup>190</sup> for property and goods' confiscation for the rebellion.

Apparently, it is not only the injustices against the Indians that motivated her. As in the case of José Gabriel, she experienced directly the *corregidores'* harassment. Domingo Pagaza, a debt collector of Cabrera, her *Corregidor*, continually gave her very

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<sup>181</sup> Ramon Delgado's trial records, CBTA, V, pp. 557-601.

<sup>182</sup> CDIP, II, p. 747.

<sup>183</sup> CBTA, V, pp. 557-601.

<sup>184</sup> Declar. de José Gabriel, CBTA, III, pg. 507.

<sup>185</sup> CBTA, III, p. 507.

<sup>186</sup> CBTA, III, p. 487, declaration of Galleguillos.

<sup>187</sup> CDIP, II, p. 749, declaration of Micaela.

<sup>188</sup> Declarations Antonio Bastidas, CBTA, III, p. 421; Galleguillos, Manuel, p. 487; Francisco Cisneros, p. 488; M. Banda, p. 490.

<sup>189</sup> CBTA, p. 490.

<sup>190</sup> E.g., CBTA, III, p. 421.

short terms for tribute collection. He fined her often and threatened to confiscate her properties for not being on time.<sup>191</sup> According to one witness, this man persecuted her to the end because "...he hated her as well as all her children."<sup>192</sup> This debt collector, Pagaza, was the reason that her fifteen-year old son Ramon Delgado was detained and prosecuted after her death. Pagaza, said another witness,

"was Doña Tomasa Titu Condemayta's declared enemy, of her children and the rest of her family, chased her to satisfy completely all of the tribute, and on one occasion she had to hide and borrow some money to be able to complete the tribute which (the witness) didn't know if it included the fines."<sup>193</sup>

At the time of the rebellion Tomasa was in her mid-forties, had a comfortable position, and was married to a Spaniard, Faustino Delgado. He had at least one son of a previous liaison, Evaristo Delgado, who had his own sizable properties and pressed Tomasa not to get involved in the rebellion.<sup>194</sup> Of her own, she had at least two daughters, also married to *chapezones*, one of whom Tomasa supported (*lo aviaba*), according to Secretary Galleguillos.<sup>195</sup> Ramón, her youngest child, accompanied Tomasa during parts of the confrontation. Nearing the rebellion's defeat, this teenager fled to the Spaniards' side, protected during parts of his escape by his sister Lorenza Delgado, who also advised him to accept the Crown's offer of forgiveness to those who abandoned the rebel.<sup>196</sup> In Ramón's trial, which extended from March 6 to July 14, 1781, well before his mother's detention that occurred in April, and well after her death on May 18, he had to defend himself from accusations of collaboration with her. Ramón appears sincere when he

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<sup>191</sup> CBTA, V, pp. 584, 586, 587.

<sup>192</sup> CBTA, V, pp. 589.

<sup>193</sup> CBTA, V, pp. 591.

<sup>194</sup> CBTA, II, p. 560, 672.

<sup>195</sup> CBTA, II, p. 487; CDIP, II, p. 740.

<sup>196</sup> CBTA, II, p. 596.

declares to be loyal to the Spanish king, clearly implying preference for his father's ethnic group. However, given his age and especially after his mother's horrendous punishment, fear can indeed count as motive. The Spanish law underlying patriarchal gender played flexibly according to power needs in this case. On the one hand, Ramon was declared innocent because, as a boy, he is considered naturally connected to his father, who was loyal to the Crown, and not to his mother. Since the Spanish law recognized only the father as parent legally liable to commit such crime, he was freed because the traitor was his mother. However, in a practical exception to that law, Tomasa, along with other women, was nevertheless convicted of political treason (*crimen de lesa majestad*).<sup>197</sup>

The documents reveal a complex personality in Tomasa. For instance, her class status shows in some of her expressions and through the listing of her holdings. She reports to Micaela with disdain the seizure of a landowner's properties who only had, in her words, "an insignificant little house" (*'una casa de mala muerte'*).<sup>198</sup> When already sentenced, among a variety of other possessions, they found fourteen '*lienzos*' (paintings), with different motifs in one of the properties she had.<sup>199</sup> In one letter her concern is that Indians should not "commit excesses with the *criollos*," showing maybe some loyalty to White relatives and relations.<sup>200</sup> On the other hand, the Indians' reaction towards Tomasa appears to reflect a class/ethnic separation from them, not evident with José Gabriel and Micaela. Then again, the Inka title on José Gabriel's back must have added an impressive aura to his persona, which in any case he did not disconfirm.

Tomasa, in sum, is practical, passionate about her cause, ambitious and less naive, more distrustful of the enemy's apparent good will than Micaela and especially José

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<sup>197</sup> see Campbell.

<sup>198</sup> CBTA, III, p. 494.

<sup>199</sup> CBTA, II, p. 359.

<sup>200</sup> CBTA, III, p. 494.

Gabriel. In a letter she warns him about the company of a man with whom he should be careful, who is a "*real sacre*" (rapacious bird similar to eagle).<sup>201</sup> Through José Gabriel and Micaela, Tomasa must have known the extent of Lopez Sosa's ethical and libertarian ideological influence that he provided for the rebellion. In her final confession she accuses the Pampamarca parish priest who educated José Gabriel of their ruin, which Tomasa foresaw earlier in letters to José Gabriel and Micaela. "The curate of Pampamarca is responsible for all of this; he should be punished by the Bishop!" she declares.<sup>202</sup> On her way to be garroted she shouts to the informers she eyed, "traitors... cowards!" for which a piece of wood is tied in her mouth before the final sacrifice.<sup>203</sup>

The kinship with José Gabriel<sup>204</sup> and their similar political perspective show in the way she addresses him in letters during the rebellion: "Brother and Lord"<sup>205</sup> My beloved brother," or in letters to Micaela, "I have been waiting news from my brother the Inka." Besides being consistently pointed out by witnesses in her trial as a provider of people for the rebellion, she also supported Micaela with information on movement of troops.<sup>206</sup> Her constant concern was rebellion logistics, operations provisions, sending grain, or requesting them from Micaela.<sup>207</sup> In the following letter Tomasa describes her work to Micaela, expressing her feelings about it and pledging to the cause:

"My dearest lady: This occasion makes me write to you as I have been waiting for your visit for hours, as well as for the return of my brother Don José, since it pains me not to know his whereabouts, and the fact that there is no person

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<sup>201</sup> CBTA, III, p. 494.

<sup>202</sup> CBTA, III, p. 494; CDIP, II, p. 742.

<sup>203</sup> Cornejo, 1949.

<sup>204</sup> Long lasting family ties of the Titu Condemaytas and the Tupac Amaru family are reflected in the wedding certificate of Don Marcos Tupac Amaru and Dona Marcela Castro, where Sebastian Titu Condemayta and Dona Alfonsa Hurtado act as the godparents of the couple in Surimana, 1735.

<sup>205</sup> CDIP, II, p. 321.

<sup>206</sup> CBTA, III, p. 495.

<sup>207</sup> CBTA, III, p. 507.

commanding in his place. I am hardly containing the threat in this side of the river, and even when assisted from Acomayo, after a while the people had to go, as well as those from Corma. Nonetheless, one way or the other, I am keeping the Acos people in line, and since so much calamity and hunger have been constant in this town for these two years, all of the little I had has been consumed to support the people of this town, even with a bite per person. With this concern in mind, I have heard that there is plenty of grain in Valuaya, from which I would dearly request that Your Honor succor us for our people. Acomayo has more than twice been helped from Your Honor's hands, and for this reason I plead that you to keep us in mind with the needed support. I will stand up and keep this going as much as I can until Don José's return, or anybody else in his place who would order how to proceed. The Mayor of Pilpinto is carrier of the present and he will give additional news about what is going on. I remain of yours the smallest servant,

Tomasa

December 12, 1980."<sup>208</sup>

It is possible that educational discrimination against women limited in Tomasa a more elaborated articulation of an ideological stand. But, the one articulated by José Gabriel and Micaela seem right enough for Tomasa to risk it all, her family, properties, position, her own life. Several accounts describe Tomasa as personally commanding troops of thousands of Indians, of arming and recruiting people.<sup>209</sup> In one of the successful campaigns, the one of Sangarara, it was recounted that after victory she danced from happiness in the middle of field, waiving a red flag.<sup>210</sup>

At the time of the rebellion Tomasa was possibly a grandmother and quite wealthy (by the list of her possessions). Her connection to the struggle and her commitment must have been a scandal among her children and other relatives identified

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<sup>208</sup> CBTA, III, p. 492.

<sup>209</sup> Campbell, L., *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>210</sup> Cornejo, op.cit.

with the Spanish establishment. Moreover, given the persecution to death that the insurgents' relatives suffered, her daughters and grandchildren must have hidden away behind their Spanish last names and relatives. On the surface, however, absorbed as the *cacica* was in the intensity of her engagement, she assumes the responsibility of her choice. Tomasa turns away from her husband Faustino Delgado, and he in turn, when she was detained, is reported to have quickly run to her house in Acos to save a few possessions and sell 520 sheep, after which he disappeared.<sup>211</sup>

As with Micaela, Tomasa is very concerned with the need to take Cuzco and equally impatient with José Gabriel's delay in the *Altiplano*, "I have had so much sadness due to *Don* José's delay. May God bring him over as soon as possible," she says.<sup>212</sup> As in Micaela's case, her agony about impending disaster came earlier when she forewarned Micaela that "Your Mercy should not allow that we are ruined,"<sup>213</sup> "because the soldiers of His Majesty were threatening to kill everyone..."<sup>214</sup> Near the rebellion's end, when participating with her own group of people in the final siege of Cuzco, which was never successful, apparently Tomasa had to be held back by force from continuing.<sup>215</sup> José Gabriel gave up trying to take the city, whose arms superiority he had miscalculated. Moreover, his cousin Diego Tupac Amaru failed to arrive on time to back him.<sup>216</sup> He was also deterred by two powerful moral conflicts. Two important Indian *kurakas*, Pumacagua, equally of royal blood, and Rosas, were supporting the Crown, so the Indian cause he led was divided. More important, in a method of military dissuasion - apparently used in European and Spanish wars - Indians living in Cusco, naturally

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<sup>211</sup> Report of shepherd Melchor Huaman, CBTA, III, p. 511-2.

<sup>212</sup> CBTA, III, p. 490 and declaration of Micaela, CBTA, III, p. 508.

<sup>213</sup> CDIP, II, p. 492.

<sup>214</sup> CDIP, II, p. 507.

<sup>215</sup> Declaration. of José Gabriel, CBTA, III, p. 507.

<sup>216</sup> Valcárcel's info on assault on Cuzco failure, on Pumacagua's deal and failure of Diego and superiority of arms and use of Indians as '*fuera de choque*.'

including women and children, were intentionally put at the front battle line. To advance, José Gabriel would have had to shoot them.<sup>217</sup>

Wealthy, powerful, determined, a cunning administrator, passionate, practical rather than ideological, Tomasa did not cease fighting against colonial abuses until the last moments of her life. It is hard to think that these for her did not include the injustices toward women that she felt in her own skin. Revealing of her character is that when she was already sentenced and asked for her last words, she listed punctually items, goods, money, obligations owed to her, as if she was still demanding what was due to her.<sup>218</sup> In contrast, in similar circumstances, Micaela indicated a few pending obligations of her own towards other people.<sup>219</sup> Her explanation could be what she expressed in a letter, "it is important not to be careless about the commissions that have been entrusted to one for it is important to fulfill them."<sup>220</sup> Doña Tomasa died before Micaela and after six other people on May 18, 1781. As were those of the main leaders, her body was dismembered. Her head was sent to her native Acos, where her Indians must have finally seen proof that her marriage to a Spaniard and her begetting children for him, were no obstacle to her final personal allegiance and sacrifice: she had still died for them. How different was her temperament from the picture drawn by Spanish lawyer Gregorio Murillo in his pretense of defense:

"She lost her properties and for this reason Tupac Amaru's threats caused a forced collaboration" ... "it is gathered her deeds were involuntary due to the intimidation she suffered for her cowardice, *for her nature and sex*, and in attention to the works she suffered..."<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> Discussion of the rebellion military tactics has not contemplated this issue from a cultural perspective.

<sup>218</sup> CBTA, III, p. 516.

<sup>219</sup> CBTA, III, p. 737-738.

<sup>220</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>221</sup> CBTA, III, p. 507.



same as Micaela's, both mentioning a mother with the same name, Josépha Puyucahua.<sup>223</sup> This opens the question of how close their relationship was. There is no reference that Marcela might have been a maternal sister of Micaela and, for generational reasons only - she was a grandmother at the time of the rebellion -- Marcela may have been just an older relative of Micaela, married to Don Marcos Tupac Amaru, an uncle of José Gabriel. What is important, though, is their family relationship not only with José Gabriel, through Marcos, but also through Micaela, via Josépha Puyucahua.

Marcela was also the mother of Diego Cristóbal Tupac Amaru, being Cecilia a daughter of an earlier union to that with Don Marcos. As a cousin and close collaborator of José Gabriel, Diego Cristóbal became commander-in-chief of the rebellion and its main conductor in the *Altiplano* after José Gabriel's death. Doña Marcela apparently supported and counseled José Gabriel and Diego Cristóbal for a long time, from their childhoods in Surimana. Marcela was an 'Indian *mestiza*,' that is, a *mestiza* with an Indian soul, maybe because she was formed in an Indian environment, or because she was a Puyucahua. Little is known about her other than that she was the grandmother who took care of all of the main leaders' children, of José Gabriel, Diego, and Cecilia, when needed during the rebellion. Cornejo, the Cuzco historian, deduces from expressions in the documents, that she nourished the thirst for justice in the hearts of her children and grandchildren, i.e., her role was ideological and of value-support to their struggle. In his words,

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<sup>223</sup> It is possible there is an error in registering the names of Indians by Spanish or criollo secretaries. As touched here earlier, in the papers reviewed, I have not found further information about the fact that the family relationship was not only through Marcos Tupac Amaru, uncle of José Gabriel and husband of Marcela, but also with Micaela's mother.

"...she had witnessed the conversation in reference to the uprising occurred in Marcapata without having been opposed to it or reported it, keeping disaffection and mistrust in the Indians, putting in her letters her children's resolutions." <sup>224</sup>

The documents uniformly testify that the women participating in the rebellion had a less compromising position than their male counterparts, and *Doña* Marcela, as mother and grandmother, is an example. When her son Diego Cristóbal gave in to a deceitful peace treaty with the Spaniards, two years after the main leaders' death, the documents indicate she never agreed to it with her son; she was the first to warn him against it. As a result, the Spaniards disbanded the Indian army, capturing and sentencing the last leaders of the movement. It became the final debacle of the movement. In 1783, two years after the sacrifice of her relatives, José Gabriel and Micaela, she was condemned, too, because, she had been the keeper of José Gabriel's personal key papers which were not in the hands of secretaries.<sup>225</sup> She never made them available and, in revenge, her sentence, handed down on May 18, 1783, exactly two years after the main leaders' death, was consummated two months later in the following terms,

" We must equally condemn Marcela Castro to be taken from the jail where she is detained, that she be dragged from the tail of a beast of burden, pulled with a coarse rope around her throat, tied at both feet and hands, with an official announcer manifesting her crime and thus be led through the usual streets, to the sacrifice place where the hanging will be done, where she will have her tongue cut up until the hour she dies naturally, with no one being allowed to take her away without our permission, and with that she will be later dismembered, putting her head on one pole in the road that goes to San Sebastian, an arm be sent to the

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<sup>224</sup> Cornejo, op.cit.

<sup>225</sup> Declaration of José Gabriel, CDBTA, III, p. 151.

town of Sicuani, another to the town of Urcos, one leg to Pampamarca, another to Ocongate, and the rest of the body burned in a fire in the midst of this Plaza and her ashes thrown into the air."

Gabriel de Aviles, July 18, Cuzco, Peru.<sup>226</sup>

She must have been at least in her sixties when forced to witness the torture of her son Diego, and to foresee the extermination of all of her relatives, old and young. But what was life worth without them, what was life worth without the freedom for her people? Unfortunately we have no direct transcriptions of this warrior grandmother's words. She was present in the struggles of her children, and taught them... as she formed her daughter Cecilia's character, whose direct testimony is in trial documents.

Through witnesses' words and Cecilia's own answers in her trial, Cecilia appeared proud of her Indian heritage, defiant of the oppressors and firm in her stand. When in presence of witnesses at her trial and questioned and re-questioned about the charges against her, Cecilia firmly settled "What has been confessed, is confessed, what has been denied, is denied."<sup>227</sup> Old Peruvian historian Francisco Loayza describes her,

"(she), the one of piercing black eyes, of graceful and small stature, who making a show of high composure, did not disclose names of any of the followers of the revolution. Tortures and suffering waiting for her and family did not matter..."<sup>228</sup>

However, Cecilia could not have imagined the horrors to come. She was married to a Spanish muleteer, Pedro Mendigure, who unlike Tomasa's husband, assumed the family cause as his and became a captain in the rebellion.<sup>229</sup> Pedro's adhesion to the Inka cause

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<sup>226</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p.169.

<sup>227</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>228</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>229</sup> CBTA, Tomo III, p. 460.

cost him his life. He was hanged and dismembered, two months after the main leaders' deaths and his head was sent as dissuasion to his home town, Pomacanche.<sup>230</sup> Cecilia and Pedro were the parents of young Andrés Mendigure Castro, co-leader of the movement with his uncle Diego and with Mariano Condorcanqui Bastidas, the second son of José Gabriel and Micaela.<sup>231</sup> Cecilia and Pedro had also two daughters, Felipa and Lorenza Mendigure Castro. Cecilia could not have guessed that all of her children in prime years, her son Andrés and daughters Felipa and Lorenza would die of hunger, mistreatment and sadness in the midst of an unknown ocean, on the way to Spain.<sup>232</sup> They died between September 1784 and April 1786, with three hundred other close kin.<sup>233</sup>

Cecilia could not have guessed either that even her mother Marcela's advanced age would not deter Spaniards from applying the cruelest of reprisals against her, or her brother Diego for advancing the cause of the rebellion. Cecilia's death of 'natural' accident, as reported by the curate Buenaventura Loayza in Cuzco on April 19, 1783, occurred one month after her mother's sentence, but two months before her actual death. Cecilia was waiting in detention to be sent to Lima and then to exile in Mexico. The exact cause of Cecilia's death is unknown. Was it sadness, pain, humiliation? Did Marcela know about her daughter's death and was she relieved Cecilia was spared further horrors, especially the consummation of Marcela's and Diego's sentences, on July 19, 1783, (exactly three months after Cecilia's death)?<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> CBTA, Tomo III, p. 477.

<sup>231</sup> Young Andrés, as Mariano, the son of José Gabriel and Micaela, took simply the last name Tupac Amaru when continuing the struggle in the Altiplano and until their death a few years later.

<sup>232</sup> Cornejo, *Sangre Andina*, p. 190-191.

<sup>233</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 189-190.

<sup>234</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 206; Cornejo, *Sangre Andina*, p. 179.

According to Cecilia's declaration in trial, she was not the daughter of Don Marcos Tupac Amaru, José Gabriel's uncle, who was the husband of her mother Marcela.<sup>235</sup> Brought up in his household she was recognized as a first cousin and for this reason often called 'Cecilia Tupac Amaru,' and following the Andean family system, as a sister of José Gabriel.<sup>236</sup> Cecilia was about the same age as Micaela and, according to Micaela and José Gabriel's secretaries, who later became informers, she was "the house manager and minded the family affairs,"<sup>237</sup> (*estaba encargada de familia*).<sup>238</sup> In that position, she showed clear ideological definition and political astuteness. The accusation to which she assented at the trials was saying that "due to the *corregidores*, even the sheep skin on which they lay had no wool anymore [could not replace it due to poverty], so why shouldn't all of them be killed off?"<sup>239</sup>

In the rebellion José Gabriel and Micaela had to depend on Spanish and mestizo secretaries and arm specialists. Cecilia is said to have always been suspicious of them, advising not to trust them and that "it was crucial that all of the Spaniards should be killed." "She showed great hate for all of the '*chapelones*,' that they were traitors and sly and vile" according to one witness<sup>240</sup> and said "that *mestizos* were traitors by nature."<sup>241</sup> She went further, according to witnesses, "she rewarded with money and coca the Indians

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<sup>235</sup> Andean family system dynamics determined roles and place of all concerned relations.

<sup>236</sup> The children of siblings call and treat each other as brothers and sisters. Apparently, the fact the Cecilia was step daughter of Marcos did not make a difference. Juan Bautista in his Memories (see page here) also calls her (*prima hermana*) "sister."

<sup>237</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>238</sup> Declaration of Galleguillos, CBTA, V, p. 20.

<sup>239</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>240</sup> Declaration of Andrea Esquivel, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>241</sup> Confession of Ortigosa, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 190.

who came saying they had killed Spaniards..."<sup>242</sup>, that she even encouraged the Indians to kill Spaniards, starting with her husband Pedro Mendigure, "because he was not helping her cousin José Gabriel (as he should)."<sup>243</sup>

Political astuteness was what made her suspect that Francisco Cisneros, a Spaniard upon whom José Gabriel and Micaela relied for fabricating cannons, fixing guns, and preparing gun powder, would undermine the rebellion, as indeed he did. In the Piccho battle, which marked José Gabriel's retreat and final capture, "when the powder had disappeared, she ran to blame Don Francisco for hiding it, and attacked him, wanting to poke out his eyes with a broom or her own hands..."<sup>244</sup> A witness denounced her, saying that Cecilia had advised José Gabriel to immediately kill him and another person when she fetched a note written by the two plotting against the Inka.<sup>245</sup> Either due to Cecilia's haughtiness or to the imperative temperament of Micaela, or the pressed conditions of the rebellion, the two of them are reported to have had their tensions.<sup>246</sup> Micaela is said to have commented "she [Cecilia] was haughty, that she had to do what she was told to do because even Spaniards would obey Micaela's orders."<sup>247</sup> Despite this, according to one witness, not only would Cecilia influence Micaela, but she was even worse [more radical] than her."<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> Confession of Francisco Nogera, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>243</sup> Confession of Francisco Nogera, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>244</sup> Confession of Francisco Molina, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>245</sup> Confession of Francisco Molina, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>246</sup> Tensions between the two, Cecilia and Micaela are commented by some of the authors, like Cornejo, op.cit.

<sup>247</sup> Micaela indeed could assert herself in her authority, which a close female relative may not have been ready not to question.

<sup>248</sup> Confession of José Unda, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 193.

The accusations against Cecilia at the trial were all ideological and because nothing concrete was proven against her, she was one of the few people engaged in the movement not immediately sentenced to death.<sup>249</sup> The defense that saved her life is worth examining apart, at the end of this section, for its gender and ethnic/class arguments. She was sentenced to a whipping of two hundred strokes after being paraded naked from the waist up on a donkey's back through the streets of Cuzco to the main plaza where the sentence was applied. After that, she was to be sent to Lima, on foot, and from there shipped to the convent of '*Recogidos*' in Mexico. As a life intern, she was to be dedicated to "services proper to her sex" with due reports from the Mother superior. Through the eyes of her cousin Juan Bautista Tupac Amaru we have one of the last glimpses at what Cecilia must have seen in that sentence,

"To my first cousin Doña Cecilia Tupac Amaru and me, they took us sitting on paired donkeys and whipping us through the streets... Some of them (the jailers) gave me such a blow to the head that even now I have the mark, for having shown repugnance to suffering the torment of passing through the streets burdened with dirt, dishonor and injuries. These men seemed to feel some kind of pleasure in my shame and pain, and sometimes were amused, in the same way the conquistadors would hunt Indians with dogs just for fun..."<sup>250</sup>

Juan Bautista walked with Cecilia this part of the path of humiliation and punishment for the rebellion. Maybe in this walk his unspoken promise to her was that he would keep her presence with him on the ship on the way to exile in Spain, where he would

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<sup>249</sup> Another was Juan Baustista Tupac Amaru, José Gabriel's younger brother.

<sup>250</sup> From *Cuarenta Años de Cautiverio, Memorias de Juan Bautista Tupac Amaru*, en FAL, Tomo I, Los pequeños grandes libros de Historia Americana, pp. 26-27, cited by FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 204.

accompany and see the death of her children Andrés, Felipa and Lorenza.<sup>251</sup> Before their passing, he may have glanced supportively at them, in consolation and shared bewilderment at the sight of seemingly endless horror.<sup>252</sup> Together, with the more than three hundred Amaru relatives, they were made to disappear, so that "no trace of the Tupac Amarus blood would ever be seen again."<sup>253</sup>

### AN UNBECOMING DEFENSE

More than illustrating Cecilia's specific case, the arguments of defense lawyer Don Juan Munive y Mozo make clear the assumptions regarding women in the Spanish law. He wrote in her defense:

"...the crimes attributed to Cecilia are not a fact but pure conjecture, whose thought is now found justified with the information produced in the examination process. Thus, it must be said that neither the extreme poverty nor her capacities are convincing evidence of the adherence she pretended to have with Micaela Bastidas in intending to help in her evil enterprises; *since it is not possible that a woman would intend that, who due to the weakness of her sex or to her pitiful constitution would be capable of living up to her promises.* " <sup>254</sup>

"To apply the law recommended by the Public Prosecutor to Cecilia Escalera, it is necessary not only that she be considered to have helped the rebels but also to have influenced and advise them. Up to now, it is proven that she could not help them, and from the information gathered, that she could not influence nor advise in such serious questions as those of the past unrests, *who for her ignorance, rudeness of understanding and no education, maybe lacks that*

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<sup>251</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>252</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>234</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>254</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 199.

*common discernment that each individual needs to conduct himself in his own business. Cecilia Escalera is of too ordinary extraction and too limited lights to influence and give advice to Micaela Bastidas, so superior to her in the clear penetration of mind and natural sharpness of spirit, as the witnesses of the facts declare it... "...*<sup>255</sup>

"Thus all of her crimes are grounded solely on the desire that witnesses pretend to impute to Cecilia on the basis of her appearance, or for some four badly articulated proposals they heard from her" "(which are) interior acts of will -- confirmed by swearing -- but human external actions do not often correspond to interior ones."<sup>256</sup>

"Lastly the defendant reminds Your Grace of "the scarce sense that peasant women possess. Ignorant, impressionable of the abuses that they breathe in their towns, their natural inclination is to speak coarsely and usually trying always to impress and lead those whom they judge beneficial to their ends. And mainly that law does not presume neither in women of this class, nor in those of any other, the crime of treason that the Public prosecutor attributes to Cecilia. "

"...when in this very same law it is stated the exception in which women are held for this crime in the following words: "*Esto es porque non debe home asmar que las mujeres fisiesen traicion nin se metiesen a esto de tan ligero a ayudar a su padre como los varones. E por ende non deben sufrir tan grand pena como ellos.*"<sup>257</sup> ("This is because man should not assume that women would do treason nor would get involved in this so lightly to help their father as would men. And therefore they should not suffer as great a punishment as them.")

Munive's first paragraph expresses his main argument, that wishes/conjectures and words are not facts, and since the first are the only proven in Cecilia, she cannot be condemned for them. Her poverty and lack of sound faculties explain the words pronounced – a class argument -, which have even less value in a woman, due to the (inherent) weakness of her

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<sup>255</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>256</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>257</sup> Don Juan Munive y Mozo, FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 201.

sex and 'pitiful constitution.' These prevent her from following up on her promises, of carrying out her word. The second paragraph reiterates Cecilia's low-class condition, which, in his eyes, impairs her ability to say anything intelligent or intelligible. In the third, Munive remarks again on the frequent lack of correspondence between interior acts of will and human external actions. Again, with a class argument, the fourth paragraph argues that being peasant women ignorant and impressionable, abuses and rudeness characterize their culture in towns, and that makes them use people for their own ends (moral deficiency). Closing, Munive fashions a key legal argument: "the law does not presume either in the ones (women) of this class, nor in those of any other, the crime of treason that the Public Prosecutor attributes to Cecilia." The statement translated from old Spanish says the reason is that women are simply incapable of it. It is paradoxical, and revealing of the Spanish justice system (and Western thought), that such a defense would save Cecilia's life: recognizing her intellectual, physical, class-culture inferiority, which equals, or is best expressed in her being a woman.

## **Chapter XVI: From facts to theory: The private sphere in the public one - Family involvement in the rebellion**

One of the most productive areas to conceptualize and investigate the effects of gender roles in patriarchal systems, and to compare them with others, is spheres of action and influence. In a Durkheimian ideal representation of patriarchy, the public sphere versus the private sphere correspond to men and women, respectively; the public is the general collective area of concern, the private is the domestic, family-circumscribed area. Family, in this context, refers only to the basic biological, psychological and social reproductive unit. The concerns of a woman are supposedly 'by nature' concentrated in the domestic private realm, while those of man 'by nature' also are those of the public realm. The spheres are mostly exclusive - talents and capacities, and areas of legitimate agency for each sex, are recognized each mostly within a separate realm. Order exists in society with each accomplishing his/her corresponding share. Queen of the house, King of the world is the image that also reflects the power involved in the assignment. The King rules the world (and the house) and accepts the input of the captive Queen at his discretion; though well aware his lordship depends on the captive Queen's daily maintenance and reproductive labor.

It is against the deception of that arrangement that contemporary feminism has inspired academic reflection and research efforts, to reveal the power balance involved in it, to uncover forms of resistance, to discover varied ways in which the arrangement can

be subverted, or is even non-existent in certain historical conditions. It is regarding the meaning of this image of gender relations that I compare women in the Great Rebellion.

#### **THE CONJUGAL RELATIONSHIP UNDER A NEW LIGHT**

Leaving aside Marcela's case (for lack of specific information), the "ideal" patriarchal representation above contrasts with the profile of Micaela, Tomasa and Cecilia. We want to see how much of a good fit exists in their lives with a conjugal relation characterized by domesticity, the use of sexuality to attract husbands, an overriding concern with their children's well being -- not necessarily with those of others, and less, with those of distant others, and even less, with those of the enemy. The 'Queen of the house' image connotes the use of sexuality by women to entice their husbands into their nests, which in turn implies an overriding concern with house decor, meal preparation, and comfort *vis-a-vis* male comfort.

The documents provide an image of Micaela Bastidas indeed distant from the above grotesque patriarchal scheme. Her role was already multifaceted during peace times. She ran the household agricultural and commercial enterprises, and organized the Indian and *mestizo* attendants' work. She also took care of José Gabriel's political responsibilities in his not infrequent absences, as he was by trade an '*arriero*'.<sup>258</sup> Even when shared with relatives, her domestic obligations were still her main responsibility. For a woman of her background and scant formal training, Micaela's work during the rebellion was admirable in the multiplicity of activities she performed, the competencies she manifested over the short time period of the rebellion, which we can follow through

documents. She directly dealt and oversaw 'co-opted' urban Spaniards and Blacks, in the trades that 'her' Indians lacked, the manufacture of cannons, gun powder, bullets and rifles.<sup>259</sup> She had political transactions with White officials and priests when her husband was absent. She acted as logistic manager of rebellion operations under very precarious conditions. Finally, she was in charge of the Indians, her people, of recruiting and organizing them, and of governing the occupied areas. A conjugal relation of common goals and a shared vision was the basis for all of this. The gender instructive aspect of this kind of conjugal relation is the integrity, the wholesome stand of Micaela as a human being, independent from her husband.

Adornment is another illustrative aspect of gender language in patriarchal settings not exactly reproduced here. Several references in the literature point to the styles and striking appearance, through exquisite taste for the times, of José Gabriel. There is nothing of the sort -- other than the exceptional remark on her natural beauty -- with regards to Micaela. "*Zarcillos de oro*" (gold earrings) brought as gifts to her from his trips are among the few mentioned luxuries after their capture.

A similar profile emerges regarding the marital relations of the two other women. The *Cacica* of Acos, Tomasa Titu Condemayta, was not only a political leader in her own right, she also owned and administered numerous agricultural and commercial properties. Her pace was so intense that it appears as if her husband had to catch up with her! It is of

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<sup>258</sup> Conf., Barrionuevo, op.cit., and Cornejo, op. cit.

<sup>259</sup> There was an evolution in the thought of both Micaela and José Gabriel towards overtly calling Indians 'my Indians.' In the case of Micaela, in public pronouncements, in a discourse that parallels José Gabriel's references to 'my nation' as distinct to the other nations in the Peruvian territory, that of Spaniards, that of *mestizos*, and others. (CDIP, II, p.346). What is interesting is how clear it was for everyone concerned up to this point the notion of Indians as a

note that the trial documents and letters do not mention him openly at all, for or against the cause. Thus, her playing to her husband's relations before the rebellion seems more a social and political strategy than an every-day pastime or a heart-felt act.<sup>260</sup> When Tomasa's political commitment came to the fore, there was no doubt which route she would take. When her husband did not show an inclination for her cause, she dispensed with him.

The case of Cecilia Escalera Tupac Amaru is equally illustrative. Confronted with the fact that her husband Pedro Mendigure belonged to a racially and culturally antagonistic group to hers, she seems to have firmly conditioned the relationship so that he joined the movement and supported the rebellion (see page 50). She is successful, or what is the same, the commitment of her surrounding extended family compelled him to stay. Mendigure actually said at the trial that he was pressed to serve in the cause for being such a close relative of the leaders, his life was at stake. (However, he witnessed torture and cruelty as the main leaders' punishment, two weeks before his sentence was dictated, which could have also produced an ingratiating confession.<sup>261</sup>) There is also the possibility that he was one of the exceptional Spaniards against the corruption and injustice of the colonial occupation, for whom the rebellion made sense. Maybe he joined it in expectation that it would be successful. He certainly appeared sincere when

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separate nation. Don Agustin Jáuregui responds to José Gabriel for his crazy and extravagant presumption "...with which he has seduced to many in *his nation*" (emphasis mine). CDIP, II, p. 347.

<sup>260</sup> In this case, it is not a poor Indian woman who marries a wealthy man; very possibly it was the other way around, a poor Spaniard who married a well-off Indian woman, in a trend that started in the conquest and extends to the present. White European males (and other foreigners) have replaced Spaniards, and Peruvian *mestizas* or White women the original Indian women are largely pushed into miscegenation or poverty.

<sup>261</sup> CBTA, III, p. 477.

he addressed José Gabriel as "Very Loved Brother," "My Brother and Lord."<sup>262</sup> A witness at the trial, Francisco Molina says about him and his son Andrés "that what they intended was not against the King but against the introduced abuses."<sup>263</sup> Molina adds, "He always kept himself available to him (José Gabriel), commanding the Indians, and falling short in nothing for the rebel."<sup>264</sup> To him belongs a notable vignette gender-wise in the reviewed documents.<sup>265</sup> In an affectionate letter to Micaela, headed "Dearest Little Sister" (*Muy amada hermanita*) he sends "twelve 'maytos' of flowers ('mayto' means bundle in Quechua) so that they put them to that Sovereign Lord (God) in the name of my brother Don José, to give him grace in all of his work." (*para que llos pongan en nombre de mi hermano Don José a ese Soberano Señor para que le de su gracia en todo su trabajo.*)<sup>266</sup> In the end, he was condemned to death for supporting the rebellion, two years before his wife's death and about three and half years before that of his children Andrés, Lorenza, Felipa, as members of the Tupac Amaru family.

#### **FILIAL RELATIONS: OUR CHILDREN AND THE CHILDREN OF THE MOTHERLAND**

It is difficult to imagine that a woman's children would be unimportant or secondary in her concerns. Mother love as the highest measure of attachment makes it understandable when a mother kills, or robs for her children or -- the most common -- that she gives her life for them. The ultimate inconceivable crime is a mother killing her

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<sup>262</sup> CBTA, III, p. 454.

<sup>263</sup> CBTA, III, p. 457.

<sup>264</sup> Declaration of Escarcena, CBTA, III, p. 460.

<sup>265</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>266</sup> CDIP, II, p. 320.

children. It is a shock and grave omen when mothers start doing this in any society. In patriarchy though, the principle of 'maternalism' justifies the enclosure of women in their children's lives, so as to make her children's well-being appear to be the foremost and exclusive concern on a mother's mind.

The lives of these three women, particularly the pinnacle that Micaela represents, show how maternity can be understood in the context of issues larger than the exclusive concern with the well-being of one's particular offspring, although there are few direct references to her children by Micaela. After all, her correspondence was an official act during extraordinary circumstances that left little room for anything other than what was at stake. If she needed to say something to or about her children, she sent messages through other means, orally, in Quechua, via relatives, or through *chaskies*, the system of Inka runners or carriers, on horse now, evidently still in use at the time of the rebellion. The absence of references to her children is also surprising because, in the midst of her formal correspondence, Micaela still surprises us with very 'womanly concerns': whether Mariano is lacking his spears and should have them back, or whether the '*negras*' (the Black women) have enough to eat and are treated well, or the request of José Gabriel to her, to send the flag "neatly mended" (*bien surcidita*).<sup>267</sup> Likewise, it could be gender indicative that it is easier to find in José Gabriel's correspondence more references to his children than in Micaela's. It is known that from jail, when trying to get an Indian guard to facilitate his escape, his foremost concern was "Fernandillo," his youngest son's well-being. Another reason for Micaela's relative absence of direct mention of her children in

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<sup>267</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p.203.

her correspondence could be their age and their being boys. The older child, Hipólito, about 20-years old during the rebellion, was consistently at his father's side in battle, in the very Andean way of modeling himself after someone by assisting in all work.<sup>268</sup> Mariano, about 18-years old, was either with his father or with his mother, as José Gabriel's letter to her (reproduced here) indicates, or also in charge of Great aunt Marcela Castro, in the company of his age mate and cousin, Andrés (son of Cecilia and Pedro Mendigure).<sup>269</sup> Fernandillo must have accompanied Micaela more often than did the others, when conditions were not too hectic. Otherwise, he was also sent to Great aunt Marcela or Aunt Cecilia. For this reason, one exceptional reference to little Fernando appears to us as revealingly maternal:

"I have news that this guy, Bejarano, with the priest of Yanaoca, have both arranged to deliver me to our enemies with *my son*. This and other news that arrives here, at each step, baffles me and takes my life away; and my only consolation is to pray to the kind Lord for him to unravel all of these machinations."<sup>270</sup>

Two references to her children are in the most famous of her letters to José Gabriel, for good reason. The letter is a protest for his delay in the *Altiplano* and a premonition of what is to come -- Micaela's garden of Gethsemane before her family's holocaust. (The full letter is reproduced in the appendix.)

"Now we are amidst our enemies, so there is no guaranty for our lives anymore; and because of you *all of my children are at risk, in danger, as well as all of the remaining people on our side...*"

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<sup>268</sup> CBTA, II, p. 97-101.

<sup>269</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>270</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

*"I am not sorry to lose my life, but that of this poor family that needs all the help; and so, if the people of Paruro come, as I suggested in my former letter, I am ready to walk with the people, leaving Fernando in the assigned place, since the Indians are not capable of moving (alone?) in these times of so many threats."*<sup>271</sup>

In the first paragraph above, Micaela's sweeping reference 'all of her children' leaves the impression that she means many more than three. In the second, her agony about her children is so indirect that it could also apply to the family of all of her people. In reply, José Gabriel answers her concerns about their children with tenderness, as much as possible under the circumstances, through official secretaries and in a second language,

"Daughter Mica: After Don Antonio Castelo left for that town with my letters, yours arrived. In it, you tell me that the soldiers are coming from Cuzco; for this reason, I advise you to come home, up to Langui, with all the soldiers, where you can stay with *Fernandillo and Mariano*, and the soldiers may stay with all of the people of Langui and Layo; *so that you can be in a safe place*, such as the Chacamayo heights; but it seems to me very difficult that they can get out of the valley when our people are at the door; it is only if the *Caciques* get careless that they can leave, or that they give place to it; any other way they will not be able to, because our people are in the higher parts.... "<sup>272</sup> (My emphasis)

Micaela and José Gabriel's martyrdom could only be paired with their children's tragedy. Hipólito was condemned to torture and hanging and executed before his parents. Mariano escaped his parents' detention by accident and saved his life, fleeing to the *Altiplano* to accompany his uncle Diego Tupac Amaru and his cousin Andrés.<sup>273</sup> The three survived two and half more years through a deceitful peace that allowed the

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<sup>271</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>272</sup> CDIP, II, p. 337.

dismantling of the movement leading to the remaining leaders' eventual capture. After Diego's execution, Mariano and Andrés were sentenced to exile in Spain. They died on the way there, as a result of the trip's nefarious conditions.<sup>274</sup> At this time, Mariano may have been bordering his twenty-first birthday, having recently become the father of a child who was promptly disappeared.<sup>275</sup> 'Ten and half' year old Fernando was first forced to witness the carnage of the close associates of his parents, among whom there were few close uncles. Then he saw his oldest brother Hipólito killed, and then his mother tortured, garroted and killed by blows.<sup>276</sup> He was made to stand under their gallows, escorted by four guards, shackled."<sup>277</sup> Finally, in view of his father's dismembering, the unfortunate child let go a shrill cry that broke the tense silence of the gory official festival of blood where seemingly no Indians were present.<sup>278</sup> Then he was made to stand under his mother's hanging body. The child's horrific cry must have transported him through time and space, across the Atlantic, two years or so later, helping him to survive a shipwreck and land on the coasts of Spain. Before being shipped, he had also been castrated.<sup>279</sup> He had to bring personally the Inka dynasty's commination to the old continent. Fernando lasted a few years in Spain where he died before his twenties, of "melancholy, ' destitution and illness."<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>274</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 165-167.

<sup>275</sup> Burns, Kathy, 1993.

<sup>276</sup> CBTA, II, p. 113.

<sup>277</sup> CDIP, II, p. 789.

<sup>278</sup> C.D. Valcarcel, in Barrionuevo, op.cit.

<sup>279</sup> CDIP, II, p.790.

<sup>280</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 165-167.

The documents mention Tomasa Titu Condemayta's daughters only in passing. Indeed, little would be known of them all were it not for the accidental detention of her twelve-year old son Andrés whose declarations bring up additional information about her case. Again, the extent and quality of Tomasa's correspondence may be the reason for the lack of direct references to her children. However, she may not have mentioned them because she felt them alienated to her cause. Being first generation *mestizos*, they made an explicit pledge to their father's cause, against hers.<sup>281</sup> Through it, they would continue to exploit the Indians with whom Tomasa had sided. The Indians were still, in the words of her judges, "the people of the above referred Indian woman."<sup>282</sup> Her children did not belong with them anymore. Tomasa's dilemma has contemporary resonances in the so-called *mestizo* identity definition in Andean countries, and also in the inter-cultural transnational world of today. Tomasa's response, her not mentioning them, may mean that if they did not understand, they did not deserve her concern. She was risking her own life to free herself and her people from abuses and to re-possess her ancestors' original ways. Her children had opted for the parental culture that was not hers, and maybe this made them not hers anymore. Given that, of the three women, hers are the only children that survived to posterity, those who chose the victorious nation on this occasion, which ultimately became the *mestizo* establishment.

Apparently, Cecilia's children were young adults during the rebellion. When she was engaged in her cousins José Gabriel and Micaela's affairs, their son Andrés was like Hipólito, the leaders' oldest, a young trainee in the rebellion. Her daughters, on the other

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<sup>281</sup> CBTA, V, p. 596.

hand, may not have needed to be looked after by her mother, *Doña* Marcela, anymore.<sup>283</sup> Maybe they were helping her instead. When the trial of Cecilia and her husband Pedro Mendigure was taking place much of the family hid, though not for long. After *Doña* Marcela and Diego's execution in Cuzco in July 1783, the Mendigure last names show in the extensive list of the condemned, persecuted and deported Tupac Amaru family.<sup>284</sup> In sum, the children of the Amarus were killed, the children of Cecilia disappeared, and the children of Tomasa survived – standing for the hybrid anti-Indian mix that represents Peru's national identity today.

What is instructive about gender in the three cases is that these are mothers who opted for, and committed their children, for good or bad, to the rebellion's goals. These goals transcended the immediate group's well-being. They were meant to secure the integrity of their nation and its right to exist in its own land as an independent, autonomous entity. It is as if these mothers wanted to show that the only way to safeguard love and family feeling of the close social and biological reproductive circle is to secure the conditions for its reproduction in the larger social units, their nation and the extensive human family. Andean society was struggling to preserve or restore itself as it was before the European arrival. Women especially were defending their integrity as human beings, and motherhood was emblematic in a society that had learned to reproduce itself harmoniously. It is no wonder how great the fury that Sahuaraura, a

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<sup>282</sup> CDIP, II, p. 744.

<sup>283</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>284</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 168.

noble Indian reporter against Tupac Amaru, observed in the women participating in the rebellion,

"The Indian women, being by nature compassionate, turned like wild animals, they walked with the men carrying the stones for them..."<sup>285</sup>, or

"Men and women participated in the struggle, being the last ones outstanding as faithful collaborators in combat..."<sup>286</sup>

### **THE EXTENDED FAMILY: THE SEAT OF THE NATION'S RESURGENCE**

Extended networks of relatives constituted the main basis for mobilizing the rebellion. Maybe because the extended family circle includes within it the nuclear family, the basic social reproductive unit, which is also a productive unit in Andean society,<sup>287</sup> its activities are not strictly 'private.' For this reason, in the rebellion the nuclear and extended family moved swiftly into the public arena, the political, as its main scenario. "(We) all were united to help each other...",<sup>288</sup> answered Micaela in the trial when asked to say, after swearing or in another way, if all of José Gabriel's and her relatives were connected to the rebellion enterprise.

The engagement of family members is not only vertical, generational, as in the case of Don Marcos Tupac Amaru and Doña Marcela Castro, their children Diego and Cecilia, and their respective spouses, their children and possibly a few grandchildren (maybe children of Lorenza and Felipa?). It is also horizontal, that is, co-lateral family

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<sup>285</sup> CDIP, Tomo II, p. 363.

<sup>286</sup> Llerena, *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>287</sup> Herencia 1991.

links can also mobilize. Siblings, cousins in the same age group, their spouses and their respective networks turn into vital links of support. Again, Doña Marcela Castro's family is an example of horizontal links. In the list of deported "Tupac Amarus" sent to Spain, there are at least four sisters of Doña Marcela. The list may, in addition, include their husbands and children.<sup>289</sup> Obviously, the fact that they were detained does not mean they were all involved. Their capture and eventual death sentences, implicit or officially enacted, may have just obeyed genocidal intentions, evident in the case of Fernando, José Gabriel and Micaela's youngest child. Nevertheless, families and communities were still the main basis for collective mobilization in the Andes at the time of the rebellion, especially for its being a national re-building program.

The vertical and collateral links can especially be explored among the main leaders. The parents of the protagonist couple were not alive during the rebellion, but they had aunts and uncles. As elders, they advised, supported, and worked for the movement. José Gabriel's uncle/older cousin, Don Francisco Tupac Amaru, more than sixty years old, was tried and hanged with him and Micaela on May 18, 1781.<sup>290</sup> Another uncle, Bartolomé Tupac Amaru, despite being a hundred and twenty five years of age was sent into exile with the 78 relatives of the José Gabriel and Micaela, dying during the trip.<sup>291</sup> The trial documents show the presence of more aunts, uncles and cousins, who directly or through their spouses, supported the cause in different offices or services.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> CDIP, Tomo II, Vol.2, p. 717.

<sup>289</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 183-191.

<sup>290</sup> CBTA, III, p. 317.

<sup>291</sup> Memorias de Juan Bautista Tupac Amaru, cited by Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>292</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 168-170.

What is more notable is the participation of siblings in each case. On José Gabriel's side, the loyal presence of his younger brother, Juan Bautista Tupac Amaru, follows him, even after death.<sup>293</sup> In Micaela's case, both her brothers Antonio and Mariano Bastidas collaborated, but Antonio was especially Micaela's immediate support and captain in the Rebellion.<sup>294</sup> Fulfilling his word, he died the same day as she, "I will accomplish what my Lord and brother-in-law commands me to do, and in no case will I betray this trust, even if I lose my life for Your Graces."<sup>295</sup> Mariano Bastidas and his immediate family apparently survived exile in Spain.<sup>296</sup>

Moreover, a society based on family relations, reproduces these symbolically through ritual links, the most common of which is "god-parenting." The Catholic Church accommodated ancient Andean cultural practices in this sense, and stamped social bonding through religious or pious rituals on important landmarks in people's lives, life passages as well as sizable acquisitions. One can be a '*padrino*' or '*madrina*' not only of a wedding, or a child's baptism, but also of a new house, a new sewing machine, or a new business. The parish documents of weddings, baptisms, funerals in the towns of Pampamarca, Tungasuca, and Surimana demonstrate how numerous and broad range these activities were, in which the extended Tupac Amaru family engaged in the community.<sup>297</sup> The cultural symbolism of such actions is so diverse and pervasive that age, sex and race of *padrinos* and *ahijados* (godparents and grandchildren) vary much

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<sup>293</sup> CBTA, IV, pp. 607-630, and see *Memorias de Juan Bautista Tupac Amaru*, Editorial Boedo, Buenos Aires, 1976.

<sup>294</sup> CBTA, IV, pp. 607-630.

<sup>295</sup> CBTA, III, p. 443.

<sup>296</sup> Mariano's exile in Spain, Cornejo, op.cit.

<sup>297</sup> CDIP, II, p. 855-870.

and does not have much to do with actual services provided by protagonists. For instance, Micaela and her child son Fernando were the wedding *padrinos* of a couple.<sup>298</sup> This symbolic kinship must be counted as part of the extended family involvement in the rebellion. These symbolic links are seen in the documents of Tomasa and Cecilia, although not with the profusion of Micaela and José Gabriel's.

The documents do not mention parents and siblings in Tomasa's special family conditions. A few Titus like her appear in the infamous list of condemned 'traitors' on their way to Spain, including two children, but it is not clear how they related to her.<sup>299</sup> As indicated, Cecilia, her brother Diego Tupac Amaru and his wife, and of course their mother, repeat again the paradigmatic nature of family involvement to the end.

#### **THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE PERSONAL WORLD: PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE PRIVATE ONE**

In the earlier section the family moves out from its immediate biological and social reproductive concerns to claim the social political arena as fit for family action. In this I want to point out a complementary move to break up the dichotomy of the public versus the private sphere for women (and men) in the Great Rebellion. It takes place at the ideological level. In it, that which is recognized as 'the public,' that is, the arena of public concern, or ideological elaborations regarding collective well-being, position themselves centrally in the lives of these women. In consequence, the public-private gap closes, not only on an action level but also ideologically. The objective of this section is

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<sup>298</sup> CDIP, II, p. 856.

<sup>299</sup> Comejo, *Ibid.*, p. 186.

to show, with a few examples, how this may have happened ideologically and to suggest theoretical leads into the issue. This last section of the paper will not/cannot be a thorough discussion of the ideological feminine in the rebellion. Instead, I will present a few theoretical reflections inspired by the materials at hand.

Ideology in patriarchal societies is strongly gendered and segmented by areas of competence. In it, the articulation of the 'feminine' and the 'masculine' is difficult because the worlds of concern of each gender are separate and relatively unconnected. In a patriarchal system, the ideological representation of the collective public from men's perspective would center on the show of power and strength. The corresponding women's representation would center on avoiding suffering, eliminating oppression, protecting life. In the Andean Rebellion of the 1780's, the evidence of extraordinary participation by women would mean that women's ideological elaborations of the public collective were less purely feminine in a patriarchal way. As much as to stop suffering, that is, the feminine aspect of ideology, they alluded to power and the need to restore past glory. Complementarily, men must have had representations of the public political with more 'feminine' aspects. In the end, this implies that women and men had quite homogeneous concerns and were less polarized.

The justifications for the rebellion by the three women examined here are intimate, powerful, compelling forces (Micaela's letter excerpt page 4).<sup>300</sup>

"And if Your Graces have the people to capture the *Corregidor* and Europeans, go ahead and do it, requesting help from other *kurakas*. *There is no reason why they should mistreat us and treat us as dogs, besides taking away with so much*

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<sup>300</sup> CDIP, II, p. 332-333.

*tyranny our lands from us...for they see we are not capable of defending ourselves, the way we see now that my husband is showing us the way.*"<sup>301</sup>

"It is time that you make an effort (*se esfuercen*) as the Indians and Spaniards of these provinces of Tinta."

The paragraph has five parts. In the first statement, Micaela orders communal action to detain the '*Corregidor* and Europeans.' It identifies an antagonism based on identity: we and the enemies of our race. Enemies are characterized by the task they perform (*corregidores*) and their race-nationality (Europeans), in that order. In the second, statement, 'they mistreat us and treat us as dogs,' she expresses that 'these enemies' cause Indians suffering and humiliation and, indeed, have reduced 'our' (note the clear Indian identity of Micaela) condition to that of animals. In the third, she stresses an unjust expropriation of resources that 'our race' suffered through the use of force: 'they take away our lands with so much tyranny.' One reason for this abuse, she points out in the fourth sentence, is their equivocal perception of 'us.' They see 'us' as weak and incapable of fighting back, 'of defending ourselves.' The relative a-temporality of the first four diagnostic statements contrasts with the fifth proposal, the need to correct that perception with action now. Indians should follow José Gabriel's lead, 'the way we see it now that my husband has (literally) put his hand out...' The urgency for immediate action, in the way other Indians and poor Spaniards are showing now in, "It is time that you make an effort (*se esfuercen*) as Indians and Spaniards of these provinces." In sum, identity, suffering, injustice, equivocal perception, collective empowerment and demand for

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<sup>301</sup> I am translating the literal 'has put his hand out' as 'showing us the way.'

immediate action, are Micaela's concerns. Micaela, from José Gabriel, naturally shared, commonly elaborated, borrowed or assumed this discourse.

Two statements from a letter to Governor José Torres to recruit people for armed actions also illustrate Micaela's ideological proposals.<sup>302</sup>

"Of your legality I hope you give no reason to complain but, on the contrary, you join us in such a good end, which will result in the common benefit to this Kingdom"

Legality in Micaela's words mean justice, righteousness, which she stresses as baseline demand to *ayllu* chiefs. From this she envisions even an enjoyment of 'such good end,' justice or restitution of rights. That, says she, will be 'for the benefit of all in this Kingdom,' which obviously, through other declarations, includes *criollos* and *mestizos*. In the closing statements of the same letter, Micaela states, "It is time to eliminate, from the root, so many harmful thieves," and, "It is crucial that the thieves leave now or pay with their lives." We are told by Micaela of the urgency for radical action to collectively eliminate 'the harmful thieves.' Here, she portrays those who oppress her nation as morally evil and socially destructive. These 'evil thieves' will have to leave now or pay with their lives. In contrast, but complementing the above use of justice and force as reasons for action, in a letter to José Gabriel, Micaela's compassion surfaces,

My Son Chepe: I am prepared to march on Monday the 11 of the present to Paruro, for which purpose I am bringing together the Indians of all of the towns, because *the sufferings of these unfortunate Indians of Acos and Acomayo are many; they are full of fear for the advance of soldiers from that town, besides*

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<sup>302</sup> CDIP, II, p. 356.

*having to go up to the mountains so that their animals are not lost"* (Extract of letter, Dec. 7, 1780).<sup>303</sup> (My emphasis)

In this excerpt, through her eyes, we have a snapshot of the condition of suffering Indian masses. Her main points in this short selection of Micaela's ideological production are emphasis on justice and the need to use force as a corrective, with compassion being the underlying feeling. Clearly, in a study of gender and ideology in the rebellion, the extensive ideological production of José Gabriel and other male leaders of the rebellion, deserves equal examination as to the balance of both contents. If the gender presumptions of the argument that follows are right, José Gabriel's ideological stands and behavior, should contain a high level of compassion and feeling references, more than a conventional political military leader in his situation. For instance, his outstanding compassion under conditions of war surface in a letter to Micaela on November 30, 1780.

"Daughter- The carriers are taking Eugenio (Cunatupa) Sinanyuca, arrested, whom you will take, without imprisoning, because he is sick, so that he lives with his wife in a room."

Further down,

"I know that you are very afflicted, and so is your company, despite that, don't let good spirit fall. If it is of God that we die, may His will be done. So, we have to accept it."... Your Chepe.<sup>304</sup>

The second excerpt expresses sensitivity, encouragement, and a baffling sense of resignation in face of a potential defeat, especially this early in the struggle. In addition,

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<sup>303</sup> Cornejo, *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>304</sup> CDIP, II, p. 322. Strangely enough for the expression of that discouragement and acceptance of fate that letter was written only 25 days after the rebellion's outbreak.

in the briefly reviewed materials on José Gabriel, as noted, there are testimonies of his bitter tears but none of Micaela's. When both were prisoners, he is desperate concerning the well-being of Fernandillo. Of course, he was also under closer scrutiny than she. So, for a balanced study of gender ideology in the rebellion, the ratio of the 'typical feminine' and 'typical masculine' in ideology and behavior should be searched on both sides, male and female actors. If women had an extraordinary participation in the rebellion, and the consensus (see Irene Silverblatt and Olivia Harris for some classic proposals in the Andean case) is that women are the seat of ethnic identity, the question is, how does the rebellion ideology reflect women, and to complement it, how does the rebellion ideology reflect the feminine component of Andean culture? Independent extensive research points out that Andean culture is characteristically a feminine embodied worldview.<sup>305</sup> A connected question is why has this aspect of worldview been overlooked in its effect on the Amarus uprising, in general, and why so in women's participation, in times still close (seven generations apart) to original Inka past.

In response to these questions and to close this section, I suggest a theoretical mapping of gender and ideology in the rebellion (and gender and ideology in the Andes in general). One can approach the subject in three levels: 1) the fundamental representational level, as the character of worldview: in the Andes this would involve, for instance, the study of male and female forces, divinities such as Wiraqucha and

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<sup>305</sup> It is difficult to reference something as basic as the feminine component in the Andean world view, contained in early colonial *cronistas* reports to contemporary field work in Anthropology, Ethnology, Ethnomusicology, History. From Guaman Poma de Ayala "Nueva cronica y buen gobierno" (1613?), republished by Rolena Adorno, 1985, to Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui "Relacion de Antiguiedades deste reyno del Peru" (1613?), re-published by Jimenez de la Espada in 1950, to representative contemporary works of Irene Silverblatt "Principios de organizacion femenina en el Tawantinsuyu." Revista de Museo Nacional 1976, 42:299-340, and more recent work, to Olivia Harris

Pachamama, or archetypal representations of mythical founding figures such as Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, etc., in their pure, combined and syncretic forms. 2) The social constructions of reality in face of contingent pertinent reality conditions/challenges, based/grounded on the above basic representations and corresponding value assumptions. This involves collective elaboration of daily ideological parameters in a macro and micro dimension, from politics – forms of social organization and power, for instance, - to preferred forms of entertainment, etc. Finally, 3) refers to social practices, the language of actions, rituals, behavioral expressions, body language, that would also intrinsically connect with basic representational paradigms (1) and social constructions of reality (2).

The rebellion documents show the outstanding participation of women in the struggle, evidence of non-patriarchal gender arrangement in the social practice area, that is, 3 above. What remains to be done systematically, then, is to trace the correspondence of this practice with the two other levels of the study of ideology, i.e., basic representational level and social constructions of meaning, using the documents themselves. Jan Zseminski has approached the subject in the first sense, with no attention to gender per se (more will be said of this in the discussion). My own short analysis on Micaela's discourse illustrates what can be done more extensively and also with chosen samples of male leaders' ideological production, as in the reference to José Gabriel's position. There will be more comments on recent work on ideology in the Great Rebellion and what it says about gender, and in what levels, in the discussion. To close this section, on the basis of examples like the ones above, I suggest a priority

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"Complementarity and conflict: An Andean View of Women and Men," in Sex and Age as principles of Social

examination of the documents at level 2 of ideological analysis. Although written documents immensely privilege men at this level, for reasons alluded to earlier, focusing on gender aspects should still clarify the 'gender shades' in the rebellion itself. It is fortunate that actions speak more than words, especially in this case, because it meant women's participation in the Great Rebellion could not completely fail to be registered.

Since the public political in patriarchal systems is male stamped, and the gender separation in them a fact, for women to participate politically they had to assault the public and make it theirs. It meant learning the male dominated public rules and abiding by them in the hope that they would gradually change. Usually this does not happen; instead the few apprentices assimilate to male stamped rules. Keeping their own style, most of the women become marginal to power. In consequence, society remains lopsided and everyone loses. In the rebellion, in contrast, the public official, the colonial patriarchal system, was alien to both genders. In the Andean non-patriarchal system -- based on the sustaining evidence of the Andean world view that extends to our days (1 above), and the evidence of social practice, i.e., women's extensive participation in the revolt (3 above) -- both, women and men shared ideological justifications with as much strong 'feminine' component, conventionally speaking, as 'masculine.' It would mean, in sum, that men and women acted together. Both were distant from the public official patriarchal culture and by their rebellion they expressed their unity to confront it.!

## Chapter XVII: Discussion

This critical gender visit to the Great Rebellion is useful for examining several issues. All of the historians who have considered women's participation in the Tupac Amaru uprising -- Loayza, Cornejo, Guevara, and others in Peru, and Campbell in the United States -- agree that it was outstanding, in the number of women involved and the depth of their personal commitment. However, they did not attempt to explain the extent of women's participation from a gender and political power perspective. Here, a closer view to the lives of Micaela, Tomasa and Cecilia as well as her mother Marcela, enables us to attempt just that, i.e., to find gender reasons for this participation and to see what it implies in terms of political power. The most important finding in the examination of the lives of women in the rebellion is that the public versus private dichotomy, characteristic of patriarchal systems, fades off in two levels. In the first, we see the Indian family's assault on the political public ('the private in the public'). In the second, motivations of public concern take primacy in the lives of these women, and alternatively, the ideological public may be said to contain more 'feminine' contents and prove equally compelling for men. I will discuss the implications of both in sequence.

The assault of the public by the family has the observable result that conventional gender roles from a Western perspective are re-defined. Women are unusually strong and men openly express feelings and compassion. This effect is not a role reversal or re-definition of roles due to extreme demands of the situation, however. Rather, it is the effect of lifted oppression allowing native roles to be expressed to the extent of their

potential. There is scattered evidence that strength, rationality, practicality, the capacity to feel and express emotions and feelings is not the monopoly of men or women in the Andean culture. The rebellion conditions only constituted the public setting for women (and men) to manifest culturally set traits fully.

The implications of this fact for gender role studies goes further than recognizing that women can be intelligent, strong, determined, agentive, or what is considered 'virile' in the context of patriarchy. If we only did that, we would not be ahead of Spanish *Visitador* José Antonio de Areche and partisans, who acknowledged and acted -- issued punishment -- upon that fact. The implication is that men must have shown corresponding complementary features to that gender structure. This means that, just as women were 'masculine' from a conventional Western point of view, men were also more feminine. However, the apparent role switching does not mean that they are polarized once more. It may only mean that they become more similar to each other and express qualities and characteristics plastically, according to situational demands.

It has not been possible to review the extensive documentation on José Gabriel and other male participants in the rebellion from a gender perspective. In the past, their testimonies were almost the exclusive concern of specialists on the subject, mostly men, who understandably had multiple other concerns in mind. Gender sensitivity is so recent, and so exclusive to women scholars even at this time, that the close reflection on the quality of Andean women's participation did not affect the interpretation of this crucial moment in the history of native Andean peoples. Moreover, the researchers' own values about what is masculine influenced their reading of the material, and in some cases this

reading may have been defensive. It is possible, for instance, that researchers overlooked, suppressed, in some cases with discomfort, evidence of sensitivity, compassion, concern, feelings, artistic disposition, and/or religiosity in José Gabriel and other Andean culture men participants in the rebellion. In less specific aspects, I have found that a 'normal state of affairs' gender bias affects the reading of facets of the rebellion, as I will briefly show below.

The second evidence of the dissolution of the private-public opposition occurs at an ideological level. When women assume collective concerns as their own, (*'lo público,'* from here on 'the public'), their ideological collective representations are personal, intimate and powerful motivations (the public in the private). This is not because these have been appropriated from the outside, from dominant colonial society of Peru at the time. In this, due to gender segregation in patriarchy, the family-based, and community-grounded, collective interest had been practically eliminated, or, in any case, preserved only under the guise of optional religious beliefs and practices. Micaela and José Gabriel use the last, religious and ethical principles, to bridge and negotiate their own agenda. That is, they use contingent political forms in the colonial situation, those sustained by ethical beliefs or justified by religious credo, to frame their own family-based notion of the collective.

A step further in this reasoning is that women expressed publicly what had been held up for generations, ancient values and worldview that sustained Andean communities through the colonial cataclysm. That is, the Andean ideological edifice that sustained the culture in resistance was, in times of the rebellion, simply unleashed,

substantially by women, but assumed and supported by men. Because men could transact with the non-Indian world in ways not allowed women, they could frame these values and worldview for 'export,' so to speak. However, what men brought forth in their lives and their actions, for instance José Gabriel's compassion and caring, was what women represented for them and the whole of society, which women themselves had a chance to express and the most interest in doing. Women's presence in culture and society was essentially the ideological component that was absent in the dominant colonial world, and that was precisely what Andean women stood for in the rebellion.

In sum, the official colonial world could not offer the dominated Andean culture a collective public ideology that it could use because it lacked it. The dominant culture had banned Andean culture conceptions of the public sphere in a way that it was non-existent, or at least reduced to a minimum, formalized and 'captured,' and for this reason (and others), it had become alien to Indians. If it referred to them -- for instance, the written accounts of the Inka past -- it was extremely limited in circulation and practically inaccessible. José Gabriel was one of the few members of the Indian elite with access to Garcilazo de la Vega's account of Tawantinsuyu. Fundamentally, the Great Rebellion brought about a collective Andean world to be public and official from within women in liberation intent. In it, women's mobilization expresses the repressed gender elements in the colonial situation, and for their liberation in both, Indian women and men, in all Indian territories where the news of Tupac Amaru II, the Inka's rebellion, arrived.

With reference to recent relevant literature, it is necessary to react to the work of four contemporary high level scholars on the Tupac Amaru uprising from this paper's

proposed perspective. One is Leon Campbell with his specific work on the women in the Great Rebellion and otherwise vast work on the subject.<sup>306</sup> The second is Jan Szeminski, with comparable extensive work on the rebellion's ideology.<sup>307</sup> The third is Steve Stern with his comprehensive, analytical and explanatory evaluation of the age of Andean insurrection that included along with hundreds of smaller uprisings, the Great Rebellion.<sup>308</sup> The fourth is Frank Solomon, with a localized monograph on ideological aspects of insurgence at the time, the XVIII century.<sup>309</sup> The relevance of their contributions to this particular topic, gender in the rebellion, is listed here approximately in order of their direct relevance and importance.

Campbell notes that the family component of the rebellion makes this event a singular one, and in it, women's participation. The statistics he provides, for instance, that out of 76 people tried and sentenced after Diego Cristóbal Tupac Amaru's detention, in July 1783, 32 were women, emphasize the importance of women's participation, far above the role of humble *rabonas*, and domestic providers, as soldiers and military commanders. Campbell himself carried out a study of how the Spanish law was forced to

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<sup>306</sup> Two of Campbell's works on rebellion have been consulted extensively for this paper, "Women in the Great Rebellion, 1780-1783." The Americas, Vol. XLII, July, 1985-April, 1986, and "Ideology and Factionalism during the Great Rebellion, 1780-1782," in Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries, Edited by Steve J. Stern, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.

<sup>307</sup> Jan Szeminski, Los Objetivos de los Tupamaristas - Las concepciones de los revolucionarios peruanos de los años 1780-1783. Academia de Ciencias de Polonia, Instituto de Historia, 1982; "Why Kill the Spaniard? New Perspectives on Andean Insurrectionary Ideology in the 18th Century." In Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries, Edited by Steve J. Stern, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.

<sup>308</sup> Steve Stern, "Nuevas aproximaciones al estudio de la conciencia y las rebeliones campesinas: las implicancias de la experiencia Andina," en Resistencia, Rebelión y Conciencia Campesina en los Andes, siglos XVIII al XX, Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1990.

<sup>309</sup> Frank Solomon, "Ancestor Cults and Resistance to State in Arequipa, ca. 1748-1754," in S. Stern (Ed.) op. cit., The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.

incorporate this fact, in practice if not in theory.<sup>310</sup> For this and other reasons Campbell suggests a study of gender in the rebellion, of which by implication, his study, may only be a lead. Unfortunately, talking about the family as an abstraction, or placing women at the side of the family, accomplishes little in terms of clarifying what it is that women do in the family, and why their agency in it cannot be hidden behind it, as it happens when reporting women's participation in social movements with terms like 'peasants,' 'workers,' 'popular participation.'<sup>311</sup> In the patriarchal world, even the mental images invoked by such terms are often male images, thus hiding the extent of women's participation, making it anonymous.

It is hard to believe a scholar of the stature of Campbell could be naive about theoretical questions he poses after considering women's participation in the rebellion. "The trial testimony," he says, "contributes to a better understanding of the relationship between women and colonialism by addressing the question of whether a woman could act independently of her husband, if women could command men who held civic and military ranks, and how women responded to life-threatening situations requiring judgments which were normally exercised by males."<sup>312</sup> In other words, his question appears to be: Is it possible for women to have agency? because he says further down, on the basis of Micaela's letters (like the one reproduced here in the appendix), "[there are]

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<sup>310</sup> Campbell, "Women in the Great Rebellion, 1780-1783." *The Americas*, Vol. XLII, July, 1985-April, 1986.

<sup>311</sup> Moira Donald, in her article "'What did you do in the Revolution, Mother?' Image, Myth and Prejudice in Western Writing on the Russian Revolution," *Gender & History*, Vol. 7, No.1, April 1995, illustrates nicely the ways to make invisible the participation of women in social movements.

<sup>312</sup> Campbell, *Ibid.*, p. 171.

historians who have extracted from it signs that extraordinary women of this period could and did exercise superior judgment independent of their spouses."<sup>313</sup>

Regarding Tomasa's engagement in the rebellion, about whom Campbell seems to accept she might have participated under duress, as she confessed in the trials, he puzzles also "why a wealthy woman like Tomasa, who was married to a Spaniard, would have joined the rebellion?...<sup>314</sup> His interrogation impresses me instead as symptomatic of an unchecked ethnocentric (aside from gender) bias, because, there is no reason why a wealthy woman of an oppressed ethnic group would not entertain at some point the interests and defense of her nation. Even in class societies, national interests (though perhaps every time less and less) can be super-ordinate to wealth and prestige differences. On the other hand, when Campbell concedes that something extraordinary was happening in the rebellion regarding women's presence, in its Cuzco and La Paz phase (the last not considered here), that could extend, as he footnotes, to other Indian women in the reverberations of the Tupac Amaru uprising, for instance, in the rebellion of *comuneros* in Colombia, he confines and segregates safely this behavior and potential to the past.

Campbell also points out,<sup>315</sup> the known complementary character of male and female labor in Andean households. However, he does not explain what it consists of, nor how it can be differentiated from gender roles complementarity equally arguable for under patriarchy. In contrast to Western patriarchal arrangements, where women and men's areas of life and work are mostly exclusive of each other, where the public versus

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<sup>313</sup> Campbell, *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>314</sup> Campbell, *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>315</sup> Campbell, *Ibid.*, p. 167.

private have been parceled by gender, Andean complementarity operates within a unified framework. Women and men share tasks and responsibilities in the private and public spheres. Occasions like the rebellion would invite women to exercise their natural right to fully participate in them. Men in 'peaceful' conditions would also claim their natural right to assume domestic and, from a Western perspective, 'womanly' activities. A vignette can illustrate the point.

When doing field work in Aymara communities in Pomata, Puno, in 1988, I was surprised to see several men participating in the activities of the *Club de Madres* that the government had implemented specifically for the promotion of lower class women.<sup>316</sup> The sessions were for netting and weaving, and several men who felt like joining in these activities did not see a problem or feel uncomfortable either with the name "*club de madres*," which *mestizo* men would have shunned away simply due to the name, much less the activity itself. Women did not mind them either, accepting men's participation as natural. The activity was also a setting for talking about community issues and concerns, appreciated by all. Complementarity in unified spheres of work and life makes the difference, as shown particularly by women in key historical moments, like the rebellion.

The persistence of old Inka ideological structures at times of the Great Rebellion was the concern of Jan Szeminski. He was able to trace important lines of continuity from the past. Relevant to this study are kinship structures underlying family dynamics and gender roles.<sup>317</sup> Szeminski demonstrates the persistence of parallel lines of descent by

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<sup>316</sup> Field work on child upbringing in Andean communities, project with OIT and Technical Swiss Cooperation, Lima Peru, 1987-1989.

<sup>317</sup> Jan Szeminski, Los Objetivos de los Tupamaristas - Las concepciones de los revolucionarios peruanos de los años 1780-1783. (Academia de Ciencias de Polonia, Instituto de Historia), 1982, p. 82.

gender, existing in Inka times, evidenced in the naming practices. Many men and women at the time of the rebellion still carried paternal or maternal last names respectively, as also remarked in this paper. Religious forms during the rebellion as in the syncretism of Catholic iconography with Andean beliefs, is also Szeminski's concern. It is quite evident that, for the Indians, the Virgin Mary would be *Pacha Mama* (Mother Earth) or that *Wiraqucha* (Life giving Spirit of the Waters) would be *Señor de los Temblores* (Christ the Lord of Earthquakes), linked also to another male image of God, *Pachacamac*. The images of *Santiago* (St. James) can have a similar gender attachment replacing protector local deities or *Apus*, etc.,<sup>318</sup> a practice that extends even in our times. However, Szeminski underplays the intrinsic gender component of all of the Andean worldview, discussed for proposed point 1 above, by not linking the little he emphasizes to actual practices in the rebellion, at the level of discourse elaboration (point 2 above), or actual behavior manifested by men and women, but more specifically by women (point 3 above). To see Gender in the Andes in all three levels, from underlying basic representations, to 'ideological,' and to practical and behavioral, this worldview cannot be kept suspended at an abstract, ethereal level, in a way that also takes away its power. Ideology -- the social constructs of reality -- (and culture assumptions) are embodied in the practice of basic social reproductive activities, from food preparation, to child up-bringing, to marital relations, to potential psychological expressions.

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<sup>318</sup> Jan Szeminski, "Why Kill the Spaniard? New Perspectives on Andean Insurrectionary Ideology in the 18th Century." In Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries, Edited by Steve J. Stern, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987, p. 188-190.

Steve Stern brings together scholarship on the age of Andean insurrection in an effort to arrive at alleged causes and implications, especially of the Great Rebellion. He is clear we have just begun to understand them fully. According to him the explanations given for the rebellion are socio-structural, such as changes in the production system, effects of the Bourbon reforms, levels of taxation and extraction of surplus value, or social characteristics, such as the role of the transient population in following the rebellion. Another set of explanations is ideological-cultural, like in the work of Szeminski and Solomon (briefly commented below). Stern favors or is more open to expand research on the latter. However, the work he reviews, and his own views of the subject, as shown in his scholarly piece on the 1740's insurrection of the Inka Juan Santos Atawallpa, show the stubborn, ingrained, pernicious habit of overlooking what women do. It is as if historians were responding to a hidden pact with those that failed to register the extent of women's action by not reading what exists, whatever little.

Specifically, regarding a gender reading, Stern presents in passing two significant instances of women's political military involvement in the Central Sierra uprisings. In the 1743 rebellion, Juan Santos Atawallpa's "*serrano* following justified organization of a separate fighting unit of some 50 *serrana* women, captained by "*Doña Ana,*' a *zamba* (mixed Indian black) from Tarma.."319 Further down in his paper Stern relates a local uprising in the Tarma-Jauja area, from January to October 1781, contemporaneous to the Tupac Amaru one, led by *Don Nicolás Dávila*, a 22- year-old 'pretender to *Kuraka* status, and *Doña Julia Astocuri*, his mother, widow of a recently diseased *Kuraka*. According to

Stern both became leaders of the subversion, despite their wealth and conservative background.<sup>320</sup> They occupied *obrajes*, dissolved them, sent *pongos* (servants) home, defied local political and religious authorities and even issued their own edicts "with a prescribed code of fines and corporal punishment for those who dared to defy the new orders, or to beat the Indians."<sup>321</sup> As Tupac Amaru himself, acknowledging the authority of the Spanish King, they nevertheless ignored his local representatives. What is also important in this case is the role of the Indian mother. Given the young age of the son, it is very likely it was *Doña* Julia, the mother, who was the motor and manager of subversion and political operations. Her forwardness in defense of her son, and of native rule, would have to be revised in light of gender issues in Andean culture to serve precisely the broader concerns of why Indians rebelled or not. It is Stern himself who provides the reasons why the role of women in Andean insurrection has to be looked at closely. As he favors "the interplay of material exploitation or hardship on the one hand, and consciousness or moral outrage on the other (see Thompson 1971; Scott 1976), he suggests "the moral memory or myth -- of an alternative, Andean-based social order, a cultural memory nurtured and sustained by Andean peoples during an earlier period of "resistant adaptation" to colonial rule (see Huertas 1981; Flores Galindo 1986; Stern 1982: 187-93, esp. 188), that explains why economic pillage led not merely to local revolt, nor even to insurrectional conspiracies under a Hispanic-Christian millennial banner, but rather to dreams of a great transformation under nativist or neo-Inka

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<sup>319</sup> Steve Stern, *The Age of Andean Insurrection, 1742-1782*. In *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World 18th to 20th Centuries*. p. 46.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

auspices."<sup>322</sup> Being women precisely at the apex of the interplay of material hardship and moral outrage, I see a contradiction in considering Indian women the seat of ethnic identity and historical memory, the source of moral criteria -- because they have been less forced to acculturate --, and yet ignore them as main actors when it comes to their role in Andean social movements.

An example derived from Stern's paper on Juan Santos Atahualpa illustrates the complementary point of 'feminine' component in the disposition of Indian male leaders. Despite the fact that Juan Santos' insurgence was 40 years before José Gabriel's, their behavior regarding the political military occupation of provinces, cities, etc., is remarkably similar. Juan Santos is reported to have preferred to be welcomed by the people of occupied provinces, that they accept his natural rule by consensus. Similarly, José Gabriel wanted to enter Cuzco as a liberator, not as a conqueror. He "wept bitterly" because the people in Cuzco did not welcome him as the natural lord and Inka.<sup>323</sup> In both cases, these are cultural ways of exercising authority that embrace consensus and expression of feelings. In both cases, the Inkas' behavior does not fit patriarchal military models; instead both traits, consensus and emotionality, may be considered feminine.

Frank Solomon provides another example of the key role of the feminine at a basic representational level (worldview, point 1 above) in his work on "Ancestor cults and resistance to the State in Arequipa, ca. 1748-1754."<sup>324</sup> Also in passing, he points out

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<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>323</sup> José Gabriel wept bitterly because he would not be welcomed in Cuzco. Check reference.

<sup>324</sup> In Steve Stern, *In Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World 18th to 20th Centuries.* p. 156.

that a local Indian rebellion in the Andagua valley of Arequipa started by the insistent and quite secretive veneration of old Indian mummies, supposedly ancestors of local *ayllus*. The main protector was no less than "*Cuyag Mama*" the goddess of the lineage. In addition "*Camag*" was also worshipped (Hacedor, powerful maker of, as in 'Maker of time/space' *Pachacamac*). Cuyag is the same word as the hispanized *Coya*, the official title of the Inka's wife. Marginally, too, he notes that the main leader of this movement acted in the company and with the support of his wife all throughout, even in prison. Clearly, we are again confronting another case in which the gender issue is bypassed as meaningless and, once more, the presence of women made invisible.

How often did women take the lead to protest politically in colonial times, when their pre-Hispanic agency still held? How many times has the 'feminine' component of social and cultural activity, which is another way of women's presence in history, been overlooked, not particularized, been effaced out of consciousness? When is it that native women's social and political and ideological retreat from the public starts to manifest? The Great Rebellion may be a significant landmark in a continuous and ongoing process to silence and reduce women out of the public to private concerns. It is in this light that we must see the present for an adequate picture of history in the Andes.

What women do is not just something to add or subtract without changing the nature of what is presented.<sup>325</sup> The extent of women's participation in the rebellion may show, more than others, the insufficiency of simply tacking women on to explain history. The persistence of gender structure manifestations traceable to the Inka past, in face of

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<sup>325</sup> Joan Scott, 1990, on history and gender.

challenging circumstances, points to the fact that a people's collective self transcends the here and now. The Tupac Amaru rebellion revived or brought to light lessons on gender, just as it intentionally, or consciously as it practiced bringing forth the basic Inka social prescriptions: *Ama sua, ama llulla, ama q'ella* (Do not rob, do not lie, do not be lazy) when the Inka José Gabriel orders that,

*"los delitos de hurto, mentira y embriaguez se castigasen con pena de vida"*, (the crimes of stealing, lying and getting drunk should be punished with death).<sup>326</sup>

The Great Rebellion showed women's supreme offertory, that of their offspring, their families and themselves, without reserve, as true expression of human freedom for human freedom. Micaela, and the Andean women she represented, pose an enduring challenge to women and men in the Andes, and elsewhere: how to ever surpass their moral feat!

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<sup>326</sup> FAL, *Ibid.*, p. 10.

## Glossary

Apus - Male protector spirits like the ones living in mountains.

Ayllu - Indian community, basic social unit in Andean Indian society.

Chapetones - Nickname for newly arrived Spaniards who had to become acclimated to the Americas weather and contingencies, who became sick or were clumsy, coarse and vociferous or arrogant bullies characterized by self-aggrandizement. Pequeño Larousse Ilustrado, Ediciones Larousse, Paris, 1984.

Charqui - jerky or dried up salty meat.

Corregidor - Spanish official encharged of collecting tributes, taxes and duties in the colonial districts.

Críollo - The term will be used here in its Latin American meaning, to refer to the Spaniards' offspring born in the Americas, that is, white non born in Europe.

Kuraka - Quechua term for the Central American term "cacique" or "cacica" (female) which refer to the native leaders of Indian communities. Spanish officers introduced the term in Peru. In this paper both terms are used as synonyms.

Madrina – godmother.

Mallku - Male elder condor, who leads the group in flight and vision.

Mestizo/a - Mixed blood of Spanish and Indian.

Obrajes - Primitive manufacture plants, especially for textiles.

Pachacamac - Powerful maker of what exists, creator - male image of God.

Pacha Mama - Mother Earth - main female deity

Padrino – godfather.

Rabonas - women who followed their men in armies, frequently assisting logistically.

Santiago - St. James

Señor de los Temblores - Christ the Lord of Earthquakes

Wiracucha - Spirit living in the waters, main male divinity.

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## **STUDY III**

### ***Tawantinsuyu* - Gender-informed Integrations of Contemporary Native-Andean Politics of Culture and Representation**

#### **Chapter XVIII: Introduction**

This study originated in a paper written for an Anthropology course on “Culture Politics and Representation of Contemporary Indigenous Peoples of the World” (Fall 2004, UT Austin). Its purpose was to respond from an Andean perspective to thought-provoking course materials from mostly English speaking parts of the world. However, with more work, it grew into an outline for a theoretical understanding of present-day Andean Indian movement that incorporates gender as a crucial factor. Therefore, it not only became a part of my dissertation but redefined the entire work.

Along with a gender re-write of an earlier background study on Andean social identity (Study 1), my dissertation now includes a history monograph that examines Andean gender in the Tupac Amaru II Rebellion in the 1780’s (Study 2) and the present socio-political essay, an ethnic and gender panorama of contemporary Andean Indian movements. Study 1 illuminates socio-psychological processes that embody political relations over long periods of time (social identity and gender). Study 2 illustrates the reality of Andean gender in a well-documented case two centuries ago. Both support the proposal, in the present Study 3, that Andean gender is both a reality that defines the quality (and quantity) in the current exponential growth of the indigenous people’s movement, and a project to mind. The past three sessions of the Permanent Forum of

Indigenous Peoples of the World at the UN (2004-2006) evidenced this growth, as well as the volume of internet materials, which substantiate most of my proposals here.<sup>327</sup>

What I propose here is, first, to ratify the persistence of a *sui generis* Andean gender system “complementarity and parallel lines of descent (CPLD)” in our times, arguing for its capacity to preserve the human potential of women and explain some characteristics of the Andean social system. Second, I argue that the politics of culture and representation in the Andes manifest the interplay of two gender systems -- Western and Andean Indian -- which have co-existed and evolved in unequal positions of power, and whose processes can be traced historically. Because gender, as a system, stamps the character of socio-cultural systems, all of which operate over time, my concern is also twofold: 1 - even when current native Andean social movements are already expressing this underlying gender rationale, they are not fully conscious of it; and 2 - there is a need to ratify it to prevent its further erosion or co-optation. Furthermore, I contend that with globalization Andean gender is presently at a critical juncture.

My reading of the concepts, ‘the politics of culture and representation’ in the course, and their implications, has a self-preservation bias. Not only am I from the area under study but have been part of the Andean people’s movement for two and half decades. The way the authors discuss them, both concepts operate in the realm of the super-structure (in Marxist terms), (e.g., Perry, R.J. 1996; Povinelli, E. 2002; Burt, J.M. & Mauceri, P., 2004; Warren, K.B. and Jackson, J.E., 2002). In it, the subordinated, powerless sectors squabble for power to access and negotiate a place for their culture

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<sup>327</sup> The support of Dr. Bryan Roberts, CLAPSO-UT, for these visits is greatly appreciated, as well as the

(politics of culture), as well as for the right and conditions to self-represent in dominant spheres (representation efforts). The fact that both processes are taking place right now already signals an overdue social change, which the readings address as re-arrangement of social relations achieved via active negotiation, rather than antagonistic confrontation. In addition, there is a subtle ideological effect in the literature depending on whether it focuses on the process or on the results of this power-wrangling in the super-structure. The literature tends to credit the liberal 'due process' when it focuses on the processes of 'culture politics' and 'representation,' the indigenous peoples' efforts to negotiate a place for their culture or their voice within national states. The dominant political system's virtues appear in center stage and accommodation and assimilation of indigenous peoples seem natural and welcomed. When the literature focuses on the results of indigenous movements, however, it gives more credit to the novelty of their proposals and their resilience to open up a place for their culture and political presence before dominant spheres. In this case it recognizes and merits the indigenous groups' demands for autonomy, for respect to their need to preserve their particular cultures and society. In other words, the indigenous peoples' 'culture politics' and 'representation' efforts can either emerge as altering and reforming (and perhaps even strengthening) the existing power structures, or attesting their inner strength and resistance, reaffirming their independent place in history.

Clearly here I support the second alternative: indigenous peoples' culture politics as the expression of previously denied, suppressed and arrested symbolic, spiritual and

material ways of self-expression in dominant nation-states, where they survived under virtual hostage conditions. The present surfacing of native cultures is a result of their internal strengthening, of socio-historic and demographic changes in their make-up occurring simultaneously with local and global rearrangement of forces external to them. Representation, on the other hand, refers to the native peoples' growing expression of their own interests, without intermediaries, before spheres of government and others of the globalized world, inside and outside their countries.

In most of the literature 'culture politics' and 'representation' presume the essential justice and legitimacy of existing governments (in the literature, liberal democracies, such as Canada, Australia, Colombia, etc.) It is as if their failure to recognize or address the native peoples' condition, or their active practice of oppression, suppression, and discrimination – when not actual ethnocide and genocide against them – result from innocent civic or moral oversight. The underlying assumption is that such a failure is certainly remediable or redeemable with adequate input from academia and/or media, perhaps volunteered by indigenous peoples themselves. However, the perception of governments as democratically beneficial, i.e., needing only to expand their views or practices for the better (“It is basically a good system in need of reform...”), does not remotely approach the experience of Andean natives. Traits such as ‘free will’ and ‘equality’ required for participation and success in Western liberal democracies are especially predicated on formal systems alien to post-conquest political history of Andean natives. From their perspective, it is increasingly clear that these concepts have

questionable validity.<sup>328</sup> To the choice of traits and virtues with which hegemonic polities self-characterize, Andean natives are outwardly opting for homegrown criteria and social institutions, based on economic, social and political practices traceable to ancestral traditions, based on evidence and on simple common sense. For them, specifically *Tawantinsuyu* (the proper name of the Inka polity) provides the basic and necessary traits of a sound social system: the case of organized communities capable of looking after the physical and spiritual welfare of their constitutive members, as well as nature, with which they live in an acknowledged dependent relation.<sup>329</sup> Presently, Andean natives share this predicament with many indigenous groups, who represent differing socio-historical formations that approached this goal with varying degrees of success – notwithstanding their present ‘development’ conditions. Now that they are able to voice and share their experience directly, it is clear that, in spite of its present dominion and power, *the West with its many national expressions represents only one socio-historical arrangement, among many*. From a native Andean perspective, the West’s (in)capacity to satisfy elementary criteria of collective goodness is of concern, and more its pretense to a universal definition of ‘humanity’ itself.

In this chapter, a discussion of the native name for the geographical area under consideration, *Tawantinsuyu*, precedes my examination of current culture politics and representation. It does so for the explanatory power of native Andean frameworks and as

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<sup>328</sup> Contemporary concepts of consensus and rotating leadership, brought about as relevant social practices by Indigenous Maya in Guatemala and Quechua people in Bolivia are examples of that.

<sup>329</sup> Articulated pronouncements of organized groups express this every time more frequently and with greater sophistication. See, for instance, [www.quechuanetwork.org](http://www.quechuanetwork.org); [www.willkapampa.com](http://www.willkapampa.com); [www.CANO.org](http://www.CANO.org); [www.servindi.org](http://www.servindi.org). Some representative declarations are presented in the appendixes.

a statement. Furthermore, I propose that CPLD is a defining factor in the successes of the Andean socio-cultural system in the past and its continuing vitality in the present. *Tawantinsuyu* included women in all capacities, as did many indigenous peoples of the world whose foremost goal is to protect life and preserve social well-being. I propose that a societal arrangement that universally observes norms and regulations in this direction honors especially women's natural priorities. The Andean gender system, 'complementarity and parallel lines of descent' (CPLD), provided such foundation for *Tawantinsuyu's* social design, in contrast to a single-handed male hegemonic model.<sup>330</sup>

To point to the ancient pedigree of this socio-political configuration, which in great extent accounts for the dynamics of present day Andean Indian movements, I use an advocate. It is Don Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala (Murra & Adorno, 1999), whose drawings support and illuminate the issues I discuss. His map of *Tawantinsuyu*, for instance, is full of geographical and other landmark references to begin to comprehend, in greater detail, the geopolitical significance of this conglomerate of native nations. His drawings of representatives of the *suyus* – for lack of adequate translations 'reynos' in his map – are consistent and distinctive throughout his 'letter.' Later in the text, his representation of the native family destruction and of social fabric in *Tawantinsuyu*, particularly through the mistreatment of women, serves to compare the Andean and Western paradigms of gender relations in their historical and contemporary relevance.

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<sup>330</sup> A new brand of independent scholarship on matriarchal studies in history coincides with the proposals made here about Andean society. See matriarchal studies yahoo groups, [www.gift-economy.com](http://www.gift-economy.com), [www.suppressedhistories.net](http://www.suppressedhistories.net) for further information.



Figure 1. A contemporary representation of Tawantinsuyu – Spelling and characteristics, i.e., the extent and colors to represent the *suyus* vary somewhat according to the groups that do the recall. In this case the representation comes out of out of [www.willkapampa.com](http://www.willkapampa.com)

## **Chapter XIX: *Tawantinsuyu* - Self-Named Polity and Dominion. A Case of Culture Politics of Names for Representation**

Nothing illustrates more clearly the geopolitics of nation/state demarcation presently at stake in the Andean region than the names of countries in relation to indigenous movements. Physical geography and country borders presently delimit the literature on indigenous movements in the Americas (e.g., the Amazon region, Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, Chile, etc.). From the outside, the internal country dynamics seem not only to determine but to confine the native peoples' movements, automatically diminishing them to very particular minority events.

The characterization of social movements from the perspective of native peoples, however, can affect their reading as historical, social and political processes. Localized and occurring within one country, the character of indigenous struggles is interpretable in some instances in a one-to-one relation with nation states, as in, perhaps, the case of Chiapas. However, native nations frequently extend across different countries, such as the Yanamomo in Venezuela and Brazil, the Mapuche in Argentina and Chile, Quechua and Aymara in the Andean region. For this reason, although readable in relation to single states at a time, the endogenous dynamics and constitution of indigenous peoples' movements can be fully appreciated, historically and at present, across borders that defy arbitrary Western occupation limits. Even where physical destruction and complete assimilation of natives to the national ethos of a country seems a done deal, it is still

possible to witness the resurgence of publicly denied identity and a quest for autonomy.<sup>331</sup>

In contrast to other areas, the indigenous movement in the Andes combines two simultaneous characteristics: 1- the resurgence of local ethnicity and 2- the desire to reconstitute, across country borders, the old Inka polity of *Tawantinsuyu*. The reason for this is the peculiar character of Andean socio-economic formation, expressed not only in the elegant logic of its name, but what it implies. The meaning of *Tawantinsuyu* would be common knowledge had not Quéchuá (as were other native languages) been publicly banned as part of a historical ethnocide. *Tawantinsuyu* is the supra-local confederation of nations that in pre-Hispanic times covered most of the Andean geographical area. In fact, *Tawantinsuyu* emerges with increasing frequency in public documents by movements and individuals acting synchronically to claim the historical identity of hundreds of native ethnic groups throughout the Andes. It evidences a gradual gain in outward confidence, an articulation at last of long suppressed understandings about who Andean natives were, are, and can be. After surviving persistent efforts to eradicate them, natives are presently being vocal about their rights as people, committed to re-possess their social polity, *Tawantinsuyu*, with some kind of ‘nation-state’ status.

The disregard of *Tawantinsuyu* as a valid name is because colonization is, among other things, an imposition of meanings. Dominant and foreign symbolic referents came to characterize geo-politically the occupied regions in the Americas, denying natives an

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<sup>331</sup> An example is the Mochik-Chimu people of North Peru, to whom Richard Schaedel committed his work spanning from archaeology to cultural anthropology and contemporary culture politics and

inherent right to human condition, to name themselves and their surroundings. The denial of autonomy and competence to generate their own character by conveying meaning to things, applied symptomatically almost exclusively to indigenous peoples. The obstacles to recognize the Indigenous Peoples political rights, however conceived, at the United Nations are its implications even today.

### **TAWANTINSUYU DEFINED/EXPLAINED**

The undisputed particles of Quechua etymology in *Tawantinsuyu* are *tawa* (four), and *suyu* (part). The intermediate particle *nti*, on the other hand, is arguable. It could derive from the suffix ‘*n*’ that denotes ‘belonging to third person’ as in *wasi+n*=house+his/her; and the ‘*tin*’ adjective meaning “joined” or “united” as proposed by Tristan Platt (1987)<sup>332</sup> and ratified by Lara in his Quechua dictionary (1997). “The four united provinces” or “Four joined provinces” or literally “belonging to its four or co-joined parts” (*de sus cuatro unidas o conjuntas partes*) would be a conventional interpretation. However, given the Sun’s centrality in the Inka worldview, and the simplicity and dispensability of vowel sounds in Quechua, especially in Inka writing (William Burns, 1983), the particle ‘*nti*’ could stand for ‘*Inti*,’ ‘sun,’ as in Ramiro Reynaga’s (1982) interpretation: literally, “The Four provinces of the Sun,” and a poetic interpretation would be “land of the four inseparable Sun-ruled provinces.”

The name combines multiple meanings, with equally alluring cultural and political connotations. The unity of four areas defined in terms of simple geographical

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representation (personal conversations, 1996-2005). Nancy Schaeffer’s dissertation on “Continuity in ritual of traditional villages on the Northwest coast of Peru” corroborates it (UT, December 2006).

and geophysical terms would be one. It would imply the importance, for all of these people, of residing and abiding within natural world parameters and perhaps the sun's physical influence on them (Sullivan, 1998).<sup>333</sup> The delineation of *suyus* concurs with North/South, East/West quadrants, but the axis of the four provinces - including the kingdoms/nations in each province - do not exactly fall in the conventional mapping of north and south, etc. Neither do they take into consideration land mass, actual human settlements, kingdoms, etc., or the potential wealth in resources according to past (or present) standards. The north and south align with the magnetic axis of the earth, so neither the physical north nor consequently the south of the world, and subsequent definition of east and west, exactly coincides with conventional physical geography quadrants. East and west, the relatively unpopulated tropical Amazon basin forests, with dispersed non-sedentary hunting and gathering populations, and the narrow and arid strip bordering the Pacific Ocean, were natural flanks to the heavily populated and richly developed areas concentrated in the north/south axis.<sup>334</sup>

In sum, the unity and inseparability of the four *Tawantinsuyu* provinces corresponded to a shared understanding of human society in relation to physical mechanics and conditions of the planet itself. It also implied ideological representations of the world as the interaction of 'the above' and 'the below,' *hanan* and *hurin* in

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<sup>332</sup> Reference provided by Andean ethnomusicologist Gilka Wara Céspedes, personal conversation, 2006.

<sup>333</sup> As a case of extraordinary coincidence, perhaps trace of historical memory or common-place imagination, feminist scholar-ideologist Heide Goettner-Abendroth portrays a society where women would exercise their natural authority, as a four-partitioned land aligned with the earth's coordinates. It is unlikely that the details of Tawantinsuyu's functioning influenced this German scholar's proposal. See Matriarchal Studies Congress, San Marcos and Austin, Texas, Sept. 29/30-Oct.1/2, 2005.

<sup>334</sup> See Carlos Milla Villena in his book "Génesis de la Cultura Andina," 1981, for further elaboration of astronomical and mathematical concepts applied to urban settlement and city design in Tawantinsuyu.

Quechua, each of which, in turn, reiterates the bi-partition.<sup>335</sup> Moreover, symbolically, each of these bi-partitions has a male or female connotation, which is not rigid but changes relative to their position with each other, i.e., their masculine or feminine value is not fixed. Four is the number of balance and equilibrium, which replicates, from big to small, at different levels throughout the socio-political organization.<sup>336</sup>

The second reading takes a little (but not unjustified) poetic license and assumes the centrality of the Inka Sun-god in the generation of the four provinces. This interpretation stands for the fact that the eastern and western provinces of *Tawantinsuyu*, *Antisuyu* and *Kuntisuyu*, also include the particle ‘*nti*,’ the first added to the letter ‘*a*’ which associates with light. In contrast, ‘*k*’ does the same with darkness or night (Lara, 1997). That is, the east-west provinces, associated with the sun’s trajectory, contain the ‘particle ‘*nti*,’ which could indeed stand for Inti, or ‘sun.’ Independent from etymological considerations, however, Reynaga’s point could simply represent a case of human re-invention of the collective self, the natives’ statement of their own presence, resistance and intention to re-create a future polity that preserves the defining traits of ancient traditions. In terms of the politics of culture and representation, the current use of *Tawantinsuyu* as name reaffirms the historical identity of native Andeans for self-representation, which includes academic expressions such as the present paper.

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<sup>335</sup> See Javier Lajo, 2005, for epistemological and Andean thought foundations of this bi-and four-partition.

<sup>336</sup> “Mohawk midwife Katsi Cook, often reminds her home audiences that the word for the number four is also the same word and expresses a related meaning for the concept ‘thus, it is complete.’ ” Page 323, Epilogue, Barreiro and Johnson, eds. 2005.

In addition to general considerations of the name *Tawantinsuyu* are many specifics of the four component ‘parts’ or provinces.<sup>337</sup> The first characteristic to take into account is the way the provinces are laid out, and the fundamentals of their demarcation. *Tawantinsuyu*’s central point, the crossroads of vertical and horizontal lines that divided the four provinces, was *Q’osco*<sup>338</sup> (literally ‘belly button’ in Quechua), or the center of the world. Cuzco, in colonial Spanish, was the capital of the Inka confederation of nations. The theoretical vertical and horizontal axis that divided the four *suyus* extended outwards from *Q’osqo*. The borders of the four *suyus* were not closed, perhaps because *Tawantinsuyu* was a young polity – it lasted for about three hundred years altogether - or perhaps because, the territorial expansion in early human settlements followed a use-value principle. Population needs determined the advance or retreat: if it decreased, then territorial holdings decreased; if it grew, holdings expanded to fit land requirements. Although conflict about use of territory occurred when resources were too small for the size of competing populations, apparently most of the accelerated pace of incorporation of new kingdoms into *Tawantinsuyu* occurred because of intensive negotiation. Here the option of isolation gave way to incorporation, especially in light of the annexed kingdoms’ relative freedom and their political and cultural autonomy (Roel, V. 1982-2001). So, seen from the center, *Tawantinsuyu*’s exterior limits were open-ended and its dominant forms of political annexation resulted in true multicultural conglomerates.

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<sup>337</sup> This is only the beginning of a still relevant discussion of Inka polity peculiarities to contemporary descendants of its native kingdoms.

<sup>338</sup> Three spellings of the name of the capital city of Inka empire are used interchangeably in this dissertation: Cuzco, is the Spanish colonial name; Cusco, is the Republican phonetic name, and Q’osqo is the native Quechua name.

Earmarks of such polity were a variety and multiplicity of cultural expressions, over a baseline of high population and goods production. As indicated earlier, no document shows better than Guaman Poma de Ayala's letter to the Spanish king the long standing political arrangement that *Tawantinsuyu* represented, its geo-physical correspondences, its characteristic ethnic heterogeneity and demonstrable abundance (Figures 2, 3 and 4). The author's illustrations accompany a contemporary updating of the Andean natives' past 'kingdoms,' including a discussion of their gender aspects.



Figure 2. Guaman Poma's map of *Tawantinsuyu*

## A DESCRIPTIVE PREVIEW OF THE *SUYUS*

From *Q'osqo*'s central point of reference, on the North/South axis, following the magnetic line are *Chinchaysuyu* (North Pole) and *Q'ollasuyu* (*Kollasuyu*, alternative spelling, or South Pole). In the East-West axis are *Antisuyu* (East) and *Kuntisuyu* (alternatively *Contisuyu*, West). In between these perpendicular lines, numerous other lines called 'ceques' radiate from the center, extending outward (Zuidema, 1981).<sup>339</sup> As other Native American human settlements (Pueblo Indians, Arizona; Aztec Pyramids), such lines apparently relate astronomical observations to the earth's functioning (magnetic line), and align settlements with parameters of the cosmos, where *Q'osqo*'s placement was key. Under such conditions, the role of *Q'osqo*, its physical extension and political scope –i.e., independent from that of nations in the *suyus* - is difficult and not the role of this study to ascertain.<sup>340</sup> However, we can symbolically spin the dial of the *suyus* around *Q'osqo* to discuss the culture politics and representation efforts of native Andean people: start with pre-dawn night time *Chinchaysuyu* in the North West, continue with sunrise in North East *Antisuyu*, proceed with noon in South East *Q'ollasuyu*, and close the dial with sunset in South West *Kuntisuyu*.<sup>341</sup>

To the east of the West-inclined vertical line that parallels the sub-continent's Pacific coast, lies *Antisuyu*. Its native communities were (until recently) mostly hunter-

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<sup>339</sup> They are a series of 41 radia around Cuzco that extended from Koricancha on outwards, with sacred and socio-political organization functions, and perhaps geophysical correspondence (Zuidema, 1978).

<sup>340</sup> Indeed, an understanding of the character of *Tawantinsuyu*, for its contemporary relevance, is a must. There is sufficient information in native and early colonial accounts that could constitute the basis of such understanding.

gatherers, with perhaps some horticulture. They lived in the tropical forests surrounding the Amazon River basin, the Putumayo, Ucayali, Marañón, Apurímac and Madre de Dios rivers, as well as others further south. A few sedentary, quite sophisticated kingdoms like the Viru (North West Peru), and the Kuellap (Central North West Peru) lived there earlier, preceding the Inka rule. Later, Chanka *mitmaes* transported from the South Andean Apurímac region as punishment for refusing to bend to the Inkas' authority settled in the present department of Amazonas, where their descendants still live. However, most of the hundreds of small aggregates of rainforest natives remained independent and without organic connection to *Tawantinsuyu*, though local oral tradition and a few historical records show that they had positive contacts with the Inkas.

*Q'ollasuyu* was the southern *suyu* of the confederation, where the Inkas traced their origin. It contained a large number of distinct ethnic groups, some of them of ancient origin, like the Uru on Lake Titicaca, who still occupy parts or most of their old territories. These they kept despite persistent struggles over centuries of colonialism that include now three nation-states: Peru, Bolivia and Argentina. Unfailingly, colonial occupation attempted the natives' expulsion from homelands to facilitate large scale operations in agriculture, mining, logging and others. *Q'ollasuyu* included solid cultural seats of Inka dominion in the expanse between Cusco and Lake Titicaca. Numerous Aymara and Quechua groups inhabit the highland plateau of Lake Titicaca across the borders of Peru and Bolivia. Most of Bolivia, including *Chuquiaku* (La Paz), Potosí, Cochabamba, and other areas, in addition to northern Argentine provinces, like present-

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<sup>341</sup> See comment in final discussion relating to this way of approaching the description of *Tawantinsuyu*.

day Cordova, once formed part of *Q'ollasuyu*. The area is now home to some of the most active native Andean efforts to regain historical identity and to re-own landmark references and traditions. Even when they lack the specifics of their ancient and recent history, *Q'ollasuyans* seem determined to undo the *Criollo-mestizo* states' policies that marginalized, suppressed and forced their disappearance.

Pointing to the sunset from *Q'osqo* was *Kuntisuyu*. It extended to the South West coast of Peru (Nazca-Paracas in Ica, Arequipa, Moquegua, Tacna), and Northern Chile (Arica, Iquique, Valparaíso). It was seat of many ethnic groups with distinct languages and cultures, besides the pan-Andean Quechua, or more regional Aymara. Condesuyos, a present-day province of Arequipa, retains the Hispanized version of its name. Finally, *Chinchaysuyu*, the northern stronghold of native population and culture, extends from Cuzco to the North Central kingdoms of Huari, in present Ayacucho, Huanca in present Huancayo and Junín, and to Cajamarca on its North East flank. On its western flank, a province in the present department of Lima, Chinchá, also keeps part of the old denomination. Proceeding further north with the Muchik-Chimu kingdoms in the present departments of La Libertad and Piura in North Peru, the Kitus, Otavalo, Pasto kingdoms, and others, in present-day Ecuador. *Chinchaysuyu* may have included nations all the way to the southern limits of Colombia, still using variants of Quechua or Quíchua language.

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## **Chapter XX: Politics of Culture and Representation in the *Suyus* Now**

This section highlights some events in the politics of culture and social movement consolidation in each of the *suyus*. It is a coarse outline of the efforts to recuperate history and re-own culture since the inception of present-day Indian movements, to lead to future more detailed recounts by insider-participants of both, culture and social movements. Only they can provide reliable accounts of what is indeed a contradictory path of continuous interactions, negotiations and conflicts with agents of the dominant socio-cultural system. What follows is an impressionistic account and yet panoramic view of the ongoing reconstitution of peoples and cultures of the Andes, of what has been termed ‘a long-time silenced civilization’ (Varesse, 1998) in the process of taking its own place in history, of achieving world recognition with its own internal logic and objectives.

In the conventional description of contemporary Andean Indian movements in the literature (confined or defined in relation to national states), the impression is that they are strong and quite unified in Ecuador, robust but disorganized/decentralized in Bolivia, achieving important legal gains in Chile, and disconcertingly weak in Peru (Albo, 2004). Expectations are high that Peru should show the strongest and most relevant political mobilizations and cultural statements by native Andeans, being the heart of Inka territory and the center of *Tawantinsuyu*. Peru, however, was also the stronghold of Western colonialism in South America for centuries. It endured continuous and pervasive measures to keep colonial dominion in place, including a combination of ruthless repression of the masses with systematic co-opting of its rulers and natural authorities.

From the start, Indians who threatened to have their own way faced ferocious military and culture reprisals. The most traumatic event and with vast consequences in Latin American geopolitical history in pre-modern times, was the Amaru-Katari uprising and eventual defeat in the 1780's, centered in *Q'osqo*-Chuquisaca (La Paz). With the center of *Tawantinsuyu* deactivated, the resistance efforts of natives in sizable movements mutated to less ambitious political goals on the periphery. Whatever their rebuttal to cultural and political domination was, the movements on the periphery did not bother colonial domination because they lacked the ability to mobilize. They could be easily dispersed and localized. As will be seen, however, after an extended period of historical re-assessment, Peru's central articulating role in the Indigenous movement may now be on course after all, preparing to face not only the West but other parts of the world.<sup>342</sup>

This section furnishes details to account for Peru's relative lack of strong political representation movements and overt cultural political presence. An overview *a grosso modo* of the political dynamics in each of the *suyus*, and the logic currently unfolding in the region, should dispel concerns about Peru. In the minimal time-frame required for complex historical process, transformations of such caliber take decades. What follows is an approximation, a glimpse of critical and representative events in the four *suyus* that

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<sup>342</sup> There is a marked increase of political statements coming out of the Indian movement in Peru. Its greatest challenge seems the incorporation of base communities, its major achievement the production of ideology with historical and philosophical foundation. A sobering challenge to Peru's movement was to contest leftist ideology and practice, while gaining international awareness and understand global strategies of domination. A result of the process is the formation of organizations like the '*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Perú*.' See [www.willkapampa.org](http://www.willkapampa.org). Capacity to coordinate and integrate the four *suyus* seems still Peru's advantage, while those of *Chinchay* and *Q'ollasuyu*'s seem practical political presence and policy achievements.

involve one or more of four features.<sup>343</sup> First are the communities' efforts to re-construct their own history, not only as the recall of facts but also as public display and representation for their own and for other people's use in museums, monuments, and the like. Second are overt expressions of culture and their defense, starting with recuperation of native languages, oral tradition, and cultural life in public education and media. This includes art and religious expressions, along with controls of their export. Third, are social movements addressing land and resource defense, key to their physical and psychological survival. Fourth is political organization that may lead to self-government and legal forms of representation before the states and internationally. This political manifestation stands on ongoing worldview and values reconstruction and reinstatement. A minimal inventory of these activities in each of the *suyus* would be matter of collective undertaking by agents in hundreds of ethnic groups, and would entail many years of effort. The goal here is only to highlight (unevenly) a few events and processes in representative locations of each *suyu*. Drawings of Guaman Poma will remind us that for Andean natives, the four quarters of *Tawantinsuyu*, the present day *suyus*, have a long cultural and historical trajectory.

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<sup>343</sup> The source of information for current news in most of this section comes via recent internet news and materials listed in the Appendix.

## Chapter XXI: *Chinchaysuyu*'s Lead

“Tonight I watched some of the most oppressed people in this world confront some of the most influential. Tonight I watched a group of poor farmers, indigenous people, and workers speak, shout, sing truth to power. Tonight, I think, I think, although we will not know for a few days, I watched the terrain of hemispheric politics shift before my eyes. I feel so inspired, and so humbled.”

*Ellen, reporter to Indymedia, Sat Nov 2 '02.*<sup>344</sup>

(See full text Appendix 3.1)

Ecuador is basically the seat of *Chinchaysuyu* in terms of the politics of culture and representation in the Northwest province of *Tawantinsuyu*. Within Ecuador, however, are geographical and cultural regions that color the character of the Indian movement.<sup>345</sup> There are the coastal natives, now in close association with African descent groups settled in this area; there are highland, Quíchua-speaking native communities, historically affiliated with the Inka polity; and there are tropical rainforest natives in the Amazon basin. Their ethnic differences have given rise to various independent and yet coordinated efforts for common action *vis-a-vis* the Ecuadorian state and international entities. One is CONAIE (*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indias de Ecuador*), which joins semi-independent coastal natives, including Blacks, with Andean highlanders. The last ones constitute core of ECUARUNARI, an organization with long history of varied influences (church, class) presently defined by native ethnicity (see webpage, Appendix X). In turn, COICA (*Confederación Interétnica de la Cuenca Amazónica*) represents rainforest

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<sup>344</sup> Sun, 3 Nov 2002 16:38:07 -0800 (PST), from Chloe Schwabe, [chloeclover77@yahoo.com](mailto:chloeclover77@yahoo.com), to: [chupacabra@lists.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:chupacabra@lists.cc.utexas.edu)

natives in the Amazon-basin of Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay. The recent rapid advance of transnational corporations and, for good or bad, international mediator entities has spurred rainforest natives to organize and coordinate cross-nationally to face global challenges. CONAIE and COICA-Ecuador coordinate actions to deal with the Ecuadorian state.

As in Peru and Bolivia, Ecuador's eastern and southern tropical forest lowlands represent different indigenous nationalities. Amazon-basin tribes were isolated from urban centers until a few decades ago and did not challenge or affect Ecuador's *Criollo-mestizo* national self-image as did Quichua Indians, the direct descendants of Inka-linked polities. It was the recent, intense plundering of the rain forest by transnational corporations (for wood, gas, oil and mining) that brought attention to their predicament, both in terms of national state policies and multinational corporations. The intense and sudden destruction of their natural habitat amounts to a world environmental and health disaster. International organizations concerned with human rights and the environment came to the assistance of natives, providing legal advice and aiding their local and cross-national organization. The results and implications of the activists' actions for the natives' direct survival were largely positive, as was the last ones' political empowerment in the face of national and international agents. What remain still unclear are their mid to long-term socio-cultural and political prospects.

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<sup>345</sup> It is possible that the land-locked condition of these ethnic groups results from colonial innovations or assimilation practices, or alternatively to incomplete incorporation to Inka practices of ecological levels of control. It is a doubt to dispel only through an independent history of Indian nations through time.

The political organization of Quíchua-speaking highland indigenous communities in Ecuador -- the core of *Chinchaysuyu* -- is vital to *Tawantinsuyu*'s political prospects. Clearly, the success of the 1984 continental meeting of Indigenous Peoples in Quito stimulated and strengthened Ecuador's nascent native organization. However, the peculiar characteristics of the *Criollo-mestizo* nation in Ecuador also paved the way for an early and swifter underpinning of the indigenous movement. Although there has not been an easy, soft or benevolent Western domination of native Andeans, Ecuador's less robust feudal economic base represented a *Criollo* hegemonic nucleus that allowed an earlier absorption of 'modern' capitalist-dependent relations, than in Peru or Bolivia. Quíchua Indians in Ecuador may have been subject -- individually and collectively -- of more 'bourgeois' treatment, not as confined in caste-like relations with Whites, as Peru, until Velasco's regime in the 1970's. Bolivia's 1952 agrarian revolution launched marked improvements in the Indians' citizenship condition, in anticipation of both.<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>346</sup> A comparative examination of the natives' status within the states of respective three countries, from the perspective of a nascent Tawantinsuyu political body, would clarify present day differences in native Andean social identity.



Figure 8. A Pre-Hispanic seat of native social identity depicted here by Guaman Poma: feasting *Chinchaysuyans* celebrate their festivities with their own typical musical instruments, sea shells. They dress for temperate weather – wear sandals instead of closed shoes (vis-à-vis *Kolla* and *Kuntisuyans*, or barefoot *Antisuyans*).

If native Andeans face a less powerful state with weaker means of economic and cultural control, it is possible to build a more autonomous and resilient resistance. Population size is another factor. Six million people, in a mid-size country (formerly a province of viceroyalties seated sequentially in Peru and Colombia) make social mobility and social movements easier. Whatever the combination of reasons may have been, the result was the rise of a precursor *Mestizo* intelligence which adhered to a native social identity rather

than to the dominant one earlier than did their counterparts in Peru. The late Ecuadorian artist Oswaldo Guayasamin's public declaration of his Indian identity in an interview in Lima (1987), when this was unthinkable in Peru, was like an individual sparrow's song announcing the spring of a cultural and historical stand by Indigenous masses.<sup>347</sup> Ecuador's intellectual production greatly benefited from the public recognition of Indian identity over the last two decades, as did the Indian political movement that recently led to the rise and fall of at least three presidents. The movement not only has the chance to stamp the character of the new constitution of Ecuador with the special condition of *Chinchaysuyu* natives, but to ascend to the nation's political leadership. The movement propelled representatives such as lawyer Nina Paqari to stardom in public life, both in the Americas and among the world's indigenous peoples, as a fully-qualified professional and Indian. Paradoxically, the movement's potential may have also made Ecuador already the target of drastic international global interventions.<sup>348</sup>

One condition for the reconstruction of communities locally and regionally, and for their articulation in larger polities, is the redefining/re-owning of their characteristic cultural expressions as a distinct people. *Chinchaysuyu* natives have begun independent, native-based work in this direction, which is apart from the Ecuadorian state's investment in regional culture and even benefits the *Criollo-mestizo* state identity formulation. In this task, native *Chinchaysuyans* have had a productive partnering with native and non-

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<sup>347</sup> Economist Virgilio Roel-Pineda shared this comment about the significance of Guayasamin's open recognition of his Indian identity (Lima, 1987). Comparatively in Peru, a few years earlier, renowned *Mestizo*-Indian anthropologist-novelist Jose Maria Arguedas committed suicide, in part triggered by the indifference and disdain of native roots by leftist *criollo* academicians.

<sup>348</sup> Changing the local currency to dollars is one measure to of global stamp economic changes, as it is the implementation of social policies to fit the economic modernization policies.

native ‘organic’ intellectuals who adopted the indigenous people’s cause as their own. Such collaboration is seen in Abdi Yala publishers (alternatively spelled *Ayala*), which distributes a variety of monographs on culture and worldview of *Chinchaysuyu* natives, some of local workshop production, others of international academic stamp. Children of native communities, who are now the first generation completing full schooling, are becoming the most significant organic intellectuals.<sup>349</sup> Although most of the schooled youths still assimilate to the dominant *Criollo-mestizo* culture, some managed to skip the late 1980’s and 1990’s mandatory acculturation-assimilation. Forced out of the country into economic exile, some -- with distance and world perspective -- became aware of their cultural roots, their ethnic predicament and need to support the native cause.<sup>350</sup> The simple act of assisting their home communities from abroad was one basic mode of doing so. There are also native intellectuals in political capacity acting before government and international agencies, including the United Nations, whose role to bring world attention and political recognition to the Indigenous peoples’ predicament is irreplaceable.

One long-standing example of Andean Indian groups’ independence, resilience and initiative are Otavalo natives from the Ecuadorian highlands. For decades, they have stood unperturbed in the international spotlight, zealously preserving their identity as a people, trading and capitalizing, without intermediaries, on their own economic and cultural production, including artisanship, commerce and music. Their insistence on maintaining their traditional language and dress while conducting their transactions with

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<sup>349</sup> Indigenous anthropologist Luis Macas, Secretary General of CONAIE is clear representative of such.

the outside world, even in metropolitan world centers, have for years merited journalistic and ethnographic attention. Their remarkable independence and economic success makes them an exception to usual vulnerability of isolated and oppressed indigenous peoples' when approached by foreign and non-Indian national missionaries, international officials and academics. Systematizing Otavaleño autonomy and resilience could be useful for *Tawantinsuyu* kin in the shared goal of reclaiming their right to exist as nations (of the same socio-historical formation) in today's world.

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<sup>350</sup> Known experiences of support and promotion of native led movements at home via internet come from migrants from Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru in Europe, North America and Australia, etc. See web pages list in Appendix.

## Chapter XXII: *Antisuyu's New Day*

### *Peru\_victoria indigena contra la contaminacion y la injusticia*

*“Esta es una victoria histórica y dentro de lo posible, de lo más pacífica, que han logrado los indígenas achuar, quichua y urarinas del Corrientes, agobiados por la contaminación y buscando la justicia y atención del Estado.*

*Siguiendo los designios del Arutam, (el Dios de los achuar) tuve el privilegio y honor de ser llamada, a acompañarles durante los diez últimos días de su gesta, como parte del trabajo de asesora legal que realizo hace más de 5 años con las comunidades del Corrientes y su organización FECONACO.*

*Una experiencia extraordinaria de un pueblo que guiado por sus maestros espirituales y sus guerreros, han logrado pacífica, disciplinada y firmemente alcanzar la victoria para impedir que se les siga contaminando.*

*La nota de prensa no puede describir la suma de sucesos y la actuación digna de la gente. Finalmente sin ningún herido y nada que lamentar, después de 13 días de haber paralizado las operaciones petroleras en los lotes IAB y 8, que durante más de 35 años han eliminado ingentes cantidades de sustancias venenosas a sus ríos, los indígenas han logrado que el Estado y la petrolera se comprometan a aceptar el 95% de sus derechos, y con ello un paso adelante en la búsqueda de justicia.”*

*Lily La Torre*

*Iquitos 24 de octubre del 2006*

*Comunicación Chaskinayrampi, 10-26-06*

Before presenting it in their own words, events like those opening the section on *Chinchaysuyu* earlier, and this one above, need to be narrated by external witnesses with conventional registers. To lend credibility to a content that would seem too hopeful, too refreshing, too good to be true, it is important to experience it through the eyes of observers ‘like us.’ Rough is indeed the new day to which Antisuyan people have awakened in modern life. Their direct contact with the modern world has taken them directly to the globalization whirlpool and their answer is as pristine human as one can get. Their official declaration,<sup>351</sup> in their own terms (here translated into English form

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<sup>351</sup> Oct 26, 2006, Comunicación Chaskinayrampi [chaskinayrampi@yahoo.es](mailto:chaskinayrampi@yahoo.es)

original Spanish, Appendix B2), kin Indigenous peoples in any corner of the world can share and understand in their present predicament, as it is instructive for non-natives.

“VICTORY OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE PERUVIAN AMAZON!  
VICTORY OF THE ACHUAR, QUICHUA AND URARINA PEOPLE OF  
CORRIENTES, A STEP TOWARDS JUSTICE!

**Report of the peaceful oil shut down effected by the Achuar, Quichua and Urarinas indigenous communities that inhabit the territories located in the Corrientes River basin, in Loreto, Peru from times immemorial.** We stopped the pouring of one million and a hundred thousand daily barrels of toxic production waters that poison us and contaminate our drinking waters, our animals and our lands from 1970, in lots 1AB and 8, exploited earlier by Peruvian Occidental Inc. and by Petroperú, and presently by the Plus petrol company.

WE HAVE ACHIEVED GOOD AGREEMENTS SIGNED BY THE GOVERNMENT, THE ACHUAR PEOPLE AND THE ARGENTINIAN COMPANY PLUS PETROL.

On Sunday October 22, the Government decided to reinitiate the dialogue and has accepted our just demands 13 days after the beginning of the take over by the Achuar people. The millions of dollars that the company says it has lost are nothing compared to the thousands of lives that will be saved in Corrientes by preventing contamination, nothing in face of the huge profits accumulated by the company given the high prices of oil barrels in the world.

Today, October 24, we already celebrate peace!! This day we will celebrate always for the triumph of truth over injustice and death. We have achieved agreements to begin preventing the contamination in our rivers, creeks, land and lakes, to safeguard our food, to care for our children's health. The state has promised us to share 5% of the oil revenues to benefit our communities located in the areas of oil exploitation. Most especially we have given a giant step towards dignity, the respect that indigenous peoples deserve, and towards our historical need for self-determination.

Our guide is ARUTAM who is the God of Love, Truth and Life; who is the same one about whom Buda, Jesus and Gandhi spoke.

We want to say to everyone how beautiful human life, the Amazon forests, the animals and plants are if we all live respecting each other in harmony with nature!

We personally know that life and we always want to live that way. From our homeland, in a corner of the Amazon rainforest, we the Achuar, Urarina and Quichua people offer this to the world.

THANKS TO THE SPIRITUAL STRENGTH OF ARUTAM WE WILL CONTINUE  
FIRM TO BE SOME DAY AGAIN TOTALLY HAPPY IN OUR TERRITORY!

The 13-day occupation of Plus petrol company production fields – the third occupying their territory with the Peruvian government’s approval in a 36-year period - occurs with full but peaceful mobilization of three ethnic communities. They put a halt to unrestrained and massive contamination of waters, the whole ecosystem and human life successfully by a supposedly Argentinean transnational company. The date when the agreement was reached (second paragraph), is set as the day to commemorate the victory of ‘truth over injustice and death.’ Agreements to start preventing serious contamination were achieved with a small percent of profits destined to the communities. The symbolic importance of the success of dignity and respect, and consequent political empowerment, are clear. The last third of the pronouncement is even more meaningful. The collective struggles of Indigenous peoples in big forums (like the UN, from the beginning) and small country or local settings, like in this case, bear a strong spiritual component. This expresses a philosophy of life, that of living in harmony with nature and appreciating its sacredness, as well as their determination to hold on to that to offer it to the world in the form of nature’s riches (beauty and bounty) and of human life values in consonance with nature. The statement closes with the universality and supreme stand of the sacred, and the faith it requires as source of peace and happiness. *Antisuyans* express still an uncontaminated soul, their leaders observe the rules of the sacred (chiefs’ behavior pointed out in the witness’ account) and their institutions attempt coherence it.

*Antisuyu* includes natives of the central and eastern rainforests of present Ecuador, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia. Although *Tawantinsuyu* had few if any organic or formal relations to native nations of the area, there were no historical animosities between them.

As an observer/supporter of the *Consejo Indio de Sud America* (CISA) in the early 1980's, I witnessed some of the earliest manifestations of contemporary *serrano* (highlander) activists' supportive collaboration to '*los hermanos nativos*' from the central and northern rainforest tribes of Peru. At that time, '*los nativos de la selva*' (in slang, '*chunchos*'<sup>352</sup>) had been forced into awareness of the urgency to furnish themselves with legal documents to protect their ancestral territories from outsider occupation. With few or no legal documents at hand to protect them from various 'land claims' of big and small private interests, as well as of public or public-sponsored programs, they had to scrape together any past letters and signed statements to gain government officials' recognition so as to legalize their property titles. Looking back at the experience, I cringe at what a nightmare this must have been for them in a city as inhospitable and alien to 'Indians' as Lima, both in bureaucratic and racist terms, {and even physically uncongenial weather). The support of the existing few highland activists was worth their weight in gold, true compassion in their historically shared predicament of accessing public officials in the capital to learn what to do to protect their rights.

Since their struggles through government bureaucracy would take time, entire families often stayed for months at the CISA-owned facility in Lima, managed by the new movement officers. "*Los hermanos de la Selva*" occupied the half-built second or third floor. The rest of the house was not in better shape: old and precarious, constantly undergoing peculiar renovations, always in process of completion. The place ran a modest street restaurant that served inexpensive meals for surrounding working class

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<sup>352</sup> *Chuncho* informal Quéchua word for 'uncivilized'

neighborhood and Universidad de San Marcos medical school students, which produced limited income for the movement activists. Relations among Andeans and *Antisuyans* were cordial and mutually supportive, despite their marked linguistic, clothing and life habit differences. Surprised at their mutual discovery, they learned from each other. For rainforest natives, it was vicarious and close information about urban whites, about whom the *serranos* knew more. These, in turn, enriched themselves from the *chunchos*' fresh and wholesome autonomy in worldview, family practices and relations, health care and herbal medicine, native wear and adornment, and food products and their preparation. As pristine carriers of native ways, *Antisuyu* natives helped Andean highlanders to reflect on their own relation to the dominant culture. It was the more experienced with dominant and urban culture highland natives who guided and advised about Lima's office locations, paperwork, chaotic transportation system and social survival. Donning their native garments, Antisuyan natives shocked Lima's conventional garb users which equate Western with civilized, as they went through official dealings in different ministries.

After that period, the central Peruvian rainforest area received massive migration of peasants expelled from the Ayacucho and Apurimac regions, due to the combined effects of failed agrarian reform, rapid population growth and the outbreak of the Shining Path (SP) war with the Peruvian state. Subsequently, some subversive movement units settled in the area, with conflicting results for *Antisuyu* natives. There was also a gigantic growth of coca leaf cultivation, processing and commerce in the area. This precipitated a political-military presence of three powers: international drug control (under direct US influence), the national state/army in support of the international drug control treaties,

and the Shining Path (SP) guerrilla army. Forced to back up from Andean highlands, SP used the rainforest and local conditions for its own purposes, giving some evidence of dogmatic application of political beliefs, of intrusion and manipulation of natives at times, but also of civic accomplishments in health and social services, resource allocation for education, economic development and coca trafficking control (Hildebrandt, 1987; Principe, A., 1991). SP's *modus operandi* contrasted sharply with the army units that controlled coca traffic and subversive links in the area, and with conventional *Criollo-mestizo* officials, not especially known for their competence or resistance to corruption.

Despite unreliable and unbalanced news (due to tight media censoring in this politically polarized arena), what is certain is that SP's incursion in Central *Antisuyu* brought about harsh governmental repression of natives in the area. It forced their displacement and cost many lives. In the end, only national development plans that involved transnational presence in the area came out ahead. Native territories were taken over by the state, allegedly to eliminate bases of subversion, or sometimes for presumed ecotourism purposes. In contrast to SP's central *Antisuyu* base, north-Peru *Antisuyu*, housed another insurgent group of the 1980's, MRTA (*Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru*), whose presence had similar effects on natives, although with less obvious reorganizing influence on local communities.

Once the subversive movement was under control in the mid-to-late 1990's, investment projects in the area showed an impressive rise, including open calls to gas and oil exploration by foreign corporations, with - for good or ill - simultaneous orchestration of NGO growth. This external support strengthened the natives' defense of their

territories and helped them to organize and connect directly with international legal and financial entities. In the Peruvian context local AIDSESP (Asociación Indígena para el Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana) fulfilled this role. In *Antisuyu* as a cross-national arena, COICA (*Confederación Indígena de la Cuenca Amazónica*) brought together South American rainforest natives.<sup>353</sup> In both instances, NGO's helped the native communities' negotiations with their respective *Criollo-mestizo* governments, when these signed business agreements with transnational corporations. Sometimes they helped native communities deal directly with corporations. Moreover, the process created horizontal collaboration among hundreds of isolated native groups tackling similar problems. As a result, often native communities ended up by-passing their national governments to obtain direct assistance for development projects like bilingual education, marketing their agricultural and manufactured products, for ecotourism and other projects under their own management.

The direct link to international organizations strengthened the rainforest natives' case for the time being, especially in light of the states' inefficient handling of native needs and demands. However, although achieving some short-term political gains, there is no guaranty that external international support will help natives preserve their ethnic individuality in face of global economic and cultural designs. Increasingly weaker and more dependent national states could instead atomize their struggles, making them, over

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<sup>353</sup> COICA recently split in two groups due to problems of leadership and representation. These related to links with external funding agencies and money mismanagement, which apparently compromised FLACSO -Ecuador in its role to train native leaders. However, among COICA's organizational dilemmas may also be one of cultural and linguistic nature. French Guiana natives led one faction and the other of Andean Amazonian extraction and can be seen in Appendix V.

time, more vulnerable to powerful transnational economic and political interests. The environmental and legal aid agencies' support could be positive and growth-provoking for *Antisuyans* in the short run, but may not mean the same in the long run, in context of the global economy and political design. Towards this end, the alternative for hundreds of resisting, threatened native peoples in the tropical rainforests of South America, now grouped in COICA, could be a non-intrusive, yet protective, indigenous confederation. The solidarity and mutual appreciation and support of CISA pioneering groups twenty-five years ago foreshadowed an enduring future formal pan-Andean political association, perhaps a native-organized confederation of nations like *Tawantinsuyu*. Sociologist and Quechua and activist living in France, Aureliano Turpo's reaction corroborates this point in relation to the natives' recent success denouncing state-sponsored oil drillings disaster, in response to La Torre (opening quote).

Dear sister Lily,

The battles won by our Amazon rainforest siblings, as in the case you report, are always encouraging. The invader has always found pretexts to profit and alienate our natural renewable and non renewable resources, such as gold, silver, rubber and now oil. They are justificatory of the ongoing colonization and denying of our ancestral rights. The final battle would be of ours, of *Tawantinsuyu* natives (my emphasis) claiming back the Amazon for the integral development of our ancient peoples, with our strength and sight placed on the upcoming arrival of *Apu Pachakutiq* and *Inkari*, who will reaffirm the battles that Juan Santos Atawallpa fought. Congratulations for winning all of the law procedures and glitches on our behalf. The people are with you.

Fraternally, Aureliano Turpo Choquehuanca  
Kechua del Perú-Tawantinsuyano. 3 Nov. 2006 SERVINDI



Figure 5. Guaman Poma's representation of the dancing Antisuyan people in light clothes corresponds to life in the tropical rain forests. Adornments of feathers and leg cords and chimes/shells would mark rhythm and accompany the melody played on native pan pipe, *zampoña*, by one of the performers.

### A HISTORY FOR *ANTISUYU*?

With regard to its colonial history, it is not really that most of *Antisuyu* (the Amazon Basin native populations of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia) does not have a history, at least comparable and in reference to the presence of Western colonialism in

the continent.<sup>354</sup> It is that, until recently, colonial and post-colonial administrations often perceived these territories as remote and impenetrable, largely peopled by “primitives,” insufficiently attractive to explore or occupy for profitable resource, labor, or market use. Nevertheless, the rough trails left by past incursions in their territories future generations of the area’s ethnic groups may recover when re-appropriating their history for themselves and the world. So, for *Antisuyu* there isn’t even imprecise assessments of the impact of feudal and national capitalist-dependent modalities of Western colonialism, as exist in the other *suyus*. It is possible that the impact of both was weak, but only research can determine an untold record of tragedies, past disappeared populations, and the sort, like in other parts of *Abdi Ayala*.<sup>355</sup> What is confirmable is the contemporary paramount presence of the global political economy. For this reason, the present discussion centers on the character of these recent intrusions, at a time when the national *Criollo-mestizo* states either lack conditions to protect native *Antisuyans*, or sometimes even mediate the global presence in the area.

Due to the recent and sudden contact of *Antisuyu* communities with the West, processes similar to those unleashed with Miskito Indians in Nicaragua of the 1980’s may be on the way. Like them, the Amazon rainforest natives are in danger of being ensnarled in socio-political currents outside their control and interests. However, this time the implications on the political future of the subcontinent may be greater. At stake are enormous and coveted energy reserves and myriad resources: from diamond and gold

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<sup>354</sup> For a closer and more critical view of history in reference to Antisuyu, see section on *Antisuyu* women here, pg.337.

mining, to wood and medicinal plants, and now even genetic DNA materials from a variety of animal and plant species. The aggressive courting of native groups by powerful global business, media and policy networks, often bypassing national governments, brings a whole new set of problems. Due to the absence of legal frameworks, which the states, however neglectful, provide, the direct relation of natives with transnational organizations can be politically risky.

For the most part, *Antisuyan* people lack experience, orientation and expertise with complex Western financial, political and cultural matters. Their sudden exposure to external religious, cultural and political influences is unsafe for the region, let alone for the natives' own ethnic survival. In some cases, however, international groups are already introducing and helping native communities to handle global issues. They may stimulate the formation of a homegrown movement for 'development,' so the locals can share the benefits. However, often the assistance packages include, not surprisingly, individualistic and patriarchal-stamped enticements, easier to engage in, but also potentially destructive of the local cultural processes. Quality-concerned, long-term, collective goals, inclusive of women, children and older people demand more socially. With no time to build solid movements, where immediate, individual compensations and handouts weigh more than do long-term collective benefits, native *Antisuyans* could fall prey to entrapments that threaten their very existence. In recent times, their connection with politically-kin and groups sensitive to global capitalism and war, in the continent (e.g., Colombia) and world is also valuable. In short, weak *Críollo-mestizo* national states and active presence of

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<sup>355</sup> Kuna name for the continent, adopted by the Americas Indian Movement: Island of Life. N. Cayuqueo,

global agents in the area could result in native representation that readily follows the whims and designs of external agencies. Again, for this reason, a politically adept pan-Andean body like *Tawantinsuyu*, with native peoples' interests in mind, could benefit Amazon rainforest natives, especially in former *Antisuyu* territories of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and south west Colombia. To stop criminal contamination of the rivers, to clean and heal waters and land, and living beings affected by the poison, to sustain and infuse life to people's spirit, to renourish and bring back to life what untainted, unhampered global consumption has done to the part of the Amazon rainforest that is pan-Andean, *Antisuyu*. The challenges to overcome are vividly portrayed in the quote below.

*“(En 30 años) las venas de la selva (sus ríos), están siendo contaminados, el espíritu (su gente) está más abandonado y pobre cada día, y el cuerpo (animales y plantas) exterminados...”*

*Perú: El espíritu de la Selva, por Jesús Roberto Ospina Salina clasificado en: Opinión. **Servindi**, 29 Noviembre 2006*

## Chapter XXIII: *Q'ollasuyu's* Deep Roots

*“Esta lucha no es reciente. No viene solo del año 2000. La lucha se inicia desde la muerte del Inca Atahualpa. Desde entonces nuestros antepasados han dirigido un movimiento grande, anticolonial. También en la República han estado con las armas para rescatar el territorio, la tierra y el poder. Nosotros nos consideramos continuadores, seguidores de nuestros antepasados. De ahí que el año 2000 salimos a la luz pública con las grandes movilizaciones.*

.....  
*Pienso que Morales no va a cambiar nada, y entonces nos tocaría a nosotros hacer el cambio total. Para que en nuestro país no hayan más los pobres y los ricos. Para que vivamos en iguales condiciones de vida. Para que el pueblo esté feliz y contento. Porque todos debemos recibir iguales. Como se vive en la comunidad. En nuestras comunidades no hay pobres. No hay miserables. No hay limosneros. No hay gente que roba. Allá todos trabajamos. Ese es el pensamiento que nosotros escribimos. Ese es el ayllu comunitario. Ese es el sistema comunitarista, y ese debiese ser el modelo que vamos a implantar en nuestro país.”*

*Entrevista al "Mallku" Felipe Quispe , from "Iván Ignacio"*

*<ivanignacio@hotmail.com>, [cano-can@yahoo.com](mailto:cano-can@yahoo.com); 09-26-06* <sup>356</sup>

With its large proportion of native population and multiplicity of ethnic groups and communities, Bolivia represents the core of *Q'ollasuyu*. Its native ethnic composition illustrates what must have been a special dynamics and a richness of inter-community relations in the pre-Hispanic past. In addition, it offers the political complexity of an 80% Indian population in relation to a minority of dominant White and White-assimilated *Mestizos*. In a country where numbers only can reverse a precarious equilibrium of power, this minority needed to exercise extreme oppression to hold on to the country's reins. In this, to preserve colonial prerogatives, it helped to have neighbors guarantying political, economic and military assistance as well as a native cultural persona that held a marked work ethic and respect for authority.

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<sup>356</sup> See full document in Appendix C1. Felipe Quispe's declarations represent *Q'ollasuyu's* political and ideological invariable stand due to his independence from official political circumstances.

*Q'ollasuyu* natives suffered a great and most traumatic repression after the defeat of the Amaru-Katari uprising in 1780's, the last Inka call to define the nature of the state. The resulting rigid economic and ethnic barriers between dominant Whites and natives in *Q'ollasuyu*, however, prevented the mixed blessing of greater social mobility that characterized the larger and more ethnically diversified Peru. Here, intensive policies of assimilation alleviated the natives' oppression earlier, resulting in a bigger *mestizo* constituency, particularly on the coast with the incorporation of Blacks, Asians and other Europeans. Of course, this also meant a massive erasure of native identity, with marked geographical correlates (coast vs. highlands).

In *Q'ollasuyu*, in contrast to Peru, the culture/race apartheid preserved Indian ethnicity, as in a reservoir. The limited access of natives to formal education and participation in the White-minority controlled public sphere created an early and clear perception by natives of the country's cultural divide and political disjointedness. Yet, their majority status gave them greater independence than in other parts of *Tawantinsuyu*, allowing, with time, robust and autonomous culture expression and social movements. The process also stamped the character of national culture in ways not possible in Peru or Ecuador.

These sociological conditions add to the political effects of *Q'ollasuyu*'s separation from the rest of *Tawantinsuyu*, first as colonial Alto Peru, and later, with *Criollo-mestizo* independence, as the separate country of Bolivia. Through all of these phases of Western occupation, native *Q'ollasuyu* peasants knew how to continue normal inter-community economic transactions and relations across country borders. On the

other hand, the undeniable sociological presence of natives before White and *Mestizo* provincial elites, with access to Western education and citizenship, was important for the rise of an enlightened political thinking that affects autonomous Indigenous movements now. The daily dealing of provincial elites with native culture often made it mandatory for them to learn the native language, which at times meant identification, even if romantic, with the native cause. For this reason, such elites at times opposed Eurocentric elites in the political arena. Native-influenced social elites extended as an axis from *Q'osqo* to Chuquisaca (La Paz) and on into Argentina, including provinces in between (present-day Ayacucho, Arequipa, Puno, Moquegua and Tacna, in Peru, and others in Bolivia). Over time, they came together with peasants in support of political and intellectual movements for re-unification.<sup>357</sup> Right after independence, the Peru-Bolivia Confederation attempted and failed to reunite the area, preventing Simon Bolivar's dream of annexation to "la Gran Colombia." Later in the 1870's, during the War of the Pacific with Chile, Peru and Bolivia resurrected their natural partnership against British-inspired Chilean advances to annex territories rich in coveted minerals.

#### **"INDIGENISMO" AND "INDIANISMO"**

There was an ideological substratum to the above mentioned political actions. Pan-Andean movements in the South crossed borders during the first third of the twentieth century giving rise, in each socio-political setting, to two versions of the same pro-native thinking, *Indigenismo* and *Indianismo*. Historian Luis E. Varcárcel traveled from Cusco to Lima to influence, from the center, the Andean natives' predicament,

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<sup>357</sup> See Marisol De la Cadena (2000) for an understanding of the process in South Peru.

which he directly witnessed. With a few other White-*mestizo* Andean intellectuals and artists, Varcárcel became the spokesman of *Indigenismo*, a cry of justice for Indians, effectively expressed in his book “*Tempestad en los Andes*.” In Lima, he denounced the indigenous conditions to those open to hear about it, among them José Carlos Mariátegui, the founder of Peru’s Socialist Party. Mariátegui took this idea (native Socialism) and, with it, enriched South American Marxism. However, Don Luis later shared, with sadness, that Mariátegui did not really understand the nature of Inka society.<sup>358</sup> Despite Valcárcel’s incorporation in Peru’s key academic and political circles, his identification with *El Peru Profundo* (a pseudo reference to the country’s essential Indianness) kept him apart from mainstream Peruvian culture. And yet, while he advocated for the natives, Don Luis did not (could not?) take a position as one himself, as did his contemporary *Mestizo* counterpart in Bolivia, Fausto Reynaga, or the White Argentinean, a *Q’ollasuyan* at heart, Edgar Ibarra Grasso.<sup>359</sup>

Reynaga, the founding ideologist of ‘*Indianismo*,’ the other version of political thinking in contemporary Andean native movements, does not paternalistically advocate for the Indian. Instead, he talks of the Indian in first person. Confronting the West with passion and fury, Reynaga sees the liberation of natives as an ethical and political necessity. His daring and strong recrimination of the West has only recently resonated in

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<sup>358</sup> Personal conversation, Lima 1977. More than the personal limitations of this admirable scholar of Andean history, it could have been the limitations set by Peru, as a country, that prevented a more open and political recognition of his standing *vis-à-vis* the Andean world, as revealed in a recent publication of another personal interview with Javier Lajo in winter 1980, Lima, Peru. See CORREO DE LA RESISTENCIA INDIGENA - Correo N° 561 - 20 de Diciembre del 2005: [www.willkapampa.org](http://www.willkapampa.org)

<sup>359</sup> Ecumenical social science scholar, archaeologist and anthropologist Ibarra Grasso assumed his Indian identity that defined his grounds-setting career and equally solitary struggles for decades, after a childhood

fully-documented statements concerning the losses that Western occupation meant. His self-identification as Indian (being himself *Mestizo*) foretells a time when *Mestizos* will embrace native roots as a foundation on which to build their future, rather than the premises of an imposed/imported socio-cultural system with limited prospects for all.

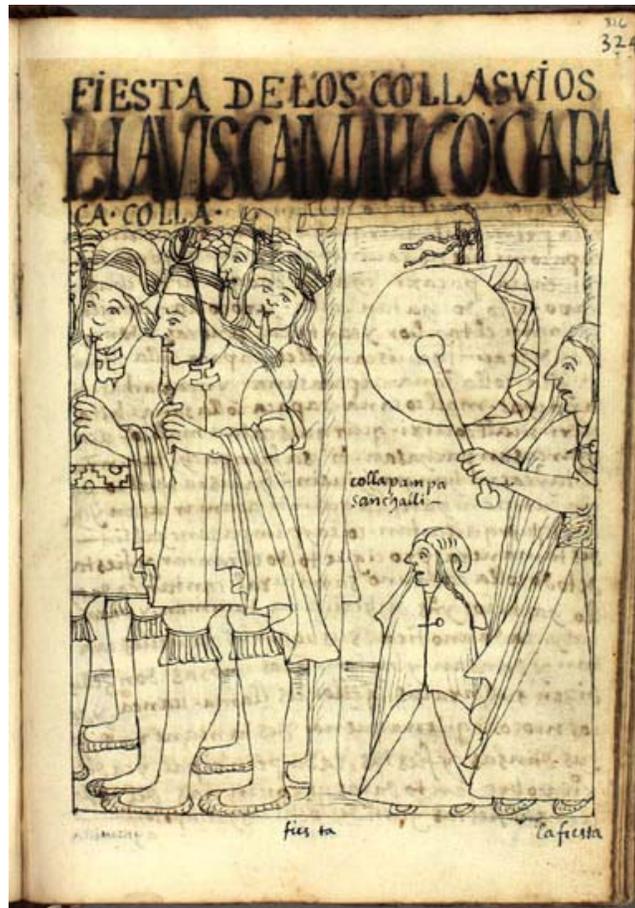


Figure 6. In Guaman Poma's illustration, 'Los *Q'ollasuyus*' characteristically wear the most protective clothing - shoes and heavy caps in men and women - with historically traceable adornments, even in our days. Recognizable and universal is the *tupu*, pin to keep the *llliclla* (shawl) tight to the body (women).

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illness that almost killed him, from which he was saved by Indian healers. Personal conversation, Congreso del Hombre y la Cultura Andina, Huancayo 1981.

The shared Andean intellectual renaissance in South Peru and Bolivia, in the first forty years of the twentieth century, appears in other remarkable cultural achievements, including the pedagogical theory innovations by Puno native José Antonio Encinas and literary works of Gamaliel Churata. Both authors forecast a time of native-grounded independent, intellectual and artistic works, not diminished by the indifference or ethnic contempt to their work or their persons found in Lima. Meanwhile, Reynaga's foundational thought for the present Indian movement opened a way to re-construct native Andean value and belief systems and their corresponding socio-political practices. This occurs presently in a much disputed territory, involving what some would view as still paternalistic 'rescue' efforts by *Mestizo* intellectuals and appropriation of 'native-ness' by global agents with or without real identification with native people's cause.

In this sense, *Q'ollasuyu's* present Indian movement has been the most vigorous, courageous and heroic of any in the old *Tawantinsuyu* confederation, however splintered and chaotic it appears when it sorts out alternatives to oppression -- those of the Left and of the Right (the system's compromising reforms). The exploitation of miners, workers and peasants, particularly in *Q'ollasuyu's* highlands, has been as extreme and cruel as human history registers. Not surprisingly, the continent's most powerful, creative and unified indigenous social movements regularly take place here. Popular movements supported by Indian organizations, stopped one of the first attempts to privatize water sources.<sup>360</sup> Objective political results, though still small, are long-lasting and have had direct effects on the Bolivian government (more than in Ecuador and Peru). Gradual

gains in autonomy and self-confidence, as indigenous people acting on their own behalf to defend a homeland where they are majority, are a result. The Bolivian indigenous movement effected constitutional reforms favoring natives; also it has seen a fully-invested Indian presence in Congress, including representatives up to executive levels. In recent years, *cocalero* peasants unionized as an indigenous people's movement to deal with damaging world-market-dependent economics – they found they had to abandon local food-producing agriculture as the economy turned to coca. The powerful movement featured Evo Morales, who ran and eventually became the first Quechua Indian president. In sum, large numbers, generalized exploitation, and homogeneity in norms and values, combine to tap genuine culture reservoirs. Long-standing traits of resisting ethnicity surface, such as the natural and normative community involvement (intergenerational and women-participatory), which constitutes the Andean Indian ingredient in the character of these social movements.<sup>361</sup>

Aside from practical culture, *Q'ollasuyu*-Bolivia features intellectual enterprises of cultural and ideological relevance, such as successful editorial houses that serve native Andeans. HISBOL is counterpart to Abdi-Ayala, a native oriented publishing house of Kitu, *Chinchaysuyu*-Ecuador. *Q'ollasuyu* offers a rich and diverse environment as source of materials to publish, and user publics, a full spectrum that goes from artisan-like local production to foreign intellectuals' contributions addressing the core Indian constituency.

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<sup>360</sup> The documentary “The Corporation” (2003) features the struggle, which the movement's spokesperson, Oscar Olivera recently confirmed in closing speech, LLILAS Student conference, February 2007.

<sup>361</sup> The highest popular vote, not only in his country's history but the Americas, put Morales in office as president in November 2005. On January 22, 2006, he inaugurated a political style without precedents in the Americas. There is suspense about the effects of a direct dialogue of the masses with elected

In *Q'ollasuyu*-Bolivia, in contrast to Peru, it is not necessary to circumvent anti-Indian interests in dominant academic and political circles.<sup>362</sup> Thus, *Q'ollasuyu* natives can find informative and intellectually-sophisticated studies to draw upon to reconstruct their local history and worldview.<sup>363</sup> Their solid cultural capital inspires artistic creations, for instance in popular music that gain world recognition.<sup>364</sup> Divisions in the Indian movement of *Q'ollasuyu*-Bolivia today, though less marked than in Peru, seem more based on sorting out alternatives, either goals to pursue (e.g., land tenure issues related to agrarian reform and labor conditions) or forms to organize and self-represent, than deep class cleavages. The division also rests, though less each time, to leftist practices derived from Marxist ideology. *Q'ollasuyu*'s Indian masses leave no doubt in their response: the presence, power and vitality of native ways drown all other alternatives.

Finally, the movement's strength in *Q'ollasuyu*-Bolivia reflects ethnic variety (mainly *Quechua-Aymara*) in regional and international actions on behalf of the world's indigenous peoples. Ramiro Reynaga, son of Don Fausto, an author and lecturer on his own right, negotiated (with others) the opening of United Nations doors to indigenous peoples of the continent, in mid to late-1970's<sup>365</sup> and obtained observer status for natives of the continent in early 1980's.<sup>366</sup>

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representatives, thus access to power by solid masses culturally different from the West, as well as about the response to new political panorama in the continent and metropolitan power centers.

<sup>362</sup> Personal conversations with Dr. Martha Hardman de Bautista, Lima 1989; and with Demetrio Yapita and Denise Arnold, Washington DC, 2004.

<sup>363</sup> An example of the result of such harvest is the document by Mamani Condori included in Appendix C2.

<sup>364</sup> Examples in the late 1970's and 1980's are native inspired musical creations of *Savia Andina* and *Los Kharkas*.

<sup>365</sup> Personal conversation with Reynaga, early 1980's.

<sup>366</sup> Alas, this coincided with the last attempts of their mass elimination in Guatemala and Peru under the guise of fighting Leftist guerrillas, as is now fully documented.

## Chapter XXIV: *Kuntisuyu's Proficient Three-Country Test*

*Mundo: Año nuevo en el hemisferio sur, por Armando Marileo*

*Quisiéramos que un día, los habitantes de éste lado del mundo, quienes habitamos "hacia el Sur del Hemisferio", pudiésemos celebrar colectivamente algo nuestro, algo real, que pertenezca a nuestras vidas, a la naturaleza, al universo. Quisiéramos compartir con todos los hombres y mujeres de América y el Mundo, nuestro We-Tripantu, Machaq Mara, Inti Raymi o Mosoq Wata, y convertirlo en la celebración del inicio de un Nuevo Año del Hemisferio Sur.*

*22-06-2006 II COMUNICACIÓN INDÍGENA CHASKINAYRAMPI*

The quote above illustrates the fundamental ideological changes taking place in different parts of the Southern hemisphere among native peoples. The re-claiming of the pre-Hispanic calendar for the whole subcontinent could not make be more natural for a people always self-defined as ‘children of the Earth.’ Its direct reference to astronomical cycles and agricultural and others earthly rythms, marks the return to the MARAQ T'AKA (Nuevo ciclo) of the Aymara people living in the conjunction of three countries (Peru, Bolivia and Chile), where *Kuntisuyu* is located. It symbolizes a re-definition of their relation to the states, an affirmation of their legitimate human individual and collective rights, the re-establishing of the collective nature of their culture. *Declaración Huilliche*, an extended and explicit statement of the Aymara people of Arica province, present Chile (Appendix D1), makes it very clear. The rights to territory, the defense and re-invigoration of their language and culture, and search for an international relation with similarly colonized peoples all over the world, for cultural information and exchanges without intermediaries, is part of their present agenda. In the recuperation of worldview

they are clear about the role of elders and careful about restoring parallel and equivalent representation by women. If anything, women may be taking lead in the process and men following their direction. Among the multilingual, multiethnic people of *Kuntisuyu* there is variation in the self-affirmation process, but to that also contributes the multiple states with which they have to deal. With some political sophistication, for instance, the region's Aymara people can perceive governmental policies that supposedly give them right to their 'culture' and even fund their practices, but not recognize right to territory.<sup>367</sup>

Condesuyos, a province in the department of Arequipa, kept the Hispanized trace of *Tawantinsuyu*'s southwestern province in its name.<sup>368</sup> Parts of Southwest Peru (Arequipa, Moquegua and Tacna) and North Chile (Iquique and Atacama), and perhaps fringes of Western Bolivia were part of *Kuntisuyu*. Being part of two and possibly three countries, with distinct socio-cultural and historical trajectories, produce a different quality culture works and efforts of representation by indigenous groups in these locations. Although this complexity prevents a unified Indian movement in the extent of the other suyus, it also shows the plasticity and richness of native responses to the *Criollo-mestizo* states' policies. To see how natives deal with the artificially placed borders on their nations, and how they manage territory and resources – in the social and political consequences of such – nothing better than the extension of John Murra's concept of ecological levels of control to Andean Indian people's present dealings.

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<sup>367</sup> Recently Denise Bachellet's government in Chile recognized a hospital with 'intercultural practices in health.' Aymara groups responded in protest for its incongruence with justice to political prisoners and persecution of Indian movement leaders for territorial demands (Mapuche).

<sup>368</sup> A 'department' is a state-like unit, though in dependent relation to centralized republic of Peru, modeled after France.

## **‘ECOLOGICAL LEVELS OF CONTROL’ IN THE POLITICS OF CULTURE AND REPRESENTATION**

For how obvious its presence was historically and even presently in *Kuntisuyu*,<sup>369</sup> John Murra’s 1984 classic concept of ‘ecological levels of control’ illuminate the repercussions of aboriginal socio-economic practices on culture expressions and forms of representation today. Murra proposed the concept of ‘ecological levels of control’ when trying to determine ‘the Inka mode of production,’ i.e., the typical Andean socio-economic practices that affected the kind of society the Inkas had. It refers to the communities’ simultaneous handling of variety of geographical settings to produce what they need through the means of an exact labor allocation. Sociologically, it meant a population fully invested in the sphere of production (work), which never separated from that of social reproduction.<sup>370</sup> The setting for self-sufficient, industrious communities was a harsh and heterogeneous geography, whose products (and labor) exchanges were not deficiency-based, but surplus-based (*excedentes*). In them, barter was the main form of exchange; forms of commerce requiring money-like devices were not necessary. Culturally, the ethical-social-political norm was reciprocity.

The concept of ‘ecological levels of control’ challenges fixed meanings of geographic-political demarcation as a territorial basis of ethnically-defined community

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<sup>369</sup> Which definitely could be the case also in the other *suyus* but is less known to me.

<sup>370</sup> Virgilio Roel Pineda and Javier Lajo Lazo’s earlier works provide an Andean interpretation of ‘the Inka mode of production.’ Both coincide in a defining and transcendental social trait in the Andean world, the non-separation of production from social reproduction (culture, education, etc.), with important consequences on gender relations.

sovereignty.<sup>371</sup> In fact, the Inkas used geological quadrants and astronomical observations for *suyu* delineation and city planning (Milla, 1983) instead of surface-based, closed border units. This, from a Western perspective, is an unlikely correspondence of politics and society with the earth's functioning itself, not mechanically linked to physical geography. Yet, it corresponds with the fact that ethnic groups' landmark protector places of origin (*paqarinas*) could be distant from places where community members lived or traveled to in search of resources.<sup>372</sup> Thus, use value rather than rigid 'ownership' of resources marked the relation with the earth, in consonance with the philosophical tenet of dependence on the earth as a provider.

In the specific Andean landscape, this meant communities not bound to exclusive territories that used resources from and in various ecological levels, which, in turn, could be shared with other ethnic groups (Goldstein, P., 2000) and even contain other people's protector landmarks (*apus/paqarinas*). It also meant a politics of ethnic differentiation, i.e., in their displacement communities carried ethnic markers to distinguish themselves from people of different origin. For the continual conviviality of communities it is clear the culture demanded 'rituals of respect' in direct correspondence to what Bolin has explored at the familiar level (2003, 2005). In sum, in a concept alien to Western thinking, geographic demarcation in the Andes meant that: 1) the communities' socio-

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<sup>371</sup> The exact determination of community borders, and indeed their criteria for inclusion, is still being investigated. Recent archaeological work in pre-Inka sites (Goldstein, 2000) points out forms of territorial sharing among ethnic groups while preserving identity and autonomy. That is further compounded when the limits of *suyus* followed geologic and even astronomical considerations, not mere geophysical measurement or orientation criteria, and also obeyed community generative, open-ended, inclusive policies.

<sup>372</sup> William Sullivan "The Secret of the Inkas" updates the point of the correspondence of astronomical observations to the conduct and administration of Tawantinsuyu. Earlier Carlos Milla Villena (1983), on the basis of earlier work, explored different angles of this relation.

political administration/management had some connection with the earth's geological conditions; 2) it did not bind communities to exclusive resource allocation (due to absence of private property concept); and 3) it had a social, highly symbolic function.

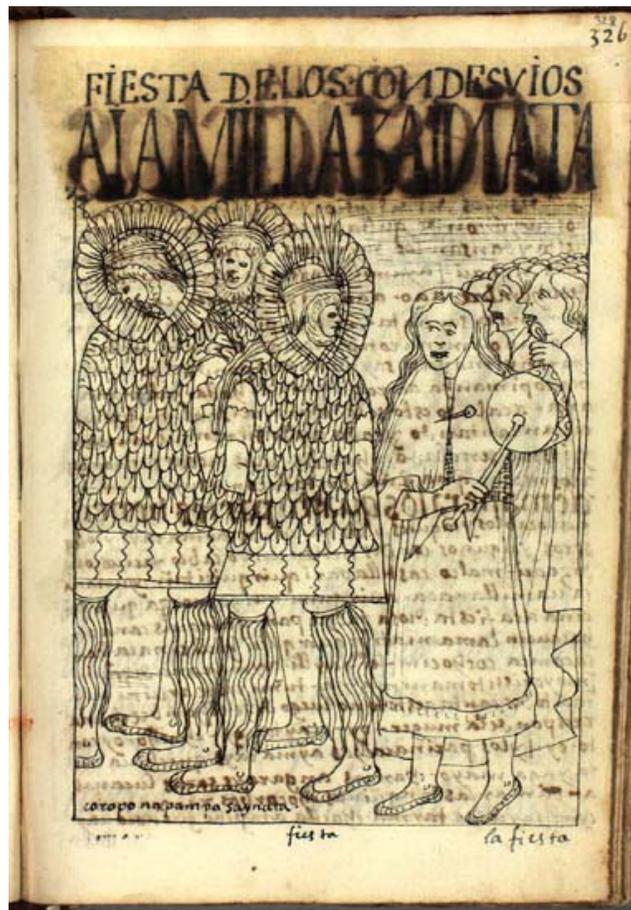


Figure 7. “La fiesta de los Condesuyos” of Guaman Poma reflects the influence of weather (cool high Andean peaks and temperate inter-Andean valleys) in clothing (shoes) and adornments powerful condor looks in the festivities of Kuntisuyu inhabitants.

The result of the forging of collective identities bound but not limited by geography, where specific places provided people an identity, meant that they carried or took with them through continuous relocations. The social identity value of geography

became enacted in social mobility, circulation and displacement, and was not contingent on resource availability. Indeed, these practices expressed an existential assumption apparently universal to indigenous peoples: a dependence on the earth as mother that never ceases to nourish, sustain and give meaning (identity). For this reason the communities' association with geography was never rigid, mechanical or exclusive. Communities preserved their collective identities during extended and frequent travel to different ecological levels and kept them as long as the communities existed; their erosion occurred only when completely disaggregated.

By implication, an individual's separation from intimate biological and social reproductive units was and is synonymous with poor, orphan, ultimate destitution in the Andean world, in Quechua '*wajcha*'<sup>373</sup> (Lara, 1997). Because such a condition is essentially social, it makes *wajcha* individuals extremely vulnerable to non-familial socialization influences. It is interesting that even political control measures, punishment by the Inkas, were collective. They transferred entire communities, '*mitmaes*,' from one area to another, as if the violation of family and community could not be trespassed. In contrast, family destruction is historically a common occurrence in the West, which produce a condition of 'orphan-ness' in society, whose effects are clear. This underlies much of class-circumscribed existence, as incisively pointed out by Marx and Engels in their *Manifesto* more than a century and half ago. The lack of set values and clear norms is further accentuated in the interstices of dominated classes, as a result of undetermined

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<sup>373</sup> The word "*Gaicho*" comes from '*wajcha*,' usually single men, cowboys, without family or community. A full telling of South American culture could not escape the Quechua culture meanings, as in this case, a republic, Argentina, stamped by '*wajcha*' condition in the *Pampa*.

socio-familiar origin (*lumpen* proletariat). In any case, even in best case scenario, class belonging cannot socio-psychologically substitute for community grounding or ethnicity.

As indicated, the discussion of ‘ecological levels of control’ in *Tawantinsuyu* is relevant here because its practice in the past – as well as its projections into the present -- have been more firmly established in *Kuntisuyu* than in any other *suyu*. For instance, ethnic groups living in the Titicaca plateau travel between Tacna in South Peru, Iquique in North Chile, and even further away to the eastern limits of Puno, bordering the rain forest, as well as into Bolivia. Their seasonal displacement through vast geographic areas, across national borders, continues being common practice for *ayllu* survival. It implies a diversified and close-at-hand ecological level in each place, albeit in different forms than in the past, offering goods that complement any single area’s limited resources. It also implies a schedule of rotating groups, of different ages, with intra-family work division, searching for goods and resources in diverse ecological, social and political settings.<sup>374</sup>

#### **ANDEAN PRODUCTION SYSTEM AND SOCIO-CULTURAL REPRODUCTION IN THREE COUNTRY CONTEXTS**

With a few exceptions, *Kuntisuyu* territories are hard, barren desert fringes facing the Pacific Ocean, or high altitude dry plateaus with limited agriculture or grazing resources. The exceptions are inter-Andean valleys of temperate weather, varied landscapes and abundant production. Even then, however, *ayllus* are far from being self-contained, isolated units. Their members travel constantly from one ecological level to

the next, supplying themselves with products from each. Excess production in relation to their own consumption demands becomes a source of bartering and trade that uses money. Good natural conditions for herding llamas, alpacas, etc., or sheep, made these activities prevalent in *Kuntisuyu* highlands. Fishing predominates in coastal areas.<sup>375</sup>

This extensive travel makes native traders adept and prosperous at ‘contraband’ activities. They smuggle goods ‘illegally’ from each of the three countries, vindicating with their actions the ancestral territories in which they circulate and barter. With plenty of money at their disposal from their sales, they often form rotating colonies of residents. They easily transfer from one climatic zone to another, from warm humid weather, to temperate dry, through intermediate, to the intensely dry and cold high altitudes of the Southern Andes, frequently owning property at each post. Sampling and making use of different commercial, cultural, educational resources in the process, they even attend schools in the various countries. They take with them forms of social and cultural reproduction not exclusively based on a subsistence economy while transporting and trading goods and products from different ecological levels. They transport a complex and flexible cultural system inextricably connected to their own social re-creation, through religious festivities whose distant referents and art expressions resonate from pre-Hispanic seasons and beliefs. Andean *ayllu* members consolidate their social identity

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<sup>374</sup> Extending theoretically the ecological levels of control concept to social functioning of Andean migrants today is urgent to pursue, a research arena I first heard discussed in anthropology at *Universidad Católica de Lima* (1983).

<sup>375</sup> Field work in the south Andean highlands in 1988 – Puno, Cusco, and Cotahuasi-Arequipa, is a source for these observations. Herencia, C., Swiss Technical Cooperation, project on child socialization processes in Andean Indian Communities, Lima Peru 1988.

while networking with each other in their displacement itinerary. Their trajectory equips them to address and negotiate with state authorities and even international entities.<sup>376</sup>

Oblivious to the multifarious circuit, hegemonic entities in Southern Peru, Western Bolivia and Northern Chile overlook the cross-pollination such activities represent in the three countries involved -- despite the economic, social and cultural benefits it represents for the direct support it gives to native communities. South Andean communities always did this following ancestral tradition, but the globalization of recent years has increased its momentum. If and when their first *Kuntisuyu* generations of university graduates sort out various theoretical and practical re-definitions of the Left as a social change alternative, direct exposure to world events through electronic media, might stir a revival of community-based ethnicity.<sup>377</sup> Since the virtual and factual circuits are becoming international, native communities should soon gain an all-encompassing view of their role in national and world affairs. The previous monopoly on channels of communication to access the dominant West and the rest of the world by *Criollo-mestizos* is a thing of the past. Young *Kuntisuyans*, like other native youths, are probing into forms of cultural and political autonomy and development even if unaware of what is at stake.

In contrast to *Antisuyu* rainforest natives -- who remained isolated in inaccessible communities and 'primitive' conditions (having only recently encountered modern Western culture at all) -- highland natives have long been exposed to open and harsh

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<sup>376</sup> The theories of *cholification* in the late 1960's in Peru advocated a similar circulation of culture from hinterland to coast through truck drivers, migrants and displaced individuals. The emphasis was then on assimilation of natives to the dominant culture. While such movement does exist, what I propose here is instead a movement towards reiteration, affirmation of native exchanges in alien contexts for their own social reproduction, i.e., benefit.

domination in their respective countries. Acquainted for centuries to the *Criollo-mestizo* ways, means and artifices, natives are quite familiar (through schooling and other avenues) with Western alternatives to prevent exploitation, i.e., the political Left. This became relevant when the countries' socio-economic structures clearly could not accommodate the growing demands of the native populations.<sup>378</sup> The last five decades since 1950 have, in particular, allowed three living generations to process and weigh, with their communities' futures and benefits in mind, the nature of the national cultural impasse and the alternatives at hand. The pressure of demographic growth and influence of globalization surely presses for political changes.

The gains in organization and consciousness in Andean communities are visible. From the 1950's and 1960's nostalgic re-creations of home-community patron saint festivities, to the 1970's and 1980's civic interventions and improvements in their communities, natives are increasingly aware of the need to defend vital resources, like land and water, which national states and local authorities willingly or unwillingly fail to protect. Thus, along with the native communities' evolution towards certain social, political and cultural autonomy, they also propose a common-held land-base and ethnic historic reference. Therefore, in times of aggressive globalization, when the national states pursue unrestricted free market policies, e.g., allowing mining with minimal environmental standards (and the usual dose of corruption), resistance is obligatorily becoming native-based and massive. Mass protest demonstrations to re-direct state

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<sup>377</sup> Native migrants in North America and Europe actively promote Andean culture on the web now. See electronic media references in Appendix.

policies and appoint political representatives, including presidents, responsive to these urgent needs are examples in Bolivia and Ecuador, as was the call to a successful ‘March of the Four *Suyus*’ that put Alejandro Toledo in power in Peru.

#### **NATIVE CULTURE POLITICS IN THREE COUNTRY CONTEXTS**

The political process above correlates with an active reclaim of native culture, art and music. Often sensitive *Mestizo-criollo* intellectuals opened the doors of recovery through findings in national archives and in answer to outside culture/market demands. It was the access of native intellectuals to universities, however, that triggered the present autonomous reassessment of native culture world view and ethics, history and science.

The process varies greatly in the political context of each of the three countries. In Chile, a strong civil society and long-standing policy of active ‘Chilenizing’ of Indians makes the process quite ‘civilized.’ Using metropolitan models, Chile’s legislation protects the right to access education by ‘ethnic minorities’ and even provides some restitution for damages caused. Moreover, there is an official recognition that Indians actually constitute the poorest and least served groups in Chilean society. Chile also leads the region in well-kept local museums and other forms of Indian culture on public display. For instance, in a clear but understandable paradox, socialist *Criollo-mestizo* musicians in Allende’s Chile of the 1970s adopted native Andean musical expressions, elevating them to international recognition. In Chile’s political context, the gesture meant identification and solidarity with workers, whose culture background happened to be

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<sup>378</sup> The native population reached pre-Western occupation numbers only in the last forty years. Dr. R.

native. It did not mean *Criollo-mestizo* appropriation of their culture capital (music) in disregard of their oppression and discrimination (as would in Peru and Bolivia). The move, which perhaps heralded a political ceiling of ethnic identity for Latin American *Mestizos*, established a means to recuperate ethnic identity by new generations of native Andeans throughout the region. They could finally access previously banned public spaces in their own countries because audiences in power metropolis, North America and Europe, had valued native music.

The reconstitution of native communities has become, at last, the end of an organizing process throughout Kuntisuyu. As earlier said, organization evolved from district-provincial associations honoring patron saints, to ‘*comités de defensa*’ for specific reasons (need for electricity, water, schooling, roads, health care, etc.), to an increasing recognition of global assaults on key life resources. Parallel to that, the collective social identity evolved from disenfranchised “Indian,” to euphemistic “*provinciano*” status, and now overt recognition of native identity and rights. With the Left’s decline, *Mestizo-criollo* activists have tended to frame resistance broadly, as universally-defined problems that draw reactions and pronouncements in multi-class, multi-sector terms. In their need to substantiate their case, they appeal to communities organized around concrete problems, which often have a renascent sense of ethnicity, but in the process they also inform and explain to them the structural context underlying their specific concerns.

What is currently taking place resembles the effects of Western feminism’s incursion in the Andes in the 1980’s. At that time, middle class urban feminists needed a

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Schaedel, personal communication, 1997.

substantial social base, so they projected their own patriarchal oppression onto ‘popular sectors.’<sup>379</sup> The results were positive beyond expectations: a key gender culture blunder across dominant-dominated socio-cultural systems produced an avalanche of women’s organizing and mobilizing, which surpassed any anticipation and, in fact, overwhelmed the *Criollo-mestizo* women’s movement.<sup>380</sup> That itself changed power relations, be it due to erosion of caste-like barriers or to the coincidence of gaining liberal citizenship with the collapse of *Criollo-mestizo* states.

A weakened and insecure Left, which invested in large class organizations in the 1970’s and 1980’s, saw its dismantling match the rise of neo-liberal global governance. A mixture of internal and international political savvy resulted from this expansion of the local, acting for the mutual benefit of both. The political dilemma is, however, which of two directions this co-joining of forces will take. Will it reinforce the defense of ‘democratic’ groups’ in the face of globalization projects, groups whose main demands are physical survival and equal participation in an otherwise culturally-homogenized polity? Will the older generations’ ethnic personae filter through the new ones in native communities to re-ignite a socio-cultural system with a distinct worldview, including social traditions with long-standing historical precedents and their own political procedures? Will the dream of the Amarus in their last rebellion (a return to their aboriginal society and culture) have a chance, at last, to become an alternative? What is at stake now is whether the answer to globalization will involve a return to abandoned paths

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<sup>379</sup> The expression ‘popular sectors’ is a euphemism for class and also pre-emptively empties ethnicity. Center-left organizations used it in 1970’s and 1980’s to refer to the urban and rural poor (‘peasants’).

of social development, that provide positive alternatives of human society, or if it will merely revamp softened versions of existing ones for future existence.

*Kuntisuyu*'s experience is instructive in the politics of the states regarding Indian groups. It involves the actions of three different *Criollo-mestizo* countries framing a common, cross-border, native ethnic constituency. As a result of a sound public education system in Chile, Quechua and Aymara students in North Chile gain self-confidence and assertiveness, despite caste-like conditions, while poor and discriminatory public education prevents native youth in Peru and Bolivia from making similar gains but allowing loose preservation of own cultural categories, even if threatened. On the other hand, efficiently-managed native culture museums, even in small localities, complement the effects of education, which nurture appreciation of native roots in Chilean youths. However, Western-minded institutions still frame and control the semantics (and grammar) of native culture assets. While allowing 'the native' in public, Western-stamped channels define both what constitutes the public sphere, and the appropriate ways of staging it. In other words, the content is good because of, and on condition that *Criollo-mestizo* conduits remain in control, stamping the process with their symbolic dominance. The model features native science, art, worldview, customs and traditions through prevailing channels, possibly in the company of multiple, similarly- 'minority' expressions.<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> Carol Andreas' book "When Women Rebel: The Rise of Popular Feminism in Peru" (1985) addresses that particular moment of Western feminism contact with Andean gender culture reservoirs.

<sup>381</sup> Chile's Indian movement, through Mapuche spokespeople in the south, and Aymara-Quechua speaking natives (*Kuntisuyu*) in the north, recently denounced the manipulation involved in recognizing progressive but exclusive culture rights, but discount demands for their territorial base as distinct peoples. Chile consistently refused to sign the declaration of universal human rights to Indigenous peoples at the UN.

At the other extreme is Bolivia, where poverty, precarious social prospects and the bankruptcy of Western schooling for Indians, have all failed to generate a reasonable option.<sup>382</sup> This contrasts with *Criollo-mestizo* schooling in that country, which regularly updates to Western metropolitan standards. The robustness of native culture and absence of clear alternatives, however, give *Q'olla* and *Kuntisuyu*-Bolivia cultural advantages over *Kuntisuyu*-Peru and Chile. The weight of native culture alone affects the course of everyday life in Bolivia, unlike in Chile or Peru, where the frequent intentional destruction of local cultures, combined with destructive economics (in Peru), limited social mobility, and increasingly deficient public schooling, all contribute to greater culture hybridization. One result of the process in Peru is the so-called '*cultura chicha*,' whose significance in native culture politics deserves separate discussion.

#### ASPECTS OF THE ASSIMILATION DIALECTICS IN PERU: '*LA CULTURA CHICHA*'

*Chicha* is the traditional Andean fermented corn beer whose flavor, nutrients and variety have merited some incorporation in 'national' Peruvian cuisine. Although *chicha* still carries an 'Indian' stigma, it can pass in segregated environments, either traditional or folklore for-export. Local *Mestizo*-White elites consider *chicha* in poor taste and this connotation transfers to a popular musical genre born in the early 1980s, '*la chicha*.' Based on native *huayno* melodies, it combines with tropical rhythms to express romance and life's adventures, and, frequently, the young migrants' socio-political dilemmas in

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<sup>382</sup> The dynamics described in the original draft of this chapter has turned 160 degrees with the current president of Bolivia, Evo Morales. If successful, his social and educational policies will directly influence

urban centers. Its hybrid nature repeats in its featured instruments -- some native but more electric guitars, drums and sound synthesizers. The cost of the imported instruments, more than what natives earn in conventional urban or rural jobs, requires exceptional legal or illegal income sources. (*Chicha* originated where coca leaf cultivation, processing or export take place. Coca, of course, is the source for cocaine.)

As a cultural phenomenon, *achichamiento* [literally “becoming *chicha*”] is the social and cultural hybridization of native traits with non-native, post-modern urban culture. In a caste-signed country, Indian migrants with money still face barriers to full participation in the ‘national’ society, so *chicha* literally and figuratively showcases the young, acculturated Indians’ mastery of urban ways. But the success in tackling the dominant culture is for display and ratification among equals. Although at times it is both, critical of the system and conscious of its native condition, *chicha* also distances itself from ‘the native.’ It signs the passage of the ‘Indian’ to the dominant non-Indian in music; it ascribes the Andean to the Western, in contrast with Black reggae, for instance, which reaffirms subaltern independence and resistance. The transfer to the dominant culture embodied by *chicha* occurs by selecting positive native traits (e.g., Andean work ethic, resourcefulness, initiative and industriousness) to liberal ideology. Indeed, with a native political option, *achichamiento* may have a better future. As it is, it is acculturation forced by circumstances, the active degradation of native culture in a country (Peru) without the civic-citizenship parameters of Chile, for instance. It is an exchange of native culture for the benefit of assimilation into the local norm-less, value-diffused version of

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expectations in the whole area, because, if anything, they will rekindle common ethnic concerns that

Western culture. It is a normative '*lumpenization*' for which Lima stood (*viveza criolla*) as model for generations. Of course, these changes have become accentuated recently after the few remains of aristocratic honorability gave way, in sequence and juxtaposed to an opportunistic-superficial populism, an artificial multiculturalism or civility, or a *cholification* for export without native (or non native) consistency or substance.

The rise of hundreds of native organizations and fronts, if uncontaminated with the worst features of *criollo-mestizo* national culture, in connection with strong value-consistent international supports, which exist and are at hand, open the possibility of higher level political articulations. These, of course, depend on the virtue and creativity of ancient latent reservoirs of traditional wisdom, of *Amauta-Qoyasapa-kurakuna*<sup>383</sup> that interpret and bring it afore; especially in face of the area's present condition, externally fomented and internally assisted disintegration of national *Criollo-mestizo* republics.

#### **POST-SCRIPT: THE STATES NEED NOT BE IN ENMITY WITH NATIVE PEOPLES**

The 2006 elections in Ecuador resulted in the appointment of Rafael Correa. As a U.S. educated economist, he responded to the call and direction of native constituency and majorities that brought him to power, in contrast to Alejandro Toledo earlier in Peru. Correa began a mandate that resembles that of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez.<sup>384</sup> It crowns more than two decades of significant effect of the Indian movement in Ecuador

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supersede national *Criollo-mestizo* boundaries.

<sup>383</sup> Teachers, Wise queen-advisors, all sorts of elders (Quechua).

<sup>384</sup> The Indigenous delegation from Venezuela at the UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples consistently recognizes the progress and support of the Venezuelan state to the natives. This goes from legal recognition to territories, autonomy for self-government and self-determination on education and

on the country's politics, its being instrumental in the change of presidents, in the debate and resistance to neo-liberal policies. For the native peoples' sake, Correa and Chavez inaugurate a *mestizo-criollo* political style that advances the natives' interests in their respective countries. It makes clear that the indigenous peoples' cause is not racially or ethnically intransigent, but inclusive and dialoguing. To face the present assault of globalization in territories and life resources requires strong roots, standing firm on ancestral lands of which communities are part 'from times immemorial.' It is also the *mestizo-criollo* sectors' chance to assume or re-discover a physical love for *Pachamama*, and figuratively for the motherland, to safeguard the future of Abdi Ayala nations in years ahead. *Chinchaysuyu's* lead working through these issues could be a preamble to how they may unfold in Peru.

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culture, with advice and support of the government. Chavez' recognition of his mixed black and Indian ancestry, along with the universal acknowledgment of the Spanish one, is of no small political significance.

## Chapter XXV: *Chaupi Peru, Where Art Thou?*<sup>385</sup>

### *'Una piedra en el camino'*

*Hace poco menos de 500 años Francisco Pizarro a nombre de la corona española, interrumpe nuestro desarrollo autónomo, pero esto solo es 'una piedra en el camino'. Este accidente-occidente en nuestro camino, es un contratiempo que tiene ciertas características que es necesario profundizar:*

- 1. Esta 'piedra en el camino' interrumpe temporalmente nuestro desarrollo autónomo, pero no interrumpe nuestra existencia misma. Nuestra vida como pueblo y cultura continua pero con 'desventajas' que debemos resolver.*
- 2. Con la 'piedra en el camino' se inicia una incomunicación unilateral con los invasores, estos niegan la continuidad de nuestra existencia como pueblos Inca. Se inicia un 'dialogo de sordos' inter-cultural.*
- 3. Esta 'piedra en el camino' trata de impedir nuestro futuro como cultura autónoma, imponiendo principalmente un dominio tecnológico y científico de nuestro ser social andino-amazónico por una conciencia social foránea, forjada en el hemisferio norte, y en una geografía extraña a estas latitudes.*

*Por un orden andino (Parte I), Javier Lajo (ARGENPRESS.info;16/06/2005)*

The quote above by Javier Lajo begins to answer two interrelated questions arising from the previous discussion: 1) where does Peru fall in the picture, and 2) where does the Indian movement in Peru stand? Recent work on the Andean Indian movement (Albo, 2003) recognizes no unified Indian movement in Peru that affects state policies the way they do in Ecuador and Bolivia. Although valid on one level, this conclusion can be misleading. After all, a coalition of forces grounded on Indianness (The March of the Four *Suyus*) was in part responsible for ousting Peruvian President Fujimori from power, for demanding new elections, and for electing Alejandro Toledo president. It also ignores long-standing and recent historical conditions that make Indian mobilization in Peru unique. This section discusses where Peru stands in the picture of the Four *Suyus*, and

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<sup>385</sup> Center, middle, in Quechua.

reviews historical conditions to explain its present quality. I argue that there is more to Peru's Indian movement than meets the eye, that despite an apparent absence of a unified Indian movement, important ideological and activist stands are in the brew.

### **WHY NOT A UNIFIED INDIAN MOVEMENT IN PERU?**

Various and complex reasons account for the lack of a unified Indian movement in Peru. They range from the historical geo-political – how much of the *Tawantinsuyu* territorial lay out was left to Peru after colonization – to socio-political in colonial and Republican times when Peru was the center of Western domination in South America. Dramatic political developments in the last four decades derive precisely from the strong historical presence of the West in Peru.

A fundamental geopolitical reason is implicit in the previous discussion: a map of *Tawantinsuyu* shows how *Chinchay* and *Q'ollasuyu*, the two Inka provinces with large native populations and strong Indian movements, closely overlap with territories of Ecuador and Bolivia. In contrast, it is not easy to identify Peru with any of the *suyus*' natural borders, or match it with specific ethnicities (apart from the Inkas in *Q'osqo*). Because Peru was *Tawantinsuyu*'s center, it includes sections of all of the Four *Suyus*, each of which gave organic cohesion to multiple ethnic groups. In addition, when Peru became Spain's headquarters in South America, given its importance as the center of Inka dominion, *Tawantinsuyu*, it made *Q'osqo*, its symbolic and operative center, an early target of repeated colonial repression. *Q'osqo*'s political dismantling occurred from the start, severely impairing any movements to restore the kingdom. To forge a unified

Indian movement under these circumstances, over time, was like attempting to walk beheaded with severed limbs. In contrast, *Chinchay* and *Q'ollasuyu*, smaller territories with fewer, self-contained ethnic groups, with concrete and local challenges, generated strong native movements.

For about three centuries, the position of Peru as headquarters of colonial domination in the area neutralized its native Andean role/importance. Being at once the locus of the dominated native polity and of physical and cultural Western occupation, their ongoing contention weighed heavily throughout Peru's history. In Peru, natives confronted a stronger *Criollo-mestizo* state than did the more recent and weaker states formed on its periphery. Colonial domination involved extreme, direct and continuous force from the start, including a recurrent beheading of its center, both physically and symbolically. Violent attacks on the person of the Inka, *Tawantinsuyu*'s centralized authority, were followed by the dismantling of the Inka *panacas* [royal family *ayllus*] and other nobles' *ayllus*, which could have restored the right of succession of monarch(s)<sup>386</sup> and high administrative officers (this distinction is important because the societal structures at this level are distinct from European political forms). *Q'osqo*'s role in *Tawantinsuyu*'s articulation suffered the most severe and traumatic effects, which surely waned as they advanced to the periphery.

Frontal attacks on the Inka, whose personality and office embodied the highest political and spiritual commissions for natives, symbolically guaranteed and secured

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<sup>386</sup> Gender duality in high political positions surely made the royal couple key symbols, opposing the conventional view of the INKA as one single center. The bias exists not only in reporting their existence but their disappearance.

colonial domination. These actions resulted not just in the normal political effects of regicide for a nation, but almost a sacrilegious disruption. The Inka's value-infused connotation survives today in peripheral areas, manifesting in linguistic expressions and symbolic rituals to commemorate the Inka kingdom and the historical trauma derived from its loss.<sup>387</sup> The destruction of institutions and documentation sources, from historical and demographic to scientific and spiritual, played no small role in the dismantling of Peru's and *Q'osqo's* might. Left only with oral tradition, in oppressed conditions, *Tawantinsuyu* natives retained, as individuals and groups, the historical memory they could, often condensed in symbolic forms.<sup>388</sup>

#### HIGHLIGHTS ON PERU'S HISTORY *VIS-A-VIS* THE INDIAN MOVEMENT

To account for the lack of a robust native movement in Peru, we have to consider the traumatic effects of the recurrent elimination of the Inkas in combination, and in the context of the *sui generis* traits of Andean society: a highly organized of practically minded, disciplined, industrious and respectful to authority peoples.<sup>389</sup> The last trauma of the sort in pre-modern times occurred at the mid-point of Western occupation of the Andes. The Tupac Amaru II Rebellion and his subsequent execution along with main collaborators is important to the Indian movement's history, even when the Indian masses

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<sup>387</sup> An etymological examination of the word Inka shows it as synonymous of 'wise,' 'virtuous,' 'righteous,' and 'correct.' It is even linked to the divinity "I" also contained in "*Inti*" (sun) (Javier Lajo Lazo, 1996).

<sup>388</sup> Today's simultaneous resurgence of symbols – such as the meaning of *wifala* or Andean flag in each of the *suyus*, with its calendar references and other organizational principles – should be seen in light of memory recovery rather than resulting of present day elaboration.

<sup>389</sup> See Mancio Sierra de Leguizamo's (2001) final testament for corroboration of this seemingly idealized perception of natives, as well as Bolin's present's work (2006).

were left with little of the facts, by word of mouth, after the defeat, effective mostly in areas closest to the tragic events.<sup>390</sup> The rest of the Indian population was left with symbolic representations, recreated in each generation and locality, depending also on how well the *ayllu* was preserved. What is important is that for orally-dependent communities, the quality of recall and time register would depend on units of direct recall, rather than an externally set calendar only incidentally related to people's lives.

In this count, the time table of historical memory, the rebellion of the Amarus is only seven to eight generations back, counting three generations per century. The first two suffered not only ferocious repression, but also the abrupt loss of at least a third of the population over five years (1780 to 1785). This alone can explain the absence of a homegrown native movement to support the continental struggle for independence around the 1820's. Yet, colonial caste relations secured both, royalist and *Criollo-mestizo* rebel armies, of 'soldiers' recruited forcefully in Indian *ayllus*. The natives found themselves fighting either for the direct or indirect Western colonization of the Andes. In a predicament not uncommon for subordinated groups, even with casualties, this guaranteed them bare survival, a chance for a better lot in the future.

In sum, the physical and psychological trauma of a recent defeat in their struggle for their own independence weighed down the 'Indian movement' in Peru in the 1800's. In the time table of historical recovery from collective traumas as this, Peru's native movement was somewhat ready to raise its head again in the third generation. At this

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<sup>390</sup> This is a culturally relative concept since retention of history is judged here from a Western scholarly and elitist perspective, and not from how important events in history are recalled (or not) by the masses.

time, the original shock was sufficiently distant to dispense the protective shield that had swaddled the new generation from pain, which had allowed its survival, so that the third could look back at it again. And this happened past two thirds of a century, around Ramón Castilla's presidency in the late 1850's, which was also a pause in the typical incompetence and corruption of *Criollo-mestizo* governments. Only then could the native Andean 'movement' have gathered some strength.

Shortly after Castilla's three terms in office, the monolithic hegemony of Peru's aristocratic republic began. This exercised unchecked economic exploitation and ethnic repression of Indians without the Spanish Crown's official protective legal provisions. However, the Spanish colonial state had left strict ethnic suppression policies after experiencing the threat of a continental uprising of natives, which the Great Rebellion represented. It decreed strict ethnic suppression policies in 1785, which the aristocratic republic actively pursued in agreement with the colonial system's long-standing or unpublicized continuities.<sup>391</sup> So Peru's post-independence republic barred, marginalized and co-opted anything Indian to forge an ethos for Peru as an independent nation. Moreover, with the invariable (though at times ambiguous) support of the Church, from the mid-1800 to the mid-1900, education and books continued to be privilege of the dominant minority. With a quasi-apartheid monopolization of literacy and public office by the White minority, and 80% illiteracy up to the 1930's, public information about the uprising and reprisal after the Amarus' defeat was practically non-existent. Memory of

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This is especially important in cultures like the Inkas where oral recount of significant facts in symbolic forms may have been common form of content-laden transmission of meanings.

<sup>391</sup> Resolutions of the Spanish Crown after the Rebellion's defeat, *Consejo de Indias*. See Herencia, 2001.

the rebellion harbored in intimate family and native community events and in myths like INKARI. From the Spanish INCA-REY, the myth symbolically condenses many deaths and resurrections into one. Collected in different parts of the country, INKARI tells that the mutilated body of the Inka placed underground is in the process of re-constituting itself, the head and limbs re-attaching to the torso, to arise again alive from the earth.

The public account of the Amarus' struggle for independence came to Peru from Argentina only in the first third of the twentieth century. It came from Tawantinsuyu's periphery, where its political resonance could be felt without the threat of proximity. In the meantime, the refashioning of Western colonialism in the area, from feudal mercantilism to British-led industrial capitalism, sparked a war between Chile and Bolivia-Peru to control copper mining resources and trade. The results of this war with Chile were disastrous for *Q'olla* and *Kuntisuyu*-Peru, but the greater grip of Western colonialism in Peru than in the newly-created *Criollo-mestizo* republic of Bolivia became manifest in its rapid urbanization with little industrial growth. With it, there was a need for economic reforms, and thus Western ideas about social change found fertile ground.

Lima's umbilical cultural dependence upon the West brought about the rise of political liberalism, as well as anarchism and Marxist-stamped radicalism in the second third of the twentieth century. The first union-based social movements addressed not only the exploitation of urban masses but, through indirect references, the condition of Indian peasants in the highlands. Liberal and socialist parties addressed the subjugation of natives, virtually orphan of legal protection, in class exploitation terms in the 1930's and 1940's. It took four decades for Andean natives to realize that what appeared as aid was

paradoxically yet another way to deny their existence as a people. A robust, centralized Western presence in Lima helped the Left rise as a political alternative. Possibly due to their smaller size and more modest urban and non-agricultural economy, neither Bolivia nor Ecuador had as strong and articulate leftist movements in the twentieth century.

The unresolved need for agrarian reform by mid-century spurred the peasant revolts of the early 1960's, which coincided with the influence of the Cuban revolution. A Cusco-born, Spanish-Quechua bilingual *Mestizo*, Hugo Blanco, led some of the important 'peasant' movements of the time, in Cusco, while other Left-inspired *guerrillas* attempted not just agrarian reform in impoverished rural areas but the revolutionary transformation of the country. In both cases, the Left referred to the Indians' plight as '*campesino*' struggles, with the assumption that Western development was as central and inexorable in the Andes as for the world. A patronizing adoption of assimilated Indians became one way to achieve 'progress' while resolving their cast-structured condition and keeping the country unified. The Left overlooked or minimized the importance of culture differences of the subjected natives recognizing only economic exploitation (i.e., class oppression), basically agreeing with conventional perspectives that characterized Peru exclusively as a semi-modern 'developing' state. The clear misfit of such characterization prompted a debate that engaged intellectuals, from sophisticated Marxist international scholars, such as Maurice Godelier of *La Ecole de Hautes Etudes Sociales* in France, to national ones of different statures. How to define the socio-historical formation of Peru, and how to interpret the objective structural conditions of the country, were topics of ardent debate among progressive intellectuals and Left political parties throughout the

1970's. Not surprisingly, the questions became grounds for political strategy and goals that splintered the Left along doctrinaire class and ethnic differences. The fragile *Mestizo-criollo* Left was caught between a small, but powerful, dominant White caste and a huge constituency of dominated urban/rural Indian natives. The native responses were ferociously silenced, such as that of Virgilio Roel Pineda. Under his influence and with input from neighboring countries and whatever in the world could illuminate and explain the natives' predicament, a new generation of Andeanists was forging a new response.<sup>392</sup>

Bolivia's structural crisis had been at least addressed in the agrarian revolution of 1952, which achieved a partial integration of natives into the national ethos and character. Bolivia's movement re-defined the nature of socio-political dealings among Indians and non-Indians and the country's culture, both for some citizenship rights and the capacity to define the character of the nation/state. Velasco Alvarado's regime in Peru (1968-1975) also achieved a partial civic integration of Indians as recognized protagonists in Peruvian society with the premise of revaluing native culture and people. In terms of culture politics, Velasco made public, for the first time, Andean Indian symbols as the nation's signs; he even recognized Quechua as an official language. During the latter part of his presidency, the figure of Tupac Amaru II rose to public view, only to be quickly removed when his presidency itself fell. The Inka's flickering light did remain in public

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<sup>392</sup> Many books of the period, if Marxist inspired, talked about "the Inka mode of production." The concept forced reality to absurd conditions, such as characterizing the Inkas society as slavery, only because in Marx's sequence of modes of production this preceded the obvious Feudal one brought by the Spaniards. However, theoretically rich proposals that noted on the historical novelty of the Inka mode of production came also from these efforts, such as John Murra's concept of ecological levels of control. However, a comprehensive understanding of what existed in the Andes when Europeans arrived, not solely based on foreign or national outsiders' look but on informed internal experience of direct descendants and

consciousness though, revived and corroborated by academic endeavors about the INKARI myth, while the masses processed it in various political movements, in a veiled or expressed manner, as will be seen below.

Velasco Alvarado's government achieved a few structural changes, such as agrarian reform and the nationalization of mineral and financial resources. President Hugo Chavez' leadership in contemporary Venezuela resembles the style of Velasco Alvarado: analogous are their emphases on nationalism and their commitment to gradual structural adjustments. Sharing similar racial and socio-economic backgrounds and being both part of the progressive branch of the military, they also assert their nations' right to diplomatic and commercial relations with the rest of the world without supervision from the US. In sum, Velasco opened the doors for citizenship and social mobilization of the native Andean majority, but the structural changes to favor them were less tangible, in part because the process Velasco initiated was cut short.

Beginning in 1980, two revolutionary groups initiated a people's war against the Peruvian state: the Shining Path (SP or *Sendero Luminoso*), and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). Although with different political inspiration, military strategies and tactical styles, both movements ultimately carry the inspiration of the Inka's uncompleted revolt. The Maoist-inspired *Sendero* pursued a peasant uprising following the Chinese revolution model, advancing the war from countryside to city (*'del campo a la ciudad'*). MRTA used conventional guerrilla warfare to liberate certain areas with a popular militia, in a style akin to the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de*

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heirs of community traditions, is at last being furnished. Political independence, defense of territory and

*Colombia* (FARC). Furthermore, social identity cleavages separated SP and MRTA followers. Both were lower-middle to working class based, but their socio-economic and cultural background differed: MRTA recruited Spanish-speaking urban *Mestizos*, and SP took rural-based, first generation bilingual Andean-descent '*provincianos*.'<sup>393</sup> The provincial background of *Sendero*'s professional *Mestizo*-White middle class leadership made it as much invested in intellectual pursuits as in improving indigenous peasants' conditions. Significantly, at a time when the date of Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas' sacrifice was largely overlooked, SL launched its armed struggle on its bicentennial, May 18, 1981.<sup>394</sup> The intellectual pedigree of MRTA's leadership was less prominent and (despite its name) less Indian. Their invoking of Tupac Amaru II again highlights the broad nationalistic appeal of the last Inka. The early 1990's saw both defeated with a 70,000 people dead, 90% of them poor, indigenous peasants. The crimes committed in this war were so great that a Peruvian Truth Commission was appointed to review its human rights abuses. Its 2002 report continues in discussion.<sup>395</sup>

For perceptive international observers, as well as for native Andeans (but for understandable reasons not *Criollo-mestizo* sectors), the last half century has seen an irreversible trend of native resurgence. Demographic reasons alone could account for

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'subjective sovereignty' - words of Javier Lajo-Lazo – sustain it.

<sup>393</sup> Class and cultural background are crucial to explain the differences in the two groups.

<sup>394</sup> The intellectual kinship of SP leadership to the old South Andean – axis Cusco, Ayacucho, Puno, La Paz *Indigenista* movement of the 1930's and 1940's -- should not be disregarded for exploration.

<sup>395</sup> One of the criticisms to the report is that it fails to address the influence of international factors in the process.

it.<sup>396</sup> To survive politically, the successive governments of APRA, led by Alan García Pérez, the ten-year period of Alberto Fujimori, and the most recent of Alejandro Toledo, showed increasing comfort, or at least lip-service, to ‘Andeanness’ with obligatory donning of traditional garments. However, free-market global designs constitute the political and historical undergirding of these bankrupt regimes regarding indigenous peoples. As to the interplay of institutional readiness to ‘include’ Indians and the clamorous need for independent representation, some Indian movement offshoots achieved a dismal minority political presence.<sup>397</sup> This has created an added challenge to the intrinsic complexity of Peru’s ethnic heterogeneity and historical development, and to the ordeal of contending with the aftermath of the previous two and half decades of subversive war. The movement was in no condition to manifest the unified strength of those in Ecuador and Bolivia. Only now, under new and unprecedented global and continental conditions, it may be ready to articulate a political statement to demand participation and, along with movements in the other *suyus*, respond to the challenge to redefine the area politically.

In sum, Leftist revolutionary movements were the background of Peru’s indigenous movement from the 1960’s through the 1980’s due to the greater Western social, cultural and political presence in Peru than in the two other countries. During this period, when natives were not under fire from diverse combatants, they were deciphering

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<sup>396</sup> Only in the last fifth of the twentieth century did the native population of Peru – apart from the *Mestizo*-white and other - reach its original counts of pre-Hispanic times. Richard Schaedel, proposal for Andean or Native American center in ILAS, 1998.

<sup>397</sup> The attempt to participate in elections by small groups of Andean culture defined groups fails either because of feeble leadership, unconvincing discourse, or lack of representation of organized movements.

the meaning of conventional 'liberal' alternatives and those of the Left for their own use. For instance, they became aware of the shared culture pedigree and basic interdependence of the Left and Right, their shared tendency to disaggregate reality, as when they segment culture and economics. While the Right easily relates to Andean culture expressions for its attraction to super-structural aspects, it disregards economic conditions. The Left, on the other hand is, itself, testimony of an inborn inability to shed deep-seated cultural assumptions: it lacks the imagination to conceive of economic conditions in a different light. For that reason, it fails to read the significance of all-encompassing Andean ways. The movement's present cultural autonomy derives from this deciphering of political ideology in an intergenerational dialogue over the last quarter of a century, and the observation of what was taking place in the country. Presently, Peru's Indian movement advances slowly but surely, maturing its thought lines, reconstructing a worldview, gaining in international political savvy and action programs.<sup>398</sup> Who could have thought that even the ways of the West's suffering masses to organize and resist would become a cultural imposition in the Andes, where the native worldview/social organization would prevent precisely the kind of social mishap from which they seek to escape? So far, the Indian movement in Peru has clearly demarcated the historical path that the native Andean socio-historical formation followed in contrast with the West.<sup>399</sup> It is evident that viewing and understanding, in general, depends on a value stand; in the Andean case, a native definition, culture ownership, the recognition of

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<sup>398</sup> Numerous web pages show the ongoing process of culture reconstruction, e.g., Quechuanetwork and related links.

the need to change and commitment to do it. Yet, given the critical global challenges in the area, a convergence of the Indian movement with the Left on certain philosophical and political questions – e.g., social solidarity, internally and internationally, the problems of global capitalist expansion, appropriation of natural resources, uncontrolled tampering with the environment, dissolution of national ‘public’ control in lieu of privatization, etc. - is still not only possible but necessary.

### **WHAT NOW?**

The prospects of an indigenous movement growing and maturing in the Andes, including Peru, are greater than ever as an alternative to the on-going political crisis in the area. The number of social organizations at work now, among the different ethnic or community-based defense groups, is worth noting. They came to existence after a tortuous process of personality and interest conflicts that reflected the different constituencies’ perspectives. They are a result and part of a process that will not finish with them, distilled as survivors of countless organizations forged throughout the last three decades. Examples are CISA (*Confederación India de Sud América*), COPPIP (*Coordinadora Permanente de Pueblos Indios del Perú*), the current CONAIP (*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Perú*), AIDSESP (*Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana*). Big peasant unions, such as *Organización Nacional Agraria* (ONA), *Confederación Campesina del Perú* (CCP) turned from strict class fronts into partial ethnic resistance organizations, conditionally

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<sup>399</sup> This is indeed taking place in continuous intense and fraternal exchanges between native thinkers of

pledging to Indian movements (and *vice versa*). Media outlets defined by native ethnic concerns, like SERVINDI (*Servicio de Información India*) collect and distribute information, becoming in that role powerful information and organization brokers. With the exception of CISA, the other fronts have also become information centers, not only of current political news, but for educational and labor notes from national official and international sources. Updated information addresses base-level members, allowing them to organize around issues, make pronouncements and share experiences, as never before. Moreover, in the relative vacuum of functional political parties, there is a vigorous growth of associations and coordinating committees, some with international funding, some self-funded. Some have ideological and political goals, while others exclusively address practical challenges, from labor defense to threats against the land, water and other vital resources. They surfaced while the international Left was in a quandary and class organizations were in crisis, especially after the defeats of SP and MRTA. In Peru's caste-like division, the Left's implication and adherence to dominant culture norms and alliances speaks more than words, ideological statements, or political discourse.

Funding is a concern in these organizations, both as the economic basis for take off, as well as for independence from funding agencies. Because most of them operate with some support from external agencies, the investors' interests place conditions on their development and affect their goals. In this sense, they lack some of the Left's political savvy and commitment to self-sufficiency, to preserving what is really at stake, the Andean people's autonomy and their ultimate liberation. On some occasions, the

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*Tawantinsuyu* and other natives in the world in similar condition.

influence of international agencies is obvious; a few are connected openly to banking and intelligence organizations. Given the political importance of the movement in the world, organizations like the World Bank, Inter-American Foundation, Inter-American Bank, European Union, Japanese financial groups, and the Organization of American States, along with corporation representatives, actively engage in international official meetings, especially sessions of the Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples of the World at the UN. However, private foundations also support coordinating organizations operating in Peru and other places in *Tawantinsuyu*, with goals, both indirect-general and specific -- not necessarily in conflict with native peoples' historical interests. Foundations from politically 'neutral' governments like Nordic countries -- neutral in terms of the ultimate First/Third (or Fourth) World opposition, the last of which Indigenous peoples represent - - have been vital in bringing natives into international arenas of support over two decades. Also, interdenominational church entities appear concerned with the well-being of natives rather than their manipulation for 'earthly' economic or political gains.

The dilemma which must be solved is the external financing impact on people's independence and autonomy. Mortgaging their future for today's feeling of freedom is a high price to pay. There might not be another chance, however, for even a limited sense of self-determination and dignity under present oppressive conditions. To engage in the political arena, native organizations, new and courted now, could well use some caution when to connecting with NGO's economic and ideological interests. There are a few that are self-supporting, in some cases with the ideological and political support of migrant

natives in rich countries. Their connection with home communities is more than just materially advantageous; it is socially and politically meaningful.

Internationally, the symbolic importance to Peru's indigenous presence in the present trajectory of the world's indigenous peoples is clear. World organizations, however, have run into problems of authenticity of potential candidates who may not be as legitimately native as those elected in Ecuador and Bolivia. An Aymara lawyer originally from *Q'ollasuyu* (Juliaca-Puno) but resident in *Kuntisuyu* (Arequipa), Fortunato Turpo Choquehuanca, was for a short time a member of the UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples of the World. Committed to ethnic affirmation as a community and cultural activist, in 1995 he organized the first international human rights and legislation meeting on indigenous peoples, and likewise founded The People's Juridical Commission for *Tawantinsuyu's* Integration, COJPITA -- a political landmark to initiate the discussion of legal bases for *Tawantinsuyu's* integration.<sup>400</sup> Activist Tarcila Rivera gained notice in the International Indigenous Women organization, discussed below. Both of them are public figures of a movement with intellectual and activist strongholds that remain largely unknown at home. If Peru has failed to have a unified Indian movement, comparable to Ecuador's and Bolivia's, still the challenge of all of them is to wade through the artificial confinements and political straightjackets of the global West. As it is, perhaps at last, Andean people can resume their own historical path, as a rich compound of heterogeneous and yet fraternally united nationalities. The Indian

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<sup>400</sup> His presence was cut short, for unknown reasons, but the mark of his international trajectory was stamped in a Museum of the American Indian exhibit, in Washington DC, as he continues committed to tasks more related to *in situ* movement.

movements in these three countries, bringing together diverse peoples in unison (as in Guatemala and Chiapas) surely foretells a new continental reality.

In conclusion, the obstacles for the movement's integration in Peru are due to its history, which the *suyus* on the periphery lack. The obstacles demand a comprehensive, unified movement, not only with concrete and specific demands but with long-term political goals. The burden placed on the part of *Tawantinsuyu* called Peru symbolically surfaces still in the INKARI myth, in a leadership, personified or not, that can stand or pursue the dignified investiture of an Inka, an expectation hard to meet. For all of the above reasons, a constant of Indian resistance throughout *Tawantinsuyu* is defensive and local: concrete claims to land, protection against harmful policies, and recently, protection of vital resources, in both diverse and atomized localities. Peru's call is to resume the symbolic role of *Q'osqo*, building upon the surrounding, localized, dispersed struggles and resistance, which, until recently, were not especially connected with an ethnic rationale -- one that works on the articulation of *suyus* at the same time that responds to the manifold political challenges of global capitalist domination. If this dynamic is internally generated among natives themselves and with the *Criollo-mestizo* country, more than ever it cannot escape macro historical global processes and logic.

## **Chapter XXVI: The Indispensable Unfolding of Gender in Native Andean Politics of Culture and Representation**

In the earlier part of this study unit, I argued that the Indian movement in the Andes can be interpreted, alternatively to its occurrence and conditioning within the present day republics, as a pan-Andean political movement. This is due to a renascent pre-Hispanic collective identity whose simultaneous emergence is evident in natives of the area. As if that argument were not daring enough, given its nature of being partially hypothetical and the uncertainties that surround future historical happenings, this second ‘complementary’ part of the unit deals with its “Gender’s Indispensable Unfolding.” This is because of the intrinsic nature of the Andean socio-cultural system, and because of the political gravity of gender. I will argue here, in a theoretically complex way, with partial and anecdotic evidence, and in convoluted and uneven theoretical and empirical presentation of the phenomenon, that the greater than average presence of women, and of ‘the feminine’ in efforts of representation and culture-making by native Andean nations today expresses the aboriginal peoples’ gender system. This, as I argued before, does not eliminate women’s full human condition, as cultural assumption (or basic social representation) and consequently, does not diminish their socio-psychological potential (or that of men’s). The topic could and should be subject of a future separate, analytical and deserving study, but I am bound by my own thesis – to complement what was said before and, indeed, to honor its character – thus, need to provide a suggestive glimpse at the phenomenon.

It is very difficult to challenge a system based exclusively on men's initiatives, interests, characteristics and styles that nevertheless presumes women. The sections above (on *Tawantinsuyu* and on each of the *Suyus* and *Q'osqo*) could stand conceptually complete because they echo the naturalized and universalized absence of women. But, from an Andean gender perspective, any text's apparent wholeness and self-sufficiency without women makes it automatically suspect. The conceptual framework to approximate gender in *Tawantinsuyu* follows insights of complexity and systems theory.<sup>401</sup> Two gender systems, Western patriarchy and Andean complementarity and parallel lines of descent (CPLD), presently co-exist in the geographical extent of old *Tawantinsuyu* (see figures 7-13). Their relation is one of power-domination, and for that reason each competes with the other to confirm and extend the social-relations rationale that each features, i.e., for its own reproduction. Because systems replicate *ad infinitum*, with variations that keep the logic that sustains them, everyday enactments of gender inexistent in the public cartography reverberate on larger social forms. These, in turn, legitimize and naturalize ordinary gender occurrences in a self-confirming cycle. The two gender systems manifest distinctly in individual and collective realms, from internal psychological dispositions to overt behavior. They give institutions, social movements and culture expressions a particular character in their respective socio-cultural system. While the dominant patriarchal system obscures and invests in denying the evidence of

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<sup>401</sup> Although different in conceptual and phenomenological sense, the analogy of social systems and gender systems to the body and any of its component subsystems - osseous, nervous, circulatory, etc. - serves here. While none can be confused with the other, the body/social system being greater and comprehensive of all, still no part of the body/social system exists without any of them. Likewise, gender, a separate subsystem, leaves no part of the body - the social system - infused, shaped or influenced, and vice-versa. Overlapping and influencing each other, the two systems present a correspondence readable separately or in conjunction.

gender equivalence and complementarity -- among others, in the native Andean family and community relations -- the Andean gender system continues to give evidence that it does not maim full human attributes for women.

To view the gender dynamics in social movements and cultural representations in the area of old *Tawantinsuyu*, it is necessary to consider the complexity of the two competing systems interacting simultaneously in three levels. One is the dominant patriarchal system logic that engulfs all, from private and public expressions of human characteristics to forms of representation and communication, including written and visual media, and even texts (such as this one). The second level is patriarchy's own critique, feminism, which advocates gender justice (i.e., equal treatment of men and women, etc.) but which arises from its internal contradictions and is confined and determined by its own logic. The third is the suppressed potential of Andean gender, whose manifestations through various ways of diverting, ignoring and negating of the dominant system confirm its resisting existence.

The proposal here is that Andean gender preserves women's socio-psychological integrity and human potential to a greater extent than patriarchy as a result of specific socialization practices.<sup>402</sup> Due to the domination of one system over the other, the Andean system's self-preservation mechanisms inscribe individual or collective self-monitoring devices to either express or not qualities, attributes, and competences in agreement with dominant tenets, in effect, producing an accommodation to power that Bolivian scholar Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (19...) termed "*oprimidos pero no vencidos*"

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<sup>402</sup> See study in Unit 1 in this dissertation for highlights of Andean Indian child socialization practices.

(oppressed but not defeated), or “social identity under class or culture domination,” in my own work (Herencia, 1985). In certain circumstances, patriarchy favors the continuation of Andean structural forms (e.g., women involved actively in agriculture activities and commerce), or super- structural ones (motherhood although in an idealized, deceptive presentation). Or, it holds them back by clashing (e.g., women-bashing when showing leadership), disconfirming (presenting seemingly universal truths to override everything else, e.g., women are weak or feeble minded in comparison to men), or suppressing (simply not allowing to express traits that are accepted in the Andean system, but go against patriarchal holdings, for example, men-bashing when they cry, take care of babies, cook, etc.).

Hypothetically, the three gender expressions, dominant patriarchal, patriarchy’s inside critique (feminism), and Andean native, are manifest in *Tawantinsuyu*’s social movements and manifold ‘culture politics.’ My interest here is to show that Andean gender persists, that it is possible to objectively calibrate it in reference to either feudal or post-modern global patriarchal framings, and that it sustains the strength and rationality of the Andean socio-cultural system, even when this can only be partially current or accessible. The lack of register of women’s presence results from the patriarchal system control apparatus that silences or minimizes women’s actions in the public sphere. On occasion, male activists in native movements comply with the readily at-hand dominant gender framings, unaware that they may be betraying a foundational tenet of the Andean socio-historical formation, whose course they aspire to bring back. Their failure to protect this core characteristic of Andean culture means concurring with the dominant system’s

pervasive habit of barring women and the feminine from the social system, a defining feature from which presumably its questionable traits derive.<sup>403</sup>

The purpose of this section is to show Andean women's robust public presence in social movements and cultural forms in each of the *suyus*, as a manifestation of a gender system of which native women and men are formally unaware.<sup>404</sup> Complementarity and parallel lines of descent is up against two manifestations of patriarchy: the traditional *criollo-mestizo* with feudal overtones, and the liberal global with feminist overtones. Because I view the problem that way, this proposal responds to and reconciles two positions regarding gender in the Andes: one is the conventional stand of most foreign and local scholars who affirm the universal prevalence of patriarchal gender; the other is the minority position of mostly non-academic, women and men, Andean activists who advocate the existence and continuity of non-patriarchal gender, specifically in native communities or native-related movements. Of course, both stands have a cultural and ideological anchoring that manifest in all-or-none terms: cultural non-patriarchal gender does not exist, it never did, it vanished during colonization, or perhaps it exists now, but as an insignificant happening; and, on the other hand, Indian communities feature a non-patriarchal native gender system, period. Recognizing that a qualitative and quantitative consideration of the matter could confirm the perspective of each side, the present proposal provides the means to resolve the impasse, especially for the purpose of much needed political and social policy decisions.

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<sup>403</sup> The line of work of matriarchal studies would support this contention. See for instance, Heide Goettner-Abendroth.

<sup>404</sup> The concept here is Marx's 'class in itself' versus 'class for itself.'

In general, on the basis of what was said above, one can expect conventional patriarchal forms, seemingly universal and obligatory, to be the most evident. Overt expressions of feminist reforms/rationales, in face of obvious distortions of the single-handed promotion of men or the masculine in the dominant socio-structural and cultural forms would be second. Recent feminist stands would filter through, among others, progressive government policies, NGO's and international organizations committed to improve the women's lot. The native gender system, on the other hand, should become manifest only beneath the strength and pervasiveness of the two 'working' arms of the patriarchal system. Lived naturally by Andean women and men, CPLD would feature women's real and symbolic presence in social movements and cultural expressions. Even when the ratio of public expression of gender forms quantitatively favors non-native gender, because native peoples are the objective majorities, their pseudo-minority gender condition is qualitatively reversible, depending on enactment of adequate political power.

Specifically here, the ultimate purpose of this section is to bring gender to the forefront of the emerging *Tawantinsuyu* movement, for the time being, more as a work program than certification of facts. It is a cautionary argument made to the movement not to bargain with women and men's inseparable and full agency for if relinquished or used merely to infuse new blood to patriarchal forms we may be giving up an Andean culture asset and a defining feature of the Andean socio-cultural system. In this line of thinking, the discussion that follows considers gender-infused politics of culture and representation of native Andeans in the four *suyus* and in the movement's central coordinating bodies. Because today's gender expressions have an old historical pedigree,

we will follow Guaman Poma de Ayala's order in his drawings of the *Reynas y Señoras* (ladies) of the *suyus*: first, *Chinchaysuyu* – to end with *Kuntisuyu* (which is not the order used for the *suyus*' description earlier, which started with *Antisuyu* to end with *Chinchaysuyu*). In this sketchy impression of CPLD's spontaneous manifestations in culture making and representation efforts in the area, due to its dominated condition, it can only manifest in a one-to-two ratio regarding traditional feudal and global-stamped liberal patriarchy. In spite of that, Andean women stand in a greater proportion than women in conventional social movements. Novelty alone cannot account for this effect but the existence of CPLD as culture capital, for women's condition in the Andes and the world.

The Founding Models of Today's Andean Area Gender Relations: A Graphic Recount of Pre-Hispanic and Colonial Gender Systems in Guaman Poma de Ayala

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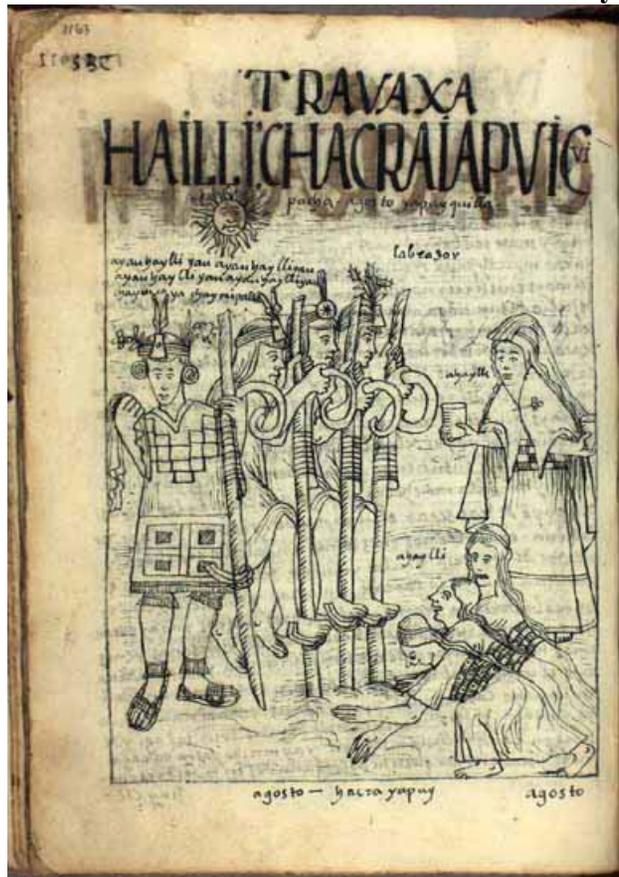


Figure 7. At planting season, the men open the earth with the *chaqui taqlla* and the women place the seed. Women also distribute the drinks, *chicha*.



Figure 8. In another view of work complementarity by gender, this time when planting potatoes in December, men till and women place the seed. At the top, the sun *Inti* and moon *Quilla*, protector gods of each gender, represent symbolically the equivalence of men and women.



Figure 9. Complementarity at work during harvest times, according to Guaman Poma. Here the men tie the bundles of collected grains and women transport them to storage.



Figure 10. A young woman is taken away by force from her parents' side. The father resists the abusive force of the Spanish man and the mother's desperate tears show how disruptive and inexplicable this action is Inka society and culture.

## Colonial Gender Disruption



Figure 11. The balance of men and women working side by side breaks with Spanish occupation. The men are taken away and women forced to work in oppressive conditions. The tears in Guaman Poma's drawing represent this suffering while White men, what is masculine in their world, stands for brutal work exaction and domination.

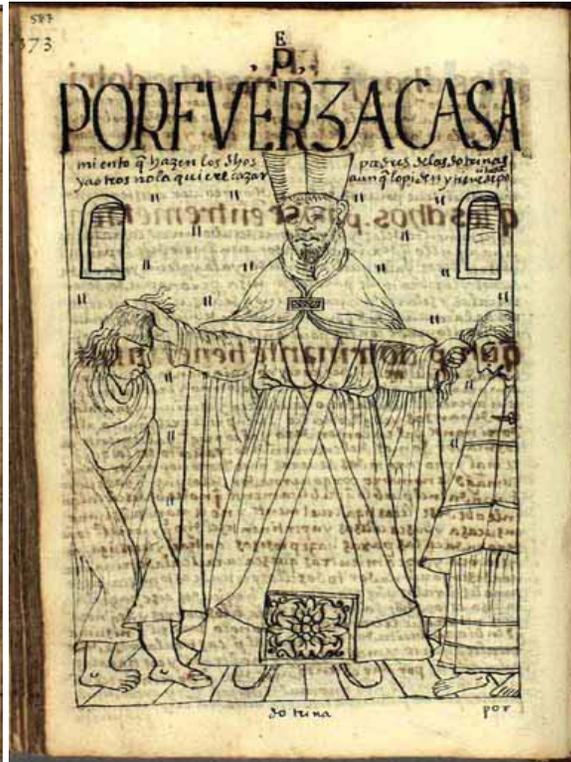


Figure 12. Patriarchal oppression, personified by priests, even when sealing a civil union of man and women, perverts its nature with cruelty, showing their enslavement even in conventional acts.



Figure 13. A Dominican priest illustrates this time the oppression of women. Significantly the woman appears now with a child on her back, looking puzzled the pain and situation that surrounds it. The woman's tears may indicate a new institution in the Andes: mother as sole supporter of a new generation of father-absent offspring.

## Chapter XXVII: The First Quarter Moon of *Chinchaysuyu* ‘Reynas’

### *Movimiento de Mujeres 'LUNA CRECIENTE' de Ecuador llama a Unidad de Izquierda en Base a Programa nacido en Comunidades y Barrios*

*“Nos sentimos contentas con los pasos logrados en nuestras organizaciones y comunidades. Nos alegra que el gobierno haya tenido que decretar la caducidad de la OXY y la consecuente interrupción de la negociación del TLC con Estados Unidos. Sabemos que esto ha sido conseguido con las luchas de todos los sectores populares organizados y concientes (por ejemplo el paro de la Amazonía, las marchas y levantamientos del movimiento indígena, otras acciones importantes desde zonas urbanas y rurales).*

*Hace falta seguir caminando. En cada espacio, en cada rincón tenemos mucho por hacer. Donde confluyen nuestras necesidades y responsabilidades tenemos la obligación de juntarnos y actuar en unidad, de construir el frente intercultural y la asamblea constituyente. Queremos cambios profundos y verdaderos, no protagonismos coyunturales o aprovechamientos personales.”*

From: hortencia hidalgo caceres <hidalgocaceres@yahoo.com>  
To: [ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org](mailto:ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org); Wed, 7 Jun 2006 (see full version of statement in Appendix XI)

As in the other *suyus*, a socio-historical framework helps to illuminate gender relations in *Chinchaysuyu*. Several important native kingdoms, including the Mochik-Chimu and the Viru kingdoms (from which the name Peru derives), in West and Central North Peru, of the Kitus and Otavalos in Ecuador’s North East flank, and Coggi and Quichua in South Colombia formed part of *Chinchaysuyu*.<sup>405</sup> Most of this province- Andean Ecuador, the Andes of South Colombia and Northwest Peru - remained tangential to Spanish colonial administration to the early 1800’s, and continued so during republican times with exception of Ecuador when it separated as independent country. In terms of gender relations, feudal patriarchy stood behind public official functions and practices, which did

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<sup>405</sup> This recall of constituent nations of *Chinchaysuyu* is a simplification *ad absurdum*, for which I apologize. The richness and multiplicity of native nations in the whole area of Tawantinsuyu – ocean-surpasses this paper’s objectives, which are only to point theoretical issues of its gender history.

not require extensive up-dates or reforms for a long time. It co-existed with native gender configurations which applied especially to informal social practices.

However, what makes *Chinchaysuyu*'s gender history outstanding is that some of the most instructive colonial reports substantiating non-patriarchal native relations among the area's aboriginal peoples come from coastal North Peru and Ecuador. Early *cronistas* report that powerful women *cacicas*, the *Capullanas*, ruled over *Chinchaysuyu* kingdoms, where -- to the *cronistas*' surprise -- natives considered women especially fit to govern.<sup>406</sup> In contrast to patriarchal gender, these kingdoms gave women formal political power. In the Inkas' own politics of respect for the right of each kingdom to its own forms of government, women-governed kingdoms were no problem. Indeed, these were possibly just a step further from their own CPLD, surely as prevalent a cultural practice as ecological levels of control. So, *Chinchaysuyu* kingdoms not only abided by the Inka gender system but at the time also featured a bigger challenge to patriarchy. Indeed, the super-imposed feudal patriarchy survived protected by overall Western domination up to a few decades ago alongside non-patriarchal gender configurations, which, in fact, staged an expression of 'matriarchy.' The significance of this concrete example of women rule went unnamed, unrecognized, undistinguished even from CPLD.

There have been recent initiatives to revisit the *Capullanas*' case historically. If the historical endeavor had been fair to women, we could leave the case to rest. However, there are two reasons why a descriptive visit cannot exhaust the topic. One is that the original recording of facts itself is highly biased, and two, that its interpretation requires critical feminist inquiry. After an original accommodation of political forms that left

native kingdoms pretty much sustained with their own forms of government, with every successive colonial administration, especially if this was efficient (such as Toledo's), then Spanish institutions and norms replaced the native ones. Few historical monographs point out the resistance, for instance in the North and central Sierra, in cases of land holdings and inheritance, the struggle put up by women to retain their rightful assets, when patriarchal law entered to privilege men's rights. It is important to recognize, though, that the legal arena in a country where laws were imposed from above and without the majority consensus, especially among indigenous majorities, was at best a formal epidermis that did not hold for everyday '*usos y costumbres*' of popular sectors. We have to think that, from a socio-psychological perspective, socialization processes are long lasting, do-not require literacy and are held fast with the cardinal values and beliefs in a culture. In this sense, we can expect non-patriarchal systems to have survived and to manifest, even if disguised, up to contemporary times. Such being the case, it is crucial to elevate this as research topic from the angle of Indigenous resistance, which here fully coincides with women and gender system resistance.<sup>407</sup>

Given the natives' population majority presence, we can expect these forms also to affect dominant *criollo-mestizo* sectors, for instance, through the influence of maids, or more directly, through the survival of culture patterns in *mestizo* sectors, i.e., native culture values in early informal upbringing. Because the history of gender has to be made in each place at its own time, and there is a long pause of lack of information at hand for this report through colonial times, we can jump to contemporary *Chinchaysuyu*, where

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<sup>406</sup> See Judith Prieto's book on the *History of Women in Peru*.

there is plenty of information on the panorama of gender. However, before doing that, we cannot fail to mention an outstanding *Criollo-mestizo* representative of agency and courage in the first third of the nineteenth century in this area. It is Manuelita Saenz, Simón Bolívar's lover and supporter. She was originally from the *Capitanía de Quito*, which was then part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. In her independence, identifying with the *Libertador's* ideals, she broke many social conventions of the narrow-sighted patriarchal system that surrounded her. Manuela Saenz deserves a critical review of facts in her social origin and upbringing, which perhaps feature native Andean influence, or just the fact that she grew up in the periphery of colonial power, not its center.<sup>408</sup>

#### GLOBALIZATION AND GENDER IN ECUADOR

*"Nosotros somos como los granos de quinua si estamos solos, el viento lleva lejos. Pero si estamos unidos en un costal, nada hace el viento. Bamboleará pero no nos hará caer"*

**Dolores Cacuango**

*Ecuador: Tutayakunchik o Pakaricunchik, entre la noche y el día. El movimiento indígena y las elecciones, por Raúl Llasag\** Servindi Nov, 25 2006  
[servindi@servindi.org](mailto:servindi@servindi.org),

Two simultaneous processes have been taking place in Ecuador in our times, both as a direct or indirect consequence of globalization. The first came about when Ecuador became the site of oil and gas explorations, especially in the jungle area, and the global economy required changes to modernize social relations in the country. The second came as an unanticipated response of robust *Chinchaysuyu* native communities to the threat of

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<sup>407</sup> Prieto's book presents the problem and recent historical research proceeded to update the subject with punctual monographs, but without gender and socio-cultural theoretical elaboration.

<sup>408</sup> The daughter of a Spaniard with a Quito woman, adamant about independence, Manuelita could not fit in the Limeñan society to which she re-located due to her class origin. It is not clear what culture pedigree her Quiteña mother transmitted to her, whether that independence was perhaps result of being *mestiza* with Indian CPLD ways.

post modern interventions, among other reasons, due to the fragile quality of Ecuador's Western past.<sup>409</sup> Each of these processes throws light on trends of interest from this paper's perspective, the protection of native gender as culture capital and the collective project of re-constituting the Inka province of *Chinchaysuyu*.

Being a small country, Ecuador presented few problems to the indirect intervention by international organizations needing to effect changes required by corporations for their investments and operations. The Ecuadorian state proceeded to enact constitutional reforms to decentralize and modify administrative practices, change and encourage certain kinds of institutions. In gender terms, it needed to modernize patriarchal statutes to give them a more modern, Western "liberal" tone. The plan implies community and extended family disaggregation into nuclear units, to lead, in the long term, to individuals as repositories of all rights, from wages to life decisions. This because the global economy moves away from collective labor protection, community grounding and cultural and ethnic ties, to deal with dispersed and isolated individuals (including women), recognized only in their work capacity. Towards this end, it demands liberal social reforms, which at first sight appear progressive and beneficial to young women, either by facilitating education, achievement and social mobility, as well as by granting legal protection, as contained in liberal feminist demands.

As reported by Amy Lind (2004), since 1980 Ecuador has seen an active influx of economic and ideological support for urban and rural social movements, whose goal is to

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<sup>409</sup> Recently Carlos Ivan Degregori remarked that Peru's democracy (meaning the state system) was not Ecuador's or Bolivia's," an ambiguous remark that possibly referred to the greater strength of *criollo-mestizo* institutions in Peru. Servindi, 2006.

liberalize gender relations. The influence has been politically so remarkable that it created a Ministry of Gender Relations for the express purpose of achieving gender parity in state organizations, institutions and programs. Thus, neo-liberal economic practices have accompanied the ‘empowerment’ of individual women, the dissolution of the social component in women struggles, and their selection as token instances of social mobility. Likewise, a marked growth of NGO’s dealing with women, family and gender issues in Ecuador, directly or indirectly dependant from exterior funding, correlates with the state and constitution modernization, the decentralization of agencies, educational reform and, interestingly, support of base-level organizing. Therefore, through sophisticated gender interventions, international organizations put in place practices useful to liberal economic changes that refashioned well-set feudal patriarchal gender relations. Thus, fossilized patriarchal practices that in the past could live next to vigorous non-patriarchal native gender potential, were updated to practices with a global transnational stamp. On the other hand, where Andean culture fosters women’s natural competence, there is no need to undo internalized inferiority. A native cultural capital on gender such as Ecuador’s, greatly facilitates the task of ‘empowerment’ training camps for women, and so it does the institutional co-optation of women in neo-colonial practices inherent in them.

It is not surprising, then, that Ecuador has recently shown a greater gender bureaucratization (Lind, 2004) than other countries of comparable size. Equally in the system’s service is a more radical feminist mobilization that supposedly breaks centralized subjections by allowing individual women some local mobility, expressiveness and representation. However, while these measures represent some socio-economic improvement for a few individual women, everyone’s overall political and

socio-economic condition deteriorates, including the particular political standing of women themselves. For example, despite the growing number of women executives and ministers, there is a growing number of destitute underclass, forced economic migration out of the country, and juvenile prostitutes.

In sum, Western patriarchal globalization can prove stronger than feudal or national capitalist-dependent forms in a gender mapping of *Chinchaysuyu*-Ecuador. As noted earlier, the modernizing wave of Western patriarchy comes with the promise of conventional social mobility for individual women and (through NGO's and other feminist organizations) a chance to improve women's collective condition. But the Western socio-cultural system sponsors feminist interventions on the basis of a fractured relation with men – no complementarity and equivalence with them – to make individual women gain self-assurance in opposition to men, while losing collective ground. For this specific reason, feminism in the Andes conflicts with Andean ethnicity. The effect is more marked in ethnically weaker areas, especially coastal Ecuador, and in the ethnically robust but more vulnerable (due to less direct exposure to Western colonialism) Amazon rainforest, which from *Tawantinsuyu*'s political perspective would be *Antisuyu*, an entirely different cultural and political setting. None of these reflections, however, are alien to a sizable group of native *Chinchaysuyu* women, as a matter of fact, definitely larger than in other places in *Tawantinsuyu*, exceptional in its quality among the world's indigenous peoples, and women of the world in general. For whatever reasons, the proposed and implemented global changes above also tapped an Andean culture reservoir of gender complementarity and equivalence organically integrated in many *Chinchaysuyu* communities, sustained by women with men's support. The result is no less than twelve

years of intentional organized work to form what would be like a parallel and complementary force on which the Indian movement can stand to bring about Indigenous presence to the fore of continental and global politics, as we will see next.<sup>410</sup>

### **THE NATIVE WOMEN'S ANSWER TO GENDER MODERNIZATION IN *CHINCHAYSUYU***

The contemporary movement of native women in Ecuador appears to have shown ethnic independence from the beginning. Following in practice the same organizational principles of representation of ECUARUNARI, the core Quichua organization, quasi men-defined, it became a parallel body. That the condition of women required special coaching could result from both, the global push to modernize social relations and the presence and interest at hand of progressive social scientists that helped the Indigenous movement.<sup>411</sup> The close memory of Indigenous women's leadership, acknowledged as such, was a contributing factor. Women like Dolores Cacuango and Tránsito Umaguaña,<sup>412</sup> pioneered in actions that went from ethnic assertion, bilingual education to, naturally, women's affirmation (Kintto Lucas (2003). Cacuango and Amaguaña founded the country's first trade unions of rural workers and the first Quechua-Spanish bilingual

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<sup>410</sup> According to Vicenta Chuma of the *Parlamento Indígena Latinoamericano* (see Appendix for full statement in Spanish), it was from 1996 that the dream of forming women leaders starts to consolidate in the *Confederación de Pueblos de la Nacionalidad Kichwa del Ecuador*. In her words: "the resistance of our people always depended on the lucidity and tenderness of many known and unknown women."

<sup>411</sup> The role of CLACSO in the training of indigenous leaders like Luis Macas and Nina Pacari, as well as collaboration with the powerful COICA (*Confederación of Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica*).

<sup>412</sup> "En Ayora, Pichincha, las dirigentas de organizaciones de mujeres de sectores populares de Pichincha, Cotopaxi, Cañar, Loja, El Oro, Sucumbíos y Orellana, reunidas en el Encuentro XV de Luna Creciente, con la nueva fuerza que nos da juntarnos y recordar a nuestras mamás (**Dolores Cacuango, Nela Martínez, Tránsito Amaguaña, Martina Carrillo, la Chinchiquirá**) (my highlight) contándonos lo que sabemos y soñamos, encontrándonos con los jóvenes organizados, caminando juntas y reflexionando bajo la mirada directa del Cayambe..." From: hortencia hidalgo caceres [hidalgocaceres@yahoo.com](mailto:hidalgocaceres@yahoo.com) in [ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org](mailto:ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org) list-serve.

schools in the first few decades of the 20th century. “They also took part in the creation of the Ecuadorian Federation of indigenous, the first nationwide indigenous association. They were both persecuted and jailed for their activism.”<sup>413</sup>

For how much it counts in CPLD’s vindication in contemporary times, the “Dolores Cacuangó School of Women Leaders” is politically the most transcendental. It began with the support of Norwegian people’s aid in 2000. In 2003 it had four training schools at regional levels and 329 women being formed integrally to bring about the political project of the indigenous movement in Ecuador (Lucas, 2003). In the words of member of the *Parlamento Indígena de América*, Vicenta Chuma, who is product and past coordinator of such school, like Blanca Chancoso, the coordinator of the World Social Forum in Ecuador,

“(The school) is the dream of our elders, the hope of our youth. To reconstitute each one of the Quichua peoples identities, to build a plurinational state, to give an Indian face to Ecuador...” “In the System of training Indigenous Leaders “Dolores Cacuangó” we form leaders with identity, with a capacity to dream about their future and build it. Women who know that all of the fingers of a hand are necessary to embroider the heavens with colors, and that treasure the wisdom of our elders who see the time that is coming as that which already is. Women who continue to resist and fight while tenderly caressing their children.”<sup>414</sup>

These indigenous leaders recall Cacuangó’s words with poetic veneration. “To the school and the system of Leaders Training we have given your name, Mother Dolores, to follow your example, to become wise like you.”

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<sup>413</sup> Kintto Lucas, SERVINDI, International Women's Day - *Ecuador: Indigenous Women - Still a Long Way to Go*. IPS - Quito, Ecuador (Posted on Mar-10-2003).

<sup>414</sup> hortencia hidalgo caceres [hidalgocaceres@yahoo.com](mailto:hidalgocaceres@yahoo.com); from [ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org](mailto:ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org)

*“Mama Dolores, arcilla de colores, agua de raspadura, manos tibias de caricia. Mama Dolores vives, naciendo esperanza en cada mujer que sueña en hablar y ser para su pueblo.”*

(Mother Dolores, colorful clay, lively and sweet fresh waters, warm caressing hands. Mother Dolores you live giving birth to hope in any woman that dreams to talk and to be for her people).

In sight of what it is being accomplished, Cacuangó's determination "*si muero, muero, pero uno siquiera ha de quedar para seguir, para continuar*" (if I die, I die, but there will be even one to follow, to continue) secured not only one, but hundreds of followers. They are indeed transforming the lives of other women, communities and nations. So, her words and school's logo, "Indigenous women are like the grass of the highlands, which always grows back even if it is torn up. We will sow the grass of the highlands around the world" have a predictive tone at a global level.<sup>415</sup>

What is clear is that the results of that training are now evident in Chinchaysuyu women representatives. They have a clear perception of the nature and origin of patriarchy, which they trace to the Spanish colonial imposition in the region. Representing this vision, for Vicenta Chuma indicates, "In the past, women and men shared leadership roles in indigenous communities. Evidence of that is that our gods are both male and female." (SERVINDI, December 2005). For her, indigenous women have been the originators of many native traditions, customs, stories, social norms and other aspects of *Abya Yala* cultures (the Americas) peoples, and, poetically "In our *ponchos*, we have resisted change and maintained the language and culture that the Quechua nation

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<sup>415</sup> Escuela de formación política de mujeres líderes "Dolores Cacuangó" de ECUARUNARI Evaluación, Kito, 23 de diciembre de 2005. Servindi.

has developed over hundreds of years." A disadvantage of women that proved positive for this culture/gender renaissance of Ecuador was their limited access to formal education. Rosa Rodríguez, another indigenous woman named deputy minister of social welfare in former President Lucio Gutiérrez' government, stated that this played a key role in preserving and transmitting the ancestral knowledge of traditional Andean cultures. "It is largely through us that native languages and cultures have been handed down from generation to generation. Indigenous women are the germ of cultural resistance and preservation." "Not by chance a majority of bilingual educators in this country are women," said Rodríguez.

Because the emphasis is in the recovery of Indigenous people's own traditions and history, *Chinchaysuyu* women do not need to propose a blanket explanation for the history of gender in the whole of Ecuador. On the contrary, they re-construct their communities' history, and in them, of the obscured parallel authority and respect garnered by women in native communities. With this input, they are ready to bring what they learn to contemporary relevance, in their own behavior and their opinions, either in internal local and national politics, or in external economic (TLC settings), social (World Social Forums) and political forums (OAS, ONU, etc.).<sup>416</sup> On the quality of Indigenous participation in Ecuador's government, so far they have made their case very clear politically. They will not settle for anything less than the plurinational model that they inherited from *Tawantinsuyu*'s historical experience. It is an entirely new paradigm,

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<sup>416</sup> Quichua women of Ecuador are the only indigenous people employed as such, and recently with official recognition as government officials at the UN. They don native clothes and use own language for internal communication, when it is already being requested to the Permanent Forum of Indigenous People that they recognized that or other native nation as an official language at the UN.

absent or never formalized in Western political thought, which is emerging when the native Andean socio-historical experience's disappearance seemed a done deal. And, of course, the quality of politics they propose is entirely different. Where would one find political manifestos with references to the construction of a society where 'tenderness is possible'? A pan-Indian sentiment voiced by *Chinchaysuyu* women above ("resist and fight while tenderly caressing their children"), echoed by Rosa Rodríguez, above, in the expression "The resistance of our people always counted with the lucidity and tenderness of many known and anonymous women" (underline mine),<sup>417</sup> and supported almost verbatim, further south, by Moira Millan, a Mapuche woman from Argentina: "we should not (merely) look for a more just socio-economic model, but a new society in which one of the priorities was tenderness. I dream of a world where tenderness is possible."<sup>418</sup>

What is clear is that they are all talking about a reality that they directly know:

"And presently in the communities both women and men *caciques* exist in an equivalent role. I believe that the Mapuche people have much to contribute to a new society from their ancestral wisdom. And **it is not possible to destroy *machismo* if we do not re-think society as a whole.**"<sup>419</sup> (My emphasis)

On the other hand, the quality of government is noted by perhaps a more remote Chinchaysuyu descendant, Ati Quinoa, Indigenous woman from the Iku Nation (Arhuaca) of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia.

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<sup>417</sup> "La resistencia de nuestros pueblos siempre contó con la lucidez y la ternura de muchas mujeres conocidas y anónimas."

<sup>418</sup> "Pero yo creo que no deberíamos buscar un modelo económico-social más justo, sino una nueva sociedad en la que una de las prioridades sea la ternura. Yo sueño un mundo donde la ternura sea posible." Moira Millan Guerrero de la Mapu. por Aye - Viernes 14 de Octubre, 2005 Autor: Luciana Peker Fuente: [frenteluchamapucamp@yahoo.com.ar](mailto:frenteluchamapucamp@yahoo.com.ar); Fecha: 2005-10-27

<sup>419</sup> Y actualmente en las comunidades existen en un rol equivalente *caciques* tanto mujeres como hombres. Yo creo que el pueblo mapuche tiene mucho, desde su sabiduría ancestral, para aportar en una

"It is the way our authorities, with our own organization, exercise government in a territory. The indigenous criteria are based on counsel, on orientation and on visiting of people. (It is) to be attentive to the problems that exist, to see that the people are fine. It is different from the other exercise because this other one only secures the application of the law, responds to some criteria of expenses and efficiency, to what is administration. Government is understood as administration. Among indigenous people administration is the least, the other one is the most important. **The concept is understood in another way, government is the exercise of accompanying the people and their problems.**" (My emphasis)

“Women’s participation in the extent of these 500 years has been closely linked to the defense of the land-territory and to the *Ayllu* authority structure, and likewise to the forces of production and community distribution, and to a deep hope of revolution that is born in the *Pachakutik* myths, in the glory of *Tawantinsuyu*, of the ever present vindication of *allpamanta*, *sumak kawsaymanta*, *kishpirinkaman* (land, culture and liberty) of the harmony with nature, of the harmony in the relations of man and woman, of the warring rituality, the same as of the deep morality of the Andean triptych, *ama shwa*, *ama llulla*, *ama killa* (do not steal, do not lie, and do not be lazy).<sup>420</sup>

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*sociedad nueva. Y que no se va a poder destruir el machismo si no repensamos la sociedad en su totalidad.* Ibid, Millan, 2005; [frenteluchamapucamp@yahoo.com.ar](mailto:frenteluchamapucamp@yahoo.com.ar); Fecha: 2005-10-27

<sup>420</sup> *La participación de la mujer a lo largo de estos 500 años ha estado íntimamente ligada a la defensa de la tierra - territorio y a las estructuras de poder del ayllu, así como a las fuerzas de producción y distribución comunitarias y a una profunda esperanza de revolución que nace de los mitos del pachakutik, de la gloria del Tawantinsuyu, de la reivindicación siempre permanente de allpamanta, sumak kawsaymanta, kishpirinkaman (tierra, cultura y libertad) de la armonía con la naturaleza, de la armonía de relaciones de hombre y mujer, de la ritualidad guerrera, así como de la profunda moralidad del tríptico andino del ama shwa, ama llulla, ama killa, (no robar, no mentir y no ser ocioso).* These excerpts were extracted from documents on the Commission on Women-Men Complementarity, *Encuentro Continental de Pueblos Indígenas*. Autor: Pueblos de América; Fuente: <http://www.caminantesdelosandes.org>; 12-27-06

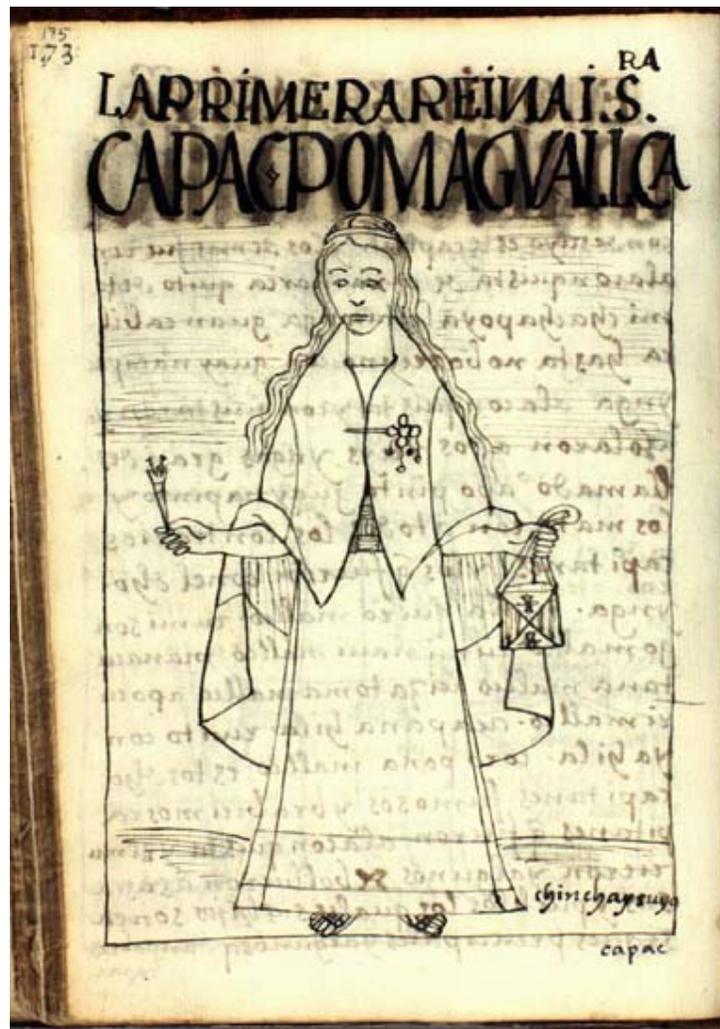


Figure 14. Guamán Poma's representation of a *Chinchaysuyu* 'Reyna' refers us to the old pre-Hispanic pedigree of the region, and of its women representatives. She gracefully dons long skirt and *lliclla* (shawl) pinned with an artistic *tupu*, reflecting mild weather, while holding a purse in one hand and a flower in the other.

## Chapter XXVIII: *Antisuyu* Women's Dawn

*ÚLTIMA HORA....LAS MUJERES DE SUCUMBIOS, ECUADOR, EN HUELGA DE HAMBRE*

*Doce mujeres de Sucumbios de varias organizaciones populares, iniciaron esta tarde una huelga de hambre en vista de que los acuerdos entre las autoridades de las provincias de Sucumbios y Orellana y los representantes de las petroleras y el Gobierno no se concretaran.*

*Hoy a partir de las cinco de la tarde , en forma pacífica las mujeres llegaron a las instalaciones de la Iglesia para iniciar la huelga siendo amedrentadas por la fuerza pública que les obligaba a abandonar el espacio por la vigencia del estado de emergencia.*

*Con el apoyo y el respaldo de la Iglesia de San Miguel de Sucumbios (ISAMIS), las mujeres entraron a las instalaciones de la catedral donde permanecen en la Huelga de hambre que se mantendrá hasta la firma de todos los acuerdos planteados.*

*Con esta medida de hecho, las mujeres también demandan del Gobierno la DEROGATORIA INMEDIATA DEL ESTADO DE EMERGENCIA, ASÍ COMO LA LIBERTAD DE LAS PERSONAS DETENIDAS.*

*Desde la Catedral de Lago Agrio, solicitamos el apoyo de todas las personas e instituciones que favorecen el respeto de la libertad y ejercicio pleno de los derechos.*

*Atentamente.*

*CODEMUS*

*Frente de Mujeres de Sucumbios*

*Federación de Mujeres de Sucumbios*

*Organización de Mujeres Negras Nueva Esperanza*

*Consejera Provincial de Sucumbios*

*Presidenta Comite Trabajadoras Simón Bolívar*

*Mujeres Artesanas de Lago Agrio*

*Organización de Mujeres Simón Bolívar*

*CONFEMUJ*

*Organización de Mujeres del Banco Grameen Amazonas*

*Mujeres Empleadas del Municipio de Lago Agrio*

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*SUCUMBIOS ECUADOR,solidaridad\_sucumbios@yahoo.com*

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*[Ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org](mailto:Ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org), Date: Thu, 25 Aug 2005*

We said before that the Inka way of dividing territory does not correspond to the *criollo-mestizo* republics. The quote above portrays women mobilization in *Antisuyu*-Ecuador. Their hunger strike to protest the Ecuadorian state's lack of follow up in the agreed

accords with oil corporations could be the effect of Ecuador's progressive gender influences, as discussed earlier, or due to a closer relation of these groups to the state (in contrast to Peru), even if in opposition. It shows how with a little ethnic affirmation and given the urgency to defend homeland and survival, *Antisuyu* women respond to the need to act now in their communities and elsewhere.

However, most interventions by NGO's and the like in the area, act on the Western feminist assumption of internally dominated and controlled women, as originally projected by feminist activists on highland Andean women.<sup>421</sup> For this reason, and because the international organizations stamp is of recent global transnational make, reports of meetings and activities, and internet announcements directed to Antisuyan women, show a 'progressive' gender position. It is obvious that the design and even terminology used in women's promotion and empowerment programs correspond to equally alien (to them) urban national or international sources. However, in spite of this, and given the novelty of *Antisuyan* mobilization, it is revealing that one hears mostly of men, little of women as leaders in rainforest communities.

A non-gender specific participation is expected in societies that act on the basis of collective rather than individualist values. Such societies also operate on the basis of gained experience and wisdom, a *kurak* condition ("elder" in Quechua) that includes women. So, it is noteworthy that, when internet communications of *Antisuyan* sources mention a representative, it is a man and a relatively young one. Sifted through external agencies, these gender and age characteristics reflect more the dominant representation criteria, of patriarchy in its traditional or post-modern versions, than native ones; such

imposition is apt to shape gender directly or indirectly in the movement. The shared culture pedigree, in both cases, is distinct and distant from *Antisuyu*'s fresh and vigorous native ethnic ethos, which still houses communities that, like rare plants and animals, can provide 'social genetic imprints' for alternative social arrangements. While still opportune, native communities should closely watch, be warned about, and systematize the potentially disruptive impact of patriarchal or liberationist interventions, unchecked by native people's collective concerns.

Significantly, this Inka province, "*Antisuyu*," gives name to the whole area (*Antis*=Andes), and as if that were not enough, their home, the rainforest basin of world's biggest and longest river, a nature's wonder, carries the name of a legendary nation of women warriors - in Greek mythology, the '*Amazons*.' Even if by Spanish explorers' misperception, Western myths at last that carry their own culture's unresolved issues or traumas, native *Antisuyu* women inspired the Spaniards to recall a powerful women place where men recognized followed their lead and authority. In less than a metaphor and more theory, the native gender potential among *Antisuyu* rainforest peoples corresponds to 'primitive' societies, to hunting and gathering communities, where economic and social conditions make women's presence weigh equally or more than men's. If anything, one can expect prevalent matrilineal gender systems associated with equalitarian simple societies,<sup>422</sup> in the absence of critical reviews of gender relations among Antisuyan

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<sup>421</sup> The topic also requires urgent, critical and independent review from the perspective of native peoples.

<sup>422</sup> The growing literature on matriarchal societies confirms this. See, for instance, Max Dashu's 's series on Mother-right and gender justice in Women's history in global perspective at [www.suppressedhistories.net/articles/racism\\_history.html](http://www.suppressedhistories.net/articles/racism_history.html)

peoples.<sup>423</sup> An alternative explanation would take us from the pseudo-dichotomy of separating genders to a reality where the collective significance of family and community subordinates and subsumes the functional separation of men and women. To ground the comparison of *Antisuyu* women with those of the other suyus, it is necessary to place hunting, gathering and mostly nomadic peoples side by side with agricultural sedentary groups. Just the material conditions of existence in each case predispose people to predictable or stable behavior features and habits. While sedentary settings allow concrete and institutionalized CPLD, nomadic conditions activate a more fluid and flexible parity of function. Neither case, however, produced a sub-valuation of women's full human condition, as institutionalized under patriarchy.

That said, the empirical evidence that we can bring about for the case of *Antisuyu* women is very recent (last 35 years), and although it is growing exponentially given the precipitous environmental disasters brought about by oil, gas, mining and wood cutting and 'development' efforts sponsored by governments, its reporting is coarsely patriarchal. In most cases, reports by groomed non-settler journalists and local subsidiaries sound like globally up-dated "the conquest of the wild West" briefs. For them, women's qualities and agency is the last thing to mind in peoples, in effect, considered dispensable and without rights by countries, international corporations and global institutions. Also in theoretical terms, the view offered by private and public global media in the recent global incursion in the rainforest, ignores or subsumes women in mass actions that obscure their

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<sup>423</sup> Organizations like the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have academic staff producing research pieces to serve their investment and social policy objectives. The documents reviewed via internet contain massive amounts of data and fall in conventional literature; they confirm an all-around patriarchy, selecting a few exceptions to the rule, in whose featuring these organizations might take credit. The studies suffer from theoretical limitations to give data coherence.

presence, i.e., it is conventional patriarchal. If progressive and rectificatory, ‘feminist,’ it singularizes women’s actions and privileges the young. If not ignored in the reporting, *Antisuyu* women’s determination and clarity, independently and a la par with men, is only a matter of time, and a short one at that, given the crude reality of ecological crisis in the rainforest. *Antisuyu* women will use global supported communication channels and hopefully manifest in full their leadership, including that of older women.

### **CONTEMPORARY EXAMPLES OF IDEOLOGICAL FILTERS TO OBSCURE WOMEN**

A typical example of a seemingly benign journalistic report appeared in *El Comercio* - Iquitos – Peru, (posted Mar-11-2002) entitled “Native Women start to become leaders in their communities.” An analysis follows the text (my translation, see Spanish original version in Appendix B3).

“A long time ago it was believed that the jungle was more inhabited by women than by men. In face of this reality, there was no lack of an anthropologist who proposed the thesis that such a difference was due to the precarious food intake in the region, which weakened the sexual organs and consequently the only born were women, considered by this professional as the weak gender.

According to the last censuses, the indigenous communities represented 1.08% of the national population and only among the *Culinas* and *Sharanahuas* there are communities with more ladies than gentlemen. But although at a national level women are slightly less (47.9%) than men (52.1%), and have less opportunities and political responsibilities, there are studies on gender relations in the Amazon Basin by the Amazon Center of Anthropology and Practical Application (CAAAP) that establish that native communities can function without men’s presence but they would be ruined without women.

Up to not long ago, women concerned themselves only with children's upbringing and agricultural activities but the times have changed, and now – especially the *Shipibo* women of the Ucayali River – are capable to leaving their communities to travel all the way to the Costa or even foreign markets to sell their products.

Independence has knocked on their doors, despite the fact that in the community environment there are very few who assume leadership and seldom intervene with a voice in their assemblies. However, they have started to do so in their mothers' clubs and similar organizations.

Among the *Secoya* people, women place themselves in the back part of the room during community meetings and do not intervene in debates. However, before taking decisions their men make a stop in the discussion to consult with them the agreements to which they should arrive. In this sense, it is the *Shipibo-Conibos* who have advanced the most.

But modernity also brings aspects that – according to the CAAAP women researchers – are concerning. For instance, beer is replacing *masato* in their celebrations, which causes a loss in women's hosting role during their ceremonies.

The same occurs with the acquisition of Western culture products, which are replacing products and menagerie manufactured by their artisans. In face of this situation, seven institutions overlooked the possibilities opened to these women last year. Among these are CTAR-Loreto, the Maynas Municipality, the Ministry of Women and the National Police dependencies, which are to follow up the applications of the Beijing agreements.”

The introductory paragraph sets the tone of prejudice in the piece. It sets the story in the remote past, insidiously, in a cognitive trap that places the jungle in a distant place, long gone in time that has been superseded (*superado*). It further mixes up the supposed numerical superiority with quality of presence (there were more women than men). This

numerical presence is a product of deficiency, significantly one of food intake that weakens the reproductive sexual organs. Its unfortunate result of this deficiency – the author attributes to an anonymous (invented) professional that supports the introductory statement – is more women born, more of ‘the weak sex.’”

The second paragraph presents the official statistics that natives of the jungle make up only 1.08% of the national population (it seems too small a count), and puts that small percentage of jungle population in context of gender disaggregated national percentages. At a national level, it says, women make slightly less of the total than men (47.9 versus 52.1%), which possibly in the underlying thesis of the article, makes the country’s population more a result of sexual power than deficiency. Therefore, the fact that women have less opportunities and political responsibilities harmonizes, suits the picture well. In the specific jungle context, though, only in two small native nations – the *Culinas* and *Sharanahuas*, (whose name is not capitalized in the original as proper names should be in Spanish) - there are more “ladies than gentlemen.” The choice of words, feudal categories totally misfit to jungle ‘primitive’ peoples, reveals the author’s mental framing. At the end of this paragraph the author tries to reconcile a discrepant but solid fact, given by the CAAAP, research institute of jungle peoples, that communities could survive without men but certainly could not without women. Unable to resolve this fact, the power and indispensability of women, the author simply ignores it.

The third paragraph also establishes a time line, but now more proximate, when women were totally domestic and dedicated to ‘agricultural activities.’ This is again a transposition of images that do not fit rainforest natives. On the basis of this ideological artifact, the author indicates that now things have changed - especially among the *Shipibo*

(also written in lower case in the original) women of the Ucayali River, capable of traveling on their own to far and modern places (the Coast and foreign markets) to sell their products. Here the reality of a far away past in the introductory paragraph, when women 'numerically' outdid men, even when due to undesirable circumstances (poor diet), changes to a conventional representation of well behaved women concerned only with the children's upbringing and 'agriculture.' The image clearly corresponds more to the author's frameworks than to reality. First, neither domesticity nor agriculture is characteristic of rainforest native women (or men). Communities mind the children within the context of community concerns. Hunting, fishing and gathering, little agriculture, and recently more trade, characterize the livelihood of these communities. He further makes it appear as if modern contact absolved women out of the 'traditional' roles, which as shown, belong more to the author's mindset than reality. In sum, modernization improves the condition of primitive rainforest people, especially giving the more oppressed among them, women, a chance to circulate more freely (i.e., give them more rights than in 'traditional cultures').

The fourth paragraph makes this ideological mapping clearer. Modernization has brought independence to the women's lives, saved them from the oppression they suffer in their communities, which does not allow them leadership or voice in assemblies. To their benefit, indicatively, the state - vehicle (and conductor?) of modernization - has provided means for them to voice their opinions in 'mothers' clubs and the like (possibly church-related) organizations. Next, the author presents the example of the Secoya, whose women – according to the author - even though sitting in the back of the room in community meetings, do not intervene in debates, but men still consult with them before

making a decision. This anecdote has circulated in Andean gender studies for some time and needs conceptual re-addressing. Supposedly, Andean Indian women do the same; they sit at the back or in the margins during community meetings and hardly if ever speak out. Nevertheless, their men still consult resolutions with them in private, turning back on their footsteps if women do not agree. This image, which progressively replaced the earlier urban feminist blanket characterization of Indian women as the most oppressed, non-participatory or voiceless, does not weigh the dominant system's patriarchal (and racial) filters, which single out and enable men as interlocutors acquiring from language to culture, to psychological self-confidence in public interactions.

The fact is that women attend public meetings - and sometimes massively - despite their being ignored, not addressed to, or being objectively less equipped to speak in foreign language/culture, let alone speak in public, and that men would not dare make a decision without them. Clearly, this is in contrast with the rule in Western cultures, where women do not attend public meetings in similar numbers, do not participate in them, and their opinion is never help up for serious consideration, especially in matters of public concern. The author transposes the concession image of Andean Indian women to *Secoya* natives, adds emphasis, and mentions in passing that *Shipibo-Conibo* natives corroborate it. The article instead perpetrates an ideological confusion of categories, ethnocentric and gender-biased, against native peoples and specifically women: the author selects a few examples as exceptions when they instead may be indeed the rule.

The next paragraph makes it evident that the main and beneficial transforming factor is modernity, which - here voicing the concerns of CAAAP women researchers - also may diminish women's role by things like facilitating imported beer for their

festivities replacing *masato* (local fermented drink on based on yucca) in ceremonies, displacing house ware and artifacts production by their access to standard western products. In face of this situation, the government agencies are responsible to mind the implementation of the Beijing agreements! The picture fits the theoretical anticipations proposed in the introduction of this section: feminist proposals act as an insider's response to patriarchy and are conditioned by its very nature. As a close ally, they go against women's real source of power and strength, the support within their communities and by their own men on women's uncontestable right to any position, since they were never extradited from full human condition.

A glimpse at ordinary life and challenges in the rainforest for women comes through another conventional narrative. This one illustrates the biases that women in Antisuyu (and native women in general) face in media representation and the like. A May 2007 story in Quechuanetwork<sup>424</sup> entitled "*A mother bathes her daughter in the National Reserve of Pacaya Samiria*" (Foto: EFE - surely with accompanying picture) narrates the experience of a group of 'humble' residents of Pacaya Samiria paid by international aid institutions to monitor and protect the coveted natural riches of the Amazon rainforest rivers, especially extraordinary aquatic fauna. Although the title of article/photo is about two females, its focus is on the *Yacu Tayta*, "father of the water" in Quechua, the men who watch the integrity of these resources to prevent predatory activities of villagers themselves or of more aggressive and equipped outsiders. The article comments on the relative success of these *vigilantes* as a merit of international

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<sup>424</sup> <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2007/05/09/solidaridad/1178703549.html>

cooperation without addressing the history of the situation. It never mentions the natural subsistence activities and environment conditions natives were forced to leave, overwhelmed by powerful market predators that would kill or capture not only animals but anything of value. It never refers to what 'these humble' residents had before the rainforest became an occupied territory, crediting only the international donors that innately reside above such savagery: they help preserve the coveted riches from the irrational destruction, which includes that perpetrated by natives. Even the modest salary provided to offset the need to make a living in newly created market is treated condescendingly, 'it allows the natives to mimic the outsiders' life style.'

However, the way the article conceals women is outstanding (though normal). First, it never mentioning that for these natives '*yacu mama*' refers precisely to waters in their life-giving condition and to rivers in particular. It bypasses the female-founded element of world-view referring to nature's riches, especially in the river, to concentrates on the '*yacu fathers*.' Second, its exclusive focus on men until the end, in a short section "Women in the patrols" makes it clear that one cannot hide the sun with the hand. Third, it sees the family ambiguously, on the one hand, family links prevent the prosecution of local violators, might protect the violators of the ban, and on the other, the author recognizes that: "these Amazon watchers feel strengthened because they fight for their land, "always together as in a family." It means that family mobilization strengthens their land's defense. Furthermore, because the family assumes the land and its resources' protection, it does not exclude women. The author recognizes that "Organizations like the "Black tigers" of the San Jacinto community, located in front of the Reserve have women among its members." As an example, Norma Tavinchi, one of the vigilant '*Tigres*,' states

that women have “the same rights to go out and patrol” as men, including at night, when alien and aggressive predators surprise...”

The insidious nature of this bias against reporting on women in key positions is shown also in a note by a doctoral student in biochemistry and molecular biology of Universidad Cayetano Heredia, Lima (July 2005?). See original note in Appendix B5).

She writes to the Ashaninka’s list serve,

“to know exactly if they work with the Chief of the Asháninkas Eufronia Yupanqui, and what is her role in Marnakiari Bajo and what has been the impact of her activities.” “I apologize for asking you this but I am a little confused, because we have been trying to collaborate with Chief Eufronia, from our stand of improving the quality of life there, and I would not like to carry out any activity without coordination with other groups. In that regard, if you were so kind to collaborate with that information, I would appreciate it. Please send the information with copy to Chief Eufronia and Engineer Vargas. It is important to point out that I need technical reports with statistical information, which I could not find in your pages. Cordially yours, Palmy” (My translation)

The note not only illustrates the discussed gender blindness to recognize a *Jefa* in a native nation, of not making her active presence outstanding, but has ethnocentric assumptions. It is clear that the author of the note writes from a position of dominance. She is going to improve ‘the quality of life’ and demands “statistical reports” for her technical ends. Her writing shows her inherent culture and resource superiority. In sum, an issue that can totally change focus to represent better the power and integrity of the community, which holds women’s action in the center, becomes funneled and emptied by the patriarchal look. In no place more than in *Antisuyu* brings to mind Narcissus seeking to see only his face reflected in the water mirror of reality, to proceed with his self-involved love affair.

## ***ANTISUYAN* DIALECTICS OF GENDER REPRESENTATION**

The present context for gender relations in Antisuyu is a feat of intense destruction, that only lacks military paraphernalia to call it a war, (or, are corporations armies in disguise?). The enemy is all of the rainforest inhabitants, defenseless for that kind of weaponry, and especially for that kind of mentality and worldview. In them, in contrast to the native view, women do not count, and animals and plants do not have a soul, thus rights. Such is the context of disarray for the dialectics set in motion by the alien man's (literally) designs and needs, on the gender arrangements of natives. On one hand are societies of collectively shared resources and work, with norms and values that regulate community collaborative living and gender equivalent participation, including and especially valuing of experience gained in time, elders' authority. On the other, a dominant world that is literally its antithesis recognizes only men as agents of history, subjects of concern, privileging youth and physical strength. Patriarchy in two versions, feudal traditional or post-modern, sifts through economic, social and political non-native agencies denying women fully or selectively (quantitatively and qualitatively) full human condition. Both versions share a distinct culture pedigree that is distant from *Antisuyu*'s fresh and vigorous native ethnic ethos, which, like rare plants and animals, can provide 'social genetic imprints' in communities for alternative social arrangements. The conflictive interaction of patriarchy and native gender in the short and compressed period of global capitalism in the rainforest constitutes the dialectics of gender relations, whose synthesis for the time being is a compromise, its final character to be defined according to macro political relations in the whole area.

## **IN GOOD AND BAD, A SHORT HISTORY THAT MAKES UP FOR ALL PAST HISTORY?**

The last 30 years of state-sponsored intense exploitation of oil, gas and other natural resources in *Antisuyu* are equivalent to a five-hundred year compressed pack of Western colonialism endured by their Andean and rest of the Americas' native siblings. A thousand-fold intensified in a short period, are the horrors of the present conquest, which result from and are today at plain sight of insatiable consumers. Not least among them is the consumption of the beauty of nature images through the media, with the alleged intention to protect it. Native communities of the Amazon basin endure now without their consent an unprecedented invasion, from state-sponsored explorations of gas and oil by transnational corporations, to flora and fauna inventories and subtractions, to gold mining, all of which alter suddenly and dramatically the natural environment. With a present like that, who needs a history, when and if this is a recount of an endless relation of intrigues, murder, suffering and exploitation. Maybe to be a "people without history," one that only keeps the essentials of knowledge, wisdom, advice, poetry for a good present living, makes more sense than a registered past with deceits and biases that only justifies domination of the other.

For those and other reasons, Antisuyan women's agency in past resistance actions and society during colonial and republican times is little known. In our times, despite the gender selection biases that operate through Western schooling, if their characteristic gender systems do not limit or confine women, it is possible that their role in community security/defense is fundamental. As indicated above, it is simply not reported. Although more advanced and critical than the media, most NGO's and the like in Antisuyu still act

on the Western feminist assumption of internally dominated and controlled women, as originally projected by feminist activists on highland Andean women.<sup>425</sup> They impose gender and age criteria for representation from the dominant external world to the native communities and are apt to shape gender directly or indirectly in the movement. Perhaps the most progressive of them are increasingly aware that it is the dominant institutions' biases that need correction to facilitate women's access to leadership. For this reason, and because of the transnational global stamp of international organizations, reports of meetings and activities, and internet announcements directed to Antisuyan women show a 'progressive' gender position. Even when the design and terminology used in women's promotion and empowerment programs correspond to alien for Antisuyan natives urban national or international sources, the ecological emergency of the rain forest, the survival of communities, and the basic gender potential of native women can use them to channel *Antisuyu* women mobilization. So, soon there might be a change from hearing only about representatives who are men and relatively young ones, in internet communications of *Antisuyan* sources, to those portraying young women. (The bias against older women still exists in the media, though possibly not yet among natives).

Two readily at hand examples (in *Antisuyu*, Peru) are Teresita Antazú López, secretary of AIDSESEP-PERU (2005), a robust independent indigenous organization affiliated with COICA and the international indigenous movement, and Daysi Zapata Fasabi, Yine Indigenous woman, elected President of ORAU (*Organización Regional Aidesep Ucayali*) for the 2006-2008 period. Both women leaders recently joined similar

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<sup>425</sup> The topic also requires urgent, critical and independent review from the perspective of native peoples.

others in an exclusive native women of the Amazon rain forest declaration to the Peruvian Congress, as we will see next. In the dialectics of representation in Antisuyu it is understandable that the leadership of men and women is young – schooling and bilingual abilities are factors. The emergency situation justifies immediate and flexible reactions – which older representatives be unable to provide in the short time at hand - as it does for these young leaders to have external advisors. They need them to deal with an unknown, threatening and complex world, as they astutely recognize for their government and international interlocutors in corresponding official dealings. This advice is not only fruitful but welcomed when political disintegration of the area may be one of the alternatives. In these circumstances, as indicated earlier, a pan-Indian regional political organization like *Tawantinsuyu* could be an effective political instrument.

While still opportune, native communities should closely watch, be warned about, and systematize the potentially disruptive impact of patriarchal or liberationist interventions, unchecked by native people's collective concerns. It is important to note before closing that collective representation, when close to the base, approaches two fifths (40%), which approximates the proportion of indigenous women representatives in the Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples of the World at the United Nations. The same dialectics operates at a world level: considering the enormous number of obstacles women face, there is fewer women than men in them. However, in comparison with the regular UN sessions and conventional world, this outstanding proportion should be considered an asset, an evidence of gender system robustness, instead of taking off from lamentations about women's supposed universal inferiority and minority condition to which patriarchy

has destined them. A recently signed document dealing precisely with the environmental and human emergency created by uncontrolled oil exploitation in *Antisuyu* territories, entitled “Peru: Indigenous of Loreto demand that the Corrientes, Tigre and affluent rivers basin be declared in environmental emergency” illustrates that spontaneous high proportion of women participants. The count of women to men in the document is of 12 to 34, i.e., 38.3% women (July 25, 2006, SERVINDI, see Spanish original in Appendix).

When and if the biases that obscure an equal representation by women and men in *Antisuyu* are corrected, when the dominant system representatives - gender and otherwise - perhaps learn something from *Antisuyu* natives, their women may rise for active representation with men’s support, and the old *Antisuyu* territory will be help up equally by the hands of women and men. In the Appendix, as a post-script to this text, is a copy of a declaration by native women in the Peruvian Amazon basin. It includes items such as territory, education, health, political participation, and awareness of international legislation regarding their condition. Among the controversial legal issues they bring to the table is the case of people on voluntary isolation. Another is the effects of the subversive war in their territories, which drew less public attention than that of their Southern highland counterparts in Ayacucho.

There is no doubt of how clear *Antisuyu* women are about the immensity of problems and how advanced they regarding non-discriminatory treatment to women, as well as with whom they align, especially indigenous peoples of the country, continent and world. So, it is not only *Antisuyan* peoples’ history that remains to be written, but, specifically, its gender/sexual aspects, hopefully explicable not long from now by critically trained rainforest women natives. New ethnographies of their communities

could throw light on gender relations of non/pre-Western societies and corroborate patriarchy's frailties. Myths such as *Yacumama* (mother river/water) are full of feminine presence in social relations and worldview, even if syncretically disguised in colonial images. They might show specific traits of their own socio-historical formation that offer novel perspectives on the relation of gender and socio-cultural systems.

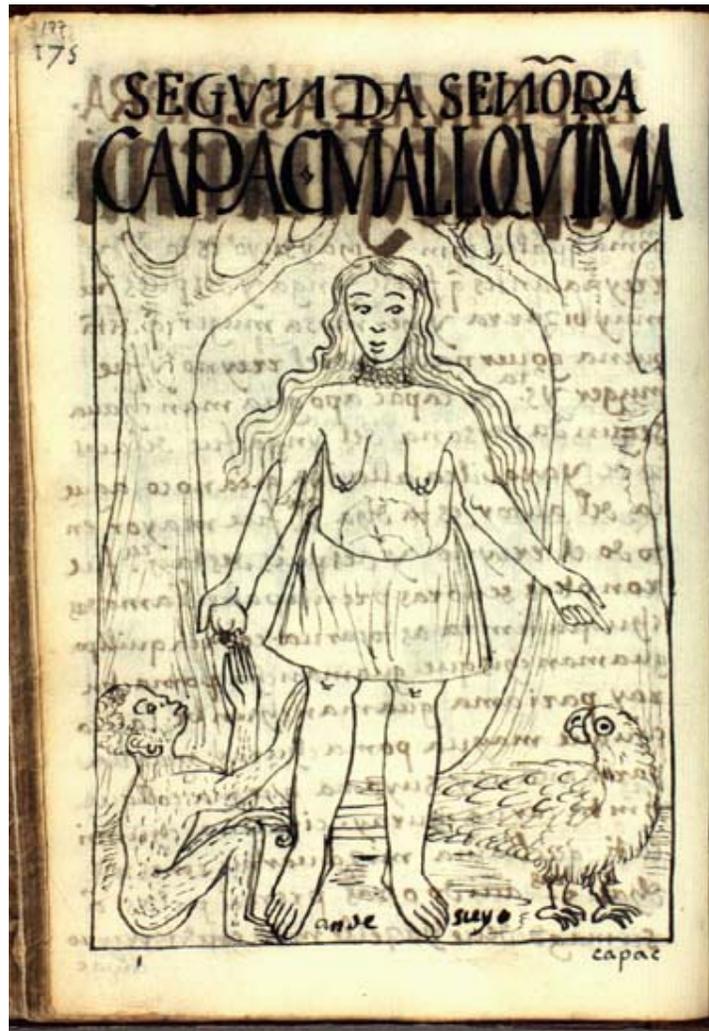


Figure 15. The 'second lady,' by Guaman Poma represents an Antisuyu woman. She lives in nature and in close contact with wild life, with which she seems totally comfortable.

## Chapter XXIX: *Q'ollasuyu* Women's Founding Presence

*COMISIÓN: LA COMPLEMENTACIÓN HOMBRE-MUJER*

*Autor: Pueblos de América*

*Fuente: <http://www.caminantesdelosandes.org>*

*Fecha: 2006-12-27*

### *COMPLEMENTARIEDAD MUJER – HOMBRE*

*La organización de la mesa estuvo conformada de la siguiente forma: Ati Quigua como expositora, Representantes de las organizaciones de Argentina, Bolivia Guatemala, Chile, Panamá, Perú, Italia, Nicaragua y Colombia.*

*Se presentaron todas las organizaciones y hicieron sus respectivos aportes plasmados en las memorias.*

*El informe que alcanzamos consta de las siguientes partes:*

*Primero : Reivindicación de los derechos de la mujer desde la visión indígena*

*Segundo : Visión de gobernabilidad de las naciones indígenas desde la perspectiva de mujer indígena*

*Tercero : Dificultades y desafíos de la inclusión de las mujer en los diferentes procesos de cambio.*

*Finalmente : las conclusiones y retos.*

(See full text in Appendix)

The excerpt above is from a document that inaugurates a new era in social policy in the Americas. The author is collective and it points to an irreversible process. The time for ideological guidelines is past in Bolivia now; it is time for discussion and dissemination so that as much of the masses as possible become familiar with it, knowing that what is at stake is social change from an indigenous perspective. It is inaugurating a new moment in the politics of gender only surpassed in scope by the Western socialist discussions about emancipation and equality of rights for women. However, this is different. It does not just affirm itself by opposition to a familiar patriarchy and oppression of women. It is based on centuries-long independent cultural tradition, with value-belief contents of its own, which will be seen in a sketch in *Kuntisuyu* later, but about which we cannot expect

to say but the beginning. Academic literature and journalistic reports consider *Q'ollasuyu* a historical bastion of Indian resistance within the Four *Suyus*. Its past and present strength and vitality in popular movements, and women's participation in them, is not news. Waves of Western influence, from well-set feudal traits to capitalist-dependent ones and recent transnational influence, have all crashed against its solid native culture. *Q'ollasuyu's* women were co-founders of *Tawantinsuyu*, as far back as the founding myths of the Inka dynasty's either by Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, or by the Ayar quadruple-couple siblings.

In today's Bolivia, gender tenets permeate the grammar and semantics of social relations, their order and articulation, and the denotation and connotation of its unit elements. But they do so in the ongoing interaction of any of its two socio-cultural systems. As in *Kuntisuyu* and *Chinchaysuyu*, in *Q'ollasuyu* the Western socio-cultural system has a history traceable to colonial and post-colonial times. And, as in them, in *Q'ollasuyu* the dominant feudal patriarchy repressed the public presence of *Criollo-mestizo* women in colonial times.<sup>426</sup> One exception was the corporate presence of nuns in convents, perhaps the system's way of keeping women's potential political influence captive. Later, during the *Criollo-mestizo* War of Independence, *Q'ollasuyu*-Bolivia featured famous, non-Indian female figures, in comparatively greater numbers and in more important roles than in Peru. *Mestiza* Juana Azurduy, for instance, scarcely a decade and half after the defeat of the Tupac Katari insurrection, was a protagonist in the

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<sup>426</sup> Iberian legislation, however, was never as restrictive of women's property and initiative as it was in Anglo-Saxon colonies of the north. Sandra Lauderdale's seminar on Gender in Latin American history, LLILAS, UT, Spring 1998.

War of Independence that brought Bolivia into existence. However, the lingering example of courage and determination of the leading Indian heroines in the Katari rebellion a few years earlier, along with the native ethos in the country, may have spurred *Criollo-mestizo* women's self-affirmation more than Lima's complacent atmosphere could inspire independence among non-native women.

*Q'ollasuyu's* native culture influences all sectors of Bolivian society today, where the role of Andean gender underlying social dynamics may manifest in a higher proportion of women in public roles than in other Andean republics. Recent structural adjustments (directed from the World Bank, and indirectly by transnational corporations) include state and society modernization policies. As in *Chinchaysuyu*-Ecuador, externally directed efforts have promoted women to the forefront of social movements -- for or against change -- as well as moved some females into official posts. The latter looks for easily 'groomable' White-*mestizo* women, as well as women natives, for ministerial posts concerned with gender, family, gender and social services. The launching of these women comes complete with *in situ* 'liberal gender' training by state institutions and NGO's (overlooked by international funding agencies). Swift can be the co-optation of latent cultural capital regarding gender in Andean culture women, when *Mestizo*. They are not only prone to distance themselves from natives, thus native women and gender practices, but they lack opportunities for professional advance and are more socialized to comply rather than think critically. In contrast, fully native women in this condition can show how aware they are of the role they are made to play. Remarkably, Domitila Chungara, the wife of one of the union leaders of a Bolivian mine, forecasted years ago times to come, now, in the Evo Morales era. Her independence regarding the Andean

ideological/cultural connotations of what female leadership meant for her was clear then and has in all evidence grown exponentially in *Q'ollasuyu* with an explicit Andean political affirmation.

Few places in the Americas (or the world) can match the historical conditions of exploitation suffered by Bolivian miners, from early colonial times to the present. Fully committed to her spouse's cause, Domitila mobilized alongside men workers with other women and families in the typical Andean gender complementarity and family-based social mobilization. Her extraordinary life would be unknown were it not for a happenstance journalistic visit while reporting on the miners' strike in the early 1970s. A homegrown woman leader whose life came into international view by chance, Domitila's life proved to be of great interest internationally. With her biography in print she promptly became famous, when the rising Latin American women's movement needed representative figures.

In her dialogues, Domitila exhibited her differences with Western feminism because she was forceful, yet sweet and graceful, in the typical Andean way. She could not understand the Western feminists' presumed separation from, competition with or treatment of men as the enemy. In her words, being part of the same family and enduring life's hardships together, especially the need to protect children left no room for this attitude. It is not that Domitila, or the audience, could not see the role that class played in feminism's failure to understand the cultural logic of her position, i.e., to fight alongside her spouse. It was only our common inability to integrate class and ethnic factors, and to see how they were manifested historically, as well as how gender acts through and permeates the logic of socio-cultural systems, that kept us from understanding our

differences. Two Andean culture traits were gender-instructive in her case: 1 - freedom to think in her own terms, expressing disagreement, not complying with the movement that had lifted her up to fame, and 2 - independence and self-assurance that derived not from being apart from her husband (or male kin), not from perceiving them as separate, competing or enemy, but as source of support. Domitila exemplifies thousands of Andean women who participate and commit to social struggles with their husbands, fathers, brothers and male children. Solid culture tenets about both genders as equally strong, valuable and committed makes an inseparable bond which protects family, community, and nation -- although with different tasks in domestic reproduction and now the struggle to survive as a nation.<sup>427</sup>

As in the other *suyus* with a strong colonial presence, colonial *Q'ollasuyu*-Bolivia displayed gender representations with a strong influence from the Catholic Church. Being Western culture stronghold in the area, the Church infused Andean culture with patriarchal and feminine-dependent images. However, although framed in a class/ethnic context, colonial religious imagery also emphasized maternity roles that allowed syncretic associations with earlier fertility-linked pre-Hispanic conceptions of the feminine. During the Republic, religious imagery gave way to lay representations of the feminine. Female religious figures that originally contained maternal traits became decorative figures without overt civic, social or conventional political purposes. This trend continues to present day in all but critical art, closely corresponding to women's public persona. Now, women public figures abide by ethnic and class canons expressed

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<sup>427</sup> Numerous examples in the Appendix (X, XI, XII) witnessed by outsiders, or self-reported illustrate the point.

in modern styles. Globalization can mean keeping abreast with stipulated public models from metropolitan centers that dictate not only outward appearances but the way to do things, which includes chosen and groomed token ‘minorities.’

Yet, clearly, Indian social movements and cultural expressions, which are generally anonymous, collective, and massive in character, challenge colonized habits in *Q’ollasuyu*-Bolivia - which do not exclude progressive platforms. Various sectors of native and even *Mestizo* constituencies often embrace and self-affirm in native festivities and traditions. Tied to pre-Hispanic notions, these become sources of inspiration for the cultural and artistic elaborations of progressive middle classes. Ritual calendar celebrations to honor Pachamama (Mother Earth), for instance, emerge in music, movies and other art forms little known outside Bolivia. Pre-dating the Evo Morales era, significantly, popular music artists identify Bolivia’s national ethos internationally with the native, like Savia Andina, Los Kharkas, or Emma Junaro. A storehouse of native ethnicity, including Andean gender potential, *Q’ollasuyu* Bolivia has set the pace for the other *suyus* in last three decades, and may well continue doing so in culture and social movements.

To close *Q’ollasuyu*’s politics of culture and representation in its gender expressions, the election of Evo Morales as president signaled a “*Pachacuti*,” from Quechua Pacha=time/space; cuti=return, response, revolution. The term proposed by the movement itself for the quality of changes associated with it, applies especially to a transformation in public gender relations. Morales’ victory was signed by massive presence of indigenous women in electoral committees, in marches, in a campaign of public information without precedents, as seen in the Evo Morales candidacy and

electoral triumph documentary (2007) and in the document attached in the appendix about common resistance marches with women and family participation. In Q'ollasuyu, perhaps more than in other places of Tawantinsuyu, the strength derived from family and community bonds by women, and vice versa, that which they derive from children, family and community makes the women's case more than a gender issue: a matter of society as a whole, of roots and respect, of reverence for the human and other family? As native Andean spokespeople so commonly confess, it is a matter of 'ancestral' values. For this reason, it was not a surprise that one of his first appointments, to set the rules for a new Bolivia in the new constitution, was to appoint Silvia Lazarte, an indigenous Quechua woman of the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS, party of government), to preside over the *Asamblea Constituyente* inaugurated on August 6. Evo Morales considered this appointment as "homage" to her long trajectory in social struggles and to women in general. Casimira Rodríguez, another indigenous woman from Cochabamba with equal experience in suffered oppression and resistance struggles, rose from domestic servant to union organizer, to international political representative and now Minister of Justice in the Morales' regime. She plans to facilitate a transitory equal footing of traditional forms of justice in Andean communities to the Western justice system. The curriculum in both cases is long experience in organizing masses and capacity to fight and withstand repression, with clarity about native identity and determination to search, uncover, and revivify native culture sources for *Q'ollasuyu's* reconstruction. Likewise, many ancestral symbols built into the inauguration and political events are references to Pachamama. These are, indeed, times of change!<sup>428</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> See in Appendix the three documents that illustrate women-family engagement in mass movements, the

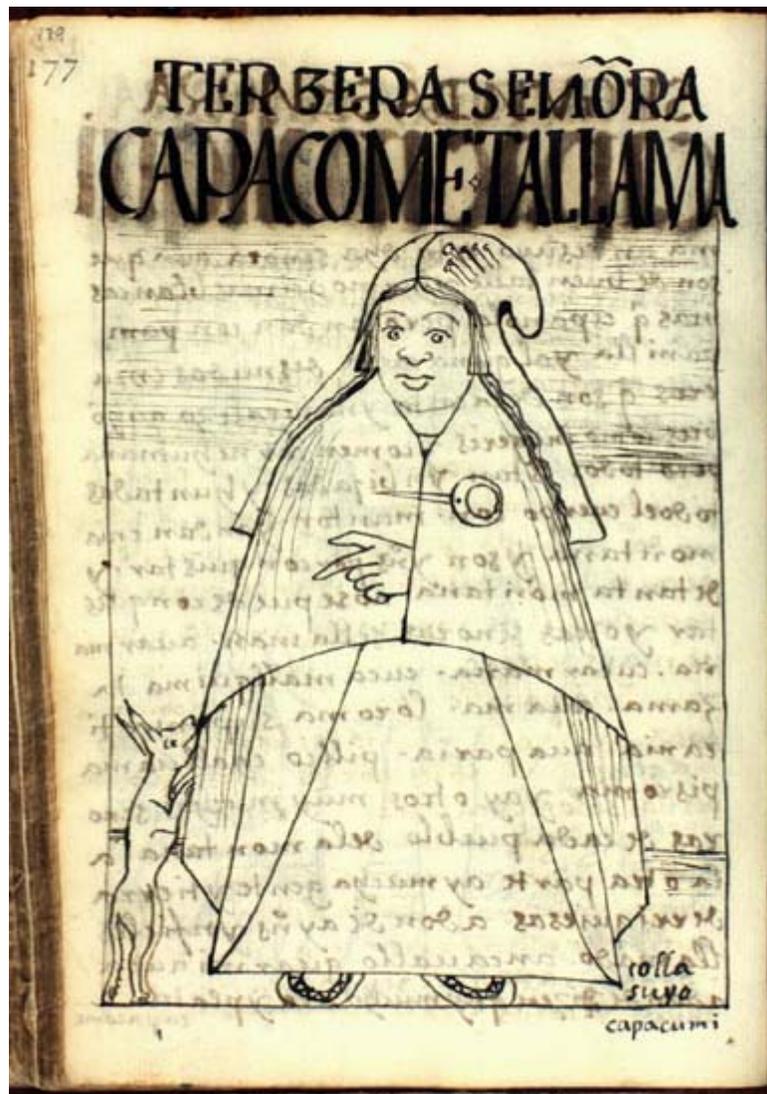


Figure 16. Guamán Poma's representation of the Third *Señora* of *Q'ollasuyu*. Surely an *allqo*, a native hairless dog breed, might supplement the heavy cover she requires to keep warm in the high Andean plateau weather rigors.

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public role assumed by the President of the Constituent Assembly, and an interview to the Minister of Justice.

## Chapter XXX: *Kuntisuyu* Women's Quest

### CELEBRACIÓN DEL DÍA INTERNACIONAL DE LA MUJER INDÍGENA

*La Coordinadora de la Mujer Indígena Rural y Urbana de la I región. La tarde de ayer celebó el día Internacional de la Mujer Indígena en las dependencias del Consejo Nacional Aymara. Junto a lideresas aymaras. La presidenta de la Coordinadora Hortencia Hidalgo saludo a las mujeres aymaras y realizó una presentación abordando el contexto histórico, recordando a Bartolina Sisa, quien fue una líder aymara que luchó contra la dominación y los atropellos de los españoles en contra de su pueblo. Fue asesinada el 5 de septiembre de 1782 en la Paz, con sólo 26 años de edad, luego de un año de prisión, malos tratos y torturas. Citada como ejemplo para valorar " el rol que hemos tenido las mujeres indígenas para promover y defender los derechos fundamentales de los pueblos indígenas". Acoto.*

*Acompañaron la celebración Chachanaka ( hombres) como Gino Grunelwald Condori dirigente aymara, Valerio Cañipa jefe de la Oficina de Desarrollo Indígena de la Municipalidad de Arica (ODIMA), Ángel Bolaños dirigente del Consejo Autónomo Aymaras, quienes destacaron la participación de las mujeres en los procesos de construcción reivindicativos de los pueblos indígenas.*

*La Coordinadora de la Mujer Destaco a 4 lideresas aymaras por su trayectoria y le rindieron un presente. Las destacadas fueron: Lidia Flores, Gertrudis Mamani, Julia Suxo, Sara Huanca.*

*No quisieron estar ausentes el grupo Pachayata quienes deleitaron a las lideresas aymaras con sus canciones. Finalmente compartieron una cena de camarería.*

*Centro de Comunicación e Investigación Indígena Chaskinayrampi*  
<http://espanol.groups.yahoo.com/group/chaskinayrampi/>

*CELEBRACIÓN DEL DÍA INTERNACIONAL DE LA MUJER INDÍGENA,*  
*Comunicación Chaskinayrampi [chaskinayrampi@yahoo.es](mailto:chaskinayrampi@yahoo.es), Sept 7, 2006*

In the natives' own words, the quote above brings forth what the women's movement in *Kuntisuyu* stands for at the moment. The quote is from the *Consejo Nacional Aymara* in Arica, old Peruvian province kept by Chile after the Pacific War. It is however, Indian territory and the presently organized Aymara people, where women are equal if not more active and coherent than men, not only vindicate their specific ethnicity but in a different kind of relation – clearly derived from Andean worldview – with the other native nations in the area. Here the announcement expresses several features: international connections, because it is pledging to an International Indigenous Woman Day; a re-connection with

the past, re-claiming for their continuous and ongoing resistance to colonialism the symbolic presence of an Aymara woman, Bartolina Sisa, despite ‘national’ (Bolivia and Chile) differences. The note acknowledges several native women today, not in their role as mothers (which they may also be) but as community leaders. Finally, it does not exclude men but on the contrary, includes them in the center of the celebration, along with young people and art (musical group).

There is (as of 2006) so little unified Indian movement coming from *Kuntisuyu*, that there is not even a name associated with it, as in *Chinchay* and *Q’ollasuyu*, or even *Antisuyu* with its inter-tribal, cross-national associations. Conditions in *Kuntisuyu* are complex, as this Inka province overlaps parts of three countries, each with different political dynamics and conditions for natives.<sup>429</sup> The distinct ethnic and linguistic groups in *Kuntisuyu* (some unique to a particular country, but others that cross the borders of two or three) often present an “integration” problem for each. Nevertheless, colonial occupation disrupted the articulation of a *suyu* that, like others in *Tawantinsuyu*, thrived on heterogeneity. In the intrinsic political rationale of multiplicity as an asset, *Kuntisuyu* may be the political means for the survival of various ethnicities, stretching across three countries and, with some variations, increasingly threatened by each.<sup>430</sup> The quality of political articulation that the *suyus* offer on the basis of native organization contrasts radically with the ways the three states govern. Patterned after Western countries, Peru, Bolivia and Chile reproduce mandatory homogeneity, try to absorb ethnic differences,

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<sup>429</sup> This situation is not unique to *Kuntisuyu*; its dynamics is simply discussed here in greater length. It applies *Q’ollasuyu* – in reference to Peru, Bolivia and Argentina; to *Chinchaysuyu* in reference to Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, and to *Antisuyu*, which with its smaller and less settled ethnic groups, in all cases physically more peripheral to centralized administrations of *Peru, Colombia, Brazil, and Bolivia*.

and suppress variety. *Tawantinsuyu*, in contrast, flourished in heterogeneity, organically linking a multiplicity of ethnic groups.

Among the three states, the most modern and 'efficient' is, of course, Chile, while Peru and Bolivia, with weaker *Criollo-mestizo* national states, resemble each other in the preservation of feudal social features, syncretized and superimposed over a latent native culture substratum. Likewise, for different reasons in each country, the transnational global presence in *Kuntisuyu* does not weigh the same as in the three other *suyus*. In Chile, it is because a strong national state suffices to administer 'the Indian question.' In Bolivia and Peru it is because *Kuntisuyu* in both is geographically peripheral, its Indian communities and territories being, in one hand still not sufficiently resource-attractive to the national states or transnational corporations (for the moment South West Bolivia), and in the other hand, the rich in mineral resources South Peru and North Chile, under exploitation for some time, but in both cases politically marginal to centralized power.<sup>431</sup>

What are the implications of *Kuntisuyu*'s macro-social settings to gender manifestations? In Chile, it means that a modern national articulation prevails over the segmented feudal system in *Q'ollasuyu* and the atomized transnational one of *Antisuyu*. It

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<sup>430</sup> Evo Morales' government could alter this process for the benefit of natives since his project takes inspiration on native ways of government, *Tawantinsuyu* being a not distant political reality to look to.

<sup>431</sup> The 1870's "*Guerra del Pacífico*" between Peru and Chile was really for the usurpation of *Kuntisuyu* Indian territories in Arica, Tarapacá, rich in saliter and copper. It is only in recent decades that the Indian movement in *Kuntisuyu*-Chile achieved sizable gains in organization and become actively involved in recuperation of own culture, which apparently includes women's equivalent and parallel '*paritary*' presence. *Kuntisuyu*-Peru suffered the combination of state indifference in social services and attention, at the side of unhampered exploitation and environmental poisoning by transnational corporations. Right now it is the gravity of the case that is moving natives to organize and protest. On the other hand, a recent article ([www.willkapampa.com...xxx](http://www.willkapampa.com...xxx)) confirms from a conservative perspective, the perception of weight of Indian presence in the three countries. According to it, Chile exemplifies achieved national integration, in contrast to Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, whose problems derive from surviving Indian ethnicity. Chile, is thus, called to play a role securing the area's stability.

may be that the Chilean national identity has resolved, combined or balanced separation and competition among its elements. To date, modernized Chilean patriarchal forms, taught in school and imposed through intensive ‘national’ socialization channels constitute more aggressive measures to erode pre-Hispanic culture gender dispositions, than in the two other countries.<sup>432</sup> This occurs despite Chile’s progressive and overt recognition of culture differences in gender which, however, does not necessarily equate with spontaneous native gender manifestations in symbols, culture and empowered women. *Dirigentas*, real women involved in and leading social movements, appear naturally in ethnically solid *Chinchay* and *Q’ollasuyu*.<sup>433</sup> Chile’s *Criollo-mestizo* strength may constrain the natives’ existence and expression within certain parameters: as a distinct and restrained minority that only colors the national system. The issue, however, is still open; with collateral influences and exchanges, and historical memory rekindled, processes might go in unconventional national tracks. On the other hand, *Kuntisuyu*-Bolivia presents a similar panorama to *Q’ollasuyu* Bolivia: a robust pre-Hispanic Indian ethnicity, a syncretic feudal component, a weak national capitalist-dependent system, and an indirect transnational presence. The combination allows women to express their Andean culture endowment in social movements and a blossoming of feminine representations and worldview.<sup>434</sup> To these, evidencing a wholesome Andean ethnicity,

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<sup>432</sup> A hypothesis to be tested is whether Andean gender dispositions are better preserved in the disarray and abandonment by the state, e.g., the case of Southern Peru, or if, on the contrary, active state assimilation policies result in a clearer recognition and reaction to better define and preserve native ways.

<sup>433</sup> The picture in the Mapuche territory resembles that of the more ethnically defined areas of Tawantinsuyu, the reason being their essential similarities as socio-economic formations, specifically regarding women-centered communities (conversations with Mapuche women representatives and pronouncements at UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples of the World, May 2005, 2006).

<sup>434</sup> A study of Virgin Mary and female saints’ festivities in the area could abundantly corroborate syncretic manifestations of deep-seated Andean beliefs.

both, women and men connect meaningfully. In turn, the more complex *Kuntisuyu*-Peru presents literally two parallel histories, the gender systems of the West and the Andes, backbones each of everything their respective socio-historical formation represents.

The Western history of gender in *Kuntisuyu*-Peru is mostly conventional.<sup>435</sup> Colonial patriarchy muffled *Criollo-mestizo* women's presence and, of course, was blind to native women. The Church's dominance in South-Peru was illustrated in powerful female 'enclosure' institutions, convents, which offered Christian education and social services uncontested from colonial times to most of the twentieth century. Through them, nuns complied and in many ways carried out the colonial project, producing their share of saintly representatives in the process.<sup>436</sup> However, the Western gender history in *Kuntisuyu* is not all politically conservative. Flora Tristan, a French-born descendant of White Arequipeñan families, happened to visit the area in the mid 1800's. She directly witnessed the caste-like oppression of Indians still under feudal practices during Republican times, and especially women's condition in them. Her reflections produced a founding document of socialist feminism, "The Pilgrimages of a Pariah." She was, however, an outsider to Peru, and even to her own family. If the despotism and superficiality of *Criollo-mestizo* Peru was detestable to her, the up-surge of capitalism in Europe, where she was a foreign immigrant and a woman, offered no moral consolation or practical advantages. In her search for a just socio-cultural system, Tristan's marginal

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<sup>435</sup> The *criollo-mestizo* women's history in *Kuntisuyu*-Chile and Bolivia are less known to me, and they could have equally illuminating perspectives, especially if seen in the dialectics of opposition to the dominated native culture but also of gender solidarity, exchanges and influences, from what is, after all, a higher demographic and pervasive cultural presence.

<sup>436</sup> As illustrated in Arequipa's sixteenth century convent of Santa Catalina. Its visit instructs clearly about colonial structures that confined and tracked, segmented by class and ethnicity, *Criollo-mestizo* and Indian women's lives.

position in both places rendered a vision that placed her instead well into the future, even ahead of our times.<sup>437</sup>

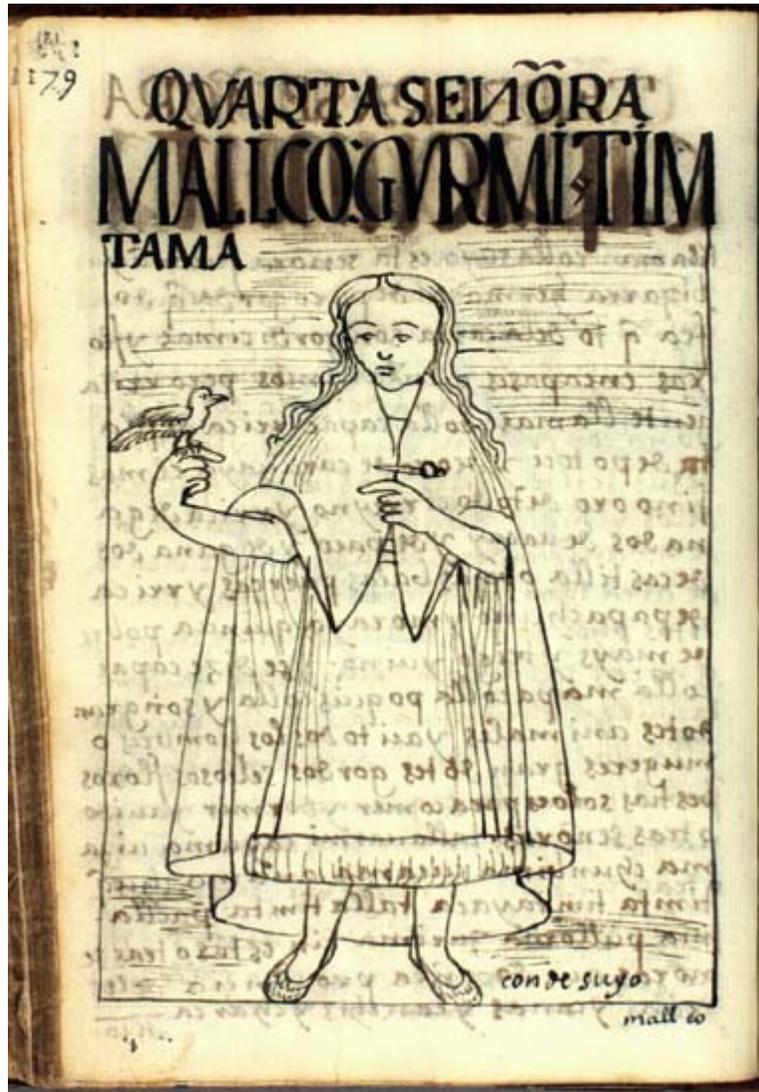


Figure 15. The fourth “Señora” in Guamán Poma standing for women in *Kuntisuyu*, dons lighter covering than *Q’ollasuyu* as inter-Andean valleys require. Small pet birds point to appropriate connection with nature.

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<sup>437</sup> The *criollo-Mestizo* feminist movement in Peru rightfully chose Tristan as its founder.

The *Criollo-mestizo* War of Independence also brought forth female heroes in *Kuntisuyu*. A Quechua-speaking native of Ayacucho, María Parado de Bellido, is one of few known public female martyrs of independence. She expresses culturally the self-assurance and freedom of judgment that the Andean gender system provides women. In the gender critical perspective here, Parado de Bellido is the fruit of Andean culture-gender harvest, rather than product of the patriarchal Western system.<sup>438</sup>

Feudal conditions affected women and native Andeans in Peru and Bolivia well into the nineteenth century, as if no national bourgeois independence had taken place. This is because socio-cultural systems have a life of their own and evolve slowly and gradually. The attempt to forge a *Mestizo* national identity, following Mexico's ideal national ethos, only took place starting in the mid twentieth century. *Kuntisuyu*-Peru produces still, in our times, a new breed of women fighters, in the Shining Path's female militants. In another paper (Herencia, 1994) I conclude that in Ayacucho, SP high-jacked 'Indianness' and along with it, Andean gender in its effects on women. An eighteen-year-old *mestiza* Indian, Edith Lagos, emerged in the early 1980's political arena; the impact of her death stirred Indian *Mestizo* masses to spontaneous demonstration, as if ancient collective signifiers of women's role and presence had returned at last. Her presence, as well as that of other SP women, still requires interpretation in the context of Peru's pursuit of pre-Hispanic culture roots.

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<sup>438</sup> A close and culture critical biographical examination of Parado de Bellido from this perspective would be useful.

Ordinary manifestations of gender dynamics can be found in two ongoing phenomena. One is Andean women's well-known role in trade and education.<sup>439</sup> The other is the coupling of transnational influence with feminism and ethnic local re-generation, in the face of the Left's inability to redeem *Tawantinsuyu's* historical resurgence. The latter has meant a sudden turn towards Indianist positions by groups of young people who in the past found only a way out of oppression: westernization to the Right or to the Left. *Kuntisuyu*-Peru's ongoing ethnic re-nucleation (i.e., the native social identity consolidation in small communities) is occurring especially with the participation of first-generation university graduates and generating anti-globalization popular movements in ethnically-defined base communities and collectives. Taking the place of left-led groups that in the past segmented and practically barred all but able-bodied men, these ethnically-based communities welcome women and families. An all-encompassing composition adds robustness to the effervescent identity work taking place in *Kuntisuyu* communities, which centers on the preservation of traditional practices, sometimes market-deformed but also honest rescue of deep-seated beliefs/worldview, cultural practices and specific communities' history.<sup>440</sup>

In this context, the failure of *mestizaje* as a project for national Peruvian identity has given way to a first generation of professionals who, twenty-five years ago, would have defined themselves as *Mestizos*, but now embrace native identity. Intellectuals and organic activists, like economist-philosopher Javier Lajo-Lazo, and social worker, state

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<sup>439</sup> Paper presented by Elsa Alcántara, at the *Congreso del Hombre y la Cultura Andina*, Huancayo, Peru, 1981, pointed out that 54% of the economic activity in the Central Andes, in the Huancayo region, was controlled by Indian women.

functionary, and artist in exile Cecilia Rosalía Paiva, as well as in long-time Arequipa residents the several Turpo Choquehuanka siblings (see section on Kuntisuyu), and other *Kuntisuyan* Indian *Mestizo-as*, illustrate the trend. Their national, continental, and world level activism makes globalization work positively to allow local *Kuntisuyu* communities reach out and up, to share a platform with the world's indigenous people.

Aside from mass political movements the gender potential of native *Kuntisuyu* surfaces daily in community and family-based practices. In these ordinary and local spaces, there is an effort to recognize and bring relevance to feminine elements in spiritual practices and worldview. Native defined movements sort out from Western culture strongholds, like traditional Arequipa, symbols that can support pre-conquest female Andean representations and values. Female saints festivities, especially Virgin Mary commemorations, called '*Mamachas*' ('dear mothers' in Spanish-ized Quechua), occur throughout *Kuntisuyu*. Culturally *Virgen de Chapi* in Arequipa performs the same syncretic role as Mexico's *Virgen de Guadalupe*, for instance. *Kuntisuyu* does not lack activities, events or objects infused with gender complementarity and parallel lines of descent. It is absence of eyes to see, ears to hear, capacity to enunciate that masks their presence. The silent and effective patriarchal tectonics of power at work that makes them invisible is only recently being dismantled, recognized in a giant ideological recovery by native women of *Kuntisuyu* (and others in the continent). As in the quote below, inserted as post-script from a recent pronouncement of *Kuntisuyu* women, *Asociación Indígena Pachamama/Arequipa*, to the VI Session of the Permanent Forum of indigenous Peoples

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<sup>440</sup> That work is exemplified by Javier Lajo-Lazo's work in Pocsi, his community of origin in Arequipa, which he replicates as an example to other young descendants of Andean Indian communities.

of the World at the UN, their lessons are not only gender-exclusive but concern social organization and human relations in general.

*“Por ultimo Señora Presidenta: Nuestra percepción del universo andino y la sociedad está compuesta por entidades complementarias pero a la vez opuestas. Por esta experiencia sabemos que sólo cuando el ejercicio del poder es paritario podemos decir que hay igualdad de condiciones; que es suelo amplio para el desarrollo en armonía de los géneros. Por ello pedimos que el **Grupo de Trabajo este compuesto de forma Paritaria** con vigencia y actualidad de la circularidad, la alternabilidad, la complementariedad, la espiritualidad, el comunitarismo, la inclusión, la solidaridad, la reciprocidad y el consenso, que son los cimientos sólidos en el ejercicio político de nuestras naciones originarias tradicionales basados en los principios de relacionalidad del todo, el principio de correspondencia, el principio de reciprocidad.”*

*Intervención de Asociación Indígena Pachamama/Arequipa/Perú en VI Sesión del Foro Permanente sobre Cuestiones Indígenas de la ONU, NY, Mayo 23 2007<sup>441</sup>*

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<sup>441</sup> Asociación Indígena Pachamama Arequipa, Perú. Pasaje Olaya 102, Sr. de la Caña – Yanahuara, Arequipa Perú Telefax 1 54 254841 [pachamamaqp@hotmail.com](mailto:pachamamaqp@hotmail.com)

## Chapter XXXI: *Q'osqo's* 'Perfect' Gender Readings

Andean gender in *Q'osqo's* history, social movements and culture deserves independent treatment not for being a fifth *suyu*, but rather for its historic and symbolic importance in *Tawantinsuyu's* reconstitution. The premise is that if any social movements or cultural politics can substantiate the role of Andean gender, it should be those taking place in *Q'osqo*. However, any manifestation of gender observed here or elsewhere in the Andes requires identifying the socio-cultural system of which it is part, it expresses, of the two that interact and are in opposition in the area.

Historically the Western colonial project – including its present transnational phase -- has dominated/subordinated native Andean system, muffling and diverting its expressions, or has syncretically combined with it, both in social movements and culture politics. This, however, has evidently resisted and may at last be ready for an independent expression, especially in its gender reading. Here I examine *Q'osqo* in two senses, as a physical and historical setting, and as a symbolic site with no geographical location. In both, women's political presence in the reconstitution of *Tawantinsuyu* is central. Symbolically *Q'osqo* represents the encounter of *Mallkus*, *Amautas*, *Qoyas* and *Sapa Warmi*<sup>442</sup> - those individuals whose call for the restitution of *Tawantinsuyu* as a socio-historical experience has been mostly hidden from sight. In this symbolic place, the role of gender is the resolve to enforce, as a matter of principle, the genuine gender character

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<sup>442</sup> Leaders with an observation from high above, as a male condor (*kuntur*); teachers, masters of all trades; a queen who resides and emanates life and light from the center of the earth; wise women who abound in good counsel, advice, respectively.

of the system it aims to bring back. This section covers the Andean gender manifestations in physical *Q'osqo* and symbolic *Q'osqo*.<sup>443</sup>

### **PHYSICAL *Q'OSQO***

An a center of colonial feudal practices, like *Q'ollasuyu* and *Kuntisuyu* Peru-Bolivia, *Q'osqo* has turned into a hub of world tourism since World War II. The abrupt 'feudal going global' changes affected not only local counterparts of the Western socio-cultural system (i.e., urban *Mestizo*-White middle classes), but also some of the marginally and culturally disintegrated sectors. In the history of gender relations, this meant going from men's exclusive control of the public sphere, and corresponding domestic seclusion and segregation of women in colonial times, to intense bombardment by 'liberationist' ideas coming from international recreational and academic tourism. The old Cuzco White aristocracy did produce a few women intellectuals in the early Republican years, before giving in, or transferring to Lima, to reinforce its hegemony. Notable among these was Clorinda Matto de Turner, who wrote "*Aves sin Nido*" (birds without a nest), a novel that advocated the defense of exploited Indian masses. Later, the challenge to create a national identity stand, combining Western and native worlds, was taken up by middle class *Mestizos*. However, it is not the product of their efforts, or the success or failure of their attempts, that is of significance here. It is the presence of high achieving, ground breaking *Mestizo* women that requires a culture explanation.

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<sup>443</sup> From early on, my own work has been informed/encouraged by members of this 'symbolic *Q'osqo*.'

The hypothesis is that common held beliefs and practices, among them the latent gender assumptions of the surrounding native Andean sectors, affect, influence, challenge and spur *Criollo-mestizo* women. *Q'osqo* especially exemplifies comparatively greater assertiveness and initiative in business, education and public life for women,<sup>444</sup> and correspondingly for men a greater connection with family and possibly more sensibility and milder personal traits.<sup>445</sup> To illustrate anecdotically the influence of Andean gender culture on women who would not recognize, or be acknowledged by others as Indian in the peculiar Peruvian context,<sup>446</sup> two Cusco personalities are worth mentioning, Alfonsina Barrionuevo and Fanel Guevara.

Cited earlier in Chapter III for her historical journalism work on the women of the Great Rebellion, Barrionuevo is an incessant advocate of Andean culture in Lima as journalist, anthropologist, quechuologist, folklorist, TV producer of cultural programs, and author of many works in these areas.<sup>447</sup> With multifaceted accomplishments in Andean culture politics, Barrionuevo exemplifies what the positive cross-pollination of Andean gender can do for women in Western public life. She has demonstrated to be very successful in urban life, while sustaining complementary-and-separate-spheres of life relation with her spouse, a Cusco-born intellectual. In turn, Guevara represented the

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<sup>444</sup> The effect is applicable to other areas of Peru where native culture surrounds *Criollo-mestizo* sectors. Furthermore, the example provided applies not just to *Criollo-mestizo* women influenced by a surrounding culture that is external to them, but to the embodiment of an unrecognized native culture capital through extended time periods, in socialization processes of native imprint, which persist in the domestic context.

<sup>445</sup> A letter between Hugo Blanco and José María Arguedas, two well known Quechua-speaking mestizos, published in a Sunday newspaper in Lima in the late 1970's poetically expressed, using Andean images, the profound tenderness between the two men. Obviously, this kind of affection is culturally barred for men in the *Criollo-mestizo* culture.

<sup>446</sup> The social identity dynamics would surely play differently in Ecuador, but not in culturally alike Bolivia.

Andean influenced political *Mestiza*. She was in the early 1980's the first and only woman president of the National Peruvian Student Federation, a class based massive and influential organization. A political leader and culture activist, and anthropologist by training,<sup>448</sup> she, like many middle class (Indian) *mestizas*, benefited from the culture capital provided by Andean gender assumptions. The hypothesis is that behind both women's stand as 'Peruvian nationals' is an unrecognized Andean culture pedigree of values and attitudes regarding women's public social and political *idoneidad* (fitness, potential), notwithstanding awareness of it or its explicit acknowledgment. These exceptions, however, credit the individuals but are not seen as representing the singular quality and autonomy of Andean culture on gender matters. For the masses that suffer intensive (and poor quality) Western education, as well as family destruction, the route is different. The native gender potential kept in check by feudal repression can, in global times, selectively and aptly channel women's initiatives through updated patriarchal ways of female objectification, in form (e.g., acting 'sexy') and content (e.g., reciting the expected lines).

On the dominated socio-cultural system side, *Q'osqo* serves as a context for present day native gender dynamics, physically, culturally and historically. It does so from the *Q'ollasuyu* shared mythical foundation of the city, either by Mama Ocllo and Manco Capac or by the four Ayar sisters and their brother-husbands.<sup>449</sup> Between its

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<sup>447</sup> See [www.quechuanetwork.org](http://www.quechuanetwork.org) for a nomination of Barrionuevo as one of the founders of Indigenous intellectual history in contemporary times.

<sup>448</sup> Recent emails show her engaged in environmental activist work in Cusco.

<sup>449</sup> It is possible that urban landmarks reiterate physically Andean gender equilibrium and complementarity, substantiating the ongoing contextual presence of the native socio-cultural system. An examination of Q'osqo's core city plan could be readable also in gender sense.

distant past and present day, *Q'osqo* has seen events such as the Great Rebellion of Tupac Amaru II in the 1780's. Personifying gender in Micaela Bastidas (and her husband Jose Gabriel), this event was a most severe setback for Andean women's public political and military persona. Such a loss for women, synonymous to *Tawantinsuyu*'s last defeat, still lingers on in *Q'osqo*. Since that time, natives retreated cautiously to the margins, keeping themselves apart, in a low-caste like condition. Given their exploitation all throughout the Republic to the present, the dominant system's own rectificatory justice recognized only challenging social movements composed and led by men. For instance, the struggle for an agrarian reform in the 1960's, under the leadership of the then young Cuzco-born *Mestizo* leader Hugo Blanco and the halo of the Cuban revolution, acknowledged only its massive character, which conventionally hides women's presence. High-jacked by the Western Left and emptied of ethnic gender character, Andean agrarian reform movements also fell short of enabling their true call for the liberation of native nations.

The image of a grandmother in her mid to late fifties, observed in action at a meeting of the Peruvian Peasant Confederation (*Confederación Campesina del Peru*, CCP) in the late 1970's, will close this brief and impressionistic reading of gender in *Q'osqo*'s dominated Andean socio-cultural system. This woman was the 'Secretary General' of the peasant confederation and also chair of the meeting; indeed she had been elected by her peasant constituency, where her being *Kuraq* (elder, wiser) weighed more than her being a woman. At that time the urban Left, hegemonic in all class-based organizations, saw the prospect of combining the forces of organized workers with the massive South Andean peasant confederation. The increasingly reactionary measures of the second phase of the military junta that had displaced Velasco's progressive regime

demanded a strong response. Revealing its indistinct cultural pedigree from conventional political parties, the urban Left showcased a totally male *Mestizo*-White leadership. Its firm monopoly was broken only rarely by powerhouse women, like Fanel Guevara (above), who possibly forced her entrance, challenging men to live up to their expressed democratic procedures and ideals.

The political party eventually had to accept the base peasants' election of this grandmother as the confederation Secretary General, a result quite foreign to its usual practices. Her condition as mother-grandmother added a dimension to her natural sound judgment and direction; not only was her natural authority accepted and appreciated by all, including men in authority positions, but respected and even feared. References to the respect she garnered came indirectly, but not her poised walk at dawn in the *ayllu* fields surrounding the meeting. Donning the conventional outfit and demeanor of Indian women in Cuzco, this solid middle aged woman, her hands folded back in reflexive meditation, in a gesture frequently observed in older Andean men, seemed immersed in deep political considerations. Perhaps she thought about her massive peasant base or her nation as several people caught up with her to consult and coordinate actions.

The meeting, organized by an *ayllu* outside Cusco, using its own facilities, had also prearranged 'military' security of the meeting. The guards that policed the compound day and night, as available in ages 14 to early 20's, were equally men and women. Young women wore traditional clothes: braids and polleras, 'ojotas' on their feet, hats on their heads - truly a Spartan protection for the cold weather at each end - and a 'lliclla' (woolen shawl to keep warm) in between. Young men wore equivalent traditional outdoorwear, including *ponchos* and *chullus* (for head) to bear the intense cold at

that altitude (3,800 m). With no hint of frivolity in their countenance, both were equally intent in their assigned responsibility. The image profiled for me *Q'osqo's* Andean alive and well gender system.

The politics of gender in higher coordinating instances of the movement (either class-based or indigenously identified) normally responds to official demands for grassroots representation. Thus it often follows conventional procedures of selective recruitment that are either indifferent or discouraging of women. In them, national or transnational versions of patriarchy encroach, unless native socialized, based and supported.<sup>450</sup> Nevertheless, the tangible native gender influence can still generate outstanding cases of female agency that are unaware of the native Andean culture lineage of its character, and of alternatives to sustain an autonomous political project of the Andean socio-cultural system. From the 1960's agrarian reform struggles, through the 1980's Maoist *Patria Roja* influence in the student, labor, and peasant organizations of Cusco, the Left symptomatically silenced Indian perspectives in base organizations.<sup>451</sup>

*Q'osqo's* culture politics abounds in concrete and symbolic Andean gender representations waiting for a reading in content and meaning. For instance, the *Koyllur Riti* Indian pilgrimage is an ancient winter solstice pre-Hispanic festivity to honor the Sun that combines, in a syncretic representation, Catholic images with native deities. It brings thousands of Indian pilgrims from across the sub-continent. *Koyllur Riti's* physical and

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<sup>450</sup> The recent Bolivian Cabinet appointments are a clear and encouraging case in point.

<sup>451</sup> The complexity of culture politics in the Cuzco region needs and in situ internal and detailed inspection to determine the direction of assumed native symbolism pervasive in the city: either Westernized *Mestizo* polity, with Indigenous core, or native-based with *Mestizo* western component.

cultural landscape needs an urgent study in the ethnic significance of its gender-imbued symbols without the patriarchal looking glass.

### ***Q'osqo* AS SYMBOLIC SITE FOR ANDEAN GENDER REENACTMENT**

More than in conventional Western circles, *Tawantinsuyu*'s site of central coordination, symbolic *Q'osqo* has been preparing the resurgence of the movement for several decades in the four *suyus*. It embodies gender ideologically and also physically (as it does ethnic and race variations, and intergenerational presence). These are intellectuals (with varied other occupations) who have had to take a distance from the West as the only way to make sense of our history. They had to become fully conversant with the most challenging developments in Western thought and reply and respond to it from the native people's perspective to start the process of reconstructing a civilization that was subjected to policies of elimination. What follows is an anecdotal and relatively arbitrary listing of some of the ideological founders of present *Tawantinsuyu*'s reconstitution, committed to observe its gender principles.

*Q'osqo* as a symbolic site demands the full presence of women as *sine qua non* of the movement. Examples of thinkers fully committed to that principle, in their role as ideologues of the movement, are Virgilio Roel Pineda in Peru, and Ramiro Reynaga in Bolivia, and of a younger generation, Javier Lajo Lazo in Peru. As an elder, the first especially deserves a note here. Prominent retired economist, Roel Pineda's work should prove a keystone contribution from Peru to the intellectual and ideological reconstruction of *Tawantinsuyu*. Originally from Huamanga (present day Ayacucho), Roel Pineda's biography illustrates a *Mestizo* intellectuals' re-awakening to native roots after long

standing culture denial, that included involvement with the Left. His commitment to *Indianismo* in Peru's relentless *Criollo-mestizo* dominated intellectual and political circles has cost Roel Pineda much in terms of recognition. His numerous publications and activism are consistent with his proposals and he is a modern version of the *Amautas* (wise teachers) for young indigenous youth. His activism invests in the recuperation of cultural assets in actual practices, like bringing back to practice the Inka Calendar celebrations, such as *Q'oya Raymi* in September, the Capac Raymi solstice in December in coastal sanctuary of Pachacamac, and others.<sup>452</sup>

In the ongoing presence and growing strength of *Q'osqo* as symbolic space, there are White scholars who devoted their lives to the great society that *Tawantinsuyu* represented, like Edgar Ibarra Grasso, William Burns, Martha Hardman de Baustista, William Rowe, John Murra and Richard Schaedel. To follow them, in the brew for that status, are now two generations of international scholars. They will face an entirely different political panorama and global situation, and testify on to whether, like their predecessors, it is the Andean world's human significance and purpose that subdued them in sentiment and action.

Finally, in the gender specific area, women's presence in *Q'osqo* symbolic manifests in three areas. One is activism, at a local and at an international level. The second is as elected political representatives, in the national and international arena. The third is in ideological production, which is normally linked to activist commitment.

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<sup>452</sup> Indeed, an exhaustive history of the intellectual components of the contemporary native movement in the four *suyus* is needed to understand not only the socio-cultural dynamics involved in the intellectuals' presence, but their repercussions in the movement. This, for documentation and also intervention, needs above all, the corrective vision of Andean gender.

There is still less mobility and independence among women than among men to coordinate a large and comprehensive actions, political representation and ideological production to reconstitute regional political entities. Often family obligations tie women up and condition them to smaller and more modest circles of influence. Nevertheless, the three areas show an unprecedented growth recently, and it will be only a matter of time to witness women's presence in the Andean area in an extent that breaks political records.

In the way of national and international activism, two women can be mentioned: Adela Principe and Tarcila Rivera. A non-academic woman of another generation, Adela Principe is also an example of natural intelligence, altruism, and vision. A Quechua native from Huánuco with ties to *Antisuyu*, she was a founding member of the first Indian women's collective in Lima, the basis of the first domestic workers union and seed of "Micaela Bastidas," a member organization of CISA (Consejo Indio de Sud America), of which she later became coordinator. An activist and organizer, a protagonist of Andean Indians' close support to rainforest natives in their fight for their legal recognition of territory and identity, and - for family reasons - a witness to Andean and *Antisuyu* natives' predicament in the drug war between the Peruvian state and SP, she survived untold hardships in jail after a false accusation and later resisted co-option temptations of conventional parties that offered her study scholarships to become a political actor on their behalf.<sup>453</sup> With the support of a native Andean women group she formed, she provided successfully for her three children as a single mother. Indeed, if anyone was

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<sup>453</sup> Adela Principe, personal conversations, from 1977 to 2003.

clear about *Tawantinsuyu*'s socio-cultural and political transcendence, reinforced with each continental indigenous encounter attended, it was Adela.

Of different social origin, her contemporary Tarcila Rivera began her activism in connection with CISA (Consejo Indio de Sud America) and an Indigenous representative from Argentina, Asunción Ontiveros, the first secretary of this South American Indian organization. With time Rivera has become a key activist in the continent and world's circles of native women. She organized the first South American Indian Women's Encounter in Peru and her sagacity and firmness in international venues reveal the Andean gender nerve that sustains her.

Regarding direct political presence, the recent years have seen an explosion of women representatives in the governments of Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru. Ecuador has been the most fruitful, guided or facilitated in the process of producing '*lideresas*,' by a combination of international and progressive academic aid, and also relatively peaceful conditions of the country (in comparison to Peru and in lesser extent Bolivia). Its share of indigenous women representatives, from ministers of government to parliamentarians, recently (May 2007) hit international levels, when Rafael Correa's new government envoy to the Permanent Forum of Indigenous People of the United Nations was an Indian woman, donning native wear and defending it in a most ethnically affirmative statement. She addressed the forum as indigenous and as the state of Ecuador's representative. In turn, Bolivia has had not only indigenous women representatives before Evo Morales, but his government elevated them to key political positions. Aside from other political posts, one is president of the *Asamblea Constituyente* and another is Minister of Justice. Also, Peru's recent elections saw the appointing of two indigenous women parliamentarians

based on a trajectory signed by harsh oppression (both were domestic servants early in their lives) and later union organizing and participation in mass struggles. Cusco born Quechua-speaking Hilaria Supa Huamán and María Sumire won their place in Ollanta Humala's UPP political party. Supa Huamán is ex-president of the Federation of Peasant Women in Anta, Cusco, a denouncer of mass sterilizations performed on Andean women during Fujimori's regime. María Sumire is a lawyer who is clear about the need to defend indigenous peoples in Peru. Both are completing their political education in the process of performing official functions, and in ethnic politics through intense international facilitation, in practice – reacting to discrimination for their clothing and language use, and simply who they are – and in theory. One or both of them were nominated candidates to a Nobel Peace Prize in 2005.<sup>454</sup> Obviously, they may be more ethnic than ideological *indianists* now, and fall politically in conventional populist stands. Their presence, however, breaks a rigid caste system which only begins greater scale transformations for indigenous masses and especially indigenous youth.

Finally, are women clearly situated in a public role on behalf of Tawantinsuyu's reconstitution, producing ideology and organization, and activating politically. They may be in the most transcendent of positions for indigenous women now, although they presently lack spaces of coordination for their specific contribution for a political project not confined to gender vindications. Some spaces provided now, among them, the Indigenous Women Network of the Americas, or the *Parlamento Indígena* with

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<sup>454</sup> Elizabeth Cavero, diario La República, 07 de Julio 2006.

headquarters in Cochabamba, Bolivia may be their launching boards.<sup>455</sup> Electronic media is also facilitating a closer relation and exchanges, access to international information that strengthens coincidences and the value of acting together. When they have the call and maturity to coordinate as women with the men in this direction, perhaps we would be approximating the old paradigm of political parallel and complementary structures at a gender level. An ideological elaboration on Andean gender with great promise is that offered by Rosalía Paiva, first in political exile and now resident in Canada. Her discovery and re-invention stands on her own rescued unburied experience, information on scholarly papers, especially those addressing basic philosophical principles, and present corroboration by individual and collective practices with pedigree distinct to Western culture. Most important, it is taking place autonomously from the perspective of Andean women.

*“In the ancestral Andean culture, neither man nor woman acquires an adult and complete status as a social being if he/she has not been united by society with a partner, completing the unity of the social person Kgari-warmi (hombre-mujer) in Runa Simi (human language). Such, (a paired unity – my addition) is projected into a greater symbolic and organizational universe that reflects in ayllu organization, the dualism of complementary and hierarchical halves (above-below; alasaya-manqhasaya; aransaya-urinsaya) which are associated with what is masculine and feminine. Neither is man first nor the woman; it is both of them at the same time. It is the couple that is the fundamental base in the Andean culture, because reciprocity, duality and complementarity constitute a fundamental principle in the Andean paritary world view... (See full transcription of her paper in original Spanish in Appendix E3).<sup>456</sup>*

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<sup>455</sup> Details of these structures and organizations come from a recent article on the Indian movement in Peru, by Jose Antonio Lucero and María Elena García (2006).

<sup>456</sup> Excerpt from, Paiva, Rosalía “*Feminismo Paritario Indígena Andino.*”13-04-07. EcoPortal.net

## Chapter XXXII: Conclusions

It is time to summarize the main points of this gender-informed visit to the present politics of culture and representation in the Andean area, in the hope of delineating arguments about ethnicity and gender over time.

The years since 1970 or so mark a re-awakening of Indian communities and nations throughout Latin America. The reasons are various and complex, ranging from the physical and concrete, to the political and socio-cultural. First - among the physical reasons - is the demographic recovery of native populations coupled with the *criollo Mestizo* states' incapacity to absorb them economically, culturally, and politically. Second are recent experiences and reactions to repressive and genocidal actions perpetrated on native peoples in several countries of the continent, particularly in the 1980's. Third is the crisis of the Left as an alternative for social change, which corresponded with the political and economic re-structuring of the world. Fourth, and related, is an aggressive imposition of capitalist globalization that imposes a weakening of national states for the effects of protecting homelands and peoples. Fifth are symbolic collective acts that entailed mobilization of natives for their own rights, independent of the countries' socio-economic or political channels (i.e., class organizations or political parties). The 1992 Columbus Quincentennial Commemoration prompted reports and explanations of the present precarious condition of native peoples. Sixth, ironically, globalization allowed native peoples of the continent to meet for the first time, to share and understand their own condition in a world perspective by comparing it to other equally colonized peoples.

All of these factors apply to the Andean re-kindling of native autonomous identity, though with particular variations specific to the area's context. One such feature of the process in the Andes is that ethnic re-awakening invokes the extensive and complex Inka polity, *Tawantinsuyu*, and its socio-economic and political character. Its simultaneous recall in distant points of *Tawantinsuyu* indicates its persisting traces in various historical registers. Its latent legacy in many of its constituent nations' ongoing resistance shows that native Andean people never really forgot, or gave up on the possibility of returning to their aboriginal forms of social and political organization. *Tawantinsuyu's* symbolic persistence during colonization points to the *sui generis* characteristics of this political entity, its merits in coordinating in practice the autonomy enjoyed by multiple nations in each of the *suyus*. The survival of its many component nations under adverse conditions is surely due to the kind of collaborative links that the *suyus* sustained. The pre-Hispanic nations' resistance, especially at the periphery of *Tawantinsuyu*, was expressed in movements earlier than in its central location.

Comparing the Indian movements in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia suggests that Peru does not have much of one at present. In this regard, the argument here is that repression and suppression not only came earlier and were more ferocious and recent in Peru (1980's through the early 1990's), but that their severity robbed Peru of its capacity to carry on the task of articulating on a massive scale human needs and resources in a multi-nations/communities conglomerate. Recent evidence of Peru's role in this gargantuan task, its role to connect and convoke, was previewed at the 'March of the Four *Suyus*.'<sup>457</sup>

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<sup>457</sup> Another, directly witnessed, was the last call of the Velazco Alvarado regime on June 7, 1974, in Lima.

The native nations' manifestation of force in the culturally equivocal call to oust Fujimori from power/in support of 'Andean-inspired' leadership of Alejandro Toledo shares the same social genetics of calls in this regard in other points of *Tawantinsuyu*. Evidence is the process of intellectual creation in the making, to restore and re-assemble not only a worldview but *Tawantinsuyu's* socio-economic and political rationale vis-à-vis the most advanced thought in the Western world, as well as contributions from other parts of the world. Obviously, the picture is not complete; the process advances gathering support and assistance from the everywhere in the *suyus* and elsewhere. So, were we to extend the role of symbolic *Q'osqo* to Peru, its task for several decades now has been to shuffle or decant social change options mainly from a robust left, in an area that dearly needs these options.

Here I argue for the need to look at the Indian movement not from a perspective defined and confined within the political limits of each of the *Criollo-mestizo* republics, but from the natives' perspective. The proposal is not arbitrary, as the name *Tawantinsuyu* has been repeatedly and multiply used in the past, and with increasing frequency in our times. The recuperation of the native political organization's own name and the restoring of its own logic comes from different directions in the Andes now and will not stop just because national or international dominant sectors object to it. The current negotiation/interaction for its revival could itself merit research in the politics of culture. It could mean a rich case of historical memory recuperation in action, one with great ideological, socio-psychological and political implications.

*Tawantinsuyu's* reconstitution is a task of many different collective agents, each with its own dynamics, but walking in concert to the same goals. In it, Peru's role as

symbolic *Q'osqo* is justified-explained but requires, in the future, the study of its particular characteristics and dynamics, e.g., its inclusive and generative conditions. Understanding them is the key to see *Tawantinsuyu* as a geopolitical demarcation and political organization. In all, it is sobering to remember the price that *Tawantinsuyu* already paid in human lives and suffering for its simple right to exist.

The inclusion of gender in this view of contemporary culture politics and representation in the Andean area would not be but a mechanical addition to comply with compensatory parallel 'gender justice,' were it not for the fact – and this is the main hypothesis here – that the non-patriarchal gender system of the Andes has sustained a different quality of socio-historical formation than has Western patriarchy. The detailed ways in which this occurs in the economic and social functioning are not yet clear, although the social sciences literature might help provide an understanding. There are a few theoretical hunches about how this might be so, such as those coming from matriarchal studies and gift economy formulations that directly indict patriarchy, or indirect assertions such as those by social psychologist Wilhelm Reich, when he advocated in pre-World War II Germany that patriarchy could be the matrix of fascism as outgrowth of capitalism. The theory and detail of supporting information will have to wait. Meanwhile, what is relevant is that complementarity and parallel lines of descent has been proven in pre-Hispanic past and confirmed today in remote Andean rural communities. What this work proposes is to extend its pertinence to today's non-rural communities and not fully 'native' individuals. As a long-lasting symbolic system CPLD sustained them both while defining and articulating its socio-cultural system.

Because time is running short for Andean gender preservation, addressing gender in culture politics and representation here has three objectives. One is as warning of the risks to overlook its reality in the nascent native social movements. The dominant, imperceptible, but real framing of thinking and action has been so far effective in doing so, and could continue. Two is the danger of cooptation by dominant instances that might end up opportunistically more ‘perceptive’ and ‘practical’ to implement it in its demonstrable virtues (e.g., gender justice). Although the deceit could show eventually, maybe after years and high social costs, still up front the need of women’s representation might be palliated with the incorporation of token females (as in the feminist movement), and not women grounded in the ethnic interests of communities and base level associations (not exempt from manipulation, either). The third is a warning to encourage further research and publications, debate and publicity on gender in native peoples of the Andes and elsewhere, and of course, to initiate education and active intervention programs to protect, correct and heal the manifold wounds of patriarchal imposition. The determination to eliminate or neutralize women should be specifically prevented by an active gender complementarity reinvigoration at *Tawantinsuyu*’s base level dynamics. Doing so will secure its stability and well-being, and politically protect even people loosely connected to *Tawantinsuyu*, like Antisuyan nations which will certainly bring insightful glimpses at women in non-oppressive conditions.

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## **Chapter XXXIII**

### **Dissertation Conclusions and Discussion**

#### **SYNTHESIS**

In this dissertation, I have put together three studies from distinct disciplines: anthropology, history and political sociology. Their purpose is to argue for the importance of the native Andean gender system in contemporary individual and collective behavior not only in Peru, but also throughout the Andean region. While the Andean gender system has been studied in ethno-history and in anthropology, it has not been used as an explanatory variable in social, historical and socio-psychological contemporary research. Here I also argue for its urgent consideration in educational practices, social change interventions and government policies in the region. I do this by proposing that gender systems, as an inherent component of socio-cultural systems, operate over periods that can last hundreds of years. I used the concept of socio-cultural systems as an anchor of gender (and viceversa) - in a true expression of social dialectics - that allows us to go further theoretically than merely typifying society from a class perspective, or alternatively as punctual cultures, reduced in extent and importance (and value) from an anthropological perspective (i.e., as from the perspective of the dominant West).

My work accounts for two such socio-cultural systems that have co-existed, from the time of the conquest until now, in the Andes. The concept, in my case, helps to explain the diversity of Andean cultures (and perhaps the many Native American

cultures) as part of a distinct human civilization. Like Western civilization, it has different cultural expressions and many languages, in accord to geographical conditions and ecological niches where people settle. However, these varieties of expressions share a common worldview and value system, among them – and crucial to all of them – the strong connection with the Earth as Mother, a system of social ethics determined by non-separation and respect of the human family with the rest of the natural world, and the non-degraded view of women as full human beings, i.e., not having learned that women are second to and less valued than men.

#### **1. THE RELEVANCE OF THE INDIGENOUS NATIVE GENDER SYSTEM IN THE ANDEAN REGION**

My idea, from the beginning, was that multi-theoretical and multi-methodological perspectives of the native gender system could demonstrate its necessity for the study of individuals and society. My hope is that the logic of my argument is clear, in sequence but also in review and pondering with elements provided in each study. The first study offers a real-life contemporary expression of the difference that native gender can make in life-strategies of the residents in a Peruvian shanty town, including the way they bring up their children and the future that this gender upbringing (or lack thereof) secures for women and men. The second study is an historical study that shows how the native gender system helps to explain historical events, at the same time that puts Andean women back in the picture, as they were never secondary or unimportant in their own society. Through the recall of several studies on the subject or related ones, I discuss how the dominant Western

epistemology influences what is perceived. What would seem practically inescapable, to elude the dominant patriarchal epistemology blind to the presence of women, in Studies 1 and 2, I contest with illustrations by Guamán Poma in Study 3. Not only does he show the culture pedigree of the concepts with current manifestations discussed in the text (e.g., *Tawantinsuyu*), but also illustrates the pertinence of models of thought and ideas. Guamán Poma is a good example of how the observer's lens affects the representation of women in a written text. Even though he was addressing Spanish officials in their own language and accommodating to their culture so as to be interpretable, readable by them, that is, already subjecting to their condition of not seeing women as valuable human subjects, still the Andean epistemology reflects in the content and structure of his text. Women in the Andes are cited, mentioned, reported about extensively; in many ways almost ritually in a parallel and equivalent way. In his text and drawings he does not fail to show that Andean women may have suffered the most oppression, that they were overlooked and minimized under the dominant colonial system. In sum, the first two essays, not only show what the dominant ideology obscures or silences, but challenge the epistemology of the dominant social sciences in the Andes, which – if not corrected - persists as an arm of the Western socio-cultural dominant perspective.

The third study uses the tools presented in the two earlier studies to address a reality that is presently developing in the Andean area. It challenges to view it undressed of the Western epistemological imprint in which women do not matter. This study is in many ways, exploratory and hypothetical, because it envisions something still unfolding, the reality of which is not yet achieved. I attempt to

sensitize the viewer to the phenomenon of Andean gender as it unfurls from resisting cultural quarters in social movements, cultural manifestations and historical re-making. In all of them I propose that the reality of Andean gender (CPLD) exists only in a one-to-two ratio in relation to the traditional and the global liberal expressions of patriarchy, of which contemporary observers, i.e., us, are part. In all, I try to correct existing explanations that fail to see Native Andean (and Native American at large) peoples as representing a coherent world system that has operated under oppression over the last five centuries. Its difference, and one possible reason this was antithetical to the dominant slave-feudal-capitalist West, I argue, may be that women and what they represent socially (gift orientation and its implications in ‘artistic’ sensibility – in the broad sense of the word – to relate to nature and other human beings), were not disregarded as invalid or secondary.

My work attempts to correct a pervasive gender-biased view of the world by using lessons from Andean native culture. I contend that a large part of its distinctiveness is due to women not being excluded. For instance, world systems theory overlooks the fact that a defining feature of a civilization could be the inclusion (or not) of women in all capacities. Fortunately, my words here are only tentative guesses compared to the full phrasing, to the explicitation of gender and other logics by native Andean representatives’ own declarations in recent statements included in the Appendix. What is extraordinary in all of them, from *Chinchaysuyu*, Colombia and Ecuador, to *Kuntisuyu* (North of Chile) and *Q’ollasuyu* Bolivia and North Argentina, etc, is that they evoke the same signifiers, the same coordinates, the same vocabulary. Events in recent decades, including the Columbus

Quincentennial commemoration, served to loosen up the containment mechanisms of the same domination that kept in check essentially one cultural universe. Now their documents on the relation with the state and global powers, and those written by women about women and general concerns, coincide and reinforce and clarify the basic assumptions. What is extraordinary is that no mutual learning, no means of communication could be as fast to trigger the same responses simultaneously in different parts of the subcontinent, specifically from natives who self-refer as members of the Inka confederation. Also, the context of the people producing these statements and acting on them, are with rare exceptions the least conventionally educated, the most impoverished and most socially and politically marginalized. So, this eruption is a phenomenon that is essentially a self-defense, when they have never been more threatened, but it is also for everybody else's benefit. In the least of the cases, the world's people of good will – or people who suffered the same colonial domination - might be glad to know that a people of the world that were condemned to disappear survived and are re-surfacing in the world scene. In addition, there might be also other people just looking for alternatives to human life as they know it.

My work also gave me a chance to ask why Andean culture is the exception it seems to be with regards to gender. Is it so special? I realized that it is not – that most probably many other peoples have cultures that feature the same 'natural' characteristics in a human group, that fully include women and do not deny them equal participation and rights. My use of 'natural' here is in contrast to the 'learned,' culturally ingrained assumption that women do not count, are sufficiently 'represented' by their associate men. My contention is that cultures and peoples that

preserve 'natural' traits in this regard are much more frequent than appears to the eye. The problem is not their non-existence; it is their lack of recognition and the fact that the dominant epistemology has made them virtually invisible.

## **2. IMPLICATIONS**

The implications of my research range from ways of doing empirical research to theoretical perspectives on the Andes, to more general epistemological questions with regard to global theory studies. An example of doing empirical research in a novel way for social psychology, for instance, is to use the field research methods of social and cultural anthropology, to ground behavior and mentalities in real life issues, in their spontaneous manifestations while dealing with work, family life, collective political affairs, etc. Another is to use for these observations some kind of analytical framework that allows some quantification, to have an idea of trends and processes that put more than a few cases for consideration. Study 1 showed the benefits of that methodological combination. The theoretical contribution of my work is mainly to de-invisibilize Andean ethnicity and to incorporate it actively as an explanatory powerful variable. Finally, another contribution is regarding critical epistemology to approach subjects and research. I have had numerous experiences where the reality I see confirming my hypotheses – in the Andes - another viewer interprets in the opposite way. So, my position is that much of the reading of reality by means of social sciences in the Andean area may be suspect because it reflects, by ways of framing or methodology, the dominant epistemology, i.e., seen from the perspective and according to the self-preservation interests of the Western socio-cultural system,

either in its local *Criollo-mestizo* or in its global international manifestation. (Both are parts of one social-cultural system that infuses meanings, even in the dominated sectors, as a result of its greater power.) Therefore, much of the information gathered, especially on native peoples of the Andes, goes through a filter that obscures the valid rationality, logic and wisdom that native peoples have, not only about their own life, but about the world outside their own. Moreover, the approach used in de-selecting women as informants not only misses, like in patriarchal societies, the oppressed face of a socio-cultural system geared to make them inferior or limited in their capacity to judge and transform society, but in the case of Native women it prevents learning how it looks and feels, individually and socially, not to have ever been expected not to be vital in the running of society.

In their investigations of the Andes, the social sciences must adopt or consider the gender-unbiased epistemological perspective of native peoples. New research should take into account this alternative view and past research should be reviewed critically to find missed evidence. The lessons of the Andes have clear implications on the more general epistemological questions of global-theory studies: not only (in this case) the Native Andean socio-cultural system should be taken seriously in its ‘civilizational’ differences to other peoples of the world, but also until social studies refashion their view of women’s initiatives and thoughts, it cannot be but incomplete.

### **3. AREAS FOR FUTURE INVESTIGATION**

Each of the studies has many topics to be pursued. In considering Study 1, in my lifetime I have known four generations – grandparents, adults, youth and young

children. Today, most of the grandparents are gone; the parents of yesterday are now the grandparents and the youth have young children. A brief visit to the shantytown, in 1999, revealed surprising trends. In my original study, I was concerned about the disappearance of Andean values and worldview and about the definite loss of a most outstanding child upbringing and socialization practices in Andean culture families. Some of these predictions came true, but to my surprise the cases that seemed most hopeless did not turn out badly, at all. These were especially the ‘blurry identity’ (BI) residents, who, I predicted, were going to lose whatever was left of their culture to poverty or assimilation. What I found was that globalization – exposure to something else beyond the Limeñan anti-Indian culture – spurred some of these young people to seek an understanding of their deep cultural roots. Another positive factor which helped this seemingly destined-to-be-lost generation was the emergence of native political movements, which provided another alternative to their social identity and political perspective (not tied to Western-ideological Right and Left parties).

Under such circumstances, preventing the harm done to women and allowing young women to obtain strength from the native gender tradition are still possibly the most important tasks of all. If native Andean women can keep their strength and the place that native cultures reserve for them as a source of material security and as a symbol of the protection of life (fertility, abundance, tenderness and congeniality), then the future for Andean people will be prosperous. After checking the evidences of social movements particularly in Chinchahysuyu-Ecuador and Q’ollasuyu-Bolivia, the good news is that what is being achieved there (Escuela de Lideresas, and gender training and reflecting *in situ* to fill political posts or any required to defend the

Andean political project that Evo Morales started) is not only encouraging for our local benefit; it is the largest massive re-make and strengthening of gender complementarity and equivalence, and mother right re-instatement – in the words of Max Dashu – that I dare say has been done historically. That of course deserves not only a snapshot study but the accompanying in the process. With regards to more regular social change processes, such as the ones taking place so far in Peru, it would be interesting to see whether the process described in *M.M.* is being reproduced in other shantytowns in different cities of the country and, ultimately, not just in Peru, but throughout the rest of *Tawantinsuyu*.

The ramifications of the Great Rebellion include the need for an explicit social identity definition when writing history. The first study provided a clue about how being in a member of a specific social identity group can affect interpretation, focusing on totally different aspects, events, and characters. If we are interested in the history of indigenous peoples from their own perspective, it is important for non-natives to absorb (as much as practicable) their perspectives. It would be of no surprise to anyone that the history of French people properly belongs to French people, or Japanese to Japanese scholars, etc. Why should it be assumed that the history of native peoples can be better written by non-Indian people, unless the standing assumption is that there is a viewpoint valid for all peoples and all ages? The importance of a thorough knowledge of language, for instance, to understand the nuances of meaning contained in oral accounts and documents, cannot be minimized.

When non-native historians approach facts, events, characters from the native people's perspective, and use their categories of thought and values, the study of

history will come close to validity in its truthfulness and in its social reproductive function. We might be able to generate a history of peoples rather than of individuals, a history that does not segment lives, but integrates them. Such a new history may be able to incorporate women's perspective in the ordinary, everyday affairs, as well as in extraordinary historical events (like the Tupac Amaru Rebellion). Equally important is the incorporation of longer-term symbolic considerations, e.g., female-grounded, sacred aspects of culture which have been removed from Andean people's written history. For history to become less 'academic' and less removed from native peoples' lives, it needs to incorporate the oral tradition and culture-making that still survives in some contemporary native communities. In the service and respect of native people, the writing of history has to also adapt and be organic to the nascent culture of *Tawantinsuyu*.

Study 3 suggests analytical lines to approach the emerging reconstitution of *Tawantinsuyu* today. It highlights events that are taking place in each of the *suyus*. Literally hundreds of ethnic groups in each of the *suyus* are re-appropriating their lives and reconnecting with each other, despite being in different stages of native social identity destruction or re-composition. When conventional social scientists hear a proposal about a history, or sociology, or anthropology from the perspective of the native peoples, for the sake of their interests, their natural fear is whether the non-native peoples, mainly the *mestizo-criollo* segment in Latin America, will be left out. What we have to recognize is that there are two independent social-cultural systems that have been together in a dialogue of opposition and varied interests, and, most especially, under different power conditions. However, even though they have

interacted and borrowed from each other, they are still seated in different value core and worldviews. One can write a history of each of the social-cultural systems independently; it is essential to put together the histories of the two social cultural systems (native and *mestizo-criollo*) in each of the *suyus*, but not to combine them. With the power differential, an amalgamation of socio-cultural systems only means assimilation and disappearance of the weaker. This is especially true of the condition of women given the fact that the dominant socio-cultural system downgraded them from full human attributes. Study 3 suggests some areas that need to be pursued to understand the politics of culture-making and representation. What is enormously exciting is that the area now is not just marching through conventional paths, but given the political changes in Ecuador and Bolivia in the last two years, its direction has been altered and its momentum increased.

Finally, the cultural lineage of world level achievements in the Andes should be determined with clarity. In any contemporary interpretation of what culture and representation means in the Andes, the great input of native culture has gone unrecognized in *mestizo* and even in *criollo* individuals' achievements. One should be clear about the cultural basis from which the individual's merits derive, of the actions of individuals who have achieved recognition in public life. Many worthwhile deeds may be due to values and perspectives of dominated indigenous cultures with which there has been contact. Recognizing the social-cultural system sources of valid contributions is basic justice – as present day spokespeople of the Andean Indian movement declare, “Without historical justice there can not be social justice.” To reclaim names, intellectual property, wealth produced are only some of the basic steps

to re-onw their historical identity. The Native Andean people have started in a walk of no return. Numerous recent documents in the Appendix testify to that: along with their own course in history, they will also recover forms of social and historical knowledge undivorded from principles of community ethics and regulation of human behavior. In their own words they are at last resuming their path to follow the '*sumac kausay*' which means 'a good life with social economic and political well being for all, signed as "a culture of life..."

## APPENDIXES

### STUDY 1

A. M.M. : A GLIMPSE AT ITS PHYSICAL SETTINGS IN THE SPAN OF 30 YEARS.

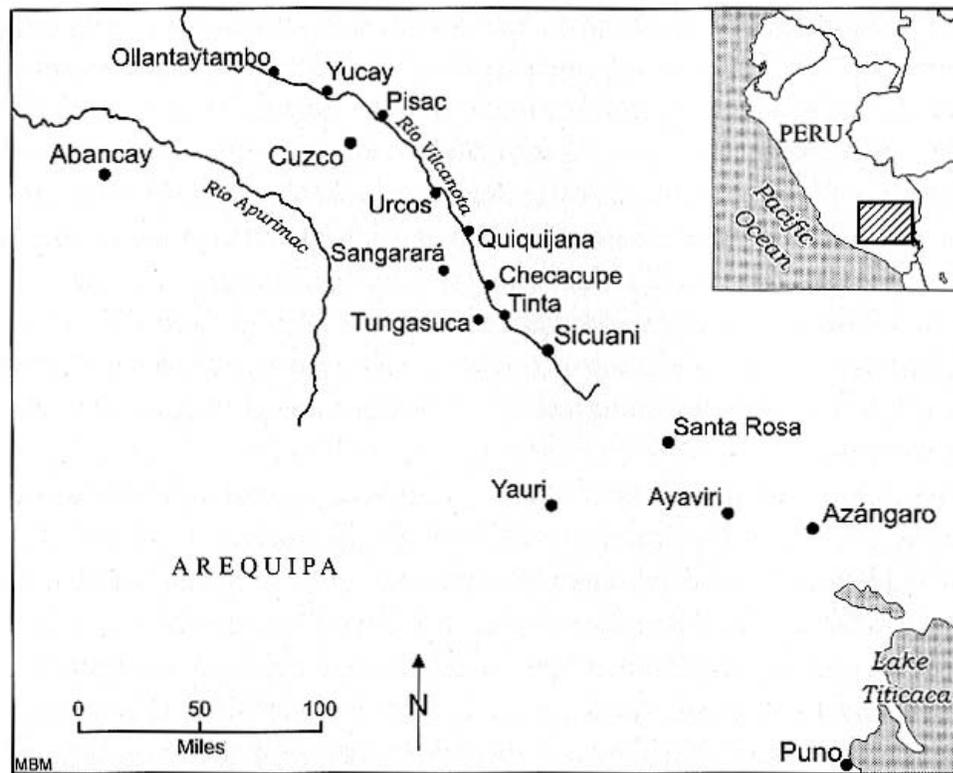


B. Three present generations, many physical changes, and a look to Peru by concerned Andean men from its margins (1999).



## STUDY 2

A. Map reproduced from "Smoldering Ashes" by Charles F. Walker, page 16, Duke University Press, 1999.



Major Sites of the Tupac Amaru Rebellion

## B. Micaela Bastidas' letter to her husband José Gabriel Condorcanqui Tupac Amaru II

My Chepe:

You are going to kill worrying. You keep delaying your return, touring calmly through the towns, even staying in Yauri, carelessly delaying your return for two days, while the soldiers have reasons to get bored and start returning to their own towns. I don't have patience to put up with all of this anymore. I am now ready to turn myself in to the enemies, on my own, so that they take my life, since I see how lightly you take a business as serious as this, which puts in danger everyone's life. Now we are surrounded by our enemies and our life is not safe anymore; it is your responsibility that all of my children are in great risk, as well as in danger all of the remaining people in our side.

Sufficiently have I stressed that you should not take so much time in such towns, where there is nothing to do. However, you waste your time promenading through them, without consideration of our soldiers' need of support, even if I am giving them money to keep them around. This will run out when we most need it, and then we will have no choice but to let them go, leaving us alone, to pay with our own lives. Because, [as you must be aware] they are here only for the interest in how much they can get from us, and even more now that they see the soldiers leaving with the news that Vargas and Ore have dispersed our troops in Lampa, and that they have united {our enemies?} to those of other provinces along with Arequipa. They also know that they might be surrounding you and that many have wavered for fear of punishment that could befall on them. Moreover, all of the people to whom I announced and called to get ready for the advance towards Cusco will be lost, [giving a chance to the city) to join with enemy soldiers coming from Lima, who have already many days of walk in this direction. Of all of this I am warning you, with utmost pain in my heart. However, if you want our ruin, you can continue dozing up in your irresponsibility, as when you had the naiveté to walk alone in the streets of Yauri, and you even got the nerve to climb to the tower, when you - among anyone else - could not let any of these excesses take place in our present predicament. You know these actions do not correspond to your status, your position, which you disrepute and cause to have a low concept of your person.

I thought that you would be trying to understand day and night all the consequences of these matters, and not show so much carelessness that really worries me to death [takes my life away], so much that there is no flesh left in my body, or I am not myself anymore. So, I ask you to try to put these considerations in your head and act on them readily.

You offered me your word, but from now on I will not give credit to your promises anymore, because you have not followed them up. I am not sorry to lose my life, but the one of this poor family that needs all the help; and so, if the people of Paruro come, as I suggested in my former letter, I am ready to walk with the them, leaving Fernando in the assigned place, since these Indians are not capable of proceeding [without guidance], surrounded as they are now with so many threats.

I have already advised you many times that you immediately move to Cuzco, but you have not taken me seriously. You have given the enemy time to prepare, as they have already done it, placing cannons on mount Piccho as well as other dangerous military devices, so that, at this point, you may not be capable of going ahead of them anymore.

May God keep you,

Your wife.

Tungasuca December 6, 1789.

P.S.-Also, I notify you that the Indians of Quispicanchis are already tired and bored serving as guards during such prolonged time. Anyways, this may be God's will that I pay for my sins.

After concluding this letter a messenger arrived giving me the news that the people of Paruro are now in Acos, so I am going to direct myself there, even if it costs me my life." (CDIP, II, p. 329-331.).

## STUDY 3

### A. *Chinchaysuyu*

#### 1. *Indymedia Report on indigenous march in Ecuador*

Date: Sun, 3 Nov 2002 16:38:07 -0800 (PST)  
From: Chloe Schwabe <chloeclover77@yahoo.com>  
Subject: No a la ALCA en Ecuador!

> Here is a personal report posted to Portland Indymedia this afternoon from a reporter who is in Quito, Equador. Please distribute far and wide as corporate media may not report on what has happened there today

> Ellen  
> article#31089 Portland Indymedia  
> <http://portland.indymedia.org/>  
> 1:37pm Sat Nov 2 '02 (Modified on 3:28pm Sat Nov 2'02)  
>  
> following is a report from the ecuador actions at the ftaa summit.  
>  
> Friends  
Please accept this [unedited] bulletin from the edge of consciousness.

I don't know whether I feel like crying because I am so moved by what I saw today, because my mucous membranes are all shot to hell from too much tear gas, or out of sheer exhaustion. But I want to get this out while it is still fresh in my mind, and tomorrow will be another insane day.

Tonight I watched some of the most oppressed people in this world confront some of the most influential. Tonight I watched a group of poor farmers, indigenous people, and workers speak, shout, sing truth to power. Tonight, I think, I think, although we will not know for a few days, I watched the terrain of hemispheric politics shift before my eyes. I feel so inspired, and so humbled.

When the day started, I was 20km south of Quito with maybe 300 indigenas, one of two protest caravans that had crossed the country spreading the word about the protest against the Free Trade Area of the Americas summit in Quito. As we crowded into buses to head north, I called the other caravan, who reported that they had 80 people. And this is how it ends, I thought. 4 months of work, promising reporters, funders, countless activists in North America that thousands of people would come to disrupt the FTAA ministerial meeting. And we were going to end up with 500 people rallying in a park. But soon after we got down off the buses and began a 15km trek to Quito, the number of people seemed to mysteriously increase, as buses from the South caught up with us and disgorged fresh groups of protesters.

> The procession was a riot of color, filled with red and blue ponchos and hundreds of rainbow flags (the symbol of the Andean indigenous and campesino movements). People lined the street to watch as it passed by. One shopkeeper explained to me that the indigenous people were like

burros, dragging along the rest of the country, who were also opposed to the FTAA because it would devastate the Ecuadorian economy, but who let the indigenous movement carry the torch for their opposition. Old women chanted ceaselessly for four hours, No queremos, y no nos da la gana, ser una colonia, norteamericana, (We dont want, and it doesn't do us any good, to be a North American colony). One group of Bolivians, led by Evo Morales, the coca-grower who almost became president there, marched with coca leaves taped to their foreheads.

When we finally reached our destination in Quito, we rounded the corner and found not 80 but somewhere between 2 and 6,000 people waiting. As the two groups approached each other, people on each side were visibly stirred, and some began to run. At this point, I realized that after 4 months of frantic organizing, the mobilization was a reality, that whatever happened we had already won, that thousands of campesinos and indigenas had come to Quito to unequivocally reject U.S.-style free trade. And I simply began to bawl.

Our group didnt even pause, but continued straight toward the Marriott Hotel, where the 34 trade ministers from North and South America were arriving to negotiate a treaty that promises to wipe out small farmers, to hand corporations a sweeping new set of tools to evade environmental, consumer and labor laws, to force the privatization of water, health care, education, culture, and biodiversity. In other words, a really crappy treaty.

As we headed north we were joined by large groups of campesinos, students, trade unionists, and international activists who had already been fighting running battles with the police, who were attempting to turn everyone back several kilometers from the Summit.

The march was led by a line of campesino and indigenous leaders (dirigentes), walking arm-in-arm, preceded by a Shaman conducting rites to improve the success of our efforts. Soon we were stopped by several hundred riot police. The dirigentes asked to send a delegation of civil society groups in to the summit to present a giant letter made up of the proposals and demands of thousands of people who had joined the caravans along their route. They were soundly refused. So the dirigentes deliberated and decided to head west toward the Volcan Pichincha. As we rounded the corner we saw a thousand or more people ahead of us. More groups drifted in from the sides, and soon la Avenida Colon, one of Quito's widest streets, was packed for perhaps 8 or 10 blocks, with more people out of sight. There must have been between 8 and 15,000 people. There were giant puppets, a smattering of black-clad anarchists, a surprising number of international activists and lots and lots of campesinos: 75 year-old women, small children, 20 year olds who wanted nothing to do with traditional dress, mothers and teenage sons marching together. And they were all psyched.

As the most important social movement dirigentes approached the Avenida Amazonas, the police opened fire with a LOT of tear gas. They shot it at the crowd and over the crowd, so that as people ran away, they ran into more gas. I walked until I couldnt see or breathe, then began to run, then someone grabbed my hand and led me away (Why do I never carry goggles to these things?) The president of the National Judicial Workers Union was hit with three tear gas canisters and taken to the hospital. Several young kids passed out and almost asphyxiated. One woman fell on her baby, who was injured and taken to the hospital. A reminder that free trade can only proceed via brutal repression, which is now so commonplace at trade summits that it hardly elicits comment. And so people retreated to the south to regroup, and I retreated to the communications center to try to get the word out about the success of the mobilization, and its repression.

At 6 PM, folks decided to try once more to deliver their giant letter, this time at the Swiss Hotel, where the trade ministers were meeting with assorted CEOs and trade lobbyists at the 7th Americas Business Forum. As a strategy to boost legitimacy and head off disruptive protests, the government had already made offered to allow a couple civil society representatives to address the ministers. On these terms, the indigenous and campesino groups had refused. But tonight, 2000 people marched up to police barricades, where they demanded that a much larger delegation be allowed in to deliver the letter. Clearly hoping to avoid the kind of confrontations that have occurred in past uprisings here, the government allowed 40 people from across the hemisphere to come in and meet with the ministers.

Hearing this was going on, I ran to the hotel, easily passing through several police lines because I have press credentials for the summit. In the lobby I simply asked Where are they? and several people pointed down. Once in the basement, I followed the shouting until I reached an auditorium where 25 or so trade ministers sat uncomfortably on stage while 40 campesinos chanted that they had no desire to be a U.S. colony. Peter Rossett of Food First stood up, his arm in a rainbow colored sling thanks to a protest injury. He yelled to Bob Zoellick, the U.S. Trade Representative, that he should be ashamed for pushing an agreement that would impoverish Latin Americans, not to mention many U.S. citizens. Zoellick stared fixedly at his shoe. It was a scene that is, I think, pretty much unprecedented in the history of trade negotiations.

Soon the civil society presentations began. A line of people fanned out in front of the ministers (and TV cameras) holding signs that said Si a la vida, No al ALCA (Yes to life, No to the FTAA). Behind the podium stood an indigenous representative holding a beautifully painted inca sun with North America and South America, and the words Si Una Integracion Solidaria Con Respeto a la Soberania de los Naciones (Yes to an integration based on solidarity, with respect for the sovereignty of nations).

The first speakers were representatives of an international meeting of parliament and congress members from across the hemisphere. They condemned the FTAA process, and called for an alternative integration, one that respects the needs and particular situations of the people of each country. Next came several representatives of a civil society forum organized by a number of pro-neoliberal NGOs with close ties to the government. Their proposals were generally tepid, but they were for the most part drowned out by the crowd. (When one speaker asked that the FTAA process be opened up to include civil society observers, the whole crowd responded by chanting Plebiscito, Plebiscito).

Finally, the social movement representatives spoke. Leonidas Iza, the President of the CONAIE (the Ecuadorian indigenous federation), stated the social movements clear rejection of the FTAA and of neo-liberalism in general. We are in desperate shape, he told the ministers. You couldn't possibly understand, you who were born in golden cradles and have never suffered (at this the ministers looked even more uncomfortable). But we dont have food to feed our children. Our markets are flooded with cheap imports. Imported milk is dumped in Ecuador for half of what it costs to produce it, but transnationals [mostly Nestle] sell it back to us at \$1.80 per litre. We have no way to live, and the FTAA will only make it worse. When we complain, the U.S. government calls us terrorists. We are not threatening anything, but we are hungry and tired and things have to change. In the wake of widening protest throughout Latin America, the message was not lost on anyone.

Then a woman worker from Nicaragua spoke powerfully of the details of the FTAA, of the privatizations and poverty and social exclusion it would bring, particularly for women. Don't think you can simply take your picture with us and push forward, she told the ministers. We will stop the FTAA.

The meeting ended and, unable to contain myself, I stood up and shouted in English and then in Spanish that never again could Bob Zoellick claim that the people of Latin America were clamoring for free trade, because today they had unequivocally rejected it. Then Peter Rossett chimed in that polls consistently showed that the majority of U.S. citizens oppose free trade, and that the Bush administration had no right and no mandate to push forward with the FTAA. There were loud cheers, and the moderator hurriedly announced that the ministers were leaving and could we please sit down so they could leave. NO! screamed the civil society folks in unison, and they pushed out the door, leaving the ministers sitting on stage.

And, at that moment, I felt something shift. I realized that (unless the media bury this entirely despite our best efforts to get the word out, which is always possible) the FTAA has in 24 hours gone from something whose praises its proponents sing, to something they have to defend. Like the WTO before it, the FTAA has become the treaty that has to be sold to an America that doesn't want it. Or so I hope. I hope I hope I hope. This is how it feels here. But it may be different elsewhere.

>

If I am right, the hemispheric resistance to free trade and the FTAA has taken a huge step forward, even if this is but one day in a long struggle in which many more battles will be fought. Tonight's show of force may also strengthen the resolve of poor countries in the negotiations that follow here, which will piss off the U.S. and make it harder to reach agreement. In any case, it was a beautiful day for some of the nations' most powerful social movements. Not to mention a shitty day for Bob Zoellick and his buddies in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

We marched out of the Swiss Hotel, reached the police barricades and were greeted by hundreds of cheering protesters, who had been dancing to traditional Kichwa music while we were inside. Then the partying began, and it is still going 5 hours later (these folks are not lightweights when it comes to cane liquor). I just said goodbye to a companera from one of the rural provinces of the Sierra, a woman I met when I was giving workshops on the FTAA several months ago. I asked her what she thought of the days events, and she said I am happy. Very happy. This was the first time I have ever done this, and I think today we achieved something important, something that will improve our lives. And now I can go back to my children.

I am so proud, so proud and amazed by the incredible work people have done here over the last few months, so moved by their commitment to this struggle, so humbled by the generosity, patience, tolerance, and trust they have shown me. I am so honored to be part of this fast-coalescing hemispheric movement for a new economic and political order, one based on reciprocity and social justice, on true democracy and respect for human and natural diversity. And I'm so happy to be going to sleep.

In solidarity,

Ellen>

## *Chinchaysuyu Women*

### **2. LAS MUJERES EN LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DEL ESTADO PLURINACIONAL**

María Vicenta Chuma Quishpilema  
(Parlamento Indígena de América - PIA) - Ecuador

Cuando recibí el encargo de presentar este tema, surgió una primera inquietud al organizar esta mesa. ¿Se trata de abordar los temas de las Mujeres indígenas? o ¿los temas del movimiento indígena desde la visión de las mujeres?. Esta pregunta ha sido permanente cuando se trata de participar socialmente en las comunidades, en la vida cotidiana o políticamente en las organizaciones, en las luchas o como siempre, día a día en la defensa de la vida en la construcción del proyecto político, en las organizaciones, en las luchas ...siempre.

Ahora, de nuestra experiencia sabemos que la situación de las mujeres indígenas es la misma que la de los hombres, agravada por una división de roles socialmente impuesta por el pensamiento de la cultura opresora, la manera de ver y actuar de la otra cultura que por más de cinco siglos nos han hecho olvidar que para nosotros, como dicen nuestros viejos, con las dos manos se amasa el pan.

Sabemos que en nuestra visión de los pueblos indígenas, hombres y mujeres somos parte de un solo ser; somos complementarios, no opuestos, solidarios, recíprocos, iguales. El sol es el padre y la tierra es la madre ninguno superior, ninguno inferior. Hombre y mujer los dos imprescindibles, ambos necesarios.

Si, aunque nos acordamos de nuestras Kilagos, nuestras Toas, nuestras Pachas, nuestras cacicas, nuestras akllas, Mamas de administración de justicia, administradoras de la economía, mamas de salud y medicina, de todos los saberes, de todas las historias, mamas y taitas que desarrollaron un sistema político y económico que asegura nuestro bienestar, de todos para todos, niños, niñas, ancianos de ambos sexos tienen los mismos derechos y obligaciones.

Debemos reconocer que poco a poco hemos ido relegándonos, cediendo espacio de autoridad, dejando que se oculten nuestros saberes, nuestros poderes, debemos reconocer que en la práctica ha sido fuerte el pensamiento de desvalorización; se han dado las expresiones tales como las mujeres a la casa, los hombres al trabajo; una niña vale menos que un varón; el hombre es jefe de familia, responsable de su casa de sus hijos, de sus propiedades. De esto nos hemos convencido a fuerza de repetición, nos lo hemos creído, de esto hemos hecho práctica día a día. Si, eso ha pasado hombres y mujeres en nuestros pueblos hemos ido perdiendo la fuerza que nos hacía únicos.

El tiempo nos encontró entonces débiles, humillados, excluidos, pisoteados, separados; pero el proceso de liberación, de reconstrucción de nuestros pueblos nos ha permitido comprender que poco a poco las mujeres podemos y debemos también reconstruir, recuperar nuestra fuerza. Junto con nuestros compañeros, cuidando la sabiduría, manteniendo el conocimiento de los pueblos, la mujer como madre, esposa y compañera, ha guardado celosamente por siglos toda nuestra sabiduría.

Sin embargo, el sistema se ha encargado cada vez más de cooptar a mujeres y niños a trabajos esclavizantes, maximizando sus ganancias y desestructurando aun más la economía y las estructuras familiares indígenas.

Pero no solo se trata de explotar la mano de obra de las mujeres indígenas, sino fundamentalmente de impedir su toma de conciencia, de irrespetar su identidad étnico cultural, y su proyecto político- ideológico y mítico de la reconstrucción del Estado plurinacional.

Para ello el sistema occidental trata de muchas maneras de dar un contenido puramente feminista a la lucha de la mujer indígena, apoyando proyectos de capacitación y formación de líderes sobre modelos de autovaloración, de propuestas puramente coercitivas frente a la violencia doméstica, y de una ideología de “solidaridad de género”, en la cual desaparece la diferencia entre mujeres ricas y mujeres pobres; entre ciudadanas y campesinas, entre blancas-mestizas e indígenas, todo por la “unidad de la mujer” y de su lucha en contra de la “dominación de los hombres” sesgando de manera unilateral la lucha de un sistema de cosas que atentan contra el conjunto de la población indígena y que provocan grandes distorsiones como el “machismo” en las mismas comunidades indígenas, pero de cuyas consecuencias han sido siempre la sabiduría y la fuerza de la justicia indígena de los ayllus y de las mamakunas, las que siempre han sabido poner freno y confrontar los modelos tradicionales de administración de justicia y reparación de daños.

La fuerza de la resistencia indígena en todos los Andes, se vio acrecida con el advenimiento del Pachakutik, que se expresó en la campaña de los 500 Años de Resistencia Indígena, la proclamación del Decenio de los Pueblos Indígenas, la formación de espacios regionales y continentales de acción indígena, como la Primera Cumbre Continental de los Pueblos Indígenas, etc., que han abierto brillantes perspectivas para el movimiento indígena en general y para las mujeres indígenas en particular, en la lucha por la recuperación de la identidad cultural y social, en su exigencia de reconocimiento de Estados plurinacionales, multiculturales, multilingües, así como de gobiernos autónomos, territorialidad y soberanía.

La participación de la mujer a lo largo de estos 500 años ha estado íntimamente ligada a la defensa de la tierra - territorio y a las estructuras de poder del ayllu, así como a las fuerzas de producción y distribución comunitarias y a una profunda esperanza de revolución que nace de los mitos del pachakutik, de la gloria del Tawantinsuyu, de la reivindicación siempre permanente de allpamanta, sumak kawsaymanta, kishpirinkaman (tierra, cultura y libertad) de la armonía con la naturaleza, de la armonía de relaciones de hombre y mujer, de la ritualidad guerrera, así como de la profunda moralidad del tríptico andino del ama shwa, ama llulla, ama killa, (no robar, no mentir y no ser ocioso).

### **3. COMPLEMENTARIEDAD MUJER – HOMBRE**

**Ati Quigua**, expositora, Indígena de la Nación Iku (Arhuaca)  
SIERRA NEVADA DE SANTA MARTA COLOMBIA

EL ENCUENTRO CONTINENTAL DE PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS  
La Paz, Bolivia, October 2006  
Autor: Pueblos de América  
Fuente: <http://www.caminantesdelosandes.org>  
Fecha: 2006-12-27

"La tierra, que nos fue dada desde el origen, es la que sustenta nuestra convivencia, nuestra razón de ser como indígenas nativos de la Sierra, en ese territorio están las normas que como portadores de una cultura determinada debemos cumplir. Todos y cada uno de los sitios donde está nuestra historia, son los que componen lo que podremos denominar como territorio propio, como espacio sagrado que alimenta y fortalece y nos da la existencia en este planeta. Por lo tanto, este espacio es propio de todos y cada uno de, aquellos pueblos a los que la Madre Espiritual les encomendó unas misiones específicas, que debemos cumplir y que tan sólo se pueden concretar en el espacio denominado Umunukunu (Sierra Nevada). En últimas, el territorio es donde están escritas las Leyes y la Historia sin las cuales no seríamos pueblos con culturas diferentes"

En América, en las últimas décadas, han ido emergiendo formas de gobierno indígenas que empiezan a desafiar la jurisdicción territorial de los Estadosnación.

En este contexto, las acciones políticas de los pueblos indígenas que los muestran cada vez más "empoderados" frente a los Estados, las agencias y corporaciones internacionales; cada vez con mayor autonomía de gobierno sobre sus territorios y recursos, se ajusta bien a los intereses de sectores hegemónicos en lo político, lo económico y lo ambiental de negociar sobre esos territorios directamente con los pueblos indígenas, reduciendo la intermediación de los Estados.

El riesgo que se enfrenta es que negociar individualmente o en pequeños colectivos (por ejemplo el CTC de la SNSM) lleve a los pueblos indígenas a enfrentar en condiciones desventajosas en el ámbito internacional de transacción política y económica a esos sectores hegemónicas. Tenemos que empezar a construir nuevas formas de unidad para hacerle frente a esos sectores desde una visión indígena de futuro para América. Formas de unidad que no desvirtúe la capacidad emancipadora de la entrada en la escena política internacional de la cosmología indígena.

La gobernabilidad indígena, es sobre todo, una serie de dinámicas y fuerzas que se mueven entre dos o más cosmovisiones, en constante movimiento y proceso de cambio, en búsqueda de equilibrios y/o en pérdida de ellos, dirigidos a sostener la cohesión y la conciencia identitaria de los grupos étnicos al mismo tiempo que establece consensos de

respeto. Lo mismo hacia su interior que hacia las relaciones con el exterior o con una globalidad más amplia que las incorpora como son los estados nacionales latinoamericanos.

Los gobiernos indígenas han vivido dentro de un contexto de gobiernos nacionales que los niega pero los hace parte de sí, al mismo tiempo que guardan su diferenciación y autodeterminación. Han establecido con los gobiernos nacionales, relaciones signadas por la oposición y el conflicto. Sin embargo el ejercicio de la gobernabilidad indígena les ha dado a los pueblos indígenas cimientos para su unidad y cohesión, les ha dado también el sentido de igualdad, de pertenencia y el de identidad colectiva. Sentidos que los hace fuertes para enfrentar el conflicto y resistentes para vivir y recrearse.

La gobernabilidad indígena, hacia adentro, nos refiere a la relación que como consejeros y acompañantes de sus gentes, deben cumplir las autoridades tradicionales y sus líderes. De ahí que para los gobiernos indígenas, la administración y gestión sean tareas de segundo nivel de importancia.

Conciben su función principal como la de conocer de los conflictos y problemas que afectan el control y la regulación social; las relaciones con la naturaleza, lo espiritual y lo sagrado; el control material y espiritual de sus territorios; y las estrategias de pervivencia y de futuro. Hacia fuera, la gobernabilidad nos refiere a la defensa de la autodeterminación (o de los gobiernos propios); a la creación y mantenimiento de sistemas de intermediación y contacto (bien sean organizaciones o representantes) para el diálogo y la negociación con las sociedades y los gobiernos nacionales; a la representación y participación democráticas (en escenarios legislativos o ejecutivos); al control de los recursos naturales (uso, conservación, aprovechamiento o explotación), a la posesión y propiedad de la tierra y del territorio; a desarrollar el modelo de vida y de sociedad escogido y a la definición de cómo y en qué medida se hará la articulación a las formas de desarrollo capitalistas y de mercado.

Los indígenas definen la gobernabilidad indígena de la siguiente manera:

"Es la manera como las autoridades propias con una organización propia ejercen el gobierno en un territorio. Los criterios indígenas parten del aconsejar, del orientar y del visitar a la gente. Estar pendiente de los problemas que hay. Que la gente esté bien. Se diferencia del otro ejercicio porque en este otro lo que se hace es el cumplimiento de la ley, responder a unos criterios de gasto y eficiencia, a lo administrativo. Se entiende el gobierno como lo administrativo. En la parte indígena lo administrativo es lo menos, es más lo primero. El concepto se entiende de otra manera, gobernar es el ejercicio de acompañar a las gentes y los problemas. Los gobiernos locales o nacionales no han dejado crecer a la gobernabilidad indígena dentro de sus propios territorios. Hasta ahora los territorios o resguardos indígenas se ven como hijos de los municipios, pero los municipios no tienen autonomía de costumbres y usos, como sí los pueblos indígenas.

Con la llegada a las alcaldías por parte de diferentes indígenas, nos pasa que entramos en contradicción porque la ley nos obliga a una cosa y las autoridades propias a otra. Para un alcalde indígena es muy complicado.

Se ha ganado en experiencia, hemos podido entender donde está el conflicto en nombre del gobierno nacional y en nombre de las autoridades indígenas, hay asuntos que hemos empezado a aclarar y nos ha ayudado a ganar organización que parte de las mismas viejas y de nuevas exigencias. No nos podemos quedar pasivos...

Hay que ser muy flexible cuando se está en esta doble condición de autoridad indígena y alcalde, para poder realmente conceder los derechos. La polarización entre estas dos gobernabilidades se puede quitar siempre y cuando el gobierno nacional empiece a ceder y deje a las comunidades indígenas que se desarrollen de acuerdo a sus usos y costumbres. Porque esto está, pero de palabra. Y que las comunidades indígenas empecemos a hacer un sistema de ejercicio de gobierno interno en nuestros territorios más libre y que éste sea respetado. Lo mejor sería ir hacia la creación de un conjunto de regiones autónomas indígenas, que creen entre todas ellas un gobierno indígena propio que entre a interrelacionarse con el gobierno nacional." (Vitonás, Jimeno, 2005)

#### Las Mujeres Indígenas en los Pueblos y Culturas Indígenas prehispánicas y precolombinas

"El concepto de lo femenino en las culturas andinas, unido a la posición de la mujer en estas sociedades, parte de las leyes de origen y en ellas del importante papel en el nacimiento de la cultura. Es así como:

En los cultos y ceremonias rituales y festividades religiosas, las mujeres hacen parte como "doncellas escogidas" y eran muy respetadas en la comunidad; su consejo era escuchado por el Cacique y los Consejeros de Gobierno.

Las mujeres estaban exentas de impuestos y trabajos forzados, tenían seguro del Estado como viudas o impedidas.

1. El acceso a la tierra y a los recursos era equitativo entre mujeres y hombres.
2. La maternidad de las mujeres era muy respetada y aunque gozaban de libertad sexual, la violación sexual no hacía parte de las relaciones entre hombres y mujeres en la vida familiar y comunitaria.
3. Todas las mujeres estaban defendidas por estrictas normas que protegían su integridad física y la estabilidad de su relación de pareja.
4. Ningún hombre, incluido el Cacique o Inca (gobernante), podía causar daño físico a su mujer acusándola de infidelidad, lo cual era juzgado por un tribunal especial en donde también la mujer podía acusar al hombre por el mismo motivo.

5. Algunas mujeres eran elegidas por funcionarios especiales como "Vírgenes del Sol" teniendo en cuenta su belleza, calidad intelectual y facilidad para desarrollar actividades artísticas como destilería, música, cantos danzas. Entraban a los conventos para educarse con otras doncellas durante tres años bajo la tutela sabia de mujeres ancianas. El Plan de Estudio contemplaba la cosmogonía y el culto, artes y artesanía y el mantenimiento del fuego sagrado. Al terminar los tres años, el sacerdote exigía la decisión definitiva: se quedaba para consagrarse como Vírgenes del Sol, o salían a casarse y a hacer vida familiar y comunitaria.

6. Muchas culturas prehispánicas de América, se regían por el derecho materno y la descendencia matrilineal cuyas Leyes de Origen sobre la creación del mundo y del ser humano, descansaban sobre el papel protagónico de la Diosa Madre.

Así mismo, en las culturas precolombinas:

Las mujeres representaban el eje cosmogónico de la organización social, el secreto de la fertilidad terrestre y humana. Por ello la mujer era responsable de depositar la semilla en la tierra y respaldar con su presencia los procesos agrícolas.

Las mujeres eran ejecutaras de los cantos en las festividades y las preparadoras de los rituales y de sus bebidas.

La legislación muisca, por ejemplo, tenía apartes específicos sobre la protección de las mujeres ante ataques contra su integridad física. Así mismo, permitía la seguridad familiar, exigía la responsabilidad de los hombres y protegía a las mujeres contra la violencia masculina en el matrimonio.

Las mujeres estaban exentas de tributos y tenían seguro social"

Nuestro país desde la perspectiva de diversidad étnica y cultural, contempla en la Constitución Política en el artículo séptimo "El Estado reconoce y protege la diversidad étnica y cultura!", razón esta para que los pueblos indígenas luchemos por la unidad desde cada uno de nuestros territorios y espacios, que conformados en comunidades y clanes, por que hemos entendido, que sólo en acciones conjuntas haremos para tejer los saberes y conocimientos ancestrales de nuestros pueblos. Para nosotros todo esta interrelacionado y nada debe ir suelto porque la riqueza de la biodiversidad esta en función de la vida de acuerdo a la cosmovisión propia de cada uno de nuestro ser como elemento Social.

Por consiguiente debemos hacer especial énfasis en las acciones afirmativas que en desarrollo de los principios culturales de UNIDAD, RECIPROCIDAD E INTEGRALIDAD se requiere que en conjunto nos apropiemos y sean puestos en articulación con el resto de la sociedad.

Los derechos de las mujeres al igual que los derechos de los hombres están consagrados por una ley primigenia llamada naturaleza, ello se puede demostrar desde la cosmonimia de nuestros sabios: El estado de naturaleza cumple su función social, así como la madre tierra es complementaria con el agua, la mujer es el complemento del hombre en función de la vida; entonces el concepto genérico de la inequidad entre el hombre y la mujer desde la perspectiva occidental, no es otra cosa que la lucha de clases y categorías desde el punto de vista del poder que conllevan a inequidades, mientras que al interior nuestro, el cuerpo es uno sólo, y se refleja en que el árbol es el hombre y la tierra la mujer, indica que no podrá vivir o estar separado el uno del otro, lo que permite el estado de equilibrio y de relaciones armónicas entre un mismo cuerpo.

Por ser nosotros quienes comprendemos dichos principios, se hace necesario abrir el debate, no, entre indígenas, sino con resto de la sociedad, para que sean entendidos por encima de pretensiones individualistas. Existen unos comportamientos sanos basados en instintos de conservación y preservación, a los que si todos nos sometemos, el mundo sería posible con mayor énfasis en lo social.

En las culturas indígenas el concepto de genero no existe como criterio diferenciador; es entendido como la visión de las relaciones de los dos sexos, no solamente en términos del análisis de la división sexual del trabajo, sino cómo se ven los hombres y mujeres de una cultura a si mismos y cuál es su relación recíproca.

Entiendo por que lo he vivido; la participación de las mujeres en el espacio público es muy limitada, a pesar, de que históricamente la mujer fue la columna vertebral de la familia y la sociedad.

La participación de la mujer es in visibilizada tanto en los espacios públicos como privado. En el ámbito Centroamericano y nacional actual, la mujer indígena tiene pocas oportunidades de acceder a los espacios de toma de decisión tanto en entidades estatales como en organizaciones de la sociedad civil (o no gubernamentales), la participación es escasa o nula. A excepción de las organizaciones conformadas por mujeres y a unas pocas organizaciones mixtas que están abiertas a la participación igualitaria.

La participación de la mujer en general y en particular de la mujer indígena en las instituciones del Estado es mínima o nula, sin embargo esta dificultad no opaca el hecho de que estas pocas mujeres que acceden a espacios de poder, de concertación, de decisión tanto en espacios de empresas privadas y en el ámbito publico y político, demuestran con su trabajo, su determinación, su coherencia con las comunidades indígenas, su perseverancia y su que hacer diario muestran que existe un camino a seguir y crean la oportunidad para que otras mujeres sigan el ejemplo. En Guatemala, Nicaragua y otros países las mujeres se han destacado ocupando cargos de diputadas alcaldesas.

El hecho de ser mujer indígena la coloca usualmente en desventaja, con relación a las mujeres de otras etnias (no indígenas) y principalmente con relación a los hombres (indígenas y no indígenas), debido a las pocas oportunidades que tienen y a la triple

discriminación, por su condición étnica, por su género y por ser pobre. Teniendo en cuenta la información enunciada, se necesitan espacios de participación política de las mujeres indígenas en el ámbito nacional y regional que permitan identificar las necesidades, propuestas y estrategias de acción, así como fortalecer su capacidad de incidencia en cada uno de sus países y en la región.

La mujer indígena participa en las estructuras locales, sin embargo, aún en estos espacios su participación es baja por la reproducción de las estructuras patriarcales. La mujer generalmente está presente en el corte de leña, en la pesca, en el cultivo de la tierra y en la producción artesanal. Ella es la comadrona/partera, la sanadora, la guía espiritual.

La mujer indígena tiene un papel protagónico en el contexto centroamericano desde su cotidianidad, desde la familia, el trabajo y la comunidad. Es ella quién en las culturas ancestrales ha transmitido conocimientos a través de la oralidad y prácticas en armonía con la naturaleza, con conciencia de que somos una y uno con el universo, garantizando así la reproducción de su familia y comunidad ante una economía de mercado.

Algunos avances identificados:

Las organizaciones de mujeres indígenas, expresan a nivel nacional y regional que se necesita sumar los esfuerzos de mujeres y hombres para lograr los derechos de los pueblos indígenas. En este marco, el movimiento de mujeres tiene su propia especificidad al luchar por sus derechos como también por los colectivos.

Limitantes generales

Los múltiples roles que ejercen las mujeres indígenas, el trabajo reproductivo, productivo y comunitario, que se presenta en la familia nuclear y ampliada, en el ámbito nacional y regional, han significado para algunas mujeres redoblar sus esfuerzos, para lograr su incorporación en las organizaciones y espacios de participación.

La falta de instituciones que velen por los derechos de las mujeres indígenas en particular y la inexistencia de instrumentos legales que garanticen seguridad jurídica.<sup>5</sup> Aún cuando los Estados nacionales cuentan con mecanismos que velan por los derechos de las mujeres, éstos hasta son desconocidos por las mujeres y más aún no se visualizan acciones estratégicas o afirmativas hacia las mujeres indígenas.

La problemática que afecta a las mujeres indígenas es multidimensional. Los bajos niveles educativos, la falta de acceso a bienes y servicios, las condiciones de pobreza y sus efectos como la migración a las ciudades hacen que la participación en la esfera política y ambiental sea mínima en los espacios regionales y nacionales de toma de decisión.

El número de mujeres que han alcanzado puestos públicos es bajo debido a las estructuras patriarcales, al racismo y a la exclusión política y social, como ya se mencionó anteriormente.

Una de las situaciones desalentadoras para algunas mujeres al estar frente a la riqueza de la cosmovisión, es la visión y posición que asumen algunos compañeros y hermanos indígenas, quienes influenciados por las estructuras patriarcales llegan a desvalorizar, y hasta bloquear la participación de la mujer. Algunos de ellos piensan que el espacio de la mujer es el doméstico y por lo tanto, encuentran dificultad para trabajar en forma equitativa.

Los recursos asignados a las organizaciones de mujeres son limitados en comparación a los recursos que manejan los hombres. Por lo general, los proyectos de desarrollo han sido planificados, gerenciados y evaluados por los hombres indígenas quienes tienen mayores posibilidades de moverse en el espacio público.

Es importante la transmisión de conocimientos y experiencias de las mujeres que han tenido una amplia trayectoria política y ambiental a las futuras generaciones.

Planteamiento diferente con una orientación territorial del trabajo, porque la mayoría de las mujeres al igual que el resto de la población indígena vive en el área rural.

Participación real de las mujeres en los espacios de toma de decisión, el fortalecimiento de sus capacidades y habilidades para incidir en el campo político y ambiental.

Articular la esfera local, nacional y regional que permita el flujo de información, y de conocimientos a través de redes para concretizar los derechos de los pueblos y mujeres indígenas.

Fortalecer la organización a nivel regional y nacional de tal manera que en forma conjunta puedan incidir en los espacios de toma de decisión política y ambiental.

Incorporar equidad en las estructuras organizativas para que hombres y mujeres unan sus esfuerzos y liderazgos en busca de sus derechos.

Ejercer la tolerancia, el respeto a las diferencias, la libertad y la democracia en las organizaciones en el ámbito local, nacional y regional como base para la participación plena de la mujer.

Fortalecer la capacidad de los pueblos indígenas para asegurar la protección de su conocimiento y la justa y equitativa distribución de beneficios que surjan de su uso.

Facilitar espacios para reconocer, valorar y dar continuidad al saber de las mujeres sobre los recursos naturales.

Atrevemos a mirar hacia atrás para impulsamos y seguir avanzando en nuestro caminar. Generar sonoridad, si bien cada mujer es un ser único y por lo tanto diferente, desde nuestras distintas capacidades y habilidades deben surgir liderazgos para construir una

práctica liberadora a nivel personal, que ayude a construir relaciones equitativas en nuestros pueblos.

De este encuentro de resistencia quede como un mandato la visibilización y criterios de equidad en los distintos espacios de participación de las mujeres indígenas, los esfuerzos de las mujeres y de diferentes organismos no gubernamentales no pueden ser aislados, deben incorporarse en los procesos de organización y en las agendas locales, nacionales y regionales.

En este orden de ideas como muchas mujeres indígenas de todos el mundo coincidieron en que la búsqueda debiera estar orientada principalmente a "reestablecer el equilibrio principal entre los géneros", poniendo en práctica los desvanecidos principios de reciprocidad y complementariedad entre hombres y mujeres que hace falta en el mundo occidental y no dentro de una autonomía de género o superioridad de un sexo sobre otro.

C: Dificultades y desafíos de la inclusión de las mujeres en los diferentes procesos de cambio.

1. Analfabetismo.
2. Exclusión de los procesos organizativos de la mujer indígena rural.
3. Violencia simbólica de los hombres.

Finalmente: las conclusiones y retos

1. Implementar criterios de equidad en la participación de la mujer en los distintos escenarios para la gobernabilidad de los pueblos indígenas.
2. Plan de igualdad de oportunidades para la mujer indígena, concertadas con las organizaciones indígenas y asumidas por el estado.
3. Conformación del consejo continental de mujeres indígenas, para formular una política pública de equidad y ejecución y seguimiento de la misma.
4. Los sistemas de información socio-económicos de los diferentes estados deben tener variables de género, etnia y población etarea como fuente de información de la política pública.
5. Acoger los tratados internacionales y las metas del milenio referentes a la mujer en todos los estados

B. Antisuyu

**1. Subject: NOTA DE PRENSA RIO CORRIENTES**

Thu, 26 Oct 2006 19:38:54 +0200 (CEST)

From: Comunicación Chaskinayrampi <chaskinayrampi@yahoo.es>

Subject: **Peru\_ victoria indígena contra la contaminación y la injusticia**

Queridos amigos,

Esta es una victoria histórica y dentro de lo posible, de lo más pacífica, que han logrado los indígenas achuar, quichua y urarinas del Corrientes, agobiados por la contaminación y buscando la justicia y atención del Estado.

Siguiendo los designios del Arutam, (el Dios de los achuar) tuve el privilegio y honor de ser llamada, a acompañarles durante los diez últimos días de su gesta, como parte del trabajo de asesora legal que realizo hace más de 5 años con las comunidades del Corrientes y su organización FECONACO.

Una experiencia extraordinaria de un pueblo que guiado por sus maestros espirituales y sus guerreros, han logrado pacífica, disciplinada y firmemente alcanzar la victoria para impedir que se les siga contaminando.

La nota de prensa no puede describir la suma de sucesos y la actuación digna de la gente. Finalmente sin ningún herido y nada que lamentar, después de 13 días de haber paralizado las operaciones petroleras en los lotes 1AB y 8, que durante más de 35 años han eliminado ingentes cantidades de sustancias venenosas a sus ríos, los indígenas han logrado que el Estado y la petrolera se comprometan a aceptar el 95% de sus derechos, y con ello un paso adelante en la búsqueda de justicia.

Pero antes de terminar de festejarla, al llegar a Lima e Iquitos, nos hemos encontrado con una guerra mediática, orientada a calumniarme, mentiras de los políticos que se esconden en su poder e inmunidad y una denuncia interpuesta por Pluspetrol contra seis de los que los acompañamos: Segundo Alberto Pizango, Presidente de AIDSESEP; Petronila Chumpi, joven y valiente mujer indígena, coordinadora de FECONACO; Julio Dávila, parte del equipo de abogados de Racimos de Ungurahui; Rique Babilonia y José Carlos Herrera líderes de la Red Ambiental Loretana; y contra mí; por los delitos de Usurpación agravada, Secuestro agravado, Contra la seguridad común, Coacción y Violación de domicilio.

No nos asusta el poder del dinero, más bien quiero dejar compartiendo con ustedes, la bella experiencia de felicidad por una victoria más de nuestro pueblo; transmitirles la tierna mirada de los niños que ha quedado grabada en la pupila; la alegría de las madres

por la esperanza renacida; el aire del digno orgullo de los guerreros; y la paz de la serena actitud y sabios consejos de los guías espirituales, en el alma transmitida.

Muchas gracias a todos los amigos del Perú y de todas partes del mundo, que han colaborado de diversas maneras y nos han seguido solidariamente, festejamos ahora la alegría de la victoria, que no sólo es la de los indígenas, es de todos los que anhelamos la paz y la justicia.

"Quien salva una vida, salva al mundo entero"

Rogamos puedan ayudar difundiendo las notas de esta gesta,

Muchas gracias,

Lily\*

PD: enviaré fotos via web.

\* La Torre – asesora legal (mi aclaración)

## **2. NOTA DE PRENSA DE LA FEDERACION DE COMUNIDADES NATIVAS DEL RIO CORRIENTES 'FECONACO'**

Iquitos 24 de octubre del 2006

¡¡VICTORIA DE LOS PUEBLOS INDIGENAS DE LA AMAZONIA PERUANA!!!

¡¡VICTORIA DEL PUEBLO ACHUAR, QUICHUA Y URARINA DEL CORRIENTES, UN PASO HACIA LA JUSTICIA!!

Informe sobre la paralización petrolera realizada pacíficamente por las comunidades indígenas Achuar, Quichua y Urarinas, --que habitamos desde tiempos inmemoriales en nuestro territorio ubicado en la cuenca del río Corrientes, Loreto, Perú-- paralizando con ello, los vertidos de un millón cien mil barriles diarios de las tóxicas aguas de producción que nos envenenan y que contaminan nuestras aguas de consumo, nuestros animales y nuestras tierras desde 1970, en los lotes 1AB y 8, antes explotadas por Occidental Peruana Inc. y por Petroperú, y actualmente por la empresa Pluspetrol.

**HEMOS LOGRADO BUENOS ACUERDOS FIRMADOS POR EL GOBIERNO, EL PUEBLO ACHUAR Y LA EMPRESA ARGENTINA PLUS PETROL.**

Informamos al pueblo peruano y a la opinión pública internacional, que la paralización fue de manera pacífica, no ha habido ningún daño a la propiedad privada o a las personas. Se paralizaron casi totalmente las actividades petroleras en la selva norte del Perú, en los lotes 1Aby 8, con más de 180 pozos de explotación en las baterías de producción: Jibarito, Huayurí, Dorissa, Shiviyacu, Carmen, Forestal y Teniente López que corresponde lote 1AB, además del aeropuerto de Trompeteros y en todas las carreteras que corresponde Lote 8 de la empresa.

La medida para paralizar las actividades petroleras, fue asumida por nuestras comunidades el pasado martes 10 de octubre, después de agotar todas las instancias de diálogo con los diversos Gobiernos del país, para lograr el cese del continuo vertido de las tóxicas aguas de producción petrolera, que ha contaminado las aguas de consumo humano de nuestras comunidades, los peces que son nuestro alimento y la sangre de la población indígena con cadmio y plomo, demostrado en los análisis oficiales del Ministerio de Salud, el Ministerio de la Producción, y del Organismo Supervisor de las actividades energéticas, (OSINERG)

La medida continuó pacíficamente luego de la Primera Acta del viernes 13 de octubre, suscrita por los Ministros de Energía y Minas, Ing. Juan Valdivia; el Ministro de Salud, Dr. Juan Vallejos; y el Presidente del Gobierno Regional de Loreto, Robinson Rivadeneyra; pero el Acta redactada por los funcionarios, no contenía algunos acuerdos tomados entre las partes, ni las precisiones que los acuerdos requerían y no constaba la

decisión de las comunidades sobre su NO CONSENTIMIENTO a las nuevas concesiones petroleras en nuestros territorios. Además el procedimiento de aprobación fue improcedente pues la lectura del Acta solo fue en español, no traducida al Achuar, y el documento fue suscrito bajo la luz de una linterna.

De acuerdo a ello, y en una clara actitud propositiva, desde el domingo 15, las comunidades hicimos llegar al Gobierno central y regional, una propuesta que incluía el pedido de las comunidades que debieron figurar en el Acta anterior, las precisiones para la efectivizar la Reinyección de las aguas de producción; los plazos y mecanismos de toma de decisiones y la fiscalización en la ejecución de los Planes de Salud y Desarrollo Integral; la Alimentación temporal de Emergencia; el Agua potable; la Remediación de pasivos y daños ambientales; el Seguro Integral de Salud para los pueblos indígenas; entre otros.

Hasta el sábado 21, no teníamos ninguna respuesta a nuestras propuestas, de parte del Gobierno central y regional. Fueron 6 días en los que sólo escuchábamos por el pequeño radio transistor, información distorsionada y difamatoria que desde Lima se divulgaba, sobre actos de violencia que generaban las comunidades, los cuales nunca ocurrieron, y muy pocos medios informaban las causas de nuestras justas demandas.

Aquél mismo día 21, llegaron a la zona algunos medios de prensa y una delegación de comisionados de la Defensoría del Pueblo, con la misión de restablecer la comunicación del Gobierno, a los que las comunidades les recibimos con amabilidad y las puertas estaban abiertas para ellos. Desde ese momento se pudo informar la real situación a la opinión pública directamente desde las comunidades, ya que en el lugar no hay teléfono público.

Los Apus han informado que los gobiernos anteriores no nos consultan ni informan claramente sobre el uso que desde las oficinas de Lima se plantea dar a los territorios que ocupamos y poseemos legítimamente por derecho ancestral y por mandato expreso de la Constitución. Asimismo los Apus han informado el poco trabajo de los Gobiernos en nuestras comunidades: hay mínimos servicios públicos, no se paraliza la contaminación, el canon casi no llega a nuestras comunidades y nunca se nos ha pagado compensaciones por el uso de nuestras tierras. No tenemos un hospital, educación superior y técnica, suministro de electricidad y agua en todas nuestras comunidades, todo esto a pesar que de nuestro territorio, se extrae desde hace 35 años, el 60% del petróleo que se produce en el país.

No puede ser que el petróleo suponga bienestar y beneficios para la sociedad nacional a costa de la salud física y mental, la pobreza, el hambre, la contaminación, la intranquilidad social, invasión y destrucción de la propiedad y el riesgo a la sobrevivencia de las madres, padres, hijos del pueblo, también somos humanos y Peruanos, somos los legítimos y ancestrales dueños y vivientes de las tierras de donde el petróleo es extraído.

Estamos seguros que muchos peruanos y hermanos del mundo, no están de acuerdo con este sistema que beneficia a unos y daña al pueblo Achuar.

El domingo 22 de octubre, el Gobierno decidió reiniciar el diálogo y ha aceptado nuestras justas demandas a 13 días de iniciada la paralización Achuar, y los millones de dólares que refiere la empresa haber perdido no son nada en comparación a las miles de vidas que se salvarán en el Corrientes evitando la contaminación, y no son nada frente a las inmensas ganancias acumuladas por la empresa dado los altos precios del barril del petróleo en el mundo.

Hoy 24 de octubre ya festejamos la paz!! Este día será un día en que celebraremos el triunfo de la verdad sobre la injusticia y la muerte. Hemos logrado acuerdos para empezar a evitar la contaminación de nuestros ríos, quebradas, tierra y lagos, para asegurar nuestra alimentación, atender la salud de nuestros hijos y el estado se ha comprometido a compartir el 5% del canon petrolero en beneficio de las comunidades ubicadas en las zonas de explotación petrolera...pero principalmente hemos dado un paso gigante hacia la dignidad, el respeto que nuestros pueblos indígenas se merecen y hacia nuestro histórico anhelo de autodeterminación.

Nos guía nuestro ARUTAM que es el Dios del Amor, la Verdad y la Vida, que es el mismo del que hablaron Buda, Jesús y Gandhi.

Queremos decir a todos ¡cuán bella puede ser la vida humana, los bosques de la amazonía, los animales y las plantas, si todos vivimos respetándonos y en armonía con la naturaleza!

Nosotros conocemos esa vida y siempre queremos vivir así. Desde nuestro territorio, en un rincón de la amazonía, nosotros los Achuares, Urarinas y Quichuas se la ofrecemos al mundo.

**¡GRACIAS A LA FUERZA ESPIRITUAL DEL ARUTAM, SEGUIREMOS FIRMES Y ALGUN DIA TOTALMENTE FELICES EN NUESTRO TERRITORIO!**

## ***Antisuyu Women***

### ***3. Mujeres nativas empiezan a ser líderes en sus pueblos***

*El Comercio - Iquitos - Peru - (Posted on Mar-11-2002)*

Se creía hace mucho tiempo que la selva estaba habitada por más mujeres que varones.

Ante esta realidad no faltó un antropólogo que sostuviera la tesis de que aquella diferencia obedecía a la precaria alimentación regional, lo cual debilitaba los órganos sexuales y en consecuencia solo nacían mujeres, consideradas por él como el sexo débil.

De acuerdo a los últimos censos, las comunidades indígenas representan el 1,08% de la población nacional y solo entre los culinas y los sharanahuas existen comunidades donde habitan más damas que caballeros. Pero a pesar de que a nivel nacional ellas (47,9%) sean ligeramente menos que ellos (52,1%) y tengan menos oportunidades y responsabilidades políticas, existen estudios como Relaciones de Género en la Amazonía, del Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica (Caaap), que sostienen que las comunidades pueden funcionar sin la presencia varonil, pero se irían a la ruina si faltara la mujer.

Hasta hace un tiempo ellas solo se dedicaban a la crianza de los hijos y a las actividades en el campo, pero los tiempos han cambiado y ahora -sobre todo las shipibas del río Ucayali- son capaces de salir de sus comunidades para irse hasta los mercados de la costa o del extranjero a vender sus productos.

La independencia ha tocado sus puertas, a pesar de que en el ámbito comunal son muy pocas las que asumen liderazgos y raras veces intervienen con voz en sus asambleas. Pero han empezado a hacerlo en sus clubes de madres y organizaciones similares.

En el caso de las secoyas, las mujeres se ubican en la parte de atrás durante las asambleas comunales y no intervienen en los debates, pero antes de tomarse decisiones sus hombres hacen un alto a la discusión para consultarles los acuerdos a los que deben llegar. En ese sentido son los shipibo-conibos quienes más han avanzado.

Pero la modernidad también trae aspectos que -para las investigadoras del Caaap- son preocupantes. Por ejemplo, la cerveza está reemplazando al masato en sus celebraciones, lo que ocasiona que las mujeres pierdan su rol de anfitrionas durante las ceremonias.

Lo mismo ocurre con la adquisición de productos de la cultura occidental, los cuales están desplazando las artesanías y menajes que ellas fabrican. Ante esta situación, el año pasado siete instituciones vigilaron la cabida que se les ofrece a las mujeres. Entre estas el CTAR- Loreto, la Municipalidad de Maynas, las dependencias del Ministerio de la Mujer y la Policía Nacional, donde están comprobando si se están cumpliendo los acuerdos de Beijing.

#### **4. Los Yacu Tayta, humildes vigilantes de los recursos de la Amazonía peruana EFE - Peru - (Posted on May-10-2007)**

Quechuanetwork (Spanish and English versions)

<http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2007/05/09/solidaridad/1178703549.html>

EL DORADO (PERÚ).- Los Yacu Tayta, un grupo de humildes moradores de la Reserva Nacional Pacaya Samiria, la segunda más grande de Perú, vigilan sigilosamente los ríos de este vasto bosque inundable para proteger sus codiciados recursos naturales.

Con camisetas deterioradas por su uso, aunque muy limpias, y bíceps desarrollados de tanto remar en sus canoas, estos habitantes de la localidad Manco Cápac patrullan con especial interés la laguna El Dorado, situada en el corazón de Pacaya Samiria.

Desde hace más de una década, los Yaku Tayta, que en quechua significa "padre del agua," intentan detener la depredación del pez paiche (*Arapaima gigas*), arawanas o peces dragones (*Osteoglossum bicirrhosum*, así como de las tortugas acuáticas "charapa" (*Podocnemis expansa*) y "taricaya" (*Podocnemis unifilis*), entre otras especies.

A cambio de unas pocas monedas que les permitían emular un estilo de vida occidental, muchos de estos pioneros de la vigilancia comunal en Pacaya Samiria fueron en otros tiempos depredadores en El Dorado, principalmente del paiche, que cuesta en los mercados locales alrededor de 20 soles el kilo (unos 6 dólares).

Pero ellos cambiaron su actitud frente al medio ambiente tras la intervención en la zona de organizaciones como la Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI), Pro naturaleza, The Nature Conservancy (TNT Perú) o la Agencia de EEUU para el Desarrollo Internacional (USAID), entre otras.

Los lugareños asumieron la transformación en sus costumbres de manera paulatina, ya que implicó la formación de organizaciones comunales, así como una larga espera para la recuperación de las especies en peligro, la búsqueda de otras fuentes de subsistencia y el planteamiento de planes de manejo de recursos.

Un codiciado recurso

"No era muy rentable" al principio, dice Hugo Pinedo, uno de los Yaku Tayta más antiguos, al celebrar que después de cinco años de espera su grupo pudo gozar "de los frutos" de su trabajo, lo que permitió destinar un 10% de las ganancias totales al desarrollo de Manco Cápac.

"El año pasado recolectamos 40.000 huevos de tortuga taricaya" en las playas artificiales creadas en El Dorado para la conservación de esta especie, de las cuales fueron comercializadas 4.200, ha recordado Pinedo.

Fernando Chuquival, otro Yacu Tayta, subraya que en 2006 su grupo no tuvo "un buen aprovechamiento del paiche" debido a que el año anterior se registró una incursión de unas 120 personas en El Dorado, refugio de estos peces considerados entre los más grandes de las especies de agua dulce.

En esa ocasión, los "infractores" se enfrentaron con violencia a los Yaku Tayta, recuerda Chuquival, pero sobre todo le arrebataron a este grupo organizado la posibilidad de pescar paiches en la siguiente temporada, debido a que se debió dar una veda para la recuperación de este codiciado recurso.

### **Mujeres en las patrullas** (My emphasis)

Y es que la escasa vigilancia de las autoridades peruanas en la zona, así como los lazos de familiaridad y amistad entre los vigilantes comunales y muchos de los que depredan los recursos naturales de la reserva, dificultan las tareas de protección.

Los depredadores entran en la zona en balsas con motores más rápidos, redes y hasta armas de fuego, precisa Chiquival, tras expresar los temores por su seguridad y la de sus compañeros.

Aún así, estos guardianes amazónicos se sienten fortalecidos porque luchan por su tierra "siempre juntos como en familia", expresa con una amplia sonrisa el anciano Yaku Tayta Ramón Silván.

Las patrullas del Pacaya no son algo exclusivo de los hombres, porque existen organizaciones como los 'Tigres negros' de la comunidad de San Jacinto, situada frente a la Reserva, que tienen entre sus miembros a mujeres.

Norma Tavinchi, una de las vigilantes de los 'Tigres', afirma que las mujeres tienen "el mismo derechos a salir a patrullar" que los hombres, incluso por las noches, cuando aparecen los depredadores de un medio ajeno y agreste para cualquier ciudadano de la metrópoli

### **Quechuanetwork**

EL DORADO (PERÚ).- The *Yacu Tayta*, a group of humble residents of the National Reserve *Pacaya Samiria*, the second biggest in Perú, carefully watch the rivers of this vast flood prone forest to protect its ambioned natural resources.

With worn out tea shirts by overuse, even when very clean and developed biceps from so much rowing in their canoes, these inhabitants of the Manco Capac village inspect with special interest the El Dorado Lake located in the heart of Pacaya Samiria.

For more than a decade now, the *Yaku Tayta*, which in Quechua means "father of the water," try to stop the depredation of the *paiche* fish (*Arapaima gigas*), arawanas or dragon fish (*Osteoglossum bicirrhosum*), the same as that of the water turtles "*charapa*" (*Podocnemis expansa*) and "*taricaya*" (*Podocnemis unifilis*), among other species.

In exchange to a few coins that would allow them to emulate the life style of te West, many of these pioneers of community watch in *Pacaya Samiria* were in other times predators in El Dorado, mainly of *paiche*, which costs around 20 soles the kilo (some 6 dollars) in the local markets.

But they changes their attitude towards the environment after the intervention in the area of organizations like the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI), Pro nature, The Nature Conservancy (TNT Perú) or the US Agency for International Development, among others.

The locals assumed the transformation in their habits in a gradual manner, since that implied the formation of community organizations, like a long wait for the recuperation of endangered species,

the search of other sources of subsistence and of the proposal of plans for the management of resources.

### **A coveted resource**

In the beginning “it wasn’t very profitable,” says dice Hugo Pinedo, one of the oldest *Yaku Tayta*, when celebrating that after five years of wait his group could enjoy the fruits of their labor, which allowed destining a 10% of the total profits to the development of *Manco Cápac*.

"Last year we collected 40.000 eggs of *taricaya* turtle" in the artificially created beaches in El Dorado for the conservation of this species, of which 4.200 were commercialized, Pinedo remembers.

Fernando Chuquival, another *Yacu Tayta*, underlines that in 2006 his group did not have "a good use of *paiche*" due to the incursion registered the year before of about 120 people in El Dorado, refuge of these fish considered among the biggest sweet water species.

In this occasion, the "infractors" confronted violently the *Yaku Tayta*, Chuquival recalls, but above all they took away from this organized group the possibility to fish *paiches* in the following season, due to the need to stop the fishing to recover the desired resource.

### **Women in the patrols**

And it is that in the scarce vigilance of the Peruvian authorities in the area, and in the family and friendship links among the community watchers and many of those who predate the natural resources of the reserve, make the tasks of protection difficult.

The predators come into the area in boats with quicker motors, nets and even fire arms, says Chiquival, after expressing his fears for his own and his companions’ security.

Even so, these Amazon watchers feel strengthened because they fight for their land “always together as in a family,” he expresses with a broad smile the old *Yaku Tayta* Ramón Silván.

The *Pacaya* patrols are not something exclusive of the men, because there are organizations like the “Black tigers” of the San Jacinto community, located in front of the Reserve, that have women among its members.

Norma Tavinchi, one of the vigilants of the 'Tigres,' states that the women have “the same rights to go out and patrol” as men, including at nights, when the predators of an alien and aggressive environment for any citizen of the metropolis appear.

## **5. JEFAS ANTISUYU**

Estimados amigos:

Para saludarlos, soy una investigadora de UPCH y quisiera Saber exactamente si trabajan con la Jefa de los Asháninkas Eufronia Yupanqui, y cual es su rol en Marnakiari Bajo y cuales han sido sus impactos frente a sus actividades, disculpen que les pregunte esto pero estoy algo confundida, por que estamos intentando colaborar con la Jefa Eufronia, desde el punto de vista a mejorar la calidad de vida, y no me gustaría realizar alguna actividad sin coordinación de otros grupos, en tal sentido si fueran tan amables de colaborar con esta información les agradeceré, por favor envíen la información con copia a la Jefa Eufronia y Ing. Vargas, cabe mencionar que necesito informes técnicos con datos estadísticos, que no pude encontrar en sus paginas.

Saludos cordiales

Palmy

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Palmira Ventosilla, M.Sc.

Ph. D student in Biochemistry and Molecular Biology

Associate Researcher

Instituto de Medicina Tropical Alexander von Humboldt

Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia

Mailing Address: A.P. 4314, Lima 100, Perú

Street Address : Av. Honorio Delgado 430, Lima 31, Perú

Tel: (51-1) 482 3903, 482 3910 Fax (24 Hr) (51-1) 482 3404

Celular Tel: (51-1)99788478

Home tel: (51-1)540 2911

**6. Perú: Daysi Zapata Fasabi, Mujer indígena Yine, asume Presidencia de ORAU clasificado en: Actualidad.**

Pucallpa, 12 de mayo de 2006. En un acto histórico para AIDSESEP y para el movimiento indígena amazónico el Congreso de la Organización Regional Aidesep Ucayali ORAU eligió a Daysi Zapata Fasabi como Presidenta de la Organización Regional Aidesep Ucayali (ORAU) para el periodo 2006 a 2008. Daysi es una reconocida lideresa del pueblo Yine y Presidenta de la Organización Indígena Regional de Atalaya (OIRA). El Congreso de ORAU se realizó del 8 al 10 de mayo en los ambientes de la Universidad Nacional Intercultural de la Amazonia y en el participaron representantes y líderes de las organizaciones y federaciones indígenas afiliadas a ORAU, quienes definieron una agenda común de trabajo para la defensa los derechos territoriales y la gestión autónoma de sus recursos naturales.

De igual modo el evento fue provechoso para definir acciones a fin de contrarrestar la tala ilegal de madera, defender y proteger a los pueblos indígenas en aislamiento voluntario, defender el respeto a la intangibilidad de las reservas territoriales propuestas por AIDSESEP y las creadas por el gobierno, entre otros acuerdos.

Todos los aspectos trabajados por el Congreso se enmarcan en el Plan de Vida de ORAU que busca el cumplimiento de las demandas y exigencias de las comunidades y pueblos indígenas.

Con este congreso ORAU ha consolidado la pluralidad de su Consejo Directivo, lo que permitirá escuchar la voz y la presencia de los 14 pueblos indígenas en la estructura orgánica y que sus aspiraciones como pueblos sean canalizadas adecuada y democráticamente en la región Ucayali.

Los pueblos indígenas de la Región Ucayali y de toda la amazonía peruana, hacemos votos por que la gestión de nuestra hermana Daysi siga la huella de nuestros hermanos dirigentes históricos y de nuestro mártir Kruger Pacaya Cruz.

Fuente: Oficina de Comunicaciones de AIDSESEP

## ***7. Perú: Indígenas de Loreto exigen se declare en emergencia ambiental cuenca del Corrientes, Tigre y afluentes***

Clasificado en: Actualidad. 25 Julio 2006 9:49

Las organizaciones indígenas de la región Loreto celebraron un congreso en Iquitos del 20 al 24 de julio y acordaron pronunciarse públicamente denunciando los atropellos de las empresas petroleras y exigen se declaren en situación de emergencia ambiental la cuenca del río Corrientes, Tigre y afluentes, en aplicación de la Ley N° 28804 (Ley que regula la Declaratoria de Emergencia Ambiental), entre otras demandas.

Pronunciamiento de la Organización Regional Aidesep Iquitos (ORAI)

Los pueblos indígenas de Loreto organizados a través de ORAI, debidamente representados por sus organizaciones representativas como son: CURCHA, FECONAFROPU, FECONA, FECONAMNCUA, AIDECOS, ADECOP, FECONARINA, ORKIWAN, OISPE, FECONACO, FECONAT, FEPYROA, FECOTYBA y FECONAYA, reunidos en nuestro Congreso Regional llevado a cabo del 20 al 24 de julio del 2006, en el cual se ha acordado emitir el siguiente pronunciamiento:

Como es de conocimiento público los constantes atropellos y abusos por parte de las empresas petroleras a las comunidades indígenas, así como de la gran contaminación del medio ambiente en las zonas donde vienen desarrollando sus actividades, caso más grave y público es lo que viene pasando con los hermanos indígenas achuar, kichwas y urarinas de las cuencas de los ríos Corrientes, Tigre y Chambira.

En esta zona la contaminación ha llegado a niveles alarmantes, no sólo al medio ambiente sino también a las personas que habitan por esa zona.

Acciones frente a las actividades hidrocarburíferas en territorios indígenas

Decisiones sobre actividades petroleras:

Rechazamos las actividades petroleras en nuestros territorios y exigimos al Estado la anulación de las concesiones petroleras en los Lotes 117, 121, 67, 123, 122, 124, 106, 95, 104, 39 y 8, existentes en nuestros territorios y de los pueblos indígenas no contactados o aislados voluntariamente, y las áreas solicitadas.

Exigimos al Estado y a la Empresa Pluspetrol Norte la descontaminación del territorio indígena achuar, urarina y kichwa dentro de un plazo razonable.

Exigimos al Estado que la empresa Pluspetrol Norte aplique tecnología de punta en la zona donde está operando en tanto dure el periodo de explotación y a Repsol en cuanto dure su exploración.

Exigimos al Estado y a la empresa la compensación por los pasivos ambientales en el río Corrientes y Tigre, y por los daños actuales que se vienen produciendo.

Salud humana y ambiental:

Exigimos el cumplimiento de todos los acuerdos firmados por los organismos del Estado para la realización del Plan de Intervención Inmediata en las comunidades indígenas de la cuenca del río Corrientes, afectadas por las actividades petroleras.

Exigimos el establecimiento de mecanismos de control sanitario permanente para prevenir futuras afectaciones a la salud de los pueblos indígenas en áreas de explotación petrolera (Lote 8, Lote 1AB).

Exigimos al Estado mayor atención a las demandas de los pueblos indígenas para una verdadera fiscalización de las actividades petroleras en la Región Loreto, a través de los organismos estatales competentes para evitar futuras contaminaciones al medio ambiente.

Exigimos que las autoridades responsables del Estado declaren en Situación de Emergencia Ambiental la cuenca del río Corrientes, Tigre y afluentes, en aplicación de la Ley N° 28804 (Ley que regula la Declaratoria de Emergencia Ambiental).

Decisión para la protección de los pueblos en aislamiento voluntario:

Rechazamos el ingreso de las empresas petroleras en territorios de los pueblos indígenas en aislamiento voluntario.

Exigimos al Estado el cumplimiento de la Ley N° 28736 Ley para la protección de pueblos indígenas u originarios en situación de aislamiento y en situación de contacto inicial, a través del INDEPA.

Exigimos el reconocimiento de las reservas territoriales Napo -Tigre, Yavarí - Tapiche y Yavarí - Mirim, cuyos expedientes fueron presentados a los organismos estatales correspondientes en el año 2002; cuyos territorios están siendo superpuestos por concesiones petroleras y forestales.

Los abajo firmantes son los verdaderos líderes y representantes de las organizaciones:

Tulio Sifuentes Papa, Presidente de FECONAMNCUA

Marcelino Sandoval Torres, Vicepresidente de OISPE

Carmen Cabrera Sanchez, Mujer líder de OISPE

Francisco Miguel Sotero Valles, Presidente de FECONAYA

Enrique Gomez Vargas, Presidente de FECONARINA

Eugenia Martinez Noroña, Mujer líder de FEPYROA  
Brus Rubio Churay, Secretario de FECONA  
Henderson Rengifo Hualinga, Coordinador de FECONACO  
Rodolfo Hualinga Calderón, Delegado de FECONAT  
Rodrigo Pacaya Levi, Técnico local de OISPE  
Adela Rodriguez Gaya, Mujer líder de FECONAMNCUA  
Petronila Chumpi Rosales, Técnica local de FECONACO  
Beri Noteno Noteno, Mujer líder de ORKIWAN  
Ondina Chavez Marin, Mujer líder de FECONARINA  
Rafael Mosquera Roque, Delegado de FECONA  
Javier Fasanando Julca, Vicepresidente de FEPYROA  
Lewis Oraco Noteno, Presidente de ORKIWAN  
Claudio Alvarez Flores, Secretario de Recursos Naturales de FECONAFROPU  
Clotilde Enocaisa Guidones, Tesorera y Mujer líder de FECONAFROPU  
Sildia Pacaya Tananta, Mujer líder de AIDECOS  
Federico Cabudivo Macuyama, Delegado de AIDECOS  
Fortin Sampayo Cordero, Presidente de FECOTYBA  
Miguel Manihuari Tamani, Coordinador de AIDECOS  
Sergio Plaza Inuma, Presidente de ADECOP  
Lucila del Aguila Fatama, Mujer líder de ADECOP  
Enrique Inuma Macusi, Vicepresidente de CURCHA  
Massiel Vallejo Ijuma, Mujer líder de CURCHA

Nelson Cuji Chimpa, Presidente de OEPIAP  
Never Tuesta Cerrón, Coordinador de FORMABIAP  
Edwin Vásquez Campos, Presidente de ORAI  
Manuel Ramírez Santana, Vicepresidente de ORAI  
Gabriel Paima Peña, Vocal de ORAI  
Soledad Fasabi Shupingahua, Tesorera de AIDSESEP  
Jude Jumanga Jacinto, Secretaria de AIDSESEP

12/34 = 38.3% mujeres

## ***8. Perú: Mujeres amazónicas demandan territorio, educación, salud y participación política y ciudadana***

clasificado en: Actualidad. 22 Mayo 2007 12:54

Restituir el Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos (INDEPA) en su rango ministerial, exigir que se cumpla la ley de cuotas para candidatas mujeres e indígenas en las listas de los partidos políticos, poner fin a la discriminación y a la violencia física, verbal y sexual en contra de las niñas y mujeres indígenas, son algunos de los pedidos del Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas de la Amazonía Peruana.

El encuentro culminó el sábado en Lima y fue organizado por la Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana (AIDSESEP). Tuvo como principal objetivo promover el liderazgo participativo de la mujer indígena e impulsar su incorporación activa en la vida organizativa de los pueblos indígenas.

Producto del encuentro se elaboró una Declaración que fue leída durante la Mesa de Trabajo por el Día de Diversidad Cultural, en las instalaciones del Congreso de la República.

La Presidenta del poder legislativo, Mercedes Cabanillas, se comprometió a entregar personalmente este valioso documento en manos del Presidente de la República, Alan García.

Asimismo, el congresista José Saldaña señaló que ha presentado una iniciativa legislativa para que se restituya el INDEPA a sus anteriores funciones.

Declaración del Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas de la Amazonia Peruana 2007

Huampaní, Lima, Perú

Segundo Pizango, Pdte. de AIDSESEP y Mercedes Cabanillas, Pdta. del Congreso de la República

Nosotras, mujeres indígenas amazónicas de diversos pueblos indígenas de las diferentes organizaciones regionales organizadas y afiliadas a la Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana - AIDSESEP y ciudadanas del Perú, nos hemos reunido del 16 al 19 de mayo 2007, en el Encuentro Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas de la Amazonía Peruana para compartir nuestras preocupaciones, saberes y propuestas para enriquecer la agenda del movimiento indígena desde la perspectiva de nosotras, las mujeres.

En este Encuentro Nacional, hemos reconocido que nuestra forma de vida y continuación como pueblos indígenas está en grave amenaza, así como nuestra vida, nuestros territorios y medio ambiente por distintos actores sociales, atropellando y violando

nuestros derechos colectivos e individuales como pueblos y mujeres indígenas enmarcados en el Convenio 169 de la OIT, la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, la Convención para la Erradicación de toda forma de Discriminación contra las Mujeres, la Declaración del Segundo Decenio de los Pueblos Indígenas, la Convención sobre la Protección y la Promoción de la Diversidad de las Expresiones Culturales, el Convenio de Diversidad Biológica, los Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio y la propuesta de Declaración de los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas de la ONU.

Como mujeres indígenas de la Amazonía Peruana, de diversas generaciones y experiencias, viviendo en comunidades y asentadas en pueblos y ciudades, estamos enfrentando grandes amenazas a nuestras vidas, por ello señalamos lo siguiente:

### Territorio

1. Las mujeres indígenas rechazamos los múltiples atentados a nuestros territorios por parte de las empresas petroleras, madereras legales e ilegales, gasíferas, mineras, farmacéuticas, agroindustriales, e institucionales estatales y ONG (que promueven Áreas Naturales Protegidas y Parques Nacionales, sin nuestro consentimiento), además, enfrentamos invasiones de nuestros territorios y del narcotráfico. Esta grave situación se da con el aval e inacción por parte del Estado.
2. La falta de voluntad política del Estado en la titulación, ampliación y delimitación de linderos de los territorios indígenas, provoca situaciones de extrema vulnerabilidad de nuestros pueblos frente a estas amenazas. Demandamos la agilidad en los procedimientos de titulación y ampliación y el respeto pleno por nuestros derechos como dueños originarios de nuestros territorios que incluye el suelo, subsuelo, aire y agua.
3. Manifestamos también nuestra preocupación por la situación de nuestras hermanas y hermanos de los pueblos indígenas en aislamiento voluntario frente a las amenazas de las empresas extractivas (petroleras, madereras, gasíferas, etc.). En su nombre, nosotras las mujeres indígenas defendemos su derecho de vivir libremente, respetando su decisión, y así asegurar sus vidas y territorios declarándolos intangibles.
4. Denunciamos y exigimos la erradicación del trabajo forzado y esclavitud de nuestras hermanas y hermanos indígenas por parte de empresas de extracción maderera.
5. Nuestro rotundo rechazo a las actividades de industrias extractivas en nuestros territorios por los impactos negativos que tienen sobre nuestras vidas, pueblos, territorios y medio ambiente. Demandamos reparaciones, consultas reales y participativas de nuestras organizaciones indígenas legítimas y que nuestras decisiones sean respetadas. Asimismo, exigimos la gestión de los supuestos beneficios económicos.
6. Rechazamos las detenciones y juzgamientos de nuestras hermanas y hermanos indígenas que protestan en la defensa de nuestros territorios y derechos indígenas.

7. Exigimos una adecuada aplicación de las normas nacionales e internacionales de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas en relación a los derechos territoriales, principalmente el Convenio 169 OIT que es reconocida como norma nacional por la Resolución Legislativa 26253.

## Educación

1. Demandamos la aplicación y presupuesto necesario para implementar la educación intercultural bilingüe y la currícula diversificada en los niveles de inicial, primaria, secundaria y superior en todos los centros de educación del país. La educación intercultural es un derecho y una necesidad urgente en el Perú para poner fin al racismo y exclusión que siguen caracterizando al país.

2. Solicitamos la implementación y ampliación de programas de alfabetización, educación de adultos y programas no escolarizados para las mujeres indígenas iletradas que permita el pleno ejercicio de nuestros derechos ciudadanos.

3. Exhortamos un fin a la discriminación y violencia sexual, física y verbal en contra de las niñas y mujeres indígenas en todos los ámbitos de nuestras vidas, y en especial, en los centros de educación.

4. Preocupadas por los impedimentos que enfrentan las y los jóvenes indígenas para seguir estudios profesionales y aportar a sus pueblos, demandamos facilidades para su ingreso, continuación y conclusión de estudios superiores en universidades e institutos pedagógicos públicos y privados.

5. Demandamos que nuestras organizaciones indígenas, autoridades comunales y profesionales indígenas tengan participación equitativa en el sistema educativo (Ministerio de Educación, DIGEBI, DRE, UGEL) tanto en la selección de educadores en nuestras comunidades, definición de contenidos educativos, solicitud de plazas de profesores/as bilingües intercultural de los tres niveles educativos en nuestras comunidades que asegure una educación de calidad.

## Salud

1. Nos preocupamos por la poca voluntad política del Estado para implementar un programa nacional de salud intercultural, fomentando la discriminación en la atención por profesionales no indígenas que ignoran nuestra cosmovisión, rechazan nuestra sabiduría indígena y no dominan el idioma local.

2. Solicitamos al Estado ampliar a toda la Amazonía la experiencia del Proyecto de Salud Intercultural de AIDSESEP en la zona de Atalaya que incluye la capacitación y contratación de técnicos/as indígenas en salud, en una experiencia tripartita (Ministerio de Salud, Ministerio de Educación y la organización indígena).

3. Demandamos programas integrales de salud que incluya la salud sexual y reproductiva, la seguridad alimentaria y la atención pre y post-natal de calidad.

4. Exigimos al Estado y al gobierno de turno cumplir con su responsabilidad de prestar servicios de salud en forma gratuita a todos sus ciudadanos, incluyendo exámenes y atención por los impactos de contaminación por parte de las industrias extractivas y las epidemias prevalentes en nuestra region y así evitar que empresas privadas intenten manipular nuestras comunidades ofreciendo estos servicios.

#### Participación Política y Ciudadanía

1. Señalamos que no se haya creado mecanismos para lograr el propósito real de la ley de cuotas para candidatas mujeres e indígenas (30% para mujeres y 15% para indígenas) en la lista de partidos políticos, sino que se ha dado una situación contraria donde las mujeres indígenas servimos para llenar las listas, ocupando los últimos puestos.

2. Solicitamos al Estado dar facilidades para la inscripción de partidos políticos del movimiento indígena e incorporar nuestra participación y representatividad de nuestros pueblos de acuerdo a sus usos y costumbres en los diferentes espacios de decisión del Estado.

3. Exhortamos al Estado a expandir sus esfuerzos para documentar a todas y todos los que vivimos en el Perú, empezando con partidas de nacimientos para niñas y niños nacidos fuera del sistema estatal de salud, el establecimiento de registros civiles en las comunidades y el otorgamiento del DNI sin costo.

4. Demandamos que se descentralice los centros de votación y la amnistía de las multas por no votar para los pueblos indígenas, hasta que contemos con centros de votación en nuestras localidades.

5. Rechazamos la fusión de INDEPA, y la derogatoria de la ley que lo fusiona con el Ministerio de la Mujer, y exigimos su rango ministerial para que cumpla sus funciones en coordinación con nuestras organizaciones indígenas legítimas y que haya mayor participación de nosotras las mujeres indígenas amazónicas en su gerencia.

6. Solicitamos mecanismos específicos para fomentar la participación de mujeres indígenas en los Presupuestos Participativos y en espacios de gestión comunitaria de inversión del canon minero, petrolero y/o forestal.

7. Demandamos la incorporación de nuestras organizaciones indígenas en la planificación y gestión del Plan Nacional de Reparaciones y medidas especiales para asegurar la atención de todos nuestros pueblos indígenas que fuimos afectados por el conflicto armado interno.

8. Exhortamos a las instituciones estatales a aceptar legalmente a la administración de justicia indígena comunal y el derecho consuetudinario, sin obviar que las violaciones de los derechos humanos, específicamente de nosotras las mujeres indígenas, siguen siendo materia para los sistemas de justicia indígena y nacional.

Exigimos al Estado Peruano y al gobierno de turno y todas sus instituciones y funcionarios, a respetar nuestros derechos y contribuir a nuestra continuidad como mujeres indígenas y pueblos indígenas amazónicos en el Perú.

Ofrecemos nuestra solidaridad con el movimiento indígena-campesino andino en el Perú y las justas demandas del movimiento indígena continental del cual somos parte.

Finalmente respaldamos las demandas legales de nuestras organizaciones indígenas amazónicas, en particular de nuestras hermanas y hermanos Achuar, que han denunciado internacionalmente a la empresa petrolera OXY.

Huampaní, Lima, 19 de mayo de 2007.

Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana (AIDSESP)  
Asociación Regional de Pueblos Indígenas de la Selva Central (ARPI-SC)  
Coordinadora Regional de Pueblos Indígenas de San Lorenzo (CORPI-SL)  
Federación Nativa del Río Madre de Dios y Afluentes (FENAMAD)  
Organización Regional AIDSESP Ucayali (ORAU)  
Organización Regional AIDSESP Iquitos (ORAU)  
Organización Regional de Pueblos Indígenas del Norte del Perú (ORPIAN)  
Consejo Machiguenga del Río Urubamba (COMARU)



Saliendo del Congreso de la República. Foto: Kaethe Meentzen

## C. Q'OLLASUYU

### *1. Entrevista al "Mallku" Felipe Quispe , from "Iván Ignacio"*

<ivanignacio@hotmail.com>, [cano-can@yahoo.com](mailto:cano-can@yahoo.com); 09-26-06

“Esta lucha no es reciente. No viene solo del año 2000. La lucha se inicia desde la muerte del Inca Atahualpa. Desde entonces nuestros antepasados han dirigido un movimiento grande, anticolonial. También en la República han estado con las armas para rescatar el territorio, la tierra y el poder. Nosotros nos consideramos continuadores, seguidores de nuestros antepasados. De ahí que el año 2000 salimos a la luz pública con las grandes movilizaciones.

Porque en este país gobierna una pequeña minoría colonial, que además nos ha colonizado imponiéndonos sus leyes. Son una elite dominante que han entregado nuestras riquezas naturales a las transnacionales. Y también nos han discriminado racialmente. No nos reconocen como nación indígena, sino que simplemente como parte de Bolivia. Nos dicen que no hay discriminación, no hay lucha de clases, no hay lucha de naciones. Nosotros lo que hemos planteado es que somos una nación, una nación que tenemos nuestro territorio, nuestra tierra, nuestra cultura, religión, las leyes, como también los hábitos y costumbres. Eso todavía está vivo, activo en nuestras comunidades.

Pienso que Morales no va a cambiar nada, y entonces nos tocaría a nosotros hacer el cambio total. Para que en nuestro país no hayan más los pobres y los ricos. Para que vivamos en iguales condiciones de vida. Para que el pueblo esté feliz y contento. Porque todos debemos recibir iguales. Como se vive en la comunidad. En nuestras comunidades no hay pobres. No hay miserables. No hay limosneros. No hay gente que roba. Allá todos trabajamos. Ese es el pensamiento que nosotros escribimos. Ese es el ayllu comunitario. Ese es el sistema comunitarista, y ese debiese ser el modelo que vamos a implantar en nuestro país.”

“Pero la lucha la vamos a continuar porque el trabajo político existe, el trabajo político-ideológico va avanzando poco a poco y pienso que algún día nosotros de verdad tenemos que tomar el poder. La mayoría de la gente está intacta, observando a ver lo que hace el gobierno. Estamos vigilantes y vamos a fiscalizar los hechos.”

## 2. *Qullasuyu por siempre*

*Carlos Mamani Condori - Centro de Estudios Aymaras*

Para los pueblos indígenas, sometidos a dominación colonial, fue muy difícil guardar memoria de su pasado, estigmatizados como neófitos por la ideología colonialista, qué valor podrían tener sus conocimientos? La memoria, el conocimiento fueron desvalorizados como superstición, materia prima para la hechicería y por tanto objeto de extirpación; todo recuerdo de libertad debía ser extirpado en beneficio de la colonización. Así hoy el estudio del pasado indígena, durante su era de libertad y soberanía, está sometido a la re lectura de crónicas escritas por los mismos conquistadores; sin embargo en la oscuridad del tiempo pasado es posible vislumbrar algo de luz, los pocos indios que aprendieron la escritura dejaron testimonio de **una memoria guardada y cultivada en función de la vida social y política de los Andes.**

Don Joan Santa Cruz Pachacuti S. nativo del Qullasuyu, en su Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Piru., refiere cinco edades, de las cuales las primeras pueden ser consideradas míticas y las tres históricas:

1. Ccallac pacha (qallaq pacha). El tiempo del principio, del empiezo, comienzo, el origen.
2. Tutay pacha. El tiempo de la oscuridad, del que no existe memoria.
3. Purun pacha "y como cada uno cogieron lugares baldíos para sus beviendas y moradas", es el tiempo de la inocencia, de la pureza, el primero que corresponde a la cultura, de apropiación de los espacios territoriales, la industria.

Juan Santa Cruz Pachakuti, el cronista del Qullasuyu, a quien debemos esta periodización, rememora como las naciones que posteriormente conformaron el Tawantinsuyu "benieron de hazia arriba de Potosí" en un estado de guerra tribal "tomando los lugares, quitándose cada uno de las compañías en los lugares baldíos" (Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 1993:f3, p187).

4. Awqa pacha. "cadal día abía gran falta de tierras y lugares, y como no abían, cadal día abian guerras y discordias que todos en general se ocupavan hazer fortalezas y assi cadal día an abido encuentros y batallas sin aber la paz en este tiempo combates y guerras injustos, que los unos y los otros estavan jamás seguros, sin alcansar quietud" (Pachacuti Yamqui 1993:f3, p187-188).

5. Inka pacha. Durante el tiempo de guerras apareció Tunupa, que favoreció a un cacique llamado Apo Tampo, del que fue descendiente Manco Capac, el primer inka (Pachacuti Yamqui 1993:f6, p193-194). En la relación del cronista la identificación de Tunupa con Santo Tomás no importa mucho, sino la periodización y la significación que tiene en ella la formación del Tawantinsuyu. Fue Manco Capac, casado con su hermana Ypa Mama

Uaco que "assi comensó poner leyes morales para el buen gobierno de su gente, conquistádoles a los ynobedientes muchas provincias y naciones del Tawantinsuyus", no todos fueron absorbidos con violencia sino que también "Benieron ellos mismos de sus bellas gracias con presente ricas" (Pachacuti Yamqui 1993:f9, p197).

El tiempo histórico, de los inkas además de caracterizarse por la Ley y el orden, también lo fue por la pluralidad étnica "Y assi <mandó> que los bestidos y traxes de cada pueblo fuesen deferente, como en hablar, para conocer porque en este tiempo no echavan de ver y conocer a los yndios qué nación o que pueblo eran y para que más sean conocidos los mandó que cada provincia y cada pueblo se escogiese o hiziesen de donde descenden o de donde vinieron" (Pachacuti Yamqui 1993:f8v, p.198). Esta es la memoria del pasado libre que, durante los tempranos años coloniales, quedó testimoniada por los pocos indígenas que lograron algún dominio sobre la escritura . Sin embargo, qué ocurrió despues? Y ése después es un largo período que se extiende en el país desde el año de 1538 hasta 1952, 414 años de existencia colectiva bajo una abyecta condición de servidumbre, donde la luz del conocimiento a través de la lectura de textos, obviamente en idioma español, estaban penados con la extirpación de ojos, y la libertad de movimiento con la cortadura de tendones. El año de 1538 es el año de la invasión y conquista española del Qullasuyu y 1952, es la revuelta indígena que socaba profundamente las bases de un Estado asentado en el pongueaje y lo obliga a su vez a conceder una ciudadanía formal a los indios, que poco antes eran considerados poco menos que bestias. La concesión de la ciudadanía supuso la puesta en marcha de una política de asimilación, cuyo principal instrumento debía ser la escuela, a través, primero de la alfabetización y luego de la aculturación.

La asimilación pasaba y pasa por el aprendizaje de la historia de la Gesta Colonizadora, la admiración al heroísmo de los Pizarro, Valverde y Almagro, la universalización de la religión crisitiana, la civilización occidental, etc.; y todo en idioma español. Así el retroceso a un estado de obscuridad fue más que real "Tutay pacha".

Sin embargo, la necesidad de natividad que requería el "proyecto de construcción nacional", pasaba por la adopción de la historia indígena de resistencia, especialmente de los movimientos anticoloniales de 1780-1781, historia que no tiene relación con la realidad política y social actuales. Con esta invasión de "conocimiento" prestado qué quedaba, qué podía quedar en la memoria colectiva indígena?, otra vez se patentizaba el acto de extirpación, esta vez a través de la ilustración y la modernidad contra lo indio, calificado como tradicional e incluso retrogrado, entonces la palabra cultura se convirtió en sinónimo de español y costumbres criollo mestizas.

En la perspectiva indígena el colonialismo fue el retorno forzado al tutay pacha, al tiempo de la oscuridad.

Sin embargo, el colonizador en su obra de destrucción y barbarie no pudo percatarse de las formas y técnicas de recopilación y conservación de la memoria, hasta ahora se ha sostenido que fueron los kipu, un registro mnemotécnico contable y se creía que era la

única forma de registro. Gracias a la perspicacia de Pedro Cieza de León, sabemos que los inka,

"Tuvieron en tanto sus memorias que muerto uno destes señores tan grandes no aplicava su hijo para si otra cosa que el señorío, porque era Ley entre ellos que la riqueza y aparato real del avia sido rey del Cuzco no lo oviese otro en su poder ni se perdiese sus memoria; para lo qual se hazía un bulto de mantas, con la figura que ellos ponerle querían, al qual llaman el nombre del rey ya muerto y salían estos bultos a ponerse en la plaza del Cuzco quando se hazían sus fiestas en rededor de cada bulto destes reyes estaban sus mujeres y criados y benían todos, aparejándole allí su comida y bebida pórque el demonio devía de hablar en aquellos bultos, pues que esto por ellos se usva. Y cada bulto tenía sus truhanes o desidores questavan con palabras alegres contentando al pueblo; y todo el tesoro quel señor tenia siendo bivo, se estava en poder de sus criados y familiares/ y se sacaba a las fiestas semejantes con gran aparato; sin lo cual no dexavan de tener sus "chacras" ques nombre de heredades, donde cojían sus mayzes y otros mantenimientos con que se sustentavan las mugeres con toda la demás familia destes señores que tenían bultos y memorias aunque ya eran muertos" (Cieza de León: 1985: 28-29).

Los bultos no fueron solo privativos del inka, sino una práctica generalizada en los pueblos de Los Andes, así hasta ahora los ayllus del Qullasuyu, los conservan, como repositorio de conocimientos, saberes y testimonios. Son las autoridades jilaqatas y mallkus que se ocupan de su resguardo y yatiris especializados se ocupan de su interpretación.

Cuál es el peso de un pasado del que no se guarda memoria?. Expresado de otro modo, qué peso puede tener la memoria oral indígena frente a la memoria escrita? En un país como Bolivia, donde las relaciones coloniales se mantienen intactas, la memoria escrita autoidentificada ella misma como "historia" ha tenido un peso opresivo, cual es el de legitimar una realidad, un orden eminentemente colonial como normal, e incluso como nacional. Esta historia, a diferencia de su definición filosófica como sinónimo de libertad en un proceso continuo de cambios, es en verdad una narrativa perversa, cuyos objetivos son: el olvido de la identidad, los derechos y la libertad por los pueblos indios.

La reconstrucción de la historia indígena, ineludiblemente pasa por la consideración de políticas coloniales aplicadas por los reinos de España y por la república criolla. La primera concibió un orden con pueblos nativos subordinados, en su nueva condición de indios a la casta de colonizadores europeos y la segunda se concibió como república libre de indios, para ello solo esperaban su desaparición lenta y gradual, incluso fecharon el año de 1878, como el inicio definitivo de tal proceso (Censo General de la República de Bolivia 1900: 35-36). Durante el colonialismo español, al menos en sus años iniciais, la política de aculturación de la élite indígena dió como resultado una evidente preocupación por parte de los mismos en dejar testimonio escrito de su pasado, ellos fueron: Garcilaso de la Vega, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala y Joan Santa Cruz Pachacuti Salcamguaygua, Este destello de luz se apagó prontamente, la mayoría indígena tendría solo noticias referenciales a fines del siglo XX.

La asimilación, como política de Estado, fue iniciada recién a los 127 años de independencia (1825) a través de la escuela cuyos programas y contenidos adoctrinaban a los indios en una nueva identidad, que tenía la virtud retórica de desindiar a todo un colectivo acostumbrado a fuerza de látigo a pongear (palabra andina que refiere servilismo).

Esta situación fue inédita y llena de emociones para los indios, denominativos como "compañero" y ciudadano resonaron en todos los rincones del país indio, entonces de pronto los indios, en especial las comunidades cercanas a los centros urbanos tuvieron que asumirse mistis, incluso blancos! Sin embargo como la odiada y temida indiada, cuya imagen fantasmagórica aún resonaba con sus japapeos (grito de guerra india) en el imaginario criollo/mestizo, la asimilación y la concesión de la ciudadanía no pasaron de ser una fórmula que rápidamente se convirtieron en pongueaje político prestamente controlada y administrada por los sindicatos campesino y el partido de gobierno, el Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR).

Mientras esto ocurría desde la perspectiva del Estado boliviano, la sociedad indígena enfrentaba una crisis de transición en su desindianización, su identidad se debatía entre formar parte de la nación boliviana como hermano campesino y/o continuar manteniendo su identidad. Fue en esta coyuntura que el año de 1976, el joven Juan Condori Uruchi escribió "Los aymaras somos todo un pueblo", y no solo clase; fue el comienzo de un proceso de autoidentificación y de enfrentamiento a la absorción hacia la "nación" boliviana. Lo de Juan Condori Uruchi puede considerarse también como el advenimiento de un nuevo ciclo que se caracterizó por el pensar propio.

De la asimilación, administrada a través de la educación, surgió una primera generación de indios alfabetos, la mayoría en la profesión de abogados, que se animó a pensar de manera distinta al catecismo nacionalista. La lectura de algunos textos de épica indígena, especialmente los referidos a las rebeliones anticoloniales, constituyeron el acelerador ideológico inicial que dieron lugar a la formación de grupos como 15 de Noviembre, el Movimiento Universitario Julián Apaza y el Mink'a.

El surgimiento de la historiografía india/aymara fue parte de este proceso, sus aportes realizados tanto en forma individual como colectiva, estuvieron orientados por el objetivo de escribir la historia de resistencia y lucha contra el colonialismo; sin embargo, el interés no era meramente historiográfico, sino de carácter teórico, por cuanto su comprensión no solo beneficiaba al conocimiento sino también a la formulación de una acción política que apunte a la descolonización. Uno de los principales iniciadores, **Roberto Choque Canqui**, partió básicamente de la duda respecto a una narrativa, desde todo punto de vista extraña, incluso a nuestra fisonomía. Existía alguna veracidad en la paternidad de la "patria boliviana", personificada por los generales venezolanos Simón Bolívar, José Antonio de Sucre y toda su cohorte de mártires criollos? Para probar fue requisito desarrollar un trabajo empírico en los archivos, el rastreo no de la historia indígena, sino de la historia criolla de la gesta. Esta preocupación se plasmó en una obra aún inédita, **La situación social y económica de los revolucionarios del 16 de julio de La Paz (1979)**.

La revisión emprendida por Choque situó en toda su magnitud colonial a los héroes del catecismo, impuesto a los indios a través de la escuela. Retrocediendo a los primeros años de la colonización, en su partida hacia el Antisuyu el Inka Mango dejó dicho a su pueblo: "Lo primero que hareis, será que a estos barbudos que tantas befas a mí me an hecho, por me fyar yo dellos tanto no les creais cosa que os dixieres, porque mienten mucho.." (Titu Cusi Yupanqui 1570/1992:51). Así la duda fue el principio de la reconstitución de la memoria indígena, de la historia del Qullasuyu que ha constituido la plataforma de un proceso que hoy se expresa en manifestaciones nacionales por la libredeterminación: el Qullasuyu otra vez y para Siempre!

A Roberto Choque correspondió aperturar un camino y el curso hacia la reconstitución ha correspondido a una generación de historiadores, principalmente aymaras, cuyo esfuerzo constante se plasma en aportes fundamentales para la restauración del Qullasuyu. Sus componentes: María Eugenia Choque, Esteban Ticona, Waskar Ari, Germán Choque Condori (...) conforman un colectivo de investigadores cuyo objetivo es establecer las bases de una memoria que permita el salto al futuro, al pachacuti (cambio de mundo), al Qullasuyu libre y re establecido.

La memoria indígena se construye con registros propios, con registros escritos por españoles e indios ladinizados, la construcción de esta memoria es la historiografía aymara, que siempre se orientará hacia la restitución de derechos hacia el pachakuti, el retorno. El mismo Inga Mango, al partir hacia Willkapampa dejó dicho:

"Ya me parece se ba haziendo tiempo de partirme a la tierra de los Andes, como arriva os dixere, y que me sera forzado detenerme allá algunos días. Mirad que os he dicho y pienso dezir agora ques/ que mireis quanto tiempo a que mis aguelos e visaguelos e yo os hemos sustentado y guardado, favorecido y gobernado todas vuestras casas, probeyendolas de la manera que abeis abido menester, por lo qual teneis obligasción de no nos olvidar en toda vuestra vida, vosotros y vuestros descendientes, ansy a mí, como a mis aguelos y visaguelos y tener mucho respeto y hazer mucho respeto y hazer mucho casso de my hijo y hermano Titucusy Yupangui..." (Titu Cusi Yupanqui 1570/1992: 50)

La esperanza siempre de la restitución, en la retirada del Inka hacia Willkapampa, de los caciques y mallkus que una y otra vez enfrentaron al colonialismo, fundando, refundando una y otra vez el Tawantinsuyu. Fue Rumimaki en el Altiplano puneño, luego Eduardo Nina Quispe, que presidió la República de Qullasuyu... Así en toda la primera mitad del siglo XX el sueño de la restauración fue la idea que impulsó sueños de libertada y llevó a extremar esfuerzos en la defensa del ayllu y el territorio contra la última ola de colonización, esta vez bajo el liderazgo gamonal peruano o boliviano. Despuntando el siglo XXI, el camino es retomado desde el Qullasuyu hacia la reconstitución y a la restitución, el movimiento de ayllus, de mallkus ha dado la señal inicial, refundar el país a través de una Asamblea Nacional Constituyente. Y, en el pensamiento refundar no es más que reconstituir el Qullasuyu otra vez y para siempre!

Chukiyawu, agosto de 2002

## *Q'ollasuyu Women*

### **3. COMISIÓN: LA COMPLEMENTACIÓN HOMBRE-MUJER**

Autor: Pueblos de América

Fuente: <http://www.caminantesdelosandes.org>

Fecha: 2006-12-27

#### LA COMPLEMENTACIÓN HOMBRE-MUJER EN EL PROCESO DE CAMBIO

Propuestas generales:

1. Promover el proceso de cambio de igualdad de género hombre mujer, incluyendo en la curricula educativa salud, educación sexual, violencia familiar y derechos.
2. Fomentar y consolidar la como un instrumento para la lucha contra la discriminación hacia la mujer y el hombre en todos los ámbitos. Ejemplos: las personas no pueden transitar libremente de un país a otro por la falta de diferentes documentos
3. Favorecer estrategias que permitan alianzas entre mujeres pertenecientes a las comunidades de las distintas clases sociales de los países americanos, sin desconocer las distintas particularidades de cada uno de nuestros países.
4. Abrir talleres de capacitación y reflexión para las mujeres comenzando desde las comunidades indígenas, llegando a nivel provincial, departamental y nacional.
5. Recuperar nuestra cosmovisión, la biodiversidad y concepción de hombre mujer.
6. Organizamos firmemente sin distinción de culturas, de idiomas para ser atendidos por igual.
7. Conocer nuestros derechos tanto hombres y mujeres indígenas que corresponden para poder exigir ante los estados. Ejemplo: proyectar leyes al parlamento, seguro social para todos los pueblos indígenas
8. Para tener una buena salud digna es tener una soberanías con alimentos sanos libre de monopolios y sin químicos.
9. Valorar y recuperar las medicinas ancestrales y garantizar su transmisión de generación en generación.
10. Control social hacia el gobierno de los Estados. . Cambiar el modelo de imposición occidental hacia una cosmovisión respetando la libertad de elegir la propia religión.

11. Valorar las costumbres ancestrales para desarrollar la identidad cultural de cada pueblo.

¡JALLALLA BARTOLINA SISA!

¡JALLALLA TUPAK KATARI!

KAWSACHUN MICAELA BASTIDAS

KAWSACHUNTUPAKAMARU

¡JALLALLA EL ENCUENTRO CONTINENTAL DE PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS!  
KAWSACHUN EL ENCUENTRO CONTINENTAL DE PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS!

COMPLEMENTARIEDAD MUJER – HOMBRE

La organización de la mesa estuvo conformada de la siguiente forma: Ati Quigua como expositora, Representantes de las organizaciones de Argentina, Bolivia Guatemala, Chile, Panamá, Perú, Italia, Nicaragua y Colombia.

Se presentaron todas las organizaciones y hicieron sus respectivos aportes plasmados en las memorias.

El informe que alcanzamos consta de las siguientes partes:

Primero : Reivindicación de los derechos de la mujer desde la visión indígena

Segundo : Visión de gobernabilidad de las naciones indígenas desde la perspectiva de mujer indígena

Tercero : Dificultades y desafíos de la inclusión de las mujer en los diferentes procesos de cambio.

Finalmente : las conclusiones y retos.

DESARROLLO:

A: Reivindicación de los derechos de la mujer desde la visión indígena

La reivindicación de los derechos de las mujeres indígenas se hara desde la visión ancestral, no desde la visión occidental.

B: Visión de gobernabilidad de las naciones indígenas desde la perspectiva de mujer indígena.

#### ***4. Mujer indígena presidirá Asamblea Constituyente***

Autor: EFE; Fuente: EFE; Fecha: 2006-08-04

Mujer indígena presidirá Asamblea Constituyente - **Silvia Lazarte** ha estado en muchas movilizaciones, fue detenida y procesada por muchos casos. Históricamente las mujeres, no solo indígenas, han sido excluidas, dijo el presidente boliviano Evo Morales.

##### **Silvia Lazarte**

LA PAZ, Bolivia/DPA

Una indígena de procedencia quechua presidirá la Asamblea Constituyente que se inaugurará el 6 de agosto en Bolivia, anunció el mandatario Evo Morales, quien consideró esta decisión como un "homenaje" a las mujeres.

Silvia Lazarte, del Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS, partido de gobierno), fue elegida por "consenso" para dirigir las deliberaciones de esta Asamblea, destacó Morales, según informó ayer, domingo, la agencia estatal ABI y medios periodísticos locales.

"Se ha impuesto la mujer por muchas razones. Los sectores sociales dijeron que una hermana indígena debe conducir la Asamblea. El resultado de esta consulta lo evaluamos con los movimientos sociales y direcciones departamentales", aseguró el jefe de Estado.

Destacó que "la compañera Silvia Lazarte ha estado en muchas movilizaciones, fue reprimida, detenida, procesada" por muchos casos.

"Las mujeres históricamente han sido excluidas. Mujeres no solamente indígenas, mujeres de todas las clases sociales y la compañera se resume mujer e indígena," argumentó el gobernante, quien resaltó que la dirigente fue elegida como asambleísta en representación del oriente del país.

Lazarte es originaria del departamento de Cochabamba (centro) -considerado el fortín político el MAS-, pero se postuló en las elecciones para la Constituyente por la región de Santa Cruz, donde se asientan amplios sectores de oposición.

Morales había propuesto en días pasados que "una mujer, mejor si es una indígena, sea la que presida" la Constituyente, cuyos debates se estima que se extenderán al menos durante un año. Consultado sobre la determinación del MAS, el asambleísta electo José Antonio Aruquipa, de la agrupación Poder Democrático y Social (Podemos, oposición), consideró que existe "tutelaje" del presidente Morales.

"Vemos con preocupación esta suerte de tutelaje del poder Ejecutivo sobre la bancada constituyente del MAS", dijo Aruquipa. Willcapampa

## **5. Entrevista a Casimira Rodríguez, Ministra de Justicia de Bolivia**

Autor: Gimena Fuertes \*; Fuente: Adital; Fecha: 2006-07-11

### **Entrevista a Casimira Rodríguez, Ministra de Justicia de Bolivia**

Adital - Equilibrio y paciencia

Empezó a trabajar a los 13, haciendo tareas domésticas a cambio de techo y comida, aunque fue despedida al reclamar su salario. Desde entonces la actual ministra de Justicia de Bolivia, Casimira Rodríguez Romero, se ha dedicado a luchar por los derechos de trabajadoras como ella. Su primer desafío en la gestión, dice, será combinar las prácticas ancestrales con la Justicia ordinaria.

Su voz es humilde pero firme. Los rastros de su dulce quechua natal atraviesan sus palabras, sus sentimientos y su lucha. Casimira Rodríguez Romero es la nueva ministra de Justicia de Bolivia y sostiene que llegó a ese puesto gracias a "la perseverancia en la lucha en defensa del gremio de las Trabajadoras de Hogar", que fundó junto con sus compañeras, cansadas de "la discriminación y la explotación".

Casimira se identifica como indígena y trabajadora de hogar. La denominación de trabajadora doméstica no le gusta porque dice que "domésticos son los animales". Desde su puesto se propone defender "los derechos de las personas que tienen menos posibilidades y recursos".

La vida de Casimira Rodríguez Romero acaba de cambiar. Para asumir en el ministerio se tuvo que mudar a La Paz y ahora vive "en forma comunitaria" junto a sus compañeras del sindicato. Si bien reconoce estar sorprendida de estar en ese alto puesto gubernamental, esta sindicalista se sostiene en el aprendizaje de las distintas experiencias de lucha.

Nació en Mizque, Cochabamba. "Eramos una! familia pobre, de tres hermanos y tres hermanas. Recuerdo que mi madre nos crió con mucho amor", cuenta. A los trece años empezó su vida laboral como trabajadora de hogar a cambio de una habitación y comida, pero sin salario. La primera injusticia la sufrió al reclamar su sueldo a su patrona, quien la denunció por robo para poder echarla. Después siguió trabajando en casas de otras familias alrededor de 16 horas por día. Los domingos, Casimira y otras trabajadoras de hogar tenían tres horas libres a la tarde. Entonces, aprovecharon para juntarse en una parroquia y empezar a hablar de sus experiencias y analizar cómo organizarse.

Las "trabajadoras de hogar" no tenían una ley que las reconociera como tal. Y ellas sabían que tenían derecho a tener contrato, salario, vacaciones y aguinaldo. En 1993 llevaron a cabo el primer Congreso Nacional de Trabajadoras de Hogar. Elaboraron un proyecto de ley y lo presentaron ante el Congreso. En 1996, Casimira Rodríguez asumió como secretaria ejecutiva del sindicato y desde allí coordinó la organización de las trabajadoras de varios departamentos de Bolivia. Recién en 2003 lograron que se

promulgara la ley que regula su actividad. En el medio, estas trabajadoras sufrieron ataques de la prensa y de los diputados, pero el objetivo era claro y la lucha inculdicable. En diálogo con Las/12, la ministra asegura que el gobierno de Evo Morales significa el "renacimiento de la esperanza para el pueblo boliviano" y remarca su "firme compromiso de no defraudar." También, de paso, aprovecha para enviar "saludos especiales a las trabajadoras de hogar argentinas de Catamarca, Córdoba y Buenos Aires por luchar," a quienes conoció en distintos encuentros sindicales.

¿Cuáles son los principales objetivos para su gestión frente al ministerio?

-El compromiso como ministra que me han encomendado es la difícil tarea de luchar contra la corrupción y mantener la transparencia. Es un desafío recuperar la confianza del pueblo boliviano para que pueda creer que se pueden manejar y administrar nuestros recursos con transparencia. Así mismo, implementaremos políticas de defensa pública y de derechos humanos. Vamos a vigilar el cumplimiento de los derechos de las personas que tienen menos posibilidades y recursos. Las dos líneas de acción que implementaremos desde el ministerio serán la justicia comunitaria y la justicia ordinaria, que pertenecen a diferentes ámbitos. La justicia comunitaria es la que nos enseñaron nuestros ancestros. Siempre hemos desempeñado la justicia según costumbres ancestrales, sin apelar a las normas. En cuanto a la justicia ordinaria, es un objetivo que los procesos no sean tan retardados, porque hasta ahora la gente pobre siempre tenía que esperar para que se hiciera justicia.

¿Por qué cree que Evo Morales la eligió para ese puesto?

-Humildemente, creo que por la trayectoria de lucha que llevo desde hace 18 años en defensa del gremio de Mujeres Trabajadoras de Hogar. Fueron muchos procesos de confrontación, con diferentes problemas. Me ha tocado decir lo que pienso y siento y lo que es justo para defender nuestros derechos. Creo que he sabido tener equilibrio y paciencia para lograr una ley que regule nuestra actividad y que tardó 12 años para ser tratada en el Parlamento. Fue la perseverancia más que todo lo que nos ha permitido a todas lograr la ley.

¿Cuál fue el principal motivo que la llevó a organizarse y armar un sindicato con sus compañeras?

-Lo que nos llevó a organizarnos fue la situación que se vive como trabajadora de hogar. La injusticia, la discriminación, el desamparo. Era necesario juntarnos, analizar nuestra situación, ver las posibilidades de mejorar el trato laboral, estar juntas. Estar sola es complicado ante el desamparo y la explotación que sufrimos como mujeres migrantes indígenas y campesinas.

¿Cuáles fueron sus principales logros desde el sindicato?

-Uno de los logros más importantes fue la obtención de los derechos laborales del gremio. Porque además de la ley de regulación del trabajo asalariado del hogar, lo importante fue haber podido visibilizar el movimiento de estas trabajadoras, hacer ver públicamente lo que siempre había sido tapado. Hemos sacado nuestra lucha a la luz.

¿Cuáles fueron las reacciones de las clases altas durante la lucha de las trabajadoras de hogar?

-Tuvieron las peores actitudes. No querían perder los privilegios. Pretendían mantener las condiciones de servidumbre, seguir violando los derechos de las mujeres migrantes. Hubo mucha resistencia a pesar de que ya teníamos la ley desde 2003. Hubo una actitud muy fuerte de no cumplir los derechos que nos corresponden. Todavía hay un sentimiento y un pensamiento colonialista muy fuerte. Ellos creen que hay mujeres que no deben reclamar y exigir como seres humanos. La propia experiencia de lucha nos enseña a aplicar la promoción de la ley y a afianzarla desde estos espacios institucionales.

¿Se imaginó alguna vez estar en el puesto en el que se encuentra ahora?

-Nunca. Es un sueño haber llegado a este espacio. También es una sorpresa, y un desafío a cada día, cada minuto. Vengo de una familia humilde, pobre, en la que me dieron mucho cariño y amor. He recibido mucho en la niñez, y por eso pude aprender a escuchar a mis hermanas y hermanos bolivianos que vienen buscando justicia, vienen a hacerse escuchar en este ministerio.

## **6. Historias de la última marcha por la tierra**

Autor: La Epoca; Fuente: <http://www.la-epoca.com>; Fecha: 2006-12-02

Vive con los Lero Larecaja, a orillas del río Mapiri, provincia Larejaca del norte paceño. Está acostumbrado a un clima por encima de los 35 grados centígrados en esta época del año y al aire húmedo de los 120 metros sobre el nivel del mar. Alejandro Mazada ahora se encuentra en un medio hostil que marca 11 grados en el termómetro y a 3.650 msnm. A sus 46 años llegó a La Paz luego de 20 días de caminata ininterrumpida junto a 150 compañeros de la misma etnia. "Partimos el 7 de noviembre junto a 80 compañeros y en el camino se acoplaron más originarios," cuenta Mazada, mientras espera la hora de la comida en uno de los recintos que los dirigentes de la Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (UMSA) dispusieron para que los marchistas duerman.

Su dieta, basada principalmente en arroz, yuca, plátano, carne de venado, de jochi, de venado o de sábalo la reemplazará por una sopa de fideo que se sirve de la olla común instalada en la universidad y que sacia el hambre de todos los marchistas. Todos exigen la modificación a la Ley del Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria (INRA). No es la primera vez que Mazada llega marchando a La Paz. Lo hizo el 2002, cuando fungía como presidente de Pilcol (Pueblos Indígenas Lecos Comunidades Originarias de Larecaja).

"Esa vez marchamos exigiendo la instalación de la Asamblea Constituyente, partimos con 200 personas y llegamos a La Paz en 22 días. En el camino se incorporaron los pueblos de las etnias lecos, tacanas y mosetenes", recuerda. En aquella ocasión también fueron alojados en los pabellones de la UMSA y se quedaron en La Paz durante cuatro días. "Lo más difícil del camino fueron las tres horas de caminata bajo la lluvia desde Chuspipata hasta Unduavi. No teníamos con qué taparnos y toda nuestra ropa se mojó". En "Chuspi" se quedaron tres días aclimatándose a la altura y fue ahí donde algunos de los 500 marchistas se resfriaron. Sin embargo, es un esfuerzo que lo hace pensando en sus nietos, porque Mazada ya es abuelo. "El mayor de mis hijos tiene 22 años y tiene ya dos niños y vive en Guanay. Yo vivo en mi pueblo Carura (a 36 kilómetros de Guanay) con mi esposa y con mi hijo menor que tiene 20. Si mis nietos continúan en el campo no quiero que tengan tierras sin títulos porque en cualquier momento cualquier persona se las pueden quitar," explica.

Lo difícil del liderazgo

Mientras transcurría la charla, un vecino de los larecajeños fue reconocido al interior de la UMSA y fue golpeado por los propios marchistas, acusándolo de ser un espía vendido a la oposición. Sólo cuando llegó la policía el "infiltrado" fue dejado en libertad. "Ser dirigente es difícil porque uno debe saber controlar a las bases pues muchas veces escapan a nuestro control. Tratar de dirigir a una mesa es casi imposible, más cuando están enojados. El liderazgo cansa". Ahora transmite lo que aprendió a los nuevos dirigentes, como las formas de organización interna en una marcha para que no sufran de comida.

Y si de hacer sacrificios por ser cabeza de un sector se trata, Leonarda no escapa al reto. Tiene apenas 24 años, aunque la vida dura del campo la presenta de mucha más edad, y es la principal dirigente ejecutiva de la Federación Departamental Potosí de Mujeres Campesinas Bartolina Sisa. **Leonarda Choque** marchó junto a las suyas hace siete días desde su municipio Tinguipaya, de la provincia Tomás Frías de Potosí.

### La fuerza del sexo débil

Fue a iniciativa de algunas dirigentes mayores que le aconsejaron organizar a las mujeres de su municipio para, inicialmente, ganar un poco más de ingresos económicos para el hogar realizando artesanías. La tarea le llamó mucho la atención y desde el 2002 conformó varios de estos talleres. Su carácter decidido le ayudó a ascender muchos peldaños y ahora siempre está encabezando las marchas sosteniendo su whipala. Maribel es su pequeña hija y es una de los tres retoños que piensa tener junto a su esposo. "En este momento la están cuidando mis papás porque mi marido está trabajando en Potosí y no podía dejar su labor," comenta, mientras espera las palabras del presidente de la República, Evo Morales, quien anunciaría un decreto para modificar la Ley INRA pero que en la noche daría una gran sorpresa a todos cuando el Senado aprobó los esperados cambios.

Habla apasionadamente y con voz firme de su trabajo como dirigente, pero cuando se refiere a su familia y más aún a su pequeña que la espera en la casa materna su voz se torna tierna. "Yo creo que nuestros hijos también van a ser dirigentes porque están viendo que sus padres están luchando por ellos, pero a veces es un poco triste tener que dejar a la familia y viajar tan lejos para exigir derechos básicos," dice. El miércoles, cuando ya se tuvo la certeza de haber logrado el objetivo que motivó la marcha indígena, tomó el primer bus a su natal Potosí.  
Niños, los curiosos marchistas

Quien no deseaba irse de la ciudad era Betzabé. El día de la marcha ella corría a sus anchas por las avenidas de La Paz, apenas tiene nueve años y junto a su padre Nicolás Gutiérrez ha llegado junto con los marchistas del Beni. Ella está conociendo la ciudad y los grandes edificios la sorprenden como a un ciudadano le sorprendería los grandes árboles que crecen en su casa. Ambos pertenecen a la etnia Yuracaré Mojeños. "Es cerca de Puerto Villarroel, en el Beni", aclara su padre.

Es la primera marcha de la niña y la segunda del padre, pues también estuvo en el 2002, cuando los pueblos indígenas se movilizaron exigiendo la Asamblea Constituyente. "Esa vez aprendimos que el cambio de clima y la altura de La Paz es bien fregado porque provoca vómitos, mareos y desmayos. Ahora ya estamos un poco mejor preparados aunque a veces es difícil caminar con los niños," cuenta Rodríguez. Precisamente la Unicef censuró la participación de niños en las marchas pues se puso "en peligro la integridad física y síquica" de los menores. Se calcula que un total de 95 menores de 12 años llegaron a La Paz con sus padres en cuatro grupos de apoyo a las medidas del Presidente.

"La marcha se hace por nuestros hijos, para que no sufran lo mismo que nosotros que al no tener la seguridad de contar con un pedazo de tierra no saben cuál será su futuro", justifica Rodríguez y recuerda que los siete hermanos de Betzabé se quedaron bajo el cuidado de su mamá.

En su comunidad viven 500 personas que apenas tienen 8.814 hectáreas. "Nos imaginamos que va a ser la última marcha por la tierra y lo único que esperamos es que nuestros hijos nunca más marchen por este tema," comenta, mientras busca una chamarra para abrigarse del intenso frío de la noche pacaña, tan contrario a su clima natal.

#### Tierras muertas

A quien no le afectó mucho el clima frígido y el sol seco fue a Martina Cajota, de 47 años. Viene de la comunidad de Challacollo, de la provincia Cercado de Oruro. "Todas nuestras tierras están contaminadas por los desechos de la mina Inti Raymi", reclama. Ella se refiere a las varias denuncias sobre contaminación que hicieron organizaciones defensoras del medio ambiente en contra de la empresa minera Inti Raymi, que explotó oro durante 20 años en Kori Kollo. La compañía aurífera negó que sus actividades contaminen los suelos.

"Inti Raymi está contaminando el río Desaguadero porque utiliza cianuro en sus actividades. El forraje se ha quemado y desaparecido, cada año mueren ovejas y vacas, el agua se ha convertido en salitre y la tierra parece ceniza", se queja Cajota. A diferencia de sus compañeros marchistas del oriente que no poseen grandes extensiones de tierras o éstas no están tituladas, ella y los de su cantón poseen tierras afectadas por esta actividad minera. Su esposo se quedó en Challacollo junto a sus siete hijos que ahora se están haciendo cargo del mermado ganado que aún poseen. Mientras habla el principal dirigente de su sindicato, explicaba que es frecuente el nacimiento de ovejas con dos cabezas o con cinco patas.

## D. Kuntisuyu

### 1. **Subject: UN BICENTENARIO SIN RACISMO NI DISCRIMINACIÓN**

Date: Sun, 25 Jun 2006 00:22:42 -0500 (CDT)

From: hortencia hidalgo caceres <hidalgocaceres@yahoo.com>

To: noticias\_tawantinsuyu@yahoogroups.com, [nortinorebelde@gmail.com](mailto:nortinorebelde@gmail.com),  
encuentro\_indigena\_tawaintisu@yahoo.es, [redtinkubolivia@gmail.com](mailto:redtinkubolivia@gmail.com),  
redzapatista@gmail.com

## ADOPCIÓN DECLARACION HUILLICHE - DECLARACIÓN AYMARA

### UN BICENTENARIO SIN RACISMO NI DISCRIMINACIÓN - MOVILIZACIÓN, ORGANIZACIÓN, PARTICIPACIÓN ACTIVA Y LIBRE DETERMINACION

En el contexto de las celebraciones de un nuevo MARAQ T`AKA (Nuevo ciclo) el pueblo aymara, estando conscientes de nuestra historia, de haber sido un Pueblo libre y soberano, que la conformación del Estado Chileno y su posterior expansión sobre nuestros ancestrales y legítimos territorios significó el establecimiento de una relación de opresión política y conculcación de nuestros derechos colectivos y libertades fundamentales y, en víspera al Bicentenario manifestamos lo que sigue:

1.- Nosotros como pueblo Aymara hemos desarrollamos soberanamente nuestra cultura milenaria en nuestro ancestral territorio Aymara espacio natural en donde se desarrolló nuestra convivencia comunitaria que está determinada y regulada por nuestras normas, protocolos, procedimientos, cosmovisión y principios morales, culturales, religiosos y espirituales afincados en los cimientos de la Pachamama (madre tierra ) y establecido por nuestro calendario agrícola que regula el proceso, comportamiento de la biodiversidad.

2- El pueblo Aymara al igual que otros pueblos indígenas fuimos objeto de un proceso de colonización económica, territorial, cultural, religiosa y lingüística de parte del sistema colonial español. Sin embargo, esa situación histórica fue resistida sistemáticamente defendiendo nuestra libertad, soberanía territorial y política del Pueblo Aymara y sus derechos.

3.- La construcción del Estado Chileno se realizó sin la participación del Pueblo Aymara. Esta situación pone de relieve que el Pueblo Aymara mantenía su soberanía territorial y política durante milenios. La posterior expansión del Estado Chileno y su proceso de chilenización utilizando la fuerza y la violencia significó la conculcación y violación de nuestros derechos humanos más elementales como Pueblo.

4.- El Estado Chileno mediante su ordenamiento jurídico estableció un sistema de conculcación de nuestros derechos colectivos relativos a nuestra cultura, a las tierras, territorios, sus recursos y la libre determinación, imponiendo la doctrina jurídica y

política de la negación con los Pueblos Indígenas y sus derechos, sosteniendo un conjunto de preceptos que en Chile solo existe un solo Pueblo y una sola cultura. Estas concepciones jurídicas, culturales y políticas representan el más claro ejemplo del racismo y la discriminación institucional con el Pueblo Aymara y sus derechos.

5.- En víspera de un Bicentenario los últimos gobiernos han comenzado a promover la celebración de esta fecha y para cumplir su misión política están determinando recursos financieros para la construcción de infraestructura desviando los temas relevantes que debería abordar un Estado incluyente, democrático y contemporáneo, esto indica claramente que los gobiernos no tienen una prioridad en revertir ni mejorar la situación histórica que han mantenido con los Pueblos Indígenas y sus derechos.

6.- Consideramos que el Bicentenario es el momento político e histórico oportuno para interpelar la conciencia de todos los sectores del Pueblo Chileno y llamar la atención sobre nuestra situación de Pueblos Indígenas subordinados e impedidos por el Estado Chileno para ejercer nuestros derechos colectivos que nos asisten como Pueblo.

7.- En el contexto del Bicentenario crearemos las condiciones organizativas de parte de los Aymaras junto a los demás Pueblos Indígenas para poner a escala nacional e internacional nuestros derechos colectivos que no han sido reconocidos por el Estado Chileno. Al mismo tiempo, abriremos un debate en todas las esferas sobre la identidad Chilena, la naturaleza del Estado, su ordenamiento jurídico uniformante y excluyente, la democracia y los Pueblos Indígenas, estado de derecho y la exclusión indígena, legitimidad e ilegitimidad del Estado Chileno y el derecho a la libre determinación indígena entre otros asuntos importantes.

8.- Con motivo a éste Maraqa T`aka los Aymaras comenzamos a desplegar diversas iniciativas para proclamar y reiterar los derechos y libertades fundamentales de nuestro Pueblo realizando debates y subrayando nuestros derechos colectivos mediante declaraciones, reafirmando nuestra cultura en sus más diversas manifestaciones, nuestra pertenencia nacional e identidad Mapuche, valorando y promoviendo nuestras instituciones tradicionales que constituyen la estructura y sustento de nuestra cultura milenaria.

9.- Reafirmamos nuestro compromiso en propiciar un movimiento nacional que promueva y alcance un Bicentenario sin racismo ni discriminación, constituyendo un llamado urgente a la conciencia nacional e internacional a que se fomente definitivamente un proceso de reconocimiento y protección de los derechos colectivos a las tierras, territorios, recursos del suelo y subsuelo, la participación en todos los asuntos que nos afectan, la protección de la propiedad intelectual, la mantención y preservación de nuestro patrimonio y la libre determinación como derecho esencial de todos los derechos colectivos de los Pueblos Indígenas del país.

10.- Los Aymaras reafirmamos nuestro derecho inalienable a la libre determinación tal como lo establece el derecho internacional de los derechos humanos entendidos como la columna vertebral de todos los derechos colectivos que nos asisten como Pueblo

originario asentado en nuestro ancestral territorio. Y en su ejercicio nos corresponde decidir libremente nuestro futuro político, económico, social y cultural.

11.- Los Aymaras nos comprometemos a impulsar un proceso de reconstrucción de la conciencia colectiva, la identidad y la cultura nacional del Pueblo Aymara , afincados en los fundamentos de nuestro idioma Aymara y nuestra l cosmovisión que construyeron y desarrollaron nuestros antepasados.

12.- En el proceso de recuperación y restablecimiento de nuestros derechos y libertades fundamentales, promoveremos, estableceremos alianzas y estrategias comunes con la comunidad nacional e internacional y muy particularmente con los Pueblos indígenas y no Indígenas del mundo que luchan decididamente por establecer su propio porvenir.

Angel Bolaños Flores

Hortencia Hidalgo Cáceres

CONSEJO AUTÒNOMO AYMARA

**Arica marka 21 de junio 2006**

*Date: Sun, 25 Jun 2006 00:22:42 -0500 (CDT)*

*From: hortencia hidalgo caceres <hidalgocaceres@yahoo.com>*

*To: [ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org](mailto:ashaninka@aipeuc-ps.org)*

*Subject: UN BICENTENARIO SIN RACISMO NI DISCRIMINACIÓN*

## **2. JALLALLA MARAQ T`AKA**

Hoy los pueblos indígenas hemos iniciado un nuevo ciclo dentro del calendario agrícola. El 21 de Junio en coincidencia con el solsticio de invierno marca el comienzo de la nueva época de siembra.

Este nuevo ciclo con el retorno del Tata Inti (Padre sol) y sus primeros rayos que nos ilumina y nos enriquecen con hijos de la Pachamama (madre Tierra) nos entregan fuerza y energía para seguir reivindicando nuestros justos derechos colectivos y libertades fundamentales que nos asisten como pueblos indígenas.

En el norte de Chile distintas comunidades y organizaciones hemos realizado nuestra ceremonia ancestral Maraq T`aka, que a pesar de mas de 500 años de sometimiento y colonización hemos resistido a la fuerzas opresoras, hoy esta dominación se manifiesta desde el estado chileno y las clase política con la conculcación de nuestros derechos. A pesar de esto nos mantenemos presentes y nuestra sabiduría ancestral ha sido transmitida de generación en generación y hoy libremente niños, jóvenes, adultos y ancianos mantenemos nuestras costumbres basadas en la cosmovisión aymara.

El retorno del sol lo hemos esperado en vigilia preparando nuestros espíritus para ofrendarle al Tata Inti el sacrificio de los llamos más hermosos y entregarle la sangre en gratitud por todo lo que hemos recibido. No puede estar ausente el fuego que se lleva nuestros anhelos y esperanzas y el agua que nos purifica.

Con los brazos extendidos y las manos dirigidas al sol nuestras palmas reciben la energía cósmica que duraran un ciclo para nuevamente el próximo 21 de Junio esperar con ansias su retorno.

Estimados hermanos y amigos de diferentes pueblos les envió un fraternal saludo, esperando que nuestras fuerzas se sigan fortaleciendo y se unifiquen para conseguir una sociedad mas justa donde los pueblos indígenas tengamos la participación plena y efectiva en todos los asuntos que nos involucran y logremos la soberanía de nuestros territorios.

JALLALLA MARAQ T`AKA  
JALLALLA PUEBLOS INDÌGENAS  
Hortencia Hidalgo C.

Consejo Autònomo Aymara- Aymara Marka 22 de Junio 2006

22-06-2006 II COMUNICACIÓN INDÌGENA CHASKINAYRAMPI, from  
[hidalgocaceres@yahoo.com](mailto:hidalgocaceres@yahoo.com), to: noticias\_tawantinsuyu@yahoogroups.com, Jun 23  
2006

## **E. Q'osqo**

### ***1. Perú: Declaración del Cusco: Hacia la construcción de estados plurinacionales y sociedades interculturales***

Tue, 18 Jul 2006 17:23:41 -0500  
From: Servindi Org <servindi@servindi.org>

18 Julio 2006 16:36

Ayer por la noche el Primer Congreso de la Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas suscribió la Declaración del Cusco que reproducimos a continuación:  
Declaración del Cusco: Hacia la construcción de estados plurinacionales y sociedades interculturales

"No es que los Estados nos den una mano, sino que nos quiten sus manos de encima"

Las organizaciones representativas de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos Quechuas, Kichwas, Aymaras, Mapuches, así como de los Cayambis, Saraguros, Guambianos, Koris, Lafquenches, Killakas, Urus, Larecajas, Kallawayas, Chuwis, Chinchaycochas, k'anas, y demás Pueblos Indígenas Originarios de la región Andina, reunidos en el Cusco, del 15 al 17 de julio del 2006, durante el I Tantachwi/ Congreso Fundacional de la Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas, manifestamos a nuestros hermanos y hermanas de nuestras Comunidades, Ayllus, Markas, Cabildos y demás formas organizativas de nuestros Pueblos; así como a los explotados y oprimidos de los Países andinos y a la opinión pública internacional, la siguiente Declaración que resume el sentido de nuestros debates y nuestros objetivos trazados en este I Congreso/Tantachwi.

Rechazamos la nueva estrategia de colonización capitalista y neoliberal, a través de los TLC, los cuales no son simplemente para regular intercambios comerciales, sino sobre todo para imponer nuevos mecanismos de subordinación del viejo "Estado-Nación", como son el de detener los controles a los abusos de las Transnacionales, bajo el pretexto de ser "expropiaciones indirectas" que serían denunciadas en tribunales arbitrales extranjeros, sin control público y fuera la leyes y sociedad nacionales. La historia del despojo continúa entonces: luego de imponernos Estados criollos "independientes" pero que mantuvieron la misma sociedad colonial de exclusión; y ahora, cien años después, a pesar de ser Estados fracasados, aceptan el control imperial, en especial para el saqueo de los recursos naturales : agua, minerales, hidrocarburos, madera, biodiversidad, entre otros.

Comprobamos que esa neo colonización, revela la caducidad de las estructuras políticas, económicas y sociales de los llamados "Estado- Nación", de los Estados Uni Nacionales, Uni-Culturales, que se han formado y siguen actuando, sobre la base de la exclusión de la amplia diversidad de Pueblos, Naciones y Comunidades Andinas; y que no han podido tampoco establecer ni menos defender a las sociedades, economías y culturas de los países andinos, y ni siquiera ya de su propios mercados internos.

Nos afirmamos en nuestro orgullo social y cultural, basado en nuestras sabidurías, conocimientos, valores, éticas, tecnologías, en armonía con la madre naturaleza, la historia y propias espiritualidades; y que se expresan en la resistencia de prácticas de solidaridad, dualidad, complementariedad, reciprocidad, de control social de todo tipo de autoridad, como fuentes vivas de alternativas para la reconstitución sobre nuevas bases de los países andinos. Lo cual es mas urgente aún, ahora que esos estados, son cada vez menos "nacionales" y menos "democráticos" luego de más de cien años de venir intentándolo bajo grupos de poder aliados del capital transnacional y sus agencias.

Fundamos en este histórico reencuentro bajo el grito de Túpac Katari de "Volveré. y seré millones" la Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas integrada por ECUARUNARI-Confederación de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos Kichwas del Ecuador, CONACAMI- Confederación Nacional de Comunidades del Perú Afectadas por la Minería , CONAMAQ- Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyo de Bolivia, CITEM- Coordinadora de Identidades Territoriales Mapuche, ONIC - Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia, CCP - Confederación Campesina del Perú; CNA- Confederación Nacional Agraria; y con la adhesión fraterna de organizaciones participantes que se indican más adelante, y bajo los principios ancestrales de Ama Sua (Honradez), Ama Llulla (Veracidad), Ama Quella (Laboriosidad), Dualidad Complementaria, Reciprocidad, Equidad y Solidaridad

El I Congreso de la Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas propone la siguiente Agenda Indígena Andina para que sea en función a ella, que se procese el debate institucional y político en nuestros países. Basta ya de que otros nos "traduzcan" o "interpreten", o que nuestra "participación" sea de comentaristas de la agenda de otros (Banco Mundial, BID, CAN, Estados, Ministerios, ONG). Debe ser al revés: ahora nosotros los invitamos a debatir el sentir y las propuestas de nuestros Pueblos.

#### Territorialidad y recursos naturales

- a.. Declarar la intangibilidad de los territorios de los Pueblos Indígenas.
- b.. No a la privatización ni mercantilización del agua y de la madre tierra.
- c.. Articular estrategias de lucha para expulsar a las transnacionales en nuestros territorios.

Estado pluri nacional y otra institucionalidad

a.. Refundaciones como Estados Pluri Nacionales que nos incluyan y en base a los principios de equilibrio en igualdad de condiciones, rotación, reciprocidad y redistribución.

b.. Reconstituir los territorios e institucionalidades de los Pueblos Indígenas,

c.. Conformación de Asambleas Constituyentes, con representantes desde los Ayllus, Markas y Comunidades, no vía partidos ni elecciones tradicionales

Derechos colectivos y autodeterminación

a.. Suscripción, ratificación y aplicación del Convenio 169 de la OIT, y que cada Estado presente informes de su cumplimiento.

b.. Respeto a la autonomía y a nuestras propias maneras de organizarnos y gobernarnos y que ello se reconozca a través de un nuevo contrato social.

c.. Vigencia de nuestros derechos colectivos a la cultura, identidad, salud y educación de acuerdo a nuestros usos y costumbres.

d.. Vigencia del derecho a la consulta y consentimiento en toda política y proyecto sobre los recursos naturales

Reconstitución e integración de los pueblos y nacionalidades

a.. Hacia la confederación de Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas del Tawantinsuyo y Abya Yala

b.. Desarrollo de la Educación Bilingüe e Intercultural para lograr modelos de vida de autoconsumo y comercio justo entre Pueblos Indígenas

Participación política indígena Participación política en procesos nacionales, basada en el trabajo de las comunidades, para que ellas lo direcciones y tomen las decisiones

Reiteramos que la estructura de la Coordinadora Andina recoge los principios comunitarios e indígenas del control colectivo, la rotación, "Mandar Obedeciendo", unidad en la diversidad representada por los delegados y delegadas de las organizaciones de cada uno de los países integrantes.

Llamamos a las mujeres y hombres, explotados, oprimidos y marginados, campesinos, coccaleros, ribereños, afro americanos, fabelas, ranchos, barriadas, los "informales", estudiantes, obreros, intelectuales; y todos los demás grupos sociales en la diversidad de formas organizativas de la ciudad y el campo, que resisten al salvajismo capitalista neoliberal, a unirnos por una liberación de todos contra todo tipo de explotación y opresión para la cual esta Agenda Indígena es un insumo, que los invitamos a analizar y llegar articular los procesos más amplios de unidad en la diversidad.

Rechazamos toda forma de política intervencionista y guerrerista, de persecución política por los estados en contra de líderes y autoridades originarias, por alzar la voz a favor de los derechos de los Pueblos y denunciamos el asesinato selectivo de los líderes indígenas. No a la criminalización de las luchas de los pueblos indígenas y movimientos sociales.

Proponemos que todas las instancias internacionales (Multilaterales, NN.UU y otras) dejen de invisibilizarnos y sustituirnos, y tomen en cuenta nuestros derechos, y en

particular que la Comunidad Andina de Naciones y MERCOSUR, en todos sus procesos y decisiones, respeten nuestros Derechos Colectivos con la debida consulta y consentimiento. Igualmente que la Organización Mundial del Comercio (OMC), respete nuestros derechos de Territorialidad, Autonomía y patrimonio intelectual y cultural, y su carácter colectivo y trans generacional.

Ratificamos nuestro respaldo y participación activa en los procesos de alianzas internacionales, como el Foro Social de las Américas; Foro Social Mundial y en la III Cumbre Continental de los Pueblos Indígenas que se realizará en marzo del 2007 y para la articulación de Otros Mundos Posibles alternativos al sistema neoliberal globalizante.

Reiteramos nuestra solidaridad con los procesos sociales y gobiernos progresistas de Venezuela, Cuba y Bolivia que buscan abrir nuevos caminos alternativos para los pueblos, así como nuestra exigencia de libertad a los luchadores sociales de todo el mundo.

Se resuelve que la sede del II Tantachwi/ Congreso de la Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas, se efectuará en Quito, Ecuador.

¡Cortaron nuestras ramas, hojas. pero no las raíces.. y ahora Volvemos!

¡Diez Veces nos golpearon.. diez veces nos levantaremos!

Cusco, 17 de julio del 2006

Tomás Huanacu Tito  
Presidente del I Tantachwi/Congreso

COORDINADORA ANDINA DE ORGANIZACIONES INDÍGENAS  
ECUARUNARI Confederación de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos Kichwas del Ecuador  
CONACAMI, Confederación Nacional de Comunidades del Perú Afectadas por la Minería  
CONAMAQ, Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyo de Bolivia.  
CITEM, Coordinación de Identidades Territoriales Mapuche  
ONIC, Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia  
ONPIA, Organización Nacional de Pueblos Indígenas de Argentina  
Consejo Nacional Aymara de Chile  
CCP - Confederación Campesina del Perú  
CNA- Confederación Nacional Agraria  
CSUTCB - Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores y Campesinos de Bolivia  
Federación Nacional de Mujeres BARTOLINA SISA del Qullasuyu.

## ***2. Región Andina: Tejiendo sueños. Hacia el Congreso fundacional de la Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas***

Thu, 22 Jun 2006 23:54:59 -0500

Servicio de Información Indígena Servindi

Sitio web: [www.servindi.org](http://www.servindi.org) Correo electrónico: [servindi@servindi.org](mailto:servindi@servindi.org)

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Región Andina: Tejiendo sueños. Hacia el Congreso fundacional de la Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas

Los pueblos indígenas quechua, kichwa, aymará, mapuche y otros de los Andes de América del Sur, asumiendo principios andinos de reciprocidad y complementariedad entre sus organizaciones, llamamos a la unidad del movimiento indígena andino y estamos convocando a los pueblos indígenas andinos al Congreso Fundacional de la Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas a realizarse en Cusco, centro del Tawantinsuyu y el mundo, entre los días 15 al 17 de julio próximo.

Ha transcurrido 500 años para que en el pensamiento de los pueblos indígenas empiece a germinar el sentido de unidad en la diversidad. Este tiempo demuestra el despertar de los pueblos indígenas andinos brotando del "uku pacha" (mundo de abajo) para dar vida a los mitos que hablan de su regreso y conceder armonía al "kai pacha" (este mundo). Sus crecientes protagonismos políticos, iniciativas de articulación y encuentros continentales aclaran un nuevo horizonte para los pueblos indígenas.

Es en este proceso que compartimos la iniciativa de Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas, donde lo andino es una clara demostración de la relación particular que tenemos los pueblos indígenas con el territorio que ocupamos. Hoy, la Cordillera de los Andes, en América del Sur, es el espacio natural de los pueblos indígenas que comparten un origen geográfico. Por ello, la iniciativa pretende enlazar a las organizaciones andinas de quechuas, kichwas, aymaras, mapuches y otros, con la finalidad de fortalecer el sentido de unidad del movimiento indígena andino y complementariedad con el movimiento indígena amazónico en la lucha por el reconocimiento y respeto de los derechos colectivos.

Han pasado ocho años desde que empezamos a recorrer caminos milenarios en un proceso de intercambio de experiencias entre los líderes indígenas de Ecuador, Bolivia y Perú. Hace dos años iniciamos a debatir sobre la unidad en la diversidad andina. Reconocimos que los pueblos indígenas de los Andes siempre hemos luchado pero de manera aislada y que es imprescindible unirnos, por que enfrentamos los mismos problemas y las mismas luchas, compartimos una misma historia y anhelamos un mismo sueño. Que nuestras luchas son luchas por la vida y por la dignidad.

## Los indígenas de los Andes

"Abya Yala" o América actual es el espacio continental milenario de los pueblos indígenas que han resistido y sobrevivido a siglos de una colonización que significó exterminio y saqueo de los recursos naturales. Hoy se estima que en América Latina existen 400 pueblos y 50 millones de indígenas. El 90% de la población indígena se concentra en 5 países (Guatemala, México, Perú, Bolivia y Ecuador). Los indígenas representan el 10% de la población total de la región.

Los andes centrales de América del Sur concentran a la mayor cantidad de población indígena. Bolivia registra 5 millones de indígenas, siendo los indígenas andinos aproximadamente 2 millones repartidos en ayllus y marcas del altiplano boliviano. En Ecuador los indígenas representan el 35% de la población total, siendo los andinos casi 4 millones ubicados principalmente en 14 pueblos de nacionalidad Kichwa. En el Perú, la población indígena representa el 47% de la población, siendo los indígenas andinos, quechuas y aymaras, más de 8.6 millones de personas (1).

En Chile, los indígenas representan aproximadamente el 10% de la población, siendo mayoritariamente mapuches. En Colombia existen alrededor de 85 pueblos indígenas concentrados en la zona andina y el Pacífico, estimamos que suman cerca de 800.000 personas, lo que representa un 2% de la población total(2). La Minga hacia la Coordinadora Andina.

Los pueblos indígenas de los Andes hemos tejido relaciones milenarias en el presente a través de un proceso de intercambio recíproco de experiencias y retos entorno a nuestros problemas, formas de organización y participación política. De este proceso concluimos que los pueblos no solo compartimos una misma historia, sino también la misma problemática y por tanto el mismo futuro.

En particular, desde 1998, ECUARUNARI, CONAMAQ y CONACAMI evolucionaron en un proceso de intercambio de experiencias, reflexiones y conclusiones entre líderes indígenas andinos, las cuales han motivado el llamado a la articulación y coordinación de los movimientos indígenas andinos. Una de las primeras medidas fue la propuesta de la Dra. Nina Pacari Vega, para la elección ante el Foro Permanente para las Cuestiones Indígenas de la ONU(3) en representación de los pueblos indígenas andinos de Perú, Bolivia y Ecuador.

En julio del año 2004, durante la realización de la II Cumbre Continental de los Pueblos y Nacionalidades Indígenas del "Abya Yala", las organizaciones indígenas resuelven: "Crear un espacio permanente de enlace e intercambio, donde converjan experiencias y propuestas, para que nuestros pueblos y nacionalidades enfrenten juntos las políticas de globalización neoliberal"(4). Siguiendo este mandato, la ECUARUNARI y CONACAMI, convocan en agosto del mismo año a la "I Reunión de Líderes Indígenas Andinos" con la finalidad de discutir los principales retos, dilemas y oportunidades que enfrentan los

pueblos indígenas y organizaciones, se acuerda desarrollar un proceso de consultas nacionales para constituir una instancia de coordinación de las organizaciones indígenas de los Andes.

La primera participación internacional coordinada entre las organizaciones indígenas andinas y amazónicas sucede durante el "Puxirum de Artes y Saberes Indígenas", organizado por Coordinadora Andina y COICA(5) en el marco del "V Foro Social Mundial de Porto Alegre"(6), en el año 2005. Este hecho muestra no solo la voluntad y práctica complementaria entre las organizaciones andinas y amazónicas, sino que visibiliza por primera vez a los pueblos indígenas en el FSM, recientemente la Coordinadora Andina protagonizó una numerosa participación en el "VI Foro Social Mundial de Caracas" y "II Foro Social de las Américas"(7) donde las organizaciones indígenas andinas debatieron sobre los temas concernientes a su problemática: "tierras, territorio, militarización y autonomía dentro de los pueblos del Abya Yala"(8).

En Octubre del mismo año, en la ciudad de Lima, se realiza la "I Asamblea de Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas Andinos", con la asistencia de más de 120 líderes andinos, es en esta asamblea donde se ratifica el proceso hacia la constitución de la Coordinadora Andina y resuelve ampliar el ámbito de coordinación para incluir al pueblo mapuche, representado por la Coordinación de Identidades Territoriales Mapuche - CITEM (Chile), y los pueblos indígenas de Colombia organizados en la Organización Nacional Indígena - ONIC.

Estos encuentros constituyen hitos en el camino de los pueblos indígenas que se auto-convocan para romper el silencio de 500 años y lograr que sus demandas sean escuchadas por la sociedad y atendidas por los gobiernos nacionales.

Los objetivos de la Coordinadora Andina

Es una iniciativa de coordinación de las organizaciones indígenas de Bolivia, Perú, Ecuador, Colombia y Chile con el fin de fortalecer y ampliar la unidad del movimiento indígena en los Andes y desarrollar acciones de incidencia internacional a favor de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas.

Los objetivos iniciales de la Coordinadora son:

- a.. Fortalecer y ampliar la unidad de los pueblos indígenas quechuas, kichwas, aymaras, mapuches y otros del "Abya Yala" con el fin de consolidar el movimiento indígena andino.
- b.. Difundir las iniciativas, actividades y experiencias de las nacionalidades y pueblos andinos en el marco del proceso de intercambio y consolidación de la Coordinadora Andina entre las organizaciones indígenas de Ecuador, Bolivia, Perú, Colombia y Chile.
- c.. Elaborar propuesta temáticas desde la visión de los pueblos andinos y articularlas con los pueblos amazónicos para la participación y representación en las instancias internacionales.

## Los desafíos para los pueblos andinos

Uno de los mayores retos para los pueblos indígenas es consolidar alianzas entre sus propias organizaciones a nivel de país o de región. Entre las experiencias vivas de alianzas andino-amazónicas, tenemos en Ecuador a través de la CONAIE(9), el esfuerzo de la COPPIP(10) en el Perú y la COICA(11) a nivel de la región amazónica en América del Sur. Cada experiencia tiene sus propias motivaciones y desafíos; y aporta lecciones para fortalecer la articulación para los pueblos indígenas.

La actuación no coordinada de los pueblos andinos en el escenario internacional constituye una de las desventajas que afrontan las organizaciones andinas comparadas con los pueblos amazónicos. Esta situación dificulta a las organizaciones indígenas andinas para utilizar diversos espacios internacionales aperturados a la discusión de derechos de los pueblos indígenas. Esta debilidad limita la participación y capacidad de incidencia de las organizaciones indígenas andinas a nivel internacional, debiendo considerarse como un factor clave a desarrollar bajo un contexto de globalización.

Para las organizaciones indígenas andinas este tiempo es concebido como el momento de potenciar nuestros aprendizajes: lecciones y experiencias del movimiento indígena andino. Como la oportunidad de transitar a la consolidación de un proceso exitoso de intercambio hacia la articulación de las organizaciones indígenas andinas, por ello llamamos a la "unidad en la diversidad: Los pueblos indígenas siempre hemos estado luchando, pero de manera aislada y no articulada. Y es necesario unirnos"(12) porque somos concientes de esta situación y necesidad a fin de visibilizar la presencia andina en diversas instancias internacionales y fortalecer los procesos organizativos internos.

La Coordinadora Andina, pretende constituirse en un espacio para concertar medios y esfuerzos entre las organizaciones indígenas andinas de los países de Ecuador, Bolivia, Perú, Colombia y Chile, en el análisis de nuestra problemática, así como en la consolidación de propuestas conjuntas ante diversas instancias internacionales de participación para los pueblos indígenas. Por ello, uno de los principales objetivos de la propuesta andina es coordinar las acciones de incidencia política a nivel internacional, para garantizar una representación legítima de los intereses de los pueblos indígenas andinos.

La contribución de las organizaciones indígenas a este proceso se sustenta en su vigencia histórica y su presencia organizativa y política en los Andes, así como las experiencias colectivas de cómo se ha venido plasmando sus respuestas reivindicativas e incluyentes. En esta perspectiva la Coordinadora Andina de las Organizaciones Indígenas esta concebida con una visión política para incidir en la construcción de una nueva sociedad donde los pueblos indígenas no estén excluidos.

La problemática de los pueblos indígenas andinos tiene semejantes causas y consecuencias, pues todos atraviesan problemas en la defensa de su territorio, el manejo inadecuado de sus recursos naturales, la contaminación de sus ríos y el atentado a su

biodiversidad, esto es en realidad lo que agrupa a los pueblos indígenas andinos de "Abya Yala". La necesidad de establecer una agenda común para defender la vida y proteger de todas las exclusiones a los pueblos indígenas será uno de los primeros logros de la Coordinadora Andina de las Organizaciones Indígenas.

Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas

Sitio web: <http://www.minkandina.org/>

Correo electrónico: [minkandina@yahoo.es](mailto:minkandina@yahoo.es)

Notas:

(1) "Pueblos Indígenas y Derechos Constitucionales en América Latina: un panorama"; Cletus Gregor Barié, 2a. EDICIÓN; Bolivia, 2003.

<http://www.cdi.gob.mx/conadepi/iii/cletus/>

(2) ONIC: [www.onic.org.co](http://www.onic.org.co)

(3) <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/es/members.html>

(4) Declaración de Kito, II Cumbre Continental de Pueblos y Nacionalidades Indígenas de Abya Yala.

(5) Coordinadora de Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica, [www.coica.org](http://www.coica.org)

(6) Porto Alegre, Brasil, enero 2005.

(7) Caracas, Venezuela, enero 2006.

(8) [http://www.minkandina.org/article.php3?id\\_article=23](http://www.minkandina.org/article.php3?id_article=23)

(9) Confederación Nacional Indígena del Ecuador, integrado por ECUARUNARI, CONAICE y CONFENIAE. [www.conaie.org](http://www.conaie.org)

(10) Coordinadora Permanente de Pueblos Indígenas del Perú, integrado por AIDSESEP, CONACAMI y otros.

(11) COICA, agrupa a organizaciones indígenas amazónicas de 9 países de América del Sur.

(12) Reunión de Líderes Indígenas de la Región Andina; Lima, agosto, 2004.

### 3. *Q'osqo Women*

Feminismo Paritario Indígena Andino  
13-04-07, Por Rosalía Paiva

El concepto género es patrimonio de las ciencias sociales como categoría de análisis; y su construcción teórica es parte de un proceso social y académico distante a los Andes. Sin embargo reconocemos su importancia, la misma que radica en la capacidad de analizar las relaciones entre hombres y mujeres indígenas en la sociedad actual.

Bajo este marco el género nos es útil, porque nos permite señalar el conjunto de características diferenciadas que la cultura Tawantinsuyana (hoy Andina) y la cultura Occidental, cuales son las características que estas culturas asigna a mujeres y a hombres, pues define la existencia de las personas al asignar conductas, formas de actuar y pensar que dan sentido a la vida. No es biológico, sin una construcción cultural de la sexualidad (sexo social), que también puede ser definida en función del tiempo. Irene Silverblat (1987) sostiene: “Los sistemas de género legitiman lo que significa ser el varón o la mujer, y estamos conscientes ahora de que las ideologías de género sobrepasan las identidades macho y hembra y se extienden a todos los aspectos de la vida social; llegan a imbuir todas las experiencias humanas, extendiéndose hasta nuestra percepción del mundo natural, del orden social y de las estructuras de prestigio y poder”. Por ello Género es conjunto de fenómenos determinantes de la vida social, colectiva e individual, adquiridos en el proceso de la crianza; se trata de características socialmente construidas que definen y relacionan los ámbitos del ser y del quehacer femenino y masculino dentro de la comunidad. Es posible concebirlo como una red de símbolos culturales, conceptos normativos, patrones institucionales y elementos de identidad subjetiva que a través de un proceso de construcción social, diferencia los sexos y al mismo tiempo los articula dentro de relaciones de poder sobre el acceso a los recursos, que permite delimitar espacios de poder y de subordinación.

Nos permite ver esta diferencia Javier Lajo en “Qhapaq ñan, la Ruta de la sabiduría Inka”. Dice: “la cultura occidental asume como abstracción global del origen de todo la UNIDAD. Pero en la concepción de lo real, de lo concreto, se trata de la concepción o cosmovisión de un cosmos impar en donde la estructura cosmogónica o complejidad se dá por emanación, enajenación, alineación o clonación de la unidad”. Desde esa visión lo diferente es invalidado con guerra eterna contra lo diferente, enajenando todo lo que se cruce en el camino, no necesita cotejarse o consultar a nadie, no interesa el medio o el método, sólo interesa su verdad e imponerla como sea a cualquier precio, su voluntad como poder absoluto es el reflejo de ese macrocosmos unitario, impar. En cambio la cosmovisión indígena andina establece que “el origen de todo es la PARIDAD como el principio de todo, compuesto por dos elementos diferentes, dos esencias que son complementarias y proporcionales componen dos cosmos paralelos pero combinados en donde la unidad no existe en tanto que tiene un correlato o contraparte que lo equipara y lo desequipara según el momento de que se trate, pues el tiempo tiene dos momentos y oscila en dos sentidos” a lo que se da la unión de los opuestos complementarios, de allí que una condición básica de la conciencia de la identidad humana es de que uno solo puede conocerse solo en relación con los otros.

Por ello la concepción occidental enajena a la hembra, la señala como una copia imperfecta del varón inventando con esto el sistema Patriarcal.

La concepción Andina Indígena señala lo masculino y femenino, es la manera de hacerse y ser; y da como resultado la Paridad Cósmica clave de la vincularidad como relación obligatoria entre ellos y el cosmos por ello todo esta separado en paridad que se completan.

El tema de género en las culturas andinas está reflejado en la configuración y el ordenamiento espacial que planteamos líneas arriba. Podría decirse que el espacio es el espejo en el que la sociedad se refleja. Para Quechuas y Aymaras, en los Andes se reconoce a través de una lectura que atribuye a los cerros (montañas) y todas lo que existe una condición de género: unos son urqu (macho) y otros qachu (hembra), algunos también son señor y señora; especialmente las montañas son personas, antepasados míticos de ayllus y markas, fuente de conocimiento a donde acuden constantemente los sabios yatiri o lugares de donde emana saberes y conocimientos.

En la cultura andina ancestral "ni hombre ni mujer, adquieren el status de persona adulta y plena socialmente, si es que no ha sido reunido por la sociedad con su pareja, completando la unidad de la persona social Kgari en Runa Simi(lengua del humano) Kgari -warmi(hombre-Mujer) es decir que se proyecta al universo simbólico y organizativo más amplio, reflejado en el dualismo en la organización de los ayllus según mitades complementarias y jerarquizadas (arriba-abajo; alasya-manqhasaya; aransaya-urinsaya) asociado con lo masculino y femenino. No es primero el hombre, tampoco es primero la mujer son los dos al mismo tiempo, es la pareja la base fundamental en la cultura andina, porque la reciprocidad, dualidad y complementariedad constituyen un principio fundamental en la cosmovisión paritaria andina. Esta complementariedad en el mundo andino tiene su fundación en el mundo mítico de las deidades espirituales, por ejemplo como TaytaInti (Padre sol) y MamaKilla(Mamaluna), deidades masculinas y deidades femeninas; Mamakilla es particularmente importante por la significación y simbolismo que tienen al establecer el rol económico de la mujer.

Esta relación intrínseca de pareja se materializa en el proceso social en "Taqikunas panipuniw akapachanxa" (en este mundo todo es par) pues sólo son jaqi-persona-/Kgari (hombre -warmi Mujer), cuando ya se han casado y tienen su propio terreno agrícola o "chacra", la que es entendida "no sólo como el espacio agrícola, sino como el escenario de la crianza y del florecimiento de todas las formas de vida" (Grimaldo Rengifo Vasquez). Para merecer tener voz y voto en la comunidad tiene que ser pareja; lo mismo para ser autoridad, la pareja de esposos conforma jaqi/runa, Kgari warmi,(hombre-mujer) es la unidad social y colectiva, así, la identidad de género sólo es comprensible a través de los status y roles que un individuo, hombre o mujer, adquiere durante el proceso de la crianza que luego se completa con el matrimonio. Son sujetos activos de la sociedad en tanto son Kgari /warmi y son capaces de cualquier reto. Su fuerza y vigor necesariamente deben expresarse a través del matrimonio; entonces, esa energía irá en beneficio de la sociedad.

Jaqicha,(matrimonio) otorga identidad, sexo socialmente reconocido, que se expresa como pertenencia. Así, una mujer u hombre nombra a su cónyuge nayankiri, el que es mío/la que es mía. Como sujeto, ego, él/ella, es el/la que me pertenece, pues no se dice jamás nayax jupankiri (yo de él/ella), ni siquiera existe en el vocabulario. Es el ego que otorga identidad de género a la pareja, de manera indistinta si es hombre o mujer. Jaqicha, asimismo, connota humanización, cultura. El matrimonio tiene la facultad de transformar en "lo más cercano a la noción occidental de persona parece ser la pareja estable, socialmente reconocida"según Alejandro Ortiz Rescaniere. Es decir, es gente, es individuo, que siendo parte de la tama (comunidad, sociedad) cumple con normas establecidas de convivencia.

La percepción del universo andino y su sociedad está compuesta por entidades complementarias pero a la vez opuestas: masculino, femenino; alto, bajo; lo maduro y lo joven; lo moderno y lo antiguo; lo viejo y lo nuevo; lo duro y lo suave, todo tiene sexo definido y actúa en su condición de carácter sexual. Entre los pares hay equivalencias: masculino y femenino; cada uno tiene sus propias cualidades, se complementan pero a la vez se oponen con su par; hay contemplación hay relaciones ricas; en la cultura occidental compiten y buscan asegurar la superioridad del macho frente a lo femenino. “La dinámica de la sociedad andina está basada en la competencia entre pares que se perciben como complementarios, pero desiguales” (Alejandro Ortiz, 2001:117).

Kgari es identidad de género de hombre casado, así también Warmi es de mujer casada; no se nombra warmi a una niña o a muchacha joven, como tampoco Kgari a un varón soltero. Los atributos de Kgari y Warmi están ligados a la función de reproducción biológica de la especie y al rol social del ayllu. Al mismo tiempo de ser padres y madres biológicas asumen también la función de padres sociales: awki-tayka (padre y madre) autoridades paritaria: mallku-talla.

Actualmente en las comunidades andinas indígenas los mallkus asumen tomas de decisiones, la responsabilidad, muchas veces sin tallas ellos sostienen que no pueden asistir como autoridad paritaria a la reunión comunitaria, pues si los dos asisten al evento quien se queda al cuidado de los asuntos y responsabilidades familiares, por ello la talla (autoridad mujer) es la que asume este trabajo mientras el marido asiste como Mallku, antes no existían esos problemas por cuanto “era la comunidad quién asumía el trabajo de las tierras de las autoridades, ahora ya no es así”, es el marido quien se ve obligado a cumplir con la comunidad, en tanto que las esposas, mama t’allas, únicamente asumen el rol de la representación ritual, o cuando se hace necesario la representación en su calidad de complementación, hoy esta situación es una falta de equidad ocasionado por el sistema y en el caso de que tenga que trasladarse bastante lejos como autoridades también ira solo uno de los dos por falta de dinero para los dos y generalmente es el marido o Mallku.

Por esta experiencia sabemos que sólo cuando el ejercicio del poder es paritario podemos decir que hay igualdad de condiciones; suelo amplio para el desarrollo en armonía de los géneros. Actualmente tenemos encima todo un sistema reacio al cambio y aun mas a aceptar esta particular forma de vida armónica con nuestros pares que nos permitiría, planear, plantear muchas cosas entre ellas la sinergia intergeneracional entre mujeres y sus pares.

El desarrollo de la civilización andina Tawantinsuyana se caracterizo por su notable éxito en el manejo del espacio, desde una relación particular con la Pacha (espacio –tiempo) la cual se manifiesta cosmogónicamente/ espiritualmente a través del culto a la Pachamama (mama: generadora de vida). Es en el Tawantinsuyu (Confederación de Pueblos Incas, hoy territorio Suramericano) un modelo de civilización y de organización, multiétnica y plurilingüe que tuvo como base de desarrollo a los ayllus (Ayllu unidad comunitaria compuesta por varias familias entre si) y como base de desarrollo y política de Estado, el trabajo comunitario de hombres y mujeres en igualdad de condiciones o Ayni; que es la reciprocidad entre miembros del Ayllu y/o comunidad; con la finalidad de generar el y por el bien común. El Ayni fue practicado entre familias, comunidades, pueblos, para luego pasar a niveles regionales o suyos (región). Todo en el mundo andino es AYNi y este igual a reciprocidad. Para el hombre andino, el Cosmos / naturaleza siempre funcionó y siempre funcionará basado en el Ayni. Este modelo todavía se practica en algunas comunidades indígenas. Un ejemplo de ello: la tierra alimenta a las plantas, las cuales a su vez generan oxígeno el cual sostiene la vida de animales, hombres, mujeres los cuales también cumplen funciones específicas haciendo que se cumpla una armonía total. Para el

mundo andino todo elemento de la naturaleza DA y RECIBE para contribuir a un bien común, LA VIDA en armonía. El resultado fue el autosostenimiento económico en todos los rincones del Tawantinsuyo (Tawa = cuatro /Suyu =Region) con provisiones que garantizaban el bienestar y alta nutrición de cada uno de sus habitantes.

Esta adaptación humana fue trastocada de manera violenta por la colonización europea, cuya visión fue la apropiación y despoblamiento de los pueblos indígenas. El sumac Kausay o buen vivir: bienestar social, económico y político; dejó de ser parte de la filosofía estatal del Tawantinsuyu con esta irrupción, pasando a convertirse en un pensamiento de resistencia indígena; y, es así como la inequidad impuesta a nuestros ancestros y ancestros tomó carácter de legalidad y legitimidad hasta hoy, traducido en particulares formas de exclusión, subordinación e invisibilidad colectiva, principalmente de la mujer indígena.

El colonialismo occidental impuso en nuestras naciones originarias una serie de códigos y costumbres por la fuerza las cuales se practican a la fecha como si fueran propias, para algunos “costumbres tradicionales” y son violentas, opresivas; costumbres impuestas a sangre y fuego por el colonialismo opresor dirigidas especialmente en contra de las mujeres indígenas, las cuales han sido aprendidas/asumidas por nuestros hombres y la comunidad porque los privilegia como género en desmembramiento del género femenino en el transcurso del tiempo a través del aculturamiento y se continúa a través de sus múltiples expresiones culturales discriminativas y ofensivas a las mujeres indígenas no dando le la oportunidad de expresarse inclusive en las asambleas comunales y otros aspectos por ejemplo un hombre come mas no porque trabaje mas sino por ser hombre, solo por eso.

La globalización expresa su mayor impacto en la vida de los pueblos indígenas especialmente en la mujeres y los niños en Latinoamérica a través de la feminización de la pobreza, lo que significa un trato cruel y desastroso para la vida de las mujeres indígenas y no indígenas en pobreza económica, se aúna a esto la misoginia dirigido a las mujeres indígenas especialmente, un ejemplo de ello son los crímenes de Ciudad Juárez en México, Guatemala, Canadá; cuyas víctimas son mujeres indígenas. Traducido en odio a las mujeres y al querer destruirlas, desaparecerlas.

Se profundiza el problema de desigualdad que sentimos las mujeres indígenas cuando vemos el despojo sistemático de nuestras tierras, territorios y recursos naturales, lo cual ocasiona la destrucción de nuestra comunidades indígenas que son la base material de nuestra identidad; los estados nacionales implementan nuevas políticas y leyes del régimen agrario constitucional y provocan en la práctica graves danos a las tierras, territorios y recursos naturales de las Comunidades Indígenas y dejan de ser inalienables, inembargables e imprescriptibles, violando con ello Instrumentos internacionales, aceptados y aprobados por los gobiernos de los estados partes (Convenio 169 de OIT) .

Continúa el exterminio cultural y educativo de los pueblos indígenas que es provocado por la persistencia crónica de un solo sistema educativo nacional, que está sellado por una inercia histórica homogeneizante que nos conduce a todos a la castellanización en el idioma y a la occidentalización en la cultura pues la educación indígena es sometida a clandestinidad forzada y con ello las mujeres indígenas y sus pueblos van perdiendo su cultura. La falta de reconocimiento legal y carencia de los espacios jurídicos y políticos para las instituciones indígenas por parte de los estados nacionales las legislaciones favorecen totalmente a las sociedades no-indígenas en detrimento de las sociedades indígenas de ahí que se profundiza el aprovechamiento, abuso y

usurpación de los bienes materiales y culturales de los pueblos indígenas y con la consecuente invisibilización de la vida indígena.

No es posible entender los movimientos políticos amplios si no consideramos las dinámicas locales por las que están pasando las mujeres indígenas. Con la extracción de los hidrocarburos, petróleo, minería de la década de los setenta, la escasez de tierras cultivables, influye a que muchos hombres indígenas migren a las zonas mineras, petroleras, etc, dejando a sus mujeres al frente de la economía familiar. Estos procesos de monetarización de la economía indígena han sido analizados como factores que le restaron poder a las mujeres al interior de la familia, al influir en su trabajo doméstico cada vez fuera y menos indispensable para la reproducción de la fuerza de trabajo. Sin embargo, para muchas mujeres se trató de un proceso contradictorio, pues a la vez que se reestructuró su posición al interior de la unidad doméstica, al incorporarse al comercio informal entraron en contacto con otras mujeres indígenas y se iniciaron procesos organizativos a través de comedores populares, vaso de leche para los niños, club de madres, cooperativas, organizaciones de lucha para lo sobre vivencia familiar indígena que con el tiempo se convirtieron en espacios de reflexión colectiva.

La migración de las parejas maridos y/o compañeros y propia es siempre un problema pero las mujeres indígenas han sacado experiencias positivas de esta desgracia, transformándolas en experiencias organizativas, y han influido en cierto modo en la manera en que los hombres y las mujeres indígenas han reestructurado sus relaciones al interior de la unidad doméstica y han replanteado sus estrategias de lucha aunque en muchos casos, algunos grupos partidarios, gobiernos de turno han capitalizado políticamente los votos de las mujeres indígenas para lograr “aceptación o popularidad” en base a chantaje, el hambre, la miseria, la pobreza extrema (Perú, Argentina, etc.) es decir se nos usa como ciudadanas de relleno.

La Iglesia Católica y otras han jugado un papel preponderante; en algunos haciendo promoción de espacios de reflexión, y en otros de asimilación al sistema dominante y adormecimiento de conciencias como como ser social y adormecimiento de las demandas como pueblos y movimientos indígenas en el trabajo por la liberación de un sistema completamente oportunista y explotador de lo indígena en que se han convertido los estados nacionales a través de los gobiernos de turno .

El liderazgo de la mujer en los distintos espacios, se da viviendo todos los días ante la presión y desigualdad sistémica hacia nuestros pueblos, hacia nuestra cultura y ha nosotras mismas como mujeres, y nos hace ver del porque ésta invisibilización de los estados nacionales. Este despertar es una muestra de la recuperación de la autoestima, pasando de la demanda a la propuesta, del ejercicio de la ritualidad a la política, ese trabajo de las mujeres indígenas viene surgiendo. Contribuye también con el proceso de reflexión y concientización las diferentes acciones autogestionarias de las propias mujeres indígenas a favor de la auto promoción a través de cursos, talleres y acerca de las desigualdades sociales y racismo de la sociedad dominante, pero todavía falta mucho mas porque no es un proceso homogéneo. Es así que poco a poco las mujeres indígenas empiezan a cuestionar las desigualdades de género que se vivencia al interior de sus propias casas, comunidades, pero principalmente las desigualdades que asumen los estados nacionales. En los años 70 para adelante las mujeres indígenas empobrecidas económicamente vienen formando organizaciones de sobrevivencia, este es un vehiculo que sirve para comprender su posición . En 1994, escuchamos a mujeres activistas indígenas en el Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), en igualdad con su pares levantan la voz en espacios públicos y desde la clandestinidad de la lucha indígena para apoyar las demandas como parte de sus pueblos,

representando los intereses de sus comunidades, para exigir el respeto a sus derechos específicos como mujeres. Esto es realmente alentador y marca el inicio de las voces de las hijas de la tierra en el continente latinoamericano para protestar la exclusión sistémica de los estados nacionales y por el reconocimiento de los derechos de los pueblos y como mujeres indígenas. Hoy con gran alegría vemos presencia de mujeres indígenas en espacios democráticos de participación política de algunos congresos en los estados nacionales de: Bolivia, Ecuador, Perú, Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, etc.

Al reconocemos como movimiento social de mujeres indígenas nos permitimos ver las relaciones jerárquicas entre los sexos en multitud de ámbitos, que opera transformando la sensibilidad social ante determinados fenómenos y los conceptúa en problemas de desigualdad, al conceptualizarlos los politiza exigiendo demandas y soluciones políticas ya que la falta de inclusión sistémica requiere igualar las condiciones entre los géneros. Es así que el feminismo es el espacio de libertad y de dignidad como mujer, es asumir su honor de mujer independientemente del honor del varón. Interrumpe la dinámica del patriarcado en sus diferentes expresiones una de ellas es separar a las mujeres de ellas mismas y hacer que se odien entre las mismas, posibilitando sea más difícil que colaboren entre sí, lo cual es contrario a nuestra cosmovisión paritaria.

Las mujeres indígenas en sus organizaciones de supervivencia y resistencia empiezan a trabajar la agenda, para denunciar la opresión económica, extracción exagerada de recursos naturales, propiedad intelectual, apropiación de las tierras y territorios indígenas, judicialización, criminalización de los líderes y lideresas, guerra, racismo, discriminación y exclusión como culturas, pueblos y como mujeres; frente a todo esto marca la falta de voluntad política de los gobiernos nacionales para insertar a nuestros pueblos indígenas en los planes y proyectos de los estados nacionales, falta de voluntad política para lograr la resolución de conflictos mediante el diálogo y llaman a los movimientos indígenas con epíteto "fundamentalistas" por el solo hecho de reclamar inclusión, transparencia gubernamental, justicia social y respeto.

De otro lado las mujeres indígenas al interior de sus organizaciones y comunidades trabajan por cambiar aquellos elementos de la "tradición" sembrada e impuestas por ese colonialismo patriarcal occidental que nos ha excluido e invisibilizado y sigue oprimiendo nuestras vidas como mujeres y pueblos.

El trabajo es lento, las dificultades son muchas, no hay recursos logísticos y persiste la extinción histórica de nuestros pueblos indígenas traducido en niveles de vida por debajo de lo vital, la pobreza extrema que soportan las mujeres y su familia indígena es una pandemia. Se incrementa la migración interna y masiva del campo a la ciudad, a las que en algunos casos los gobiernos le han puesto el nombre de familias "desplazadas" claro esa palabra para nosotras es un disfraz. El deterioro crónico de la fuerza de trabajo comunal, las altas tasas de mortalidad infantil y morbilidad en general. Todo esto se suma a los planes y campañas de esterilización forzada y reducción de la natalidad de nuestras poblaciones indígenas, que ha sido objeto de denuncias (PERU, GUATEMALA).

Este es el contexto económico y cultural en el que las mujeres indígenas en los Andes construyen sus vidas y es allí, desde esa realidad donde vamos construyendo nuestras identidades de género, y es el compás que marca las formas específicas de nuestras luchas, y concepciones sobre la "dignidad de la mujer" y las maneras de plantear alianzas políticas entre nuestros pares. Es también la lucha por recuperar nuestra cultura de igualdad de condiciones ancestralmente vivenciada en nuestros pueblos y comunidades.

Las identidades étnicas, y de género, han determinado nuestras estrategias de lucha como mujeres indígenas y hemos optado por incorporarnos a las luchas más amplias de nuestros pueblos y sus movimientos, pero a la vez hemos creado espacios específicos de reflexión sobre nuestras propias experiencias de exclusión e invisibilización como mujeres y como indígenas. Nosotras sabemos que un Pueblo con identidad es un pueblo que toma las riendas de su destino pues gana autoestima se reafirma. También reconocemos nuestros miedos y silencios forzados con muerte y dolor, vamos rompiendo poco a poco; a fuego lento, sabemos que es un proceso que nos corresponde pasar y es por ello, que reconocemos que la necesidad de la creación de espacios de reflexión como estos. A las andinas el trabajo de organización por la sobrevivencia nos ha permitido hacer visibles nuestras demandas a nivel de nuestra propia vida en nuestras casas, comunidades, en nuestras organizaciones y como integrante de nuestras Naciones indígenas, por lo menos en la CONAIP (Confederación de nacionalidades indígenas de Perú), reconocemos que no es posible entender la fuerza actual de los movimientos indígenas sin considerar la participación de las mujeres y sus experiencias diversas en las luchas indígenas y campesinas.

Es los años setenta y ochenta se empieza a cuestionar el discurso oficial Nación homogénea negando la plurinacionalidad real que existe en nuestros países, el discurso indígena plantea demandas de tierra, demandas culturales y políticas, posteriormente en los 90 la lucha por la autonomía, autodeterminación y lucha por la sobrevivencia de nuestros pueblos indígenas aquí se suceden cambios importantes en la economía doméstica con espacios de reflexión colectiva a los que se incorporan las mujeres indígenas. A la par que venimos reconociendo nuestros problemas como pueblos también venimos reconociendo nuestros problemas como género y emplazándonos lentamente empezamos cuestionar al estado la invisibilización en que nos tiene postrados como pueblos desde las llamadas independencias .

Pese a todo esta participación activa, acompañamiento de mujeres indígenas no aparecemos en los trabajos de sistematización allí solo se habla de los líderes hombres pero no de las mujeres lideresas no se mencionan cual es la participación de las mujeres en esta serie de activismos, siempre hemos sido las encargadas de la logística de marchas, plantones y encuentros, caminatas reclamaciones y protestas en general, muchas veces hasta se nos ha negado la palabra, pero no está escrito, el trabajo, la labor de las mujeres indígenas y se nos continúa invisibilizando en la historia de nuestros propios movimientos, eso también es una muestra de cómo el sistema patriarcal colonial y occidental ha penetrado y tiene presencia en la transmisión de valores excluyéndonos en la historia.

Nuestros pueblos han olvidado muchas tradiciones de nuestra cultura ancestral beneficiosas para la armonía entre los géneros. Menos mal que esto viene cambiando como proceso a través de prácticas del mismo pueblo en sus comunidades y aunque todavía es muy poco está saliendo a luz el conocimiento de nuestros ancestros con fuerza, y se viene retomando y reactivando la sabiduría de nuestros ancestros y ancestros lo cual vemos con mucha satisfacción la presencia paritaria en la Cumbre Indígena en Bolivia 2006.

Lo positivo de estas acciones de lucha conjunta es que compartir experiencias entre mujeres indígenas de distintas regiones y pueblos. Es allí donde podemos priorizar acciones en torno a nuestras concepciones: que es primero, cual debe ser nuestra tarea y que hacer frente a todo esto, pues lo invisible se viene haciendo visible.

La reconstrucción de relaciones equitativas entre hombres y mujeres se ha convertido en un punto medular en la lucha de las mujeres indígenas hoy. El concepto feminismo no ha sido tocado aun, ni reivindicado dentro del discurso político indígena. Este concepto sigue estando identificado con el feminismo liberal urbano, para muchas mujeres indígenas tiene connotaciones separatistas que se alejan de nuestras concepciones de la necesidad de una lucha conjunta con nuestros compañeros indígenas por tierra, territorio, autodeterminación como pueblos, sabemos que eso es prioritario y ocupa nuestra agenda y es la vida misma de nosotras como mujeres indígenas y de nuestras familias y comunidades pues es la forma natural de nuestra vida indígena.

Quienes como indígenas llegamos al feminismo tras una experiencia de activismo en organizaciones estudiantiles, universitarias, sindicales, sabemos sobre la fuerza ideológica negativa que han tenido los discursos que representan al feminismo como una "ideología burguesa, divisionista e individualista" que separa a las mujeres de las luchas de sus pueblos. Las experiencias del feminismo liberal anglosajón, que de hecho si partieron de una visión muy individualista de los "derechos ciudadanos", han sido utilizadas para crear una representación homogeneizadora del "feminismo". Lo cual no se ajusta a nuestra visión y concepción comunitaria indígena con una cosmovisión paritaria.

El feminismo como conjunto de teorías sociales y practicas políticas con apertura crítica de relaciones sociales históricas, pasadas y presentes, motivadas principalmente por la experiencia femenina en general, con una crítica a la desigualdad social entre mujeres y hombres, proclama la promoción de los derechos de las mujeres y cuestionan la relación entre sexo, sexualidad, y el poder social, político y económico .

Tal vez un día nos apropiarnos de este concepto, por el momento es prioritario trabajar por nuestra dignidad de mujer indígena, por inclusión como cultura, porque de no hacerlo viene el exterminio de nuestros Pueblos, por eso trabajamos primero por nuestra vida desde nuestra cosmovisión de lo que para nosotras significa la vida sin embargo como parte del colectivo de mujeres indígenas creemos que este cambio será parte del trabajo futuro. Por el momento hablamos sobre la dignidad de la mujer indígena y su derecho a ser diferente proclamamos la participación paritaria en nuestras organizaciones y comunidades la promoción de las mujeres indígenas el derecho de las mujeres indígenas a la participación política y a los puestos de dirección, el derecho a una vida libre de violencia sexual y violencia en la casa, el derecho a decidir cuantos hijos tener y cuidar, el derecho a un salario justo, el derecho a elegir con quien casarse, a buenos servicios de salud y de educación, entre otros.

Nos interesa el contenido de los instrumentos internacionales, las políticas nacionales como símbolo de posibilidades a una vida mejor para las mujeres indígenas. También cuestionamos el discurso homogenizador del feminismo ciudadano/occidental que enfatizan el derecho a la igualdad sin considerar la manera en que la clase y la etnicidad marcan las identidades de las mujeres.

De frente al movimiento indígena, estas nuevas voces han puesto en el tapete las perspectivas de las culturas de origen prehispánico, discutiendo las desigualdades que caracterizan las relaciones entre los géneros. A la vez, han puesto en tela de juicio la dicotomía entre tradición y modernidad que ha reproducido el indigenismo oficial, y que en cierta medida comparte el movimiento indígena independiente nacional, según la cual sólo hay dos opciones: permanecer mediante la tradición impuesta a sangre y fuego o cambiar a través de la modernidad. Las mujeres indígenas reivindicamos nuestro derecho a cambio y

aceptación de la diferencia cultural y, a la vez, demandamos el derecho a cambiar aquellas tradiciones que nos oprimen y/o excluyen.

Paralelamente, las mujeres indígenas estamos cuestionando las generalizaciones sobre "La Mujer" que se han hecho desde el discurso feminista occidental en el deseo de imaginar un frente unificado de mujeres contra el "patriarcado", muchos análisis feministas han negado las especificidades históricas de las relaciones de género en las culturas no occidentales. En este sentido es importante retomar la crítica al feminismo radical y liberal por presentar una visión homogeneizadora de la mujer, sin reconocer que el género se construye de diversas maneras en diferentes contextos históricos. Con este aval algunas feministas urbanas con concepción occidental del feminismo en muchas ocasiones han tenido una falta de sensibilidad cultural frente a la realidad de las mujeres indígenas, asumiendo que nos une una experiencia común frente al patriarcado y se han olvidado de las diferencias y la diversidad. La formación de movimientos amplios de mujeres indígenas y criollas/mestizas-ciudadinas o urbanas se ha dificultado por esta falta de reconocimiento a las diferencias culturales.

Consideramos conveniente analizar críticamente las estrategias del feminismo occidental para crear puentes de comunicación con las mujeres indígenas. A pesar de que algunas mujeres indígenas están muy capacitadas, son las mujeres no indígenas quienes asumen los puestos de liderazgo en las jerarquía de cargos y de poder en los estados nacionales y en algunos casos las no indígenas ocupan relatorías acerca de la problemática de las mujeres indígenas quienes al no tener claro la vida de las indígenas dejan fuera las detalladas descripciones de las mujeres indígenas sobre nuestros problemas cotidianos, incluyendo sólo las demandas generales. Consideramos que sólo acercándose a estas nuestras experiencias y en nuestros zapatos podrán entender la especificidad de nuestras demandas y luchas. Es importante reconocer que las desigualdades étnicas, aunque sea de manera no intencionada, las mujeres no indígenas, con un mejor manejo de la lengua occidental y de la lecto-escritura, tiendan a hegemonizar la discusión cuando se trata de espacios conjuntos. Por ello, resulta fundamental respetar la creación de espacios propios y esperar el momento propicio para la formación de alianzas. Pues las mujeres indígenas, estamos viviendo nuestros propios tiempos y procesos, que no siempre confluyen con los tiempos, procesos y agendas del feminismo de las mujeres no indígenas.

Otro de los aspectos que miramos las mujeres indígenas es sobre el impacto de la globalización en nuestros pueblos y nuestras vidas, lo cual es terriblemente desolador y trágico para nuestro futuro inmediato, porque viene ligado a la militarización y la extracción exagerada de los recursos naturales, la contaminación de nuestros ecosistemas de nuestros pueblos, traen muerte generalizada; migración forzada de nuestros pueblos, significa salir de nuestras casas dejarlo todo y partir sin nada en las manos, partir sin rumbo fijo, preocuparnos y luchar por el derecho a vivir donde queremos y somos felices en nuestros pueblos sentimos que para nosotras eso es prioritario, porque es prioritario la sobrevivencia de los hijos, de la tierra donde podemos sembrar y comer de la tierra, también es nuestra preocupación como planeta o casa universal: nuestra Pachamama y esto no es un problema indígena, sino que se convierte en problema de todos y todas, pero no lo vemos en la agenda feminista con visión occidental.

El reto de nuestra diversidad esta en la reivindicación de un "feminismo paritario indígena" desarticulado y desestructurado por el colonialismo. Recuperar el feminismo paritario vivenciado por nuestras ancestras y ancestros será posible en la medida en que las mujeres y hombres indígenas nos apropiemos de él.

Otro aspecto importante es la justicia de género, dentro de la justicia comunitaria cuya base son valores ancestrales vigentes, la autodeterminación y la soberanía como temas importantes para el movimiento de mujeres indígenas, junto con el derecho a la tierra y a los territorios ancestrales, a la propiedad intelectual y la identidad cultural estos temas no son parte de la agenda feminista citadina/urbana/occidental.

Las mujeres indígenas estamos preñando nuestro feminismo paritario desde nuestra cosmovisión paritaria base y raíz de nuestra cultura basada en la paridad de los opuestos complementarios y proporcionales; priorizando la lucha por la vida misma; de nuestras comunidades y pueblos, reconociendo nuestras identidades y trabajando nuestra autoestima, confiando y valorándonos nosotras mismas y entre nosotras, para que conjuntamente con nuestros pares lo entendamos: el respeto a nuestros derechos colectivos como base comunitaria de lo que entendemos el desarrollo paritario, es decir el derecho paritario. Este es un trabajo político muy importante, no solo en contra de la homogenización, la asimilación, el colonialismo, el patriarcado, sino también por el respeto a la diferencia y diversidad esa es la bandera que alzamos como mujeres indígenas; pues el gobierno paritario nunca fue discutido en el mundo originario andino, porque la vigencia y actualidad de la circularidad, la alternabilidad, la paridad, la complementariedad, la espiritualidad, el comunitarismo, la inclusión, la solidaridad, la reciprocidad y el consenso son los cimientos sólidos en el ejercicio político de nuestras naciones originarias tradicionales basados en los principios relacionalidad del todo, el principio de correspondencia, el principio de reciprocidad.

Así lo viene entendiendo nuestras organizaciones y movimientos quienes han puesto en su agenda la participación paritaria(hombre/mujer), pues sabemos que la inclusión y liberación del colonialismo occidental como pueblos, requiere igualdad entre hombres y mujeres , requiere escribir sobre su participación e integración como paridad es tiempo que las mujeres indígenas asumamos cargos de dirección, planeamiento y activismo político indígena en igualdad de condiciones con nuestros pares, es decir retornar la esencia cultural de nuestras raíz como pueblos andinos, reapropiarnos de lo nuestro, recuperando nuestra identidad cultural plena, recuperar el comunitarismo (ayllu) y a través del Ayni, los derechos colectivos. Sabemos que, sin el aporte de las mujeres como pares de genero, no lograremos los objetivos de liberación cultural e inclusión cultural dentro de los estados por ello deberemos trabajar un movimiento paritario indígena.

Tenemos argumentos ancestrales fuertes basados en el valor de la igualdad como sentimiento moral, idea-fuerza con capacidad clarificadora y transformadora; a la luz de ello, es como podemos percibir los fenómenos de desigualdad en todos los niveles de la sociedad en que se producen y se reproducen, y genera una sensibilidad social en la que cualquier manifestación de desigualdad resulta chirriante e intolerable. Creemos que esto es importante para generar una demanda social capaz de presionar, como ya está ocurriendo en el continente con la insurgencia indígena. Esa sinergia entre las intervenciones políticas y la labor social generaran las políticas de igualdad, pero sin la sensibilidad social correspondiente serán vacías, una sensibilidad social que no se plasme en intervenciones políticas corre el riesgo de ser ciega.

Sabemos que feminismo y la democracia nacieron de un mismo parto y ahora que la democracia se encuentra en una situación difícil, en algunos ámbitos por la intransigencia y en otros por la indiferencia, la posición de las mujeres es el test definitivo de la democracia. Por ello el feminismo tiene que dejar la actitud de supremacía cultural de occidente, precisamente porque occidente hace un uso despótico y a su medida de ciertos postulados colonialistas y opresores, la tarea va a contrapelo de curso del mundo y nosotras como indígenas lo sentimos a flor de piel. Las mujeres tenemos algo común por encima de las diferencias: ellos, los masculinos, saben

siempre que han de pactar y cómo pactar, nosotras deberíamos educarnos en la cultura del pacto y ejercitarlo.

Llegará un momento de hacer las alianzas entre mujeres indígenas con feminismo paritario y feministas que hayan avanzando en sus concepciones inclusivas de la diversidad y allí tendremos la oportunidad de crear un movimiento amplio, justo, equitativo en igualdad, justicia y paz, es nuestro paradigma. Las mujeres no podemos vivir bien en países que no tengan asegurada la democracia y la paz. Las mujeres sufren siempre las mayores consecuencias de la violencia que les hace regresar a sus papeles más primarios. [www.ecoportal.net](http://www.ecoportal.net)

*\* Canadá, 22 de febrero de 2007  
International Campaign for Indigenous Dignity  
"The fight for the independence continue".*

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