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Article abstract

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Dominant and Subordinate Ideologies in South America: Old Traditions and New Faiths

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The first part of this article discusses the dominant ideologies about the Indians of the Andean Highlands and the Amazon Basin in Colonial, post-Colonial, and contemporary times. The analysis concentrates on the "image of the Indian" or the ideological conceptions of ethnicity that emerge in the context of changing social relations among Indians, representatives of the State, dominant classes, and missionaries. Some of the anthropological approaches to the problem of ethnicity are also discussed.

The second part of the article examines the attempts made by indigenous organizations to reformulate ethnicity as an oppositional ideology under present social, economic, and political conditions.

La première partie de cet article porte sur les idéologies dominantes concernant les Indiens des hautes terres des Andes et du bassin amazonien durant les périodes coloniale, post-coloniale et contemporaine. L'analyse s'attarde sur « l'image de l'Indien » ou sur les conceptions idéologiques de l'ethnicité qui apparaissent à la faveur de la transformation des relations entre les Indiens, les agents de l'État, les classes dominantes et les missionnaires. Sont aussi discutées quelques unes des approches anthropologiques de l'ethnicité.

La seconde partie de l'article examine les tentatives des organisations indigènes de redéfinir l'ethnicité comme une idéologie d'opposition aux présentes conditions sociales, économiques et politiques.

The Indians of South America are currently engaged in a struggle to challenge what has been until now, the dominant ideological interpretation of their identity and of their role in the formation of the different nation states. The Indians defy the policies which attempt to acculturate them into a homogeneous blend, trying to reevaluate their own traditions in order to defend the right to subsist as unique cultures. From within indigenous organizations, ethnicity is being reformulated as an oppositional ideology, that is, as a critique of present and past systems of domination.

In an attempt to write "history from below" for Mexico and Peru, León Portilla (1972) and Wachtel (1977) discussed the "visions of the vanquished" to understand the Spanish conquest from the Indians' point of view. At the present time, the Indians confront the contradictions of a process of de-colonization, and their forms of consciousness can be regarded as the "new visions of the vanquished"; "new" because for the first time the Indians are speaking with their own voice.

The main argument of this paper[1] is that dominant and subordinate ideologies should be studied as interrelated, and that different forms of social relations have conditioned (i.e., set limits, modified, subdued, assimilated or coopted) the Indians' ideological practices in Colonial, post-Colonial and contemporary South America.

Throughout history, Indian consciousness has taken different forms, expressed in oral traditions, messianic and nativistic rebellions, class movements, festivals, rituals, and in many other forms of individual and collective behavior. But, as this consciousness is rarely, if ever, conveyed through written texts, its history is not easy to write. In the first part, this paper attempts to explore it through an analysis of the historical changes in the dominant ideologies about the Indians. Among many possible strategies to deal with this issue, this one has been chosen because the analysis of dominant ideologies often reveals some important aspects of the subordinate ones, although the image presented may be blurred or fragmentary (Duby, 1978: 164, 166). The second part deals with the present social, economic and ideological contexts where new forms of Indian consciousness are emerging.

To introduce the topic we propose an interpretation of an episode in *One hundred years of solitude*, one of the best ethnographic novels about Latin America by the Colombian writer Gabriel García Marquez. The day the insomnia plague struck the town of Macondo, the first to be alarmed were the Indians. They were the only ones who could understand its meaning and its inescapable consequences. What worried them about the plague was not the impossibility of sleeping but its inexorable evolution towards the loss of memory. As Visitación, the Indian woman explains: "...when the sick person became used to his state of vigil, the recollection of his childhood began to be erased from his memory, then the name and notions of things, and finally the identity of people and even the awareness of his being, until he sank into a kind of idiocy that had no past" (1970: 50). Furthermore, although the plague overtakes the whole population of Macondo, it is a sickness peculiar to the Indians. It had already attacked them once before, forcing Visitación and her brother to exile themselves forever from an age-old kingdom where they were princess and prince.

Several characters in the novel suggested different cures for the insomnia plague. For instance, Aureliano—who represented the scientific mind—proposed to label every object in town with its name and an explanation of its use, so that by reading the labels people would not forget them. But Aureliano's solution was as futile as what museums actually do with Indian culture. The real and definite cure was brought to Macondo by Melquíades, the old gypsy who, as García Marquez says "... in spite of his immense wisdom and his mysterious breath, (he) had a human burden, an

earthly condition that kept him involved in the small problems of daily life" (1970: 15). Melquíades combined a knowledge of the ultimate secrets of the magical vision of the world with the capacity to introduce the people of Macondo to new ideas, to technological inventions and to marvelous objects from the outside world.

The insomnia plague, and the consequent loss of memory, are rich metaphors for the process of socio-economic coercion that forced the Indians out of their lands and clearly symbolize the ideological forms of colonialism that during the last 450 years have attempted to deprive the different Indian groups of South America of their cultural memory and collective identity.

This forced acculturation has been perceptively characterized by Darcy Ribeiro as a process through which the different Indian groups, after being deprived of the rich specificities and peculiarities of their cultural traditions, found themselves in the condition of being "generic Indians" rather than actually assimilated into an alleged "national society." However, after a careful analysis of all the factors which contributed to the systematic cultural disintegration and even physical extermination of a great number of the Brazilian tribal groups, Ribeiro argues that these groups still maintain a source of strength. It lies in an element of continuity which fights back to maintain the singularity of each group, despite powerful outside pressures towards homogeneity. This continuity is based on a predisposition of each particular group to develop forms of communal social relations that intensify its solidarity, combined with the Indians' capacity to affirm their self-dignity vis-à-vis strangers through the restoration of old myths, or through the elaboration of new visions of the world (1973: 28, 331).

In *One hundred years of solitude*, Melquíades liberates the people of Macondo from the insomnia plague because he bridges the gap between the pre-capitalist and the capitalist worlds, between community and nation, between the magical world view and the social and economic realities of every-day life. He symbolizes the process by which many of the indigenous groups in South America today are trying to recover their cultural memory and their self-identity, not by simply going back to an elusive pre-capitalist past, but by becoming engaged—voluntarily or involuntarily—in the complex realities of modern society. Like all of us, the Indians of the highlands, the tropical forest, and the marginal urban areas are immersed in the hegemonic world of industrial capitalism, embodied in—but certainly not bound—by the political limits

of the particular nation-states. Consequently, the new visions of the vanquished, their present ideological practices, emerge from the actual social relations generated in this specific historical context. These visions express, at the level of consciousness, the contradictions which originate in the articulation of different modes of production which characterizes South American social formations today.

The ideological conflicts are fought out within the legal, political, economic and religious institutions where people live those contradictions. This process involves ideological accommodation, as well as conflict, through which all sides transform their traditions and their definitions of themselves and of others. When these redefinitions take place in ethnically divided societies, the issue of "ethnicity" and "ethnic tradition" becomes a crucial analytical variable. The concept of "ethnicity" is complex, and has been used with different meanings in South American ethnography. Frequently, a study of ethnicity meant an "objective" description of a given social group based on certain cultural characteristics such as language, dress, certain forms of kinship ties, and the like, all of which defined an alleged "form of life" for that group. However, in the practice of inter-ethnic relations, each group may interpret and modify the meaning of those characteristics in order to construct an identity which would enable it to confront a specific situation of interaction. For the purpose of this paper, "ethnicity" is then analyzed as any other ideological practice, which is socially organized and manipulated by different groups—both Indian and non-Indian—according to the dynamics of class relations in concrete historical contexts. In each specific case it is necessary to examine how the dominant classes use their control over economic, political, and cultural practices in trying to impose or co-opt the subordinate classes into accepting the dominant definition of "ethnicity."

In more general terms, Raymond Williams has argued that hegemony, or the social practices by which the dominant classes establish ideological supremacy, involves a dialectic. In order to reproduce itself, hegemony has to be continuously renewed, defended, and modified, and in this process, it will attempt to neutralize, change or incorporate the oppositional ideologies generated by the subordinate groups (1977: 113-4).

When examining this phenomenon in the South American context, it is necessary to consider an additional factor. There, successive colonialism (Inca, Spanish or Portuguese, and North American) have generated different layers of ideological

practices based on quite contradictory principles and meanings. Consequently, both dominant and subordinate classes have, in the course of time, selectively used these different ideological contents to inform the practices that Williams sees as constituting the dynamic interrelationship between hegemony and counterhegemony.

In the study of the conversion to Protestantism among highland Indian peasants in Ecuador (Muratorio, 1980) the concept of "ideological articulation" was used in an attempt to avoid at least three pitfalls found in the anthropological literature on South America. First, is the static character of concepts such as "survivals" and "persistence of tradition" prevalent in theories of modernization, and the idea of a "pre-hispanic Andean world view" so dear to the structuralists. Second, is the assumption implicit in many theories of change, that retention or redifinition of tradition is a practice exclusive to the subordinate allegedly "traditional" groups. Third, is the oversimplified Marxist perspective that regards as almost inevitable the success of capitalism in eliminating or effectively incorporating all pre-capitalist ideological practices into its own rationality.

Although the concept of ideological articulation may be useful in describing a particular situation, it does not explain the actual social processes by which a particular group deals with diverse and competing ideological contents to make sense of a specific experience and to be able to act on the basis of an informed consciousness. Theories of acculturation, modernization, cultural ecology, different versions of structuralism, or economistic Marxism seem to provide partial or no answers at all to this problem, at least when applied to the South American ethnographic area. These approaches overlook the relation between theory and practice and ignore the complexities of the social experience by forgetting the subject, the realities of history, or both.

For the Amazonian basin, the work of Darcy Ribeiro (1973) provides an interesting analytical strategy. Trying to deal with the general issue of the confrontation of all the different Amazonian tribal groups of Brazil with a homogeneous "civilizing" front, presented to them by the white national society, Ribeiro makes a pioneer attempt to examine the main socio-economic, legal, political and ideological aspects of the articulation of two, or more, modes of production in that particular social formation.

Recently, and for the Andean area, June Nash's study of the Bolivian miners (1979) deals, more specifically, with the problem of ideological

articulation as discussed here. The miners are able to handle, without apparent contradictions, ideological beliefs and practices generated in the context of pre-hispanic, colonial, and capitalist systems of social relations. Furthermore, Nash provides a solution to the puzzle. She argues that the miners solve the apparent contradictions in their own belief system neither by uncritically accepting the unifying ideologies offered to them by the church, the politicians, and the union leaders, nor by falling into an easy syncretism, but by compartmentalizing their beliefs in time and space. If the Virgin of the mineshaft is revered at level zero, the Devil reigns undisputed deep down in the mine, while the Marxist-Leninist ideologies are quite alive inside the unions. Some working days in the week are set aside for recognizing the pagan forces, while Sundays and Saints' Days are devoted to the Christian deities (1979: 6-7). Nash's study represents a systematic attempt to undertake an analysis of complex ideological practices in the context of changing social relations of production. Mainly because of its depth, it poses at least as many problems as it solves. For example, is this compartmentalization in time and space peculiar to the miners or can it be generalized to other groups? What happens if the subordinate groups are forced to choose between these different ideologies because agents of the state and of the capitalist economy try to impose upon them their own conceptions of time and space? Are not "time" and "space" also ideological constructions which vary with changes in the social relations of production?

In order to start examining some of the complex issues posed by these questions and by the general problem of the possible mechanisms of ideological articulation in South America, two analytical strategies are suggested here; first, in-depth studies of the changing historical versions of the dominant ideological practices in the specific socio-economic context where they are generated; and second, to study the visions of the vanquished in their close interrelation with these different versions of the dominant ideologies. What follows in this paper is a preliminary attempt to reflect, in these terms, on a selective sample of such complex situations in three historical periods. The discussion will focus on the Indians of the Andean Highlands and of the Amazon Basin. Together, they form the majority of the indigenous population of South America, and comprise a variety of different groups and cultures. Identifying them generically as "Indians", the dominant ideological discourse has consistently denied their cultural diversity, obliterating the

specific ethnic identity of each of the groups in these two areas. It is also in the Andean Highlands and in the Amazon Basin where the largest and most vocal indigenous political organizations have developed, and are presently involved in the articulation of an oppositional ideological discourse in which the term "Indian" acquires new meanings.

Among the many possible ideological contents, the analysis concentrates on the "image of the Indian," or "ethnicity as ideology," as it is developed in selected historical periods by the Indians, by the State and the dominant classes it represents, by the missionaries, and by the anthropologists. The assumption is that when these images become active elements in ideological practices, they play a significant role in guiding the behaviour of social groups and classes. Consequently, at different time periods the images have to be examined in their specific organizational contexts. Through this analysis of the changing conceptions about the Indians in the practices of all these groups, it might be possible to penetrate the meaning of social relations between Indians and non-Indians and to reveal more clearly the inten-

Napo Quechua *tucumama* (grand mother). Upper Napo, Amazonian Educador, 1982.

tions behind the policies directed at the Indians and their responses to those policies. Finally, it will hopefully permit an interpretation of the context in which some anthropological approaches to the South American Indians have been generated.

Throughout this paper, the term "Indian" is used first, in the accepted academic usage as a neutral term to generalize about the social practices of different indigenous groups in the Americas and, second, as it appears in the ideological discourse of both dominant and subordinate groups. It is here where the term loses its neutrality and, consequently, has to be examined as it is consciously used to demarcate alleged ethnic, social and cultural characteristics of one group vis-à-vis the other in conflict situations. This second usage is best illustrated in the following words of an Aymara leader from Bolivia: "(However) Indians have not been oppressed as natives but as *INDIOS*. For this reason, *Indios* is the very name they use in the struggle for their rights" (Tumiri Apaza, 1978: 16).

The Savage and the Innocent

As has already been mentioned, the Spanish colonial system, dominated by merchant capital, represented an attempt to destroy or to incorporate native modes of production in order to appropriate the Indians' lands, and their labor. Thus, it is obvious that in the minds of the colonizers, "Indian" meant "colonized," and this concept was used to place all native populations into an undifferentiated category of generalized inferiority. Marx (1975: 254) has argued that one of the forms in which ideology operates is by representing particular interests as universal interests. In Spanish America, the particular interests of the colonizers were legitimized by presenting them as the universal interests of "civilization." According to Rowe, the term "civilization" did not become current before the end of the seventeenth century, but its sixteenth century equivalent was "civility." This latter term, taken from the Greek and Roman political theory, referred to the existence of organized government and the qualities of good citizenship (1964: 6-7). This definition of "civility" allowed the Spanish administration to categorize the colonized as "savages," or people without law, government, or religion who could then be legitimately incorporated into the empire.

This idea of the savage nature of the Indians, illustrated in Europe with "live specimens" taken as captives (Rowe, 1964: 3; Hemming, 1978: 11-13) did much to influence European political philoso-

phy. However, in the Americas it could be maintained only while the Spaniards had contacts with the Arawaks and Caribs, or the Portuguese with the Tupi tribes of Brazil. It was soon shattered by the Spaniards' confrontation with organized political empires, such as the Aztec and the Inca.

In order to deny this contradiction in the dominant ideology, the colonizers effectively used a mechanism which Williams (1977: 108-114) has described as the neutralization or absorption of possible ideological contents into the hegemonic ideology. They legitimized the incorporation of the native aristocracy into the colonial system of domination by introducing a European tradition of dichotomizing the social order into nobles and commoners. They were thus able to justify the privileges granted to the Inca nobility, until the end of the eighteenth century. However, as Spalding has argued for Peru, the body of Colonial legislation was based on the premise of the natural inferiority of the Indians. Colonial laws defined the Indians as "miserable," declared them "minors," and put them under the guardianship of the *corregidor*, or protector of the Indians (1974: 155-57).

In relation to the discussion of this last ideological mechanism, Giddens has noted that making social relations appear as natural law is a common recourse used by dominant classes to maintain the status quo (1979: 195). More specifically, Barnett and Silverman have argued that in pre-capitalist societies, the incorporation of an ideological element such as "race" allows the hegemonic ideology to represent the dominated as incomplete or defective individuals (1979: 42).

Once the colony became established, the routine tasks of a centralized bureaucratic state demanded more accurate knowledge about the colonized than the impressionistic accounts provided by the early conquistadors, and this was the task of the Crown officials. Rowe notes that a large part of the ethnographies written in the sixteenth century represented a form of applied anthropology carried out by those officials or by missionaries. However, due to the secrecy surrounding Spanish policy, most of these reports remained as "classified" documents, and were not published until modern times (1964: 3). Recently, they have become one of the best sources for Latin American ethnohistory.

The missionaries were clearly assigned the function of changing the Indians' world views. In order to extirpate idolatry, they became not only some of the best ethnographers of native cultures, but significantly influenced state policies. Furthermore, it has been suggested that Bartolomé de las

Casas may be considered the father of the tradition of "politically engaged" anthropology (Sevilla Casas, 1977: 15-29). Las Casas was not only a philosopher but also a clever politician. He used his massive first hand ethnographic descriptions of the Indians' condition to actually change Spanish official policy and, in this old age, radically called into question the legitimacy of Spanish domination in the Americas (1977: 21). The philosophic basis of his debate with Sepúlveda was about whether or not the Indian was a rational being. By having the Indians recognized as human his victory put an end to the image of the Indian as wild man, at least in the official Spanish view (Robe, 1972: 47) if not in its colonial practice.

While these intricate intellectual debates were taking place at the higher levels of imperial bureaucracy, it is clear that in the everyday practice of colonial life, the first colonizers which included common immigrants, artisans, lawyers, sailors and some women, in addition to the soldiers of good fortune, were not concerned with philosophical speculations about the human or non-human nature of the Indians. For instance, in many of the letters they wrote from Peru (Lockhart and Otte, 1976) they mentioned only those characteristics of the Indians that were most relevant for their personal colonizing objectives. The Indians were depicted as a source of wealth, of labor, or of prestige; an obstacle or an asset according to the military and economic strategies of the moment.

In sum, one can argue that the first images about the Indians were probably influenced by a long oral tradition about wild men and women that had been popular in Spain and in the rest of Europe since the Middle Ages (Robe, 1972: 40-1). These images contained the everpresent internal contradiction between, on the one hand, wild men as incarnation of the devil, as chaos, and as heresy and, on the other hand, as a noble creature living in perfect harmony with nature (Husband, 1980: 12-13). However, as it happens to most myths, the myth of the wild men changed in content and meaning as the society that created it transformed its structure and world views (White, 1972: 5). The gentle nature of the Arawaks, contrasted with the fierceness and cannibalism of the Caribs and the Tupinambas, confirmed for the colonizers that mythical duality of the wildman's image.

Which one of these contrasting images the European chose to stress in America depended very closely on the changes in the social relations of production. For example, Hemming has shown how the image of the "peaceful," "innocent," "generous," "beautiful," and "noble" Brazilian Indians (so common in the French and Portuguese early accounts), soon turned into the picture of "the fearful savage," once the original trading relations between Indians and Portuguese were transformed into institutionalized slavery in the profitable sugar plantations (1978: 1-44). Then the warrior Tupi tribes became the archetype of the "ignoble savage" (Rowe, 1964: 5).

By contrast, the side of this dual conception about the Indians which was stressed in Europe, reflected the specific socio-economic developments of that society. In the hands of the social and political philosophers of the Enlightenment, the Indian of the Americas was turned into the noble savage, an image primarily used as a form of social criticism for the evils of European civilization. This image influenced the anthropological tradition if, as Diamond (1974: 220) and others have observed, we can consider it to be the natural heir of the Enlightenment.

This discussion has tried to demonstrate that the homogeneity of the colonial ideology of domination was only apparent. The actual practice of Spanish administration was also plagued with ambiguities. The constant conflicts among the Crown officials, the conquistadors, and the missionaries hindered the consolidation of their hegemonic power, and left enough room for the existence of some culturally autonomous, self-contained indigenous communities, (especially in the Amazon basin), as well as for the class divisions internal to Indian society in the Highlands. The Inca nobility, the *curacas* (local chiefs), and the ordinary peasants were differently located in the social hierarchy of the colonial system. The images they formed about themselves, the different ways in which they restored or redefined their traditions, and the ideologies that guided their continuous rebellions against the colonial system reflected those social divisions under the constraints imposed by the Spanish domination.

The most articulate responses to the colonizers' legitimation of the conquest were formulated at the beginning of the seventeenth century by two Peruvian chroniclers, Garcilaso de la Vega and Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, both of whom could claim descent from the Inca nobility. Their writings represent the first intellectual challenge to those Spanish historiographers who justified the conquest as a spiritual and political liberation of the Indians from their previous "idolatrous" and "tyrannical" forms of government. Through recent work done by structural anthropologists and ethnohistorians (Ossio, 1977; Wachtel, 1977), we

have a better understanding of their contrasting reconstruction of the Indian tradition.

Garcilaso was a *mestizo*, the child of a marriage between the Inca and the Spanish aristocracies, who spent most of his life in Europe. There, he was influenced by neo-Platonic philosophy and by sixteenth century humanism (Wachtel, 1977: 160-61). Caught in the ambiguities of his own *mestizo* socialization, Garcilaso tried to resolve them by presenting a total idealization of his Inca past. In his phantasy, the Incas were the first to bring civilization into a pre-Inca world populated by wild men thus laying the ground for true Christian civilization. In his vision, the Inca empire becomes an archetype of harmony and rationality, a lost paradise or, as Wachtel argues, a "nostalgic utopia" (Wachtel, 1977: 162). Garcilaso reconstructs his own version of the Indian tradition to glorify it, but it contains a tragedy from which the Indians cannot be liberated. His solution leads into the trap of *mestizaje* as total assimilation of the Indians into the dominant culture.

In contrast, both Ossio and Wachtel argue that Guamán Poma's chronicle represents the true structure of the native world view. Although obviously influenced by Spanish culture, Guamán Poma was a pure Indian who refused to recognize any legitimacy to the Spanish conquest. In order to preserve what he considered to be truly Indian, he proposed a total separation between the Spanish and Indian worlds. In his eyes, all *mestizos* were despicable creatures whose main sin consisted in disturbing the ideal endogamic order of the Andean world (Ossio, 1977: 70). Ossio explains that Guamán Poma did not see the conquest as a historical event but as a cataclysm, a total chaos. His image of the Indian is not the outcome of ethnographic observations but of the logic of mythical thinking, where the Inca stands for a metaphysical principle capable of restoring order. His solution to the Indian tragedy is a messianic one.

These contrasting Indian images show that there can be at least two different reconstructions of the same Indian tradition, one leading to reformism and acculturation and the other to a form of millenarian liberation. In fact, each of these visions inspired the Indian rebellions throughout the whole period of Spanish domination.

According to the now extensive literature on these rebellions, it can be tentatively argued that millenarian movements seemed to have started at the grass-roots level among the highland peasants (e.g. Taqui Ongoy rebellion, see Wachtel, 1973, 1977; Millones, 1973) and among the tribal groups of the Amazonian tropical forest (e.g. Campa rebellion, see Varese, 1973; Quijos rebellion, see Oberem, 1980). They were led by native priests and shamans, considered by the Indians to be professionally qualified to deal with myth and tradition and to translate new situations into mythical categories thus giving meaning to reality. What Varese—following Eliade—maintains about the role of a mythical world view in the Campa rebellion applies to all these millenarian movements. Myth explains reality and provides hope because it offers a way to "endure" the evil presence of white men. Liberation comes in the person of the shaman who can always recover the cultural continuity given by mythic time, the time when rebellion becomes a sacred war (Varese, 1973: 303-304).

By contrast, the established Indian merchants and landowners of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were basically reformist and the rebellions they led were "colonial rebellions" (Spalding, 1974: 190). Some of them might actually have been influenced by Garcilaso's romantic vision of an idyllic Inca past, using it as a banner to unify the Indians and attempting to create a common identity. This recreation of tradition obscured the real class differences and other social divisions existing among the Indians by presenting the particular interests of a privileged few as universal. However, because this vision was staged as an oppositional ideology expressing a clear antagonism between Indians and whites, it had a successful appeal for a large majority of the Indian population.

The Spanish administration recognized its subversive character and reacted not only by brutally suppressing the rebellions but, after the 1780's revolt of Tupac Amaru II, by actually depriving the Indian nobility of all its privileges. By 1825, this class had been legally abolished (Spalding, Ibid.: 185-192). The ground was then prepared for the gradual transformation of all Indians into a generalized category of "despicable poor."

The Nation-State: The Indian rediscovered

Independence from Spain favored a creole landowning and commercial oligarchy, altering and actually worsening the socio-economic situation of the majority of the Indian population. The leaders of the independence movements, inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and liberal economics tried to change the conditions of the Indians through legislation, which they did not have the power to enforce. The abolition of legal inequalities and of the Indians' communal land tenure system, were tried in order

to turn the Indians into "citizens" and into "independent farmers." But because equality proved unenforceable, and the system of private property rights was an alien institution for the Indians, both policies further deprived them of their lands, allowing the expansion and consolidation of the *haciendas*. Paradoxically, in the new liberal republics, the church replaced the *corregidor* by assuming the legal guardianship of the Indians, thus legitimizing the *hacienda* system as natural and sacred. The many Indian uprisings of the nineteenth century were then atomized and circumscribed within the closed limits of the *haciendas*, in the economic and social spaces defined by the landowning class as its own "feudal" domains.

Meanwhile, during this period the Amazonian Indians continued to suffer under missionaries, colonizers, and extractors of raw materials, all of whom greatly affected the Indians' way of life. The Amazonian tropical forest also became the stage where a large number of European explorers, scientists, ethnographers and artists fought their way fascinated by the exuberance of tropical landscapes, plant and animal species. Their well-illustrated books brought the hothouse darkness of the jungle into the European living room (Honour, 1975: 175). These books also conveyed an image of the Indians as romantic *exotica*, or alternatively as representatives of a barbaric stage in the evolution of mankind.

The massacre of Indians during the Amazonia rubber boom and the scandals it revealed to the British public in the early twentieth century, finally brought to the European consciousness the reality of Indians as human beings. The Antislavery Society started then a battle for the defense of the Amerindian peoples that continues to this day through several organizations. The anthropological work that they inspire and support follows quite closely the tradition of Las Casas.

It is in the first half of the twentieth century, with the emergence and consolidation of the *Indigenista* movement, that a significant change took place in the perception of the Indian and in the "ideology of ethnicity" in South America. It is impossible to present here all the different aspects of this complex movement. The analysis will focus on the images of the Indian reflected in three of the better known forms of *Indigenismo:* the romantic, the reformist, and the revolutionary. In the Andean world, the first *Indigenista* ideas are expressed in a form of romantic literature which brings back the image of the Indian as a noble, pastoral savage. As in the romantic movement in Europe, this is not a savage who reasons but one who feels (White, 1972:

282). In the early *Indigenista* novels, the main opposition is one between two archetypes: the hypocritical and civilized urban priests and *mestizos*, against the uncivilized but innocent pure Indian peasants, the true children of nature and God (Klaiber, 1977: 77).

A second form of *Indigenismo*, which considers the Indian as an "object of political and social reform" (Klaiber, 1977: 71), is espoused by a rising group of intellectuals and politicians. They are the representatives of a new bourgeoisie who emerges out of the commercial prosperity stimulated by the increased involvement of the Andean countries in the exports of raw materials in the aftermath of World War I (Chevalier, 1970: 189-90). This image of the Indian as an object of social reform is caught up in the actual conflict between that rising bourgeoisie and the old landed oligarchy and is used in legislation to undermine the power of the "feudal" structures regarded as an obstacle to the penetration of national and foreign capital. However, it is interesting to note that the rhetoric generated by some of these intellectuals has close similarities with that ideology which Barrington Moore has labelled "catonism" and sees as prevalent among a landowning nobility threatened by commercialism. In "catonism," the peasant is seen as the backbone of society, and the peasant way of life as an organic whole connected to the soil and morally superior to the disintegrated world of urban civilization (1966: 490-92).

Some of the Peruvian *Indigenistas*, for instance Valcarcel, espoused "Andeanism" under a political banner and as a doctrine of spiritual revivification. According to Valcarcel, the Andes had created a new race of Indians, that "rejuvenated by contact with the earth will demand the right to act," (quoted in Klaiber, 1977: 82). But, as in the cases discussed by Barrington Moore, the "peasants alleged attachment to the soil becomes the subject of much praise and little action" (1966: 492). Actually, the new economic forces contributed to the deterioration of the Indians' situation. The growing demand for highland products such as wool, leather and cattle, increased the commercial value of the land, and encouraged landowners and entrepreneurs to further expropriations against the Indians (Chevalier, 1970: 193). These offensives led to several Indian uprisings which mostly took the form of land invasions and legal reclamations of communal lands. These were not nativistic *Indian* insurrections, but *peasant* attempts to confront the increasing attacks of the *hacendados* through legal channels. However, as Hobsbawm has noted, we must not underestimate the potential revolutionary

character of the "entrenched legalism of the peasants" in the Andean context. "For one thing, they are inclined to reject as morally invalid and 'unnatural' law, however constitutionally correct, which takes away common lands" (1974: 124). In the most famous of these insurrections, the Atushparia uprising of 1885 in Peru, only a *mestizo* intellectual attempted to revive the Inca Empire as a nativistic ideology to inspire the Indians (Stein, 1976: 179) but he found no followers among them.

These uprisings and the denunciation of injustices against the Indians by the *Indigenistas* writers finally inspired some studies of the socioeconomic conditions of the Indians and legislation to ameliorate them. Most of this legislation remained on the books or its application was delayed, as Davies (1979) has demonstrated in his extensive study of Indian legislation in Peru during this period.

Mariátegui is the most forceful proponent of the third form of *Indigenismo*. This radical version transforms the image of the Indian from an "object" of social reform into the "subject" of socialist revolution. During his stay in Europe, Mariátegui became converted to Marxist ideas stimulated by the success of the Russian and Mexican revolutions, but was also influenced by the voluntarism of Bergson, Sorel, and Labriola (Klaiber, 1977: 100-108). He saw the roots of the Indian problem in the economic structure of land tenure and considered the Indians as the carriers of what he called the "myth" of the revolution. In this conceptualization of the Indian problem and its solution, there is a renewed idealization of the Inca Empire, this time emphasizing its alleged socialism. The ideas of the Russian populists led Mariátegui and many of his followers to an idealization of the Indian Ayllu or community, which they regarded as the basis of a new socialist agrarian structure, and small-scale egalitarianism.

All *Indigenistas* coincided in their characterization of the oppressive role that the parish priests and the institutionalized Catholic church played

Highland Quechuas in a *minza* (a form of collective labour) for harvesting potatoes. Chimborazo, Ecuador, 1976.

vis-à-vis the Indians. But they had different views about the Indians' own religion. Some *Indigenistas* viewed the Indian "pagan" religion as an obstacle to their spirit of rebellion, others looked nostalgically to what they considered to be the pragmatic this-worldly emphasis of Inca religion. They were also divided in their assessment of Protestantism. Some saw it as a way out for the Indians' backwardness (Klaiber, 1977: 87-88). Mariátegui discarded Protestantism for its obvious ties with capitalism (1977: 113). The same polemics are going on today.

In the 1950's and 1960's, not the revolutionary, but the reformist ideas of *Indigenismo* guided the practices of the applied anthropologists who worked in several projects in collaboration with the state governments, of which the Perú-Cornell project in Vicos-Ancash is perhaps the best known example. The underlying reformist assumption of the modernization approaches used in applied anthropology at that time, was that the Indians "lacked" many characteristics of civilization. Once they had acquired them, they would be integrated into national life, also defined mostly in culturalist terms. The Indian problem became one of substitution of good habits for bad ones. In those approaches one can still detect traces of the nineteenth century conception of primitive men who came to be regarded as an example of arrested humanity, as those who had failed to raise themselves to the levels achieved by civilized man through science and technology (White, 1972: 34). By the 1950's, the racial deficiencies which in nineteenth century Social Darwinism were seen as the primary explanation for the conditions of the Indians, had been transformed into cultural deficiencies.

As applied in the Andean area, the theory of modernization introduced the ideas of the Indians' "attachment to tradition" and "resistance to change." Many of the anthropologists working in this area were inspired by Redfield's paradigm of the relation between little and great tradition and by his conceptualization of peasant or folk.

There are some striking similarities between some of the ideas of *Indigenismo* examined before, and Redfield's definition of "folk society and culture"; specifically, with reference to his characterization of the peasant community as "homogeneous and egalitarian," the peasants' almost mystical "attachment to the soil," and his "sober, earthly ethic" (1969: 78). Totally removed from the specific relations of production, Redfield's peasant becomes an "arrangement of humanity" (1969: 17). As Silverman argues, Redfield defines "culture"

and "peasant-elite relations" almost exclusively in ideological terms (1979: 54-57). Redfield does not question the role tradition often plays in reproducing the status quo, and in keeping the little tradition, little.

However, I would argue that Redfield's distinction between little and great tradition, and his analysis of the interaction between the two, at least poses the problem of ideological articulation which is pertinent to this discussion. His solution to this problem and that of some of his collaborators and disciples (Wolf, 1974: 17), leans too heavily towards an unidirectional interaction where "folk" ideologies become mere parochial versions of a great tradition enacted in ritual and performances. These solutions still disregard the social relations in which those rituals and performances are imbedded, and the problems of power and ideological hegemony.

The State-incorporated Indian

The character of the economic and political penetration of capitalism into the rural areas and the tropical forest of South America is complex and changes rapidly. The search for land as a source of raw material rather than the search for labor, the forceful introduction of consumer goods, and the increasing presence of the enlarged bureaucracies of consolidated nation-states, have brought into these areas new fronts of conflicts, new advocates of policies, new salesmen of civilization. For the effective penetration of capitalism, the dominant classes and their auxiliary groups will attempt to establish those political, legal, and ideological practices required for the stable operation of the new mode of production.

At first sight, the groups who articulate the dominant ideologies defining what the "Indians are" and what "they ought to be" seem to be the same ones who performed that function in colonial times: the bureaucrats and the missionaries. However, a closer look shows a more complex picture. The new bureaucrats represent several economic, social and political agencies of the state whose objectives are sometimes in competition with each other; the Protestant missionaries belong to different sects of more or less fundamentalist orientations; and the Catholic missionaries are divided between radicals and conservatives. In addition, political groups and union officials, school teachers, foreign volunteers, and community developers compete for the Indians' minds, while local merchants and foreign or national representatives of multinational corporations com-

pete for the Indians' money, lands or labor power. All the areas where these encounters take place are now interconnected by modern communication systems which provide the means of ideological production and distribution, putting a transistor radio even in the most isolated village, and a television set in the smallest town.

The ideological practices and the policies of all these agencies vis-à-vis the Indians cannot be regarded as a homogeneous front. They often represent the interests of different class fractions within the state, whose economic and political strategies may not always coincide. In dependent capitalist countries, the ideological interests of imperialism are channeled through different agents whose influence varies, within or outside the state, according to national and international circumstances. Furthermore, in these countries, the ideological practices prevalent in previous social formations, such as paternalism, racism, patronage, and various forms of magical thinking are still maintained, and not only among the Indians. Whites and *mestizos* belonging to the ruling groups may use these ideological practices, sometimes in subtle articulations with capitalist ideologies, in order to consolidate their power (Muratorio, 1980). All these factors contribute to explain the difficulties and ambiguities involved in the process by which the dominant classes try to establish their hegemony in late capitalist-dependent countries.

In order to consolidate its dominance and legitimize its power in the modern South American states, the bourgeoisies require a certain degree of unification of the country, political centralization, and cultural homogeneity. These three goals are intimately connected and their implementation involves ideological practices which affect the Indian population.

Economic integration is needed in order to incorporate the majority of the population into a national market for the commodities now being produced by foreign and national industries. As a result of the new division of labor created by the restricted and dependent development of the South American countries, the industrial bourgeoisie, unlike the traditional landowning class, does not need to incorporate the majority of the Indians into the labor force. For these bourgeoisies, the Indian, like the rest of the population, is visualized as a potential consumer.

Given the fact that at the present time, South America, and specially Amazonia, has become a preferred region for the extraction of minerals and other raw materials, economic integration also means state policies to incorporate previous areas

of the country into capitalist production. Some of the consequences of these developments are very familiar; the spreading of old and new diseases, ecological disasters, forced expropriation of land, genocide and ethnocide. As during the conquest and from then on, the Indians are the main characters in this drama. They are the ones who are being transformed from hunters and gatherers or peasants into reluctant farmers, petty merchants, proletarians, and seasonally unemployed marginals in the urban centers.

Several anthropologists have documented the impacts of these socio-economic policies, especially on Amazonian Indian populations (Davis, 1977; Varese, 1973; Ribeiro, 1973; Whitten, 1976). The ideological practices underlying these policies are less well documented.

With reference to the specific strategies of colonization of the Amazon, it is interesting to reflect, for instance, on the ideological construction of a category such as "space" made by the state and other agencies. They define their Amazonian regions as "empty spaces," thus ignoring their long and effective occupation by indigenous groups. These groups have reacted with strong statements about their "ancestral rights" to those spaces, and with even stronger determination against their "illegal occupation" by outsiders. The actual social conflicts which are going on in Amazonia today are evidence of how these ideological practices are grounded on social relations of economic and political power. For instance, experts from state agencies and private companies are now trying to define for the Indians what constitutes an "adequate management" of their ecological space. Anthropologists (Ribeiro, 1973: 202-203; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1972; 1141-42), have already demonstrated how, in different regions of the Amazon, the missionaries' conceptions of the space of the Indians' communal houses (*malocas*) as "sinful" and "promiscuous," contributed to destroy not only a whole symbolic system but the intricate net of social and economic relations in which those symbols were embedded. Thus, the Indians were left defenseless and ready to be integrated into a capitalist system of social relations.

The states try to establish political centralization in order to consolidate their control over the newly-incorporated areas, and to safeguard their national borders. Past and present wars over resources (especially oil) found in these frontier regions testify to this need. Political centralization implies the extension of a repressive state apparatus and a legal system over the entire terri-

tory, and also the establishment of political institutions, such as universal suffrage, by which the still great number of illiterate Indian men and women can participate in the political process. Defined now as citizens, the Indians owe allegiance to a national state where, according to bourgeois ideology, all private interests converge. Due to development programs, the state increasingly becomes an active participant in the process of political socialization of the Indian population. Different state agencies, often in collaboration with foreign and national missionaries, control education, the training of bilingual teachers, and the election of leaders of indigenous communities. More recently, states have started hiring Indians to work directly inside state agencies.

Through education, the media, and the socialization of the Indians in the armed forces, the state displays and manipulates symbols and rituals of patriotism to legitimize an official version of the national tradition, in which a carefully selected vision of the Indian past has been incorporated.

The third goal of the state, cultural homogeneity, is the most explicitly ideological because it requires the elaboration, maintenance, and exhibition of symbols and values to create a "national identity." The integration of different cultural and ethnic groups into a "culturally homogeneous state" becomes a national problem. In those South American countries with large indigenous populations, the need to achieve cultural homogeneity may be explained by the fact that the official ideology of ethnicity is *mestizaje*. In ethnic terms, the state defines all members of the national society as *mestizos*. By assuming that all citizens have equal rights in a homogeneous national society, the ideology of *mestizaje* negates the existence of factual differences of class and ethnicity. Through policies of assimilation and often direct ethnocide, the state attempts to neutralize all possible oppositional Indian ideologies of ethnicity (Muratorio, 1981). Only very recently, the political pressures from indigenous organizations have forced some South American governments to question the legitimacy of *mestizaje* as national policy. This problem is far from being solved.

The paradox is that after destroying the Indians as unique social and cultural groups, the state tries to recover them as cultural objects for tourism and to feed the myth of the national heritage. Ironically, this is the other face of ethnocide. The state tries to impose upon the Indians its own definition of what their identity should be. This is done through

diverse policies to preserve Indian cultures, now empty of their material and social bases. When folklorists and tourists deplore the "deterioration of the *fiestas*," or the "decline of folk crafts," the state hires international experts to improve and promote native folklore. A new clean image of the Indian is depicted on T.V. and on tourist brochures, promoting visits to different Indian groups and "typical" Indian markets. The noble savage has been turned into a commodity.

Throughout the history of the Americas, there have been several different controversies about the moral and political implications of the missionaries' work among the Indians. Presently, in South America, the positions vis-à-vis this issue are quite polarized—often in very simplistic terms—between the missionaries' propaganda to justify their work, and their opponents' propaganda which often portrays all missionaries as part of a large imperialist conspiracy. However, it is important to examine the ideological assumptions about the Indians made by both sides in this controversy because they inform their evangelical and political practices. It can be argued that both positions coincide in treating the Indians as cultural dupes who can either be conned into self-destruction, or immediately turned from "primitive half-humans" into "cilivized persons" by the preaching of the Bible. Foreign and national missionaries working among the indigenous groups represent a wide ideological spectrum. However, as all Christian missionaries, they ask the people to undergo a profound spiritual and cultural transformation (Burridge, 1979: 209). The important difference between radical and conservative Catholic missionaries, as well as the difference among the diverse Protestant sects, seem to be the "methods adopted to bring about this transformation," "what particular traditional ways should be rejected," "how a change of mind may be authenticated," and "how the entry into new ways may be expressed," (Burridge, 1979: 209). These different methods clearly reflect not only the ethical and moral components of the two Christian religions but also their images of what the Indians are and should become. They reflect the difference between the idea of a transformation brought about through the "integral development of the individual," removed from historical reality, as exemplified in the Summer Institute of Linguistics ideology (Wise, Loos and Davis, 1976) or through a change in the existing structures of domination, as exemplified by the new liberation theology espoused by the progressive new Catholic priests (Klaiber, 1977: 114; Centro Regional Salesiano, 1981).

The Indians, as they have always done, reassert their creative capacity adapting and confronting these different official and evangelical definitions of their own reality. For instance, an analysis of the behavior of Protestant highland Indians of Ecuador indicates that the role of Protestantism among peasants is an ambiguous one. On the one hand it seems to have had the effect of "secularizing the world," paving the way for establishing capitalist social relations in the countryside. On the other hand, through the ideological and ritual forms of their own version of Protestantism, the Indian peasants in the highlands have been able to maintain and even to revive many of their traditional relations of reciprocity. In the process, this version of Protestantism seems to have lost the emphasis on individualism and competition which characterized its urban European version (Muratorio, 1980; 1981). This is an example of how the Indians incorporate, transform or reject aspects of the ideologies presented to or imposed upon them by those who want to civilize, integrate or convert them. But, as has been already mentioned, their ideological practices are now grounded on indigenous political organizations such as unions, associations, federations, national and international councils, through which the Indians are proposing a re-evaluation and re-affirmation of their heritage. When they use the term "Indian" to refer to themselves in this context, the meaning conveys defiance and is intended to proclaim the Indians' common predicament in all the Americas, as well as their demands to be recognized as unique cultures with inalienable rights to their lands and ways of life. Like Melquíades in Macondo, the indigenous organizations and their leaders come to play a concrete role in the articulation of pre-capitalist and capitalist social relations and world views. To borrow an expression from E.P. Thompson, they become important actors in the "dialogue between being and consciousness" (1978: 200). The realities of exploitation prompt the indigenous organizations to develop strategies for the recovery of their lands, for the control and development of their resources, and for their political representation. These strategies include different forms of oppositional consciousness, which in the past were often expressed in rebellions, and now result in subtle transformations of native social and ideological practices, where ethnic, religious and class interests articulate in new and creative ways. However, the Indians' voice is not necessarily a unified one. The complexities of these competing influences translate into actual conflicts internal to the Indian groups and organizations, as well as into

different forms of confrontations between them and the dominant classes or other influential social groups.

Some Indian groups see their liberation from what they regard as a white-dominated society first as Aymaras, Quechuas, or Shuaras i.e., as Indian rather than as peasants or proletarians. For other groups, Protestantism has become an alternative ideology expressing a form of spiritual and ethnic liberation. For others still, their struggle is part of a joint class venture with other workers and peasants. Precisely at the same time when each particular nation-state tries to incorporate them, some indigenous groups are developing new organizational strategies to internationalize their opposition. Since the middle 70's, the term "indigenous peoples" appears with greater frequency in the declarations and in the general literature put out by the native organizations. The use of this term reveals the Indians' intention to create cross-national alliances with other native peoples in countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Norway, or Sweden, where the term "Indian" does not apply. (See the official declaration of the "World Council of Indigenous Peoples", quoted in Sanders, 1977: 17-18.)

The formation of an oppositional ideology and a liberating consciousness is an arduous process. It involves combating and demystifying the present bourgeois ideology which, in close articulation with residual forms of colonial consciousness, functions to reproduce the present class relations. The final outcome is not certain. Since colonial times, different forms of hegemonic domination have produced not only Indian rebellions, but also cultural fragmentation, assimilation, passivity and very specific forms of alienated consciousness among the Indians.

Throughout this paper a number of critical points have been made about anthropological approaches as they apply to the study of South American Indians, specifying some of their flaws in explaining the complexities of the situations the Indians confront today, without pretending to provide a final answer. The main strategy followed has been to deal with the problem of ideological articulation, by examining the visions of the vanquished in their intricate and changing relations with the dominant ideological practices in specific socio-economic formations. The historical analysis made attempted to show that anthropology should not be regarded as a mere reflection of colonialism or imperialism. However, it is possible to say that too often anthropological approaches to South American Indians have suffered from "a

complicated exercise in cultural narcissism," the feature that Diamond rightly attributes to all forms of imperialism (1974: 26). In studying the Indians, anthropologists have repeatedly mirrored their own images of the primitive. Maybe it is time to turn away from the mirror for a while, and let the Indians reflect their own images, unless one wants to risk one hundred years of solitude.

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