

LATI 10

WEEK 3

Lecture Slides

Colonialism and its Legacies – Part 2

“Coloniality of Power”



THIS WEEK

Assigned reading:

- Quijano, Anibal. “Coloniality of Power, European Center, Latin American Edge, Latin American Other.” *Nepantla: Views from South* B. University Press, 2000.

Assigned media:

- *Throughline* podcast episode: “Telling the Story of the Conquest”

Recommended:

- Blog: Cervantes, Eren. 2017. “Understanding Mestizaje through the Film *Coco*,” *Latino Research Review*
- Mother Jones podcast: “Our Job Is to Unlearn Whiteness”
Diane Guerrero Reckons With Whiteness in

ANIBAL QUIJANO

Peruvian sociologist whose body of work has made several important theoretical contributions in Latin American thought and praxis

- **Dependency theory (1960s-70s)**
 - Focus: political economy
- **New perspectives on historiography**
modernity, culture and identity throughout the region (1980s).
 - Focus: regional culture and identity
- **Decolonial theory (1990s – present)**
 - Focus: epistemology (knowledge & power)



Today's reading is an example of more recent work:

MODERNITY / COLONIALITY / DECOLONIALITY (MCD PROJECT)

AKA: “Decolonial thought”

Quijano's intellectual agenda forms part of an important school of thought among many scholars in Latin America. **Other influential scholars include Arturo Escobar, Walter D. Mignolo, and Catherine Walsh**

MODERNITY

Focus on counter narratives of history
Western modernity – to use Stuart Hall
scholars focus on a view from the “Re-
challenges the idea that modernity was
to the “West”

COLONIALITY

Calls our attention to epistemological
colonial domination through privileging
categories and forms of knowing

- Obscures indigenous and other non-Western ways of thinking and knowing

DECOLONIALITY

Centers non-Western culture, language,
cosmology, and forms of being.

SETTLER
COLONIALISM
IS A STRUCTURE
NOT AN
EVENT

Image source. Red Nation

COLONIAL- "ITY"

- Why not just call it colonialism?

FROM RECOMMENDED BLOG SUMMARY

"The coloniality of power constitutes a matrix that operates through control of hegemony over authority, labor, sexuality, and subjectivity... Eurocentrism functions as the ideological valorization of EuroAmerican society as superior, progressive, and universal, though it really represents white supremacy, capital profitability, and EuroAmerican self-universalization. To throw off this post-colonial form of colonialism, to decolonize today, means throwing off this entire Eurocentric system. To understand what this means we shall have to examine the history of its emergence."

— Steve Martinot "The Coloniality of Power: Notes Toward De-Colonialization"

THREE MAIN POINTS

“COLONIALITY OF POWER, EUROCENTRISM, AND LATIN AMERICA”

- Quijano's main objective is to open up the ways that we think about power by focusing on the co-constituted nature of European (“Western”) modernity and colonialism:
 - **I Coloniality of power** = Epistemological processes
 - Calls attention to knowledge production around the classification of people through idea of race (as well as hierarchies of gender, sex, class, ethnicity, etc.)
 - **II Eurocentrism** = Reproduction of inferiority / superiority is built into Western modernity
 - **III Latin America** = Distorted historical effects of looking at selves in a Eurocentric mirror

KEY THEMES

Quijano's framework draws attention to overlapping processes of colonialism and legacies throughout Latin America. Some important areas of contribution to Latin American Studies and grassroots liberation movements include:

- The rise of "Western" modernity:
 - Similar to Hall, as a historically contingent outcome; not a "given" fact of Western superiority.
 - Coloniality and Modernity were "co-constituted", yet this history is silenced or ignored with linear great march of "progress" and white supremacy.
- Social order: Hierarchies established and maintained social order through categories of race and bodily control
 - Race and Labor (racial hierarchies)
 - Gender and Sexuality (we will revisit this idea with Maria Lugones "Coloniality of Gender" later in the course)
- Global Capitalism (in both exploitation of peoples and subordination of nations)
 - Political economy and Dependency Theory (geopolitical and regional development)
 - Legacies of social order naturalized over time; paternalistic and interventionist policies persist
- National Identity
 - Myths of mestizaje and racial democracy (logics and exclusions; pervasiveness)
 - Culture, subjectivity, control (here again, Hall's "West and the Rest" Discourse is helpful)
- Need for Decolonization
 - Center non-Western modernity (or modernities, in the plural)
 - Contributions of suppressed perspectives, epistemologies and world views (*cosmovisiones*)
- **Among many more!**

For today's portfolio, we are going to located different reading to start “unpacking” some of those key points overarching framework: 1) Coloniality of Power; 2) America.



- **Step 1: Get out your copy of the reading and locate one key passage (from anywhere in the text) that might represent any of the key themes from the previous slide. Highlight the passage, and add an annotation listing out any possible relationships.**

Document the passage at the top of your portfolio, and down a few words at the beginning and the end of the passage, and citing the page number.

- (e.g. “The privileged positions conquered by... the advantage to compete for the control of world... p. 537)



PORTFOLIO

Step 2 (4-5 mins). For the rest of your entry, summarize the main idea of the passage in your own words, focusing on how it might speak to themes identified.

- What might the passage tell us about any one main three points? Or alternately, how might “coloniality of power” or “Eurocentrism” help us understand interconnected issues of power, identity, and colonial legacy in the Americas?

TIP: If you are unsure the meaning of the passage, take a moment to look up words (knowing we will explore ideas together as a class to fill the rest of the quarter). You might also try to think of any connections of the reading we have discussed in previous classes and possible connections.

POINT I:
COLONIALITY OF POWER

America and the
New Model of Global Power

Two historical processes
constitution of “America

1. Constitution of differences
conquerors (“West”) and
(conquered) (“Rest”)

2. Constitution of new struc
of labor control and America
resources and products

RACE IS A CONSTRUCTED CATEGORY OF DIFFERENCE

Quijano's analysis complements Staudenmann's

- Conquerors = White European (Western)
- Conquered = situated in position of colonization (Rest)
- From last time: recall how the "Victory" is a relation to the "Rest." As a power relation, the "Rest" can shape ways certain groups are represented. Assumptions, attitudes, policies, in such representations appear to be constructed

Early debates over the right to land in the "new world" justified dispossession of Indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples

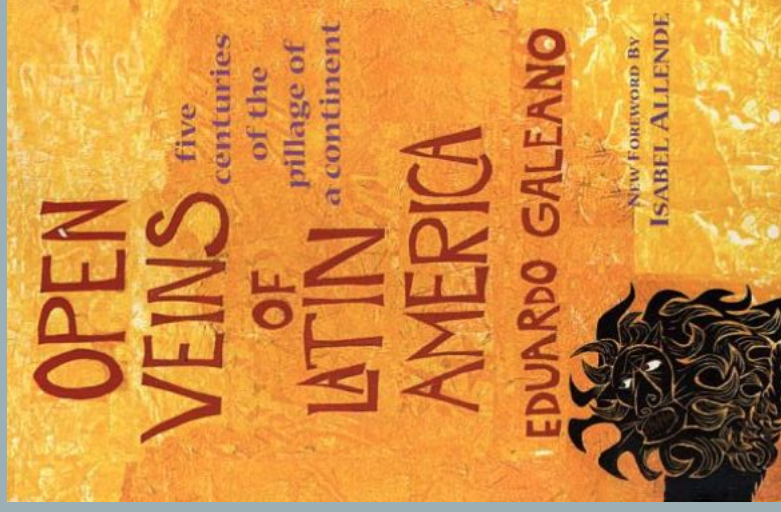
- Over time: Traits were later codified into certain categories of race (e.g. through eugenics)

RACE: A MENTAL CATEGORY OF MODERNITY



Debate: Bartolome de las Casas v. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda

CAPITALISM: NEW STRUCTURE FOR CONTROL OF LABOR



Capitalist systems for organizing labor and petty-commodity production, reconfigured

- In Latin America:
- Slavery
- Encomienda system
- *M'ita system of forced rotation*

Objective: Organize to produce commodities for market:

- Cacao, tobacco, sugar, silver, etc.

Global model of labor control

- Dependency and reconfigured

COLONIALITY OF POWER AND GLOBAL CAPITALISM

Linkage of constitution of race with constitution of global labor system

- Systemic racial division of labor
- Social order for distributing who access to certain spaces, privileges, authority

Eurocentrism, or the idea of Western superiority/supremacy rooted in whiteness, is naturalized over time. For Quijano, what gets left out of the story of how Europeans and descendants gained such authority and control?



Sistema de castas used during colonial America

APPLICATIONS

The 2018 film Roma directed by Alfonso Cuarón reframes his childhood through the eyes of his family's maid, a Mixtec housekeeper, played by non-professional actor Yalitza Aparicio

FALL 2021 LATI 10 STUDENT
PODCAST EXPLORES LAYERS OF
COLONIALITY OF POWER IN ROMA,
FROM SPECIFIC SCENES TO PUBLIC
RECEPTION OF FILM IN MEXICO

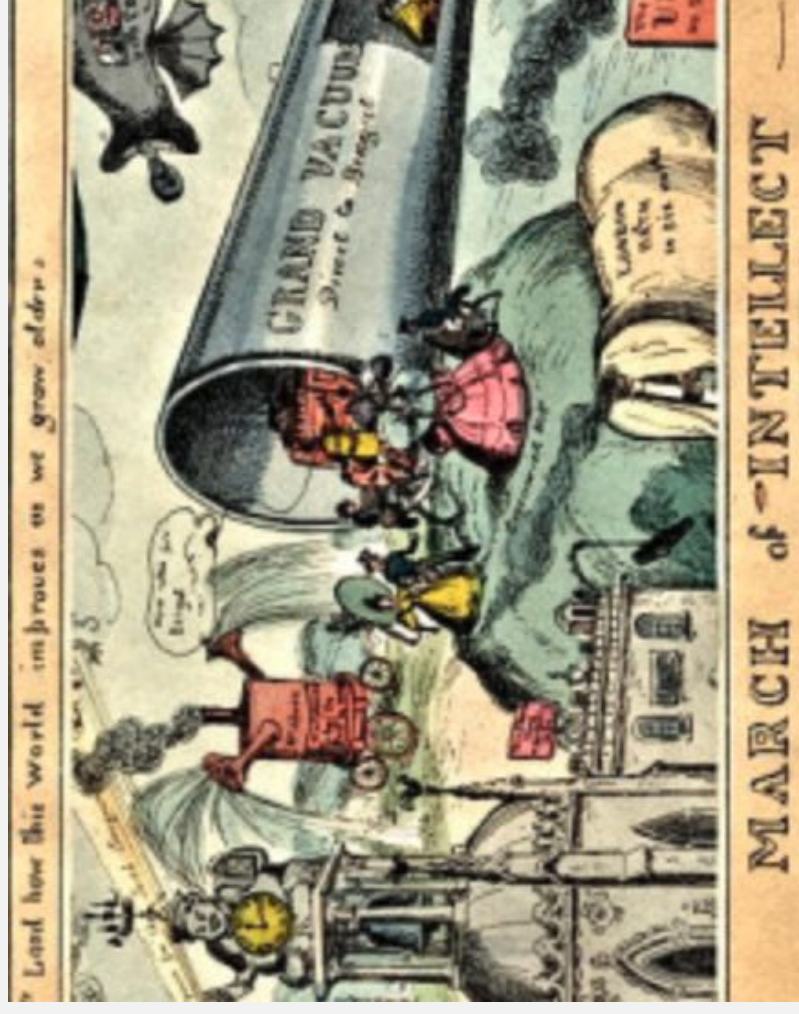


POINT 2. EUROCENTRISM

Coloniality and the Eurocentrification of World Capitalism

Main argument: European domination of global market was not “given” but rather made possible because of exploitation:

“The fact is that from the very beginning of the colonization of America, Europeans associated nonpaid or nonwage labor with the dominated races because they were “inferior” races” –(p. 538)



So, a main contribution Quijano is making is to challenge European “pretension” to be exclusive protagonist of

CONNECTIONS TO HALL’S “WEST AND THE
What might be some images or representations that
archive (or “repertoire” as Said refers to it in *Orientalism*?)
Eurocentrism?

CONNECTIONS TO HALL'S “WEST AND THE REST” DISCOURSE

- What might be some images or representations that “make up” the archive (or “repertoire” to it in Orientalism) of Eurocentrism?

COLONIALITY OF POWER AND EUROCENTRISM

Evolutionism and Dualism

Narrative of European greatness as factor driving “progress” and advancement of western civilization

Here again: West and the Rest (Hall)

Enlightenments thought and construction of West

- Eurocentrism: mode of producing knowledge from particular perspective (“West”)

- Colonial/modern, capitalist, Eurocentric

Capital and Capitalism

Linear theories of history

“pre-capital” – “industrialization”

“underdeveloped” – “development”

“Third world” - “First world”



DEMOCRACY DEVELOPMENT

Who decides measures of “success”?

Coloniality of
economic, political
structures of dominant
America

Geopolitical: neo-
economic dependency
Eurocentric theoretical
cultural

National: founding
marks Afro-descendant
and Mestizo groups
elite rulers (close to
World War II)

HOMOGENEITY/CONTINUITY AND HETEROGENEITY/DISCONTINUITY

“Crisis” of European perspective of knowledge opens up space for understanding complexity and overlapping processes

- 1. Questioning of linear historical processes and along a sequential change
 - Aymara notions of the *pachakuti*
- 2. Heterogeneity of processes of change – agency to change the world around us always situated and shaped by historically contingent factors
 - Politics are messy and widely variable!!
 - Similar to Hall’s (1996) point, the conditions for the emergence of the “West” were historical (expansion of the Americas through technology and knowledge) and can not be recreated.

This brings us to the “decolonial” side of the Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality (MCD) intellectual

POINT 3

EUROCENTRISM AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE IN LATIN AMERICA

- Eurocentrism and the “Nationalist” myth
- Nations = “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1983)
- States = systems of government that control society, property, labor, and resources

The “Indian Question” and changes in the relationship around relationship to Indigenous populations (distant past + living present)

- Early debates among elite ruling classes about Eurocentric ideologies that viewed Indigenous populations as impediment.

Elite groups seeking to situate themselves closer to Eurocentric ideals (but not fully embracing European rule) thus grapple with the legacy of colonization inside the nation-state and the struggle for independence.



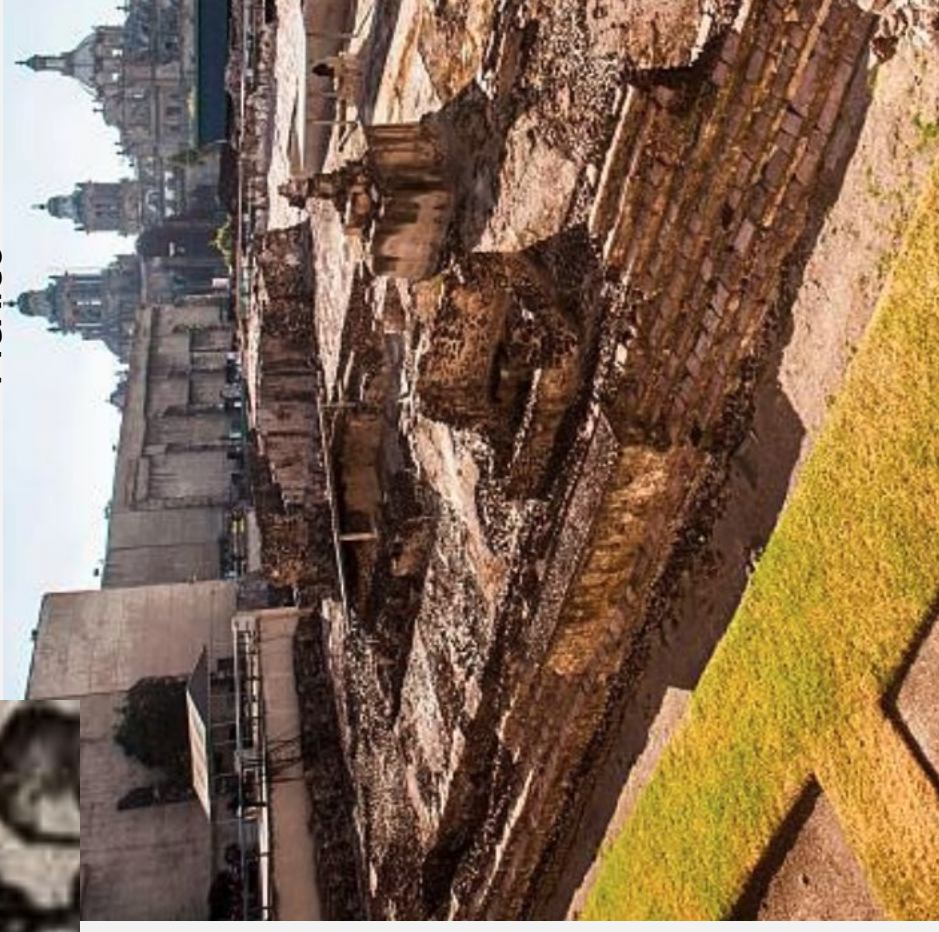
Figure 1.11. Unknown creator, map of Tenochtitlan (at right) and schema of the Gulf Coast (at left), from Hernando Cortés's Second Letter, Praeclara Fernandi Cortesii de Noua Maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio . . . (Nuremberg, 1524). Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer 655.51.C8 1524d.

Mestizaje ideology

What is mestizaje?

For next class, listen for examples of Throughline podcast on “myths” of conquest that might help us think

El Templo Mayor, Z
México



SHIFTING IMAGINATIONS & NATIONAL IDENTITY

Recommended reading:

Historian Rebecca Earle examines shifts of “Indiantesque” representation in early nation-building efforts across Latin America

1. INDEPENDENCE (1820s-1880s)
2. EARLY NATION-BUILDING EARLY 20TH CENTURY (1900s-1920s)

The Return of the

INDIANS AND MYTH-MAKING IN SPANISH



Rebecca Earle

DEL ESTADO DE CARTAGENA DE INDIAS

SANCIONADA

En 14. de Junio del año de 1812.
Segundo de su Independencia.



CARTAGENA DE INDIAS: EN LA IMPRENTA
DEL CIUDADANO DIEGO ESPINOSA.

Figure 6. Title page of the Constitution of the State of Cartagena, 1812. An Indian represented the ephemeral State of Cartagena on its official coat of arms. The shield shows an indigenous woman, recognizable by her quiver of arrows and feather headdress, seated under a palm tree. The broken shackles at her feet symbolize Cartagena's newfound liberty.



Figure 7. The Political Resurrection of America, 1821. In this Mexican print, America, helped to her feet by Agustín de Iturbide, is an Indian princess so weakened by Spanish tyranny that she is an Indian prince explains, she had neither "bow, nor arrow, nor quiver": she has been stripped of her rightful attributes by oppressive Spain.

A CONTRAST

Spanish myths of conquest of Tenochtitlan discussed in the Throughline podcast episode will highlight a much different narrative.

How and why might early post-independence imagery be different?



Figure 15 (Chapt. 4). Rodrigo Gutiérrez, *Deliberation of the Senate of Mexico*, c.1875. Gutiérrez's painting, showing conquistadors deciding whether to ally with the Spanish or the Aztecs, is equivalent of the Roman senate. It is a visual depiction of the ambition to convert the indigenous past into an American classical antiquity.

“INDIANESQUE NATIONALISM”

Rebecca Earle highlights several common characteristics in their book:

- Pride in Indigenous past - long history and roots in the Americas; separating selves from Spanish identity.
- Use of symbolism to romanticize the past (e.g. flag) and stripping away meaning ; while also embracing colonialism
- Historical moment - language / narratives around past and present "emerging national / culture" to contrast with
- Non-indigenous creoles- actions and discussions around "their" indigenous past

Earle also documents the decline in “indianeque nationalism” within a few short decades....
How might Quijano explain this shift?

"Deindianization of pre-conquest civilization"

The "Indian Problem" (Chapt. 6)

- "The view that indigenous people, incapable as were of participating in civic life, prevented the nation from progressing." (p.20)

Rebecca Earle's work shows the construction of idealized pasts that stand in stark contrast with lived experience of Indigenous peoples of the present.

MESTIZAJE

José Vasconcelos , Mexican Philosopher & Secretary of Education

1925 essay *La raza cósmica* - a mestizaje manifesto

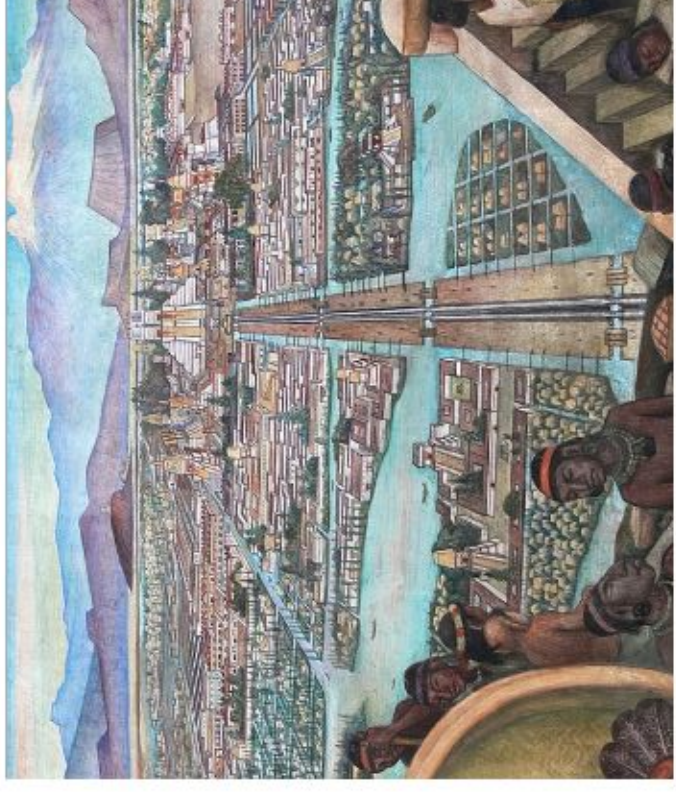
- Future "fifth" race in Americas will lead to new civilization: "Universópolis"
- Critique of social Darwinism & ideologies of biological racism predominant at the time
- Cosmic race is an agglomeration of all other races, combining strengths
- Refutes neo-imperial ideas of white supremacy from US.
- Critiqued for reproducing racial hierarchies --> Cosmic race will emerge as inferior traits are lost through synthesis (idealized homogenous [white] society)

In the news: NPR clip of Obama speaking on Vasconcelos

<https://www.npr.org/2014/04/25/306906513/the-cosmic-race>



Closing the gap, or widening the divide?



DIEGO RIVERA



FAMILY & NATION

“A Redenção de Câ” (The Redemption of Ham), 1895, by Brazilian painter Modesto Broccos

- How is racial mixing portrayed in the painting?
- Where might we see similar ideals today?

Special thanks to former TA Marina Chebly for sharing this example with us!



QUIJANO'S CALL FOR DECOLONIALITY

“Consequently, it is time to learn to free ourselves from the Eurocentric mirror, our image is always, necessarily, distorted. At the same time, finally, to cease to be what we are not.” p. 5



ASSIGNED MEDIA

As you review media for this week, keep the following questions in mind:

- What are some examples that help illustrate Quijano's key points about the "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin Americanity?"
- How might contemporary topics discussed in the podcast or recommended materials relate to the legacies of colonialism? How might these concepts help us better identify and address such legacies today?
- What concrete proposals are discussed in the podcasts' invited guests to address the legacies of colonialism? Drawing from Quijano's work, how might we expand on such efforts towards "dismantling" that seeks to dismantle the matrix of power - in all forms?

Jot down examples and bring your notes to class for our review next time!