UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

From Quito to Kitu: A Transhistorical Analysis of Quito's Urban Transformation from the 16th Century to the 22nd Century

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ethnic Studies

by

María Célleri

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2019

The Dissertation of María Célleri is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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The fourth chapter, "From La Virgen del Panecillo to La Virgen del Legrado: (Trans)national Feminist Struggles for Reproductive Rights in the Andes," has been submitted for publication and is under review with *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*. Dissertation author was the sole author of this material.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

From Quito to Kitu: A Transhistorical Analysis of Quito's Urban Transformation from the 16th Century to the 22nd Century

by

María Célleri

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnic Studies

University of California San Diego, 2019

Professor Kirstie Dorr, Co-Chair
Professor Shelley Streeby, Co-Chair

My dissertation focuses on Quito, Ecuador's unprecedented urban expansion and reorganization in the late twentieth century, following the petroleum boom of the 1960s. I frame this period of geopolitical transformation in relation to sixteenth century events, arguing that the foundation of the Royal Audience of Quito in 1534 by Spanish *conquistadores* establishes a colonial logic that is based on racial, gender, and sexual control and which continues to function well into the present day. Consequently, I consider the reorganization of the city in the 1970s as (neo)colonial in the sense that it operates within the legacy of colonization, shaping the sprawling city through Eurocentric and colonial ideas of bounded space. In other words, I write a critical urban analysis of Quito that highlights how colonial edicts of social order as well as

racial, gender, and sexual control are spatiotemporally recreated and legitimized as colonial fantasies. I am interested in how the unprecedented urban expansion of the 1970s created an ongoing urban problem for city officials, who became preoccupied with "ordering" the city and "controlling" urban growth. In order to understand the discursive strategies used by government officials and justify accruing large sums of foreign debt for urban projects, I examine the colonial history of the city, a rich history of conflict, urban reorganization, and racial and gender control. I focus on how the geological formations around the city, specifically El Panecillo, were and continue to be essential to understanding pre-Colombian, colonial, and contemporary forms of urban organization and control. My dissertation investigates the relationship between discursive and visual articulations of modern urban and national development as these relate to legal and social discourses of public order, "proper" development, and race, gender, and sexual control. Additionally, my dissertation connects the ideological tools that justified the construction of certain development projects to colonial technologies of urban control in order to argue how contemporary preoccupations with urban sprawl are intimately tied to ongoing colonial processes of differentiation.

Introduction

Historical Flashpoints:

A Transhistorical Account of Quito from the 16th to the 20th Century and into the Future

Introduction

August 10th 1809 is known as the "*primer grito de la independencia*" (first cry for independence) because Ecuador was the first Latin American country to declare independence from Spain. On the early morning of August 10th, the patriot troops surprised the Spanish troops inside the Royal Palace, located in the capital city of Quito, and forced the president of the Royal Audience of Quito, Count Ruiz de Castilla to surrender. Every year, Ecuador commemorates Independence Day as a national holiday filled with weeklong events all around the country. In the capital city, the *Centro Histórico* (Historical Center) fills with people coming together to partake in the festivities.

From the moment I migrated to New York at the age of seven, I have returned to Ecuador on an annual basis. Since beginning this intellectual project, I have coincidently returned every year during the month of August, given that it is the best time for me to travel. In August 2017, my cousin convinced me to go to the *Fiesta de la Luz* (Festival of Lights) that was organized to celebrate the Ecuador's independence. Unaware of what awaited me, I went on a cold Quito night to the *Centro Histórico*, where each church had been illuminated with a different laser show, a colorful event that brought hundreds of thousands of Ecuadorians together.

While throngs of people packed the narrow colonial cobbled stoned streets,[1] I moved to the rhythm of a sea of people, unable to truly enjoy the show, or even consider what it meant me to be there. I was there because my cousin and her friends were bored and it was merely "*algo que hacer*" (something to do), but I was also there as an outsider, and her friends jokingly

commented that since I was there as a visitor, I must enjoy myself. After the crowd dispersed and we were free to walk along the streets, I realized we were on Calle Venezuela, and straight ahead of me was the large looming monument of the Virgen del Panecillo—a forty-one meter tall aluminum statue of the Virgin of Immaculate Conception, constructed in 1976. From afar and in the dark of night, her grey body looks made of stone, perhaps a vestige of Quito's colonial past but as I kept walking towards her, you could see her "empty" aluminum figure, and her presence on the colonial city center seemed out of place.

In the film*, A tus espaldas* (Jara 2011), which I analyze in Chapter 3, the main character describes the monument as "*una Virgen hueca*" (a hallow Virgin). At the same time, while she is indeed a hollow aluminum statue, she is filled with historical and symbolic meanings that inform this dissertation. Her presence is jarring because her aluminum figure does not fit with the colonial aesthetics of the streets, which are narrow cobble stoned streets lined with red roof tile houses, decorated with Baroque style balconies and surrounded by large colonial Catholic churches, each built atop an important Inkan temple or palace.[2] Indeed, one year earlier, during a trip to the Museo de la Ciudad, my cousin and I reached the Legarda exhibit, in which the museum reconstructs the art workshop of Bernardo de Legarda, the famous eighteenth century *mestizo* artist who carved the wooden statue of "La Virgen Apocalíptica" (1734), which was used as the model for the Virgen del Panecillo monument. I paused, took a photograph, and explained to my cousin that the monument was erected in 1976. Surprised at the year, she remarked that she thought that the statue must have been constructed much earlier. I added that during my research, I also discovered that the city municipality was originally considering situating there a statue of Atawallpa,[3] the last Inkan emperor, but that it was decided that the monument would be of Legarda's "Virgen Apocalíptica," to which she responded: "*Ay no, pues, mejor la Virgen.*"

(No, well, better that it was the Virgin).[4] This dissertation dissects the contradictions and historical dissonance that the monument of La Virgen del Panecillo represents in Quito's colonial city center. Furthermore, the decision to build the monument of the Virgin over one of Atawallpa, given the fact that the Inkan sun temple Yavirak stood on the very site where the monument stands today, best demonstrates the ideological purposes that she serves when it comes to neoliberal investments as well as the preservation of moral and social order.

My dissertation focuses on Quito, Ecuador's unprecedented urban expansion and reorganization in the late twentieth century, following the petroleum boom of the 1960s. Specifically, I frame this period of geopolitical transformation in relation to sixteenth century events, arguing that the foundation of the Royal Audience of Quito in 1534 by Spanish *conquistadores* establishes a colonial logic that is based on racial, gender, and sexual control and which continues to function well into the present day. Consequently, I consider the reorganization of the city in the 1970s as (neo)colonial in the sense that it operates within the legacy of colonization, shaping the sprawling city through Eurocentric and colonial ideas of bounded space. In other words, I write a critical urban analysis of Quito that highlights how colonial edicts of social order as well as racial, gender, and sexual control are spatiotemporally recreated and legitimized as colonial fantasies.

My dissertation specifically explores how (neo)colonial nation-states have constructed themselves through Eurocentric ideas of bounded places and through technologies of spatial differentiation—such as urban/rural, public/private, and center/periphery. Like Mary Louise Pratt, I argue that we must reconceptualize the Eurocentric and positivist center-periphery model that posits difference and inequality between center and periphery as a consequence of a temporal lag that can be overcome[5]. Rather, I demonstrate that the "debt crisis" of the late

twentieth century in Ecuador highlights how differences between center/periphery are structural and trace back to a long colonial history of debt that both constructs and necessitates the center/periphery model.

I understand places, in this case nations and nation-states, as racialized and gendered spaces whose logic traces back to a colonial histories of privatizing settled lands and attributing moral meanings to spaces occupied by displaced racialized populations in the colonies. Furthermore, I highlight how colonial domination creates and necessitates systems of control in order to legitimize new hierarchies of difference, while these systems are constantly changing, replaced, and sometimes, destroyed, the ideologies that structure colonial domination and differentiation are reimagined and reemployed. Hence, my dissertation examines the changing legal, political, and social systems that legitimize and control racial and sexual difference in the site of the capital city.

The chapters of this dissertation follow the development from Shungoloma to the Panecillo and Yavirak to the Virgen del Panecillo, the hill that marks the limit of the city center and the Inkan sun temple destroyed during colonization and replaced by the monument of the Virgen Apocalíptica in 1976, respectively. The various transformations not only make the hill an important geological site, but also imperative to understanding the urbanization of Quito, from the Inkan empire, to Spanish colonization, and well into the present day. Specifically, I am interested in how the unprecedented urban expansion of the 1970s created an ongoing urban problem for city officials, who became preoccupied with "ordering" the city and "controlling" urban growth. In order to understand the discursive strategies used by government officials and justify accruing large sums of foreign debt for urban projects, I examine the colonial history of the city, a rich history of conflict, urban reorganization, and racial and gender control. I focus on

how the geological formations around the city, specifically the Panecillo, were and continue to be essential to understanding pre-Colombian, colonial, and contemporary forms of urban organization and control.

The Andean city of Quito experienced a noticeable growth during the 1970s, almost doubling in size by 1983.[6] The empirical effects of this municipal expansion have been widely researched within Ecuadorian urban studies scholarship.[7] In recent years, there has been an increase in urban criminology research, which focuses on violence as a phenomenon of urban sites.[8] My research specifically examines the political and social ideologies that served to legitimate the unprecedented urban transformation of the 1970s, a theme that remains largely unexplored. My dissertation fills this scholarly gap by investigating the relationship between discursive and visual articulations of modern urban and national development as these relate to legal and social discourses of public order, "proper" development, and race, gender, and sexual control. I interrogate how the shift in economic policies as well as print media discourses around urban sprawl throughout the end of the twentieth century encouraged city and municipal council to frame the new developments around fomenting tourism, considered the best-untapped market of that time. Additionally, my dissertation connects the ideological tools that justified the construction of certain development projects to colonial technologies of urban control in order to argue how contemporary preoccupations with urban sprawl are intimately tied to ongoing colonial processes of differentiation.

***La Ciudad de Quito, Capital del Ecuador*: A View from the Queer Diaspora**

The capital city of Quito lies at almost ten thousand feet above sea level. The altitude is only matched by the magnanimous volcanoes that surround the city, such as the splendid active snow-topped Cotopaxi volcano that lies thirty-one miles south of the city, but whose peak can be

spotted from multiple points within the city on a clear day. Quito is an expansive and populous capital, with over two million, six hundred thousand inhabitants. More than its geographical and population specifications, Quito is a vivacious city: from the north to the south, the streets are always packed with people, traffic, taxis, buses, trolleys, street vendors, and tourists. Carved in the Andes mountains, streets are steep labyrinths that oftentimes only the locals know how navigate.

While I was born in Venezuela in the late 1980s, due to the high influx of Ecuadorians migrating to Venezuela in the late 1970s and 1980s, my parents moved back to Quito when I was just three years old. We moved to my grandmother's house in San Juan, an old neighborhood in the colonial district. I still remember the house, above a steep hill, which we had to walk up and down every time we wanted to go to the corner store that lay at the bottom of the hill. The house itself was old and simple and across the street was a ravine, which my cousins and I were warned never to go near. We would often disobey and head across the street to visit, Señora Olgita, an elderly woman who lived in a small cottage. Many years later, I was informed she died in a government hospital waiting room due to lack of care. When my parents migrated to New York, I was left to the care of my grandmother and aunt, which is the story of many Ecuadorian children. I remember my aging grandmother walking me down the hill every morning to the school bus stop at the bottom. She would cover me with her *poncho* as I sleepily waited for the bus. What I know of Quito is informed from complex interactions with the city and one that I navigate not as a local, but also not as a tourist; I have lived and learned knowledge of the city and how to navigate its people and its streets.

I eventually migrated to New York and reunited with my parents at the age of seven. Once my mother remarried and I became a resident, she sent me back to Quito every year for the

three months of summer break. I learned to grow up between New York and Ecuador. Every summer I would relearn what it meant to live like a *quiteña*: I would study the new slang words, play new games with my cousins, and eat new food. As I write this, I am thirty-two, and every summer I return to relearn how to be a *quiteña*, an activist, a queer-identified child of the diaspora, and a scholar. This dissertation is written from childhood memories, family stories, and years of personal interest and research to learn about a place I was no longer from, a place I no longer belonged, and where I was no longer considered a local.

Traditionally, diaspora studies has been marked by a "backward looking glance home." As Gayatri Gopinath argues in *Impossible Desires*, the queer diaspora challenges this backward glance "home" since it is absent from dominant nationalist discourse, signaling the impossibility of home as a stable place to return.[9] Furthermore, Gopinath formulates a critical framework that rethinks this traditional notion of home employed by diaspora through her theorization of queer diaspora. Gopinath's proposal of queer diaspora as critical framework points to the complicity between diasporic formations and different nationalisms as well as between diaspora and transnational capital and globalization.[10] Hence, queer diaspora highlights the "racist and colonialist violence" that is forgotten or deliberately hidden by nationalist discourse.[11] The author's use of the term "queer diaspora" pays particular attention to the queer female diasporic subject as a way to destabilize "heteronormative and patriarchal structures of kinship and community" embedded in concept of diaspora and nation.[12] I am compelled by Gopinath's use of queer diasporic subjectivity in destabilizing traditional notions of diaspora and home. In my scholarly work, I consider how my queer diasporic history shapes the places I am able to inhabit as well as the questions that I answer.

Interventions in Critical Geography and Cultural Studies in Latin American Studies

The Andean city of Quito experienced a noticeable growth during the 1970s, almost doubling in size by 1983[13] The empirical effects of this municipal expansion have been widely researched within Ecuadorian urban studies scholarship.[14] In recent years, there has been an increase in urban criminology research, which focuses on violence as a phenomenon of urban sites.[15] My dissertation specifically focuses on the political and social ideologies that served to legitimate the unprecedented urban transformation of the 1970s, a theme that remains largely unexplored. My research fills this scholarly gap by investigating the relationship between discursive and visual articulations of modern urban and national development as these relate to legal and social discourses of public order, "proper" development, and race, gender, and sexual control. I examine how the shift in economic policies as well as mass media discourses around urban sprawl throughout the end of the twentieth century encouraged city and municipal councils to frame the new developments around fomenting tourism, which was considered the best-untapped market of that time. Additionally, my dissertation connects the ideological tools that justified the construction of certain development projects, such as the monument of the Virgen del Panecillo, to colonial technologies of urban control in order to highlight how contemporary preoccupations with urban sprawl are intimately tied to ongoing colonial processes of differentiation.

My dissertation is an interdisciplinary endeavor that bridges the fields of Latin American Studies, Critical Urban Studies, and Ethnic Studies. My research on colonial and contemporary urban development in Ecuador in relation to racial and sexual control contributes to the growing scholarship on Latin America history and politics from within an Ethnic Studies framework, which centers long histories of colonization and transnational interdependence among the

Andean region and the United States. At the same time, my dissertation centers the Andean region—which includes, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru—in transnational scholarly conversations in fields such as Critical Urban Studies, Ethnic Studies, and Latin American Cultural Studies.[16] In larger transnational debates in the field of Critical Geography, for example, Ecuador figures in research around immigration and poverty[17]; on the other hand, my dissertation provides an intersectional analysis that centers not just the Andean region, but also how race, gender, and sexuality are structured through imperialism(s), urban restructuring, and political and social discourses.

Latin American scholars have made important contributions to global (post)colonial and decolonial debates at the end of the twentieth century, featuring prominent scholars such as Ileana Rodríguez, Walter Mignolo, Aníbal Quijano, and John Beverly, among others. I follow their work, and continue to center Indigenous and Afro-descent voices across the American hemisphere, including the Andean region to aptly demonstrate the ongoing processes of (neo)colonization and racialization. Consequently, I center the work of decolonial Aymara scholar, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, whose work argues for territorial and ideological decolonization by demonstrating how colonial technologies of Indigenous disenfranchisement and control continue to pervade ideologies of control.[18] My work on pervading ideologies of racial and sexual control in Quito as these pertain to shifting geopolitical and economic reconfigurations such as neoliberalism and globalization at the end of the twentieth century from a decolonial feminist framework contributes to the growing scholarship Andean studies and Latin American decolonial studies from a hemispheric perspective.

Latin American (post)colonial studies has been intimately tied to Latin American cultural studies—two fields emerging at the end of the twentieth century in dialogue with South Asian

subaltern studies and British cultural studies. Many of the same prominent scholars of (post)colonialism have also widely contributed to cultural studies, including Ileana Rodríguez, John Beverly, Néstor García Canclini, Jean Franco, George Yúdice, and Jésus Martín Barbero. Many of their scholarly works have focused on hybridity, authoritarian regimes and political turmoil in the region, and cultural forms of resistance. As I expand in the methodologies section that follows, my dissertation will deal with various cultural forms such as newspapers, film, and performance as social tools of transformation and influence on the national imaginary, but not necessarily as cultural forms that are exempt from reproducing colonialist narratives. Rather, I analyze how cultural forms function both as tools that reproduce *and* challenge colonialist narratives of social control and differentiation.

Historical Flash Points: A Transhistorical Account of Quito from the 16th to the 20th Century and into the Future

Throughout the dissertation, I consider the continuities that haunt present-day (neo)colonial relationships in Ecuador from a transhistorical perspective, while at the same time attending to the critical differences that accompany specific historical moments. From a historical perspective, undertaking a transhistorical project—a project that examines long histories while at the same time attending to their historical specificities in order to examine their connections—is a risky intellectual activity because it requires engaging with vast and multiple bodies of scholarship. At the same time, a transhistorical project that engages the sixteenth century, late twentieth century, and early twenty-first century is able to trace the colonial logics of social control that resurfaces in Ecuador's (neo)colonial present to violent ways. Furthermore, a transhistorical project challenges Western notions of linear temporality that understand coloniality in past, present, and future instantiations, without attending to the intimate

connections between historical times and the ways in which they inform each other. I follow the work of Aymara feminist scholar Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, who reminds us that in Kichwa and Aymara cosmologies there is no "pre" or "post" vision of history, but rather, the past and future are contained in the present. In other words, history cannot be understood as linear, but rather as circular, where present and future actions return to and inform past actions and vice versa.[19] Hence, when I analyze Quito's urban formation during the sixteenth century and then again, during the second half of the twentieth century, I reveal how these two historical moments inform each other, not in a linear and progressive analysis of history, but rather as circular, an analysis that highlights how urban organization in the twentieth century reemploys ideologies of racial and sexual differentiation eerily reminiscent of the sixteenth century and how these are controlled at the level of urban space.

Both (post)colonial and (neo)colonial scholarship center coloniality and imply a temporal border between colonialism and independence. I utilize these terms, not to legitimate a linear temporal understanding of coloniality, but rather to emphasize the ways in which new modes of colonial practices are always already part of the (post)colonial nation-state. By (post)colonial, I do not mean a historical period after former colonies gained independence but rather a theoretical referent from which to examine ongoing imperial processes. My engagement with the (post)colonial is informed by the work of Indigenous studies scholars such as Jodi Byrd, who critically challenge empire studies, metropolitan multiculturalism, and dominant (post)colonial narratives, which tend to conflate racialization with colonization.[20] Rather, I define (post)colonial as an ongoing process able to encapsulate changing economic and social forms of empire even after the construction of the independent nation state. In addition, I concur with Byrd when she asks scholars of (post)colonial theory to avoid utilizing "empire" as a metaphor in which the

Native stands in as a referent, rather than engaging the ways that (neo)colonialism continues to obscure indigenous struggles for autonomy.[21] Rather, I highlight how colonial imaginaries of heterosexuality, respectability, and intimacy continue to function in the (post)colonial era of globalization. Furthermore, while (post)colonialism defines the contemporary conditions of nation-states such as Ecuador, (neo)colonialism emphasizes the regeneration of colonialism in the new dependent relationships forged between (post)colonial nations and empires such as the United States, Europe, and Canada. Lastly, (neo)colonialism highlights that direct colonial rule is not necessary for imperialism, but colonial relations are forged in new economic and social relations of dependency and control.[22]

Methodologically, my dissertation foregrounds the colonial ideologies that continue to *haunt* present day social organization. That is, tracing the logics of urban organization in the 1970s to the sixteenth century makes evident the antecedents of contemporary logics of urban management as well as racial, gender, and sexual control. I choose the sixteenth century because the history of the foundation of the Royal Audience of Quito best illustrates *how* and *why* Kitu, an important urban site for both the Inkan empire and Spanish colonizers, created the blueprint for the ways the city would be imagined, organized, and reproduced throughout its development. The historicization of the late twentieth century to the sixteenth century functions to answer the following questions: First, what were the functions of colonial logics of social control and order in the sixteenth century? How where they reproduced at the end of the twentieth century? Finally, why do (neo)colonial nation-states such as Ecuador revert back to colonial logics of social control, especially in moments of economic and political change?

Following David Kazanjian in *The Colonizing Trick*, I consider the foundation of the Royal Audience of Quito in 1534 and Quito's unprecedented urban expansion throughout the

1970s as historical flash points. As Kazanjian suggests, "'Flashpoint' in this sense refers to the process by which someone or something remerges or bursts into action or being, not out of nothing but transformed from one form to another; and, it refers to the powerful effects of that emergence or transformation."[23] In other words, flash points are historical bursts that while seemingly disparate, are actually informed and illuminated by one another. This methodology does not ignore the vast and complex history between them, but rather acknowledges that focusing on flashes of history allows for a closer examination of the ties between two disparate moments.

Mapping the Chapters

One of the objectives of Ethnic Studies is to trace relationships between constructions of difference and power. In other words, the field examines how racial, class, gender, and sexual differences are constructed by processes and institutions of power—economic, political, legal, and state formations.[24] Promoting interdisciplinary frameworks, Ethnic Studies values the importance of interdisciplinary methodologies. At the same time, the field of Ethnic Studies critically considers the multi-faceted valences of traditional research methodologies, oftentimes rooted in violent and racist colonial practices of disenfranchisement. Therefore, my dissertation employs traditional research methodologies such as archival research, but considers how archival research has both served to legitimize national historical narratives as well as can be engaged to highlight silences and absences in the archive.[25] Furthermore, I read certain archival materials, such as newspapers as cultural forms, considering how they function to both construct and legitimize hegemonic narratives of the nation, while at the same time, influencing municipal policy.

I performed archival research, completed over the course of two summer trips to Ecuador,

to the Metropolitan History Archive, which houses all the city and municipal records, meeting notes, and memorandums that record state acquisition of private properties and subsequent disputes, expansions of city streets, and information on loans from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and World Bank (WB) for street repairs, expansions, and infrastructure construction. During my first visit, I focused on municipal records and meeting notes from 1970-1976. During my second research trip, I conducted archival research in the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador and the Fundación Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, both of which house *El Comercio's* archives, the nation's largest and most popular newspaper. I reviewed articles that focused on urban growth and tourism from the years 1970-1976. Chapter 2 specifically focuses on this research, examining the ways in which both the State and mass media articulated the rapid growth of the city in the 1970s in relation to controlling chaotic urban sprawl.

El Comercio is currently Ecuador's most popular newspaper, with an estimate of over two hundred thousand newspapers sold on a weekly basis across the nation. The newspaper was first released in 1906, increasing in popularity by mid-century. It is an independent newspaper, with a center-right political view. I include this particular newspaper in my research not only because it is the most popular newspaper in Ecuador, but because after conducting research in the Municipal Council meeting notes, it became evident that the council members of the time considered *El Comercio's* news in their meeting and that it even influenced their decisions. In my dissertation, I consider news media as a particular cultural form, a far-reaching cultural product that has the power of national cohesiveness. Like all archival materials, I read the newspaper in its 'profound fictiveness,' as Benedict Anderson writes in *Imagined Communities*.[26] In other words, I do not read the newspaper as historical fact, *per se*, but as a particular cultural form with

the potential for social and political transformation.

The third and fourth chapters analyze contemporary cultural production that responds to the Virgen del Panecillo, the aluminum monument constructed over the Panecillo hill in 1976. In the third chapter, I interrogate how public monuments come to represent and often reproduce formative national imaginations, mapped onto national territories;[27] in this case, onto an urban barrier. As previously mentioned, I analyze these various cultural forms as both having the capacity to reproduce violent and colonial discourses as well as challenge colonial representations of difference and marginalization. In Latin American cultural studies, specifically visual studies scholars have focused on how the visual was an imperative part of the process of colonization. For example, religious indoctrination necessitated the destruction of all visual representations of Indigenous idols, which were quickly replaced by Catholic religious iconography.[28] Therefore, much of Latin American visual studies focuses on how visual cultural forms can work to caste the gaze back to the process of colonization—as a result, highlighting ongoing processes of colonial control.[29]

In chapter 3, I analyze the 2011 box office hit *A tus espaldas*, focusing on both the film's important engagement with one of Quito's most important national symbols as well as how the film reverts back to the same colonial, racist, and heterosexist ideologies with which the city was founded. In the film, the director centers his film on the famous monument, as a social commentary that highlights her positionality in the city—that is, the Panecillo has served as the geological barrier between the burgeoning north and the poor Indigenous south. Furthermore, the film, which creates a clear, if not clever, comparison between the Virgin and the main character, Greta, a high-end prostitute from Colombia, informs my argument that the symbolism of the Virgin, overlooking the city, not only brings in tourist revenue for the state but also serves as a

symbol of racial, gender, and religious order. I focus on film for several reasons: first, there is a scholarly gap in Latin American film studies in regards to Ecuadorian film production despite the fact that the Ecuadorian film industry experienced a boom in the past decade. Second, films are an important visual form, a mode of visual representation engaged in social, political, and cultural critique.

On the other hand, the last chapter engages feminist uses of the Virgen del Panecillo in performance and photography as cultural forms employed in this case to extend reproductive rights to women. I analyze the staging of a protest in 2008 by two feminist organizations on the site of the Virgen del Panecillo, arranged to fight against current legislation, which currently criminalizes abortion. I pair my analysis of the action with an analysis of a photograph taken and circulated by Peruvian artists Cecilia Podestá on September 28th 2009, the global day of action for access to safe and legal abortion. In the photograph, the artist poses as a bleeding Virgen de Legarda, best known as Virgen del Panecillo since 1976. My analysis points to the (trans)nationalization of the Virgin and the ways in which her image, much like the Virgen de Guadalupe in Mexico and the United States, has circulated and been reimagined by feminist organizers, artists, and scholars to extend women's rights.

I analyze these two actions as performative, in the sense that both actions were staged and performed. In reading these two cultural forms, I follow Diana Taylor's theorizations of performance as an embodied, often ephemeral, practice that serves to challenge disciplinary and national memory and knowledge production. In other words, she argues that performances, as opposed to the traditional written archive, may challenge memory and knowledge production as only enduring in the material—the performative exceeds the archive because it threatens to vanish.[30] At the same time, throughout my dissertation, as I engage multiple archives and cultural

forms, I blur the archive/performance dichotomy by demonstrating how both the written archive and the performance are cultural products of profound fictiveness.

I conclude my dissertation with the novella *Lunar Braceros 2125-2148* by Rosaura Sanchez and Beatriz Pita in order to consider the role that alternative modes of relationality must play in a future that is rooted in decoloniality, anti-colonialism, and anti-capitalism. At the same time, my analysis of *Lunar Braceros* raises a question about the ability for (post)colonial nations like Ecuador to move towards a more equitable relationship to people and land, even for leftist governments that openly denounce neoliberalism, while at the same time violently denouncing Indigenous resistance. I conclude with a speculative imagining of what would be required in order to reach a holistic feminist decolonial project of Pachakutik. While I follow a linear timeline of the transformation of Kitu to Quito beginning in the sixteenth century into a speculative future of Quito past the twenty-second century by the end of this dissertation, I do so to illuminate a transhistorical account of urban transformations that highlight continuities and ideological hauntings. Indeed, the following dissertation demonstrates just some of the colonial ideologies that continue to *haunt* present day social organization, such as racial, gender, and sexual control via laws and ongoing national discourses around proper comportment.

Chapter 1

From Kitu to Quito: Legal Racial and Gender Control in The Cabildo de San Francisco de Quito

Introduction

Surrounded by the Andes mountain range, the capital city of Quito in Ecuador has expanded lengthwise since its foundation on December 1534.[31] On an expedition to kill Atawallpa, the last Inkan emperor of the Tawantisuyu, Spanish colonizers Diego de Almagro and Sebastián de Belalcázar, led by Francisco Pizarro, headed towards present day Quito, where rumor had it Atawallpa hid all of his treasures. After years of fighting Atawallpa's army, Pizarro captured Atawallpa and asked for gold in exchange for his release. After he conceded, Pizarro decided to kill him anyways.[32] Atawallpa, then king of the Inkan empire, had inherited his title from his late father, Huainacápac. Upon his death at the early age of thirty-six, Atawallpa asked that his heart be buried in Kitu as a symbol that Kitu was the capital of the Inkan empire. Following Atawallpa's death and the violent destruction of the Inkan empire, Spanish colonizers settled on the Inkan city known as Kitu. Founded beside a hill known as Shungoloma (Hill of the Heart) where the Sun temple, Yavirac stood tall, Diego de Almagro baptized the area Cabildo de San Francisco de Quito. Protected by the natural barriers that surrounded Quito, it is no surprise that the fortress soon became the capital city. Yavirac was destroyed and Shungoloma was newly baptized as "El Panecillo" because it was said to resemble a small bread.

I begin in the sixteenth century because the foundation of the Royal Audience of Quito and its structuring established physical and ideological boundaries for generations to come. While this chapter presents a chronological overview of Kitu from the pre-Inkan Kitu/Kitu-Karas

to Spanish colonization, this account of Kitu to Quito is not meant to reify histories of colonization in linear terms. Rather, as Kichwa decolonial feminist scholar Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui explains, colonial histories cannot be understood as pre- or -post but rather as in Andean Indigenous epistemologies, history is circular, so the past, present, and future moments are connected to each other and informed by one another.[33] The colonization of the Andean region is understood as a moment of catastrophe for Pachakutik—or the idea that the world, all time and space must undergo catastrophes and rejuvenations in large cycles.[34] At the same time, as Rivera Cusicanqui explains, decolonization is the act of rejuvenating and beginning a new cycle of Pachakutik an act that must begin with the decolonization of gender or the act of recuperating the feminine, the Indigenous, and a code of ethics that is responsible for all living beings.[35]

Therefore, examining how colonial dichotomous hierarchies of race, gender, sex, and class were established, regulated, and normalized in the New World is needed in order to imagine what a decolonial feminist project of Pachakutik would look like confronting current structures of capitalism and neoliberalism in the Andean nation-states of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Maria Lugones asserts that colonial modernity is structured through hierarchical dichotomies to establish social relations of power, which justified the reduction of Indigenous, Black, and other non-white peoples, knowledges, and practices to the status of non-human, within an ideological system that equates humanity and civilization.[36] Indeed, a decolonial feminist project requires the understanding that the colonization of gender and sexuality were imperative to colonial ordering. This chapter shows how the colonization of gender and sexuality were part of Quito's urban re-structuring and the ways in which urbanization is imbricated in social order.

This first chapter also explores the foundation of the Royal Audience of Quito in the sixteenth century in relationship to spatial order and social control. My argument is that social

order was intimately tied to urbanization and urban control—both of which were necessary technologies for the colonial foundation of the Royal Audience of Quito. Angel Rama, in *The Lettered City*, remarks that the colonial Latin American cities were unlike any others. Colonizers, confronted with the task of founding the new colonial cities, did not model them after European medieval metropoles. Rather, the Baroque city, which distinguished the colonies, was imagined and created to implement the space and ideologies that the colonies were founded on: order, hierarchy, and rationalization. Rama states: "Their ordering principle revealed itself as a hierarchical society transposed by analogy into a hierarchical design of urban space. It was not the real society that was transposed, of course, but its organized form, and not into the fabric of the living city, but merely into its ideal layout, so that in the geometrical distribution we can read the social morphology of the planners."[37] They specifically used a Cartesian grid-like model that was based on the notion of both uniformity and infinity. In other words, colonizers, confronted with the "wild" unknown and the infiniteness of the New World, required a spatial order that centered uniformity at the forefront of its geopolitical colonial project.[38]

The first half of this chapter juxtaposes Inkan geopolitical structures of Kitu to the ways that Spanish colonizers structured Quito. While the former organized the territory around its relationship to geological structures and sacred cosmologies to honor the sun, the moon, the earth, and all living things, the latter used spatial organization to establish and legitimize colonial ideologies of social order that justified the destruction on the Inkan empire and the subjugation of Natives and African slaves as well as the exploitation of the natural resources of the region. I specifically focus on the sacred significance that Shungoloma held for the Inkas, not just in relationship to the location of Kitu on the equatorial line, but also in relationship to the sun and the moon. These antithetical visions of land demonstrate colonial investments in hierarchical

social stratifications as well as land/resource extraction—both of which are colonial investments that continue to *haunt* Ecuadors contemporary relationships to former empires. Therefore, this chapter raises the following questions, which will resurface throughout the dissertation: What would a recuperation of Inkan ways of life look like in the contemporary moment within the larger Andean region? How can such a project attend to colonial legacies that continue to justify social stratification and differentiation as well as a resource extractivist model exacerbated under neoliberalism? In other words, what would a feminist decolonial project of Packakutik look like and what is necessary to carry it out?

I follow my analysis of the ways in which the Spanish restructured the spatial order to Kitu and transformed it into Quito with an analysis of the legal structures that legitimatized the hierarchical social structures of colonial life. Subsequently, I demonstrate that the particular ordering of Quito not only set racial and class hierarchies of power in the New World, but also structured the city in new racial, gender, and sexual ways. Indeed, as Eduardo Kingman Garcés remarks, it was both urbanists and hygienists that divided the city between center/periphery and forced the Indigenous populations to the periphery of the city by removing *chicherías* and Indigenous ceremonies to the outskirts of the city limits.[39] At the same time, as this chapter will highlight, the social organization of Quito was complicated not just by racial standing but also by class-ranking, gender, and sexuality.

Methodologically, this chapter is based on archival material and uses both colonial *crónicas* (chronicles) written during the sixteenth by Inkan *mestizos* as well as the original ordinances established by Spanish bureaucrats for the Royal Audience of Quito, beginning with its foundation in 1534 until the end of the sixteenth century. Archives of the latter were compiled from the Archivo Municipal's transcriptions of the Actas de Cabildo beginning in 1534.

Transcribed archives, while faithful to the original documents, are incomplete for a variety of reasons: original documents are too disintegrated and difficult to decipher, some documents are missing (for example, there are no archives available from 1593-1597), and some legal mandates were never documented due to a shortage of ink.[40]

Colonial chronicles are one of the few remaining accounts of life before the conquest. While they were written for the Spanish crown, texts written by *indios ladinos* (literate Natives) and *mestizos* also demonstrate the effort by Natives to archive and preserve the life, rituals, and customs that were being violently suppressed. One the one hand, they function as evidence of the ways in which Kitu was structured and imagined in relation to the larger Inka empire; on the other hand, they demonstrate the complex role that *mestizos* and *indios ladinos* had as colonial actors within a larger racial hierarchy established to subordinate the Native population.

Additionally, analysis of the city ordinances demonstrates the formation of legal boundaries of urban life as well as the establishment of proper comportment along racial, gender, and sexual lines. Hence, they showcase the inception of colonial ideologies in the organization of the new city, which would inform the ways in which life was experienced for centuries to come. I particularly focus on city ordinances that establish rules and punishments around sexual behavior and proper hygiene as well as racial and gender laws for Black slaves and Indigenous peoples. Analysis of these regulations and laws demonstrate a relationship between spatial order and social control in the sense that colonial urban life was not just about establishing new geopolitical and religious mandates but was also heavily preoccupied with creating and legitimating racial, gender, and sexual hierarchies that criminalized Native and Black populations.

Temporally, this chapter disrupts Western notions of linear time and the conventions of

disciplinary historical narratives. Following Avery Gordon in *Ghostly Matters* and Michel-Rolph Trouillot in *Silencing the Past*, I use archival materials as both authentic narrative and a set of historical silences.[41] In other words, while colonial chronicles and city ordinances do indeed function to demonstrate Inkan and Spanish colonial ways of life, archives also create a dichotomous relationship that separates what counts as history, who can speak and be remembered, as well as the language in which we can speak. Gordon uses the term haunting to consider what is missing or silenced in the archives, which often help uncover marginalized histories of ongoing violence and oppression. She states that haunting is "…one way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with…"[42] That is, reading the silences in the archive, seeing the ghost that refuses to be silent, honoring those that are dead and not just those that are alive, will uncover the ongoing systems of violence established during colonization and reproduced over again.

Critically interrogating the colonial archive—written texts such as chronicles and legal documents such as ordinances—also challenges the written word as the official historical remnant over that which never makes it to the archives (oral narratives, performances, and silences). In *The Archive and the Repertoire,* Diana Taylor argues that embodied performances have always been central to transmitting knowledge and memory as well as consolidating identities. Moreover, she argues that performance, as an embodied praxis and episteme, can decenter the historical role of writing as the only form of historical recounting.[43] She specifically focuses on the conquest of the Americas to demonstrate how the conquest was possible through the delegitimization of non-written phenomena and the acknowledgement of performance as a mode of transmitting knowledge.[44] In other words, the colonial archive is but one historical

account, legitimized through the colonial preference for the written words over other forms of knowledge transmission considered inferior for its connection to indigeneity.

Furthermore, reading the archive and thinking through what is silenced in the historical veracity of the document also challenges Western historical temporality that separates history into past, present, and future; contrarily, haunting thinks about the present as informed by the silences of the past.[45] In other words, reading the archive as always already mediated by silences allows us to consider how these unresolved silences will continue histories of violence and oppression in the present and future. Much like the Andean concept of Packakutik, I read the archive in a way that challenges and disrupts Western notions of linear temporality and rather, thinks about the past as that which informs the present and predicts the future. And while this dissertation follows begins in the sixteenth century and ends in a speculative future of the twenty-second century in the conclusion, it does not legitimize linear historical accounts but rather traces the colonial ideologies that inform subsequent historical moments and processes into the present day.

A Brief Historical Overview of the Colonization of the Inkan Empire & the Foundation of the Cabildo de San Francisco de Quito

As is recounted in the introduction to this chapter, Kitu was an important part of the larger Inkan empire, ruled by Atawallpa, whom was gifted Kitu by his late-father Huanacápac. At the same time, present-day Ecuador was not incorporated into the Inkan empire until 1480, when Inka Tupac Yupanqui conquered the southern provinces. But even with the late incorporation, Kitu was the second most important Inkan city, following Cuzco in present-day Peru. Spanish colonizers, Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando de Luque reached Kitu on their way from Panama to Piru (Peru), on an expedition ordered by Pedro Arias “Pedrarias” de Ávila,

then governor of Panama. After years of fighting, Pizarro was able to capture Atawallpa and imprisoned him in Cajamarca. While Atawallpa paid for his release in gold, Pizarro decided to kill the last Inkan emperor on July 26th 1533, eight months after his capture and imprisonment. Myth recounts that Atawallpa paid one room full of gold for his release.

The history of Quito's conquest is an amalgamation of archives, colonial chronicles, and modern contemporary accounts combined with legends and myths about what "really" happened. The discrepancies in accounts highlight the fictiveness of historical accounts. Historians and other scholars, such as Michel-Rolph Trouillot and Avery Gordon, among others, use archival work to challenge the veracity of the archive. They suggest that archives are always mediated by power that privilege some accounts while silencing others. Therefore, they write historical accounts that not only consider traditional archives, but consider the important role of performance, oral narratives, and archival hauntings in constructing more nuanced historical accounts.[46] Consequently, I also include the myths and legends in this brief history, which I consider to be as much a part of the history of the colonization of Kitu and the foundation of Quito.

Atawallpa's execution—death by hanging—was decreed after he was accused of revolting against the Spanish and practicing adultery. The latter shows the first instance of Kitu's colonization and subsequent legal maneuvers that will continue to delineate colonial norms around race and sexuality. The fact that Atawallpa was killed for adultery, rather than a necessary tool for the colonial transfer of power, demonstrates the ways in which Spanish colonial mandates would continue to justify violence, genocide, and Indigenous displacement in the name of Christian/Catholic morality and sexual propriety. The performance of his trial can be understood as another performance of the conquest that Diana Taylor claims to be a necessary act

of the transfer of power, not so much for the sake of the Inkas, but *by* and *for* the Spanish colonizers.[47] In reality, Atawallpa was a liability for Pizarro, who was constantly threatened by attacks from Atawallpa's warriors and therefore, his death was inevitable.

Following Atawallpa's death, Rumiñahui—his most trusted warrior—headed to Kitu, presumably to hide all his treasure, and proceeded to set the city on fire before the Spanish could reach it. He also sacrificed the *Acllas* (Virgins of the Sun) to protect them from inevitably getting raped by Spanish colonizers. Lastly, he ordered all the remaining warriors to grab any valuables and flee Kitu. Legend suggests that he fled with Atawallpa's treasures, which were never recovered. Other myths recount that he buried the treasure under the Guagua Pichincha volcano, in the Llanganates interior, inside the Cueva de los Tayos, and lastly, inside the Panecillo. By setting the city on fire, killing the *Acllas* to spare them sexual violence, and burying Atawallpa's treasure, Rumiñahui's action draw attention to colonial interests and violent practices, including land, resource, and gold extraction and the violent and oftentimes sexual exploitation of the Native populations.

In ashes, Sebastián de Belalcázar declared Cabildo de San Francisco de Quito a part of the Spanish crown on December 6th 1534. Belalcázar supervised the construction of the city that would be built above the ashes of Kitu—including assigning land around what would be the main plaza—presentday Plaza de la Independencia. The first inhabitants of the new Spanish city amounted to two-hundred and five, including Spanish officials such as Belalcázar, Juan de Ampudia and Diego de Tapia Añasco, who served as the first mayors, as well as Native and African slaves. While Pizarro and his army faced Inkan resistance, the Inkan empire had not yet established control over the northern Ecuadorian highlands and southern Colombian region, where they conquered and subdued local communities once there. One such community was the

Kañari, who suffered greatly under Inkan rule and were of crucial support to the unprepared Spanish army in the highlands.[48]

By November 1542, King Carlos I of Spain signed the *Leyes Nuevas* (New Laws), a legislative decree that reorganized the governing powers of New Spain and created the *Virreinato del Perú* (Viceroyalty of Peru), which came to replace *Nueva Castilla* (New Castile). The Viceroyalty of Peru was composed of presentday Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Panama, and parts of Brazil. The viceroyal was the closet power to the Spanish crown and had administrative and judicial power of the Viceroyalty. Under the viceroyal, the *Audiencias* (Audiences) functioned as local powerhouses that answered to the Viceroyalty. The Viceroyalty of Peru had eight Audiences: Royal Audience of Panama; Lima, Santafé de Bogota; La Plata de los Charcas; Chile; Buenos Aires; Cuzco; and Quito. On August 29th 1563, King Felipe II of Spain signed a Royal Decree, which declared the Cabildo de San Francisco de Quito an autonomous administrative unit within the larger Spanish empire, with its own political, military, and religious jurisdiction—that is, it declared Quito as part of the Royal Audience of Quito. The Royal Audience of Quito had its own president, four judges for civil cases, four judges for criminal cases, a crown attorney, a bailiff, and a lieutenant. While the Royal Audience functioned below the Viceroyalty of Peru, due to the geographical distance between the two regions, it functioned independently.

Indigenous and African slave labor fueled the economies of New Spain as well as Europe. Indigenous labor was first comprised of mining and textile production, and after these resources were exploited, they were the largest agricultural and livestock farming labor force in the region. They were also forced to pay tributes to the Spanish crown. An *encomienda* system was established in which *encomenderos* were charged with collecting tributes but were also

charged with converting *indios* to Catholicism. In exchange, the *indios* who were under his charge would have to provide agricultural services and other labor.[49] Furthermore, the *encomienda* system continued to serve as a way to keep *indios* enslaved. While King Charles V of Spain that decreed that *indio* slaves could petition and win their freedom as an early attempt to dismantle Indian slavery, which would recategorize *indios* as vassals of the Spanish crown and not as slaves, the *encomienda* system continued to limit the freedom supposedly offered to Indigenous peoples.[50] The *encomienda* system established a system of economic dependency to the Spanish crown, heightened racial and economic divides between Indigenous peoples and Spaniards, and served as a system of social control.

However, the status of "*indio*" was mediated by other factors outside of Native lineage, which included literacy. *Indios ladinos* (linguistically and culturally ambidextrous Natives) held an important role for Spanish colonization. On the one hand, Spanish bureaucrats used them for the purposes of cultural, linguistic, and religious indoctrination. In other words, they served as the "middle-men" between the Spanish and Native populations. On the other hand, as Alcira Dueñas demonstrates in her work, *indios ladinos* were more than colonial translators, they were official actors who used their literary skills, legal knowledge, and social power to effect laws that would advocate for Natives.[51] In doing so, she expands on Angel Rama's notion of the "lettered city" as "…an exclusionary cadre of high-raking colonial bureaucrats and clergymen who controlled writing and produced law and the religious canon that sustained the Spanish imperial edifice."[52] In this sense, *indios ladinos* demonstrate the ways in which marginalized populations have always strategically disrupted the colonial social order.

It is estimated that ninety percent of America's Native population was eradicated—a devastating genocidal project.[53] While the Native population was being violently reduced, African

slaves were brought to the Andean highlands to work as another form of slave labor, within the complex racial hierarchical system that was being created. In Quito, African slaves worked in the mines but also worked at sugar cultivation and domestic labor. For example, in 1592, Francisco Auncibay, one of Quito's royal justices, petitioned the King Felipe II of Spain to send two-thousand African slaves from "the land of Guinea" to mine for gold on the riverbeds.[54] Such requests demonstrate the ways that slave labor was fundamental to the colonial project—a project which required the exploitation of racialized and gendered peoples, but also land and natural resources.

At the same time, African slaves did not just serve as labor for the Spanish crown and its subsequent colonies; they served as both property and investment in the larger colonial system to exploit the natural resources of the Americas.[55] After capture and transport, African slaves underwent "ceremonies of possession" in which they were inspected, appraised, recorded into imperial ledgers, baptized, and lastly, marked with the King's brand.[56] The "ceremonies of possession" demonstrate how slavery—within the larger colonial matrix—was not only about labor, but also about attributing, marking, and maintaining possession. Subsequently, it required the full subjugation and dehumanization of slaves turned into chattel to the point of being "socially dead."[57] As Orlando Patterson states: "…a preliminary definition of slavery on the level of personal relations: *slavery of the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons*."[58] In other words, a slave's exposure to extreme forms of violence, alienation from themselves and their place of origin, and their dependent relationship to their owners produced a racialized population of peoples relegated to non-existence or "social death."

While enslaved subjects had certain legal opportunities in Spanish America, such as the right to denounce a master's illegal practice or gross mistreatment, slaves were only modestly

successful in using litigation to improve their lives.[59] In this same way, freedom for African slaves was an illusory pursuit. While slave status followed the mother, even children of free Black women had a difficult time proving status of freedom in high courts. Furthermore, while customary law allowed slaves to purchase their own freedom, achieving this was not easy and usually involved a contentious legal process.[60] Cases show that after a long litigious process, many slaves were unable to purchase their freedom even after proving gross mistreatment.[61] Furthermore, many enslaved women who raised the money to pay for their freedom were then accused of prostitution or of being thieves.[62] The failed legal processes of slaves in the Americas demonstrates how the colonial legal system was set to continually legitimize Spanish rule and social order through a complex process of arbitrary legislation. Furthermore, even is freedom was attained within the colonial social order, Blackness was created to establish structural subjugation.

Full-blood European-born and -raised Spaniards held the highest power and were at the tops of the socioeconomic hierarchy, which they themselves established. Under them were *criollos*, or full-blood Spaniards that were born and raised in the Americas. The social order that separated those born and raised in Europe from those born and raised in the Americas demonstrates social anxieties about cultural differences over racial or biological ones and the ways in which the new social world being created differed greatly from Europe. *Criollos* were positioned, on the one hand, as cultural hybrids, while on the other hand, they were a continual reminder of the inequitable division between Spain and the colonies. While they held economic, political, and cultural power, in the eighteenth century the division between Spaniards and *criollos* increased, as did the number of *criollos* and a new social consciousness was being developed among the latter. *Criollos* would eventually come to be the ruling class and leaders of

the independence movement.

Lastly, I want to quickly discuss the role that *mestizos* (half Spanish/half Native) had in the social fabric of the colonial world.[63] The growing number of *mestizos* created a social panic for the crown, and King Charles V decreed multiple legal restrictions against *mestizos* in order to limit their power. Decrees between 1549-1555 prohibited *mestizos* from holding public office, having charge of *indios* without special licenses, being ordained as priests, and becoming *caciques* (chiefs).[64] Furthermore, m*estizos* were subject to arbitrary treatment based on physical features and moral standing, both of which determined if they could "pass" as *mestizos* or even Spanish. The fear of "passing" as Spaniard was a growing fear for the racial caste system being established—an arbitrary system based on physiognomy and a person's *calidad* (social reputation). The juridical process to determine one's caste demonstrates the subjective nature of the system itself as well as the complex role that *mestizos* and other "racial hybrids" held within the colonial social order—both a necessity to justify subjugation as well as a threat to the social order. After independence, the new American nation-states, in a need to separate themselves from a Spanish identity, build new *mestizo* American-nations. At the same time, although *mestizaje* has been a modernist national project to combat *blanqueamiento* (whitening), it had proven to be a racist process of whitening the continent. In other words, it has maintained the language of whiteness when juxtaposed with the still prevalent notion of indigenism.[65]

This brief history of the foundation of the Royal Audience of Quito and the establishment of a racial social order demonstrates how the colonization of the Americas necessitated not just the possession of land for resource exploitation, but also the dehumanization of Native and African slaves for labor exploitation and the legitimization of a racialized and gendered social order that categorized them as "non-human" and "socially dead." I follow this brief history of the

colonization of Kitu and the foundation of Quito with an analysis how Kitu and Quito were spatially organized. The juxtaposition will showcase why Kitu/Quito was an important urban site for both the Inkan empire and Spanish colonization; why the reorganization of Kitu was necessary for the process of colonization, which necessitates socio-spatial order; and, how contrasting concepts of land can help us imagine what a decolonial project of packakutik would look like.

From Shungoloma to El Panecillo: The Colonial Ordering Process

Architect Alfredo Lozano Castro, in *Ordenación del territorio y concepción simbólica del espacio en la ciudad prehispana de Quito*, argues that the Cartesian-grid model, which has been considered an exclusively colonial model, was already present in pre-Columbian Andean cities like the Inkan city of Kitu.[66] He goes on to explain that Spanish officials used pre-existing structures, symbolically building Spanish buildings and churches atop of Inkan temples.[67] At the same time, what Spanish colonization accomplished was the complete physical, social, and symbolic urban restructuring of the city as a tool of racial and gender control needed for the colonial project. Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, in *Beyond the Lettered City*, argue that "While the territorial hierarchy may have resembled pre-Columbian forms of political organization, we are speaking here of a *colonial* structure, created through the colonial amalgamation…"[68] Indeed, the spatio-religious organization of colonial cities in the New World intentionally used pre-Columbian edifices to build the Spanish institutions that would replace all social, economic, and political control. For example, in Quito, Spaniards replaced the Huainacápac's palace with the large San Francisco Church; and the Inkan temples were the *Acllas* were housed (*Aglla-huasi*) with a Santa Catalina Monastery.[69] As Rosemarie Terán Najas remarks, Quito was organized through a religious nucleus—an ideal society of hierarchies and

stratifications.[70]

The Cartesian-grid model that distinguished the colonial cities "…were understood as bestowing *order* upon the chaos the Spaniards discovered when they arrived in the New World, a disorder which they considered to be diabolical[…]For the Spaniards, Christianity was central to the ordering process."[71] It is not a coincidence then, that pre-Columbian edifices were replaced by Christian/Catholic institutions—a literal power move as well as a symbolic spatial ordering that was necessary for the colonial process of domination and indoctrination. The colonial grid was best understood as a *reducción*—not be confused with its literal translation of reduction, but rather as "bringing to reason."[72] The *reducción* was the urban model of bringing order and reason to a seemingly chaotic, antisocial, and wild countryside.[73]

The first act of the *reducción* was to build a church, usually used to demarcate the bounded space of the plaza, which was to serve as the architectural manifestation of power. As Rappaport and Cummins note, "…the plaza was bounded by the architectural manifestations of sacred and secular institutions of power[…]The plaza was therefore constantly filled by a multiplicity of practices that were simultaneously inscribed aurally and ritually in urban space."[74] In other words, the plaza was not just the bounded center of the colonial city where Spaniards, *criollos*, *mestizos*, *indios*, *negros*, and *mullattos* congregated but also a space of control where social, racial, and gender hierarchies were to be embodied and performed.

Perhaps the most renowned scholar of colonial urbanization, Angel Rama, begins *The Lettered City* by stating that the urban cities of the New World, embodiments of idealized urban landscapes "…also required that its inhabitants be organized to meet increasingly stringent requirements of colonization, administrate, commerce, defense, and religion"[75] Therefore, the symmetrical grid formation of the city stipulated a required social order that all its inhabitants

were to follow—under strict laws and regulations, among other protocols. In other words, these ideal cities were imagined as places that would be able to "…impose measure and order on every human activity."[76] It is clear then, that urban organization was a key tool of coloniality and functioned not just for spatial order, but as a tool of religious indoctrination and social control. Therefore, as Lozano Castro remarks while Inkan empire also organized Kitu in a grid-like manner, the Spanish *reducción* functioned in drastically different ways and was a strategic tool for colonization.

From the very first Spanish settlers, the urban locations of their homes were strategic posts to help defend them from Indigenous resistance. Sebastián de Belalcázar, one of the founders of the Royal Audience of Quito assigned land for the very first Spanish settlers, asking each one to pronounce their name in the main plaza as a performative act of settlement. Each was assigned half a block of land, separating each by one hundred and seventy steps. As Diana Taylor explains, the moment and performance of discovery and conquest was a repertoire that was enacted for the archive—a necessary act that legitimized the act of transfer of power and land. The performance is a self-proclaimed declaration of authority *by* and *for* Europeans, who take on the task of acting, archiving the act, and bearing witness to the performance of conquest.[77]

While the land on the north-side of the city—designated north of the Panecillo—was not the best or most beautiful land, they settled on the north-side to more effectively fight Indigenous resistance, which lasted for years after the foundation of the city. Attacks would routinely happen at night, and the north-side protected settlers who has located themselves in between natural barriers, like ravines.[78] As the following chapter will demonstrate, Quito's expansion to the north of the Panecillo would come to define the city's geographical span for centuries to come. I draw attention to colonizer's decision to settle on the northside as an attempt to avoid Indigenous

resistance for two reasons: first, it demonstrates how geological features such as the Panecillo would come to define the spatial boundaries of Quito in remarkably different ways than how the Inkan empire positioned themselves in relationship to land in Kitu; and second, it evidences how Indigenous resistance was also a prevailing factor in colonial spatial order, not just in the sense of subjugation, but as social actors in their resistance.

Fear of revolt was a common concern for colonizers and early city ordinances demonstrate how laws were structured to minimize Indigenous and slave-revolts. For example, after an Indigenous revolt in Cuzco in 1536, the Cabildo de San Francisco de Quito sent a letter to the King of Spain asking for more Spanish men, horses, and iron for slaves—a letter which specifically asked that these measures were needed to keep *indios* in fear.[79] The letter showcases not just growing anxieties about revolts, which were inevitable and expected, but also demonstrates how fear was a necessary tool of racial control. Fear of violence is as powerful and violent as punishment itself and has always functioned as a tool of racial control, alongside corporal punishment tools such as iron for slave shackles.

A couple of years later, an ordinance was passed that prohibited any African slave from carrying a weapon unless escorted by their master, followed by a law that allowed any Spaniard to kill a Black slave if feeling threatened, whether the slave has a weapon at hand or not.[80] Much like the letter sent to the King of Spain in 1536, this ordinance shows how early legal mandates were used for racialization and racial subjugation. The ordinance, in this sense, accomplishes several things: first, it establishes Blackness as a threat to be subdued through legal measures; second, it further criminalizes Blackness; and lastly, it justifies violence, and even death, of Black slaves, illustrating Black disposability.

Unlike the ways in which Spanish colonizers organized urban space around ideologies of

social order, pre-Columbian societies that inhabited the region of Quito organized the space around sacred spiritual beliefs that aligned the territory to the sun, the moon, natural geological formations, and sacred animals such as the puma.[81] That is, the three nations Lozano Castro identifies chronologically as Kitu, Kitu/Kara, and Inka held the concept of sacred space—or *wakakuna*, a place where energy congregates.[82] Sacred energy, hence, could converge in natural geological formations such as mountains, lakes, or even rocks.[83] Furthermore, sacred animals such as the puma were considered a sacred totem, with the ability to protect peoples living in high altitudes.[84] Lozano Castro notes not just that these three pre-Columbian nations have the concept of sacred space and energy in common, but that they venerated the large hill known as Shungoloma as one of the many geological formations that held sacred energy. Moreover, the Kitu-Kara seem to have chosen the limits of their nation to be equidistant from Shungoloma where they had erected Yavirak—a temple for the Sun.[85]

Evidence of the sacredness of specific places for pre- and Inkan peoples is found in early colonial historical accounts of pre-Columbian civilizations in the region, most specifically Inka Garcilaso de la Vega, Don Pedro Cieza de León, and Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who wrote historical chronicles of the New World for the King of Spain. Inka Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616) was a *mestizo*, son of a Spanish conquistador, Captain Sebastián Garcilaso de la Vega y Vargas, and an Inka princess, Ñusta Isabela Suárez Chimpu Ocllo—from the first generation of *mestizos* born in Peru. The two never married and little is known about their relationship, but Chimpu Ocllo was one of de la Vega y Vargas' two concubines he had in Peru. Indeed, the first generation of *mestizos* or other mixed-racial unions to come would be the result of rape and other forms of non-consensual unions. De la Vega was mostly raised by his mother and her family, and taught Kichwa.

Garcilaso de la Vega is best known as the author of *La Florida del Inca* (1605) and a two-part history of the Inkan empire, Spanish conquest, and colonial consolidation in Peru, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (1609-1617). He is also the first *mestizo* to publish a book about pre-Columbian civilization—in *Comentarios Reales* he writes about the origins and expansion of the Inkan empires, its rules and sociopolitical structures, religion, and language. Both de la Vega and his work have been extensively written about; at the same time, my analysis of *Commentaries Reales* will specifically focus on the importance that the sun held in Inkan cosmologies, which made Kitu's location on the equatorial axis a prime location for the expansion of the Inkan empire, as well as for Spanish colonization. Furthermore, his description of Shungoloma and Yavirak highlights the drastically different visions of land that the Inkas and Spaniards had that made the colonization of the Americas an ongoing violent project of exploitation and extraction.

As a literate *mestizo* and influential writer of the *colonia*, Garcilaso de la Vega oftentimes misread Inkan intent in order to justify their religious indoctrinations. At the same time, *Comentarios Reales* speaks candidly of the many ways in which Europeans misunderstood Native Andean traditions, language, and intent. For example, at one point he mentions how Inkan emperor Huayna Capac admitted that the Sun God must not be the biggest divine force, which de la Vega reads as an early attempt to understand that there must be a Christian God who has a higher power.[86] At the same time, he condemns Spaniards for misunderstanding different species not existing before their arrival just because the Inkas had assigned names in Kichwa to the new species.[87] His mutual engagement with both Inkan history and tradition as well as contact with Spaniards demonstrates the ambiguous nature of history and the ways in which historical accounts are mediated by larger social factors, in this case, the author's *mestizaje* and necessity

to understand two different and contradictory religions and traditions. The fact that de la Vega tries to find a compromise between the Inka's belief in a Sun God and Spaniard's belief in one Catholic God demonstrates the difficult positionally of *mestizos* in the larger racial hierarchy established by Spanish colonization. At the same time, what de la Vega accomplishes is not the negation of Inkan cosmology as idolatry, but a more nuanced account of Spanish/Inkan contact.

One thing that de la Vega describes in detail in *Cometarios Reales* is Inkan veneration of the Sun God. He explains that Inkas believed that they came from the Sun[88] and while they venerated other cosmological deities, such as the Moon, the Sun was considered the highest power.[89] As the Inkan empire expanded past Cuzco, they built Sun temples wherever they went and taught their *vasallos* (vassals) how to venerate the Sun.[90] Describing the Sun temple in Kitu—Yavirak, de la Vega writes:

> *Y es de notar que los Reyes Incas y sus amautas, que eran los filósofos, así como iban ganando las provincias, así iban experimentando que, cuanto más se acercaban a la línea equinoccial, tanto menos sombra hacía la columna al mediodía, por lo cual fueron estimando más y más las columnas que estaban más cerca de la ciudad de Quitu…Por esta razón las tuvieron en mayor veneración, porque decían que aquéllas eran asiento más agradable para el Sol, porque en ellas se asentaba derechamente y en las otras de lado…Las columnas de Quitu y de toda aquella región derribó el gobernador Sebastián de Belalcázar muy acertadamente y las hizo pedazos, porque idolatraban los indios en ellas.*[91]
>
> (It is worthy of remark that the Inca kings and their *amautas* or philosophers discovered as they extended their provinces, that the nearer the approached the equator, the smaller was the shadow cast by the column at midday. They therefore venerated the columns more and more as they were near to the city of Quito…For this reason they were held in the greatest veneration, it being thought that they afforded the Sun the seat he liked best, since there he sat straight up and elsewhere on one side…The column at Quito and those of all that region were very properly pulled down and broken to pieces by the Governor Sebastián de Belalcázar, because the Indians worshipped them idolatrously.)[92]

Here, Garcilaso de la Vega is referring to the hill that would come to house the temple of the sun—Yavirak. While there are no remaining images of the temple, there exist multiple descriptions of its figure or function that remain. Yavirak was a square temple made of stone with a triangular top and a large door on the west side of the temple. Every sunrise, the rays of the sun would enter through the door and reflect a sun emblem made of gold. Two large columns stood at each side of the main entrance, two perfect gnomons used to observe the two annual solstices. Spanish colonizers destroyed the temple in search of Atawallpa's treasures, which they believed were hidden underneath Yavirak.[93]

The Inkan city of Kitu was an important site due to its geographical approximation to the equator, which makes it optimal for rituals that celebrate annual solstices, such as Intiraymi (Sun Festival). For this reason, Kitu became the second most important Inkan city after Cuzco because they considered a chosen site by the Sun God. Yavirak was built atop Shungoloma for that reason. Therefore, it was also no coincidence then that one of the first acts of colonization was for Sebastián de Belalcázar to destroy Yavirak and build the Spanish city of Quito atop Kitu.

Furthermore, the description of Kitu as a sacred site where "…the sun appreciated laying," alludes to the fertility of the land and the connections among land, life, and sacredness. Land as sacred and life-giving is directly antithetical to colonial visions of land as resource to be extracted and capitalized on, a long-lasting and devastating ideology that has been reformulated at exponential rates under neoliberalism. As Macarena Gomez-Barris defines in *The Extractive Zone*, because colonization requires seeing people and land as extractible, "…the extractive view sees territories as commodities, rendering land as for the taking[…]This viewpoint, similar to the colonial gaze, facilitates the reorganization of territories, populations, and plant and animal life into extractible data and natural resources for material and immaterial accumulation."[94] It is clear

that spatial organization was important for both the Inkan empire and Spanish colonizers, but while the former organized space around ideas of sacred cosmologies and reciprocal respect for all living beings, the latter used urban planning to legitimize colonial ideas of order and rationalization.

Early City Ordinances and the Legalization of Racial and Gender Control

In the following section, I analyze the first Spanish city ordinances that established such colonial ideas of order in Quito. I specifically examine the ways in which race, gender, and sexuality are controlled through colonial ideas of proper hygiene and comportment. I focus on city ordinances because these showcase the very first legal boundaries of social life in Quito as well as demonstrate the ways in which social order mandates change as the city grows and its racial make-up shifts. For example, the original Spanish city ordinances that established residency were based not only on blood laws that determined the differences between Indigenous and Spanish blood, but also royal ranking, which allowed Inkan royal descendants to inhabit the city, but not under the same conditions as Viceroyal officials.[95] At the same time, racial rankings, while also class-based, placed Black slaves at the bottom in all realms of life. These laws highlight the how social order was a complex system that necessitated not just legal boundaries but establishing social ideologies regulating daily life. In what follows, I am interested not only in how racial and class was organized in the new Spanish city, but also how social order was maintained through gender and sexual control.

As Quito continued to grow, Emperor Carlos Quinto and his mother, Queen Juana made the villa of San Francisco de Quito a city on March 14th 1541.[96] At the same time, as the city grew, so did the preoccupation with maintaining order in the city—both, racial, and otherwise. For example, the 1548 ordinances note that the city was becoming *alborotada*—rowdy or unruly—

and as such, new ordinances ordered Spanish men to no longer wear their swords at hand, in order to limit their use; Black slaves would no longer be allowed out alone at night unless accompanied by their master; and *indios* residing in the city would no longer be allowed outside of its limits unless it was to work at the mines.[97] It is clear that by "order," Spanish bureaucrats were invested in restricting the spatial mobility of racial minorities, which here are figured as dangerous. Limiting their access to the city also limited their access to work, resources, and down time. Therefore, it is clear that "order" also meant racial control within the city limits.

Preoccupation with the order of the city was paired with growing interest in controlling hygiene. Early ordinances mandated that everyone clean the streets outside their home, with a fine of six gold pesos who anyone unwilling to abide by these rules.[98] At the same time, proper hygiene cannot be understood as separate from race and gender. Indeed, the colonial dichotomy clean/dirty has always been used to distinguish not only racial boundaries in which Indigenous and Black peoples have been imagined as dirty due to personal habits and rituals, but also living arrangements. This dichotomy has also come to distinguish gendered notions of "dirty," based on colonial heterosexist patriarchal notions of sexual/gendered practices that deem non-heterosexual, non-monogamous, non-capitalist unions as unclean. Hence, hygiene policy has always been part of a larger civilizing process of assimilating Indigenous, Black, and other non-European people by insisting on proper hygiene practices within a larger capitalist heterosexist patriarchal system that defines "cleanliness" in terms of Western notions of medicine, co-habitation, and patriarchal family structures and practices.

Western notions of co-habitation were based on heterosexist patriarchal notions of family, which limited who was assumed to belong in a particular family unit and own the individual plot of land. An ordinance of 1538 began to limit the number of pigs in the city—pigs, here were

assumed to be "dirty" animals. Having pigs in the home was a punishable offense and could cost someone a payment of six of their pigs or leave them with ten days to get rid of the animals. But it was not so much having pigs that was a punishable offense, but having pigs in the home or sleeping with the pigs that was specifically stated in the ordinance.[99] While the wording of "sleeping with the pigs" does not clarify whether there is an assumption of bestiality, the possibility cannot be underestimated since bestiality, sodomy, and masturbation were just some of the *actos nefarios* (nefarious acts) that were carefully regulated in the New World, and usually targeted the Indigenous population. In *Sins Against Nature*, Zeb Tortorici explains that "…bestiality was primarily an indigenous act…" based on colonial tropes of natives committing un-Christian acts.[100] While Spanish men were convicted for acts of sodomy and bestiality, fewer cases were documented, punishment was less severe, and acts were explained as momentary lapses in judgement and not based on their character.[101]

A city ordinance of 1537 mandated that everyone pick up horse manure from the street in front of their homes or inside their patios. While this mandate was made for hygienic reasons, punishment was racially-based. Spanish would be fined half a gold peso, while Indigenous peoples would be thrown out on the street, undressed, and taken to the city mayor naked.[102] The punishment differential, a sexual shaming, demonstrates that "proper hygiene" policies were about more than clean city streets or mining disease for the well-being of inhabitants. Rather, early ordinances demonstrate the colonial use of shaming as a tool of racial and sexual control. Shaming and humiliation were always public acts of punishment, often used to discipline sexual transgressions, and used as a patriarchal tool of control. More than using the culprit as an example, the act of public shaming acts as the ultimate demonstration of power over someone's whole being. The act of public shaming through nakedness also acts as a tool of colonial

ungendering—or the violent abjection of humanity of Indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans.

Hortense Spillers, in "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," explains that slavery was about more than free labor; it was about relegating humanity and the flesh to the condition of chattel, transferrable property or a commodity that can be sold, exchanged, and transferred. The transformation of African slave to chattel, hence, required the Black slave to be ungendered; that is, "…the female body and the male body become a territory of cultural and political maneuver, not at all gender-related, gender-specific."[103] In other words, the slave needed to be undifferentiated as property in order to enact violence. The slave trade was not just the equation of blackness and slavery, but also the equation of blackness with genderlessness, that is to nonhumanity. This was accomplished through the theft of African slaves turned into captive commodities, through the exile from home, and finally through the mutilation of the flesh, often involving dismemberment.[104]

Other ordinances record that punishment for misconduct was also based on racial and class ranking, but for Black slaves, it usually consisted of dismemberment of their sexual organs.[105] An ordinance from 1551 states that if a Black slave escaped and was caught, the punishment for men would be genital mutilation and for women it would be one-hundred lashes with the whip.[106] The same punishment was used against enslaved Black men in order to deter racial mixing. The use of sexual dismemberment was not uncommon in the New World and was often used as punishment for acts such as sodomy and bestiality. Dismemberment then worked as a tool of colonial sexual control, but also justified the ongoing genocide of the Indigenous populations through sterilization and miscegenation with Black slaves.

The fear of racial mixing was indeed an ongoing concern. The fear that Spaniards, many of whom travelled to the New World without their wives or a family in the early years of

colonization in hopes that they would return, were being forced to marry Spanish women as early as 1556; ordinances of that year dictated the Spanish men would be fined if they were not married and had not brought their wives over from Spain.[107] This new law must not be read as an act to protect the many Indigenous, Black, and *mestiza* women who were routinely raped by Spanish men, but rather as a deterrent to racial mixing, which twenty years after the conquest of Quito was becoming an ongoing reality. Fear of racial mixing and anti-miscegenation laws have always been at the forefront of colonial projects and have always been established to protect white determinism and capital investments. Indeed, anti-miscegenation laws were aimed at protecting against racial mixing and the tainting of Spanish blood, lineage, and inheritance, as well as preventing a new race that would "pass" as Spanish and challenge the arbitrary racial social order set in the New World.

On the one hand, the concept of "passing" as Spanish or any higher racial category demonstrates the arbitrary nature of the colonial racial system. On the other hand, it also showcases the ways in which race was not a mere biological determinant, but a category legitimized through social standing, cultural practices, and moral comportment. Indeed, "Miscegenation and the practice of "passing as Spaniard" were serious threats to the maintenance and alignment of the social order and required constant management and surveillance. Thus, physiognomics was the perfect diagnosis system to deal with the threat of passing, and as a result, diagnosis of one's *calidad* (social reputation) came into play as a visual and aural means of assessment of physical traits as indicators of moral character."[108] As Magali M. Carrera explains, "passing as Spaniard" was a threat to the social order being established, due primarily to its arbitrary nature. Many times, judges would have to determine one's racial category based on physical traits and *calidad*—the latter was determined through witness

statement testimony about the accused's economic standing, acquaintances, religious practices, and moral standing in the community.[109] While anti-miscegenation laws were not phrased in legal jurisprudence in Spanish territories—unlike British North America—the union between Spaniards and any other "lesser" race was clearly frowned upon.[110] Most evident is the creation of the caste system to determine the various races the such unions would reproduce within a complex hierarchical system.[111] Second, laws such as the 1556 Ordinance in Quito's Royal Audience demonstrates the fear of racial mixing as well as the need to create legal boundaries against it.

The ordinances analyzed above, from Quito's foundation in 1534 until the end of the sixteenth century—a period of exponential growth for the city and an important moment of transition in the colonization process—demonstrate how preoccupation with city growth and establishing legal order meant creating boundaries for racial and sexual difference. Rules, regulations, and punishment often meant sexual regulation to inhibit racial mixing and justified an ongoing colonial project of genocide.

Conclusion: Trans-Historical Inkan Past/Presents

This chapter engages in a critical account of Kitu as an important part of the Inkan empire not just to demonstrate the tools of Spanish colonization and its legal and geopolitical reorganization, but also to attend to Inkan ways of life in relationship to a larger Andean Indigenous cosmology. I consider "Inka" as a political affiliation, a collective memory, and an ethnic revitalization for contemporary struggles for Indigenous rights.[112] I begin with an analysis of Inkan cosmology that, when juxtaposed with Spanish social order in Kitu, demonstrates the ways in which Spanish colonization was more than just about acquiring land and resources for the Spanish crown—it was a complex project that required the complete reorganization of all

realms of life and one that required hierarchical social relationships not just among people, but in relation to land and life. In other words, as I demonstrated throughout this chapter, Spanish colonization required an extractive view of life in which life is viewed as a commodity to be extracted and capitalized on. The colonial project legitimizes this view through urban and social hierarchical organization based on race, gender, sex, social standing, and religion.

At the same time, I do not want to romanticize Inkan ways of life. Alberto Flores Galindo, in *Europa y el país de los incas: la utopía andina*, argues that "the Inka" is a collective creation elaborated in the sixteenth century as an Andean utopia that imagines pre-Columbian Andean indigeneity as harmonious, cohesive, and with the potential of offering a pan-Andean identity after Spanish colonization. He explains that the Inka, through myths, stories, and ceremonies, comes to represent a pan-Andean identity that oftentimes disregards the intricacies of Inkan history and ways of life.[113] Hence, while I understand "Inka" as a contemporary political revitalization project that requires understanding Spanish colonization through its interaction with Inkan ways of life, my juxtaposition between Inkan cosmology and Spanish colonial ideology is not meant to romanticize pre-Columbian ways on life. Rather, I begin with the history of Kitu and Inkan cosmological beliefs of land and life in order to recuperate pre-colonial/capitalist/extractivist relationships between land and life as a necessary reconceptualization for decolonization.

Similarly to how I complicate the term "Inka," as Guillermo Bonfil Batalla remarks, we must replace the term "*indio*" with more ethnically-specific terms that more appropriately and accurately describe ethnic, regional, and linguistic differences among Native populations.[114] This chapter does not figure "the Inka" in the ways that Flores Galindo does in his work, but rather situates the Inkan city of Kitu within a specific historical period (after the Kitu-Kara and before

Spanish colonization) and geographic location (present-day Quito, an expansion of the Inkan empire northward of present-day Peru). Indeed, in thinking about Kitu within the larger Inkan empire, we must consider that it was not incorporated into the Inkan empire until shortly before Spanish colonization, and had not established uniform social and political life like the Inkan cities south of Kitu. Therefore, although Kitu was not part of the Inkan empire for long before it was incorporated into the Spanish empire, due to Kitu's geographical location on the equatorial line it quickly became an important site for the Inkas who venerated the sun above all other geological and astrological beings, followed only by the moon. Hence, this chapter considers Indigenous relationships to land and life in order to imagine more reciprocal relationships between humans and natural resources that are not hierarchical or exploitative but that do not romanticize the Inkan peoples or situate them as the only Indigenous peoples in the Andean region.

This dissertation begins with the history of Kitu and its importance to the larger Inkan empire in order to challenge Western notions of history that begin with colonization. Martin Lienhard, in *La voz y su huella*, argues that thinking the inception of history as corresponding to colonization is a Eurocentric conception of time and space that centers all subsequent historical moments in relationship to the moment of colonization, wars of Independence, and (post)colonialism.[115] Hence, I center Kitu, rather than Quito, as a foundational site that situates the city as an important geopolitical place due to its approximation to the equator and other important geological formations such as Shungoloma, among other mountains in the Andes mountain range.

Chapter 2

"*La palabra mágica es planificación*:"

Print Media's Influence on Controlling Urban Sprawl and Increasing Tourism

> *Con la independencia, rubricada el 24 de Mayo de 1822 nos vino, sin embargo un gran descalabro económico. Las guerras, aun las más sagradas son un peso insólito sobre las espaldas de los pueblos, y Quito, y Guayaquil, y Cuenca, y Riobamba, y Ambato e Ibarra no estaban preparadas para absorber los tremendos gastos que suponía la provisión de armamentos, ropa y vituallas para los ejércitos, poco menos que improvisados, de los Libertadores. Hubo mucha generosidad y mucho sacrificio. Casi todos los quiteños aportaron con crecidas sumas de dinero y joyas para la causa de la independencia. Pero fue indispensable acudir a los prestamos externos a fin de sacar adelante tan nobles propósitos. En es-tos precisos días, la prensa nacional público la noticia de que en este mes de Mayo de 1974 iba a ser cancelada la deuda de nuestra independencia. Cuando se hubieran imaginado nuestros antepasados que el bien de la Libertad nos iba a resultar tan costoso, que su peso lo habían de sentir doce generaciones!*[116]

Upon achieving independence, made official on May 24th 1822, we were, on the other hand, heavily economically saddled. Wars, even the most holy of them are an unbelievable burden on the backs of the people, and Quito, and Guayaquil, and Cuenca, and Riobamba, and Ambato and Ibarra were unprepared to absorb the tremendous costs of artillery, clothing and other provisions for the freedom fighters, improvised soldiers at that. There was a lot of generosity and sacrifice. Almost every single *quiteño* contributed large sums of money and jewels for the cause that was independence. But it was impossible not to resort to external borrowing in order to carry out such a noble cause. Just recently, the national press published the news that on May 1974 the debt for our independence would be paid off. Our ancestors could not have imagined that our Freedom would be so costly, and that its weight would be felt by twelve generations!

Introduction

On May 24th 1822, on the slopes of the Pichincha volcano, located in Quito, the patriot army, led by General Antonio José de Sucre, defeated the royalists army. This victory, now commemorated as "*La Batalla de Pichincha*" (The Pichincha Battle), declared Quito independent from the Spanish crown. Ecuador is also the first Latin American country to declare independence from Spain, now known as the "*primer grito de independencia*" (first cry of independence). Historians and social scientists have long remarked that although Ecuador gained political independence, subsequently formed its own republic, and has since been recognized as an autonomous nation-state, its colonial social and racial hierarchies as well as political and economic structures and institutions have remained remarkably stable and intact.[117] Certainly, (post)colonial debates have demonstrated that the "post" in (post)colonial does not refer to a historical moment after independence, but rather, a series of shifts that demonstrate an ongoing imperial process to the present day.[118] At the same time, I argue that (post)colonial nations such Ecuador are both (post)colonial, in the sense that they have indeed declared independence from imperial powers like Spain while at the same time developing a (neo)colonial relationship with ongoing imperial powers such as the United States and Canada. This relationship has created an economic, political, and cultural dependency that was exacerbated in the late twentieth century with the advent of neoliberalism, which has added to incremental debt. In the context of Ecuador, I follow Catherine Conaghan and James Malloy, who explain that for Andean countries such as Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, continental independence from Spanish colonization did not translate to economic independence from other empires, such as the United States, which have always had inequitable and extractivist capitalist relationship with Andean nation-states.[119]

In the following chapter, I highlight the connection between colonization and debt in

Ecuador and argue that the debt cycles that followed independence, leading to a debt crisis by the end of the twentieth century and concluding with an economic crash in the early 2000s, is not unprecedented for a (neo)colonial nation-state like Ecuador—a country whose economy is dependent on an inequitable, hierarchical, and (neo)colonial relationship to imperial nations such as Spain and the United States. As economic anthropologist David Graeber explains, the forceful introduction of silver and gold coin economies in Europe, Asia, and the Americas not only exploited the Indigenous populations working in the mines in the New World, but also created a debt economy that was unable to be extinguished by the vast quantities of metals.[120] As I further explain, the ongoing exploitation of a largely Indigenous and *mestizo* labor force and natural resources such as bananas, coffee, roses, and petroleum has maintained an economically dependent (neo)colonial relationship between Ecuador and extractivist economies like the United States. Furthermore, I analyze how the introduction of neoliberalism to the country in the 1970s and the privatization of its petroleum resources led to an escalating debt crisis that the country still is unable to resolve. At the same time, I also conclude with Indigenous struggles against the privatization of the countries petroleum resource as well as a demand for the repatriation of land and subterranean soil as Indigenous land and right.

On May 24th 1974, in commemoration of *La Batalla de Pichincha*, city council member Gonzalo Serrano Fabara remarked that 1974 was the year Ecuador would finally finish paying the debt accrued during the war. As is evident from the epigraph that heads this chapter, council member Serrano Fabara jubilantly claimed that future generations would not have to carry the burden of debt that had been needed to gain independence.[121] Amidst this celebratory declaration, however, the country was accruing hundredths of millions of dollars in loans from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). The IDB was established in 1959 as the largest financial

lender for Latin America and the Caribbean. The bank is currently owned by forty-eight sovereign states, all in North America, Europe, and Asia; it has twenty-six borrowing nations across Latin America and the Caribbean. Between 1970-1976 alone, Ecuador accrued over three million dollars in loans from the IDB.[122] As of 2016, Ecuador has accumulated over two billion dollars of debt to the IDB.[123] This chapter explores Serrano Fabara's ironic statement and uncovers the economic, political, and cultural colonial ties that keep countries like Ecuador in perpetual debt. I am also interested in how money from the IDB was distributed, and especially in how Quito's municipal council invested large sums of money in urbanization projects and expanding the country's tourist economy. Furthermore, Fabara refers to the newspaper publication of the presumed debt repayment for the wars of independence. In what follows, I explore the role that print media, in particular, played in shaping public and private opinion about national and municipal decisions. Most specifically, how media was representing the rapid changes in the country, such as increasing debt, and in the city, such as rapid urban sprawl and the burgeoning tourism industry.

I begin with an overview of the economic neoliberal reforms that facilitated Ecuador's entry into the global market in the 1960s and 1970s. I consider the role of the IDB in helping "modernize" the country through development loans that subsequently led to an exorbitant debt the country was unable to repay. I also analyze the urban development projects funded by the IDB during the 1970s. Furthermore, I investigate the transcribed municipal council's meeting notes from 1970 to 1976 held in the Mayor's office, and argue that Quito's expansion throughout the 1970s led to the country's exorbitant debt, which only furthered the economic and social dependency on imperial powers such as the United States. Moreover, I trace this (neo)colonial relationship back to the wars for independence and explore how (neo)colonial relations are

framed around colonial discourses and technologies of debt, modernity, and urban control. Lastly, I argue that colonial histories of debt are mapped unto the urban city, the space of colonial modernity *par excellence*, alongside racialized and sexualized colonial imaginaries of control, order, and respectability.

In other words, this chapter examines how the increasing preoccupation with the "chaotic" growth of the city served to justify the accruing debt and funding of urbanization projects under the rubric of urban control and social order. It was not only that the decade of the 1970s witnessed the growth of Quito; it was also a period of extreme concern with the urban, cosmopolitanism, and controlling a presumed urban decay. One council meeting in particular, held on March 8th 1973, focused on a few newspaper articles printed earlier that week which suggested that Quito was growing at a chaotic rate, described in one article as anarchist: "*Quito…está creciendo aceleradamente, pero por desgracia de un modo anárquico*." (Quito…is growing at an accelerated rate, but unfortunately, in an anarchic mode[124]). Consequently, this chapter focuses on the role of print media in the national conversation around urban sprawl while also emphasizing the role that news articles had in influencing public policy. While this chapter focuses on the national preoccupation with Quito's urbanization, it demonstrates the ways in which urban control was possible through the disregard of the rural Amazonian region, which was being used as collateral for the increasing debt of the country.

This chapter is based on archival research of both the municipal council's meetings notes from 1970-1976 and news coverage of the time period, specifically news printed in the most popular newspaper of the nation, *El Comercio*. I include news media coverage because it not only demonstrates ongoing social and political preoccupations with "uncontrolled" urban sprawl, but also because news content was clearly important to and informed city council meetings and

discussions. In other words, *El Comercio* is not just the most popular and widespread newspaper in the country, but municipal council meeting notes demonstrate the ways that their publications influenced municipal decisions around urban planning and public perception. Building on Benedict Anderson's insights in *Imagined Communities*, I understand newspapers as cultural texts based on the "profound fictiveness" of human connection and national memory.[125] In other words, I read newspapers as a particular cultural form with the potential for social and political transformation. The articles I have chosen from *El Comercio* have the power to create national narratives about the city and urban growth as well as influence state politics. Therefore, *El Comercio's* articles undeniably demonstrate that city/urban growth and tourism were at the forefront of media outlets, general public concern, and state policy. Consequently, this chapter explores the role that print media play in state politics and public perception.

Furthermore, as Anderson aptly remarks, because newspapers are printed on a daily basis they become quotidian rituals; and while they read individually, they are imagined as consumed by a larger community that is connected, even if ephemerally. As he puts it, "the obsolescence of the newspaper on the morrow of its printing—curious that one of the earlier mass-produced commodities should prefigure the inbuilt obsolescence of modern durables—nonetheless, for just this reason, creates this extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption ('imagining') of the newspaper-as-fiction."[126] As Anderson suggests, news print consumption can best be understood as a ceremony or ritual, in this case, performed daily by citizens of a nation that are united by common preoccupation and fears. In the case of Ecuador, literate, often elite and middle-class *criollo* and *mestizo* readers shared a fear of uncontrolled urban sprawl in the midst of vast economic and political shifts. The ritual that Anderson describes assumes a particular audience—a normative citizen. I choose *El Comercio* because it

imagines a particular normative Ecuadorian citizen and one that is preoccupied with preserving colonial and capitalist ideologies of order, safety, and respectability. In other words, I choose *El Comercio* not just because it is the most widely-read newspaper in the country, but because its audience, conservative, right-leaning, literate, predominantly elite and middle-class *criollo* and *mestizo* readers make up the majority of the readership and demonstrate the importance that this demographic has on the larger nation-building project as well as state politics. In this case, this audience also includes state officials whose function is to maintain these ideologies.

I conclude with the rise of a fervent Indigenous movement in the 1990s in order to demonstrate the effects that the urbanization projects of the 1970s in Quito had on Indigenous communities in the rural Amazon. My exploration of colonial dichotomies of center/periphery and urban/rural highlights how the exorbitant changes in the capital were only possible through the restricted extraction of petroleum reserves in the Amazon in which the Amazon was used a collateral for the loans that the country was acquiring. I analyze an Indigenous march organized from the Ecuadorian Amazon to Quito, which best demonstrates the (neo)colonial connection among neoliberalism, debt, urban expansion, and social control, while at the same time validating the ways in which Indigenous communities have continually challenged colonial histories of land and resource extraction.

Newspapers and National Discourse(s): A Brief Overview of Print Media's Influence on State Politics in Ecuador

Public means of communication have always existed and have been crucial to the formation of communities and nations. As Benedict Anderson describes, in the eighteenth century, the novel and the newspapers "…provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community that is the nation."[127] Before Spanish colonization in the Andean

region, news, stories, and historical narratives were recorded through music, drawings and/or *quipus*—the latter consists of a series of knots threaded in patterns to document government records, census reports, and calendrical information. During Spanish rule, the Royal Audience of Quito continued to use oral means for communication. Given the small numbers of literate people, exclusively made up of the Catholic clergy, information was spread during mass, or in the market square.

It was not until January 5th 1792 that Ecuador witnessed the printing of its first newspaper—*Primicias de la Cultura de Quito*. *Primicias* was established by a social organization, *Escuela de la Concordia*, a literary society that promoted social and economic progress in the region. The newspaper averaged sixteen pages per publication and ran every fifteen days. Given its frequency, it was not meant to record daily news stories, but rather contained opinion pieces, cultural essays, and speeches. While the introduction of print news was an important moment for the region, it still maintained a limited literate audience. Furthermore, in terms of content, it assumed a *criollo* and/or *mestizo* audience—publishing mostly religious news and elite cultural content.

Notably, I want to point out that *Primicias* was introduced at an important transitional moment for Ecuador. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Royal Audience was losing political power and the Patriot Army was preparing for the wars of independence, which would take place in 1822. *Primicias'* founder, Dr. Eugenio Espejo, an important political figure for the Royal Audience, was also one of the founders of Ecuador's independence movement, promoting political separatism from Spain. Therefore, it can be inferred that the role of the introduction of newsprint in Ecuador was to promote burgeoning ideas of modernity, including independence and the formation of a new republic, in the region. With the advent of independence also came

more newspapers and Ecuador's first printing press. Subsequent newspapers published issues on a weekly basis and no longer printed longer essays but instead focused on more immediate local and international news stories.

Newspapers have always served as an important tool for the nation. While they are able to disseminate news and have a wide-range of public engagement, they are also powerful technologies of cultural interpellation with its readers. While many newspapers are privately owned, government-sponsored newspapers most clearly demonstrate the importance of newspapers in disseminating not just stories, but national discourses. For example, in 1895, the newly established Ecuadorian republic founded its own newspapers, *Periódico Oficial* or *Gaceta Oficial*. Its role was to disseminate government news and documents, but they also published essays justifying recent government decisions.

Currently, *El Comercio* is Ecuador's most popular newspaper, with an estimate of over two hundred thousand newspapers sold on a weekly basis across the nation. The newspaper was first released in 1906 as *Diario de la Mañana*, increasing in popularity by mid-century. It is an independent newspaper, with a center-right political view. While *El Comercio* is widely read nation-wide, because it was established and is printed in Quito, it is the capital's most important news source. While print news has dwindled with the advent of the Internet, newspapers such as *El Comercio* continue to serve as primary news sites for the nation. Its website, www.elcomercio.com registers an average of twenty million visitors per month.

I include this particular newspaper in my analysis not only because it is the most popular newspaper in Ecuador, but also because after conducting research into the municipal council meeting notes, it became evident that the council members of the time considered *El Comercio's* news in their meeting and that it influenced their decisions. While conducting archival research

in the Metropolitan Archive, I came across a clipped newspaper article attached to the municipal council meeting notes for March 8th 1973. The article described the lack of green spaces in Quito's residential areas. One solution to this "urban problem" was proposed by the urbanist Willis Martin, a Ph.D. student living in Ecuador on a Fulbright Scholarship. Martin suggested that Ecuador's new neighborhoods should be structured into smaller closed-off pedestrian sectors where cars ride alongside the periphery, small neighborhoods called *supermanzanas*. With less vehicular traffic, Martin suggests, the sectors would be *safer* for community members: "*El diseño de supermanzanas produciría una circulación vehicular periférica, lo cual haría la vida más segura dentro de las supermanzanas*." (The design of *supermanzanas* would create peripheral vehicular traffic, which would make life safer inside the *supermanzanas*).[128] Willis Martin's proposal to order the growing city in *supermanzanas* in order to redirect vehicular traffic, increase pedestrian walkways, and increase parks and green spaces highlights that these changes should be made to help increase production and transport people to commercial centers.[129] That the article, neatly clipped and included in the archive, sparked a vivid conversation about the necessity for the municipality to acquire and designate more green spaces around the city is indicative of the importance of *El Comercio* in state decision-making. In this chapter, I consider newspapers as a particular cultural form, a far-reaching cultural product that has the power to help make the nation cohere as well as influence the state.

The 1970s: A Decade of Economic and Geopolitical Change

Between 1960-1963, President José María Velasco Ibarra, followed by President Otto Arosema maintained a leftist, anti-United States political stance that led to a four-man military junta seizing power and ousting Arosema on July 1963. Both Velasco Ibarra and Arosema had publicly declared a strong commitment to agrarian reform, considering that Ecuador was one of

the most unequal distribution of farm land in Latin America at the time.[130] At the same time, neither of them were able to pass any reforms to that effect. According to the junta, they feared that growing discontent from poor rural populations would spark a communist revolt given the promises for agrarian reform that until then were disregarded. The junta was meant to be a transitory rule until the country could implement basic economic reforms and decided to carry out, at last in theory, an agrarian reform law that would dramatically change the circumstances of farmers and land distribution. In 1964, they passed the Agrarian Reform Law that abolished the *huasipungo* system, a feudal land tenure system in which tenant farmers (*huasipungeros*) were forced to work for landlords up to six days a week in exchange for half the free-labor rate and a small plot of land (*huaspungo*).[131] Unfortunately, the Reform Law did little to alleviate the material circumstances of the peasant class and only about half of the people estimated benefitted from the reform.[132]

Increased taxes and a drop in banana exports signaled an escalating economic crisis and a violent protest ensued in March 1966. Led by students and labor unions, the protest concluded with the military junta stepping down from power. Based on popular vote, President José María Velasco Ibarra was elected back to power. Unable to resolve the economic crisis and continuing administrative mismanagement, Velasco Ibarra lost popularity, but before he could be ousted, he assumed dictatorial rule and dismissed Congress and the Supreme Court. Subsequently, he passed unpopular economic reforms, devalued the *sucre* (Ecuador's former local currency), and placed strict tariff controls. The military, which was under the command of Jorge Queirolo G., finally overthrew Velasco Ibarra on February 1972.

The military once again resumed power—this time headed by military Army Chief, General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara. But unlike last time, Rodriguez Lara's regime was long-

term, lasting from 1972-1979. During this time, Ecuador experienced the largest exploitation of petroleum resources, extreme economic structural changes, and the largest urban growth—a trend which had begun in 1961 with the discovery of crude oil in the Ecuadorian Amazon. For example, in 1972, Ecuador joined Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) as the second smallest producer, allowing Ecuador to implement a series of reforms that would help pay Ecuador's extensive foreign debt.[133] Due to Ecuador's high foreign debt, the country was considered a "high-risk'" country for foreign investment. Hence, supranational loaning institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the World Bank (WB) pressured Ecuador to endorse and legislate structural adjustment policies that would "provide adequate incentives[…]along the lines of exploration incentives currently in effect in other countries seeking foreign investment.'"[134] In other words, Ecuador had to establish an "…attractive fiscal environment…" by allowing exploration and production of their crude oil reserves. As Susana Sawyer states in *Crude Chronicles*, "In line with directives from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, these changes echoed the neoliberal mantra that reverberated throughout the continent: 'privatization, liberalization, deregulation, decentralization.'"[135]

While petroleum exports facilitated Ecuador's entry into the global market, it also helped the country position itself as financially stable to supranational loaning institutions such as the IDB. Based on the loan quantities alone, it is clear that the IDB was and perhaps continues to be one of the largest and most influential financiers throughout Latin America since 1959. It connected the American hemisphere through a web of economic debt, exacerbated during the late twentieth century by the neoliberal orders of restructuring, privatization, and decentralization. All borrowing nations, in this case, almost all of Latin American and the Caribbean began to accrue

debt from lending nations, beginning with the United States, and now including Canada, Western Europe, and China. Borrowing nations depend on the IDB and its funding nations for almost *all* development projects from infrastructure, education, to environmental sustainability. In the case of Ecuador, the IDB not only funded major infrastructural projects throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but as I argue, it continued a (neo)colonial legacy of transnational connections that began with Spain and continued well long after the wars for independence with the global north. As political scientists Catherine M. Conaghan and James M. Malloy, in *Unsettling Statecraft*, state: "Independence, however, did nothing to change the place of these countries in the international division of labor. Like the rest of Latin America, the three republics [Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia] continued as outward-oriented economies."[136] Indeed, the (neo)colonial relationships of power between Ecuador and imperial superpowers such as Spain and the United States have been maintained, as one external debt seems to follow yet another.

Debt, which as demonstrated above is not a new phenomenon for (post)colonial nation-states, continues to be one of the main components carried over and maintained by neoliberalism. In the case of imperial powers such as the United States, the 1970s neoliberal era offered a way of decreasing its debt by demonetizing the gold standard; by demonetizing gold, the United States abandoned conventional exchange values, disallowing foreign governments from cashing in surplus dollars for gold.[137] On the other hand, for (post)colonial nations with monocultural economies, the new dollar standard meant a massive transfer of wealth to wealthier countries[138] as well as the potential to create debt without limits.[139] Rather than accruing internally, as was the case in the nineteenth century,[140] with the neoliberalization of the economy, it was supranational institutions such as the WB, IMF, and IDB, which managed and mediated the debt relationship between imperial and (post)colonial nations at a global scale.[141] In fact, debt marks the global

relationship between developed and developing nations, which not coincidently are also imperial and (post)colonial nations.

The 1970s was the decade of neoliberalization for Ecuador and one that would change the geopolitical and economic structure of the country in drastic and irreparable ways. Neoliberalism is an economic rationale aimed at privatizing, expanding, and creating new consumer markets. Through globalization and the increasing inequitable gap between over-developed and developing countries, neoliberal policies—pushed by the IMF, the WB, and the IDB—were implemented in order to solve the financial problems of indebted nations. In Latin America, the neoliberal turn began in the mid- to end- of the twentieth century. According to David Harvey, Chile was the first Latin American country to experiment with neoliberal state formation, after Pinochet's coup, by privatizing public assets and social security and facilitating foreign investment.[142] Harvey describes Chile as "a brutal experiment carried out in the periphery" under the support of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.[143] Overall, in Latin America, neoliberalism not only signified the shifting role of the state in the economy, but accounts for the pervading cultural norms of individualism and consumption, which allowed people to imagine their participation in the modernization of the ever-changing nation.[144]

Globalization has not actually created a more equitable relationship between nations, but rather has continued to solidify the gap between over-developed and developing nations, a gap that was established in the colonial era. Arturo Escobar affirms that the crisis of neoliberalism in Latin America is the continuation of how the continent was configured with the introduction of modernity since the conquest.[145] On the one hand, globalization has blurred the colonialist dividing line that defines center/periphery by amplifying the geographic space of the neoliberal global market, in turn, increasingly homogenizing consumer subjects.[146] On the other hand,

globalization and the expansion of an evolutionary capitalist system further perpetuate processes of "othering" which reestablish the links between capitalism and colonialism.[147]

Since 1970, with the petroleum boom that allowed Ecuador to enter the global market, Quito has risen as a cosmopolitan urban center—amidst new tourists attractions as well as commercial and financial centers—following in the structural footsteps of modern cities around the world.[148] From 1971 to 1976, the expansion was structured towards the north, around and north of La Carolina Park, which marks the edge of La Mariscal neighborhood. The expansion also led to the commercialization of these new neighborhoods, with two new shopping centers built on two of Quito's main avenues; La Mariscal quickly became a commercial, administrative, and tourist hub.[149] In the past few decades, La Mariscal has gained popularity among young locals and tourists (it is sometimes referred to as "Gringo Landia"). Its rise in popularity is due to its abundance of entertainment choices: restaurants, cafés, bars, shopping centers, bookstores, art galleries, and hostels/hotels targeting middle-class youth and tourists.[150] I want to reiterate that La Mariscal's transformation into the commercial and entertainment haven it is today coincides with Ecuador's entry into the global market at the end of the twentieth century.[151]

Neoliberalism, as an economic logic, seeks to formulate policies that privatize markets, including public assets, by deregulating state functions and facilitating market expansion, free trade, and investment. At the same time, as many scholars have demonstrated, neoliberalism, like all economic principles, is built on and perpetuates social, political, cultural, and moral edicts that work to reify its existence and functionality. As Lisa Duggan asserts, in the United States, neoliberalism was both a response to global changes that "…challenged the dominance of Western institutions…" as well as an attack on social movements such as the Civil Rights and Black Power movements that fought for wealth and resource redistribution.[152] In the context of

Latin America, neoliberalism created a new relationship between the north and south, following new flows and exchanges of capital, peoples, ideas, and values. Neoliberalism across the Americas, which introduced both economic and social policies with the aim of decentralizing state functions in order to protect free labor markets, also enforced neoliberal logics that depoliticized discourses around difference, equality, and rights by folding these into the market (i.e. "difference" as a productive means to cultivate human capital).

Indeed, the 1970s was a decade of transitions for Ecuador. James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer describe the 1970s as a "…period of transition, serving to set the stage for new world order. It began with a serious involution in the capitalist world order, a systemic crisis of overproduction, and a major 'profit crunch; that put an end to the 'golden age' of capitalism.[153]" On the one hand, the neoliberalization of the economy signaled an investment in urbanization and tourism, while on the other hand, it resulted in the exploitation of the petroleum reserves in the Amazonian region as well as an escalating debt that led to the devaluation of the local currency to such an extent, that it required the dollarization of all currency by 2000.

While here I have outlined some of the economic and geopolitical changes that Ecuador was undergoing throughout the 1970s, in the following section I examine the ways in which newspapers, the church, and the state, specifically Quito's municipal council, worked in tandem to legitimize funding urban renewal projects to expand Quito's financial district as well as invest in a nascent tourism industry that was imagined as an untapped market able to help pay the escalating debt that the country was quickly accruing.

'Quito…está creciendo…de un modo anárquico:' Controlling Urban Sprawl and Promoting Tourism

Before 1970, the area of El Panecillo was already at the forefront of the Municipal

Council's agenda as part of Quito's modernization projects. At a meeting on October 5th 1970, participants recounted an earlier conversation about the possibility of installing a monument atop the hill. While council members were debating whether the municipality would fund placing a *teleférico* (cable cars) on Luz Loma on the western side of Quito or whether they would place a *funicular* (railway) on El Panecillo, Dr. Axdrúbal de la Torre, city council vice president, interjected to remind the Council that they had discussed installing a monument on top of the Panecillo and that they had debated whether it should be a monument of the Virgin Mary or of Atawallpa, the last Incan emperor.[154] Having a monument of Atawallpa on top of the Panecillo would be a constant reminder of Ecuador's colonial past, in a different way in which the Virgen del Panecillo is now a reminder of Ecuador's colonial history and violent religious colonization. As explained in the previous chapter, the Inkan empire revered Yavirak, the sun temple, which was placed on top of Shungoloma, present day Panecillo. Yavirak was covered in gold, which Spanish colonizers stripped before destroying the temple. Indeed, having a monument of Atawallpa would be a reminder of an Indigenous past violently eradicated, rather than a Catholic colonial past/present that is celebrated with the installment of the Virgin.

The decision on whether the monument would be of the Virgin Mary or Atawallpa is significant in that a new major tourist site would symbolize the ways in which the city's history is honored and remembered, but the monument is also important in that it demonstrates the state's financial investments in nation-building. The city mayor, Sixto A. Durán Ballén, responded by stating that coincidentally a few days before, a private committee met with him to propose funding the construction of a monument of the Virgin Mary on the Panecillo, to which Durán Ballén agreed given that the project would no longer have to be funded by the municipality. Durán Ballén explained that if another private party were interested in funding the

construction of an Atawallpa monument, the municipality would allow it, as long as they would not need to fund it. The conversation between the mayor and Dr. de la Torre reveals how funding became the determining factor for municipal projects.[155] Until then, most of the meetings notes indicate the city's inability to fund more pressing projects like the "Proyecto de Agua Potable," which would provide all of Quito with potable water. While the IDB had agreed to fund the majority of the project and even extended their loan from three to seven years, the IDB asked the municipality to cover a small portion of the costs, which they were unable to do.[156]

While the decision on whether the monument would be the Virgin Mary or Atawallpa did not fall on the Municipal Council, but rather was considered superfluous in comparison to the cost of the project, it is important in that it demonstrates the state's investment in cost-efficiency as well as the ways in which (post)colonial nations are able to reconvert their colonial histories for a tourist audience. In other words, for the Municipal Council it is not important whether a monument of Atawallpa or the Virgin Mary is placed on top of the hill; it is a matter of a cost-effective investment in a colonial artifact that either way would be appropriated by the state in order to develop a new market.

At the same time, what is missing from the conversation with Dr. de a Torre is the fact that the municipality had already voted to place a monument of the Virgin Mary atop the Panecillo back in 1892. On August 6th 1892, Father Julio María Matovelle passed a legislative decree, which stated that in the name of Quito, the government would pay a total of ten thousand *sucres* to construct the monument. While the decree was never fulfilled, in 1947 Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, then mayor of Quito, donated ten thousand more *sucres* to the construction of the statue. It was not until 1954 that Cardenal Carlos María de la Torre created a committee, led by the Missionary Oblates of Mary, that would be in charge of the construction of the monument.[157]

The committee signed a contract with the Spanish architect in charge of her construction, Agustín de la Herrán Matorras, in the 1970s. Herrán Matorras gathered and numbered the seventy-four hundred aluminum pieces that now comprise the statue and shipped them from Europe to Ecuador. Her assembly was complicated; while the first piece was placed in 1971, she was not completed until 1975. She currently holds the record for the largest aluminum structure worldwide and is number fifty-eight in the list of tallest structures around the world—taller than Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. While hollow inside, she weights one-hundred and twenty-four thousand kilograms, which is over two-hundred seventy-thousand pounds.

It is imperative to highlight how the Church and the state have always worked together to execute national projects. In this case, the history of the Virgen del Panecillo, which dates back to the end of the nineteenth century, demonstrates how Father Matovelle, who had joined the Constitutional Assembly in 1883, used his political and religious influence to pass the legislative decree to brand the Panecillo with the Virgin Mary. The fact that his order was not accomplished until over ninety years later is important in that it demonstrates contemporary economic and social imperative of reconverting colonial images for new tourist ventures.

I understand the construction of Legarda's "Virgen Apocalíptica" on the Panecillo in 1975 as a reconversion—an economically viable investment at the city center that used the history and position of the Panecillo as a form of cultural capital. On the one hand, art—specifically art that fuses both colonial and contemporary styles—such as the monument of the Virgin would become and be sold at major tourist sites. In "Cultural Reconversion," Latin American cultural studies scholar Nestór García Canclini considers how modern cities reorganize their cultural symbols and institutions to contain seeming disorder. He argues that present-day Latin American cities no longer stratify their urban landscapes through old/new or

colonial/modern, but rather "reconvert" traditional and modern symbols and institutions to maximize their cultural capital—repositioning cultural capital to maximize its yield.[158]

In a news article published in March 1960, an Argentine tourist enthusiastically remarked that Quito was able to conserve its colonial aesthetics within a modern city, which he juxtaposed to Bolivia as a place "*...que se mantiene casi en su primitivismo precolombino*" (…that maintains its pre-Columbian primitivism).[159] The tourist's observation points to a racist, specifically anti-Indigenous perception of what Latin American urban centers should be like. That is, he celebrates its colonial history, while at the same time relegates indigeneity to a primitive past only existent before Spanish colonization. In addition, the perfect (post)colonial urban city is the place where tourism is lauded as the neat amalgamation of colonial and modern and one that functions to obfuscate the violence that is required in the act of colonization, Indigenous genocide, and displacement, as well as in subsequent national reconversion projects.

By the beginning in the 1950s, the Ecuadorian government was actively targeting the tourism industry, specifically focusing on areas such as Otavalo and Galapagos—where the former was marketed as a "*misión cultural indígena*" (cultural indigenous mission).[160] Otavalo, which is roughly sixty miles away from Quito, relegated indigeneity to the urban periphery. At the same time, the exploitation of the petroleum reserves in the Ecuadorian Amazon in the 1960s increased internal Indigenous migration into urban centers such as Quito and Guayaquil, creating a crisis for Quito's municipality, which was working at constructing Quito as a new tourist destination that would showcase Quito's colonial history, rather than the Indigenous present. In other words, Otavalo was constructed as an Indigenous relic *par excellence*, while Quito was showcased for its colonial aesthetics. The Virgen del Panecillo comes to represent the ways in which Quito reimagined itself in the 1970s for the new tourism market.

The juxtaposition of Quito as the colonial historical center of the country as Otavalo as the country's Indigenous periphery demonstrates the ways in which the nation-state does not want to and indeed profits from its colonial history. García Canclini notes that reconversion "…further undermines the belief that the secularization of cultural spheres—their autonomy and autonomous development—contributes to the expansion, experimental innovation, and democratization of societies. Finally, reconversion casts into doubt the idea that logistic or nationalistic fundamentalisms can be overcome by new global technologies of communication that also encourage cultural creativity."[161] In other words, the decision to install a monument modeled after a seventeenth century colonial art piece illustrates the contemporary contradictions between secularism and nationalistic fundamentalisms. That is, the Virgen del Panecillo is a constant reminder that the secular democratic Ecuadorian nation-state cannot overcome and indeed, does not want to overcome its colonial past.

At the same time, in order to frame Quito's colonial history it requires an intentional misremembering of past and present violence to Indigenous peoples. On October 5th 1970, council member Don Miguel Espinosa Páez interrupts Duran Ballén to add that he opposed to construction of any monument on the Panecillo because, according to him, a man-made construction would drastically change the physiognomy of the hill and that would go against the natural beauty of the urban landscape that *quiteños* had grown to know.[162] Furthermore, Espinosa Páez' comment is important in that it signals an integral misremembering of Ecuador's colonial history that is necessary for the colonial project from its inception until today. Haitian historian, Michel-Rolph Trouillot in *Silencing the Past*, considers the many silences that are necessary in the making of history. That is, he recognizes the complicated narratives of power that produce certain historical discourses while silencing others.[163] By claiming that the monument of the

Virgen del Panecillo would change an urban landscape that had always existed untouched by man-made objects works to silence the Inkan reverence for Yavirak as well as the violent Spanish looting of the gold edifice after Atawallpa's death.

The misremembering of a vibrant Indigenous past and present has always been at the core of the colonial project, which necessitates the strategic reconversion of history to mark colonial narratives of belonging and propriety. That Quito's historical center becomes the site of contestation between past/present is important because it is the site in which the Spanish colonizers became anew and turned Kitu into Quito. When thinking about Quito as a historical site, Eduardo Kingman comments that the essence of the *quiteñidad* we have come to know is made possible through the legitimization of selective memories that have been domesticated and ossified by connecting these memories to an imagined origin story.[164] In this context, Quito's historical center becomes the place of origin, whole memory is rebranded and sold as a commodity.

While that meeting was held when construction was just in the very beginning stages, on October 1970, the same conversation occurred before the monument's inauguration five years later, on March 25th 1975. Council member, Don Andres Vallejo Arcos took the floor to protest not only the little input that the Municipal Council had with the committee in charge of the monument's construction, but also to protest how "ugly" the monument looked. Galo de la Torre, Mario Arias Salazar, and Mario Jaramillo Rodriguez all agreed. De la Torre went so far as to claim that the monument "*...en vez de agraciar a Quito lo único que ha hecho es darle una fisonomía pueblerina*" (...instead of complimenting Quito the only thing is does is give it a provincial feature.)[165] De la Torre's comment demonstrates the contemporary juxtaposition between old/new, colonial/modern, and provincial/urban and how the Ecuadorian people,

including state officials, were figuring out ways to remodel old/colonial/provincial images in new/modern/urban ways, specifically for tourist revenue.

Given the escalating debt that the country was accruing throughout this period, tourism as a new market that would help boost the country's economy cannot be underestimated. Actually, other than petroleum, tourism was the second most profitable revenue source for the country. One year after the inauguration of the monument, to commemorate the *Batalla de Pichincha* in 1822, Father Agustin Moreno, author of *Quito eterno* (1975), declared in his speech that: "*El petróleo se terminará pronto[…]Pero el cofre de nuestras maravillas de arte[…]será el imán duradero de una corriente turística cada vez más pujante y numerosa[…]La obligación de mostrar a todos los pueblos el fruto del que hace artístico de nuestros genios en siglos pasados es, pues, esencialmente patriótica y urgente…*" (Petroleum reserves will run out soon[…]But the chest that contains our wondrous art[…]will be the enduring magnet of our touristic currents ever more thriving and numerous[…]The duty to show everyone the fruits of our towns that make geniuses of our artist ancestors is, well, essentially patriotic and urgent…)[166] Moreno's words highlight the importance of the construction of the monument of the Virgen del Panecillo specifically in the mid-1970s. While her idea was imagined as early as the late nineteenth century, it was not until the mid-1970s that Ecuador was invested in increasing tourism and had the financial resources to carry out tourist projects around the city. According to Moreno, while natural resources such as petroleum were and continue to be important source of income for Ecuador, tourism became a second beacon of hope for an ever increasing debt-economy. While Ecuador started to promote international tourism in the late 1950s, it was in 1978 that they declared Quito a Cultural Heritage of Humanity in order to increase tourism specifically in Quito.[167]

At the same time, Moreno's words point to the importance of tourism itself as a commodity to be exploited, especially within urban centers like Quito. Indeed, tourism was not just at the forefront of state reforms, but also a growing preoccupation among the larger national population, which was informed by media outlets that centered tourism as an important market in need of investment and protection. For example, newspaper headlines included the following: "*Turismo, sinónimo de paz*;"[168] "*Se han duplicado los ingresos por concepto de turismo hacia el pais*;"[169] and "*En Quito hay que eliminar cosas que son antiturismo*"[170] ("Tourism, synonym of peace;" "Income has doubled due to concept of tourism in the country;" and "We must eliminate all things antitourism in Quito"). While on the one hand, tourism is celebrated for its ability to yield money and promote peace due to its supposed ability to stabilize the economy[171], on the other hand, citizens and the municipality are called upon to stop things considered "anti-tourism," including removing street vendors and panhandlers from high-tourist areas like the historical center.[172] The latter points to a racist and classist vision of Quito as a sanitized tourist haven, free of social inequality, while at the same time, it further exacerbates the social and economic circumstances that led to unemployment and the informal economy.

I am interested in how preoccupations with the "chaotic" growth of the city served to justify the accruing debt and funding of urbanization projects under the rubric of control and modernization. It was not only that the decade of the 1970s witnessed the growth of Quito, the 1970s was a period of extreme concern with the urban, cosmopolitanism, and controlling urban decay. As García Canclini notes, cultural reconversion is also about reorganizing seeming disorder. The placement of the monument atop the Panecillo is significant in that she reorganized the city in a very specific way—she set the touristic barriers of Quito, from the Panecillo at the edge of the historical center to the Mitad del Mundo on the northern edge of the city. Indeed,

reorganizing the city was an important tourist investment to a growing urban city that was growing in a presumably "chaotic" manner. Quito's municipal council meeting notes during the 1970s indicate multiple urban development projects implemented by Public Works Ministry, a government organization in charge of planning, developing, and regulating infrastructure and transport around the country. From 1970 to 1976, projects included urbanizing and commercializing "Quito Norte," revitalizing the colonial center, and funding the area of El Panecillo.

One council meeting in particular, held on March 8th 1973, focused on a few newspaper articles printed earlier that week which suggested that Quito was growing at a chaotic rate, described in one article as anarchist: "*Quito…está creciendo aceleradamente, pero por desgracia de un modo anárquico*." (Quito…is growing at an accelerated rate, but unfortunately, in an anarchic mode).[173] The language of safety that permeates the news article, when juxtaposed with anarchism, is an effective discursive move for the quickly growing nation in which neoliberal change also meant the suppression of seemingly dangerous notions of socialism, anti-capitalism, and anarchism.[174] As outlined earlier in the chapter, the military-led regime of General Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, which lasted from 1972-1979 was invested in suppressing growing leftist and anarchist sentiments fervent in the 1960s, when large groups of workers and students were influenced by the Cuban Revolution and sought massive agrarian reforms in the country. One example that highlights the antagonistic relationship between Rodriguez Lara's term and leftist/anarchist organizing is the work of anarchist singer-songwriter, Jaime Guevara, known for singing ballads in the streets of Quito, who composed his first song "Mi general del mercedes benz" about Rodriguez Lara's brutal regime.

Like histories of economic debt, the obsession with urban reordering, control, and safety

is also longstanding. One reader of *El Comercio*, complaining about the escalating number of car thefts in the city, wrote to the opinion's page that "*...lo que corresponde en primer término es un control más estricto de la ciudad. Cierto es que hay limitaciones por el crecimiento urbano.*" (…what is needed, first of all, is a stricter control of the city. Indeed there are limitations due to urban growth).[175] The connection between worries over safety and urban sprawl is clear in his comments, which call for stricter laws. This connection between social control and urban organization is not new in the 1970s, during a moment of unexpected urban growth, however, but rather dates back to histories of colonial organization.

As I argued in the previous chapter, the colonial organization of the city was at the forefront of Quito's conquest. Furthermore, early city ordinances from the Royal Audience of Quito highlight the connection between controlling urbanization and social control. As Angel Rama has demonstrated, the colonial Latin American cities implemented spatial ideologies that functioned to control racial, sexual, and class delimitation on the New World. Certainly, the new urban renewal projects of the 1970s were proposed as solutions that would bring order to the city, with new infrastructure to help reduce traffic, more green spaces to reduce pollution, and new monuments to beautify the city in order to increase tourism. While the latter are city reforms that interest the national population, market-logic and –expansion structures economic and social policies under neoliberalism. In other words, as this chapter demonstrates, the state—in this case, Quito's city municipality—is first and foremost invested in capital revenue. Therefore, the tourist investment made to expand Quito in the 1970s were ordered with tourism revenue in mind, at the cost of the escalating debt that the country accrued with the exploitation of the Amazonian petroleum resources as collateral.

Conclusion: Urban Opulence/Indigenous Displacement

Later in his speech that heads this chapter, Councilman Serrano Fabara states: "Planning is the magic word."[176] Undeniably, planning the future of Quito as a modern cosmopolitan center was at the forefront of the thinking of municipal administrators and politicians during the 1970s. Further, it justified increasing IDB loans to fund such projects, allowing the opulence of the city to obfuscate the destruction of the Amazon and the exploitation of the Indigenous communities and lands being occupied by companies such as Texaco Oil Company. Lastly, planning and urban development were carefully guided by colonial edicts of order, hierarchy, and respectability. Quito, the new cosmopolitan city would align with the "educated, courteous, hospitable, respectful, and noble" colonial city of yesteryear.[177]

Following the petroleum boom of the 1960s and 1970s in Ecuador, the 1980s has been coined "*la decada perdida*" (The Lost Decade), a term used to describe the financial situation throughout Latin America. In Ecuador, the 1980s was a period of debt crisis caused by exorbitant debts accumulated during the previous decade, many of which were used for urban expansion and revitalization, as I have argued above. It also meant that Ecuador, using its petroleum exports as financial liability, completely privatized the petroleum economy, including leaving OPEC in order to completely deregulate petroleum drilling. Spiraling out of control, the national currency lost value until the country was forced to dollarize at the end of the 1990s. In conclusion, I focus on the effects that the debt crisis has had on the Indigenous peoples inhabiting petroleum-heavy areas in the Amazon, south-east of Quito, and how Indigenous organizations mobilized for territorial sovereignty. I want to reiterate how the urbanization of Quito in the 1970s was made possible by the invisibilization of Indigenous displacement in the outskirts by transnational petroleum corporations.

While the 1980s is known as "*la decada perdida*," the 1990s is known as "*la decada*

ganada" (The Victorious Decade) for Indigenous people of Ecuador because unprecedented changes were accomplished. Further, the 1990s also witnessed the birth of fervent indigenous organizing, best represented by the emergence of organizations such as CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), the National Union of Educators, and Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement—a left-wing Indigenous political party that was formed in 1996 and rapidly increased in popularity. Indigenous organizing took shape through national, regional, and local organizations, all of which protested the state's actions on land populated by large communities of indigenous peoples. By implementing mantras such as, "*Fluye el petroleo, sangra la selva*" (As oil flows, the jungle bleeds) and organizing marches to the capital, these organizations challenged long-standing discriminatory sentiments and laws that allowed for the exploitation and severe marginalization of indigenous populations.[178]

On April 1992, five thousand Indigenous people marched from the Puyo, in the Pastaza Province to Quito—a two hundred and thirty mile distance. The march was led by the Organización de los Pueblos Indigenas de Pastaza (OPIP), specifically to commemorate the five hundred year struggle for Indigenous political autonomy begun by Jumandi, an Amazonian hero condemned to death by the Spanish.[179] Many people carried palm-wood lances and wore toucan headdresses, which are symbols of Amazonian Indigenous liberation. The march was not only symbolic and representative of over thirty years of exploitation of oil reserves in the area but also demanded that the state recognize Indigenous populations and lands as autonomous through land adjudication reforms and constitutional recognition. CONAIE and OPIP proposed the *Acuerdo Territorial* (Territorial Agreement) to Congress, which requested that the state recognize the Ecuadorian Republic as a pluri-national nation and provide indigenous populations with autonomy over ancestral *territory* and not only land, which they previously had been granted.

The distinction between land and territory is key since control over the land allowed Indigenous populations to freely inhabit the land, but control over the territory would mean that they also controlled subterranean areas that were state property.[180] These demands were denounced as subversive by conservative sectors of Congress and partially dismissed, but the march was followed by future organizing and protesting.[181]

That subterranean territorial rights were *not* granted is indicative of how the value of land, natural resources, and Indigenous peoples have fluctuated to serve empire, (post)colonial superpowers, and capitalism along with its multiple iterations. Further, Indigenous organizing for territorial autonomy results from the neoliberal patriarchal state that forces Indigenous communities to (re)act to and against the logic of privatization and property that only legitimize the right of corporations and states to own people, land, trees, soil, plants, rocks, and other parts of the cosmos.[182] I conclude with the juxtaposition of the capital city of Quito and the Ecuadorian Amazonian region in order to highlight how center/periphery models continue to spatially legitimize difference and inequality. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, investment in Quito was possible only through the violent exploitation of the petroleum reserves in the Amazon that allowed the county to accumulate more debt. That is, the centralization of Quito as a tourist haven that sells its colonial history as a commodity it only possible through the decentralization of the Amazon and the Indigenous communities displaced from their lands.

Newspapers articles from the march reported that the main concern of many *quiteños* was sanitation; they worried that five thousand Indigenous people camped on the capital's city center would create a safety hazard.[183] That sanitation is at the forefront of concerns about a predominantly *mestizo* population, rather than the livelihood of Indigenous peoples and the rapid devastation of the Amazon due to unrestricted petroleum extraction by transnational

corporations, showcases the connections and continuities among colonialism, capitalism, and neoliberalism. Within these frameworks, the lives of Indigenous peoples as well as Indigenous land are not just disposable, but must be eradicated to build a (neo)colonial nation-state invested in capital-accumulation, market expansion, and heterosexual *mestizaje*.

That a monument of the Virgin Mary over Atawallpa was chosen to stand atop the Panecillo, where the Inkan sun temple once stood tall, perfectly encapsulates how Ecuador's violent colonial history is made invisible through a sanitized version of its *mestizo* present, invested in Catholic morality. Moreover, that the Church paid for the installment of the monument demonstrates the ways in which the Church and state work in tandem to execute large national projects even when the state presents itself as a secular nation. Lastly, I argue that the exorbitant debt that Ecuador acquired from the 1970s through the 1980s, mostly to cover urban redevelopment projects, to the detriment of the destruction of the rural Amazon, exemplifies longstanding colonial dichotomies of center/periphery, urban/rural, and developed/underdeveloped.

Chapter 3

"*Por dentro no tiene nada. Es una virgen hueca*:"

(Anti-)Nationalistic Representations of La Virgen del Panecillo

> *La naturaleza dividió a la ciudad de Quito en dos con una loma que siempre supo lo que hacia: El Panecillo. Ella ubico al norte a los ricos y encerró en el sur a los pobres intentado que no nos mezclemos, que no nos miremos. Por supuesto, las autoridades sellaron el acuerdo y colocaron sobre la loma una gran estatua de una Virgen que observa y bendice al norte mientras da la espalda e ignora al sur. Yo nací en el sur*.[184]
>
> Nature divided the city of Quito in two with a hill that always understood its role: El Panecillo. She allocated the north to the rich and enclosed the poor in the south, hoping that we would never mix, never meet. Of course, authorities sealed the deal and located a large statue of the Virgin atop the hill; she looks over and blesses the north while giving her back to and ignoring the south. I was born in the south.

Introduction

As I demonstrate in the previous chapter, Quito experienced remarkable growth throughout the 1970s, almost doubling in size. During this decade, the expansion of Quito to the north not only marked the transition of the capital's financial hub from the *Centro Histórico* (Historical Center) to the north of La Mariscal; significantly, it was also when the south was symbolically disconnected from the rest of the city, marked by the erection of a thirty-meter high monument of Bernardo de Legarda's "Virgen Apocalíptica," now known as the "Virgen del Panecillo." As the statue faces the north, the Virgin turns her back on the southern part of the city, which became visually isolated from the geographic span of the capital with the installment of the statue. Southern Quito is also, not coincidentally, the poorest sector of the city, populated by a large Indigenous and *mestizo* population. In what follows, I want to continue to think about

how spaces are racialized and the ways in which race becomes spatialized. As Sarah Radcliffe and Sallie Westwood suggest, "Part of thinking about regions in social terms is that communities also think through the region-nation question in racialized terms. Racial demographics—the distribution of racialized groups around the territory—come to stand as the signifiers of the regions themselves: 'race' is regionalized, and regions racialized."[185] The monument of the Virgen del Panecillo, hence, represented a material marker of the city's enduring racial geographies. In other words, her installation functions to reiterate the racial margins of the city: the south is and continues to be the racial periphery inhabited by the indigenous populations, while the northern parts of the city are populated by white *mestizos* and people of economic means. The racialized socio-economic division between north and south echoes (neo)colonial tropes that further reify racial spatial demographics within the larger global imaginary. The north/south dichotomy present is further sedimented in global development literature with terms such "global north" and "global south," which point to not just socioeconomic, cultural, and developmental inequalities among discrete territories, but function emphasize a "…heritage of colonial histories in the global peripheries."[186]

While the city was undergoing northern expansion and resources were allocated to enhancing the financial sector, the monument, now one of the most popular and lucrative tourist attractions of the city, clearly shows how material symbols of the nation also function as spatial markers within racialized region-making projects.[187] Indeed, as Henry Godard argues, the Virgen del Panecillo constitutes a barrier that further complicates the communication between the south and the rest of the city.[188] In what follows, I argue that her embodiment of Catholic values, colonial histories of the space, and the cultivation of tourism converge to situate the Virgin as a material and metaphorical site of racial, economic, and sexual divisions. The importance of the

Virgen del Panecillo as a symbol of spatial and racial control, as well as of Catholic values within a secular nation, moreover, have not been overlooked; neither has the irony of her geopolitical orientation: facing the burgeoning north while giving her back to the south. Ecuadorian film director Tito Jara plays with this irony in his box office hit, *A tus espaldas* (2011), a film about a poor *mestizo* boy who is raised in the south, but moves to the north of the city to make a new life for himself. This chapter proffers an in depth feminist analysis of Jara's film in relation to the contemporary film boom in the country, beginning in 2006, which exponentially expanded national filmic production—films "made by Ecuadorians for Ecuadorians." In other words, this chapter considers cultural artifacts—such as film, posters, and photography—not just sites of production, distribution and consumption, also as sites of contestation.[189]

A tus espaldas is a heist film that follows the protagonist Jordi La Motta, a *mestizo* born and raised in the south of Quito. Born poor to a drunkard father and a mother forced to migrate to Spain, he grew to hate his racial and economic status and eventually leaves the south—never to return again. Having found a job as a bank teller in the northern side of Quito, he falls in love with Greta, a beautiful Colombian high-class escort. To impress her, he pretends to come from wealth. At the end of the film, when he finds out she is actually a prostitute and not a model, like she had initially told him, she convinces him to rob the bank he works for, which he agrees to because he seeks money and her love.

This chapter is interested in how the Virgen del Panecillo is represented in the film—that is, how she is juxtaposed the character of Greta and how that association replicates longstanding national narratives about proper womanhood. Furthermore, *A tus espaldas* demonstrates the importance that the monument holds in the everyday lives of *quiteños* as well as in how it works

as a repository for their cultural and historical memories of the city. The Virgin is not only a physical barrier between two distinct parts of the city; she represents Catholic morality and virginal purity, as well as an empty signifier of both. As the protagonist comes to realize that the aluminum monument is literally and figuratively empty: "*Por dentro no tine nada. Es una Virgen hueca*." (There is nothing inside her. She is a hallow Virgin).[190] Given the rich set of metaphors and contradictions that she embodies, this chapter responds to the following questions: first, what does the Virgen del Panecillo come to represent for the state, the Church, and the larger *quiteño* population on either side of her? Additionally, what tropes does *A tus espaldas* capitalize on and how do these reify longstanding dominant beliefs about racial divisions and sexual mores? How can a feminist analysis of the film disrupt commonsensical assumptions about its desired audience and how the city of Quito and the Virgen del Panecillo are regionally memorialized? Lastly, how can *cuir* reinterpretations of the Virgen del Panecillo subvert longstanding national tropes about paper femininity and gender/sexual expression?

Eduardo Varas, a local author and film critic, criticized the film for representing the south/north dichotomy of Quito as problematic, which he considers incomprehensible to anyone not familiar with the city's geography and/or history. In his review of the film, he states: "*Siendo sincero, esta dicotomía solo es comprensible para gente que vive en esta ciudad y lo entiende. Punto.*" (To be honest, this dichotomy is only intelligible to someone who lives in this city and understands it. That's all[191]). At the same time, Ecuadorian films are important cultural artifacts for this very reason. They reflect the social realities of the region, amidst cultural production that until recently was monopolized by the North American entertainment industry. Ecuadorian film director, Tania Hermida, known for *Qué tan lejos* (2006) and *En el nombre de la hija* (2011), explains that local films are important because "*Sin películas que cuentan nuestras historias no*

tenemos voz, imagen o sentido de nosotros mismos. Estamos vulnerables y expuestos a una colonización cultural que viene de una sola corriente." (Without films that tell our stories we don't have a voice, representation or sense of who we are. We are vulnerable and exposed to a cultural colonization that comes from only one source[192]). Following Hermida, this chapter focuses on how the local film industry produces important cultural artifacts that respond to local/regional histories, as well as challenge the inequitable cultural and economic hemispheric relationship between North and South America.

Andrea Noble, in "Latin American Visual Cultures," argues that on the one hand, globalization has broken down seemingly solid national boundaries and allegiances and that "…images now circulate transnationally in ways that were barely imaginable only ten years ago."[193] At the same time, the transnational circulation of markets, cultural goods, and peoples are mediated by longer colonial histories and structures of power. As Lisa Lowe reminds us, while globalization is a contemporary phenomenon, global contacts and flows continue to be dominated by European and North American superpowers whose relationship to the global south has much longer histories of colonization and labor/resource exploitation.[194] Indeed, as argued in Chapter 1, colonization across Latin America was very much a war of images. In other words, the process of colonization required restructuring the role of images and text in order to racialize the Indigenous communities that inhabited the Americas. So while globalization has facilitated the flow of culture and images, it has been a moment of heightened importance for the cultural production of local and regional goods from the global south.

A tus espaldas highlights the importance that film as a genre holds in the broader national imaginary. Hence, it is not a surprise that local films capitalize on regional "common sense." In *The Witch's Flight,* Kara Keeling uses Antonio Gramsci's concept of "common sense" to discuss

how the film industry capitalizes on the audience's common sense as a surplus labor—that is, cinema produces value not just through the production and distribution of moving images, but also through the (re)production of social relations and affective registers.[195] Director Tito Jara states that the film is meant to interpellate *quiteños* who should easily relate to the characters seeing themselves and their friends reflected.[196] In this case, *A tus espaldas* functions to (re)produce the regional common sense of Quito's cityscape and the regional relationships between *quiteños* and the Virgen del Panecillo.

At the same time, while this chapter explores how films such as *A tus espaldas* work to further monumentalize local and regional icons as well as how locals interact, imagine, and remember them, this chapter also challenges how the film reverts back to and (re)presents patriarchal and heteronormative dichotomies of *machismo/marianismo.* The dichotomy *machismo/marianismo* is a popular Latin American gendered relationship that reifies men as aggressive and dominant patriarchs and women as virginal abnegated mothers. I demonstrate how the film reverts back to this Catholic model with the ongoing juxtaposition of the Virgen del Panecillo with Greta, a Colombian prostitute in which the protagonist achieves his goals of upward mobility at the expense of Greta's freedom. This chapter explores the dichotomies Virgin/Greta, virgin/whore, and *machismo/marianismo* and calls into question how national films come to understand these national symbols in order to normalize pre-existing misogynistic moral values.

On the other hand, my analysis of the film aims to disrupt the normative constructions of dichotomous racial, gender, and sexual identities, instead seeking to affirm moments in the film that can be interpreted as alternative or moments that exceed the "common sense." Like Keeling, this alternative reading demonstrates that "…chosen films or other configurations of images

whose appearance reveals something within common sense [have] the potential to unsettle hegemonic conceptualizations of race, gender, and/or sexuality…"[197] I pair my feminist reading of *A tus espaldas* with an analysis the movie poster used to promote the film and argue that because film posters help frame the audience's expectations of the film and are the artifacts that remain after the film, they are important cultural products that must be analyzed alongside films themselves. The movie poster for *A tus espaldas* presents a half-clothed woman that stands in for the Virgen del Panecillo; she gives the viewer her back, facing the city of Quito. The sexually suggestive image adequately presents the focus of the film and the tropes that it follows. At the same time, the poster, which presumes a normative *quiteño* audience, does not account for alternative meanings and interpretations—including but not limited to *cuir* readings on the themes of the film. By *cuir,* I mean regionally-specific reading of the Virgen del Panecillo that subverts normative sexual and gender norms and desires. *Cuir* is not just a phonetic re-reading of queer in Spanish, it is a political reconversion queer that challenges the inequitable cultural exchange between North and South America while at the same time, considers the regional specificities the *cuir*ness that account to local genealogies.[198] In my analysis of the film poster, I argue that an accounting for an alternative audience, in this case a *cuir* audience, both challenges the normative heteropatriarchal tropes that the film maintains, but also affirms unimaginable subjectivities within the national imaginary.

From Virgen Apocalíptica to Virgen del Panecillo

Belgian Franciscan monk, Joss van Rijcke van Maselaer, most commonly known as Jodoco Ricke, arrived in San Francisco de Quito on December 1534 as the first Franciscan monk in the city. A month later, he laid the groundwork for a church and a convent that would become La Iglesia de San Francisco.[199] The conversion of the native population to Christianity was one of

the most important colonial projects—necessary for the legitimization and justification of colonization as well as a tool of racial and sexual control among the population. Conversion looked differently across the hemisphere, but what most colonial cities had in common was the use of images as tools for conversion. The many images that came out of Latin America during the colonial era were Catholic/Christian amalgamations that mixed European imagery with local indigenous images—a social and cultural blend. According to architect and Latin American studies scholar, Eduardo Baéz, the Latin American Baroque style of the time period "…emerged as the culminating expression of religious, natural, cultural, and social syncretism."[200]

Given the trend, it is not a coincidence that Ricke also founded the Artes y Oficio school that would later become the Escuela Quiteña (Quito School), one of the most well known Baroque Art Schools in the area. The school trained Indigenous and *mestizo* artists about European art as a means to acculturate the population. Baéz explains that "Natives from Quito were recruited by religious orders as 'art soldiers' who, together with evangelical groups, received instructions from priests and were encouraged—gently or harshly—to copy images that came from Spain."[201] From Escuela Quiteña came some of the most well-known and renowned artists of the colonial period in Quito, including Miguel de Santiago (1626-1706) and Bernardo de Legarda (1699-1621). Inspired by Miguel de Santiago's "Virgen Alada del Apocalipsis" (n.d.), Legarda sculpted the famous "Virgen Apocalíptica" (1734)—the latter would become the Virgen del Panecillo more than 200 years later.

The image of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception turned into one of the most reproduced images across the Americas. In 1664, Spain decreed a Holy Bull to begin holding masses and celebrations to honor the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception in the Americas and she soon became known as the "protector" of the Spanish colonies.[202] Interestingly enough, her

visual representations in the Americas were modeled after Spanish pairings, many of which followed the descriptions of the woman described in Revelation 12 of the Apocalypse of John: "A great portent appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars."[203] The sun represents heaven and Godly protection, while the twelve stars is interpreted as representing the twelve apostles or the twelves tribes of Israel. She stands atop a global sphere, that represents the world, and is stepping over and overcoming a large serpent, symbolizing the Eve's original sin.

The Royal Audience of Quito closely followed Papal decrees; therefore, it is not surprising that most of the art produced at the end of the sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century focuses on apocalyptic representations of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. For example, Bernardo de Legarda, born in Quito in the early eighteenth century, was a *mestizo* sculptor and painter that best represents the Baroque style of that time period. His most famous piece is a thirty-centimeter tall wooden statue of the Virgin of Immaculate Conception completed in 1734 and named "Virgen Apocalíptica." It was originally commissioned by a group of Franciscan priests who wanted a wooden statue of the Virgin of Immaculate Conception for the Iglesia of San Francisco. After its completion it was dubbed the protector of the city: the Virgen de Quito. The statue continues to be housed in the Iglesia de San Francisco. The Virgin seems to be floating, almost dancing, perched over a crescent moon, atop a dragon, with silver wings open on her back. Her head is crowned with a halo of twelve stars. Art historian José Gabriel Navarro describes Legarda's work as having captured the essence of the American woman, and the personality of the Andean woman because she is dancing, adorned by large wings across her back—a design never before seen on other representations of the Virgin Mary.[204]

More than representing the Andean woman, like the Virgen de Guadalupe in Mexico, the

Virgen Apocalíptica represents the Christianization of the Americas. When Juan Diego Cuauhtlatoatzin saw the Virgen de Guadalupe appear in front of him atop the Tepeyac on December 1531, his description of her image and the way she is portrayed today is also similar to the woman of Revelation 12: she stands atop a crescent moon and her head is crown with twelve stars. According to Jesuit Francisco Javier Carranza (1703-1769), the woman in Revelation 12 was a prophecy of how the Catholic Church was chased out of Europe by a dragon, considered the antichrist to the New Jerusalem. That is, the woman represented by the Virgen de Guadalupe and Legarda's "Virgen Apocalíptica," which are standing atop a half moon, crushing a dragon, with a crown of twelve stars was believed to be a revelation and prophecy of the conversion of the Americas.

Bernardo de Legarda's representation of the Virgin of Immaculate Conception was used to model a forty-one meter tall aluminum monument that was then placed on top of the Panecillo in 1976. As I detailed in Chapter 2, Ecuador was undergoing an economic boom in the 1970s due to increased petroleum exports beginning in the 1960s. Increased investments in urban planning and tourism led to the decision to build the monument and make it one of the biggest tourist attractions in Quito. The question remains: what does the Virgen del Panecillo symbolize for the Ecuadorian nation today, if not merely the allocation of funds for yet another tourist attraction during a profitable economic boom?

In the last half of the twentieth century, following the economic boom brought on by petroleum exports, Quito became a popular tourist destination; it offers an excellent melding of colonial and modern within one cityscape. Separated into three regions (south, center, and north), there is always something for tourists to visit, from the Mitad del Mundo at the very north of the city to the Virgen del Panecillo at the southernmost part of the historical center at the center of

the city. The northern part of Quito is the business district.[205] The largest shopping malls and the newest condominiums are located in this area.[206] The historical center is the colonial district.[207] Most buildings and streets have been named municipal buildings, which means that even if privately owned, the original structure of the buildings must be maintained. Due to the high crime rates, a result of the increasing poverty brought on by tourism in the area, the city has attempted to secure some areas for tourists through increased security (i.e. "La Ronda"). While historical centers across Latin American have proven financially fruitful for the overall economy, even if momentarily, their revitalization for tourism most negatively affects the nearby populations, displaced by both the increasing prices in the area as well as by municipal projects whose aim is to displace street vendors, the homeless, sex workers, beggars, and thieves in order to ensure a beautified version of the colonial city.[208]

In the historical center, you will find the Presidential Palace, cathedrals, and the Virgen del Panecillo. The southern part of the city, separated by the Panecillo, is populated by a large Indigenous population and is, not coincidently, the poorest. As described in Chapter 1, San Francisco de Quito was established in Quito's current historical center because the Inkan city of Kitu had established their empire on the northern side the Shungoloma, now know the Panecillo. Given the radicalized and classed geopolitical organization of the colonial city of Quito, the aristocratic Spanish governing classes inhabited the historical center and designated the periphery for the racial minorities that were designated under their rule: Indigenous, Black, *mestizo*, and *mulatto*. As Quito developed over the centuries and expanded, southern Quito, due to its physical barriers, surrounded by mountains, hills, and volcanoes, continued to racialize the city between north/south. As described in Chapter 2, in the 1970s, during Quito's most rapid period of urbanization since its foundation, the divide become much more prominent due to

government investments in the northern area, designated to be the city's financial hub, while little money was invested to develop the south. Most tourist are warned about increased petty theft and other crimes in his tourist areas like the historical center and more "isolated" areas—as in places with less tourists—like the southern part of Quito and are advised to avoid going to the south of the city.[209] While the Panecillo offers a natural barrier, most travel guides and local tour guides will also advise international tourists to be careful of petty theft in tourist areas and avoid going to the south.

Considering the colonial founding of the city and the military importance of the Panecillo—detailed in Chapter 1—the erection of the Virgin was most appropriate in the historical center, overlooking the Cathedral and the multiple churches that surround it. Explaining the importance of Catholicism during the period of colonization in Latin American, Radcliffe and Westwood suggest that the Catholic Church sustains national ideologies throughout historic changes. As Carlos Alberto Torres explains, the changing economic and political relations of the 1970s created a "crises in the churches of Latin America," which meant that nations undergoing these transitions needed to reframe the imagery of religion.[210] The construction of the monument of the Virgen del Panecillo did just that: she reframed the imagery of religion for the modernizing nation. While entry into the global market meant economic growth, the Virgin blessed the expansion of the city while reminding its participants to continue to uphold Catholic values.

At the same time, the monument of the Virgen del Panecillo in 1976 comes to represent a reconversion of traditional Catholic values into a profitable investment opportunity. On the other hand, her position on top of the formerly known as Shungoloma, the hill where Atawallpa held the Temple of the Sun, Yavirak, is also important. Visual studies scholar Marita Sturken argues

that "'We erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and build memorials so that we shall never forget.' Monuments are not generally built to commemorate defeats; the defeated dead are remembered in memorials. Whereas monuments most often signify victory, a memorial refers to the life or lives sacrificed for a particular set of values. Memorials embody grief, loss, and tribute."[211] Therefore, I understand the installation of the monument in the mid-1970s as both a reconversion of the symbol as well as a victory for the nation-state. With the economic boom of that decade, the Virgen del Panecillo comes to represent a rebirth and a victory for the conservative right, which helped neoliberalize the economy while at the same time re-establishing Catholic and colonial ideologies of the nation.

While it appeared as if religion was undergoing a crisis during the second half of the twentieth century because it seemed incompatible with capitalist expansion, many have argued that the two are interconnected, rather than antithetical. In "The Unborn Born-Again," Melinda Cooper attends to the religious re-awakenings in the second half of the twentieth century that established new links between religion and neoliberalism in the context of the United States.[212] She argues that in the United States, the evangelical Christian revival was a counterinsurgent move against the political demands of progressive movements of the 1970s. Similarly, David Harvey argues that the neoliberal turn in the United States was only possible through the construction of political consent, framed via cultural and traditional values such as the belief in God and fears of immigrants and communism.[213] It was not surprising, then, that León Febres Cordero, the President lauded by some and despised by others for adopting the most structural adjustment policies in the 1980s, as well as Sixto Durán Ballén, were both founding members of the right-wing Social Christian Party. In Febres Cordero's inaugural presidential speech, he promises to favor privatization and external investments, as well as work with Washington

against the War on Drugs, which he saw as a means of protecting family values.[214] In this case, "protecting family values" meant controlling reproduction, immigration, and policing sexual mores, among other things.

President Eloy Alfaro declared the Republic of Ecuador a secular nation-state in 1895. That is, a secular nation-state is defined as a state that is no longer politically tied to, governed, or influenced by a religious institution.[215] At the same time, even after Eloy Alfaro's assassination, his declaration of a secular state, and the growing influence of other religions such as Protestant Christian and Evangelical Christian religions in the country, Ecuador continues to be a Catholic nation-state in which the majority of the population identifies as and practices Catholicism. While this is to be expected given the influence of the Catholic Church since colonization and well into the formation of the Republic, it is to be noted that the Catholic Church in Ecuador throughout the twentieth century has been concerned with is decreasing influence; that is, the institution has found ways to keep its cultural and social influence by adapting to the growing needs of the masses. For example, while Protestant and Evangelical religious beliefs gained popularity in the 1940s, the Catholic Church was losing influence.[216] Because at the time the country was heavily preoccupied with agrarian changes, state collaborations with trade unions, and other economic reforms, by the 1950s, the Catholic Church decided to win back some of their influence by engaging public interest on agrarian/economic reforms, going as far as returning farmlands to indigenous communities to help foment agriculture.[217] These examples evidence the extent to which the Catholic Church was and continues to be an important political player within state politics even within a secular nation-state. It is clear how religious leaders, politicians, and artists engage in government policies that influence not just public, but most importantly, private life.

A Brief History of the Ecuadorian Film Industry

Much like how the Catholic Church is an important part of state politics, I outline how the cinema industry become another site of national intervention. The Ecuadorian film industry was born in the early twentieth century, when Francisco Parra and Eduardo Rivas Orz founded the first film production and distribution company, Ambos Mundos, in 1910. More than national production, Ambos Mundos functioned to help distribute and screen films in Quito and Guayaquil. The first films they screened were French silent films produced by Pathé, which at the time had the largest film equipment and was a major producer of phonograph records. In 1911, with the help of Eloy Alfaro's government, Ambos Mundos tried to produce films that would serve as national propaganda to attract foreign investment by positively promoting the country. Government investment stopped when President Alfaro was assassinated on January 1912.[218]

By 1920, the mainstream newspaper *El Telégrafo* included a section, "Arte y Teatro" dedicated to film commentary, but the majority of films featured were from Hollywood and reviews were taken from the United States agency *Associated Press*.[219] Foreign influence, especially from the United States continues to shape Ecuador's film industry. In the 1920s, national film productions were highly influenced by North American western films, even though the figure of the cowboy was not part of the regional imaginary. A perfect example is Ecuador's first national film, *El tesoro de Atahualpa* released in 1924, created by Ecuadorian film maker Augusto San Miguel, but written and directed by Chilean Roberto Say Silva under the Ecuador Film Company.[220] *El tesoro de Atahualpa* narrates the story of a young doctor, Jaime Garcia who receives a map that guides him to Atawallpa's treasures. As recounted in Chapter 1, Atawallpa, the last Incan emperor promised his captives, Spanish colonizers Francisco Pizzaro, Diego de

Almagro and Sebastián de Belalcázar that he would give them all his gold and silver for his release. Myth has it that his warrior, Rumiñahui hid his treasure because the Spanish decided to kill Atawallpa, presuming that he was lying. Nobody ever found Atawallpa's treasure. Following Atawallpa's execution, Rumiñahui headed to Kitu and burned the city down before the Spanish could take hold of the city. In the film, Jaime Garcia's quest is interrupted by R. Matamorros, an ambitious foreigner who pretends to have found the treasure before him and in the process, wins over Raquel, the protagonist's love interest. According to Wilma Granda Noboa, the film has many western characteristics including: a duel, a kidnapped woman, and a coveted treasure. But unlike other westerns, *El tesoro de Atahualpa* was filmed across the country and captured images of the daily lives of the indigenous communities living in the rural countryside.[221]

It was not until 1990, with Camilo Luzuriaga's *La tigra* that Ecuador was able to claim a national film that reached international success. *La tigra* continues to be the most successful box office hit with over twenty-four hundred thousand viewers and multiple international film awards.[222] While *La tigra* is lauded as the most successful national film, it is Sebastián Corderos' *Ratas, Ratones y Rateros* (1999) that is considered a turning point in Ecuador's film industry. In terms of exposure, the film had more than eleven hundred thousand viewers on the first week alone. In terms of content, the film's success is attributed to portraying a regionally relatable story. The film follows Salvador and his friends, who engage in petty theft around the city of Quito—colloquially referred to as *rateros*. Due to the fact that the film portrays seemingly mundane acts such as petty crime, loss of innocence, and poverty, the film is relatable to a large part of the population, who on a daily basis think about the city's *rateros*—for example, in Ecuador, people's daily decisions like where you park you car or what time you leave your house are often made by fears of being robbed or followed. This is not to say that Quito is any more

dangerous than any other large urban area, but it is a city in which petty thefts are accounted into the daily decisions of the people that inhabit the city.

The Ecuadorian film industry has undergone a noticeable boom in the past decade: since 2006, there have been more than one hundred ninety national film productions, compared to the 1990s, when only four films were produced.[223] In 2013, there were thirteen new releases and in 2014, it had increased to twenty new films were released.[224] The film boom is best attributed to the passing of the *Ley de Cine* (Cinema Law) in 2006, which has allocated an annual fund of seven hundred thousand dollars to finance around thirty national film productions per year. Funding includes a fee that is paid to Ibermedia, a Spanish program that finances Iberoamerican films and since 2011 has contributed almost 1.6 million dollars to Ecuadorian films.[225] Jorge Luis Serrano, former director of the Consejo Nacional de Cinematografía del Ecuador (CNCine), estimates that a national film costs between four hundred to five hundred thousand dollars to produce. It is clear the cinema law was fundamental in increasing national film production. It also highlights state investments in national cultural products as well as how film serves as a tool for the advancement of nationalistic ideals.

The new Cinema Law was drafted in 1977 and proposed by the newly founded Ecuadorian Cinematography Association (ASOCINE), but it was not ratified until October 18th 2006 through Executive Decree #1969.[226] It was not until 1989 that the *Instituto de Patrimonio Cultural* (Cultural Heritage Institute) declared film production a cultural heritage of the state.[227] The Cinema Law establishes that as a government incentive, the national film industry will be provided with financial assistance, covering up to sixty percent of production costs, as long as the director, at least one screenwriter, and the majority of the crew is of Ecuadorian nationality; furthermore, the thematic must be relevant to Ecuadorians and the film most be shot in the

country.[228]

In the most recent years, *Que tan lejos* (2006), *Prometeo Deportado* (2010), and *A tus espaldas* (2010) have had the largest box office numbers with over one hundred thousand viewers each. Additionally, *A tus espaldas* has been issued in five different editions on DVD and as of 2012 has sold over sixty thousand copies.[229] As mentioned earlier, it is *A tus espaldas'* success as well as its engagement with the city and its inhabitants that make it an important cultural artifact worth a more in depth analysis. The Cinema Law has helped finance national films that narrate the stories of Ecuadorians for Ecuadorians. Given the important role that the film industry plays in the larger Ecuadorian political and national arena, specially after the passing of the Cinema Law that is trying to reframe its national cinema, the question is: what story does *A tus espaldas* narrate and for whom?

A tus espaldas: A Film by and for Ecuadorians

Partially financed by the government through the Cinema Law, the film *A tus espaldas* sold over one hundred ten thousand tickets while in movie theaters, which makes the film a huge success.[230] Consequently, the film cannot be underestimated for its ability to construct and represent the significance of the monument of the Virgen del Panecillo to fellow *quiteños*. The film tells the story of Jordi La Motta, performed by Gabino Torres; Jordi, a boy born in the south of Quito as Jorge Chicaiza Cisneros, grows up, changes his name, and moves to the north to become a credit clerk at a bank, never to return to the south. He falls in love with Greta, interpreted by Jenny Navas, his boss' nephew's mistress, whom he meets at a company party. The story unfolds as Greta reveals to Jordi some suspicious activity between Luis Alberto Granada de la Roca, the man paying for her services, and another bank employee. Jordi eventually falls in love with Greta and tries to win her over, attempting to overlook the fact that

she does not reciprocate his love and is working as an escort. At the end of the film, they plan to steal the money that Granada de la Roca had been laundering from the bank.

In an interview, Jara explains that the idea for the film came from a short story he wrote many years ago about a boy, who, ashamed of his humble upbringing, goes to great lengths to appear to come from economic means. Jara explains that this idea developed into the film when, years later, while filming a documentary about the south of Quito, he encountered an inhabitant who told him that the Virgen del Panecillo had forgotten them, so much so that she gave them her back.[231] The character of Jordi is based on the boy in Jara's short story. Having grown up a poor *mestizo* whose abusive and alcoholic father dies of intoxication, which forces his mother to migrate to Spain, Jordi changes his name in an act of disavowing his indigenous past and leaves the south, never to return again. His adult life, as Jordi La Motta, is the life we follow in the film. Wishing to appear as to have economic means, Jordi buys Greta things he cannot actually afford in hopes of winning her love.

The north/south dichotomy is prevalent from the very beginning of the film. The south of the city, which we only preview from flashbacks of Jordi's childhood when his mother bids him farewell to migrate to Spain, is represented in dark colors. The small and rustic childhood home is heavily decorated with an old floral couch, a small television set, some religious paintings on the wall, and other items like old records, etc. The family is clearly poor and the mother is fighting to raise her son with a drunk and abusive husband. The representation of the south of city as the poor periphery of a large urban center is augmented by the use of a handheld camera, which makes the initial shots of the film inside the home feel more claustrophobic and turbulent as well as function to represent failed patriarchal family values.

We only get a short flashback of Jordi's past, which is filled with abandonment and

abuse—memories that are included early on to make the audience sympathize with the main character. Inside the home, the small television plays the internationally-renowned Mexican television sitcom, E*l Chavo del Ocho*, which follows the adventures of el Chavo, interpreted by Roberto Gómez Bolaños, an eight-year old orphan who spends his life living inside a wooden barrel. Like el Chavo, Jordi too is left "orphaned" at an early age, or so the film's intertextual evidence leads us to believe. But, unlike el Chavo, Jordi swears that he will leave his home and make a better future for himself no matter the means of achieving his dream, or as he colloquially states: "*Todo se vale en el amor y la guerra*." (All is fair in love and war).[232]

The rest of the film is shot in the north of the city and the transition from the south to the north is not just spatial, but also temporal. While the audience follows Jordi from south to north and from childhood to adulthood, they also move from underdevelopment to a developed urban city. Hence, the temporal shift in the film represents the (neo)colonial hierarchical dichotomies between north/south, developed/underdeveloped, and future/past. Unlike the scenes in the south, all the shots of the city streets are filmed in brighter colors and on a tripod in order to portray the stability and comfort of the northern side of the capital.[233] Jordi's adult life is filled with material possessions, such as stylish clothes and a heavily accessorized car, which he has acquired to hide his humble beginnings. At one point, he confesses to Greta that he would change who he is for her: "*Ve Greta, mi carro es como cualquier otro. A mi me vale mierda lo del tuning. Yo lo que hago es disfrazarle para que la gente me acepte. Ve yo puedo ser quien vos quieras pero dame un chanc*e." (Look Greta, my car is like any other. I don't give a fuck about the tuning. What I do is cover it up so people accept me. I could be whoever you want me to be, just give me a chance).[234] His life is comprised of his job at the bank, hanging out with his two best friends Juanfer and Xavier, and trying to win over Greta. Greta is a beautiful Colombian woman who

works as a high-class escort in Quito. Jordi and Greta meet at Jordi's company party, where she attends as Luis Alberto Granada de la Roca's date. Like Jordi, Greta has also migrated, in this case from Colombia to Ecuador, to make a better life for herself no matter the means to achieve her goal. The north of the Quito is the place where these two characters are able to co-exist—they are ambitious and are willing to do anything to get what they want, which in both of their cases is money, material possessions, and upward mobility.

But while living in the north, seeking the protection and approval of the Virgen that now faces him, he is unable to attain the things he thought he would the moment he changed his name and his location. After Jordi finds out that Greta, who told him she was a model from Colombia, is actually a high-end prostitute that helps his boss broker deals, he goes to the top of the Panecillo to talk to the monument. During this scene, the statue gives Jordi her back. While he seems to be talking about Greta, the monologue confuses Greta with the Virgen: "*En el fondo, nunca consegui que me mirara o me sonriera. Nunca fui uno de sus elejidos, para los que todos les cae asi. Esperando nomas. Fijese ahora yo, pensando que podia elejir a la mujer que quiero. Vea dónde termine, en el sur de Quito otra vez. Para recordarme de dónde vengo.*" (At the end, I never got her to face me, to smile at me. I was never one of her chosen ones, like those that get everything. Just waiting. Imagine, me thinking that I would be able to choose the woman I love. Now look where I ended up, in the south of Quito yet again[235]). In the monologue, which can be interpreted as an act of confession, both Greta and the Virgin have given him their back. No matter how hard he worked to improve his status, he ends up behind the statue, in the south, drunk like his father.

The comparisons between Greta and the statue of the Virgen del Panecillo are recurrent throughout the film. The film's cover shows the back of a woman, standing half naked, in place

of the Virgin. In a scene previous to the one described above, Jordi and Greta are enjoying a stroll around the city; the camera is pointed at Greta in an upward angle making Greta superimpose the image of the Virgin. As Jordi looks in the direction of the Virgin, he stares longingly at Greta. Greta asks to go up to the monument to see what is inside. Jordi responds: "*Por dentro no tiene nada. Es una Virgen hueca.*" (She has nothing inside. She is an hallow Virgin).[236] After finding out that the woman he loves is actually a prostitute and is unlikely to ever love him back, he ends up seeing Greta the way he sees the Virgin, as a "*Virgen hueca*" with nothing inside.

Greta, in this case, is not just "empty" in Jordi's eyes—she is an "empty" one-dimensional character whose only role in the film is to fulfill Jordi's fantasies and desires, while also being the victim of the constant racist and misogynistic remarks. Greta and her friend Yahaira, an Afro-Ecuadorian woman who migrates from the coastal city of Manabí to Quito and also works as an escort, are the film's only two female characters. They function as stereotypes—as over-sexualized and exotic women with no role expect to please the men in the film. For example, when Greta is first introduced at the company party, Luis Alberto Granada de la Roca insults her and reminds her that her purpose is to please him sexually: "*Ve Gretita no me hagas cabrear. Vos sabes que a vos te voy a agarrar cuando me dé la puta gana, te vas a quedar callada y contenta con la plata que te doy*." (Look here Gretita, you are starting to piss me off. You know that I can have you whenever I want and you will stay quiet and happy with the money I pay you).[237] While Jordi is supposed to be the antithesis to our antagonist, Granada de la Roca, they both end up using and disposing of Greta.

Similarly, Yahaira, who only appears in the film a couple of times and whose only role is to be Greta's friend, functions to affirm both of the women's roles as sexual objects rather than

sexual subjects. In Ecuador, specially in the Andean highlands were there are less Black populations than in the coastal regions due to migrations of the African diaspora that date back to colonization and slavery, female blackness is often equated to many stereotypes that limit the jobs that Black women can find in urban centers like Quito. For example, in Quito most domestic servants are either Indigenous or Black. Another stereotype that invades the national imaginary is that Black women are overtly more sexual than *mestiza* or white Ecuadorian women. While on the one hand, they are often exotified and seen as models for being taller and smiler than women in the highlands; on the other hand, they face constant sexual harassment from men who have learned to see them as sexual objects.[238] In *A tus espaldas*, neither of the women's desires gets fulfilled, they work to please others rather than themselves, and represent stereotypes of hyper-sexualized and racialized femininity. Furthermore, given that both women are not from Quito, rather migrated to Quito for work, they remind the audience that the proper *quiteña* is sexually restrained, not promiscuous, and would not engage in acts like prostitution.

A tus espaldas is just one of the many recent Ecuadorian films that represents Colombian women as prostitutes: others include *Cuando me toque a mi* (Arregui 2008) and *Pescador* (Cordero 2012). Given the influx of migration from Colombia since Ecuador dollarized in 2000, Colombians represent the largest migrant population of the country. The 2010 census records show that Colombians compromise almost fifty percent of the migrant population in the country.[239] Greta acknowledges that she migrated to Ecuador not just for economic opportunities, but because Colombian women are considered more beautiful, exotic, and willing to do work that Ecuadorian women are imagined to not want to do or be able to do including modeling and prostitution: "Y*o hago desfiles de ropa interior, impulso productos, cosas así. Vos sabes que las colombianas aquí tenemos mucha acogida y pues además nos pagan en dólares*." (I model

underwear, sell products, things like that. You know that Colombian women are in high demand here and well, we get paid in dollars).[240] The stereotypes of the exotic and hyper-sexualized Colombian woman is the one exemplified by the film. At the same time, Greta's incendiary "otherness" is welcomed in so far as she satisfies a fetishistic ideal of femininity, while her sexual autonomy is considered impossible.

In "The Spectacle of the 'Other,'" Stuart Hall examines the role that media representation plays in creating meaning about racial and sexual "others;" specifically how media oftentimes relies on stereotypes to fix meanings about "otherness." While he clarifies that meaning is never fixed, stereotypes function to fix meaning in reductive ways.[241] He defines stereotyping to a "reduc[tion] [of] people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as a fixed Nature."[242] Moreover, he examines how stereotyping functions within a larger network of power relations that use stereotyping not only to fix meaning, but to do so in order to establish symbolic frontiers of belonging, normalcy, and acceptance[243]. In the case of Greta, the stereotype of the Colombian exotic "other," in this case represented through the figure of the prostitute, serves to stabilize the national representation of femininity, that which she is not.

While Greta eventually reciprocates Jordi's love for her, which culminates in the scene where she finally sleeps with him, by the end of the film, Jordi abandons her in exchange for all the money they had planned to steal. The last scenes, as he sees Greta get arrested and he flees, are a dark twist to the character we learned to feel sympathy towards. When Greta finds out that Jordi comes from a humble beginning and is willing to do anything for her, she proposes they steal the money that Luis Alberto and Dr. Carrera are laundering from the bank. She explains that when Dr. Carrera comes into the city, Luis Alberto sends her to him and after sex he often falls asleep and leaves the money unattended. While Greta goes through with their plan—steals the

money and throws it over the hotel window, as they had agreed—Jordi does not wait for her outside, but drives away with the money. Neither Greta nor the audience get an explanation as to why Jordi decides to leave her, but as Jordi's opening statement recalls: "*Todo se vale en el amor y la guerra*." (All is fair in love and war).[244] After all, Greta is not Jordi's ideal woman or his ultimate desire. At the end of the film, Jordi gets what he always wanted: money and upward mobility.

Having escaped with the money, Jordi is able to retire to an unknown beachfront paradise. Overlooking the beach, he speaks to the Virgin, who is now hundreds, possible thousands of miles away: "*Sí señora, hay cosas que no cambian. La vida es una guerra y yo, por ahora, voy con ventaja. Fijese señora, dónde empezo todo esto. Jorge Chicaiza Cisneros, así me bautizaron. Nombre cholo, carajo. A los 18 lo cambie legalmente. Jordi La Motta Cisneros. Se parece más a mi.*" (Yes ma'am, there are things that never change. Life is a war and for now, I'm winning. Imagine where all of this began. Jorge Chicaiza Cisneros, that's how I was baptized. At 18, I legally changed my name. Damn, what a *cholo* name. Jordi La Motta Cisneros. It sounds more like me).[245] Talking to the Virgin, rather than the defeated Jordi we see during his last confession with her, we encounter a triumphant Jordi. Though he is unable "to have it all," he is able to get what he always wanted, that is, monetary wealth. While it seems that capital accumulation does indeed triumph at the end of the film, and success abounds in the north of the city; at the same time, it is clear that it is only possible through internalized racism, misogyny and deceit. Indeed, the term *cholo/a* is an ethnic slur created by *criollos* (Spaniards born in the Americas) in the sixteenth century to mean an indigenous person of Latin American descent. Its contemporary use, as a seemingly neutralized colloquial pejorative, is associated with economic class standing and access to specific consumer goods.

Cinematic Tropes and Nationalistic Narratives: Machismo/Marianismo

The end of the film gestures towards the opening scene: Jordi stands in the main plaza in the historical center looking up at the statue which suddenly explodes and the Virgin's head tumbles down the hill. At the end of the film, we realize that Jordi is dreaming, and that this dream is realized after he has left Greta and ran with the money. Hence, for Jordi, he must give up both Greta and the Virgin to accomplish his life goal: upward mobility. This scene can be analyzed in multiple ways. It can come to symbolize the ultimate destruction of the separation between the south and the rest of the city, allowing Jordi access to the north and its wealth. It can also suggest that Jordi's wealth is only possible with the disavowal of Catholic morals that would frown upon corruption and deceit for capital accumulation. Lastly, it can symbolize a critique of the contradictions that the statue encapsulates in the city, that while grounded on Catholic morals and values, continues to perpetuate racialized segregation, granting political, economic, and social protection to some and not others.

On the other hand, the destruction of the statue along with Jordi's rejection of Greta, after the discovery that she is a prostitute and not a model, falls back on the misogynistic values that condemn women to being either virgins or whores. This dichotomy, common in many patriarchal societies, is based on the Catholic model that juxtaposes *machismo* to *marianismo*. Radcliffe and Westwood argue that the dichotomy *machismo/marianismo* is developed through a Catholic moral ideology based on notions of honor and shame that form inequitable gender relationships in which men aggressively exercise their masculinity while women exercise their femininity as abnegated mothers.[246]

In Latin America, the idea of woman as instinctively nurturing has been constructed and understood through the concept of *marianismo*. *Marianismo* is the ideal to which women must

aspire; it is an ideal of womanhood formulated through the image of the Virgin Mary as self-abnegating mother. Women are considered innately more nurturing, but the ideal woman is also the self-abnegating mother whose moral superiority allows her to place her child's needs over anyone else's and usually at the expense of her personal, political, or professional desires.[247] According to Nikki Craske, although women in Latin America have undertaken new roles and have appropriated the public sphere, the belief that "decent" women are those women who choose marriage and motherhood still prevails.[248] Although the film compares Greta to the Virgin, she can never be or represent the Virgin, which seems to be what Jordi would want in his ideal woman. But, since both Virgin and whore reject him, his success is only possible through their mutual destruction.

Radcliffe and Westwood argue that Latin American cultural discourses around the "modern woman" have always identified women as reproducers and mothers of the nation's citizens.[249] After the Wars for Independence in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Latin American nations promoted the construction of unique national identities that distinguished them from other nations, particularly from Spain. These newly independent nations sought to construct an identity that was both uniquely Latin American and modern. At the same time, due to the continent's colonial history and Indigenous roots, the new republics were unable to construct a national imaginary that was both unique and modern. The inequitable relationship between Spain and its former colonies perpetuated the colonialist discourse that imagined the indigenous identity as both static and in opposition to modernity.[250] On the other hand, women in these post-independent national projects were considered reproducers of the future Latin American citizens and were given power only through their responsibility of teaching the new generation traditional and moral values.[251] Nationalist discourses constructed the family and

women as symbols of stability in these fast-changing nations.[252]

The construction of the ideal Latin American woman through the dichotomy virgin/whore at the end of the nineteenth century, following the wars for independence, was partly formulated through literary discourses. In Ecuador, the first two national novels *La emancipada* (1863) by Miguel Riofrío and *Cumandá* (1879) by Juan Leon Mera best illustrate how the national literary discourse constructed the ideal woman as white, patriotic, and virginal while condemned and criminalized women who deviated from gendered and sexual norms. Juan Leon Mera, a symbol of patriotism was not just an author and poet, but wrote the Ecuadorian national anthem and served in public office. His novel, *Cumandá* is now considered part of the national literary canon and is part of the high school curriculum. It tells the story of Cumandá, a white young girl, born from European parents and adopted by an Indigenous family in the Ecuadorian Amazon after a fire left her orphaned. While raised in the village and named Cumandá, which means "white bird," she is raised Christian. When Yahuarmaqui, an Indigenous leader proposes to marry her, she rejects him and dies at the end of the novel, a virgin. She comes to represent the ideal woman for the nation, willing to die a virgin, rejecting the possibility of *mestizaje*.[253]

On the other hand, Miguel Riofrío's *La emancipada* demonstrates what happens to women who do not conform to gender norms and do not protect their racial and sexual purity. The protagonist, Rosaura, is raised by her father after her mother dies. At the age of eighteen, her father arranges to marry her to a much older man she has yet to meet. Rejecting both her father's wishes and her fiancé, she declares herself legally "emancipated" from her father upon her marriage. In that moment, she not only rejects her patriarchal father, the priest that is left standing at the altar, but also her future husband. With nowhere to turn, left to her own resources, she ends up working in a brothel. Eduardo, a young man that frequents her and falls in love with

her, eventually hides his desires and retreats to a monastery to become a priest. Rosaura is left alone, eventually to die, hacked up in pieces in a coffin by the end of the novel. Also a part of the national literary canon, *La emancipada* has gained increased attention in the last decades, reprinted in multiple recent editions, often read alongside *Cumandá*. Rosaura is ultimately punished with death and infertility for her rejection of the patriarchal hold of her father, her husband, and the priest. The characters of Cumandá and Rosaura are the two sides of the dichotomy—virgin and whore—the former white and pure while the latter is punished to death for her sins.

As Radcliffe and Westwood explain, in Latin America, the nineteenth century national imaginary was constructed through cultural products like literature.[254] As Doris Sommer explains, literature also played an important role constructing national ideals of love and sexual conduct, which in this case were "'natural' heterosexual love."[255] Here, I want to juxtapose the role that literature held during the nineteenth century in the nation-building project to the role that cinema holds at the end of the twentieth century into the twenty-first century following the passing of the Cinema Law. I show how they function similar in that they represent and reproduce the same national values of proper racial, gender, and sexual behavior. At the same time, film as a genre has the ability to reach larger audiences than literature over a century ago was able to reach or even was intended to reach. Therefore, in the case of film, which has more room to influence larger numbers of people, also has more room to disobey normative representation of propriety.

Conclusion: Cuir-ing *A tus espaldas*

As Wilma Granda Noboa, director of the Cinemateca Nacional de La Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana explains, film posters help frame the audience's expectations of the film, they heighten the fantasy of the spectator, and sometimes outlasts the film itself.[256] Film posters and

lobby cards function for advertisement and market research, but besides its commercial functions, it also serves to memorialize popular films. Oftentimes, movie posters graphics become the emblem of the film—the images that best represent the film. They are also important because the content conveys the central message of the film with just one image.

I conclude with an analysis of the movie poster for *A tus espaldas* and argue that while the film itself relies on misogynistic tropes like *machismo/marianismo*, the film poster's image leaves room for alternative readings. I argue that the suggestive image, meant to attract audiences to theaters, assumes a cis-heteronormative male audience interested in a heist movie and disregards *cuir* interpretations of the film. As mentioned earlier, *cuir* is not just a phonetic latinization of queer, but rather a politically charged (re)framing of normative queer politics that accounts for localized *cuir* experiences and desires in the context of Ecuador. As Diego Falconí explains, *cuir* theory is attentive to the politics of translation between terms born in the global north and adapted to the global south and tries to break through the (post)colonial power relationship from queer to *cuir*.[257] In a *cuir* reading of the film poster, I not only consider alternative audiences and readings of the film context, but consider localized *cuir* interactions with the Virgen del Panecillo that challenge national heteropatriarchal and Catholic notions of normative sexual and gender norms. Further, a *cuir* reading of the audience functions to acknowledge otherwise impossible or imaginable subjects within the larger national imaginary, in this case *cuir* audiences.

Independent artists often create movie posters; while they work alongside the creators and directors of the film, they often have creative license for the images that memorialize the film. As Granda Noboa reminds us, "…the movie poster is a secondary product as its main function is to promote a product."[258] The movie poster for *A tus espaldas* was created by Magda

Garcés. She is actually a jewelry designer, rather than a graphic artist and was most likely involved in the project because she is married to the director, Tito Jara. Hence, it is not far-fetched to speculate that Jara had a role in the creation of the poster for what would become one of his most successful films in the country. It is no surprise, then, that the movie poster for *A tus espaldas* poignantly portrays the major themes of the film: the important geographical location of the Virgen del Panecillo, the protagonist's move from the south to the north of the city, and the juxtaposition between the Virgin and the female character, Greta.

The film poster for *A tus espaldas* features a woman with long brown hair who is half-clothed, with her back exposed. She is giving us her back and facing northern Quito. Her pose, with the left-hand raised, wings across her back, and a halo of twelve stars identifies her as the Virgen del Panecillo. While to someone who is not familiar with the famous monument, she would not be recognizable as the Virgen del Panecillo, the national film is intended to interpellate a local audience and therefore, engages with Ecuadorians "common sense." The poster positions the viewer behind the woman, identifying as the subject of desire rather than the object; but what the poster does not account for are the multiple expressions of desire that the poster makes possible, or assumes as impossible, including *cuir* desire.

In I*mpossible Desires*, cultural studies scholar Gayatri Gopinath considers the ways that queer female desire manifests to disrupt and challenge institutionalized heterosexuality as a primary structure of cultural production. She states that queer female subjectivity is a "…particular positionality that forms a constitutive absence in both dominant nationalist and diasporic discourses…," important in that her subjectivity is considered unthinkable and impossible within the dominant national imaginary.[259] Furthermore, Gopinath explains that the queer female subject is important because she not only challenges normative nationalistic

subjecthood, she also "…bear[s] little resemblance to the universalized gay identity imagined within a Eurocentric gay imaginary."[260] In other words, the queer female subject that the author describes also (de)centers the homonormative gay subject—oftentimes a male, gay, cisgender, white consumer.

Like Gopinath, I want to center the *cuir* subject as an alternative, unimaginable, and most importantly, impossible consumer of normative heteropatriachal cultural products like *A tus espaldas*. Gopinath goes on to explain that by marking queer desire as impossible, she does not seek to bring into visibility, but rather queer desire makes visible longstanding colonial and national discourses that erase non-normative desire and center cis-heteronormative male desire. Indeed, concluding this chapter by imagining a *cuir* audience for Ecuadorian cinema is not a project of inclusion; it is a project of refusal. In other words, while a normative audience member may identify with Jordi, sympathize with his past, understand his disavowal of his indigenous past, dream of upward mobility, and also see Greta as an object of desire; an alternative *cuir* audience that is already outside of the national imaginary will not necessarily identify with Jordi and rather, will refuse the misogynistic treatment of characters like Greta and Yahaira, will refuse colonial and racist histories that lead someone like Jordi to feel shame for his upbringing, and will refuse to see Greta as an object of desire, but rather understand her character as a subject that owns her sexual destiny.

Chapter 4

From La Virgen del Panecillo to La Virgen del Legrado:

(Trans)national Feminist Struggles for Reproductive Rights in the Andes

Introduction

On June of 2008, two feminist non-profit organizations, local Coordinadora Juvenil por la Equidad de Género (Youth Coordinator for Gender Equity) and Women on Waves, a Dutch-based coalition, arranged a timely workshop in Quito, Ecuador. The proceedings were open to all television and radio journalists in order to discuss the ways that media could best cover stories about abortion in a manner that would critically reconsider pro-life rhetoric and would reflect the realities behind abortion and the lives of women who choose abortion in Ecuador.[261] While abortion is currently still illegal in the country, the workshop occurred at an opportune time. Later that year, the new Constitutional mandates went up for popular vote, including a reform proposal that suggested the expansion of abortion laws. Current legislation states that women can have a legal abortion under three circumstances: if the mother is in danger, if the fetus is "damaged," or if the mother has been sexually abused and/or has a mental disability.[262]

The workshop concluded with a coalitional action: the twenty-five journalists were accompanied by the organizers to the top of the monument, the Virgen del Panecillo, a forty-one meter tall statue of the Virgen de Legarda that overlooks Quito. The organizers then proceeded to unfold a sign at the foot of the monument that read: "*TU DECISION. ABORTO SEGURO: 099004545*" ("YOUR CHOICE. SAFE ABORTION: 099004545"). The sign remained up longer than expected because only two guards were on duty that day. Eventually they were alerted and the organizers were asked to take down the sign.[263] The action was clearly symbolic: considering

that it only lasted a few minutes, it was not meant to function as an advertisement. Rather, the action accomplished several things: first, by placing the sign at the Virgin's feet, a symbol of Catholic piety and order, the organizers denounced the religious, patriarchal, and heterosexist colonial history of the nation-state that has both legitimized the criminalization of abortion and prevented its legalization. Next, the action was geographically strategic since the monument is situated at the highest point of the city—the most geographically prominent position in the city. Third, the action highlighted the importance of the Virgin whose location at the historical center is a constant reminder of the country's colonial past. Finally, the action affirmed reproductive justice as a public discourse and affirmed women as active public figures, rather than individualized victims.

What follows is a decolonial feminist analysis of the fight for women's reproductive rights in both Ecuador and Peru in the early twenty-first century, specifically considering two instances in which the Virgen del Panecillo has been utilized to highlight state and Church control over women's bodies and reproductive rights. I understand a decolonial feminist analysis as a framework that engages empire as an analytic tool in order to examine the oft-hidden links between colonialism, racism, and heteropatriarchy. In other words, my analysis of the artistic uses of the Virgen del Panecillo underscores histories shaped by colonialism as well as uncovers the intimate relationship between empire and the constructions of race, class, sex, gender, and sexuality. Furthermore, this chapter acknowledges Indigenous methods of reproductive control, which while still commonplace, are oftentimes forgotten or ignored from mainstream feminist conversations around abortion, reproductive justice, and human rights discourses.

Throughout, I consider how (trans)national feminists artists and activists in Ecuador, Peru, and the United States strategically (re)appropriate Catholic cultural artifacts to denounce

religious, patriarchal, and heterosexist colonial laws, mandates, and symbols around reproduction and bodily autonomy. By (trans)national, I mean a concept that functions to illuminate the hidden relationships between coloniality and contemporary asymmetries of globalization. According to Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, "transnational" articulates the asymmetries caused by globalization and can be best understood as a form of neocolonialism, imbricated in the contemporary asymmetric movement of capital.[264] In what ways are empire and transnational intimately linked? One of the most common definitions of the use of transnational in current academic disciplines has been in reference to globalization and the new world political economy. The decentering of nation-states as sovereign entities, due to the intervention of supranational organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization has caused a shift in previous conceptions of nation-state, state sovereignty, and national borders. Indeed, some scholars have argued that in the current global political economy, we are witnessing the formation of a "borderless" world.[265] Pease argues that the emergence of the transnational as an academic concern is symptomatic of the transformations in the world political economy.[266] These transformations have caused the decentralization of state sovereignty and the dismantling of bounded national identities.[267] Nevertheless, the new world political economy has continued a colonial legacy of exploitation and economic, political, and social dependency based on an inequitable relationship between imperial powers and the post-colonies. Hence, the works analyzed below highlight the connection between empire and (trans)national, a link that is often obfuscated.

While on the one hand, this chapter explores how cultural products are employed by state institutions—by which I mean, not just state-mandated institutions such as education, health, and law, but also institutions that work in tandem with the state such as the Church to (re)produce

and legitimize notions of womanhood, purity, and heteropatriarchal reproduction. On the other hand, this chapter critically examines the importance of cultural artists and activists that (re)appropriate these same symbols and products—in this case, the monument of the Virgen del Panecillo in order to challenge dominant ideals of purity and propriety. At the same time, it recasts these issues as public health concerns that require the participation of the larger population, particularly women who are imagined as passive actors or victims as state legislature rather than active participants in their own emancipation. The geographic and symbolic use of the Virgin to imagine reproductive justice emphasizes the symbiotic role of the state and the Catholic Church in controlling women's bodies. In other words, it underscores how the state oftentimes uses Catholic rhetoric, values, and imagery to condemn women's reproductive and sexual freedom and choice.

At the same time, I consider the criminalization of abortion as a technology of colonial and patriarchal control, founded on a violent history that has always necessitated the reproductive and intimate control of women, racial minorities, the poor, and people with disabilities. As Ecuadorian feminist scholar Andrea Aguirre Salas argues pro-life rhetoric and law in Ecuador are based on a patriarchal and colonial tradition in which the state acts as a paternalistic moral gatekeeper. She goes on to challenge this dominant view and asks: why are state officials figured as more intelligent than the diverse Ecuadorian population, including the Kichwa women who regularly practice abortion within their communities? Consequently, she remarks that fighting for reproductive justice, then, is not about individual rights and freedoms for women, but about communal rights for all living beings that require love, autonomy, and the right to have lives that are outside of state control.[268]

The pro-life discourse that life begins at conception, followed mainly by religious

organizations and individuals, is a relatively recent phenomenon. Up to the nineteenth century in Latin America, Catholic theology followed Thomas Aquino's belief that life began at the moment of the soul's animation, which for males was on the fortieth day after conception and for females was on the eightieth day after conception. It was not until 1869 that Pope Pío IX decreed that the soul was animated upon conception.[269] At the same time, as Ecuadorian feminist scholar Soledad Varea reminds us, pro-life rhetoric is rooted in religious colonial ideologies, which continue to re-appear under the contemporary banner of "family values." In her work, she links members of the pro-life movement in Ecuador to religious organizations that work to "sanctify" its members through rituals that promote suffering and sacrifice. For example, pro-life promoters who are also part of these specific Catholic organizations believe that women who perish while having an abortion receive absolution for the suffering endured in their death.[270] The spread of Catholicism across Latin American was and continues to be an important tool of colonization and one of racial, gender, and sexual control.[271] While there has been a rise of Evangelical Christian groups in Ecuador since the past two decades who also play a role in the ways that "family values" are recast against abortion and other forms of sexual control such as sexual orientation, I specifically focus on the Catholic Church given the extensive and intimate connection between the state and the Church since its colonial foundation.[272]

I pair an analysis of the feminist action of 2008 staged by Coordinadora Juvenil and Women on Waves with a photograph taken and modeled by Peruvian artist Cecilia Podestá, titled "Virgen del Legrado" and released on September 28th 2009, which is the global day of action for access to safe and legal abortion. In the photograph, the artist poses as a semi-nude and bleeding Virgen de Legarda, better known as the Virgen del Panecillo. The photograph not only represents the Virgin that now stands atop the Panecillo in Quito, but is a clever play on the name Bernardo

de Legarda, who was the sculptor of the original wood statue of the Virgin and the medical procedure known as curettage or *legrado*, or the removal of soft tissue lining with a curet.

My analysis of the photograph highlights the (trans)national circulation of the Virgin—in many ways, reminiscent of how the Virgen de Guadalupe in Mexico and the United States has circulated and been reimagined by Chicana feminist organizers, artists, and scholars to extend women's rights. Chicanx activists and artists in the United States, beginning in the 1960s, began to construct a whole new cultural space to represent the particular experience of being Chicanx, a socially and politically abject population in the United States. As Chicana scholar Laura Elisa Pérez remarks, Chicana artists in particular began to both embrace and disrupt iconic Mexican American symbols such as the Virgen de Guadalupe, (re)appropriating the image in cultural works that served to represent the Chicana negotiation of nation, gender, sexuality, and identity.[273]

Methodologically, this chapter considers how performative actions, such as the protest in 2008 and Podestá's photograph, can function as decolonial feminist tools that challenge state and Church control over women's bodies and bodily autonomy. In *Archive and the Repertoire,* performance studies scholar Diana Taylor explores how embodied performances—dance, theatre, rituals, and political rallies, among others—have always been central to transmitting knowledge and memory in literate, semi-literate and digital societies.[274] Taylor is specifically concerned with how embodiment played an important role in indigenous practices and rituals and how these practices were intentionally and violently eradicated during the process of colonization. Throughout, she asks: "If, however, we were to reorient the ways of social memory and cultural identity in the Americas have traditionally been studied, with the disciplinary emphasis on literary and historical documents, and look through the lens of performed, embodied behaviors…whose stories, memories, and struggles might become visible?"[275] Following Taylor,

my analysis of the use of protest and photography aims to foreground oftentimes hidden or forgotten practices. In this case, I center the important conversations that the feminist protest in 2008 in Quito and Podestá's photograph in Peru raised about the legalization of abortion in the Andes, and the ways in which their actions increased social awareness about reproductive health and justice and brought the debate to the public sphere.

According to Taylor, the archive—enduring written materials like texts, documents, buildings, and bones—endures as the legitimate historical memory since the colonization of the Americas. She clarifies that is was not that embodied practices were displaced, but rather that the written word was established as the legitimate and sacred form of communication and telling history because, according to Taylor, written culture is easier to control than embodied culture.[276] On the other hand, she defines the repertoire as ephemeral embodied practices such as dance, rituals, and spoken language—forms of embodied and non-reproducible acts of knowledge that exist in constant interaction with the archive, but is oftentimes relegated to the past.[277] Therefore, embodied knowledge, in the sense of the performance, is decolonial and feminist in that it challenges the patriarchal and colonial sacredness of the written word, while at the same time, highlighting the importance non-written, verbal, bodily practices. In both cultural sites of analysis in this chapter, performance acts as an intervention and challenge to as well as a (re)appropriation of the colonial archive. In other words, the Virgen del Panecillo functions as a national-religious artifact, a vestige of coloniality, which transnational feminist artists and activists perform in order to challenge dominant cultural memory.

A Brief History of Reproductive Control in Ecuador

It was not until the *Código Orgánico Integral Penal* (Ecuador's Penal Code), commonly known through its acronym COIP, was created in 1971 and last amended in 2014, that abortion

was legally and explicitly criminalized in Ecuador. The introduction of abortion laws in the country's penal code in the 1970s can be best understood through the changing social dynamics for men and women as well as the introduction of birth control pills for women. In 1960, the Food and Drug Administration released Enovid to be used as birth control. Given the country's economic boom of the 1970s, women in Ecuador had increased access to the job market, and were using birth control pills in order to take charge of their reproductive lives and weighing these with the decision to attend school and/or have a professional career.

These shifts in reproductive access and control within Ecuador during the second half of the twentieth century must be placed in a larger global context. Following World War II, the United States and Europe became increasingly preoccupied with "family planning" or ways of controlling reproduction in the wake of a population boom. The push for "family planning" led to the creation of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) in 1952, a global supranational federation that promoted family planning strategies. While it seemed to increase choices for women so they may take control of their reproductive health, governments and private institutions that promoted family planning did so as a means of population control and as a strategy to control poverty.[278] For example, IPPF and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) paired with local government agencies and engaged in coercive sterilization campaigns—paying women to have vasectomies or sterilizing women without their consent. This trend was widespread across the global south and was clearly tied to controlling demographics of national populations that targeted low-income black, brown, indigenous women across the globe.[279]

The Catholic Church quickly issued a response to the introduction of birth control and other family planning strategies. Their response warned against a lowering of moral standards, a

rise in infidelity, men's lessening respect for women, and surprisingly, one of the few warnings against coercive government-sponsored methods of reproductive control.[280] At the same time, rather than providing a viable solution, the Church promoted the importance of reproduction and insisted that women's role with the family and society was motherhood.[281] While there was a global push for reproductive control and family planning, on July 25th 1968, Pope Paul VI published the encyclical letter, *Humanae Vitae*, which condemned any and all uses of reproductive contraception and stated that occasional abstinence was the only means of reproductive control allowed and promoted by the Catholic Church.[282]

While on the one hand, government officials alongside family planning international organizations worked to control reproduction; on the other hand, the Church worked to secure heteronormative marital reproduction and cultural discourse around the issue functioned to extend the debate. While not specified in any legislation before 1971, abortion has long been socially condemned in Ecuador. The cultural discourse around the criminalization of abortion often centered on the victimization of women who resort to abortion after having been abandoned, and/or abused by men. For example, literary works such as the novel *Sangre en las manos* (*Bloody Hands*) (1959) by Laura Pérez de Oleas Zambrano portray a complicated narrative of the women who chose abortion in Quito—victims of gendered violence, sexual assault, and poverty. As exemplified in Chapter 3, literature in Latin America has a long and complicated history as a tool for nation-building.[283] The novel was published in 1959 by La Casa de la Cultural Ecuatoriana (CCE), a government-sponsored cultural organization founded in 1944 to help promote national art and literature. It was also one of the institutions that published women's literature. At the same time, as Natalia Beatríz Loza Mayorga asserts in her study of women's literature published by the CCE in the 1950s, the CCE's agenda from the onset was to

help frame the national artistic imaginary and therefore, reproduced and further legitimized longstanding national beliefs around identity, womanhood, and patriotism.[284] While there are no records about the popularity of the novel itself, CCE's societal standing as a renown national publisher legitimized the texts that were produced by them. In any case, *Sangre en las manos* functions to socially condemn the women who chose abortion while at the same time, re-establish longstanding national discourses around women's reproduction and national social roles.

Pérez de Oleas Zambrano's novel is considered by many as one of the first feminist novels, considering it was published in the late 1950s, a time when few women writers were able to get their works published, specially one about abortion and gendered violence. The novel narrates the story of Estenia Germán, modeled after the real life of Carmela Granja, the infamous *abortera* (abortionist) of Quito. Granja is now part of Quito's historical memory—she owned multiple high-end brothels around the city in the 1940s and 1950s and was arrested fifteen years before the novel was published for the death of a young high-class woman. While the novel portrays taboo subjects, it ultimately victimizes each of the women who chose abortion and criminalizes Germán, who is represented as a medical student "gone bad."[285] Furthermore, it emphasizes that women's role is to be reproducers of the nation: "*Mujeres del mundo: de vuestras entrañas destrozadas, de vuestros vientres martirizados y deformados; de vuestros pezones abiertos manará la savia que henchirá de fortaleza a vuestra Patria[…]porque una mujer-madre ama a todos los hijos del mundo*." (Women of the world: from your wounded bowels, from your deformed and martyred wombs; from your open nipples will flow the wisdom that will strengthen our nation[…]because one woman-mother loves all of the children of the world[286]). In this passage, women are defined as "women-mothers" who must sacrifice their

bodies and well-being for the good of the nation. In this sense, the Ecuadorian woman is defined purely as the reproducer of the next generation. And while her body is violated in the process, she is revered as a martyr. And while considered a feminist novel, or proto-feminist, it ultimately re-establishes the notion that women must maintain the gendered division of labor within the household and for the nation.

While abortion was criminalized a little over a decade after the publication of *Sangre en las manos*, social actions against women who chose abortion continue to outweigh legal prosecution. This phenomenon highlights the important role that cultural and social mandates hold in Ecuador, in which social actors—that is, civil society performs the persecutory role of the state. I understand "civil society" as a network of associations, organizations, and institutions that work independently from both the state and the economy, but not always against, but rather in tandem with the state.[287] While abortion is illegal and the act is criminalized, women who go to hospitals after having self-induced their abortion at home or attended an underground abortion clinic are rarely imprisoned. María Rosa Cevallos Castells' ethnographic research on abortions that require medical intervention in Quito suggests that while medical personnel are often aware that the women come to the hospital after having induced an abortion, they rarely call the authorities. At the same time, her research demonstrates that rather than having the legal system punish women who have an abortion, medical workers take it upon themselves to chastise and shame the women who enter the clinic. Her book, *El temor encarnado: Aborto en condiciones de riesgo en Quito*, focuses on the use of fear as a mechanism of control in lieu of legal intervention. Women are routinely chastised by medical professionals, are intentionally provided with little information, are made to wait longer because their care is considered non-emergency, are forced to watch while other women nearby are undergoing procedures they will soon be

undergoing, and are intentionally placed in the same rooms as women who have recently given birth and are holding or feeding their newborn children.

Under these circumstances, the legalization of abortion has become an important issue for feminist activists and organizations in the country beginning in the second half of the twentieth century. Liset Coba and Gioconda Herrera, in their overview of feminist resistance in Latin America, remark that the 1960s and 1970s was marked by materialist feminist postures in the Andean region; that is, feminist debates seeking to presignify the figure of the woman/mother through a class, gender, and racial analysis.[288] They continue to fight not just for the formal legalization of abortion that had been legally condemned since the 1970s, but also for increased social awareness that would ameliorate the oftentimes violent stigmatization of women who choose to terminate their pregnancies.

These local debates were also influenced by larger global discussion and transnational dialogues, specially in the 1980s when many Latin American countries, including Ecuador were fighting against authoritative governments and military regimes.[289] But by the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s, when these countries had transitioned into democracies and neoliberal economic policies, feminist conversations around reproductive justice and health concerns were informed and directed predominantly by transnational non-government organizations (NGOs). Due to waning resources and weakened government institutions, many local feminist organizations depended on institutionalized NGOs to facilitate local organizing for women seeking health and family planning resources. Marlise Matos and Clarisse Paradis explain that this period was marked by a divergence between "institutionalized" feminists, that is feminist organizers working with and for transnational NGOs, and "autonomous" feminists. The World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 was marked by that polarization.[290] The brief

history of abortion law and debates in Ecuador beginning in the mid-twentieth century alongside feminist struggles to decrease the social stigmatization of abortion that continues to condemn women in lieu of state prosecution, is an important context for my analysis of how (trans)national feminist coalitions, such as Coordinadora Juvenil and Women on Waves come together to organize direct action protests for reproductive justice.

On Pro-Life and *Santidad*

As seen from the short passage quoted above from *Sangre en las manos*, in Latin American national literatures, the ideal woman/mother is self-abnegating—she sacrifices everything, including herself and her well being for her child. According to pro-life activists, this sacrifice must begin at the moment of conception. As mentioned in Chapter 3, in Latin America the ideal woman/mother has been constructed and understood through the concept of *marianismo*. *Marianismo* is the ideal to which women must aspire; it is an ideal of womanhood formulated through the image of the Virgin Mary as self-abnegating mother. Women are considered innately more nurturing, but the ideal woman is also the self-abnegating mother whose moral superiority allows her to place her child's needs above anyone else's and usually at the expense of her personal, political, or professional desires as well as mental and/or physical health.[291]

According to Nikki Craske, although women in Latin America have undertaken new roles and have appropriated the public sphere, the belief that "decent" women are those women who choose marriage and motherhood still prevails.[292] In other words, while more and more Ecuadorian women have achieved success in other realms of life outside of the traditional family structure, this reality is still overshadowed by the fact that most young mothers are unable to get hired, maintain their jobs after pregnancy, have access to higher education, or continue their

education due to lack of family or financial support.[293] In Ecuador, it is still common for young mothers to drop out of school because they cannot afford tuition and have no access to government or private loans. According to a 2004 census report, a total of 510,837 women participants declared that they had not enrolled in a higher education institution for the 2003-2004 academic year for the following reasons: due to pregnancy, their family did not allow them to enroll, they had to help out in the home, or they did not have financial resources. Out of 510,837 women, 15,974 reported that they did not enroll in school because they were pregnant. The total number of men that did not enroll in school that same academic year and for the same reasons was zero.[294] At the same time, because the concept of *marianismo* is still present in the cultural imaginary of the country, the young mother's inability to pursue higher education is afforded as a virtue of the self-abnegating mother, rather than a societal failure.

Giving up educational or career opportunities due to a planned or unplanned pregnancy are just some of the sacrifices women must undergo—not just according to the national discourse that pervades society, but also according to pro-life activists that use this rhetoric as a moralizing gesture against women who choose to terminate their pregnancies. Soledad Varea explains that pro-life groups in Ecuador base their moralizing stance on national-religious discourses that hold the Virgin Mary as the highest and holiest example of motherhood for her ability to suffer in order to protect her son[295]. According to these activist groups, suffering for one's child is the ultimate sacrifice, and women who terminate their pregnancies can only be forgiven by God if they die in the process—the ultimate form of suffering for their sin.[296] Otherwise, women who survive their abortions must repent by sacrificing their lives to God: praying the rosary everyday, doing missionary work, and helping other women "find God" after having had their abortions.[297]

In interviews that Varea carried out in a Catholic spiritual retreat held by the "Lazos de

Amor Mariano" congregation held in Tumbaco, Ecuador in 2012, participants reiterated that "*…sufrimiento sirve para purificar nuestros pecados. Así, el sufrimiento nace como consecuencia de los pecados que los humanos cometemos, y del pecado original de Adán y Eva, e implica padecer dolores fisicos y espirituales. Vale la pena sufrir porque me hago igual a Cristo en su pasión*." (...suffering serves as a way to purify our sins. That way, suffering is born as a consequence of the sins that human kind commit, and Adam and Eve's original sin. It also implies suffering physical and spiritual pain. It's worth suffering because I get close to Christ, I become like him and his passion[298]). Pervading beliefs of women's suffering, sacrifice, and repentance are other ways that women are punished for their reproductive choices—much like how medical facilities punish the women who enter them for medical attention due to complications and are not arrested, but subjected to physical, psychological, and emotional punishment. At the same time, this history that connects suffering to *santidad* highlights the role that Catholic values holds in the discourse around abortion and reproductive freedom.

"*Tu decision. Aborto seguro*:" Protesting On/Against La Virgen del Panecillo

While fighting for increased reproductive rights and services have been at the forefront of feminist struggles across Latin America, and definitely in Ecuador, it was not until 2008 that the topic of abortion entered the national debate. President Rafael Correa was sworn into office on 2007 and proposed the drafting of a new Magna Carta—a new Constitution that would replace the one last drafted in 1998, which he hoped would more accurately and democratically reflect the needs of the Ecuadorian people. The proposal to draft a new Constitution passed with a popular vote of more than eighty percent—it was clear that the majority of the population wanted a new Constitution.

The process of drafting a new Constitution began on November 30th 2007 and was

finalized and presented to the general public for voting on July 25th 2008. On November, 130 Constitutional assembly people were chosen, most of them proponents of Correa's leftist political party, Alianza Patria Altiva i Soberana (Alianza PAIS). After the Constitutional assembly drafted the new Constitution, based on reforms proposed by various organizations, the new Constitution was placed up for popular vote on September 28th 2008. A campaign for the "Sí," led by Alianza PAIS pushed to pass the new Constitution, while more conservative sectors of the population built their campaign around "No," hoping to stall some of the more progressive reforms—such as greater civil liberties and protections for same-sex couple, single-parent families, and a rewording of the abortion law. The latter was not an extreme change from the abortion law in the old Constitution and was far from the legalization of abortion itself. At the same time, the conservative sectors that promoted the "No" wanted to outlaw abortion under all circumstances, even in cases of sexual assault. The new Constitution passed with a majority vote of almost sixty-four percent; however, it is crucial to note that debates around abortion reform that occurred previous to the vote that made it impossible for the new Constitution to legalize abortion. Specifically, it is important to survey the role that the media played in influencing and informing the general public about abortion in general, which as a topic never before discussed at a national level.

As explained in more detail in Chapter 2, media plays an essential role in the general public's engagement in politics and other public concerns. I am particularly interested in mass media—such as newspapers, radio, and television, but also other forms of media production—such as photography, graffiti, and performance for their ability to engage large portions of the population and for their power of cultural interpellation. In the case of the abortion debate, I examine the pro-life attacks against the reform proposal to the existing abortion law, many of

which took place in popular media forums such as newspapers, television, radio, and as street actions. At the same time, I analyze feminist responses to the abortion debate, which considered the important function that media had in informing the general public. These debates highlight how media plays an influential role in informing public opinion on reproductive health and points to cultural investments in reproductive control and controlling heteropatriarchal order.

While on the one hand, conservative and religious sectors of Ecuador that pushed a pro-life platform wanted to change the language of the existing abortion law to exclude abortion in all cases, feminist organizers pushed for the legalization of abortion. The new Constitution changed little about the abortion law in the old Constitution in order to appease escalating pro-life attacks against the new leftist president, demonstrating that as Carlos E. Flores aptly states: "*El aborto en Ecuador, no gira a la izquierda*." (Abortion in Ecuador does not lean to the left).[299] In other words, while the wording of the abortion law was just a small portion of the Constitution, because it created such a large debate and because the Conservative sectors began to criticize Correa for being "too liberal," the assembly people representing Alianza PAIS decided to change little to the law. And while the new Ecuadorian Constitution is often lauded as one of the most comprehensive Magna Cartas in the world, the debates around it emphasize how the Ecuadorian left continues to uphold conservative state and cultural-religious values.

Rafael Correa, elected President of Ecuador in 2006 and re-elected in 2009, has been responsible for various social and economic reforms in Ecuador. His socialist politics and critique of the debt crisis in Ecuador led him to organize and lead the Alianza PAIS, a socialist political movement of the twenty-first century. Socialism of the twenty-first century is an economic, political, and social shift that has taken place in various Latin American countries, most prominently Bolivia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. It is a democratically elected government

which aims at reforming the neoliberal policies implemented in these nations at the end of the twentieth century in order to help create a more socially equitable and environmentally sustainable way of living for its citizens.[300] According to Alianza PAIS' political manifesto, Correa's administration promised to fight for improving the lives of Ecuador's economically marginalized and indigenous populations ("*cholos, indios, chazos, negros, y montubios"*) as well as promote a more environmentally sustainable form of living for all through *Sumak Kawsay* (The Art of Good Living).[301] According to Manuel Castro, member of the Organization of the Quechua Indigenous People of Ecuador (ECUARUNARI), *Sumak Kawsay* is achieved by actively working towards social equality, equity, reciprocity, solidarity, justice, and peace.[302] At the same time, Correa has been highly criticized for his conservative politics, misogynistic comments about "*ideologias de género*" (gender ideologies), as well as his attacks against indigenous organizing.[303] During his last term, Correa was accused of resorting to the same neoliberal economic tactics that he had fought against when he granted Canadian companies permission to drill petroleum and mining deposits that were recently uncovered in the Yasuni National Park.[304]

When the process of drafting a new Constitution began in November, the 130 assembly people chosen were divided into eight tables, each assigned to a sector of the document. Table One, "*Derechos fundamentales y garantías constitucionales*" (Fundamental Rights and Constitutional Guarantees) would tackle the Constitutional semantics around abortion among many other issues such as discrimination and exclusion when applying Constitutional mandates, lack of knowledge of legal and Constitutional protections, and legal protections of immigrants, among others. Most of the coordination, process, and conversations among the assembly peoples in all eight tables were barely noted and had little media coverage. The general public awaited

the final draft during the summer of the following year to make a final vote. The process itself involved organizations and interested parties submitting reform proposals, which would then be sent to the pertinent tables to be discussed and voted on by the assembly peoples assigned to those tables. More than three thousand proposals were submitted, of which only one hundred and thirty of them were sent to Table One. The National Confederation of Women (CONAMU) sent a Constitutional reform that proposed guaranteed rights to all women by the secular state—the general language of the proposal was strategic, for the organization intentionally did not want to outright propose the legalization of abortion, which would have been ignored immediately, but rather wanted to remain vague in order for the law to be flexibly used in a court of law; in other words, CONAMU strategically proposed a vague reform that would offer more legal opportunities to women.

At the same time, it was the pro-life Conservative front that brought the debate to the media at a national level, pointing to abortion as the biggest issue on the table. According to CONAMU, in *Mujeres a media tinta*, abortion was the most discussed topic in mass media in the year 2008, specifically after the month of March. CONAMU reports that ninety percent of televised interviews and twenty percent of print news media were about abortion in that year alone. At the same time, they demonstrate that Catholic and Evangelical Christian pro-life groups informed most of the interviews and reports. Focusing their investigation on print media, counting the number of articles from the most read and influential newspapers in the country such as *El Comercio*, *El Universo*, and *El Mercurio*, they calculated that out of two hundred and sixty news articles written about the topic, eighty-one concluded that abortion should be illegal under any circumstance with no exception to sexual assault or danger to the fetus or the mother.[305] Few articles tried to frame the debate around the cultural, social, and economic reality of

Ecuadorian women who chose abortion.[306]

While mass media outlets disproportionally represented the conservative views of pro-life groups, feminist activist organizers responded by taking over the streets, and using graffiti as a political medium of resistance. While on the one hand, the streets of Quito became another political platform for pro-life activists to condemn women who chose abortion, feminist activist and artists responded by using the same public venues to dispel pro-life attacks. Ana Christa Vera describes that almost over night, Quito's walls became plastered with graffiti and pamphlets that showed enlarged embryos, with slogans that said: "*No asesinar cruelmente a sus hijos*." (Do not cruelly murder your children[307]). At the same time, Coordinadora Juvenil por la Equidad del Género, in *Resistencias desde el grafiti*, explains that graffiti is a medium for feminist activists to reclaim their rights, specially the right to safe abortions for everyone: "*Por eso, nosotras irrumpimos, contradecimos, molestamos, invadimos en las parades poniendo y hacienda lo que pensamos, porque somas nosotras quienes tomamos las decisions, porque a pesar de que el grafiti es illegal, todavia seguimos grafitiando y porque ademas de que aborto es illegal, seguimos abortando*." (That is why, we disrupt, contradict, bother, and invade the walls putting on them what we think, because we are the ones that make the decisions, because even though graffiti is illegal, we still do it and because even though abortion is illegal, we continue to have them[308]). Indeed, the use of graffiti became a medium for responding to pro-life discourse, reclaiming public space, as well as putting pressure on the political debate unfolding. That graffiti became a public and illegal medium for a discussion on abortion is interesting because it demonstrated once again that reproductive justice is a public health concern and one that requires a public discussion—whether or not the debate would happen inside the public governmental offices of the Assembly house. Furthermore, it uncovered the fragility of the state and the law,

which has been unsuccessful in decreasing the number of abortion and has merely placed women in dangerous and precarious situations.

Graffiti as a multi-faceted medium; considered by some to be vandalism, degradation to the environment, or a public nuisance, graffiti is also a form of art, political expression, self-expression, and can be empowering. In the case of Ecuador and the use of graffiti as a medium to establish a debate around abortion, it is part of a longer history of political graffiti around the city. Alex Ron in *Quito: Una ciudad de grafitis* establishes that Quito has a long and rich graffiti history. Ron explains how the use of graffiti to spread political messages dates back to the eighteenth century when Eugenio Espejo, considered one of the most prominent figures in Ecuador's independence movement, vandalized the flags around the Spanish-ruled Cabildo de San Francisco the Quito with calls for independence.[309] While the fact that a debate on abortion can be contextualized as part of a longer history of graffiti as political, it is the fact that it is women—in this case, identified as both from a conservative front and from a feminist network—that is unusual. Generally considered a form of counter-culture practiced only by youth, specifically young men, graffiti created by women of all ideological backgrounds is subversive in that it foregrounds women's position in the public sphere, their ability to demand and attain public space, as well as further legitimizes cultural/social debates that greatly influence public opinion.

Whether or not abortion would be included in the new Constitution or whether it would allow for its legalization became the largest and most spoken about debate, while in reality it was not a big discussion for the assembly peoples in charge of drafting the new reforms. At the same time, the public spectacle demonstrates how collective power and the media can influence the direction of the conversation. The debate escalated to such a degree that in May 2008, Alianza

PAIS made a public announcement that the new Constitution would guarantee and safeguard "life;"[310] in other words, they made it clear that while the Constitution was supposed to be a democratic process by and for the Ecuadorian peoples, Correa would protect his political party's values. After the public decree, Table One drafted the article that would pertain to abortion and right of life: "*Derecho a la Vida. La inviolabilidad de la vida. No hay pena de muerte*." (Right to Life. The inviolability of life. There is no death penalty). That is, life would be protected under the new Constitution; while a higher court could interpret the Constitutional wording, it would inevitably allow for the persecution of women of choose abortion.

Described above is the political situation in Ecuador that prompted Coordinadora Juvenil por la Equidad de Género and Women on Waves to stage a protest on June 2008 atop the Virgen del Panecillo. Coordinadora Juvenil is a non-profit autonomous feminist organization that formed in 2002 by and for female-identified youth. They promote and fight for sexual and reproductive rights, affordable and easy access to emergency contraception, and the legalization of abortion in Ecuador.[311] The original members of group were part of the Coordinadora Política de Mujeres en Ecuador (CPME), but left to organize a space that specifically worked by and for youth on issues of reproductive justice, which CPME did not include. Their organizing strategies are multi-faceted and while they work to change policy, organize conscious-raising workshops, and attend meetings and marches, they also launched the graffiti campaign described above. According to Amy Lind, in *Gendered Paradoxes*, feminist organizing in Ecuador since the 1990s is exemplified by strategic negotiations with, within, and against the state.[312] Coordinadora Juvenil's work can best be described as working within strategic negotiations with governments and international agencies, while at the same time asserting their agency in opposition to national political and policy agendas.

Collaborating with Coordinadora Juvenil on the legalization of abortion campaign in 2008 was Women on Waves, a Dutch feminist non-profit organization that has helped launch multiple transnational campaigns with local organizations around the legalization of abortion since 1999. Originally, their goal was to bring non-surgical abortive services, such as early medical abortion with pills—they did so aboard a Dutch ship and outside the territorial waters of countries where abortion is illegal. Campaigns aboard the ship included: Ireland (2001), Poland (2003), Portugal (2004), and Spain (2008). In 2009, the Dutch government claimed that early abortion methods used aboard a ship were considered criminal law. Women on Waves fought the Dutch government and won, continuing to provide services to women on the ship. In 2004, they also started a telephone helpline campaign in Portugal were they advertised a helpline number and provided information, resources, and support to women seeking to terminate pregnancies. The latter describes the campaign launched in Ecuador on June 2008. Women on Waves collaborates with local feminist organizations working around reproductive justice to launch such campaigns.[313]

On June 17th 2008 the two organizations arranged a workshop for twenty-five Ecuadorian journalists from different print and radio publications. The goal was to teach journalists how to more responsibly cover stories about abortion in the country that considers reasons why women choose abortion, the cultural expectations and pressures they are under, and the reality behind abortions in the country, including the escalating numbers of abortions recorded every year: "The WHO [World Health Organization] estimates that 95.000 abortions take place in Ecuador every year (30 per 1000 women in fertile age each year). There are only 200 registered legal abortions every year. Hospital data show that 20,000 to 30,000 women are admitted with complications arising from botched abortions each year. Unsafe abortion causes 18% of the materiaal [*sic*]

mortality in Ecuador."[314] Therefore, the campaign was clearly an important intervention, considering how the media was covering stories around abortion; that is, over-representing pro-life agendas.

The workshop began at nine in the morning with a panel discussion, including panelists Fernando López (Dean of Social Communications, Universidad Central del Ecuador), Cecilia Costa (member of Women on Waves), Hernán Reyes (Professor, Universidad Andina Simon Bolivar), Virginia Gómez (member of the Frente de Defensa de los Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos), and Ana Vera (member of Coordinadora Juvenil). Panelists discussed the role of press in other feminist campaigns such as Portugal, the influence of mass media in present day conservatism, strategies on passing abortion reforms in the new Ecuadorian Constitution, and the ways in which local women were organizing for abortion rights.[315]

Besides training journalists on how to more comprehensively cover stories about abortion, the other goal of the workshop was to pressure the Constitutional Assembly that would present the new Constitution the following month to take a stand on the issue of abortion and add more comprehensive wording to the document that would allow women more reproductive freedoms. Hence, the gathering was followed by a direct action protest—that is, the use of a disruptive social movement tactics that push for social change, rather than one that works within the legal system or other state confines. Shelley Streeby connects direct action tactics to longer histories of "anticolonial, antislavery, and labor struggles" that have always challenges the state as the "horizon of possibility."[316] The journalists were merely told that the day would end with a surprise: around noon, they were driven on a charter bus to the city center, up the hill of El Panecillo, were the organizers proceeded to unfold a cloth banner that read: "*TU DECISION. ABORTO SEGURO: 099004545*" ("YOUR CHOICE. SAFE ABORTION: 099004545"). The 8

X 4.5 meter banner was unfolded at the feet of the monument of the Virgen del Panecillo, and according to the organizers, due to lack of security, it was able to stay there for longer then they had expected, until they were asked by two guards on duty to take it down. Following the action, the journalists returned to the panel for a question and answer portion to discuss their reactions about the hotline launch.[317]

The action was both performative as well as symbolic. On the one hand, it was meant to make the participants perform a staged protest from the perspective of feminist organizers fighting for reproductive justice. The participants, who were not informed of their participation in the action, became actors in the protest and were made to perform as activist for women's reproductive rights. While this tactic does indeed raise a question about consent, the organizer's decision to leave the protest as a surprise was strategic in the sense that the journalists were both actors in and witnesses of an ongoing debate that until that point was being publicized as one-sided. The action was also symbolic in that it was strategically performed on one of the most popular tourist sites, the highest point in the city, as well as one the most visible Catholic symbols of the city. As stated earlier on this chapter, by placing the banner on the Virgin's feet, the organizers denounced the religious, patriarchal, and heterosexist colonial history of the nation-state that has both legitimized the criminalization of abortion and prevented its legalization. The action highlighted the importance of the Virgin's positionality atop the Panecillo overlooking the historical center—a constant reminder of the country's colonial past.

While the action was only briefly covered in news media and was most likely not a memorable moment for most Ecuadorians or *quiteños,* I argue that it was an important part of the larger debate around reproductive laws in the country and one of the few that directly condemned and connected the country's colonial and religious history to the current fights for reproductive

rights. In other words, Coordinadora Juvenil's tactics of using graffiti, organizing a workshop, and staging a protest on the Virgen del Panecillo demonstrate not just the use of multi-faceted strategies, but how feminist organizing in Ecuador around reproductive justice in the crucial months of early- and mid-2008 helped assert women's voices in the public sphere, established reproduction as a public health concern, as well as challenged the state and the Church for their implication in legal and social condemnation of women who chose to terminate their pregnancies.

Furthermore, I am most interested in this action because of the strategic use of the Virgin to stage their protest. Unlike the film *A tus espaldas* analyzed in the last chapter, the Virgin in this instance represents a counter-image of Catholic and state power. In *Images of Power*, Jens Andermann and William Rowe remark that images in Latin America have "…historically constitute[d] a contested site, one at which figurations of identity and alterity are constantly produced as well as reassembled and re-signified. National iconographies…viabilise the State as the central instance of interpellation, yet they seem to retain…part of the charge of otherness from which their iconicity derives, and…may suddenly be unleashed in counter-images and anti-icons[318]." In this case, the image of the Virgen del Panecillo acts as a contested site. On the one hand, the Virgin represents and stabilizes the state. At the same time, she acts as a counter-image and an anti-icon to the state and the Catholic Church. For feminist activists in Ecuador, she symbolizes a vestige of colonial order, patriarchal control, and contemporary state power. At the same time, she is the most strategic image to help destabilize the ideologies that the Church and the state reify.

In 2012, the 2008 Constitution went up for popular vote once again—with new reforms around same-sex marriage, redefinition of "family," same-sex adoption, and the legalization of

abortion. Once more, feminist activists saw an opportunity to push for the legalization of abortion, which did not pass four years earlier. On July 2012, President Correa adamantly tweeted that he would veto any alteration to the abortion penal code: "*Con todo respeto a otras opiniones, vetaré cualquier articulo sobre aborto que vaya más allá de lo que ya existe en el Código Penal*." (With all due respect to any other opinions, but I will veto any article about abortion that goes beyond what is already stated on the Penal Code).[319] Throughout the proceedings and feeling pressured by a female-led Constitutional Assembly, President Correa announced that he would sanction assembly members Soledad Buendia, Gina Godoy, and Paola Pabón for their vocal support to decriminalize abortion. Soon after his threat, the three public figures were suspended for one month from their posts. In addition, the day before the Constitutional draft would go up for popular vote, Correa publicly proclaimed that if abortion was legalized—which he considered an act of disloyalty to the nation—he would be forced to renounce the presidency: "*Si siguen estas traiciones y deslealtades, si mañana se evidencia algo[…]yo presentaré mi renuncia al cargo*." (If these acts of treason and disloyalty continue, if tomorrow this happens[…]I will resign my post).[320] In his second term and quickly losing popularity, Correa adamantly demonstrated that nationalized leftist politics in Ecuador would not extend women's reproductive rights. As quoted earlier: "*El aborto en Ecuador, no gira a la izquierda*." (Abortion in Ecuador, does not lean to the left).[321]

La Virgen de Legarda as Virgen del Legrado

On October 7th 2011, Peruvian poet, artist, and journalist, Cecilia Podestá was invited to the Art Biennial in La Paz, Bolivia, where she was to show her photographic piece "Virgen del Legrado"—a self-portrait of the artist as a half-clothed, bleeding Virgin Mary. When the advertisement for the event went public, sponsors withdrew their support and the organizers

decided to censor the piece; without her permission, they displayed another art piece by the artist. One of the organizers, Norma Campos explained to the press that Podestá did not show up for the event, rather than admitting that they decided to censor the artist's work.[322] The incident described above demonstrates the subversiveness of the photograph, "Virgen del Legrado," in its use of the Virgin to promote the legalization of abortion as well as underscores the Catholic pro-life rhetoric that has made its legalization impossible in countries like Peru and Ecuador.

In what follows, I analyze the transnational circulation of the Virgen del Panecillo—a seemingly *quiteño* and localized symbol—from Ecuador to Peru to Bolivia. A critical analysis of the photograph, its circulation, and its censorship highlight how feminist artists (re)appropriate colonial, religious, and national symbols to expose the connections among coloniality, heteropatriarchy, and Catholicism. The Virgin illustrates a longer colonial history of Catholic dominance and control over women's gender, sexuality, and reproduction in the Andean region. Therefore, (re)appropriating her image directly challenges this history, explicitly holding the Catholic Church accountable for its role in the ideological and discursive victimization, criminalization, and policing of women's bodies and reproductive lives.

Furthermore, I argue that Podestá's use of the image of the Virgen del Panecillo as a bleeding woman whose just undergone an abortion functions in similar ways to how Chicana feminist artists have (re)appropriated the image of the Virgen de Guadalupe as alternatives forms of expression from mainstream Chicano, U.S.-centric, and Mexican-national ideological projects. While the method of "(re)appropriation" works in similar ways, this chapter specifically demonstrates how the Virgen del Panecillo serves as a regional icon, centering Andean epistemologies and local histories and symbols. Her circulation through the three Andean countries—Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia—highlights an interconnected pre-Columbian and

contemporary history among the Andes; a history of entangled colonialism(s), ideologies, customs, and languages oftentimes forgotten or made distinct by stringent disciplinary scholarships.

In an interview, Podestá explains that the "Virgen del Legrado" is a project that seeks to make a cultural intervention aimed at raising consciousness to women who claim religiosity as an excuse for not advancing women's reproductive rights.[323] After the piece was censored, Podestá continued to circulate the image online—it appeared on the artist's blog site to commemorate the *Día de la lucha por el despenalización del aborto* (Fight for the Legalization of Abortion Day) a few days earlier. It also appeared around the streets of Lima, Peru, posters of the image plastered the walls of the city. At the bottom of the photograph, it reads: "*Soy creyente porque tengo fe y sé que Dios no me abandonará ahora que tengo miedo de morir durante está: mi decisión más difícil.*" (I am a believer because I have faith that God will not abandon me while I fear for my life during: my most difficult decision). While Podestá identifies as atheist, the heading is meant to be read as a prayer by Catholic women, who during the worst of times resorts to faith, even when these institutions abandon them.

In another interview, Podestá claims that if she had been the Virgin Mary, forced to birth a child against her will, she would have chosen abortion. More than a supposition, the statement reads as an affirmation of Mary's denied sexuality, reclaiming her right to choose maternity. Indeed, in the Catholic religion:

> …[Mary] is completely disassociated from sexuality. Her fertility is not seen as opulent and optimistic. Her maternity is taken away from her: the birth of her child was unlike all other births…Even her virginity—her most precious gift, according to the tradition—is defined only in the narrowest physiological sense. Jesus was 'conceived by the Holy Spirit' (without a sexual act) and 'born of the Virgin Mary' (the hymen did not rupture even at delivery—a violent, even sadistic image)…virginal motherhood [for] Mary…is

> reduced to a unilateral act, from above, by the Holy Spirit, for whom Mary is no more than a vessel, a recipient, instead of an active subject. All these are seen as reasons for the rejection of Mary as a usable goddess for contemporary feminists.[324]

At the same time, in Podestá's (re)interpretation of Mary, the Virgin is no longer untouched or pure—in other words, not only has her hymen been broken, she is currently bleeding out onto a white satin-covered floor. Podestá's image reminds the spectator of women's many biological and physiological purposes: menstruation, sexual acts, reproduction, and abortion. Therefore, I argue that Mary's (re)appropriation by feminist activists is what is so fruitful and necessary. That is, the Virgin Mary represents the imagined false ideals of purity and virginity upon which the Church and state have founded their moral codes and laws.

The (re)appropriation of the image of the Virgen del Panecillo also highlights the cultural and regional specificity of the Virgin. While on the one hand, she functions as a regional icon, on the other hand, she represents the larger Andean population—the many women who find themselves at the conjecture between faith, the law, and their own well-being. *Decisiones Cotidianas*, a compilation of abortion testimonies of women in Ecuador features the quotidian decision of choosing abortion for themselves, while at the same grappling with the (il)legality of the act, the moral consequences, as well as the financial, emotional and physical strain on their bodies and minds. The prayer/confession at the bottom of Podestá's photograph is written from the perspective of a woman for other women, many of whom identify with being caught between a decision that is condemned by state and Church while also seeking refuge in the faith that rejects them. For example, Daysi, a thirty-two year old Ecuadorian woman with four children chose to have an abortion after she was told that her fifth child, which she was not expecting and could not financially maintain, was forming with no bones on her head. Torn among the illegality of the act, her faith in God, and her own well-being, she had the abortion, held a Catholic mass

for her unborn daughter, and sought out her faith in God to help her with her decision.[325] "Virgen del Legrado," then, is a representation of these quotidian experiences and how women negotiate their relationships to the state and the Church.

While on the one hand, the art piece represents the colloquial experience of the Andean woman; the piece also works to iconicize the Virgen del Panecillo across the region. Her iconization happens at the moment of reproduction, at the moment of (re)appropriation and (re)representation. Leigh Raiford, in *Imprisoned in a Luminous Glare*, examines how photography works in the process of iconization. She states that the use and repetition of movement in photographs crystalizes an icon to become tools to aid national, regional, and communal memory.[326] While Raiford is specifically writes about Black freedom struggles of the 1960s in the United States and how the use and repetition of movement in photography, posters, and commercials transformed leaders into icons of the revolution, her analysis of movement, repetition, and political action are useful here to think about how artists make and re-make national icons to serve political purposes.

At the same time, in the act of feminist (re)appropriation, what Podestá accomplishes is not just the iconization if the Virgen del Panecillo across the Andean region, recalling people's regional memories, but also challenges visual nation-building as patriarchal and Euro-centric.[327] For example, as stated earlier, when the photograph was censored in Bolivia, Podestá proceeded to plastering copies of the photograph across the city if Lima, Peru. A candid photograph of a pedestrian starring at the wall montage best demonstrates the power of photography and reproduction, as well as public action. The man, who appears to be in his fifties or sixties, stops to stare at a row of Podestá's half-naked and bleeding body. At the end of the wall, you can see that someone has already proceeded to tearing down some of the images. Yet, the public staging

invites the spectator to witness a seemingly private, not to mention, illegal act. The man also seems to be carefully reading the heading, a public condemnation by all women who have been caught between the law and the Church. While abortion continues to be illegal in countries like Peru and Ecuador, public displays such as this one work to raise awareness of women's experiences, the precarious situations women find themselves in when they have clandestine abortions, as well as the ways in which secular nation-states continue to work in tandem with religious institutions like the Catholic Church.

The transnational (re)appropriation of the image of the Virgen de Guadalupe between Mexico and the United States by Chicana feminist artists and scholars further exemplifies how the feminist (re)appropriation of the Virgin Mary functions to challenge visual nation-building projects. As Chicana scholar Laura Elisa Perez states, the (re)appropriation of the Virgen de Guadalupe "interrogates the history of discursive and visual nation building as patriarchal and Euro-centric, and directs our gaze to the marginalized meanings of everyday symbols that narrate radically other."[328] Chicana artists such as Alma López and Ester Hernandez have presented art work that (re)appropriate the iconic Mexican image of the Virgen de Guadalupe into images of the Virgen in a flower bikini (Alma López, "Our Lady," 1999) or of the Virgin in a white karate uniform kicking forward (Ester Hernandez, "The Virgen de Guadalupe Defending Chicano Rights," 1975). Their images, specially López' "Our Lady," which caused a great deal of controversy when it was showcased at the Museum of International Folk Art (MOIFA) in Santa Fe, New Mexico on February 25th 2001, demonstrate how feminist calls to action threaten the patriarchal state and Church. Like Podestá in Bolivia, López' art work was almost censored, MOIFA was threatened, and Catholic protestors took to the streets—these reactions amplify the power of iconic images of the Virgin Mary, stabilized by state and Church, imbued with sacred

meanings, rather than understood as cultural products with malleable ideologies and values.

In this section I compare artists such as López and Hernandez to artists like Podestá in order to build a hemispheric connection among the United States, Mexico, and the Andean region while at the same time centering Andean epistemologies. Diana Taylor argues that Hemispheric studies "…could potentially counter the Latin American studies of the mid-twentieth century and the NAFTAism of the later twentieth century by exploring histories of the north and south as profoundly intertwined. It allows us to connect histories of conquest, colonialism, slavery, indigenous rights, imperialism, migration, and globalizations (to name some issues) throughout the Americas.[329]" In other words, a hemispheric analysis of the feminist and artistic (re)appropriations of the Virgin Mary by Chicana, Ecuadorian, and Peruvian artists and activists not only affirm the intricate connections between north and south, but the ways in which these are imbricated by longer histories of colonization and (neo)colonization. Analyzing Podestá's work in this manner, and in conversation with Chicana artists, decenters the United States as the cultural and financial power that the south looks towards to for reaffirmation. Furthermore, it centers the Andean region in a larger hemispheric intellectual dialogue around art, feminism, and reproductive justice.

Conclusion: Ongoing Struggles for Reproductive Autonomy

On August 4th 2017, María Verónica Espinosa, head of the Ministry of Health, publicly declared the passing of MSP-2017-0709-M, a memorandum written and approved by the Ministry that guarantees women increased protections when they enter a medical establishment in the process of or after having induced an abortion.[330] Espinosa summarizes that the memorandum promises women integral, fast, and quality medical attention under any circumstances.[331] As previously described, women who seek medical attention due to

complications from an abortion are often relegated to shaming tactics which include long wait times, procedures that have not been properly explained to them, and being forced to share rooms with women who are breast-feeding their newborns.[332] The memorandum was passed because while abortion is still illegal in Ecuador, it is legal under three circumstances: cases of sexual assault, if the "fetus" is in danger, or if the mother suffers from any mental incapacity. At the same time, because there are no resources for women to undergo abortion even under those cases and/or because women fear social and legal prosecution, they often resort to underground clinics or medications to self-induce their terminations. Oftentimes, when they enter medical facilities afterwards, they fear telling the doctor if they indeed attempted to terminate their pregnancies and while medical professionals are able to detect if a woman has indeed had a recent abortion, they rarely ask or believe the women.

Espinosa reminds medical professionals that they are under oath and must protect women's confidentiality. At the same time, she clarifies that everyone, including medical professionals, must continue to abide by Constitutional Law and Ecuador's Penal Code. Therefore, she urges medical professionals to adhere to state law while providing women with the same medical attention that all other citizens are guaranteed.[333] While the memorandum does not actually rectify or change the law, it acts as an official reminder of what the law states: that abortion is indeed legal under certain circumstances, that all citizens have a right to adequate medical care, and that medical professionals have taken an oath to protect the patient and their confidentiality.

While on the one hand, the memorandum extends protections and resources to women who have abortions in Ecuador, on the other hand, Ecuador has witnessed an increase in women legally prosecuted for terminating their pregnancies. According to the *Fiscalía General del*

Estado (State's Prosecutors Office), between 2014-2017 a total of 184 women have been incarcerated for having had an abortion.[334] Women who are prosecuted are often sentenced from six months to two years in prison. It is still unclear whether the passing of MSP-2017-0709-M will help women's interactions with medical professionals when they seek help or whether it will actually escalate the number of legal prosecutions against women—a practice that until recently was uncommon. While medical professionals are supposed to treat the women with better medical care, perhaps given less opportunities to privately shame women it may actually lead to increased legal prosecutions.

The legalization of abortion and the protection of reproductive rights has been an important and prominent feminist struggle in Ecuador. Many feminist organizations, like CONAMU, Coordinadora Juvenil por la Equidad de Género, and Women on Waves have examined the connections among sexual violence, poverty, and gender inequity and how the legalization of abortion, increased reproductive health and education, and access to medical reproductive control are needed for all women. Furthermore, this chapter has demonstrated that the legalization of abortion at the national and political level has been met with strategic uses of direct action and critical cultural production such as graffiti and photography in order to offset the highly publicized pro-life rhetoric from Catholic, Christian and Evangelical institutions.

The last chapter of this dissertation is about feminist struggles for reproductive justice in Ecuador and Peru because these debates best highlight how coloniality, the state, and the Church collude to control women's gender and sexuality. Many of the women who choose abortion in Ecuador, have been victims of sexual assault. In 2014, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) reported that more than twenty-five percent of women in Ecuador have suffered some form of sexual assault. Furthermore, the report shows

that second cause of female morbidity in Ecuador is unsafe abortions.[335] These results demonstrate how patriarchal laws, institutions, and the ideologies that uphold them result in particular forms of gendered and sexual violence. The fact that these same institutions prohibit access to birth control and abortions showcase that they work to perpetuate and exacerbate gendered and sexual violence, rather than work to condemn it.

The fourth chapter, "From La Virgen del Panecillo to La Virgen del Legrado: (Trans)national Feminist Struggles for Reproductive Rights in the Andes," has been submitted for publication and is under review with *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*. Dissertation author was the sole author of this material.

Conclusion

From Quito to Kitu:

Failed Leftist State, Speculative Futurities, and Decolonization

> *Estamos entrando en la época en la cual el hombre corre el riesgo de ser esclavo de la técnica, la libertad estará condicionada a las necesidades de la sociedad de masas, no existirán oasis individuales, pero sí muchos centros de 'vivencia colectiva' en donde se reconozca a los hombres por el número que llevan en la espalda[…]si no queremos esclavizarnos de esta manera tenebrosa, tenemos que construir para el futuro de tal forma que mantengamos defendida la necesidad humana de la libertad individual acomodando a la gente en un nuevo humanismo construido por la ciencia: es penoso por otro lado que la familia, el hogar, en el sentido tradicional no podrá mantearse como ahora lo conocemos.*[336]
>
> We are entering an era in which men run the risk of becoming slaves of technology, freedom will be determined by the needs of a society for the masses, and there won't exist an oasis for individuals, but there will be a lot of centers for 'collective living' where men will be recognized by the number they wear on their back[…]if we don't want to be enslaved in this sinister way, we need to build towards a future that maintains and defends the need for individual freedom that adapts people to a new humanism constructed to serve science: it is sad, on the other hand, that the family, and the home, in a traditional sense, will not remain the way we know it.

As I suggest in the second chapter, the 1970s was a decade of economic, geopolitical, and social change for Ecuador and one that changed the urban landscape of Quito in unprecedented ways. In a news article that heads this chapter, titled "El trazado urbanístico para el Quito del future" and published on October 1970 in *El Comercio*, architect Eduardo Franco M. pessimistically remarks that the future of Quito will center collectivity, which he equates to slavery, and will witness the demise of the traditional family and home. Furthermore, he warns

that this future city would suppress individual freedom for the interest of "the masses." His fear is enflamed by a growing anxiety about communism in the 1960s, especially given the success of the Cuban Revolution. Although his remarks are exaggerated, they demonstrate the connection between urban transformation and changing ideologies of social comportment. While he equates the new urban changes to a move towards social collectivity and the demise of the traditional family, in this dissertation I suggest that Quito's urban expansion in the 1970s actually meant a return to colonial and antiquated ideas of morality and social control with the advent of neoliberalism, changing gender roles, and what was presumed to be "chaotic" urban sprawl.

In this conclusion, I analyze Franco M.'s fears about Quito's future and reaffirm the ways in which (neo)colonial ideologies of urban and social control as well as neoliberal ideologies of market-expansion and individualism were at the forefront of urban projects of the 1970s—ideologies which actually make his anxieties unwarranted since they were antithetical to the "collectivity" he feared. At the same time, I want to think through his idea of "collectivity" as that which would disrupt traditional family values in order to imagine a decolonial Quito in the future. In doing so, I analyze the novella *Lunar Braceros 2125-2148* by Rosaura Sanchez and Beatriz Pita in order to consider what alternative modes of relationality would look like within an anti-capitalist model that honors Indigenous concepts of land and life. My analysis considers the possibility (or lack thereof) of Indigenous led resistance within current models of anti-capitalism in the Andean region. Lastly, I want to return to Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's call for a feminist decolonial project of Pachakutik and ask: what would Quito look like in the future if it centered Indigenous colonial histories of genocide, (neo)colonial presents of Indigenous displacement and land extraction and worked towards a feminist decolonial future of land repatriation and the absolution of the heteropatriarchal nation-state?

In "Speculative Archives: Histories of the Future of Education," Shelley Streeby analyzes how speculative fiction addresses current material realities of labor, technology, and neoliberalism. Streeby is most interested in works that employ critical dystopian futures in order to both challenge the costs of neoliberalism and imagine collective enclaves of resistance. Citing Tom Moylan, Streeby writes: "…the formation of collective enclaves of resistance on the margins of society trying to make a different world and the glimmer of a utopian horizon are two of the features that distinguish critical dystopias of the Reagan and post-Reagan era from classical dystopias…"[337] *Lunar Braceros 2125-2148* is an excellent example of a dystopian future in which capitalist advancement, neoliberalism, and technology have continued to exponentially destroy natural resources (i.e. water, minerals, and arable land) and exploit racialized labor forces. But it also highlights the formation of collective enclaves of resistance that make possible alternative futures. In the novella, while mineral resources have been expended on Earth, the moon is colonized for the extraction of minerals. Written by two queer Chicana scholars and artists located in the border city of San Diego, California, *Lunar Braceros* critically challenges (neo)colonial borders and nation-states boundaries that while increasingly porous, continue to enforce colonial boundaries of space, race, class, and sexuality. In my analysis, I am most interested in how within the dystopian new world order, the Ecuadorian Amazon becomes the only site of resistance against natural resource extraction, following a long struggle to protect the land and the communities living within it. I ask, considering the changes in Ecuador's political scene since the publication of *Lunar Braceros*, what would an Indigenous-led autonomous collective look like within the dystopian present we live in?

Told from multiple perspectives, *Lunar Braceros* follows the lives of Lydia and Frank, two low-wage workers sent to the Moon to work as "lunar braceros"—disposing of chemical

waste on the moon in a future dystopia in which the two global super-powers that remain on Earth no longer have space on the planet to do so. After discovering that they are not likely to return to Earth alive, they must find ways of organizing and rebelling on the Moon to effect their safe return, and must do so under extreme surveillance. Once on Earth, they flee to Chinganaza, an autonomous communal-run and Indigenous-led community in present-day Ecuador, specifically in the Amazonian region. Chinganaza is established by an Indigenous movement formed throughout the twenty-first century and inspired by the Zapatista Movement in Chiapas, Mexico as well as the formation of Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) in the twentieth-century. As Lydia explains to her son Pedro, "What we have in Chinganaza[…]was the growth of the indigenous movement throughout the 21st century that allowed the Amazonian populations to limit the incursions planned by transnational mining, oil, and natural gas enterprises and kept them from destroying all the biodiversity of the area and from displacing thousands of indigenous villagers. This movement is what enabled the general autonomy of Chinganaza and its maintaining certain traditions […]while the other indigenous *cantones* took the road of so-called modernization."[338] In Chinganaza, everything is done communally, including working the land, selling surplus food, and making/selling crafts in order to pay for electricity. Maintaining a communal lifestyle functions as a direct challenge to the capitalist system that has led to the destruction of the Earth and the Moon, as well as imagines what a return to Indigenous ways of life are needed to combat wide-spread exploitation. While Chinganaza is autonomous, it is led by Indigenous leaders and principles, which the Chicanx and other non-Native characters respect and follow. After their rebellion, they understand they cannot return home; therefore, Chinganaza does not only function as the only safe place to go, but rather it functions as the only place that can ultimately challenge the exploitative ways of life that have

created the circumstances for their exile.

While dystopian futures are neither utopian nor anti-utopian because they imagine alternative forms of resistance within dystopian imaginaries, it is hard to envision the latter given that these narratives are extensions of the current reality. While *Lunar Braceros* conceives of "Chinganaza [as the place that] will serve as an inspiration for future changes in Cali-Texas," I am pushed to think about the historical context in which Chinganaza is imagined as this enclave of resistance.[339] Touching on the formation of CONAIE and future Indigenous uprisings stemming from it, I wonder how the novella, published in 2009, would already have to be reimagined given the context of Ecuadorian Indigenous struggle today? While CONAIE was formed in a moment of Indigenous mobilization against neoliberalism at the end of the twentieth century, as outlined in Chapter 2, not much has changed for Indigenous communities and the resources on their lands after the presidency of socialist president Rafael Correa, except for the fact that Correa was deemed a glimmer of hope within what could have been described as a dystopian reality when he was first elected. While Correa denounced neoliberalism for "looting" the country, as he states in his political manifesto,[340] he has also brutally and fatally stopped Indigenous mobilizations that denounce his dealings with Canadian and Chinese corporations entering the Amazon for mineral extraction[341].

Furthermore, under Correa's presidency, Indigenous institutions have been under attack. For example, the Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion (MIES) announced that CONAIE must close down its offices in Quito on January 6th 2015. According to CONAIE members, the eviction is a counterinsurgent move from the state against CONAIE after the organization denounced Correa's government during the Lima Climate Change Conference COP20. According to MIES, the governmental institution is exercising Article 2083 from the Civic Code,

which states that any organization may be asked to relocate if the space is needed for an organization of higher priority—in this case, the CONAIE office would be transformed into a drug detox center.[342] To frame a drug detox center as more important than CONAIE's main office resonates with the arguments in this dissertation. That is, that the (neo)colonial nation-state will continue to revert back to discourses of propriety, respectability, and social order despite marginalized communities continuing to struggle for basic survival. This is not to say that the state should not invest in rehabilitation programs, but in fact such programs have functioned as a front for de-homosexualization clinics in the country. Correa has been denounced by the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) for human rights violations, asking these over two hundred clinics in Ecuador be shut down immediately because these clinics have proven to admit minors without their consent, medicate patients unnecessarily, and use torture techniques.[343] Not to mention that they function to pathologize homosexuality as a disease to be cured rather than a human right to be protected. As Dean of the Universidad Intercultural de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas, Dr. Luis Fernando Sarango Macas, aptly affirms, ironically enough, Indigenous peoples (and we can argue, sexual minorities) have gained more under right-wing regimes than they have under Correa's left-wing presidency.[344]

I conclude with *Lunar Braceros* as a way to imagine what would ongoing capitalism and environmental destruction look like if these systems are left unrestricted as well as how Indigenous ways of communal living act as modes of resistance to capitalist ways of life. While Eduardo Franco M. feared that urban expansion and neoliberalism would lead to more communality and an attack to the heteropatriarchal family unit in 1970, it actually functioned to reinforce individuality, exacerbate capitalism, and inspire a return to colonial modes of

comportment throughout the end of the twentieth century. At the same time, while Sanchez and Pita use CONAIE as the site of Indigenous resistance *par excellence* in *Lunar Braceros*, or as that which would lead to new forms of Indigenous resistance in the future, the closing of CONAIE's offices in Quito as well as Correa's escalating attacks on Indigenous organizing in Ecuador demonstrate how the leftist turn in Latin America has meant little in the way of material changes for Indigenous peoples. That is, the nation-state cannot and will not function as a site of reparations for colonial wrong-doings but will continue to legitimize (neo)colonial discourses. So much like in *Lunar Braceros*, decolonization is only possible outside of the nation-state, given that even the most progressive leftist governments continue to exploit Indigenous peoples and the country's natural resources for profit, while using Indigenous discourses. But how do we combat the current war against Indigenous peoples that continues to foreclose material solutions to the escalating neoliberal exploitation of human life?

Therefore, I conclude with a speculative future of the Andean region in order to consider what would a project of Pachakutik look like if history were understood as cyclical rather than linear. While this dissertation followed the transformation of Quito in a chronological manner—from Kitu, to Quito's foundation in the sixteenth century, to the unprecedented expansion of Quito in the 1970s, to public resistance in Quito's streets in the early twenty-first century, all the way to imagining Chinganaza in a speculative future in the twenty-second century—Chinganaza here represents a return to Pachakutik, a closing or a circular history that demands a return to anti-capitalist modes of living and the repatriation of Indigenous land to Indigenous peoples. A trans-historical reading of Quito's urbanization from the Inkan city of Kitu to a speculative imagining of Quito in the future challenges Western notions of history. I follow Silvia Rivera's Cusicanqui's understanding of Pachakutik, which considers history not in linear terms, but rather

as circular, where past, present, and future moments relate and inform one another. Indeed, this dissertation demonstrates the trans-historical connections that continue to *haunt* present days modalities of life and social control and will continue if capitalism and individual investments are not met with resistance.

I use the term haunt as "…the language and the experiential modality by which […]abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with (slavery, for instance) or when their oppressive nature is denied (as in free labor or national security)."[345] Avery Gordon in *Ghostly Matters* argues that systems of power are always able to resurface in new, often unexpected ways, especially when they are imagined to be "over and done with." Indeed, this dissertation demonstrates the ways in which colonial modes of urbanization and social control haunt the present and resurface in unexpected ways—as neoliberalism, new modes of exploitative resource extraction, *machismo/marianismo*, and state control over women's reproductive lives.

Throughout this dissertation, I have followed the transformations of the Inkan city of Kitu to the Spanish Audience of Quito in the sixteenth century in order to juxtapose the ways in which space-making functions in Indigenous and colonial ways of life and to demonstrate how the former understand the relationship between land and life as reciprocal while the latter uses urbanization as a system of social control. Furthermore, this dissertation connects the foundation of the Royal Audience of Quito to another moment of unprecedented urban expansion for the city, this time in the 1970s in order to showcase how colonial ideologies of social control resurface at a moment of presumed chaos. The connections between these two historical flash points expose how neoliberalism established new links with religion and traditional values often as a commodity to be sold for tourism. I use the example of the construction of the monument of

the Virgen del Panecillo to show how the nation-state strategically uses its colonial past as a cultural reconversion that necessitates the historical misremembering of a violent colonial past. Furthermore, I analyze various cultural forms that incorporate the image of the Virgen del Panecillo, including a film, a staged protest, and photography in order to show how these cultural forms have the capacity to reproduce violent and colonial discourses as well as challenge colonial representations of difference and marginalization.

Given the ways that the nation-state has been able to legitimize land extraction, capitalist exploitation, and social control, I ask: what would a decolonial project of Pachakutik look like in the future? What would it require? Who would it take to imagine it? I add my own speculative future imaginary from the queer Ecuadorian diaspora—my personal positionality. First and foremost, it would require the repatriation of Indigenous land to Indigenous peoples. In "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang argue that decolonization requires the repatriation of land or the elimination of land rights to settlers.[346] It would also require the elimination of capitalism and all new forms of capitalist exploitation of people and natural resources, such as neoliberalism. Subsequently, it would mean understanding the relationship between humans and nature as reciprocal rather than extractive. A decolonial project would necessitate the abolition of social hierarchies of power, not merely the achievement of equal rights to (racial, sexual, class, religious, etc.) minorities. Decolonization also demands the disruption of the traditional (monogamous) nuclear family in the heteropatriarchal sense in favor of communal ways of relating to others. Lastly, as the concept of Pachakutik reminds us, decolonization is the understanding that history is cyclical and not linear and that which we create in the past and the present will affect all future outcomes.

NOTES

[1] On the night I attended, Friday, August 11, 2017, it was estimated that 855,100 people were present at the event. See: Daniel Romero, "La Fiesta de la Luz atrajo, en tres noches, a 1,635,100 asistentes." *ElComercio.com*. (August 12, 2017). Web.
[2] Alfredo Lozano Castro, "Ordenación del territorio y concepción simbólica del espacio en la ciudad prehispana de Quito," *Quito Prehispánico* (July 2006), 186-87.
[3] Here on after, I will honor the Kichwa spelling of Kichwa words and or names such as Atawallpa instead of Atahualpa.
[4] Nathalie Cruz. Personal Interview. (August 16, 2016).
[5] Mary Louise Pratt. "La modernidad desde la Américas," *Revista Iberoamericana* 66.193 (2000), 832.
[6] Blanca Carrera, "Mapa de distribución de la población de la ciudad de Quito." *Quito: Aspectos Geográficos de su Dinamismo* (1984).
[7] Henry Godard, *Crecimiento de Quito y Guayaquil: Estructuración, segregación y dinámica del espacio urbano*. (Quito, Ecuador: Corporación Editora Nacional, 1990); and Nelson E Gómez, *Quito y su desarrollo urbano*. (Quito, Ecuador: Editorial Camino, 1980).
[8] Fernando Carrión, Carlos Arcos, and Edison Palomeque, *Informe Ecuador, seguridad ciudadana y violencia*. (Quito: FLACSO Ecuador, 2003); Fernando Carrión, "Violencia urbana: un asunto de ciudad," *Revista EURE-IEU* 19.1 (December 2008), 111-30.
[9] Gayatri Gopinath. *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).
[10] Ibid., 7.
[11] Ibid., 4.
[12] Ibid., 6.
[13] Carrera, "Mapa de distribución de la población…"
[14] Godard, *Crecimiento de Quito y Guayaquil*; and Gómez, *Quito y su desarrollo urbano*.
[15] Carrión, Arcos, and Palomeque, *Informe Ecuador, seguridad ciudadana y violencia*; Carrión, "Violencia urbana."
[16] The "Andean region" extends farther than these three countries to include Venezuela, Colombia, Northern Chile, and Northwestern Argentina—that is, the "Andean region" extends to present day countries that not only share the Andes mountain range, but also share Indigenous past and present vis-à-vis historical, cultural, linguistic, and political ties.
[17] Gioconda Herrera, *Lejos de tus pupilas: Familias transnacionales, cuidados y desigualdad social en Ecuador.* (Quito, FLACSO-Ecuador, 2013); Kate Swanson, "Revanchist Urbanism Heads South: The Regulation of Indigenous Beggars and Street Vendors in Ecuador," *Antipode* 39.4 (September 2007), 708-28; and Thomas Klak and Michael Holtzclaw, "The Housing, Geography, and Mobility of Latin American Urban, Poor: The Prevailing Model and the Case of Quito, Ecuador," *Antipode* 24.2 (April 1993), 247-76.
[18] Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: Una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadore*s. (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Tinta Limón, 2010); and "Descolonizar el género." *Otramérica.com. (*November 26, 2011). Web.
[19] Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa…,* 54-55.
[20] Jodi Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xix; xxvi.
[21] Ibid., xxxii.

[22] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism (The New Critical Idiom)* 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 5-6.
[23] David Kazanjian, *The Colonizing Trick: National Culture and Imperial Citizenship in Early America*. (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 27.
[24] Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2015).
[25] Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007); and Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination.* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).
[26] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities.* (London and New York: Verso, 2006), 32-33.
[27] Sarah Radcliffe and Sallie Westwood, *Remaking the Nation: Place, Identity and Politics in Latin America.* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 79.
[28] Andrea Noble, "Latin American Visual Cultures," *Companion to Latin American Studies.* (London, UK: Hodder Education, 2003), 157-58.
[29] Ibid., 157; and Laura Elisa Pérez, "*El desorden*, Nationalism, and Chicana/o Aesthetics," *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State.* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 35.
[30] Diana Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas.* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003).
[31] Fío Jaramillo Alvarado, *La nación quiteña: biografía de una cultura*. (Quito, Ecuador: Imprenta Fernández, 1947), 14-5.
[32] Ricardo Descalzi, *La Real Audencia de Quito Claustro de los Andes, siglo XVI*. (Quito, Ecuador: 1978), 37.
[33] Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa…,* 54-5.
[34] Ibid., 22.
[35] Rivera Cusicanqui, "Descolonizar el genero."
[36] Maria Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism," *Hypatia* 24.5 (Fall 2010), 742-43.
[37] Angel Rama, *The Lettered City*. Trans. and Ed. John Charles Chasteen. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 3.
[38] Mark Pimlott, *Without and within: essays on territory and the interior*. (Rotterdam: Episode Publishers, 2007).
[39] Eduardo Kingman Garcés, comp., *Ciudades de los Andes*: *Visión histórica y contemporánea*. (Quito, Ecuador: Ciudad, 1992), 20.
[40] The first five months of the year 1546 show little documented activity because there was a change in scribe and a shortage of ink. See: José Rumazo Gonzalez, *Libro segundo de Cabildos de Quito, Tomo Primero*. (Quito, Ecuador: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal, 1934), 207.
[41] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters;* and Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*: *Power and the Production of History*. (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).
[42] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters…*, xvi.
[43] Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire…*, 26.
[44] Ibid., 2.
[45] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters.*
[46] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters;* Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*; and Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire*.
[47] Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire…*, 56-57.
[48] Frank Salomon, "Ancestors, Grave Robbers, and the Possible Antecedents of Cañari 'Inca-

ism,'" *The Ecuador Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Ed. Carlos de la Torre and Steve Striffler. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 29.
[49] Carlos de la Torre and Steve Striffler, "Conquest and Colonial Rule," *The Ecuador Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Ed. Carlos de la Torre and Steve Striffler. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 11.
[50] Nancy E. van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015).
[51] Alcira Dueñas, "The Lima Indian Letrado: Remaking the República de Indias in the Bourbon Andes." *The Americas* 72.1 (January 2015), 55-75.
[52] Ibid., 57.
[53] Emily Berquist Soule, "Race and Rule in the Colonial Andes." *Latin American Research Review* 53.3 (2018), 634.
[54] Sherwin K. Bryant, *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage: Governing Through Slavery in Colonial Quito*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 1.
[55] Ibid., 5-7.
[56] Ibid., 81.
[57] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).
[58] Ibid., 14.
[59] Bryant, *Rivers of Gold..*, 8.
[60] Sherwin K. Bryant, "Finding Freedom: Slavery in Colonial Ecuador." *The Ecuador Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Ed. Carlos de la Torre and Steve Striffler. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 52-67.
[61] Bryant, *Rivers of Gold…,* 130-32.
[62] Ibid., 132-35.
[63] I want to clarify that the New World and the different Viceroyalties had many more racial categories. For example, the casta system of the Viceroyalty of New Spain counts with sixteen different categories. For more information see: Daphne Taylor-Garcia, *The Existence of the Mixed Race Damnés: Decolonialism, Class, Gender, Race.* (Landham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2018) and Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-century Mexico. (*New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).
[64] James W. Fuerst, *New World Postcolonial: The Political Thought of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh, 2018), 16.
[65] Radcliffe and Westwood, *Remaking the Nation…,* 31-3.
[66] Alfredo Lozano Castro, "Ordenación del territorio y concepción simbólica del espacio en la ciudad prehispana de Quito." *Quito Prehispánico* (July 2006), 182.
[67] Ibid., 186-87.
[68] Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), 231.
[69] Luciano Andrade Marin, *La lagartija que abrió la calle Mejía: Historietas de Quito*. (Ecuador: FONSAL Fondo de Salvamento/Grupo Cinco, 2003), 24.
[70] Rosemarie Terán Najas, "La ciudad colonial y sus símbolos: una aproximación a la historia de Quito en el siglo XVII," *Ciudades de los Andes*. Ed. Eduardo Kingman Garcés. (Quito, Ecuador: Ciudad, 1992), 153-57.
[71] Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City…*, 221.
[72] Ibid., 221.

[73] Rama, *The Lettered City*.
[74] Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City*..., 226.
[75] Rama, *The Lettered City*…, 1.
[76] Ibid., 2.
[77] Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire*..., 56-7.
[78] Federico González Súarez, "Benalcázar en Quito." Q*uito: tradiciones, testimonio y nostalgia*. Tomo 1. Ed. Edgar Freire Rubio. (Quito, Ecuador: Libresa, 2003), 49-50.
[79] José Rumazo González, *Libro Primero de Cabildos de Quito (1534-1538). Tomo Primero,* (Quito, Ecuador: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal, 1934), 185-87.
[80] Ibid., 390-91.
[81] Lozano Castro, *Ordenación del territorio…,* 152-55.
[82] Ibid., 146.
[83] Ibid., 151.
[84] Ibid., 153.
[85] Ibid., 165.
[86] Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru, Vol. 1*. Translated by Harold V. Livermore. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1989), 564.
[87] Ibid., 586-87.
[88] Ibid., 40-2.
[89] Ibid., 67-9.
[90] Ibid., 53-4.
[91] Ibid., 118-20.
[92] Ibid., 117-18.
[93] Juan de Velasco, *Historia del Reyno de Quito*. (Puebla, MX: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Mínima, 1960).
[94] Macarena Gomez-Barris, *The Extractive Zone: Social Ecologies and Decolonial Perspectives*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2017), 5.
[95] Descalzi, *La Real Audiencia de Quito*…, 69.
[96] Ibid., 111; 116.
[97] José Rumazo González, *Libro segundo de Cabildos de Quito, Tomo Segundo.* (Quito, Ecuador: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal, 1934), 82-3.
[98] Ibid., 67.
[99] Rumazo González, *Libro Primero de Cabildos de Quito (1534-1538). Tomo Primero,* 390-91.
[100] Zeb Tortorici, *Sins Against Nature: Sex & Archives in Colonial New Span*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018), 127.
[101] Ibid., 145-46.
[102] Ibid., 87.
[103] Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17.2 (Summer 1987), 67.
[104] Ibid., 67.
[105] Ibid., 95.
[106] Rumazo González, *Libro segundo de Cabildos de Quito, Tomo Segundo,* 386-88.
[107] Ibid., 177.
[108] Magali M. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings. (*Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), 14.
[109] Ibid., 24-7.

[110] Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Latin America: The Allure and Power of an Idea.* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 173.
[111] Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain;* Taylor-Garcia, *The Existence of the Mixed Race Damnés*; and Katzew, *Casta Painting*.
[112] Salomon, "Ancestors, Grave Robbers…," 27.
[113] Alberto Flores Galindo, *Europa y el país de los incas: la utopía andina*. (Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1986).
[114] Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, "El concepto de indio en América: una categoría de la situación colonial," *Anales de antropología: Revista del Instituto de investigaciones antropológicas, UNAM* 9 (1972), 105-24.
[115] Martin Lienhard, *La voz y su huella*: *escritura y conflicto étnico-social en América Latina (1492-1988)*. (Habana, Cuba: Casa de la Americas, 1990).
[116] Gonzalo Serrano Fabara, "Discurso de ordén en representación oficial del I. cabildo por el señor concejal Gonzalo Serrano." Speech, Quito, Ecuador. (May 24, 1974).
[117] Catherine M. Conaghan and James M. Malloy, *Unsettling Statecraft: Democracy and Neoliberalism in the Central Andes.* (Pittsburgh and London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994), 17-19.
[118] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, "Introduction," *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 1-2.
[119] Conaghan and Malloy, *Unsettling Statecraft,* 23-8.
[120] David Graeber, *Debt*: *The First 5,000 Years*. (Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2011), 308-13.
[121] Serrano Fabara, "Discurso de ordén…"
[122] Inter-American Bank. *IADB.org*. Web.
[123] Ibid.
[124] "Problemas urbanos de Quito," *El Comercio* (March 8, 1973). Print.
[125] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 33.
[126] Ibid., 35.
[127]Ibid., 25.
[128] "Las supermanzanas serían una solución urbanísta," *El Tiempo* (March 7, 1973). Print.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Charles S. Blankstein and Clarence Zuvekas, Jr., "Agrarian Reform in Ecuador: An Evaluation of past Efforts and the Development of a New Approach," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 22.1 (October 1973), 74.
[131] Ibid., 76
[132] Ibid., 81.
[133] Suzanne Sawyer, *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 94-5.
[134] Ibid., 95.
[135] Ibid., 93.
[136] Conaghan and Malloy, *Unsettling Statecraft*, 18.
[137] Melinda Cooper, "The Unborn Born Again: Neo-Imperialism, the Evangelical Right, and the Culture of Life," *Life as Surplus: Biotechnology & Capitalism in the Neoliberal Era.* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2008),162.
[138] Graeber, *Debt*, 361-62.
[139] Ibid., 8.

[140] Conaghan and Malloy, *Unsettling Statecraft*, 27.
[141] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 72-6.
[142] Ibid., 7-9.
[143] Ibid., 9.
[144] Arturo Escobar, "Latin America at the Crossroads: Alternative modernizations, Post-liberalism, or Post-development?" *Cultural Studies* 24.1. (Jan 2010) 8; 41.
[145] Ibid., 3.
[146] Fernando Coronil, "Naturaleza del poscolonialismo: del eurocentrismo al globocentrismo." *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales*. Ed. Edgardo Landers. (Buenos Aires, Argentina: CLASCO, 2000), 140-41.
[147] Ibid., 122.
[148] Gómez, *Quito y su desarrollo urbano*, 51-4; 83.
[149] Ibid., 87.
[150] Clara M. Mendizábal, *Centro de uso mixto en la Mariscal: 'Transiciones,'* (Quito, Ecuador: Universidad San Francisco de Quito, 2007), 9.
[151] René Vallejo, "Quito capitalidad y centralidades," *Centro-h, Revista de la Organización Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Centros Históricos* 2 (December 2008), 51.
[152] Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2003), xii.
[153] James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, *Social Movements in Latin America: Neoliberalism and Popular Resistance*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 17.
[154] "Sesión extraordinaria realizada por el I. Concejo." Acta Pública No. 10. (October 5, 1970).
[155] Ibid.
[156] "Sesión taquigráfica correspondiente a la sesión del I. Concejo." (May 12, 1970).
[157] "Oblatos," *Virgen de El Panecillo: 7 Maravillas de Quito*. Web.
[158] Néstor García Canclini, "Culrural Reconversion," *On Edge: The Crisis of Contemporary Latin American Culture*. Eds. George Yúdice, Jean Franco, and Juan Flores (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 31-2.
[159] "Sorprende cómo en Quito conservan lo colonial en su pureza junto a lo moderno, dice visitante argentino." *El Comercio*. (March 10, 1960). Print.
[160] Mercedes Prieto, "Los estudios sobre turismo en Ecuador," *Espacios en disputa: el turismo en Ecuador*. (Quito, Ecuador: FLACSO-Ecuador, 2011), 9.
[161] Ibid., 32-3.
[162] "Sesión extraordinaria realizada…"
[163] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past.*
[164] Eduardo Kingman, "Patrimonio, políticas de la memoria e institucionalización de la cultura." *Iconos: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 20 (2004), 32.
[165] "Sesión ordinaria del I. Concejo." Acta Pública No. 5. (March 25, 1975).
[166] Agustin Moreno, "No title." Speech, Quito, Ecuador. (May 24, 1976).
[167] Lucía Durán, *La Ronda: olvidar el barrio, recordar la calle*. (Quito: FLACSO-Ecuador. 2015), 11.
[168] "Turismo, sinónimo de paz." *El Comercio. (*February 9, 1967). Print.
[169] Victor Hinostrosa,"Se han duplicado los ingresos por concepto de turismo hacia el pais." *El Comercio*. (January 1, 1970). Print.
[170] "En Quito hay que eliminar cosas que son antiturismo." *El Comercio. (*February 15, 1973).

Print.
[171] "Turismo, sinónimo de paz."
[172] "En Quito hay que eliminar cosas que son antiturismo."
[173] "Problemas urbanos de Quito."
[174] One of the most notable anarquist groups of this time was ¡Alfaro Vive, Carajo! During León Febres Cordero's presidency (1984-1988), many of the group's leaders were kidnapped, arrested, and tortured by Febres Cordero's secret police force known as SIC. See: Isabel Dávalos, *Alfaro Vive ¡Carajo! del sueño al caos*. (Quito, Ecuador: Escalon Films, 2007). DVD.
[175] "Control de la ciudad." *El Comercio*. (April 10, 1976). Print.
[176] Serrano Fabara, "Discurso de ordén…"
[177] Ibid.
[178] Sawyer, *Crude Chronicles*, 218.
[179] Ibid., 28-9.
[180] Ibid., 46-8.
[181] To clarify, although the 1998 constitutional reforms recognized indigenous rights, the reform did not incorporate the term "plurinational" and the land adjudications reforms were vaguely worded, allowing for several loopholes that impeded indigenous autonomy over the territory. See: Donna Lee Van Cott, "Constitutional Reform in the Andes: Redefining Indigenous-State Relations," *Multiculturalism in Latin America: Indigenous Rights, Diversity and Democracy*. Ed. Rachel Sieder. (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 45-73.
[182] asambleas del feminismo comunitario en Bolivia, "pronunciamiento del 'feminismo comunitario,' en la conferencia de los pueblos sobre cambio climático, Bolivia," *Flor de Guanto: Revista Feminista* 4. (December 2014), 18.
[183] Norman Whitten and Diego Quiroga, "Brief on the Protest March from Amazonian Ecuador to the Capital City of Quito, 11 April - 23 April, 1992, plus information on the Quito Activities," *AbyaYala.NativeWeb.org*. Web.
[184] Tito Jara, *A tus espaldas*. (Quito, Ecuador: Abre Comunicación and Urbano Films, 2011). DVD.
[185] Radcliffe and Westwood, *Remaking the Nation,* 111.
[186] Sanarak Miraftab and Nema Kudva, "Editors Introduction to the Volume," *Cities of the Global South Reader*. Ed. Sanarak Miraftab and Nema Kudva. (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 4.
[187] Godard, *Crecimiento de Quito y Guayaquil,* 62-3.
[188] Radcliffe and Westwood, *Remaking the Nation*, 62-3.
[189] Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology-Marxism without Guarantees," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10.2 (June 1986), 28–44.
[190] Jara, *A tus espaldas.*
[191] Eduardo Varas, "Cuando la película da la espalda," *8choymedia: El cine de La Floresta*. Web.
[192] CCE, "Análisis de contenido de cine ecuatoriano," *Zoom: Revista de Cine* (2012), 5.
[193] Noble, "Latin American Visual Cultures," 154.
[194] Lisa Lowe, "Globalization," *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*. Ed. Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler. (New York and London: New York University Press, 2014), 119.
[195] Kara Keeling, *Witch's Flight: The Cinematic, the Black Femme, and the Images of Common Sense*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 96.
[196] CCE, "Análisis de contenido…," 7.
[197] Keeling, *Witch's Flight*, 4.

[198] Diego Falconí, "De lo queer/cuir/cuy(r) en América Latina: Accidentes y malos entendidos en la narrativa en Ena Lucía Portela," *Mitologias Hoy* 10 (Winter 2014), 96.
[199] Eduardo Baéz, "Quito: City and Landscape between Utopia and Reality," *Cruelty & Utopia: Cities and Landscapes of Latin America*. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 55.
[200] Ibid., 58.
[201] Ibid., 58.
[202] Adriana Pacheco Bustillos, "La Virgen Apocalíptica en la Real Ausencia de Quito: Aproximación a un estudio iconográfico," *Actas III Congreso INternacional del Barroco Americano: Territorio, Arte, Espacio y Sociedad: Territorio, Arte, Espacio y Sociedad* (2001), 505.
[203] Amy Frykholm, "Images: Virgins of the Apocalypse," *Christian Understanding of the Future: The Historical Trajectory*. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2016), 246.
[204] José Gabriel Navarro, *La escultura en el Ecuador: (siglos XVI al XVIII).* (Quito, Ecuador: A Marzo, 1929).
[205] Vallejo, "Quito capitalidad y centralidades," 53-4.
[206] The international airport, Mariscal Sucre, used to be located in the north until 2013, when it was moved to Tababela, at the outskirts of the city. While this is a very recent construction, the consequences are already visible. There are no longer any height restrictions on new constructions in the area where the airport used to be located; many contractors are already beginning to purchase properties to build taller buildings and condominiums.
[207] Vallejo, "Quito capitalidad y centralidades," 53.
[208] Ciro Caraballo Perichi, "Centros históricos y turismo en América Latina: Una polémica de fin de siglo," *Desarrollo cultural y gestión en centros históricos*. (Quito, Ecuador: FLACSO, 2000), 105-19.
[209] For example, many travel blogs will advice the following: "Stay particularly alert for crime on the crowded streets of south Quito…" See: Angie Drake, "Touring Safely in Quito." *NotYourAverageAmerican.com.* (June 25, 2015), Web.
[210] Carlos Alberto Torres, *The Church, Society and Hegemony: A Critical Sociology of Religion in Latin America*, trans. R. A. Young (London: Praeger, 1992), 98-101.
[211] Marita Sturken, "The Wall, The Screen and The Image," *The Visual Culture Reader*, 2nd ed. Ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff. (London and New York: Routledge: 1998,) 357-70.
[212] Cooper, "The Unborn Born Again," 168.
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