Towards a Cinema of Decolonization:
the Andes and Capitalism in Contemporary Hispanic Film

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Abstract

Towards a Cinema of Decolonization analyzes how non-Indigenous Hispanic film from the 21st-century reflects and participates in the decolonization processes of the Andes. The films chosen for analysis reflect many of the initiatives undertaken around the 1992 celebrations for and protests against the Quincentennial of the arrival of the Spaniards in America, and the United Nations' resolutions for two consecutive International Decades of the World's Indigenous People. Alongside the many policies implemented by South American governments and practices upheld by international organizations to promote visions of equity for Indigenous cultural integrity and diversity, as well as to include the Indigenous populations in the socioeconomic development of these countries, various artistic projects have sought to decolonize their citizenry on discursive and symbolic levels, locally, regionally, and internationally.

Although it seems that an increasing number of non-Indigenous Hispanic directors are creating films about the Andes, it is important to situate their films within this context of the past twenty years, to verify whether they are participating in these symbolic and discursive transformations, and if they are exploring Indigenous epistemologies. This dissertation therefore analyzes, using Walter Mignolo's theory on decoloniality, how cinematographic representations of the Andes by non-Indigenous Hispanic directors unveil, challenge, and deconstruct Western beliefs and assumptions that have essentialized the Andean world–and consequently produced non-modern, non-capitalist and hermetic portrayals of this region, its people and its cultures–, as well as construct Andean Indigenous epistemologies regarding capitalism through narrative and cinematographic techniques.

More specifically, the present work will focus on how Claudia Llosa's, *Madeinusa* (2006), Adrián Caetano's *Bolivia* (2001), and Icíar Bollaín's *También la lluvia* (2010), develop new audiovisual languages to represent the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes as a space of Andean modernity in constant negotiation with concepts derived from capitalism such as consumerism, labor power, and accumulation of capital. By situating the periphery, or border of capitalism in the Andes, these films not only evoke the resolutions passed by the United Nations to promote visions of equity and possibilities of socioeconomic development for Indigenous cultures, but they also explore Andean horizons of knowledge that evoke future identities that could potentially challenge the capitalist world-system and the exploitative nature of its structure.

Résumé

Towards a Cinema of Decolonization analyse les façons dont les représentations cinématographiques des Andes, dirigées à partir de perspectives non-autochtones, reflètent et participent aux processus de décolonisation présents dans cette région. Les films choisis pour cette étude reflètent plusieurs des initiatives entreprises depuis les célébrations et protestations tenues pour les 500 ans de la découverte de l'Amérique par les espagnols, ainsi que les résolutions passées par les Nations Unies pour la soutenance de deux Décennies Internationales des Peuples Autochtones. En sus des nombreuses politiques exécutées par les gouvernements sud-américains et les pratiques soutenues par les organismes internationaux dans le but de promouvoir une vision d'égalité envers l'intégrité et la diversité autochtone et d'intégrer les populations autochtones dans le développement socioéconomique des pays de ce continent, plusieurs projets artistiques ont cherché à décoloniser la citoyenneté locale, régionale, et internationale des autochtones sud-américains, à un niveau autant discursif que symbolique.

Même s'il semble y avoir un nombre croissant de directeurs hispaniques non-autochtones qui produisent des films sur les Andes, il est important de situer leurs films dans le contexte des vingt dernières années, vérifier s'ils participent à ces transformations discursives et symboliques, et s'ils explorent aussi les épistémologies autochtones. Cette thèse analyse donc, à partir de la théorie de la décolonialité de Walter Mignolo, si les représentations cinématographiques des Andes, dirigées à partir de perspectives hispaniques non-autochtones, révèlent, questionnent et déconstruisent les croyances et présuppositions occidentales qui ont dépeint les Andes de façon essentialiste–et, par conséquent, ont produit une image non-moderne, non-capitaliste et hermétique du monde Andin–et si elles construisent, à travers leurs narratives et techniques cinématographiques, des épistémologies autochtones des Andes associées au capitalisme.

Plus précisément, cette étude analysera *Madeinusa* (2006), le premier long métrage de Claudia Llosa, *Bolivia* (2001) du directeur Adrián Caetano, et *También la lluvia* (2010) de la directrice Icíar Bollaín, afin de démontrer comment ces films ont développé des langages audiovisuels qui représentent les Andes du Pérou et de la Bolivie en tant qu'espace où la modernité andine est en négociation constante avec certains concepts dérivés du capitalisme, tel que la consommation, la force de travail, et l'accumulation de capital. En situant la périphérie, ou la frontière, du capitalisme dans les Andes, non seulement ces films évoquent-ils la vision d'égalité et de développement socioéconomique promue par les résolutions passées par les Nations Unies, mais ils explorent aussi des horizons de connaissances andines qui évoquent des identités futures qui pourraient potentiellement défier le système mondiale capitaliste ainsi que sa structure basée sur l'exploitation.

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Introduction

In 1994, the United Nations adopted a resolution for an International Decade for the World's Indigenous People, which it renewed in 2004. The objectives of these two decades were to acknowledge the ongoing colonized state of Indigenous people from around the world, but most importantly to redefine development policies in order to align them with visions of equity and a respect for Indigenous cultural integrity and diversity. The goal of the first decade was to strengthen international cooperation for the solution of problems faced by Indigenous people in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education and health. The Second International Decade continued strengthening cooperation in these areas, but supported a particular focus on socioeconomic development. In the countries of South America with significant Andean populations, some efforts, mostly led by Indigenous leadership and communities, had already begun prior to 1994.[1] However most initiatives, both governmental and non-governmental, were undertaken after the first U.N. resolution had passed. Indeed, the struggle for social and cultural equality was strengthened at the civil society level in these countries after 1994,[2] but was also waged within the governmental arena from this point forward, until Indigenous communities began having political representatives in parliament and congress.[3]

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[1] In 1986, for example, the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE) was founded, and has imposed itself as an important protagonist in Ecuadorian politics since 1992.

[2] In 1995, the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) was founded in Bolivia, consisting of peasants, Indigenous groups and other popular sectors, in order to claim land rights and contest policies. Uprisings, in which MAS participated, successfully took place in 2000 and 2005 against foreign exploitation and privatization of water and gas. Similar organizations were developed in Peru. In 1999, various Indigenous communities from the Peruvian nation founded the Confederación Nacional de Comunidades del Perú Afectadas por la Minería (CONACIMI) in order to fight against exploitation, abuse and destruction caused by mining companies. Eventually, they even positioned their struggle within a framework of human rights and the rights of Indigenous peoples (García and Lucero 178). On a transnational level, the Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas (COAI) was consolidated in 2006, joining Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Colombia in the fight against militarization and resource extraction of Indigenous lands and territories.

[3] In 2005, Evo Morales obtained enough votes to gain access to the Bolivian presidency, bringing an Indigenous party to the seat of power for the first time in Bolivian history. Not only are Indigenous politicians securing political

Although these efforts have been and remain necessary, they do not signify that dispositions and prejudice regarding Andean cultures have changed within dominant spheres, nor do they indicate that people have transferred the socioeconomically inclusive and respectful attitudes proposed by these policies and resolutions to daily practices. For example, representations of Indigenous communities and individuals in the South American media are still largely discriminatory and prejudiced.[4]

This points to Postero and Zamosc's argument that for the imagination of the citizenry to acknowledge the ongoing colonized state of Indigenous people and the need for the decolonization of their cultures, transformations must also occur on discursive and symbolic levels (19). It is therefore necessary to evaluate to what extent artistic endeavors representing the Andes undertaken since the passing of the U.N. resolutions have engaged with the necessary discursive and symbolic transformations to positively reshape and reframe Indigenous realities of the Andean region. The two International Decades for the World's Indigenous People were synchronous with the resurgence of South American cinemas from the mid-1990s onwards, the emergence of Andean Indigenous cinemas in the 2000s, the increased number of transnational film projects between Europe and South America, and the expanding support of Hispanic and Indigenous filmmakers in the international festival circuits, making cinema a discursive genre that could potentially transform the imagination regarding the Andes on local, regional, as well as global levels. This synchronicity therefore calls for a study of how the cinematographic

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seats in government, these representatives can now in many instances voice their concerns and requests in their native languages, as translators are now being provided for them. The same service has started being implemented within the justice system. This reflects the UN resolution and the policies elaborated by South American governments to increase respect for cultural diversity and integrity of Indigenous peoples.

[4] The Peruvian television program "La paisana Jacinta" is representative of this issue. This program, whose protagonist parodies Andean Indigenous women, has appeared for three different periods since it first appeared in 1999. The controversial nature of this program has led numerous Peruvians, but also organizations as important as the UN, to denounce the racist discourse it sustains.

production of subjectivities regarding the Andes, its peoples and their cultures, has intersected with the vision of equity for Indigenous cultural integrity, diversity, and socioeconomic development proposed by the U.N.'s 1994 and 2004 resolutions. Given the South American neoliberal economic context that ran parallel to these resolutions, it is also necessary to consider how these cinematographic representations of the Andes explore the ways in which Andean identities and knowledges negotiated with neoliberalism and the capitalist world-system.

Schiwy argues that Indigenous movements recognize that there is an urgent need to decolonize knowledge and that representation–audiovisual, literary, and scholarly–entails the power to shape lived reality (9). In Bolivia, Grupo Ukamau acknowledged this need decades ago.[5] Since 1966, this group has intermittently produced "un cine comprometido con la realidad social de Bolivia, y con la defensa y exaltación de nuestra identidad cultural" (Grupo Ukamau). More recently, the Centro de Formación y Realización Cinematográfica (CEFREC) and the Coordinadora Audiovisual Indígena y Originaria de Bolivia (CAIB) have provided Indigenous Bolivians with training in audiovisual production, access to studios and equipment, as well as an expanding network of Indigenous media activists and technicians (Schiwy 35). In Peru, the Grupo Chaski: Comunicación Audiovisual has promoted cinema as a tool for cultural and economic development in the Andes, as well as a means to fight against injustice and poverty since the 1980s.[6] Not just a production company however, this group now also facilitates the distribution and visioning of a variety of digital films in the Andes through the elaboration of a

[5] Grupo Ukamau was founded in the 1960s, with director Jorge Sanjinés serving as one of its most successful and renowned directors, but due to the exile of many of its members, was dissolved in the 1970s. Although its directors never ceased producing films, the Fundación Grupo Ukumau was officially revived in 2003.

[6] This group was founded in 1982. During the 1980s, Grupo Chaski produced the films *Gregorio* (Espinoza and Legaspi 1984), *Miss Universo en el Perú* (Barea 1982), and *Juliana* (Espinoza and Legaspi 1988). Its most recent film is the documentary *El azaroso camino de la fe* (2013) by Alejandro Legaspi.

network of *microcines* in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador.[7] In Ecuador, the Grupo Cultural Sinchi Samay founded in 2004, composed of Indigenous youths from different regions of the country, produces films that demonstrate their desire to recover and celebrate Indigenous identities. The Grupo Cultural Sinchi Samay also produces and directs successful films in quichua that participate in the fight against inequality.

However, Indigenous films still mostly circulate within marginalized spheres of these Andean countries. Vilanova argues that in Bolivia, they are relegated to and compartmentalized within spaces of clear differentiation where only the Indigenous can be inscribed (101). In Peru, Indigenous films produced in Puno, Ayacucho and other departments rarely reach urban centers, and when they do, they usually target the cities' Andean population. This signifies that the decolonization of cinematic and narrative discourse within films by Indigenous directors has an impact almost solely on Indigenous publics, its didactic endeavors being lost on the more Westernized publics of these cities, as well as Western publics from abroad.

Advocates from non-Andean South American countries– particularly in Argentina and Chile–are contributing to increase the visibility of Andean Indigenous cinema by inviting a non-Indigenous public to engage in a dialogue about decolonization. In Argentina, for example, Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals have founded the Festival de Cine Buenos Aires Indígena (BAIn), which is held annually since 2012 and has included Andean filmmakers. In Chile, the Muestra de Cine y Video Indígena held its eighth edition in the fall of 2013, as part of

[7] Founded in Peru, this group was initially focused its efforts on the Peruvian Andes. Its objective now is to promote audiovisual literacy throughout the Andes: through their network of *microcines*, it educates cultural promoters in Andean regions and villages, as well as mobilizes resources and raises awareness about the possibility of organizing film viewings. Its mission is to make Chaski "un referente que contribuya a conectar el potencial transformador de los contenidos y formas de lo audiovisual a las dinámicas de comunicación, cultura y desarrollo en el país y en la región" (Chaski).

the Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Cine y Comunicación Indígena (CLACPI) initiative.[8] Like Grupo Ukamau, Grupo Chaski: Comunicación Audiovisual, and Grupo Cultural Sinchi Samay, CLACPI members believe in empowered representations of Indigenous peoples and their cosmovision, based on collective principles of reciprocity, and the full exercise of their rights with the aim of achieving a more just society (CLACPI). However, another of CLACPI's missions is to present Indigenous films *hacia afuera*, towards the outside world at international film festivals and showings. The purpose of exhibiting Indigenous films internationally is to initiate a dialogue with new publics, to demystify Western perceptions of Indigenous peoples and communities as non-modern and hermetic, and to identify Indigenous cosmovisions as strong and alternative ways of living (CLACPI). At a moment when the world economic system appears to be in crisis, these films illustrate Stewart-Harawira's claim that "far from being irrelevant in the modern world, traditional indigenous social, political and cosmological ontologies are profoundly important to the development of transformative alternative frameworks for global order" (24).

Beyond South American borders, there are also attempts at engaging in this dialogue initiated by Indigenous filmmakers. The 63rd Edition of the Berlinale International Film Festival in 2013, for example, introduced the series "NATIVe-A Journey into Indigenous Cinema," which was repeated again at the 2014 and 2015 editions of the festival. With this special series, the Berlinale aims to celebrate filmic adaptations of oral Indigenous traditions and "draw

[8] CLACPI was founded in 1985. Its committee is presently composed of Indigenous and non-Indigenous members that have worked and are working in cinema, journalism, as well as academia in Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. At the heart of CLACPI's mission is "a producción y difusión de materiales audiovisuales sobre las culturas indígenas y sobre asuntos de interés para sus organizaciones, pero hace también un énfasis particular en la capacitación de las organizaciones indígenas, en la producción audiovisual y en la gestión de los equipos necesarios, para que sean las mismas comunidades indígenas quienes decidan qué y cómo comunicar, se presenten así mismas en sus propias imágenes y se encarguen de sistematizar un diálogo intercultural" (CLACPI).

attention to both the film culture and complexity of the history of Indigenous peoples" (Berlinale 2013). It is therefore clear that many actors internal and external to the Andean region are contributing to the construction of spaces that incite dialogue between Indigenous and Western(ized) cultures, with the intention of producing counter-knowledge regarding the Andes and its peoples. These endeavors are crucial and essential because they celebrate and facilitate an Indigenous locus of enunciation that challenges Western epistemology, and reconstructs modern images of the Indigenous cultures in constant negotiation with different aspects of the world-economy.

While many cinematographic efforts are being conducted from Indigenous perspectives and identities, and that much is being done from non-Indigenous positions to empower them, these endeavors are still reaching a limited public, consequently constraining the potential they have to transform social imaginaries regarding the Andes. Furthermore, they represent only one side–even if an important one–of the discursive and symbolic transformations necessary to decolonize and empower Andean cultures, which begs the question as to whether non-Indigenous Hispanic film directors are also participating in this process. Schiwy believes that the objectives of decolonization in the 21st-century should focus on epistemic struggles (9), but for this to occur, both Indigenous and Western(ized) perspectives must be involved. If the first task of decolonizing epistemology "consists in learning to unlearn in order to relearn and to rebuild," as Mignolo suggests ("Decolonizing Western Epistemology" 26), then not only do Indigenous directors have to present decolonized cinematographic narratives and strategies that ultimately empower their respective cultures, but non-Indigenous directors must also produce representations that propose to unlearn Western epistemology regarding the Andes in order to rebuild it. Although it seems that an increasing number of non-Indigenous Hispanic directors are

making films about the Andes–Claudia Llosa, Adrían Caetano and Icíar Bollaín, whose films were chose for the present study, are amongst the most acclaimed–, it is still unclear whether they are participating in this epistemic struggle and the exploration of Indigenous alternatives.

Due to the complex and discriminatory history suffered by Andean Indigenous people at the hands of their co-nationals and of international institutions and organizations, the cinematographic endeavors of these directors have sometimes been received with severe criticism and even rejection. Because the production, the text, the distribution and consumption of these films differ from and seem to oppose their Andean referent, these films in many ways exemplify a cinematographic version of Cornejo Polar's concept of the heterogeneous *indigenista* literature, and therefore raise similar concerns. These directors' non-Indigenous Hispanic perspectives of the Andes can only result in what Cornejo Polar would call "the fracture between the Indigenous universe and its *indigenista* representation" (100). As non-Indigenous directors, the authenticity of their representations of the Andes is questioned, and the frequent conclusion is that their films reproduce a stylized version of the Andes founded on Westernized epistemology, formal structures, aesthetics and signs.

Madeinusa (Llosa 2006), *Bolivia* (Caetano 2001), and *También la lluvia* (Bollaín 2010), may be amongst the most acclaimed films to engage in representations of the Andes, but the fact that their directors are all of non-Indigenous Hispanic origin raise the aforementioned issues. Of the three, Claudia Llosa is the director that provoked the strongest reactions, and some criticis such as Palaversich claim that her film was the most controversial film in the history of Peruvian cinematography (490). While *Madeinusa* offers beautiful takes of the Andean landscape and colorful rituals, it also seems to present Manayaycuna, the fictitious town in a remote region of the Andes where the story unfolds, as "primitive and behind in its journey towards modernity"

(D'Argenio 23), as well as archaic and morally corrupt (Portocarrero 2006). As Palaversich explains however, the fact that Llosa is a member of the *criollo* financial and cultural elite automatically invalidates her film vis-à-vis its Andean referent (493).[9] For example, Zevallos-Aguilar accuses her creating a propagandist film that promotes capitalist modernization in *Madeinusa*, and suggests that in doing so, Llosa's film supports the Peruvian neoliberal project that requires the disappearance of Indigenous identities in the country (75). According to many, this interpretation of *Madeinusa*, in conjunction with the film's release at a moment when Peru was trying to heal the cultural wounds caused by the internal war between Sendero Luminoso and the government–the Comisión de Reconciliación y Verdad had published its report only three years earlier in 2003–only further illustrated Llosa's lack of sensitivity towards her country's state, and therefore the fracture between her world and the Andean universe she was representing.

Perhaps due to the fact that Caetano is not originally from an Andean country, and that *Bolivia* registered an Argentinean rather than Andean context, neither he nor his film were the source of as great a controversy as Llosa and her first feature film *Madeinusa*. Although both the Uruguyan-Argentinean director and his film were less controversial, the audience and critics remain divided as to whether Caetano proposes a positive or negative image of Andeans during the Argentinean economic crisis in his film. By observing the daily conversations and actions that take place in a Buenos Aires neighborhood café-bar between employees and patrons, *Bolivia* reflects the precarious financial situation of numerous Argentineans during the economic crisis of the 1990s, and the mounting tensions between Argentineans and foreigners. Many critics

[9] Indeed, although Llosa shares the same nationality as the Andean referent she represents in *Madeinusa*, she was educated at Western schools such as the Anglo-Peruvian New College and the film academy Escuela TAI in Madrid, and shares family ties with the Peruvian film director Luis Llosa, as well as with the world-renowned novelist Mario Vargas Llosa.

claim that *Bolivia* simply reproduces the stereotypes sustained in popular sectors of Buenos Aires regarding foreigners, especially those originally from Bolivia (Aguilar 166). Indeed, the film reflects this 1990s Argentinean discourse that was sustained even by the government, which had publicly blamed immigrants from border countries for the increasingly precarious economic situation of many Argentineans. The film's title may indicate the presence of a Bolivian immigrant in the narrative, but it does not seem to reproduce a version of the Andes. Rather, it incorporates Andean markers in Argentina in order to better observe the Argentinean economic context of the late 1990s. In a way, it is therefore possible to interpret the fracture between the Andean referent and the universe presented on screen as even greater than in Llosa's film.

Of the three directors, the Spaniard Icíar Bollaín is the most removed from the Andean world she represents in *También la lluvia*, but the meta-cinematic nature of the film, however, problematizes the perspective of the non-Indigenous director in a way that the films by Llosa and Caetano do not. *También la lluvia* develops a dual narrative, one that cinematographically revisits the Spanish Conquest, and another that simultaneously follows the transnational production, directorial and acting team that reinterprets this historical event in Cochabamba, Bolivia, amidst the rising tensions of the city that led to the Water War. The shared protagonism between foreign and Bolivian Andean characters on the film set and in the city of Cochabamba creates a dialogue between two perspectives, and also the possibility for the transnational film team to learn from their Bolivian counterparts. The intercultural nature of the film is evocative of Bollaín's former cinematographic attempts at intercultural narratives, such as *Hola, ¿estás sola?* (1995) and *Flores de otro mundo* (1999), and therefore points to the director's interest in the representation of dialogue between cultures rather than the representation of a foreign culture from a Spanish perspective, and the difficulties encountered when undertaking such a project.

Andean identity and its negotiations with neoliberal policies may therefore be represented in this film, but *También la lluvia* never does so without problematizing point of view first.

Madeinusa, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia* do not only raise questions regarding the narrative representation of the Andes from non-Indigenous Hispanic perspectives, but also in terms of their production, distribution and consumption. Llosa and Caetano both attended film schools in Spain, and Bollaín learned the tools of the trade through her acting career and the launch of her own production company. The knowledge gained by experiencing Western cinematography therefore allowed them to replicate narrative styles and techniques that can be perceived as belonging to what Ángel Rama denominated the "lettered city" (*The Lettered City*), therefore granting more importance to Western modes of representation and knowledge. For instance, D'Argenio claims that Llosa's use of stylistic devices such reiterations, metaphors, and the circularity of space and time, establishing a parallel between *Madeinusa*'s cinematography and Latin American magical realism. The critics of *Bolivia* have not only focused on the narrative's reproduction of racial discourse, but also on the film's adaptation of neorealist techniques, which were born in the European "lettered city" and transferred to and adapted in Latin American ones. Finally, *También la lluvia*'s representation of the Cochabamba Water War, which according to Cilento reproduces techniques evocative of the 1960s new waves of Latin American Cinema, also situate it within Westernized aesthetics and signs.

Additionally, these three films were mostly distributed and consumed through what are considered the "official" channels of culture. First, they successfully toured the local, regional and international film festival circuit, and won various prizes. For example, *Madeinusa* won prizes at the Rotterdam Film Festival and Festival Internacional de Cine de Mar del Plata, *Bolivia* won the prize for Best Feature at the Cannes Film Festival and the FIPRESCI Prize at the

London Film Festival,[10] and *También la lluvia* won a Goya and a Premio ACE, amongst many others. Additionally, both Llosa and Caetano received grant money that allowed them to write the scripts for their respective films. Finally, the three films were distributed and presented in urban centers, mostly in cineplexes, further hinting at the unequal relationship between the system of cinematographic distribution and consumption, and their Andean referents.

It is of course important to consider these many factors when studying films such as *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia* that represent aspects of the Andes from the perspective of non-Indigenous directors, and that are produced and distributed in Western(ized) systems. Such critiques denounce and reveal structural patterns of discrimination, racism and identity construction which are present not only in these films, but in the systems that allow for their production and distribution. However, it is also possible that these films incorporate another form of *indigenismo*, which, as Rama argues, demanded equality of economic, political and social rights for Andeans, their integration in the development of the nation, and the acceptance of modernizing norms (*Writing across Cultures* 114). Rama explains that for José Carlos Mariátegui, who was the earliest proponent of *indigenismo* in Peru, the vindication of the Indian would become reality only if it became an economic and political one (102). Although it is necessary to take the inequalities inherent in the production, distribution and consumption of non-Indigenous films about the Andes into consideration, the revolutionary aspect of *indigenismo* must also be taken into account when viewing films such as *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia*.

A restrictive focus on the reproduction of Western knowledge in these films can also lead to a kind of essentialism, reducing the complexity of the filmic representation to a limited set of

[10] FIPRESCI is the *Fédération International de la Presse Cinématographique*, which is an association of national organizations constituted of film critics and journalists, awards prizes at various European film festivals.

stereotypes, and ultimately to a Western reading of a non-Western culture. By focusing so closely on the reproduction of Western epistemology, formal structures, aesthetics and signs in *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia*, critics have neglected to observe these films' attempts to challenge Western beliefs, and their intent to explore Indigenous agency. Indeed, if these films are approached from Rama's definition of *indigenismo*, it is possible to see that they evoke processes of interaction between Andean and Western knowledge, and therefore begin to move away from narratives that essentialize Andean cultures. More specifically, the present work will focus on how *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia*, develop new audiovisual languages to represent the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes as a space of Andean modernity in constant negotiation with concepts derived from capitalism such as consumerism, labor power, and accumulation of capital.

In order to demonstrate this tendency in the films chosen for this study, it is important to question not only the presence but also the functionality of Western-produced knowledge of the Andes in their representations of this region. Rather than focus on a decontextualized interpretation of the Western-produced images and discourses of *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia*, the emphasis must be placed on the ways in which these images and discourses are constructed linguistically and visually, and how they interact with Andean forms of identity and knowledge. Indeed, Shohat and Stam indicate that Western discourse is not only reproduced through narrative, but through cinematographic language as well: the way the camera registers foreground and background; how much space non-Western characters occupy and where they are situated when on screen; character development; eyeline matches; framing; diegetic and extra-diegetic sounds and music; as well as speech and silence, all contribute to the balance of power between Western and non-Western perspectives and knowledge (208).

Therefore, when films such as *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia* are analyzed in conjunction with technical, structural and stylistic features, it is often possible to conclude that what *a priori* seem to be Western preconceived notions of the Andes as non-modern, non-capitalist, hermetic, and traditional are actually incorporated in the films in order to be criticized, challenged, and deconstructed, in other words, to be decolonized.

Decolonization, as Mignolo indicates, not only involves the deconstruction of current Western epistemology; it also requires the construction of knowledge ("Decolonizing Western Epistemology" 72). Whether *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia* fully participate in the decolonization of this region therefore also depends on whether they acknowledge the existence of Andean epistemologies. In his questioning of the possibilities of a new horizon of knowledge, Quijano states the importance of "the exploration–barely incipient but nonetheless necessary–of a parallel horizon of knowledge, a non-Eurocentric rationality that can also be part of the future horizon" ("The Return of the Future" 85), which, if applied to cinematographic representations of the Andes, alludes to the importance of Andean knowledges not only in the decolonization of this region, but also in the elaboration of potential future identities. By situating the periphery, or border of capitalism in the Andes, *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia* not only evoke the resolutions passed by the United Nations to promote visions of equity and possibilities of socioeconomic development for Indigenous cultures, but they also explore Andean horizons of knowledge that evoke future identities that could potentially challenge the capitalist world-system and the exploitative nature of its structure. Therefore, by demonstrating how these three films deconstruct Western epistemologies and construct Andean ones, this project will also point to potential future identities and alternative ways of engaging with capitalism and neoliberalism.

In conjunction with the analysis of the ways in which the narratives of the three films

acknowledge Andean epistemologies, it is also necessary to consider the ways in which the audio-visual language of each film constructs them. For example, if films not only position Andean characters as protagonists of the narrative but also use editing techniques–such as point of view shots, and what Shohat and Stam call "point of hearing"–that influence the viewer to identify with Indigenous characters rather than with Western(ized) characters, they will align themselves with the decolonizing strategies used in Indigenous film to empower Andean cultures. Knopf claims that decolonizing the representations of Indigenous cultures–what she calls "decolonizing the lens"–can also include the incorporation of traditional orality (69), and acts of carnivalesque subversion, not only in the narrative but in filming strategies as the directors break with filmmaking conventions and embraces what she calls an "aesthetic of digression and flaws, or what Western film conventions understand as flaws" (72). She argues that when directors use "non-linear narratives, collage-like structures (combination of newsreel, documentary footage, and/or photographs with fictitious footage), extreme and mobile framing, unconventional camera angles," as well as the "connection of diegetic and non-diegetic sounds" (71-72), they engage with Indigenous ways of knowing and constructing knowledge. Therefore, it is also by analyzing how the three films' incorporation of such cinematographic techniques not only acknowledge Andean epistemologies, but also use them to evoke alternative identities, that they can truly be said to participate in the decolonization of this region, its culture and its people.

For instance, in focusing so closely on what distinguishes the Andean culture of the villagers of Manayaycuna from Western cultures, critics of *Madeinusa* have neglected to observe the film's attempts to challenge Western beliefs, and its intent to explore Indigenous agency as it articulates its own forms of modernity in neoliberal Peru. But concentrating on the narrative and audiovisual techniques of the film reflects the processes of interaction between the Indigenous

communal economy and the national capitalist economy that currently exists in the Andes. Indeed, when studying forms of wealth and material activity in Manayaycuna, *Madeinusa* points to the elaboration of native modes of circulation of commodities and consumerism that embrace Andean cosmology, and how these modes strengthen the internal logic of the town's culture without altogether rejecting the national capitalist economy. The presence of Western-produced objects in the fictitious town of Manayaycuna, emphasized through a camera focus on Western commodities in the town's rituals and processions, as well as photographic events, actually reveal a modernity at once tied to national and local modes of consumption, attesting to the contemporary reformulation of Andean Quechua citizens as consumer citizens of Peru. Examining Manayaycuna's participation in the national capitalist economy and its elaboration of an economy native to the Andes also allows to study more closely and understand better the difficult integration of Indigenous participation within the national economy and the internal difficulties that arise from the elaboration of native economies. *Madeinusa* suggests that geographical determinism still affects and limits Andean levels of participation in the national economy, and that Andean rural people are still not considered consumer citizens of the nation. Furthermore, the fact that strategies of empowerment can also negatively impact communities is highlighted in the film as it points to the crisis of the Andean family, and the oppression of women. In this sense, *Madeinusa* also reflects on the complexity of contemporary Andean society.

While critical focus on *Bolivia*'s reproduction of Argentinean racial discourse during the 1990s economic crisis and neorealist cinematographic techniques is important, it also neglects to engage in the film's incorporation of Andean markers and techniques evocative of Indigenous cinema. The film's title, the Andean Bolivian protagonist, and the extradiegetic music that opens

and closes the film point to the importance of Andean markers and epistemology in its interpretation of the Argentinean economic crisis. By including a Bolivian perspective, *Bolivia* shifts the construction of knowledge to what Mignolo would call another "geography of reasoning"–from Argentina to Bolivia–and therefore engages "epistemic disobedience" ("Epistemic Disobedience" 163). In doing so, the film offers an alternative understanding of the Argentinean economic crisis. First, engaging in epistemic disobedience allows approaching the film's representation of the Argentinean experience of neoliberalism from a message of brotherhood and liberation–instead of the racist and oppositional discourse sustained by many of the Argentinean characters in the film–and also to reflect on Argentina's positionality as it related to the capitalist world-system on a local, regional, and international level at the end of the 1990s, although this time from a Bolivian Andean locus of enunciation.

Finally, the critical approach to *También la lluvia* has so far been similar to that of *Bolivia*, in that it has focused on Western perspectives and the film's reproduction of Western epistemology and attitudes. Critics have claimed that the film primarily observes the psychological development of the Western characters, until each of the main characters of the film team reaches a personal realization regarding their situations in Bolivia, and their roles as Spanish Westerners in the capitalist world-system. However, this perspective neglects to consider the film's incorporation of Latin American as well as Andean characters, markers, and epistemology, and therefore its intercultural nature. In order to fully understand the film's representation of the Andes, it is important to consider the meta-cinematic elements of the film, which register the ways in which a film team revises the historiography of America by revisiting the story of the Spanish Conquest from both a Latin American as well as an Indigenous perspective of resistance, and the ways in which the film's representation of contemporary

Cochabamba evokes the Bolivian Andean historiography of resistance. In doing so, the film not only challenges and rewrites the Western historiography of capitalism; it also posits Andean Bolivians as potential actors to challenge the capitalist system in contemporary Bolivia.

This dissertation will therefore analyze how the cinematographic representations of the Andes made by three non-Indigenous Hispanic directors, Claudia Llosa, Adrián Caetano, and Icíar Bollaín, attempt to participate in the decolonization of the Andes region. This study will demonstrate how each film endeavors to unveil, challenge, and deconstruct Western beliefs and assumptions that have essentialized the Andean world–and consequently produced non-modern and hermetic portrayals of this region, its people and its cultures–, as well as construct Andean Indigenous epistemologies that evoke alternative or future identities in the capitalist world-economy through narrative and cinematographic techniques.

National and Native Economies in Llosa's *Madeinusa*

Although Claudia Llosa has directed only four films to date, her films have not shied away from difficult topics and complex Peruvian identities.[11] The identity politics displayed in her directorial debut *Madeinusa* (2006) were the most strongly condemned by critics however, because they were believed to reproduce a colonialist discourse, one that sustains the geographical determinism that has for centuries defined Peruvian identity and ideology.[12] Despite being constituted of three different regions-the Amazon, the Andes, and the Coast-, the national imaginary and its reproduction in film has in reality divided Peru into two geographically defined cultural areas: the Indigenous Andes and the Coast (Middents, *Writing National Cinema* 169-170). For centuries, the Andes have been believed to harbor pre-modern and even barbaric Indigenous cultures, while the coastal region of Peru has been considered its Westernized/White, modern and urban opposite. By situating the narrative during *Tiempo Santo*, a fictitious syncretic and carnivalesque celebration of the last days of Catholic Holy Week and Andean rituals dedicated to the *Pachamama*, or Mother Earth, *Madeinusa* (2006) does seem to present a mysterious and archaic Indigenous world that lies beyond the intelligibility of the coastal *criollo* citizens, as well as the modernizing politics of the Peruvian nation. During these festive days, an excessive and ritualistic use of alcohol, an immoral promiscuity and a justice system suggestive of communal violence reign in Manayaycuna, the isolated imaginary town in

[11] *Madeinusa* (2006), Llosa's first feature film, presents the Andean family in crisis, and tackles delicate issues such as incest and migration. Her second feature film, *La teta asustada* (2009), represented issues of post-memory in Peru following the end of the internal war between Shining Path and the government, but was still criticized for mocking Andean culture in Lima. Her third film, *Loxoro* (2011), is a short film identity politics as they are experienced and established in Lima's gay and transsexual community. Her most recent film, *Aloft* (2014), which explores the relationship between mother and son.

[12] Many Peruvian viewers also believed that by creating a negative portrayal of the Andes in her film, Llosa disregarded the unhealed national wounds still present from the years of internal conflict between the Shining Path and the government in Peru that resulted in the genocide of thousands of Indigenous peasants in the Andes.

the Andes where the story unfolds.[13] Presented as ecstatic, orgiastic, and violent, Manayaycuna seems to be presented through an *indigenista* lens, which posited the Andes as the antithesis to Western civilization and, consequently, capitalism (Coronado 20).

Regarding the concepts of modernity, capitalism and consumption, the dualistic oppositions developed throughout the narrative due to the presence of Salvador, an engineer from Lima, and his interaction with the Indigenous inhabitants of the town appear to support the film's geographical determinism denounced by most critics. In fact, Salvador's arrival, which redefines "the village's material and cultural characteristics as things that 'lack'" (D'Argenio 23), enables the confrontation between the Western/Coastal and non-Western/Andean concepts of ethnicity, politics and economy (22). Underlining the *limeño*'s perspective, the repeated camera focus on the uncontaminated landscape, the lack of technology like telephones and basic services such as electricity, as well as the absence of Western market-driven economic entities suggest that societal modernization, usually palpable through the "improvement in material conditions of life as evident in economic prosperity" as Gaonkar explains (8), does not seem to have reached this remote mountainous region.

Still bound by the constraints of tradition, Manayaycuna seems to be "primitive and behind in its journey towards modernity" (D'Argenio 23). Portocarrero, among others, argues that the archaic and morally corrupt society represented in the film lies beyond redemption ("*Madeinusa* ¿la imposibilidad del Perú?" 2006). Pagán-Teitelbaum adds that the failure of the prototypical foundational fiction promised throughout the film, as well as Salvador's disappearance at the end point to the failure of modernization attempts by westernized white

[13] In Peru, being 'white' is not necessarily associated with phenotype: "to the image of the coast as the historical site of colonial culture corresponded the idea that it was the natural environment of Spaniards or their *criollo* descendants. Since the nineteenth century, they have been labeled 'whites,' regardless of their color" (Cadena *Indigenous Mestizos* 21).

people from the capital (82), echoing Portocarrero's claim that it is only by abandoning the Andes, as the protagonist Madeinusa does, that Indigenous peoples can actually be saved (2006).

In this sense, *Madeinusa* seems to join the panorama of cinematographic representations that posit the modernization and acculturation of Andeans through migration to the country's cities. By exploring the challenges that Indigenous people face when leaving their Andean homes behind and negotiating their new urban surroundings, films such as Quispe's *El huerfanito* (2004) and Alberto Durant's *El premio* (2009) reveal the gradual process through which Andean *indígenas* discard their original culture and acquire urban skills (*Indigenous Mestizos* 29-30). Yet others, like Matute's *El pecado* (2006) or Gálvez' *Paraíso* (2009) focus on revealing connections between social and economic inequality and racism in Peruvian cities. Unlike most of these films, *Madeinusa* only presents a rural setting, but it does explore the challenges of abandoning the Andean home and negotiating *limeña* prejudice.

Films with migration narratives tend to continue the ongoing partition between the Andes and the city. What they suggest, however, goes beyond a simple reproduction of geographical determinism; they often reproduce the politics of cultural *mestizaje*[14] advocated by many Peruvian politicians in order to modernize the nation.[15] These identity politics reflect Charles Taylor's description of acultural theory, which conceives of modernity as being "characterized by the loss of the horizon; by a loss of roots," and therefore the decline of religious or traditional morality (25). Because Manayaycuna shows no signs of evolving towards a secular outlook, of

[14] According to the ethnic taxonomies that emerged in the 1950s in Peru and that have held until recently, *mestizaje* has been "the gradual process by which Indians gradually became literate and acquired urban skills and naturally, as in a metamorphosis, discarded their original culture. The process implied, it was said, acculturation: changing cultures; its consequence was assimilation: disappearing into the dominant cultural formation" (*Indigenous Mestizos* 29-30).

[15] One of the most important and visible proponents of this cultural politics was Mario Vargas Llosa, Claudia Llosa's uncle, who advocated this position as part of his neoliberal politics during his run for the presidential office in 1990.

embracing an increased social mobility, or of engaging with the urban and industrial parameters of modern society–all characteristics which account for modernity in acultural theory, as Taylor argues (24)–, it seems that the Andean culture of Manayaycuna is doomed to remain outside of modernity, and that the only possible Indigenous modernity can be achieved through migration.

However, as relevant and necessary as the criticisms of *Madeinusa*'s reproduction of geographical determinism and colonialist discourse have been, Stam and Spence warn that the restrictive focus on the negative images of a film "can lead both to the privileging of characteriological concerns (to the detriment of other important considerations) and also to a kind of essentialism," reducing the complexity of the filmic representation "to a limited set of reified stereotypes" (758). To refer to García Canclini's words, "in focusing so closely on what distinguishes one group from others or resists Western penetration," critics have neglected to observe the processes of interaction between Manayaycuna and the national society as well as with the national economic and symbolic market (*Hybrid Cultures* 177). The critical emphasis dedicated to the reproduction of *criollo* prejudice in the film has in fact led many critics to overlook how Llosa strives to liberate "tensiones inconscientes que atan, que aprisionan a una sociedad," and in order to establish a dialogue about the tensions regarding the Andean region of Peru, she must explore difficult topics (qtd. in Chauca et al. 49). Applying such an evolutionary historicism to *Madeinusa* therefore fails to pay attention to what Stam and Spence call "the *mediations* which intervene between 'reality' and representation," such as narrative structure, genre convention, and cinematic style (759). Indeed, placing an interpretive emphasis on these cinematographic features not only allows for the deconstruction of the negative portrayal of the Andes but also the exploration of how modernity unfolds within the specific cultural context of the fictitious Andean town.

Charles Taylor posits that modernity is not as culture-independent as acultural theories suggest, but rather a concept developed in close symbiosis with a certain Western "culture … namely, a constellation of understandings of person, nature, society, and good" (27). According to him, it is necessary to acknowledge that the rise of science, industrialization, individualism and other processes linked to modernity are in fact truths initially devoid of moral significance on which value has subsequently been placed by human beings (31). How value has been applied to these processes in reality depends on the geopolitical and cultural space where they are being developed (Coronado 78). In addition, because each cultural context has different starting points for the transition to modernity, it is logical that they would lead to different outcomes, which Gaonkar denominates "alternative modernities."[16] As Chatterjee puts it, universal modernity teaches peoples of different cultures to employ methods of reason, enabling them to identify the forms of their own particular modernity (141).

This film echoes much of the indigenist art in Peru,[17] which reveals a vibrant agency "that undoes the idea that modernization is simply a threat to traditional cultures" (Coronado 20).[18] Indeed, *Madeinusa* actually serves as an example of Godenzzi's claim that while "Quechua speakers do not want to be excluded from history and do not want to be discarded from the modern world," they also wish to enrich the meanings of their culture (154). Contrary to

[16] Gaonkar uses this term "to recognize the need to revise the distinction between societal modernization and cultural modernity" (1). This term has sparked many debates, particularly regarding the word "alternative," which implies that Western modernity still holds the leading definition of modernity, and that all other elaborations of modernity are in fact just versions of this universal model. For this reason, I will be using the term "Indigenous modernity" rather than alternative modernity during the rest of this chapter.

[17] According to D'Argenio, *indigenista* art creates a visual type that "results from a set of aesthetic strategies: on the one hand, the creation of a visual consensus on the native physiognomy through the minimum use of physical features, the representation of native cultural products, and the synthetic representation of the Andean landscape (Majluf, 1997, pp. 247–258); on the other, the depiction of the Andean characteristics as they had been described by Indigenista ideologues" (29). She mentions José Sabogal, Julia Codesido, and Martín Chambi as examples of *indigenista* artists.

[18] According to Coronado the Peruvian Andean photographer Chambi and poet Oquendo de Amat explore the negotiations between modernization and traditional cultures in Peru in their art.

the West, where "what is advanced and modern replaces and eliminates what is considered backward and traditional" (Rengifo Vásquez 103), the Andes as represented in the film demonstrates that Andean culture has for centuries developed a cumulative outlook, according to which modernity does not necessarily result in atomist individuality, and not all modern progress is readily accepted as good and universal. The syncretic nature of religion in Manayaycuna attests not only to the strength of this cumulative approach to external knowledge and influence, but to the fact that it dates back at least to the Spanish colony and its evangelization efforts.

Rather than reject Western modernity or assimilate to it, Andean cultures, like the one presented in *Madeinusa*, incorporate elements of it in such a way as to strengthen the internal logic of their culture. According to this cultural theory then, modernization does not require the abolition of traditions (García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures* 170), but rather a negotiation between value-free concepts of modernity, and Andean traditions. This process, which Gaonkar calls "creative adaptation," is the site that imbues Indigenous subjects with conscious agency, which allows them to "'make' themselves modern, as opposed to being 'made' modern by alien and impersonal forces" and "give themselves an identity" (16). Against all geographical determinism that would condemn them to a perpetual state of non-modernity, the inhabitants of Manayaycuna generate Indigenous creative adaptations through what Bedoya calls "una intricada trama de transacciones, intercambios y correspondencias" (2006), ranging from the implied commerce with the national market, to the Manayaycuna social logic of exchange based on the tribute system to the Virgin Mary.

When studying the forms of wealth and material activity that lie within and without the capitalist economy in Manayaycuna, *Madeinusa* points to the elaboration of native modes of accumulation and circulation of capital that embrace Andean cosmology without altogether

rejecting the national capitalist economy. Instead of presenting a dualistic opposition between the Andes and the hegemonic urban capital, these negotiations in fact reveal a hybrid process through which the Andean inhabitants of Manayaycuna become at once actors within the national economy and agents in the development of their own modernity. By becoming active yet creative economic subjects, they reflect the emergence of new social actors in Peru, which Cadena and Starn associate with a *nuevo indigenismo*, that attempts to deconstruct hegemonic signifiers and reconfigure indigeneity in order to insert it within contemporary history (20-21), and to reflect the complexity of contemporary Peruvian society. The inhabitants of Manayaycuna echo the actions of these new subjects, who primarily "test modernity's notions of urban national culture, and its pervasively dualistic or separatist conceptualization of Peru's national identity" (Williams 266). Through their participation within the national economy and their creative adaptations that also allow them to strengthen the internal logic of their tribute system, cultural configurations in the town are conceptualized as convergent and divergent with the national system, and challenge *andino-costeño*, country-city, traditional-modern dualities. Thus, the film not only disavows the acultural belief "that modernity comes from one single universally applicable operation" (Charles Taylor 28), but also challenges claims such as Ubilluz Raygada's, according to which the film disregards Andean attempts at developing a native modernity (147).

Furthermore, the presence of Western-produced objects and technology in the fictitious town of Manayaycuna, emphasized through a camera focus on beauty products and the integration of toys, urban clothes and fireworks in the town's rituals and processions, as well as the use of a photograph evocative of Chambi's style, actually reveal a modernity at once tied to national and local modes of consumption, attesting to the contemporary reformulation of Andean Quechua citizens as consumers. In this sense, the film evokes the recent elaboration of

"alternative" *mestizaje* by urban *indígenas*, which identifies literate and economically successful people who also participate in Indigenous cultural practices (Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos* 6). Being *mestizo* for these urbanized Indians, according to Cadena's study, implies shedding makers of Indianness in exchange for "practices that are perceived as belonging to the dominant national formation," without losing Indigenous culture considered extraneous to the dominant culture (30). In recent years, films like *Lima, ¡Wás!* (Rossi 2004) and *Sigo siendo (Kachkaniraqmi)* (Corcuera 2013) have joined a wave of films that celebrate Andean dance and music in modern and cosmopolitan Lima and, consequently, this new conceptualization of Indigenous cultural *mestizaje*. These films, however, recognize only urban centers as the site where traditions intersect with the flow of commodities, whereas *Madeinusa*, posits that rural areas can be considered equally intersectional due to the elaboration of consumer behavior in association with traditions.

As important as the consideration of the relation between Andean urban dwellers and the market may be, there is also a need to consider how people in the rural Andes "establish the conventions and meanings that structure a community's relationships during an era of economic change" (Colloredo-Mansfeld 35). Whereas in the past "modern identities were territorial and almost always monolinguistic" as well as mainly structured by the logic of the state, García Canclini argues that identity narratives are increasingly being constructed according to the logic of the markets (*Consumers and Citizens* 29), and modes of consumption (15). If "consumption is the ensemble of sociocultural processes in which the appropriation and use of products takes place" (38), then the integration of Western-produced objects in the festivities of Manayaycuna allow the viewer to consider the logistics of a commodity economy in the town, and how it creates new social spaces that celebrate Andean culture. Since the exercise of citizenship is now

closely associated "with the capacity to appropriate commodities and with ways of using them" (García Canclini, *Consumers and Citizens* 15), the film then presents the Andean *serrano* dwellers of the film as active but also empowered Indigenous citizens of Peru.[19]

From the epigraph that introduces the narrative, *Madeinusa* presents its didactic aim to situate the viewer before a reality that will not only trouble him but also compel him to reflect on and question his ideologies. By inciting the viewer to observe and interpret what he sees, the epigraph exhorts him to pay close attention to the visual in the film:

> Tú que pasas, mira y observa desgraciado lo que eres.
>
> Que este pueblo a todos por igual nos encierra.
>
> Mortal, cualquiera que fueras, detente y lee,
>
> Medita, que yo soy lo que tú serás, y lo que eres, he sido. (Llosa 00:01:01)

By drawing attention to the question of perspective, the epigraph introduces the idea that the film will display cinematographic techniques as well as narrative strategies that will experiment with identity politics and their divisive conceptualization. In so doing, *Madeinusa* attempts to defamiliarize the Peruvian viewer from his prejudiced knowledge of the Andes, and demonstrate zones of convergence and divergence between dual perspectives. The narrative of the film, but also its negotiation of the Peruvian cinematographic tradition display a constant balancing act of dualities, which are the points of departure for a deconstruction of the geographical determinism and colonial discourse.

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[19] According to García Canclini "when we recognize that when we consume we also think, select, and reelaborate social meaning, it becomes necessary to analyze how this mode of appropriation of goods and signs conditions more active forms of participation than those that are grouped under the label consumption. In other words, we should ask ourselves if consumption does not entail doing something that sustains, nourishes, and to a certain extent constitutes a new mode of being citizens" (*Consumers and Citizens* 26).

This chapter aims to demonstrate that *Madeinusa* reinvents the audiovisual language of Peru through the exploration of empowered ideologies and the social differentiations that guide economic development as well as consumption in the Andean town of Manayaycuna.
First, this chapter will argue that the film offers new ways of signifying the Andes by deconstructing the duality modernity-tradition put forward by the two photographs produced in the film, and exposing the participation of the film's Andeans as economic actors in the national capitalist system. Secondly, by reformulating the social logic of exchange and the concept of accumulation according to Andean culture, it will illustrate that the inhabitants of Manayaycuna produce a native economy based on a creative adaptation of the Andean communitarian system and the national capitalist system, in an attempt to reconcile these two value systems, and to preserve the town's culture. Finally, this chapter will explore how the native economy is sustained through consumption practices during *Tiempo Santo*. Exploring both the native economy and how it is sustained will also illustrate how material culture is used to produce a hierarchy of social power in Manayaycuna.

Visual Signs of Andean Indigenous Modernity

Soon after his arrival in Manayaycuna, Salvador unknowingly makes his way to the town square where the first ceremony of the annual *Tiempo Santo* is under way. Entering the *plaza* just as the young Madeinusa is being decorated with the scepter and sash as Virgin Beauty of Manayaycuna for the weekend's rituals and festivities, Salvador reaches for his Polaroid camera and takes an instant photograph of the moment. By capturing Madeinusa at the height of her triumph and using a low-angle shot to do so, the *limeño*'s perspective sacralizes this young indigenous woman, converting her into a statuesque representative of the village's culture. This

photograph is important because it allows the viewer to identify with the photographic act and the image that results from Salvador's selection.

According to Barthes, "from a phenomenological viewpoint, in the Photograph, the power of authentication exceeds the power of representation" (89), because the image authenticates the existence of a certain being (107). Authenticity for Barthes goes beyond the mere existence of the referent of the photograph: to him, the immobility of the image

> is somehow the result of a perverse confusion between two concepts: the Real and the Live: by attesting that the object has been real, the photograph surreptitiously induces belief that it is alive, because of that delusion which makes us attribute to Reality an absolutely superior, somehow eternal value. (79)

In the case of the film, because Madeinusa is live in front of him, Salvador experiences the moment as representative of the reality of culture in Manayaycuna, which to him is exotic, colorful and religious. By photographing her, Salvador therefore authenticates more than just the existence of the young woman; his photograph authenticates the Andean visual type to which D'Argenio refers, inspired by Indigenista art and photography, and that portrays an idealized and authentic subject representative of Andean culture (28).

Although "a specific photograph, in effect, is never distinguished from its referent (from what it represents)," as Barthes argues (5), it is still important to also consider it as signifier. Sontag explains that the reality captured in the photograph is immortalized because "after the event has ended, the picture will still exist, conferring on the event a kind of immortality (and importance) it would never otherwise have enjoyed" (11). Consequently, Salvador not only captures the authenticity of the Andean type through the Live/Realness of Madeinusa, he also immortalizes the religious and traditional culture she represents. This material immobilization of

Andean culture also reflects indigenist conceptions of indigeneity, particularly those following Mariátegui's definition, which defined Andean inhabitants as essentially and fundamentally ahistorical, timeless entities, "undifferentiated by the ebb and flow of history" (Coronado 19).

Therefore, the image of the Andes that Salvador captures is one that has been untouched by the modern. However, the fact that the picture is actually a portrait of Madeinusa and that it does not incorporate the materially modern context of the beauty contest–such as speakers, a microphone, and dress and crowns for the young girls–, points to the fact "that photographs are evidence not only of what's there but of what an individual sees, not just a record but an evaluation of the world" (Sontag 88). Indeed, the *limeño* Salvador observes the Andes from a hegemonic perspective constructed on indigenist and colonialist conceptualizations of indigeneity. The disembodied and detached camera eye of his Polaroid reflects Paschen's claim that the camera, as "the ultimate tool of visual consumption and imaginative appropriation, disciplines people and places into images that can be cut out of their meaning contexts" (66), and therefore reproduces the image of Andean culture as traditional and pre-modern. This photographic moment, interpreted as embodied and spatially situated experience further reinforces this perspective. By positioning himself at the back of the crowd, Salvador had the opportunity of capturing the entire event, but instead he decided to focus on its central feature, Madeinusa, at the expense of any modern referent that surrounded her.

This photograph is also important because it allows the viewer to identify with the photographic act and the image that results from Salvador's selection. Although the viewer has already been introduced to Manayaycuna as well as Madeinusa and her family, it is only once Salvador arrives that he/she is provided with a character with whom he/she can identify. Pagán-Teitelbaum explains that "the public is encouraged to desire to look together with Salvador"

because the camera identifies with his masculine Western gaze, "which is supposed to guide the viewer in entering the 'unknown' culture" of the Andean town invented by Llosa (80). The photographic moment and the resulting image therefore seem to extend this invitation further by showing the viewer exactly how he/she is to observe Manayaycuna and its inhabitants from a reductive and essentializing Western gaze.

But by denying Salvador's point of view during a large part of the film, *Madeinusa* disempowers and de-centers the *criollo* gaze (Palaversich 499), replacing it with one directed by Indigenous perspectives. Indeed, the camera favors a curious and cautious attention to modern aspects of the lives of Manayaycuna's inhabitants: the viewer is repeatedly invited to observe Madeinusa's fascination with beauty products and magazines, and also forced to contemplate commodities through close-ups of their integration within different aspects of the daily life and festivities of the town. The second photographic moment of the film clearly emphasizes the Indigenous desire to have their modernity recognized, and is perhaps one of the most important didactic moments of the film regarding the construction of the gaze directed at the Andes.

Immediately after Salvador takes the photograph of Madeinusa at the height of her triumph as she is handed the scepter and sash of the Virgin Beauty of Manayaycuna, the film constructs a counter-narrative to this picture. Salvador's captivity, which occurs shortly after he takes the picture of Madeinusa, and the request that he once again make use of his Polaroid, are indications of the villagers' desire to control the Western gaze. After meeting Salvador in the town hall, the mayor Don Cayo leads him to the wake of a local matriarch, and asks him to take a picture of her with her mourning family. For a moment, the camera detains itself in what Lefebvre calls the spectacular mode, which 'has the effect of *isolating* the object of the gaze, of momentarily freeing it from its narrative function'" (29), allowing Salvador and the viewer to

focus on the object of the photograph, that is the mourning family and its surroundings. By asking the *limeño's* photographic gaze to focus on aspects of Manayaycuna's daily life rather than its public ceremonies, Don Cayo demands that Salvador take a comprehensive picture of the entire context of the wake rather than focus on one person and disregard elements that would contradict the determinist conceptualization of indigeneity.

Reminiscent of Martín Chambi's photography of the Andes, which José Carlos Huayhuaca describes as documenting a type of cultural *mestizaje* enriched by its balance between Western elements and peasant Quechua lifestyle and tradition (qtd. in Nates), this second photograph reveals two aspects of Andean life. Firstly, it reveals the coexistence of Western commodities, such as the tapestry on the walls or the candleholders, and the Andean rural, signified by the dirt floor of the room (Llosa 00:24:59). The presence of foreign use-value objects in this traditional scene therefore allows the film to reveal the rural Andes as a site of consumption of goods produced outside the community of Manayaycuna. Secondly, the photograph also reveals markers that Orlove associates with ethnic, class and residential differences that distinguish Indian villagers from mestizo townspeople (214). For example, not one member of the mourning family wears *ojotas*, the rubber sandals worn by many in the Andes; instead, all wear dress shoes, save one man who wears white sneakers.[20] The incorporation of Western elements in this scene of mourning therefore starts to blur the lines not only between the dualities traditional-modern, but also of country-city, and shows the viewer that the inhabitants of Manayaycuna are interacting with incorporating elements of modernity in the village.

[20] According to Orlove, many rural Andeans will wear shoes for special occasions such as weddings or visits to government offices (215).

This Chambi-like photograph, enhanced by the spectacular mode, serves a didactic function in accordance with the film's epigraph. As Sontag explains, "photographs alter and enlarge our notions of what is worth looking at and what we have a right to observe. They are a grammar and, even more importantly, an ethics of seeing" (3). *Madeinusa* constructs this ethics of seeing by associating the camera-eye of this second picture to what Nates describes as the non-judgmental and inquisitive gaze that Chambi directed towards Indigenous peoples from the mountains' rural and urban areas (2013), suggesting that the viewer take the time to look beyond the traditional components of Andean culture presented and contemplate the existence of commodities in the town.

Furthermore, this second photograph serves as an invitation for the viewer to dissociate from the *limeño*'s gaze. The spectacular mode underlines the visual lesson taught by Don Cayo in this scene and also favors the Indigenous gaze above the Western one. As the camera repeatedly intrudes on private places such as Madeinusa's home–which contains posters, curtains and statues–, or more public ones like the church and chapel–which hold candles and fine embroidered clothing–, the film reinforces the Andean gaze and allows the viewer to recognize the referents to the consumption of Western products throughout the town at different moments of the film, and to reflect on the mechanics of the town's commodity economy.

Indigenous Consumer Citizens

At no point in the film do transactions involving money appear, but the fact that there are Western products in the town, either for personal or public use, implies that the inhabitants of Manayaycuna have some money to acquire commodities. At the moment in the Andes, this power often comes from the gain of capital resulting from two sources: either the sale of native

commodities such as agricultural products, pottery, or weaving to local and foreign urban centers, or from remittances sent by family members living in urban areas in Peru, or abroad. As Zevallos-Aguilar claims, it is difficult to find a completely self-sufficient community in the Andes today (74). *Madeinusa* never fully explores the source of this power, leaving the viewer wondering how the Andeans of Manayaycuna enter in the sphere of exchange of the national market.

However, the presence of commodities in the second photograph, and throughout the town, confirms the villagers as consumer citizens of the Peruvian nation, revealing the fact that the people of Manayaycuna have power of purchase, and that there is some kind of exchange and distribution system that ties the town to the areas where commodities are purchased. El Mudo and his delivery truck, as well as Madeinusa's obsession with anything from Lima, seem to suggest that this distribution takes place between the Andean town and the capital. Since "the circulation of commodities is the starting-point of capital" (Marx Loc. 3729), this tie between Lima and the Andes therefore allows for the conclusion that Manayaycuna's inhabitants participate in the nation's capitalist market. Thus, despite its name and its unwelcoming stance towards outsiders,[21] Manayaycuna is not the isolated place many have claimed it to be.

The presence of commodities in Manayaycuna also points to the logic of the free market in Peru, under which all consumers are rendered equal because they can all participate in it as Fall observes (qtd. in Cadena, "Reconstructing Race" 21). Since Alejandro Toledo's election in 2001, Peruvian neoliberal politics have allowed for this formulation of citizens defined by the market logic of equality. For example Toledo, the first Indigenous president in the history of the Peruvian nation, played into the hegemony of neoliberalism by demonstrating that race was

[21] Manayaycuna means "the town that no one can enter" in Quechua.

irrelevant to economic identity, that only active participation in the national economy led to economic success (Cadena, "Reconstructing Race" 21). Baudrillard argues, however, that the social logic of consumption is at once a logic of the production and manipulation of social signifiers (*The Consumer Society* Loc. 976) and that, as such, it is not only a system of exchange but also a system of differentiation (Loc. 982).[22]

Madeinusa reflects the fact that despite supposedly being "free," the national market is still governed by geographical inequalities. By observing the circulation of goods and signs/objects, which according to Baudrillard "today constitute our language, our code, the code by which the entire society *communicates* and converses" (*The Consumer Society* Loc. 1276), it is possible to see that the Andes is still not considered an official site of consumption. Although the dirt road leading to the town may signal the inhabitants' proximity to the earth, as Orlove would suggest (217), it may also point to Manayaycuna's infrastructural exclusion from the national market distribution system. Orlove explains that "roads are part of a single national network (a network that is able to link, or, more literally, *comunicar*, 'to communicate')" (219). Therefore, although the presence of commodities in the town points to the existence of communication between the two locations, the fact that the road is not asphalted indicates the lack of connection and contact between the national market and the consumers of Manayaycuna, and therefore their partial exclusion from the conversation with the national market.

The film takes the lack of infrastructural development in the Andes one step further. As Baudrillard explains, consumption, like the education system, is a class institution: there is inequality before objects in the economic sense because "the purchase, choice and use of objects

[22] This is evident in Peruvian film since 2000, which often criticizes the costs of cultural leveling as proposed by the free market, such as the disconnect between individuals and their experience as citizens, as well as collective preoccupations regarding the lack of equality and solidarity in urbanized areas (*Consumers and Citizens* 159-160).

are governed by purchasing power and by educational level, which is itself dependent upon class background, etc." (*The Consumer Society* Loc. 958), but cultural inequality is also sustained in that only a fragment of people achieve mastery of the code of consumption that admits them to the functional use and aesthetic organization of commodities (Loc. 958). For certain types of commodities, particularly those associated with the fashion industry, the disconnection between Lima and the Andes is absolute, as exemplified by Chale's disillusioned attempt to purchase a pair of shoes from Lima. Chale, Madeinusa's sister, once sees red shoes in a magazine from the capital, and since Manayaycuna does not have telephone service, she walks two to three days to the nearest town to call and order them. This clearly indicates that Chale has the purchasing power to acquire the coveted items, as well as the desire to participate in the national market as an active consumer. However, the Lima-based company that sells the shoes tells her that the sale is impossible because it does not deliver to the remote region where she lives. Therefore, not only is the government failing to develop the roads that would facilitate distribution of commodities and the integration of Andean communities into the national market, but companies are also dismissing them as potential consumers for it. What Chale's story denounces is the hegemonic construction of Indigenous consumption: Western capitalism decides what Indigenous peoples can consume by discriminating against their geographical location.

Furthermore, the fact that this company refuses to expand its distributive system to meet Indigenous consumer interest and need implies that Indigenous women are not considered a target market segment for these items. Since goods, like words, "form a global, arbitrary, coherent system of signs, a *cultural* system which, for the contingent world of needs and enjoyment, for the natural and biological order, substitutes a social order of values and classification" (Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society* Loc. 1272), their circulation, or lack thereof,

becomes a differentiation system in itself. Since the distribution system for fashion commodities does not even reach Chale's village, the film points to the fact that Andean women are placed at the lowest level of classification in the national consumer and cultural system when it comes to fashion products. This further reinforces geographical determinism, but also reveals racial and social determinism. Andeans like Chale may wish to exercise their purchasing power in the national market, but there is little being done to recognize Andeans as citizen consumers or to develop the potential markets in the Andes that would allow her to do so. The resulting message being communicated by the allusions to the distribution system in the film is that if modern identities are constructed according to the logic of the market, and the market excludes certain segments of the population such as the inhabitants of Manayaycuna, these are consequently excluded from the possibility of being "modern."

The Elaboration of an Indigenous Economy

The film manifests, more often than not, instances of Indigenous resistance to external definitions, including those prescribed by the national market and the consumer codes of the capital, exemplifying the Andeans' persistent opposition to oppression and deculturation for the past five centuries. The first such opposition in the film is seen through the second photographic act: the Chambi-like picture demonstrates Indigenous refusal to be defined by outsiders and a desire to construct a native identity. This identity not only negotiates between Western elements and peasant Quechua lifestyle however, it also incorporates tradition. To this effect, how the film juxtaposes both the portrait of Madeinusa as traditional representation of the Manayaycuna culture, and the Chambi-like photograph that mixes both rural and urban markers, proposes a decolonized and cumulative conceptualization of Andean identity that negotiates with and

includes both the modern and the traditional. The villagers' identity is Indigenous and modern specifically because they identify and implement ways to incorporate elements of Western modernity into their own culture while still enriching its internal logic.

According to the plurivalent attitude that defines the Indigenous cosmology in the Andes and that assumes that nothing can exist without its opposite, the Virgin Mary is the dual figure presented in *Madeinusa*: while she is venerated for her submissiveness and passivity, as Madeinusa demonstrates through her incarnation of the Virgin of Sorrows during the *Tiempo Santo* processions, believers are also devoted to her because of her power to effect change, as implied by the tribute system that governs the town. Reflecting the theology of the rural Quechua that "the saints are first and foremost visible representations of the intermediaries of the invisible God" (Marzal 71), the tribute system elaborated and sustained by the villagers of Manayaycuna reveals the Andean experience of the power of the intervention of the Virgin Mary. Based on the principle of reciprocity that is central to the Andes, this system also reflects the belief that a gift must be offered to the Virgin in exchange for her intercession on their behalf before God. These gifts are almost entirely Western-produced objects in Manayaycuna.

Thus, by noting the implied interaction between Manayaycuna's worship of the Virgin Mary, the Andean concept of reciprocity, and the use of Western objects, the film reveals the elaboration of a modern Indigenous economy founded on native beliefs and the assimilation of modern objects within the communitarian logic. From religious statues and art, to mirrors, mannequins, photos and Coke cans, the tributes cover a range of commodities, adapting consumption practices to the concept of communal sacrifice, and converting them into a process of social cohesion. The offering of objects dedicated to the Virgin therefore becomes a process of signification that substantiates a communitarian and religious logic of consumption in the town.

Although the Manayaycuna culture has been incorporated into the periphery of the nation's capitalist system, its consumer practices reflect Gose's argument that commodity exchange has not supplanted sacrifice or tribute as the dominant idiom of social synthesis in the Andes (296). Additionally, the tribute system's underlying principle of reciprocity allows for the elaboration of a native economy that can function outside the capitalist sphere as well. As Baudrillard explains, since gifts do not depend on economic exchange, they are not amenable to systemization as commodities and exchanging value ("The Ideological Genesis of Needs" 58). Gose takes this one step further by arguing that Andean sacrifice exists in a motivated opposition to commodity exchange (296): "if exchange is the process by which people individuate themselves and mediate their relationships through things, then sacrifice could be seen as its counter-concept: the violation of a mediating object to produce communitas" (298). As such, Manayaycuna's villagers both integrate parts of the capitalist system, through the purchase of commodities, while creatively adapting it to their beliefs by converting them into gifts.

This desystemization of commodities allows the Andean inhabitants of the town to creatively adapt the capitalist concept of accumulation. In the capitalist market, commodities must be thrown back into the sphere of circulation, "they must be sold, their value must be realized in money, this money must be transformed once again into capital" (Marx Loc. 10147). However, in converting commodities into gifts, many of the products that reach Manayaycuna are removed from circulation and therefore cannot be reinserted into the capitalist system to create more capital. Commodities still have the potential to create more capital, but through the tribute system: Gose explains that Andeans use the material tributes' previous circulation history as commodities to attract life force and other riches (301). Thus, through the native economy, commodities do turn into capital, but not necessarily economic or material capital: tributes can

be offered in exchange for health, love, the resolution of conflicts, and other elements that remain outside the capitalist system of exchange.

The accumulation of material wealth as defined by the capitalist system does eventually happen in the Andes, but it is considered acceptable if it does not deviate from the culture's communitarian logic: it often becomes admissible when associated with displays of generosity and reciprocity. Colloredo-Mansfeld argues that this allows Andeans to "diversify cultural expressions and develop new means for imagining themselves" as modern native Andeans (193). *Madeinusa* explores this construction of an Indigenous modernity that incorporates the capitalist concept of accumulation into the communitarian logic through the *Tiempo Santo* festivities and preparations, which refer to Quechua patronal festivals.

In the Andes, "festivals function as a means of integrating the participants into the life of the community" (Marzal 74), because everyone is expected to participate in *jurka*, or mutual help (Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos* 243): for example, some bring food while others create decorations. Prior to the celebrations in Manayaycuna, the use of anthropological filming techniques such as aerial views and long shots of the village square mark a visual progression that allows the viewer to collect information about the events while the preparations are taking place. This permits the cinematic viewer to observe the design and creation of the petal pathways in the square, which refer to the seeds and sawdust art of the Andes (Kroll 115), and the villagers' contributions of food for the evening festivities. Because both men and women participate in these activities, the accumulation of decorations and nourishment in the town square points to Manayaycuna's communitarian logic. These frames also indicate an accumulation of Western material wealth: although most materiality points to Andean products, such as baskets and earthen cookware, both elements which would indicate the self-sufficiency

and autonomy of the villagers from the national market, as Orlove would claim, (218), there are some metal vessels that also indicate the inhabitants' power of purchase and their connection to the national economy (219). Therefore, the sharing of material wealth in this public space is closely linked to the display of generosity and reciprocity in Manayaycuna.

However, the most important display of the accumulation of Western material wealth in Andean patronal festivities befalls one person or couple, who is expected to contribute more than others. The *mayordomo*, a role represented by Don Cayo in the film, usually takes on "the responsibility for the preparation, direction and financing of the festival" (Marzal 73). Because a *mayordomía* demands expensive paraphernalia–such as the musical group that plays during the processions and festivities of Manayaycuna, the clothes and regalia to be worn by the town's Beauty Virgin, the speaker system during the beauty contest, and the decorations of the town as well as the fireworks–, this responsibility must be taken on by a person with the economic means to pay for these required material additions to the celebrations (Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos* 243). Thus, as *mayordomo*, Don Cayo is responsible for this in the film, implying that he has the power of purchase to acquire all the commodities expected to conduct a successful *Tiempo Santo.* The *mayordomía* functions as "a way of leveling out wealth, because, with regard to the system of responsibilities carried out by the sponsors, those who are more able spend large amounts on the food, drink and other goods and services which are distributed among everybody" (Marzal 74). Therefore, Don Cayo's accumulation of capital can be deemed acceptable by his community because he redistributes it among the villagers during *Tiempo Santo.*

Appadurai warns, however, that in low-tech communities, "particular conjunctures of commodity flow and trade can create unpredicted changes in value structures" (72). By

observing the distribution and consumption of commodities during the town's festivities, the film reflects Colloredo-Mansefeld's claim that "the cultural ordering that accompanies an expanding economy creates opportunities for exerting power and influence" (35). The practices of consumption in the town during *Tiempo Santo* may appear to be based on a communitarian logic that requires the redistribution of accumulated material capital, but the commodity flow as manifested during the festivities, and any Quechua patron festival really, also indicates a process of social differentiation in the town based on the production and manipulation of social signifiers.

Colloredo-Mansfeld claims that "under newly wealthy circumstances, cultures with elaborate rituals of ceremonial feasting and exchange often intensify traditional symbols and stature associated with their leaders" (33). Indeed, Cadena's description of *mayordomías* as stages where *mayordomos* can imagine and represent their identities not only to the audience of the patron festivities but also to themselves, seems to sustain this claim (*Indigenous Mestizos* 235). Cadena expands on this point by exposing *mayordomías* as economic institutions used as rituals for obtaining social prestige (236). Indeed, as *mayordomo* of *Tiempo Santo*, Don Cayo holds a seat of honor at most of the town's festivities and inaugurates the celebrations. Perhaps most importantly though, the film displays status value as the camera repeatedly focuses on all the Western objects provided by Don Cayo as a result of the *mayordomía*, from the fireworks to the luxuriously embroidered garments worn by Madeinusa as Virgin of Sorrows, underlining that no expense has been spared in order to ensure the success of the festivities. This is a clear display of Don Cayo's redistribution of wealth but Marzal explains that, "at the very least, the festivals are a way of justifying social differences, for all those who have benefitted from what has been

dispensed at the festival are going to tolerate more easily the greater wealth of those who carry the responsibility" (74).

What remains unclear is the source of Don Cayo's accumulation of capital and power of purchase. *Madeinusa* may represent the Andeans of Manayaycuna as consumers, but it presents the Andes only as a site of consumption. As such, Andeans do not appear to contribute to the national market as producers of capital. This raises the question regarding Don Cayo's role in the tribute system established in the town. While the villagers believe that the Virgin collects their offerings, the camera allows the viewer to enter Don Cayo's home, and discover that, as mayor of the town, he hides all gifts to her in his attic to maintain the villagers' beliefs, the tribute system that governs the communitarian logic of the town, and the consumption practices that are associated to it.

In a way, this seems to suggest that there is affluence in the town: there is not simply enough but too much, as Baudrillard would say (*The Consumer Society* Loc. 742), because the system actually results in the removal of superfluous commodities from circulation. However, this may actually indicate the town's desire to accumulate more capital, rather than a sign of their already existing wealth. Ultimately though, this points to Don Cayo's affluence: not only does he accumulate social capital as *mayordomo* of the festivities; as mayor, he also accumulates material capital to dispose of as he pleases. When Don Cayo leads Salvador to the attic of his house, he asks him to choose any of the tributes as a gift from the town to him (Llosa 01.16.35). Since "processes of production and consumption imply that no realm of cultural production can remain independent of the marketplace" (Rosaldo xv), the film leaves the viewer to speculate whether Don Cayo accumulates his wealth, and consequently his power of purchase, through the sale of the town's offerings to the Virgin. If this were to be true, the native economy elaborated

by Don Cayo and the townspeople, which initially seems to function outside the national capitalist market, is actually a creative adaptation of the same, and still functions within its limits. The tribute system as well as the *mayordomía* may in reality function as a strategy not only to enrich the internal logic of the community, but for Don Cayo to subordinate the less privileged inhabitants of the town and maintain his position of power.

Tiempo Santo Rituals as Regulation of Manayaycuna Consumption Practices

Much of the previous analysis is grounded on inferences made by the film's emphasis on commodities and their location in the town, as well as allusions to Andean institutions, rather than on manifestations of the actual processes of accumulation, circulation and distribution in the town. What the film does visually demonstrate, however, is the process through which the tribute system and the communitarian practices of consumption are strengthened and accentuated in Manayaycuna. The syncretic religious celebrations that make use of Western products illustrate García Canclini's claim that "ritual is capable of operating, then, not as a simple conservative and authoritarian reaction in defense of the old order … but rather as a movement through which society controls the risk of change" (*Hybrid Cultures* 24). Indeed, the celebrations exhibited throughout the film function as a way for this ritually oriented society to organize consumption through a list of "dos and don'ts," many of which combine "cosmology and etiquette in a special way" as Appadurai would argue (71). During the processions and the Good Friday mass, the visual display of the ways in which commodities can be used to enrich the Manayaycuna culture regulate consumption not only for this particular temporal context, but also for the rest of the year.

The repeated camera focus on the integration of Western-produced objects during the rituals underlines their incorporation within Andean cosmology through their creative

adaptations by the villagers. Baudrillard argues that a true analysis of the social logic of consumption should "focus not on the individual appropriation of the *use-value* of goods and services, but rather on the production and manipulation of social signifiers" (*The Consumer Society* Loc. 144-147). This production converts consumption into a system of communication, not unlike language (Loc. 274), through which "commodities are no longer defined by their use, but rather by what they signify. And what they signify is defined not by what they do, but by their relationship to the entire system of commodities and signs" (Loc. 150). As a result, consumables become sign-values, rather than the use-values and exchange-values of the Marxist capitalist system (Loc. 138). Therefore, the commodities incorporated in the religious spectacle of Manayaycuna are consumed not as use-values, but rather as sign-values that communicate the village's beliefs. In so doing, they strip commodities of the signification normally dictated by urban and hegemonic codes, and are resignified to correspond to the social logic of consumption of the town that is partly founded on religiosity.

The focus on commodities in the film allows the viewer to observe concrete examples of this resignification in the context of Manayaycuna's religious celebrations. Benjamin argues that by using close-ups that focus on details of familiar objects, film allows to explore "common place milieus under the ingenious guidance of the camera," and assures of an "immense and unexpected field of action" ("The Work of Art" 680). Indeed, during the afternoon procession sequence in *Madeinusa*, the low-angle shot that frames Madeinusa and her hand resting on a globe (00:34:27), as well as the close-up of the white-skinned dolls that decorate the bottom of the float (00:35:02), guide the eyes of the viewer to discover Andean uses of Western consumer products that are novel to him. These frames, added to the fluctuation between them, results in an association between Andean spirituality, nature, and modernity. By focusing on the Western

objects in this sequence, the film emphasizes the fact that the Manayaycuna villagers have appropriated these commodities and resignified them to accommodate their needs and beliefs: while dolls are usually meant for playing, and globes are meant as tools to learn about the different locations of the Earth, the dolls have been altered to represent angels on the float, and the globe now stands in for *Pachamama*.[23]

As Gervasi would argue, these "choices are not made at random but are socially controlled and reflect the cultural model within which they are made [...] they must have some meaning with regard to a system of values" (qtd. in *The Consumer Society* Loc. 1115-1117). The process of releasing the use-value of objects in the decorations for the processions in Manayaycuna teaches the villagers that consumption should be both a collective and religious experience in the town. Additionally, the rejection of the use-value of Western objects in the decorations visually reinforces the same process commodities undergo in the tribute system. By converting commodities into gifts, the villagers of Manayaycuna also release them from their utility and convert them into sign-values of affluence in their petitions to the Virgin Mary. As a result, this consumption practice becomes a system of ideological values, a morality that secures the integration of the community.

As the focal point of all vision in the religious rituals of *Tiempo Santo*, the spectacle of the Virgin Mary during the processions is also a means of unification in Manayaycuna. By placing her at the center of the weekend's religious celebrations, the townspeople reinforce the importance of this figure in their belief system and consequently, in the tribute system that regulates the communitarian and religious logic of consumption in the town. This time, however, rather than being worshipped for her interceding powers she is venerated for her moral integrity,

[23] The fact that Madeinusa plays with dolls earlier in the film attests to the inclusive rather than exclusive nature of these appropriations.

spiritual sacrifice for the good of others, and her suffering, implicit in her beauty. Not only is the most beautiful young girl of the town selected to incarnate her, this young girl is also adorned with rich embroidered fabric to enhance the virginal beauty she represents during the processions, pointing to the fact that the commodities used to celebrate the Virgin Mary during these rituals accentuate and embellish the Marian characteristics that define her. For example, a heart and sword are sewn onto the front of the dress Madeinusa wears for the evening procession, which refer to the Virgin's devotion to her Son and the first sorrow she experienced when learning of Christ's future crucifixion through Simeon's prophecy. The fake tears that are pasted on Madeinusa's face for the procession further underline the Virgin's suffering after her Son's death.

The dress the young woman wears for the afternoon procession is even more significant, however, because it symbolizes the town's Catholic and Andean animist beliefs. As Holmes explains, the representation of the Virgin in this sequence blends with that of the *Pachamama* (209): quoting Damian, she explains that Madeinusa's dress, in the style of the Cuzco School paintings which depict images of the Virgin Mary in a wide bell-shaped dress, "flows from her head on both sides in this mountain shape and bears an ornamental floral design on the front" (209). The association between the dress and the mountains is further reinforced through the painted doors to the *plaza*, which depict a mountain personified by human arms, open to the beings that populate the Earth. Another reference to the Andean relationship with nature is the Peruvian coat of arms embroidered on the front of the dress: the llama represents the animal world, the quinine tree designates the vegetal world, and the cornucopia depicts the abundance of the mineral world. This symbol is also a clear reference to the connection of the town to the rest of the nation, as this coat of arms is normally found on the Peruvian flag.

By displaying how the villagers of Manayaycuna use and creatively adapt Western commodities to not only embellish the representations of their beliefs but also empower their tribute system, the film converts the Indigenous characters into subjects with conscious agency that make themselves modern without losing sight of their culture. The forms of material activity manifested during the religious celebrations of *Tiempo Santo* reveal the mechanics of commodity that not only tie the village to the national market but also infuse commodities with religious and animist significations, pointing to a native mode of consumption that controls the risk of change in the town.

Placed at the center stage of the town's religious celebrations, Madeinusa's portrayal of the Virgin Mary, beautified by Western products, ensures the town's devotion to the saint and to the *Pachamama*, as well as attributes a specific role to commodities in the community: that of enriching and beautifying local beliefs. Unlike many Andean communities however, where statues are usually used in the Andes during patron festivals, Manayaycuna replaces the statue of the Virgin by a young girl chosen to incarnate her during *Tiempo Santo.* Seeing as the multiple commodities used during the festivities indicate the purchasing power of the town, the film raises the question as to why the townspeople of Manayaycuna choose to select a young girl to enact the role of the Virgin Mary rather than acquire a statue of the icon.

The selection process and the processions convert the ceremonies into a type of spectacle, through which the female Indigenous body emerges as yet another consumed object that not only decorates the float of the afternoon procession or enhances the syncretic culture of Manayaycuna, but also one that signifies Indigenous womanhood. One of the functions of rituals is to establish the correct ways of acting (García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures* 23-24), and the mix between Andean beliefs and Western commodities in the contest and processions, as spectacle,

has just such a function for the women of the town. The use of the female body during the processions therefore functions as a rite of passage, concerned with what Appadurai would call "the production of what we might call *local subjects*, actors who properly belong to a situated community of kin, neighbors" and friends (179). Asking a young woman to enact the role of the Virgin of Sorrows is a way of inscribing the local culture onto the Indigenous female body, particularly regarding the use of Western products to embellish it, and to communicate this locality to the other women of Manayaycuna. As Gonick argues, not a child but not quite a woman, the girl is a symbol of transition that becomes "the site in which boundaries between tradition, history, memory, and the contemporary" are negotiated (309). Therefore, she symbolizes, before the entire village, the continuity of the Indigenous modernity elaborated in the town and consequently, the balance between Western capitalist consumption and the native economy.

The entire process imbues the inhabitants of Manayaycuna with the agency necessary to construct modern Indigenous femininity. Indigenous beauty contests started being held in 1957 in Peru, but non-Indigenous men belonging to the neo-indianist intellectual movement were the ones to determine the criteria of the competition.[24] By employing this form of spectacle, *Madeinusa* therefore demonstrates yet another Indigenous appropriation and creative adaptation of a Western product, allowing the villagers of Manayaycuna to formulate their own criteria for the contest. Physically, the girl selected must, of course, be beautiful, but also pure. Not only is Madeinusa a virgin at the start of the film, she also symbolizes the purity of Andean female beauty. The fact that Madeinusa wears her hair in a braid not only signifies her strong

[24] Cadena explains that "in 1957, women had to pose nude so that male judges could see that they had … all characteristics that the gentlemen organizers chose as markers of the bodies of *real* Indian women" (*Indigenous Mestizos* 181).

identification with Andean concepts of beauty;[25] it also implies her purity because she wears it to avoid having lice in her hair.

The girl chosen is not only selected for her beauty and purity; she also becomes responsible of ensuring the continuity of traditions and beliefs of the Manayaycuna culture.[26] By incarnating the Virgin Mary, she is taught to replicate specific behavioral patterns. Many communities in the Andes believe that during a ritual, the person playing a role will not only represent the being that is enacted, but actually become and experience that being for a while (Rengifo Vásquez 94). Therefore, as Madeinusa enacts her role as Virgin of Sorrows, it can be understood that she truly becomes the female saint. This transformation is strongly intimated during the afternoon procession. As Holmes argues, Madeinusa "maintains the appearance of the Virgin that is expected of her:" she is passive and demure during the processions, she undergoes various cleansing rituals that precede her dressings, and plays her part as grieving mother during mass (210). The spectacle of the young girl, who must follow this script of behavior during the processions, replicates Marian characteristics that ascribe a passive role to women. This way, the girl serves as an example for the Indigenous women of the town.

The young girl incarnating the Virgin also functions as a visual reinforcement for the use of commodities in the town. García Canclini argues that wearing objects on the body endows them "with functions in one's communications with others," converting them into "resources for thinking one's own body, the unstable social order, and uncertain interaction with others" (*Consumers and Citizens* 42). In the processions, the Indigenous female body is taken up in its visible ideality as the cult object of the religious ritual, not of the individual female figure. At an

[25] The braid is a strong symbol of femininity in the Andes.

[26] Femenías explains that women in the Andes represent ethnicity, motherhood, beauty, and that they also embody moral and aesthetic values (19).

age when she can be impressionable, as demonstrated by Madeinusa's fascination with *limeño* beauty products, the young girl who incarnates the Virgin Mary is therefore being taught to rethink her body through the communitarian and religious consumption practices of the town. The commodities that adorn her during the religious celebrations–the embroidered dresses, the lace veil, the crown–, should function as embellishments of the Virgin Mary she incarnates, not as objects for her individual beautification. In the context of *Tiempo Santo*, beauty reflects Baudrillard's claim that it is "nothing more than sign material being exchanged. It *functions* as sign value" (*The Consumer Society* Loc. 2139), which in Manayaycuna communicates the Marian characteristics of the Virgin. Thus, the message offered by the young girl's role as Virgin of Sorrows is one that should change women's consumer relation to objects: they should no longer relate to objects for their use-value, but to a set of objects in their total signification. The garments and regalia that adorn the girl are used to emphasize the Virgin Mary's beauty, both moral and physical.

The spectacle of the Virgin Mary therefore functions as a means of unification because it offers an ideal of Indigenous womanhood to which all women of the town should aspire, one defined by Marian characteristics intertwined with the Andean collective ideology. However, it also contributes to social differentiation and individuation. Cadena explains that "*mayordomías* are ritual mechanisms that allow relatively well-off commoners not only to improve their social status, but also to accumulate symbolic capital" (*Indigenous Mestizos* 242). The manipulation of Madeinusa's body and attitude as she transforms into the Virgin of Sorrows converts her into one of the many signifiers of social status for Don Cayo. What this suggests is that Don Cayo possesses the most representative incarnation of Manayaycuna beauty, both physical and moral. Not only does he display social and economical capital by being *mayordomo*, he now

accumulates cultural capital through his daughter, securing his position and power as the authority figure of the town. As Debord argues, "the spectacle is the ruling order's nonstop discourse about itself, its never-ending monologue of self-praise, its self-portrait at the stage of totalitarian domination of all aspects of life" (Loc. 540).

Nevertheless, Don Cayo does not dominate every aspect of life in Manayaycuna. The beauty contest that inaugurates the weekend celebrations may subject the young girls of Manayaycuna to the determining male gaze, which Mulvey describes as projecting "its fantasy onto the female figure" ("Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" 19), but it also submits them to a process of individuation. As Baudrillard argues:

> There is a great difference between *having self-worth* [*valoir*] by dint of natural qualities and *showing oneself off to best advantage* [*se faire valoir*] by subscribing to a model and conforming to a ready-made code. What we have in this latter case is a *functional femininity* in which all the natural values of beauty, charm and sensuality give way to the *exponential* values of (artificially achieved) naturalness, eroticism, 'figure' and expressiveness. (*The Consumer Society* Loc. 1526-1529)

Before the contest, the girls prepare themselves in the church, achieving this functional femininity by adorning richly embroidered dresses, golden crowns and lace veils. Not only is this scene indicative of the villagers' power of purchase and display of the accumulation of capital, it also points to the individuation that the girls undergo in the process. Although they conform to a ready-made code of what they should look like as potential Beauty Virgins, the different cloths and regalia they wear allows them to show themselves to their best advantage with varying degrees of artificiality.

The competitiveness revealed in this scene, particularly manifest in Chale's jealous behavior towards her sister, further underlines the fact that each girl wishes to win. Indeed, Madeinusa has been appointed by her father to win the contest and incarnate the Virgin of Sorrows during the religious celebrations of *Tiempo Santo*. The commodities used during the scene of her triumph enhance the individuation process begun in the church because they allow the crowd of villagers to celebrate her with great pomp: her name is announced by an official celebrant by way of a microphone attached to a speaker system, and she is decorated as Virgin Beauty of Manayaycuna by being handed a scepter and sash at the end of the contest, which visually differentiate her from the other girls.

Despite the fact that Madeinusa does seem to partially embody a beautiful, traditional and pure Indigenous femininity, the film establishes from the beginning that she already has individualist urges: she dreams of travelling to Lima, she misses and idealizes the maternal figure who fled from Manayaycuna and now wears the stigma of the Indigenous woman who has abandoned her culture,[27] and her fascination with the beauty products her mother left behind manifests the strong interest she has in her own beauty. This behavior seems to replicate the mother's behavior alluded to throughout the film. At the beginning of the narrative, a conversation between the two sisters reveals that the objects so coveted by Madeinusa were in fact initially her mother's. Madeinusa also reveals the maternal figure's attraction to the earrings she now holds so dear, pointing to their common interest in beauty products that serve their personal embellishment. The maternal figure represents the rejection of the communitarian and religious logic of consumption of the town, in exchange for an urban existence based on the individual appropriation of commodities.

[27] Skar explains that "muchas comunidades indígenas consideran que las mujeres que dejan su pueblo natal para irse a zonas de dominio mestizo y blanco pierden su belleza estética y moral porque abandonan su manera de vestirse y peinarse, y los valores propios a su comunidad" (25).

Madeinusa's triumph, and her subsequent incarnation of the Virgin, are actually ways for the *mayordomo* to counter the individuation process endorsed by the beauty contest and processions, and to ensure that she does not replicate his wife's individualist behavior. By having her experience moments in the life of the Virgin, particularly her suffering, this can be seen as an attempt to tame her, to cancel her sexuality, and realign her with the culture of Manayaycuna. The fact that her father chooses her to represent the Virgin of Sorrows during the festivities is therefore motivated by a desire to control the young woman's impulses that counter the communitarian and religious logic of the consumption system in the town. In Manayaycuna, women still cannot formulate a modern identity: it is constituted and imposed on them by the men of the town.

Ubilluz Raygada argues that "la trama se urde alrededor de un deseo femenino marcado por la modernidad, un deseo para el cual no hay lugar en el pueblo" (151). Indeed, the crisis of the Andean family to which Llosa alludes in her film is elaborated around the figure of the missing mother (Palaversich 498). *Madeinusa* reveals that women become pawns in the heritage politics of Manayaycuna and reflects Appadurai's claim that, in shifting social and cultural formations, they become "subject to the abuse and violence of men who are themselves torn about the relation between heritage and opportunity" (44). Madeinusa actually does become victim to her father's advances and abuse. Because she has similar inclinations to her mother's for the personal use of commodities, she becomes a fetish that commemorates both the maternal figure and Don Cayo's wife. The abuse of his daughter can therefore be understood as a vengeful act against his wife, but also a way to manipulate Madeinusa: it is the price she agrees to pay in exchange for the celebration of her personal beauty as Virgin of Manayaycuna. The destruction of the earrings can be interpreted in a similar fashion. Substituting for the absent mother, this

jewelry not only commemorates the mother figure but also what she represents, that is, the freedom to formulate a female Indigenous modernity. By destroying them, Don Cayo both punishes the mother for abandoning him, and shatters, in the eyes of Madeinusa, her possibility for constructing her own female modernity.

It is not that modernity cannot be developped in Manayaycuna, but rather that its formulation is regulated by men. Ubilluz Raygada claims that the semi-subjective shots of the poisoned rats surrounding Don Cayo's home that allude, in a proleptical way, to his death, emphasize that the patriarchal tradition is poisoned by modernity and is, therefore, moribund (152). On the contrary, it is actually patriarchy that is poisoning modernity in the town. When Madeinusa murders her father at the end of the film, she does not kill him because he destroys the fetish earrings that substituted her mother as Ubilluz Raygada claims (149), but because this destruction symbolizes the crushing of her freedom to elaborate her own modernity. In any case, the communitarian and religious logic of consumption regulated by patriarchal ideology is so ingrained in Manayaycuna that Madeinusa must leave the town in order to construct the identity for which she so yearns. In this sense, Ubilluz Raygada is right in arguing that Lima is the only place where she can do this: Lima not only as capital of Peru, but as the city inspired by modern American individualism (151).

However, as Forns-Broggi remarks, the female protagonist does not reflect an unequivocal acculturation (189). Quite the contrary, he claims that "también puede pensarse en la capacidad de Madeinusa de insertarse en el mundo citadino sin perder su identidad quechua" (189). Although Baudrillard argues that "to differentiate oneself is precisely to affiliate to a model, to label oneself by reference to an abstract model, to a combinatorial pattern of fashion, and therefore relinquish any real difference, any *singularity*" (*The Consumer Society* Loc. 1406-

1409), Madeinusa has no model for the Indigenous female modernity she longs for. This leads her to at once reject and combine the different models of Indigenous female modernity available to her, that is, her mother, the syncretic Virgin Mary, and the portrait of her as the icon's incarnation. She also amasses references to different examples of Western femininity, ranging from her mother's magazines to her beloved earrings. All these models are powerful resources that allow her to ultimately start formulating her own Indigenous female modernity.

Although she pursues the individualism associated with *limeño* consumption practices, Madeinusa does not wish to become *limeña.* As she sings to Salvador, she is "de Manayaycuna de corazón," and she is proud of her origins. After seeing her name in the *limeño*'s t-shirt, she reaffirms this identity by arguing that her name is *her* name, and that she likes it. This scene, rather than demonstrating the lack of credibility of the film's representation of the Andeans as so isolated from the rest of the world as to ignore the meaning of "made in usa," as Zevallos-Aguilar argues (74), in reality signals the Indigenous refusal to be defined by outside significations. "Made in USA" is reappropriated in Manayaycuna; its association with North America and its consumer market is ignored.[28] Indeed, during this discussion Madeinusa dismisses Salvador's definition of her name and consequently, his attempt to erase and redefine her identity according to his knowledge, by celebrating her own. Having eliminated her father, the fact that she also rids herself of the *limeño*'s presence finally frees her of patriarchal definitions and grants her the freedom to shape her own Indigenous female modernity.

During the final takes of the film, Llosa joins all the objects important to Madeinusa in order to render visible the identity that she is starting to construct. When the young girl is in El Mudo's delivery truck, she wears the photograph Salvador took of her as Beauty Virgin around

[28] Despite the fact that Madeinusa rejects Salvador's definition of her name, it is important to note the tension her name symbolizes, and that Madeinusa herself incarnates, between Western and Indigenous processes of signification and consumer practices.

her neck. This keepsake signals that the hybridity of the culture in Manayaycuna, based on the celebration of Andean culture and the appropriation and creative adaptation of Western commodities, is still very important to her. She also holds a white doll in her arms. When she ties the piece of her hair, previously cut by her jealous sister, she manifests that the braid continues to be a strong symbol of her Indigenous femininity. What this also demonstrates is that, rather than inscribe herself within the dominant culture, she will inscribe her own Indigenous modernity onto the urban culture she is about to enter.

Conclusion

According to Zevallos-Aguilar, *"Madeinusa* pareciera una manifestación explícita del proyecto neoliberal peruano que insiste en demandar el costo social de desaparecer a las culturas indígenas para lograr finalmente la ansiada modernización capitalista" (75). There are hints of this in the film, particularly through Madeinusa's migration to the capital and the exclusion of Manayacuna from the national market due to an underdeveloped distribution system. But the Peruvian discourse on capitalism and consumption–as exemplified by part of Toledo's political platform during the 2001 elections–, which redefined citizenship according to the market logic of equality, demonstrates that the villagers of Manayaycuna have reformulated their citizenship in accordance to this definition through the power of purchase and accumulation of material capital in the film.

In Latin America, however, "identity is no longer simply equated with the nation-state" (Ortiz 259). Because citizenship has become defined by globalized, national and local practices, Ortiz argues that modernity and the idea of the national identity have become disjunctive terms (259). It has become impossible to consider modernity without considering the specific

geographies, histories, and social practices of each society, and the different communities that constitute them. If one of the greatest challenges for rethinking identity and citizenship is finding a way to study how "ethnic, regional, and national identities are being reconstructed in relation to globalized processes of intercultural segmentation and hybridization […] crisscrossed by other symbolic matrices," as García Canclini argues, it is therefore necessary to consider "what kinds of literature, film, and television are capable of narrating the heterogeneity and coexistence of several codes within a group and even in one individual subject" (*Consumers and Citizens* 94).

Again, the criticisms that denounce *Madeinusa* as a cinematic reproduction of geographical determinism and colonial discourse are, of course, necessary to reveal the structural patterns of discrimination and racism that are present in the film. However, when looking beyond the reification of the Peruvian stereotypes of the Andes, and examining the specific cultural processes that are playing themselves out in Manayaycuna, it is possible to see that *Madeinusa* proposes a visual exploration of the hybridized and intercultural processes mentioned by García García Canclini. The Manayaycuna villagers' negotiations with the national capitalist system and the elaboration of a native economy indicate that the construction of the national identity has moved beyond the uniform and evolutionary imposition of modernization processes. The creative adaptations revealed in the film manifest that Andean communities can both contribute as economic actors to the national market, whilst maintaining and empowering the internal logic of their own cultures.

Madeinusa posits that modernity is not only possible, but also already very much alive in the Andes, and an ongoing process. But the film does not romanticize how Indigenous communities use modernity to empower their cultures. On the contrary, it points to the crisis of the Andean family, which it attributes to the oppression of women. In this respect, the film

explores an existing problem of Andean society. Solier, the actress who acts the role of Madeinusa, and who is originally from Canrey Chico, the Andean town where the film was directed, sees this exploration of the situation of women in the Andes in a positive light: as Palaversich explains, "she saw her role of *Madeinusa* as a unique opportunity […] to denounce the sexual abuse she witnessed in her community" (495).

By exploring Don Cayo's personal struggles with feminine consumption, and his attempts to control his daughter, the film exposes the breaches in the patriarchal ideology that governs the town. It also examines the relation between feminine consumption and individualism. However, instead of charging Western culture with this destructive influence, it exposes the patriarchal creative adaptation of the Western spectacle of the beauty contest. It is not consumption as such that causes individuation in the town, but rather the *Tiempo Santo* celebrations that are initially meant to strengthen the town's religious and communitarian consumption practices associated with the tribute system. By exposing the flaws in the native economy elaborated by the men of the town, *Madeinusa* reveals the complexity of Indigenous negotiation with intercultural segmentation and hybridization.

In Peru, Llosa has been criticized for representing a world that is not her own in *Madeinusa*, aligning this cinematic representation with the Peruvian *cine campesino* tradition, which creates Andean representations not of or by the people but about the people (Middents, "Another Limeño Fantasy" 315).[29] Because she codifies the Andes from her perspective as a non-Indigenous director, the ideological legitimacy of her artistic vision has been a point of contention since the film's release. Many critics were also quick to point out Llosa's family ties

[29] The term *cine campesino* was initially applied disparagingly to the films produced and directed in the Cuzco region (Middents, *Writing National Cinema* 155), such as *Kukuli* (Cine-Club de Cusco 1961) and *Los perros hambrientos* (Figueroa 1977), but it eventually referred to any film referring to "the geographical/ ethnic/cultural Andean component" (*Writing National Cinema* 169).

to the intellectual, writer and once politician Mario Vargas Llosa, as well as to the film director Luis Llosa, underlining the fact that she belongs not only to the financial but also to the intellectual elite of the country.

Furthermore, Madeinusa's flight from her town and culture have been interpreted as an endorsement of the acultural politics Vargas Llosa and so many other advocate in Peruvian politics. The young girl's escape from Manayaycuna unfortunately inscribes *Madeinusa* within the Peruvian cinematic migration narrative that sustains the impossibility of a complete modernity in the rural Andes. However, the many markers of modernity associated with consumerism in the town illustrate that this is not the case: it is not an incomplete modernity, but an "Indigenous modernity." The difficulty lies not in the articulation of modernity in Manayaycuna, but in the social actors involved in its formulation. Indeed, Madeinusa does not leave her village because modernity is impossible there: she leaves because women do not have the freedom to articulate it in ways that are not dictated by the patriarchal structure of the village. By offering an end to the narrative that does not afford Madeinusa with the possibility of formulating a modern female Indigenous identity in Manaycuna, *Madeinusa* refuses to dictate how Indigenous women should resolve the gender conflicts in their communities, or suggest the processes that would allow them to become consumer citizens in their own rights, thus reinforcing the death of the Andean patriarch and the hegemonic savior "Salvador." The Indigenous woman, as represented by Madeinusa at the end of the film, therefore becomes free to decide her future, and how she will articulate her Indigenous and modern femininity.

Epistemic Disobedience and Economic Crisis in Caetano's *Bolivia*

New Argentine Cinema was born out of a moment of increasing economic tension and social crisis in Argentina,[30] and has been defined as an attempt to catalogue the new socioeconomic realities of this country from the early 1990s to the mid-2000s. Page argues that the film directors of this new wave present the Argentinean national space of this period "as a territory in need of charting, dissecting, and recording" (Loc. 732). If films "literally map out a territory and the ways in which it is subject to historical change," as Andrews suggests (qtd. in Andermann xviii), then the films associated with New Argentine Cinema not only locate the crisis of the Argentinean economy in Buenos Aires, but chart, dissect and record the production of a new cartography of the capital, where urban trajectories of labor and consumption have been disrupted, and where the growing poverty has displaced, and in many cases completely dissolved, social and spatial boundaries between classes and neighborhoods by the time of the Crisis at the end of 2001.[31] Indeed, films such as *Pizza, birra, faso* (Caetano and Stagnaro 1998), *Bolivia* (Caetano 2001), *Mundo grúa* (Trapero 1999), *Rapado* (Retjman 1992) and *Silvia Prieto* (Rejtman 1999), reflect this new cartography as they explore the impact of the neoliberal politics of the 1990s on Argentinean society and, as Rego and Rocha argue, the relations between inhabitants of Buenos Aires that face unemployment, as well as increasing poverty and inequality (9). Furthermore, reflecting on a citizenship that had become largely associated with consumption under Menem's neoliberal government, these films also emphasize the fact that the

[30] President Carlos Menem's government, following recommendations made by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, implemented neoliberal policies that resulted in the weakening of state and other institutions (such as trade unions), and increasing poverty and unemployment. The unstable 1990s led to increasing withdrawals from banks by local and foreign clients, culminating in the December 2001 Crisis, during which the government introduced restrictions of the population's cash withdrawals.

[31] As Guano explains, the late 1990s was "a time when the social and spatial boundaries between the local middle-class and the urban poor were increasingly thinning" (70). The poor occupied middle-class neighborhoods by squatting in unoccupied buildings, and the middle-class population, increasingly affected by unemployment, lost its purchasing power, inching its way closer to the situation of the urban poor.

adverse socioeconomic conditions marginalized large portions of the Argentinean population from the nation's economic activity, robbing them of their identity as middle-class citizen-consumers.

Bolivia (2001), Adrián Caetano's second feature-length film, which through its black-and-white images produced a documentary effect of direct and daily register of the Argentinean economic crisis as lived by the employees and clients of a Buenos Aires suburban café-bar (Aguilar 29), emerged as one of the most successful films of this new wave.[32] Through its observation of this microcosmic representation of Buenos Aires' spatiality, *Bolivia* records the ways in which the different characters navigate the new socioeconomic configurations of the capital as they face increasing marginalization from the nation's economic center. In so doing, *Bolivia* reproduces the focus of most of the films of New Argentine Cinema, which is "the experience of neoliberalism at the periphery of the world economy" (Page Loc. 143). However, its introduction of immigrant characters that also belong to the margins of the world-economy allows Caetano's second feature film to be the first to explore the Argentinean experience of neoliberalism in relation to the global structure of the capitalist economy–rather than simply marginalized to its periphery–, a perspective that would a few years later be further explored in Burman's *El abrazo partido* (2003), Burak's *Bar 'El Chino'*, (2003) and Poncet, Burd, and Gachasset's documentary film *Habitación disponible* (2005).

Bolivia not only records interactions between Argentineans; it also observes those between Argentineans and the immigrant employees who work at the café-bar. Much of the negative and racist discourse sustained by the Argentinean characters throughout the film points

[32] *Bolivia* was awarded prizes at the Cannes, San Sebastian, London and Rotterdam film festivals before it premiered in Holland in 2002, for both its neorealist cinematographic style and its representation and interpretation of the Argentinean crisis. Since premiering *Bolivia*, Caetano has directed other successful films. *Un oso rojo* (2002), *Crónica de una fuga* (2006) and *Francia* (2009) were nominated and/or received awards at various Latin American and international film festivals. His most recent film is *Mala*, which premiered in 2013.

to the geographical imaginary of the nation's middle-class, which clearly defined the boundaries between Argentinean identity and that of immigrants–particularly unwelcomed ones such as those from Bolivia like Freddy (Freddy Waldo Flores)–, and echoed a discourse that has been sustained by politicians since the late 19th-century in Argentina. Jackovkis explains that this discourse had separated the nation "from the rest of the Latin American countries and posited it as a 'European' nation only geographically located in Latin America" (169). In reality, Argentina occupied until the 1990s a semi-peripheral role in the structure of the world-economy, distancing its position from core countries such as the United States and England. But according to the Menemist propaganda however, which focused on the country's modernization and the importance of its incorporation in the global free market, Argentina had finally achieved what Guano calls a "miraculous inclusion into the first world" (72), situating it alongside the aforementioned nation-states at the core of the world-economy, and further distancing it from the rest of the Latin American countries.

But Lucy Taylor argues that the economic crisis revealed profound tensions in Argentine politics and society. While implementing what she calls the Occidental project, which "requires the creation of liberal state institutions, a capitalist economy and modern social relationships," Argentina also had to negotiate "the complex, internal realities of different visions of human life, alongside the external realities of global power hierarchies" (597). Page emphasizes this point by arguing that the unveiling of the internal weaknesses of the nation's institutions, and the impact of these weaknesses on Argentinean society, disarticulated the 'opportunities-for-all' discourse of neoliberalism, and exposed "the vulnerability of Argentina as a capitalist country on the periphery of the global economy" (Loc. 167). Indeed, Guano claims that by the end of the 20th-century, most of Argentina's population was confronting "a foreseeable future of poverty in a

third world country where everyday life experience not only contradicted the neoliberal narrative of progress towards first world status, but blatantly turned it upside down" (72), pushing the country towards a more peripheral status in the world-economy. Although *Bolivia* includes very few references to national institutions, the fact that Caetano named the film after Argentina's neighbor country, and that his film positioned the immigrant characters as the pivotal figures of the narrative, associates Argentina with another Latin American country and alludes to the reconfiguration of its geographic and economic position in the world economic structure. *Bolivia* therefore not only traces a new cartography of the city where social and spatial boundaries have dissolved, attesting to the fluidity of local boundaries, but also maps out the evolving and unstable frontiers of the global capitalist geography.

Many critics have sustained that because the films of New Argentine Cinema were engaged in recording the dissolution of Argentina's local identities that resulted from the failed neoliberal project–and, in the case of *Bolivia*, with Argentina's regional and global identities as well–, they avoided Jameson's premise that all third-world texts are necessarily national allegories (69), and distanced themselves from previous Argentinean cinema, particularly Third Cinema's production of moral and propagandistic mechanisms and messages.[33] These films may share Third Cinema's insistence on observing the effects of governmental policies and societal behaviors, but in general they refuse to construct new alternatives for the Argentinean identity. In reality, these films attest to the fact that former discourses and theories (Page Loc. 1033), as well as identities and boundaries, had been delegitimized by the national economic crisis, and point to Page's argument that New Argentine Cinema is not necessarily about its representation

[33] Solanas and Getino attribute the following criteria to Third World cinema: "a cinema which insists upon the denunciation of the *effects* of neocolonial policy is caught up in a reformist game if the consciousness of the masses has already assimilated such knowledge; then the revolutionary thing is to examine the *causes*, to investigate ways of organizing and arming for change" (7).

of the Argentinean socioeconomic crisis, but rather its "representation of a *crisis* in social knowledge" (Loc. 732). Following Page's argument then, the directors of New Argentine Cinema may have consciously decided to avoid reconstructing a new social and cultural imaginary, but they may also have done so for lack of discourses and theories that would have allowed them to do so. If they no longer had knowledge to engage with, then this reconstruction would have to be led from what Page calls "a position of no-knowledge" (Loc. 1055), to the limits of epistemology. Indeed, because the New Argentine Cinema directors catalogue new social marginalities "as if recording the biochemical makeup and behavior of a new species" (Loc. 1055), Page associates the position of these directors to the position of "no-knowledge" from which ethnographers write.

This is where *Bolivia* diverges from most films belonging to New Argentine Cinema. While its long takes in black-and-white that register the activities of the café-bar are evocative of a documentary style, suggesting that the film does depart from a position of "no-knowledge" like most other films of this wave, it does not simply register the context of the café-bar but also attempts to explore identitarian alternatives around the reconfiguration of the cartographies of capitalism, on local, regional and global levels. Thus far, most critics of the film have focused on the ways in which *Bolivia* registers and reproduces Argentinean discourses and theories that have spatially separated this nation from other Latin American countries. Aguilar comments that the film "confronts one of the most central stereotypes" of Argentinean culture, "that surrounding Bolivians, or, as they are derogatorily referred to, *bolitas*" (147). He adds that the stereotype of the Bolivian immigrant is widespread and plays "an active role in the imaginary, linguistic, and perceptive configuration of the average Argentinean," because it both expels the Other behind a boundary traced by prejudice, and preserves the integrity of the group to which they believe they

belong (147). While it is undeniable that *Bolivia* visually and linguistically displays this behavior through its observation of the Argentinean characters that work in or frequent the café-bar, therefore referring to the strength of national discourses despite having been delegitimized by the crisis, this interpretation of the film does not consider the Bolivian discourses that are also alluded to throughout the film, and that engage in the reconstruction of the Argentinean socioeconomic imaginary.

The film's title, the incorporation in both the trailer and the film of the music of Los Kjarkas, a famous Andean Bolivian popular music group,[34] and the inclusion of an Indigenous immigrant from La Paz in the representation of the Argentinean economic crisis, emphasize the importance of Bolivian Andean epistemology as it intersects with Argentinean knowledge in the microcosm of the café-bar. Andermann argues that the inclusion of immigrants allows the viewer to shift the construction of knowledge from "a displaced vantage point" on the city and country in crisis (52), and allows Argentinean audiences in particular to witness "an (auto)-ethnographic view of themselves as seen from elsewhere" (52). Indeed, by evoking this displaced vantage point, *Bolivia* allows the viewer to engage in what Mignolo calls epistemic disobedience, which implies that the viewer "will shift his or her geography of reasoning" ("Epistemic Disobedience" 163)–in this case from Argentina to Bolivia–, therefore producing a different locus of enunciation for the representation of the Argentinean economic crisis, and consequently offering an alternative understanding of it.

In so doing, the film reappropriates and modernizes Rodolfo Kusch's theory, which Mignolo partially defines as the necessity of reinscribing "Andean thought in the present as a

[34] Los Kjarkas, a Bolivian Andean group that was created following the governmental reforms of the 1950s in Bolivia, was and still is one of the most important music groups of the country, particularly in the folklore music genre. Their music celebrates Indigenous cultures, particularly those of the Andes, but also represents the call for the increasing integration of Indigenous peoples and their cultures in the country.

cultural and political intervention and contribution to Argentina's social transformation" (*Local Histories/Global Designs* Loc. 3974).[35] One of the most important Bolivian markers of the film that allows the viewer to engage in epistemic disobedience, to inscribe an Andean vantage point in the analysis of the Argentinean crisis, is the Los Kjarkas music used in the trailer to promote the film,[36] and also incorporated during three key moments of the film itself.[37] Indeed, the Bolivian discourse sustained in the lyrics of the songs invites the viewer to interpret *Bolivia*'s rendering of the Argentinean socioeconomic crisis from a message of brotherhood and liberation, rather than from the racist and nationalist discourse also registered in the film.

Engaging in epistemic disobedience also allows the film to explore the reconfiguration of Argentina's local socioeconomic cartography from a Bolivian Andean locus of enunciation. Andermann argues that the

> link between place as locality and as the function assigned to humans in the capitalist production chain–place being where the effects of capitalist accumulation and value extraction are actively embodied, *located* in physical subjects and affective constellations–is established from the outset of the film. (58)

If this argument is linked to the message conveyed in the Los Kjarkas songs that are included in *Bolivia* then it is possible to hypothesize that the discourse of brotherhood explored in the film will be closely linked to the characters' functions in the capitalist production chain. This would

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[35] Kusch was a polemical Argentinean philosopher who, according to Mignolo, contributed "toward a new epistemological landscape" in Argentina (*Local Histories/Global Designs* Loc. 3243). Kusch argued that the Andean people and cultures he tried to understand may have been "foreign to his Argentinean urban, middle-class background, yet 'they' were also 'we': (Latin) Americans" (Loc. 3756). The new epistemology he proposed was therefore one that articulated both Argentinean and Andean knowledges.

[36] It is the music of Los Kjarkas that accompanies the conceptual mapping of the narrative as presented in the trailer.

[37] The song "Condor Mallku" (1980) is used at the very beginning of the film, the song "Ukhamampi Munataxa" (1994) accompanies a sequence that focuses on the labor of the employees of the café-bar, and the film closes on what is considered Los Kjarkas most famous song, "Bolivia" (1976).

reflect Caetano's declaration that *Bolivia* does not explore racial tensions solely, but rather "el enfrentamiento entre la gente de la misma clase social, trabajadores que están a punto de ser desclasados" (Stantic 2002). López-Vicuña agrees with this claim when he underlines the emphasis placed on similarities between characters in the film rather than on their differences (157). The first objective of this chapter will therefore be to study how the film attempts to articulate a potential brotherhood around the immigrant figure by blurring racial boundaries in the microcosm of the café-bar, and establish de-nationalized similarities between Freddy and the Argentineans he will work with and serve during the short time he spends in Buenos Aires.

The Bolivian discourse included in *Bolivia* not only alludes to the concept of brotherhood however, but also to the idea of liberation. Because the film rearticulates Argentina's identity from a Bolivian Andean locus of enunciation, Argentina's crisis must also be thought in terms of neocoloniality, which will allow the viewer to rethink Argentina's place in the global capitalist geo-economic organization, as well as the roots of its economic crisis. Furthermore, if shifting the vantage point to subaltern or silenced epistemologies, as Escobar claims, is "useful for thinking about alternative local and regional worlds" (210), then shifting the film's geography of reasoning from Argentina to Bolivia will allow the viewer to consider how the film points to potential rearticulations of global designs from regional perspectives that may go beyond the current global cartography of capitalism.

De-Nationalization of Identities through Labor Power

Page argues that despite the value that work acquires in a context of scarcity, it "nevertheless becomes increasingly less central to constructions of identity" (Loc. 1131). In reality though, *Bolivia* does not just provide an interesting perspective on the precariousness of work conditions, as Page claims (Loc. 1131), but it also suggests that labor power is still the

starting point for identity construction. Following Faletto and Cardoso's observation that "capital itself is the economic expression of a social relation," that "it requires the existence of a set of persons working by wage–selling its labor force–and another group" (Loc. 221), it is possible to see that the film elaborates on the positioning of characters in Argentinean society in terms of fulfilled or unfulfilled labor power–which results in the acquisition or loss of capital–and that the racial tone that regulates most relations are also developed according to this characteristic in *Bolivia*.

First, the film underlines the importance of simply being able to sell labor force. Indeed, the sign don Enrique (Enrique Liporace) posts on the door of the café-bar seems to suggest that the film will focus on the importance of fulfilled labor power, not necessarily what defines it. The sign divides the two occupations of the future employee by a line traced between *parrillero* and *cocinero*, but when don Enrique posts the sign once again at the end of the film, the order of the words has been inverted. In reality, this line is not divisive: it converts into a fluid threshold that can be crossed, and points to the duplicity of the nature of the labor to be fulfilled rather than to the hierarchy of one job over the other. The interchangeable nature of the words therefore underlines the importance of having a job, rather than the specific responsibilities that define it. What matters is not the difference of each labor activity, but rather the economic capital that fulfilling labor power entails. When Freddy calls home to his wife before he even finishes his first day, he focuses on the fact that he has found work: "Sí, estoy trabajando, en un restaurante. Cuéntales a todos que estoy trabajando en un restaurante" (Caetano 00:21:59). What this work implies does not hold as much importance as the fact that he has found work, which is why he does not elaborate on what defines his newly found job until later on in the conversation.

Furthermore, there is so much pride in this accomplishment that he not only tells his wife: he wants everyone to know.

While the simple fact of obtaining work is celebrated in *Bolivia*, the film also explores the meaning that emerges in a person's life when engaging in the work itself. According to Page, the initial sequence of the film, which scans the different corners of don Enrique's café-bar, lingers repeatedly on the cooking utensils that the employees will use once the working day has begun, introduces the film's "meditation on, and homage to, labor, its tools, its practices" (Loc. 1171), and revalorizes "labor in the context of severe and increasing unemployment" of Buenos Aires towards the end of the 1990s. She adds that this scene creates a sense of expectation: "the tools are poised, ready for action, their fulfillment of their function promised–and accord a kind of poetic grandeur, through the use of still close-ups, to these humble tools patiently waiting for human use in productive labor" (Loc. 1166). The film's most powerful homage to labor occurs when in the most stylized sequence of the film the tools' function is fulfilled (Loc. 1189), and the camera registers don Enrique–the owner of the café-bar–, and Freddy and Rosa–his two employees–hard at work during one of the busy moments of the day. As Page argues, "as employment becomes scarce, the tool of trade and the prescribed movements and rhythms of labor become worthy, it would seem, of sustained observation and even stylization" (Loc. 1151). Indeed, the slow takes bestow a lyrical and almost epic quality to the movements presented, thus capturing the poetry of the fulfillment of labor power (Loc. 1189). This sequence therefore celebrates what Page calls "the simple pleasure of losing oneself in the physical demands of work, of allowing the rhythms of labor to erase other cares" (Loc. 1187).

In the Argentinean context of the crisis, which had disarticulated Argentina's long tradition of working-class struggle,[38] and deligitimized the country's populist identity construction, these sequences re-establish the dignity inherent in productive labor. If dignity, as Sitring explains, "is about creating your own relationship to work and to your community" (qtd. in Lucy Taylor 608), then this last sequence reveals how don Enrique, Freddy and Rosa create this relation to work and the community they serve through iterated yet purposeful movements. By defamiliarizing productive labor, and "approaching its practices step by step (still by still) with a sense of rediscovered awe" (Page Loc. 1166), and by showing the ways in which this labor structures the day of the worker through repeated stills of the clock, the film indeed accords dignity to human labor. It is important to note, as Page does, that the contemplation of the tools of the café-bar during the initial sequence of the film, and the observation of productive labor at the height of the work day, set Freddy's illegal status aside to give priority to labor, of any kind, and fulfilled by anyone (Loc. 1172). These sequences therefore not only reassign dignity to work; they also offer a de-racialized focus on the body and its movements as it engages in productive labor.

Although Harvey claims that such homogenization of the "working man" and of "labor powers" is problematic (38), because it does not take into account the variegated geographical terrain of capitalism, the homogenization in this sequence actually serves to demonstrate Marx's claim that "working men have no country" (qtd. in Harvey 39), therefore not only de-racializing but also de-nationalizing the microcosm of the café-bar. In these moments, Freddy and Rosa become don Enrique's equals, in the sense that they share in the same productivity and dignity of

[38] Riggirozzi explains that, "the labor reforms proposed by Menem aimed to undermine the power of unions, on the understanding that this was an essential step in order to move promptly in other areas of economic reform. By 1996, Menem had successfully introduced a number of laws and executive decrees that radically changed social and labor rights in the country. The changes altered not only the context within which the unions operated but, more dramatically, their capacity to defend their membership" (97).

productive labor. In this case, the social relation established is one based on similarity, rather than the racial hierarchy that usually predominates in the café-bar.

Obtaining work and attaining the fulfillment of productive labor are but two of the three positive aspects of labor power that the film explores as a way to establish similarities between Freddy and the Argentinean characters. If selling labor force is at the origin of all social relations, then the characters that accomplish a gain of capital from selling it also gain access to the power of purchase necessary to be considered citizens under neoliberal policies. *Bolivia* explores the power of purchase gained through productive labor by visually emphasizing economic transactions that occur in the café-bar. Indeed, Aguilar comments on the film's use of high-angle shots that last longer in these moments, "highlighting the importance of economic transactions in the narration's development" (151). The camera also repeatedly lingers on these moments of economic transactions when characters exchange money for services rendered or for commodities like food and drinks in order to observe how they organize social relations in the café-bar and instigate the interactions between the characters that either work there or frequent it.

The central figure around which these relations are organized in the café-bar is don Enrique. As owner of the bar, he not only distributes the money to his employees, he also oversees all transactions that occur in his establishment. In the café-bar, fulfilled labor power, and the power of purchase gained through it, provides both employees and patrons with certain privileges which unfulfilled labor power does not. For example, although he reacts in a slightly dissatisfied way when Freddy asks him for an advance on his salary in order to call home, don Enrique eventually agrees, as Freddy has already earned some of it after working for part of the day. Few moments before, a similar situation arises with Oso (Oscar Bertea), one of the patrons of the establishment, and don Enrique does not react in such an understanding manner. Oso has

accrued an important debt in the café-bar, and although he continues to consume food and drinks there, he shows no sign of being able to repay the owner the money owed. Don Enrique may understand for a while–Oso claims to have helped him in the past so don Enrique owes him this favor–but the owner's patience does have limits, and he eventually communicates this clearly to Oso.

This hierarchy in social relations is hinted at through the ways in which the camera frames the characters who gain capital and those who lose capital. For example, while medium-close ups are used to establish the equality between don Enrique and Freddy as they work together and fulfill their labor force, high-angle shots, even if only slightly pronounced, are used to reveal Oso's inferiority to don Enrique because he does not sell his labor force successfully, and therefore does not have the power to purchase commodities in the café-bar. Additionally, during many of the economic transactions, those that make money–don Enrique and Héctor (Héctor Anglada), one of the café-bar's patrons, by selling commodities, and Freddy by selling his labor power–are usually framed by low-angle shots, conveying their superiority in the economic relations established during these moments. Once again, although this time through power of purchase, there is a de-racialization of the microcosm of the café-bar, where identities are rearticulated not along racial terms, but following the neoliberal paradigm, according to which "a person's worth is measured by his or her ability to consume" (Jackovkis 169).

Consumerism not only constructs identities, it also articulates relationships in *Bolivia*. Although the café-bar is "the place where the patrons go to look for old forms of community bonds," as Jackovkis suggests (171), and as much as the "patrons try to rebel against the rhetoric of neoliberalism that affirms the hegemony of the marketplace and the primacy of consumption" (168), most relations are established around economic transactions defined by consumption. On

the one hand, although Oso and Marcelo (Marcelo Videla) are friends, their alliance in the film is based on the exchange of money, food, drinks, and drugs. On the other hand, Freddy and Rosa establish a partnership in which they share tips, and even their salaries when they go out to dance at a *bailanta* after work.[39] In registering these relationships' articulation around the power of purchase, the film reflects on the Argentinean reality of the end of the 1990s, during which the suburbs of Buenos Aires had been converted into "expandable locations of the global consumerist marketplace, where socio-economic considerations and transactional relationships often take precedence over more traditional forms of social interaction" (Urraca 152). It also demonstrates that immigrants are just as caught up in these transactional relationships as Argentineans are.

Many of the conversations between the patrons, who attempt to establish new alliances to take advantage of the others' financial contacts or possibilities, often seem suspicious however, and rarely result in positive conclusions. At one point, Oso starts a conversation with Mercado (Alberto Mercado), yet another patron of the café-bar, who knows someone working at a car dealership. Although Mercado agrees to initiate the dialogue between Oso and his contact, he never returns to the café-bar after that, pointing to the instability of promises of mutual support between Argentineans. But even Freddy and Rosa's relationship may not be as stable as it initially appears. Although they seem to establish a fair alliance when Rosa offers Freddy to share tips halfway, don Enrique at one point warns the young Bolivian that he must take care

[39] *Bailantas* are dance clubs were immigrants gather in Buenos Aires. It is interesting to mention, given the similarities the film establishes between the Argentinean and immigrant characters, that immigrants who gather in these clubs listen to *cumbia villera*–the intradiegetic music playing at the *bailanta* Rosa takes Freddy to–, which is the same type of music listened to by the lower-class *porteños* (López-Vicuña 159).

with her because she is deceitful,[40] therefore introducing doubt into this relationship as well. Rosa may be using their mutual identity as outsiders to establish an initial bond with Freddy, allowing her to take advantage of his accumulation of capital after one of their working days when they go dancing and drinking together–however small that accumulation may be. *Bolivia* therefore constantly insinuates the precariousness of relations based on the power of purchase, and demonstrates through this precariousness that all social and cultural ties are short-lived and eventually collapse.

But even normative and traditional relationships, such as between husband and wife, are now threatened with instability. Freddy's migration to Buenos Aires demonstrates that the impossibility of fulfilling labor power also leads to the disintegration of the traditional family. While the lyrical sequence of the film that pays homage to productive labor points to the pride Freddy feels for once again being able to sell his labor force and provide for his family, it also alludes to the fragmentation of the family unit due to physical displacement. Most critics, as Andermann declares, have dispensed with considering the folkloric musical score of Los Kjarkas that accompanies these two sequences (59), but the fact that it is incorporated in the film after Freddy has called home to give news to his wife, gives it significance beyond its contribution to the lyrical and epic celebration of productive labor.

The song "Ukhamampi Munataxa," which accompanies this sequence, is a song of lost love and sorrow:

> Solo y triste la recuerdo
>
> Sufro y lloro su partida

[40] This may be an attempt on don Enrique's part to come between Freddy and Rosa's nascent relationship. However, due to the fluidity of relationships in the film, and particularly the film's insinuation that Rosa only frequents men with power of purchase, it is difficult to say whether his comment has some truth to it.

Y mirando las estrellas

Pido a Dios me la devuelva. (*A los 500 años* 1994)

Freddy may feel pride and relief to have found work in Buenos Aires, and may even feel the dignity of productive labor, but it is not without a sense of loss of his wife and children. In the context of economic crisis that is also ongoing in Bolivia at the end of the 1990s due to neoliberal policies, his family has to be fragmented in order to survive. Aguilar argues, in relation to the protagonist of Trapero's *Mundo grúa*, that "to achieve stability, to continue to live in the world of labor," the protagonist "slips into the paradox of having to abandon his affective world" (142). The same can be argued regarding Freddy: his economic survival, and that of his family, also has an affective price. The disintegration of the family structure is further emphasized by the intimate relationship Freddy has with Rosa. Most critics have associated his infidelity with the behavior of the Argentineans who also pursue her, and there is some truth to this. But while the Argentineans can access her through money or favors, as Aguilar suggests (149), Freddy does not attempt to "purchase" her company. Sharing meals with her, going out to dance, and eventually spending the night with her are actually attempts at replacing that which has been lost, the stability provided by his family.

But his association with her also alludes to Freddy's need to recover a certain sense of belonging. Their relationship displays what Noriega calls a "mode of communal exchange" (qtd. in Jackovkis 175), and a strategy of "resistance to help them cope with the daily exploitation they are subjected to (Jackovkis 175). Furthermore, going out with her at the *bailanta* not only serves the purpose of temporarily forgetting the pain of leaving his family behind, but also to forget the pain of having to leave his country behind as well. As he plays an arcade game at the bar, he grows increasingly frustrated while he tells Rosa the story of the reason why he had to leave

Bolivia. The *cumbia villera* playing intradiegetically echoes these words, and reflects Freddy's internal state:

> Añorando mi tierra
>
> Y todo el licor no basta
>
> Para aliviar mi dolor. (Caetano 00:44:09)

At the *bailanta*, Freddy can share the pain of being physically displaced with other immigrants in similar situations to his, and drown his sorrows in order to forget. His relationship with Rosa is therefore not just based on the exchange of money, but also on their mutual sense of not belonging in Buenos Aires. This relationship, just like the others established in the film, fulfills a momentary need, but his is an escape from the double alienation he feels after physically separating from his family and home, and entering the unwelcoming city of Buenos Aires. Unemployment, as Pierre Bourdieu argues, causes "the destructuring of existence […] and the ensuing deterioration of the whole relationship to the world, time and space" (qtd. in Page Loc. 767-772). The impossibility of fulfilling his labor power in Bolivia therefore destroys Freddy's relationship to the world he knew back home, and further fragments it as he adapts to his new life in Argentina.

While Freddy's relationship with Rosa emphasizes the disintegration of the family and the fragmentation of national identity, it also provides him with the possibility of ending the nomadic state that led him from Bolivia to Argentina, and offers him some form of stability. Although Freddy is not a nomad in the complete sense of the word because he can always return to his home in Bolivia, he represents this figure as he wanders through the streets of Buenos Aires because he has no place of lodging to return to at the end of his working day. The fact that the camera rarely leaves the café-bar, and that when it does it is to follow Freddy, emphasizes his

nomadic state. After being arrested by the police one night,[41] he decides to enter a café, a safe though uncomfortable and temporary shelter where he will spend the night in exchange for purchasing a cup of coffee. But on account of the relationship he establishes with Rosa, he can finally find lodging, and the sense of having a home to return to after work. After just over one week in Buenos Aires, Freddy has reached a situation resembling a sedentary life, but at the expense of the one he left in Bolivia.

While Freddy converts his nomadic state into a form of economic and sedentary life, many Argentineans in the film are living the same process but in reverse. The disintegration of Argentinean identity can be observed through the Argentinean characters' evolution from a sedentary life, defined by the inaction of characters like Oso, the break-down of homes and families–such as Mercado's failing marriage–, as well as the failure of normative relationships–hinted at through Mercado's homosexuality and affair with Héctor–, towards what Aguilar describes as "the absence of home, the lack of powerful (restrictive and normative) ties of belonging, and a permanent and unpredictable mobility" (34). There are many elements and conversations throughout the film that are suggestive of the disintegration of the Argentinean family and identity, but Oso is the one that most exemplifies both. Close to the end of the film, Marcelo reveals to don Enrique that Oso has so much debt and so little money that he cannot pay for either his car–which, as a taxi driver, is his source of income–or his rent, and that soon, he will probably lose both. Having seen scenes in don Enrique's café-bar during which men are asleep at different tables, and having seen Freddy himself spend the night in a café for lack of money to rent a room where he can sleep, the viewer knows what type of nomadic existence Oso

[41] It is possible to see this scene as a reference to the 1990s national discourse that associated increased levels of criminality in Buenos Aires with the increased immigrant presence in the city. Grimson and Kessler comment that many immigrants were detained during the 1990s simply for looking foreign (Loc. 1682-1688).

is heading towards: a small economic transaction, such as the purchase of a cup of coffee, will allow him to sleep at a table, and not in the street. There is no direct mention of his family, but a take in the final sequence focuses on Oso's keychain, with the picture of a young girl on it, suggesting that he at least has a daughter. The economic crisis he is facing will therefore not only affect him but also his family, reflecting the situation that led Freddy to leave Bolivia.

Although neither Oso nor any of the other Argentinean characters leave Buenos Aires during the film, Héctor does mention the possibility of leaving for Córdoba, pointing to another stage in the nomadic experience of Argentineans during the economic crisis. From being a country that was "an attractive destination for foreigners," as the Menem government announced in the 1990s (López-Vicuña 155), Argentina became a country that even Argentineans fled during the crisis, moving to other South American countries such as Peru. Given the racial and racist discourse sustained by Oso throughout the film, it is difficult to believe that he would undertake such a life change. However, the precariousness of his situation echoes that of thousands of other Argentineans, many of which inverted the experience of immigrants such as Freddy.

One of *Bolivia*'s most important arguments is that the failing neoliberal system, the impossibility of fulfilling labor power, and the consequent loss of capital, can convert anyone into solitary and marginalized nomads. When characters become nomads, the sense of not belonging that is associated with this identity also changes the cartography of the city. Spaces like cafés that are occupied by these marginalized figures as replacement for lodging become what Augé calls non-places where all share anonymous yet similar identities (81). Because they have nowhere else to go, the Argentinean characters who sleep at a table overnight convert the microcosm of don Enrique's café-bar into an interstitial space where they do not stop being

Argentineans, but in which they also become very similar to recently arrived immigrants such as Freddy. By comparing these sequences that convert the cafés into non-spaces, and presenting both local and foreign characters as nomads, following what Aguilar calls "erratic itineraries and movements toward the world of waste […] (all that capitalism attempts to locate, illusorily, in the margins)" (34), *Bolivia* temporarily minimizes the racial distinctions so prevalent at other moments of the film and establishes similarities based on class.

Bolivia may observe the marginalized, "those living in the interstices of the city who are rarely accorded any presence on the big screen", but they do not remain unexplained, or 'other' as Page claims (Loc. 849-854). Rather, the film's exploration of fulfilled and unfulfilled labor power allows the viewer to see the likeness between Freddy, the employed immigrant, and the employed Argentineans, but also between Freddy, the outsider and victim of economic displacement, and those Argentineans who have also been or are in the process of being displaced by economic hardship. The film's exploration of these common identities does not attempt to define the "Other;" in reality, it "questions the very limits of the nation" (López-Vicuña 152) and stages "the unraveling of the national community in the microcosm of the café-bar" (147). Although López-Vicuña argues that at the *bailanta* "Freddy and Rosa's bonding, surrounded by other immigrants, provides a glimpse of a post-national community, a space that can be considered post-national to the extent that it depends upon displacement" (159), his argument can be extended to include Argentineans as well. Victims of the neoliberal failure, they too have been displaced to the margins of Argentinean society, and the similarities they share with Freddy articulate a new identity that goes beyond national boundaries.

Although there is no sign indicating that the Argentinean characters would even consider transcending the racial boundaries that separate them from Freddy and Rosa, the commonalities

the film establishes between its Argentinean and immigrant characters allude to the common ground used to articulate the post-national alliances that would take place in the early 2000s in Argentina. Aguilar explains that, "in Argentina in the 1990s, the traditional category of the *popular* underwent a profound change" and that

> the efforts of Menem's government to demobilize and evacuate the contents of the idea of *the people* (*el pueblo*)–which began to give way in political discourse to the more neutral *people* (*la gente*)–intersected, whether intentionally or not, with the growth of what Renato Ortiz deems 'international-popular culture,' the sign of the times of globalization. (125)

Indeed, as it progressed towards the climax of the economic crisis in 2001, the population began articulating alliances that not only crossed class boundaries–the unemployed and the middle-class joined forces to mobilize for change–but also across nationalities, reflecting one aspect of the growth of "international-popular culture" at the local level.

United by the same cause, many began forming neighborhood associations without distinguishing between nationalities (Grimson and Kessler Loc. 1799). Bolivian and Paraguayan immigrants joined the *piquetero* movement, which started in the mid-1990s, to protest against injustice and the economic hardship suffered during and after the crisis.[42] These immigrants also became key actors in the petitions made for employment programs (Grimson 29), therefore erasing, at least temporarily, race or nationality from the Argentinean economic context. While it is clear that the Argentinean characters of *Bolivia* are far from ready to join forces with their foreign counterparts, the film certainly reveals that the commonalities that would unite the

[42] One of the pressure tactics used by the *piqueteros* was to block streets and highways in order to interrupt traffic and, consequently, commerce. This movement began in the Neuquén province, but soon expanded to the country's cities. It is interesting to point out that the tactics used by the *piqueteros* are evocative of those used by Andean Bolivians for decades in order to have their demands heard by the Bolivian government.

inhabitants of Argentina a few years later in their struggle against the government were already present at the end of the 1990s. Rather than a critique of "the de-nationalization in the Southern Cone as a result of neoliberal policies," as López-Vicuña claims (147), *Bolivia* establishes the grounds for post-national alliances that occured within Argentina in reaction to the crisis. However, at the time of the release of the film, these commonalities had not yet been fully acknowledged by the Argentinean social imaginary, nor had their potential for the rearticulation of identities around labor power and across nationalities been entirely considered.

Regional Reconfigurations of Capitalism

Unlike its neighboring countries, Argentina's rigorous implementation of neoliberal policies soon gave signs of reordering the geography of capitalism in South America during the 1990s. Showing a rapid process of modernization, Argentina, and most particularly Buenos Aires, demonstrated seemingly irrefutable proof that its development paved its entry into the first world: for example, there was an intensification in consumerism and the heightened presence of audiovisual media, as Aguilar points out (1). But there was also an increase in the migration of manpower from around the world to its urban centers,[43] which, according to Prebisch, is always "a spontaneous product of development" (202). Caetano's film registers these changes as most of the Argentinean characters are shown consuming, not only the commodities sold in don Enrique's café-bar, but also the media entertainment provided by the television hung in one of its corners. Furthermore, the film's inclusion of, as well as constant mention of immigrants, reveals

[43] Andermann explains that "Argentina became the destination of a sizeable community of economic migrants, not merely from neighbouring countries such as Paraguay, Bolivia or Peru – from where Argentinean middle classes have for a long time sourced their domestic personnel, as well as builders, waiters, sweatshop workers and other low-pay, untrained manual labourers–but also from such faraway places as Korea, West Africa or the former Soviet Union" (51). The diversity of these migratory trends is explored in Poncet, Burd, and Gachasset's *Habitación disponible* (2005).

the migration of manpower from neighboring as well as more distant countries. These characteristics allude to Argentina's development in the 1990s, and consequently to a new redistribution of capital and wealth in the region, situating Argentina within first world parameters.

Despite the signs of modernization in Argentina however, the immediatism its neoliberal policies aimed to achieve not only reveals the nation's desire to show quick results,[44] but also its failure to sustain these results for very long. Just like Bolivia, which also implemented fierce neoliberal policies–in this case from the mid 1980s–,[45]Argentina faced the negative results of its implementation of neoliberalism: the crushing of organized labor and the restructuring of the economy that privatized national industries eventually led to the dismissal of thousands of workers, and the increase in unemployment and poverty levels across the country. Both Bolivia and Argentina were therefore clear examples that by 1995, as Wallerstein explains, "the momentary sheen of neoliberalism had begun to wear off" ("After Developmentalism" 1269). More specifically, Argentina exemplified the dialectic nature of the world-economy, within which countries could rapidly ascend to first world status but also just as easily lose this status due to the failed neoliberal project. Although *Bolivia* does not engage with these issues directly, it does strive to "make the connection between the realities of poverty and unemployment in Argentina and the larger process of unsettling borders in South America" (López-Vicuña 149).

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[44] Although when Prebisch argued that immediatism "generally prevails over long-term policy in the Latin American countries" (211), he was writing in the Argentinean context of the 1950s onwards, the policies implemented in Bolivia in the 1980s and Argentina in the 1990s seem to support that this tendency is ongoing in South America. Both countries implemented strict neoliberal policies designed to rapidly gain control over economic crises, rather than restructuring national institutions and developing programs that would help redress the situation and create more stable economic conditions in the long term.

[45] During Víctor Paz Estenssoro's presidency, which lasted from 1985 to 1989, Bolivia's government issued a New Economic Policy, which required a a severe austerity programme based on the shock therapy established by economist Jeffrey Sachs. Shock therapy included, amongst other processes, the immediate liberalization of trade, privatization of national industries, and the withdrawal of state subsidies, in order to fight hyperinflation and to redress economic crises.

While the Argentinean characters use their national identity to sustain a certain sense of integration and belonging, as López-Vicuña argues (157), and consequently to sustain an image of Argentina as a predominantly white country of European descent, the film also weakens these national discourses by challenging and erasing the regional and racial boundaries that once separated Argentina from adjacent countries with large populations of Indigenous-descent.[46]

This erasure of national and regional boundaries manifests itself from the beginning of the film. As the camera explores different parts of the café-bar, the voices of don Enrique and Freddy are heard as they converse regarding the job, and don Enrique asks if Freddy learned to cook in Peru. Freddy immediately answers that he is not Peruvian, that he is Bolivian. This is a significant moment because as López-Vicuña explains, it is "the first in a series of similar exchanges that illustrate the uncertainty of national borders, even when those identities are claimed proudly or defensively" (152). Initially, the film seems to attribute this uncertainty of national borders to Andean countries such as Bolivia and Peru, but the discourse used by the patrons of the café-bar points to the fluidity of boundaries between countries with important Indigenous populations. For example Rosa, a Paraguayan-Argentinean woman, also evokes the Indigenous "Other." The fact that those coming from Peru, Bolivia or Paraguay cannot be clearly associated with specific nations, and that their national denominations can be used interchangeably, suggests that this group will remain collectively "Other" to Argentineans.

This wave of immigrants was associated with countries situated at the periphery of the world-economy, and many Argentineans interpreted their presence as somewhat of a threat to their newly acquired status in the world-economy. Guano explains that, "at the end of the

[46] Guano explains that, "'Menem says that Argentina is the first world, but here it's like being in Bolivia' was the trope that often glossed the presence of peddlers and panhandlers in Buenos Aires' microcentro" (75). She adds that "as the poorest country in Latin America and the place of origin of the largest immigrant group in Buenos Aires, 'Bolivia' epitomized what Koptiuch (1996) called a 'third world at home'" (76).

century, old/new modernity narratives continued to haunt the social imaginary of the Buenos Aires middle class" (71). First, "old tropes of civilization and barbarism were recontextualized through the terminology of modernization promoted once again by the neoliberal regime" (Guano 75). This recontextualized discourse continued to relegate its Indigenous neighbors to a non-modern and barbaric space. *Bolivia* reflects this discourse as foreigners from neighboring countries are often defined as being thieves, as well as uneducated. However, Freddy challenges this civilization/barbarism dichotomy. As Aguilar argues, Freddy "fulfills none of the requirements of the Bolivian stereotype: he is not submissive […] and knows how to inspire respect" (149). He is also honest, and well-educated. Indeed, when faced with injustice, Freddy reacts in a combative way, defends himself logically, and subverts the semantics used by Argentineans to insult him. For example, when Oso asks him for a sandwich–which don Enrique had denied him moments earlier–, he believes Freddy is ignoring him and says "que esté bien cocido. ¿No me escuchaste o no te enseñaron la educación?" (Caetano 00:29:32). Freddy responds that he had said that yes, he would prepare it for him, that it is only a matter of asking politely and respectfully. For Freddy, good manners are based on respect and equality, not on acting in a submissive way to people who consider themselves his superior. His answer therefore affirms his equal status to that of Oso because he deserves respect like any other. His behavior therefore challenges the Argentinean barbaric/civilized discourse sustained during the 1990s.

Argentinean discourses regarding socioeconomic identitarian constructs are also recontextualized during the economic crisis of the 1990s. Grimson explains that through Argentina's history of homogenizing politics, all distinction based on national or ethnic origin was dissolved into a socioeconomic identity, but that poverty was also rapidly associated with

"blackness" (27).[47] In the 1990s however, because Bolivians came to occupy the lowest level of the economic hierarchy of the region in the Argentinean social imaginary, the denomination "boliviano" became a generic category used to designate the poor formerly associated with blackness (27). Because Argentineans could not conceive of the masses of poor people that appeared in the cities as Argentinean, the official discourse de-nationalized this sign of the failure of the government's neoliberal policies (27), and attributed it to the influx of immigrants coming from the countries adjacent to Argentina.[48] Therefore, when the patrons of the café-bar, and especially Oso, use racist terms such as *bolita* and *negros de mierda*, they are in reality distancing themselves discursively from the immigrants' socioeconomic status rather than race, and sustaining the discourse that de-nationalized the country's increasing poverty.

But as Grimson and Kessler explain, "the 2001-2002 social and economic crisis marked a before and after in the national, social, political, and cultural imagery regarding immigration in Argentina" (Loc. 1772). While immigrants were blamed for the country's increasing poverty in the 1990s, the true causes of the crisis became clear after 2001, and Argentineans could no longer believe that migration from neighboring countries was responsible for the high levels of unemployment (Loc. 1873). *Bolivia*, by revealing the commonalities between Oso and Freddy, reflects the fact that at the end of the 1990s, the face of poverty could definitely no longer be associated with ethnicity or race. Freddy and Oso are from different countries, but their economic troubles convert them into some form of equals. Consequently, as Argentina is

[47] Blackness does not refer to the African phenotype in Argentina, but rather to a very low and poor social status (Grimson 26).

[48] Although statistics do not indicate an increase in the percentage of immigrants in Argentina, the Peruvian, Paraguayan, Uruguayan, and Bolivian immigrants, who worked in rural areas of Argentina before the crisis, moved to the country's urban centers in search of work (Sorrensen 227). The increased visibility of immigrants in the cities accompanied the economic crisis, which is what facilitated the discourse that denationalized poverty and blamed these immigrants for the lack of work possibilities for Argentineans (Grimson and Kessler Loc. 1636).

experiencing the same negative effects of the failed neoliberal projects as its neighbor Bolivia, it can no longer uphold the identitarian boundaries it had traced to separate it from other South American countries.

In this sense, *Bolivia* also alludes to the South American regional transformations in the cartography of the capitalist world-economy during the last decade of the 20th-century. The example that bests attests to this is the football game between the Argentinean and Bolivian national teams shown at the beginning of *Bolivia*, one of the television archival materials used in the film. The game introduces the exploration of the national hierarchies that the film configures and reconfigures between the Argentinean characters–Oso, Marcelo, don Enrique, Mercado and Héctor–and the foreign employees–Freddy and Rosa. Aguilar explains that, "it has been frequently observed that national confrontations, in a globalized world, are displaced onto sports, and onto soccer in particular" (25). Aguilar claims that initially, the game seems to be one more televised image in the film that converts unequal relations of power into spectacle (151). In the fragments of the game that are presented on screen, the Argentinean team beats its Bolivian adversary without facing much resistance, pointing to the superiority of the Argentinean players. The low-angle shots of the Argentineans, compared to the high-angle shots of the Bolivian players, also reproduce the hierarchy according to which the Argentineans are superior to the Bolivians. This superiority is further emphasized by the triumphant reaction of the Argentinean public and the negative comments made by sportscaster Fernando Niembro regarding the Bolivian team's performance. In his review of the film, Mitchell declares that this scene "almost capsizes the film with its initial fury" (2003).

Despite the force of this oppositional stance–which is sustained by Argentineans, and most specifically Oso, throughout the film–, markers that signify the Other as well as Freddy

himself refuse to accept the position of inferiority to which Bolivia has been relegated. Although the football game is a cinematographic quote that visually sustains this discriminatory hierarchy, the audio-visual language challenges the positions of superiority and inferiority that it outlines. First, the order in which the credits appear is significant: Freddy and Rosa's characters, those who represent the outsiders, are the first to be listed, and appear in such a way as to fragment the visualization of the game. The fact that the Bolivian players march onto the field first, followed by the Argentinean players, further reflects this order. Although the Argentineans dominate the game itself–and one could say dominate the microcosm of don Enrique's café-bar–these initial takes suggest that the Bolivian presence will predominate much of the narrative in other ways. This not only begins to destabilize the oppositional hierarchy the game establishes; it also points to the displacement of epistemology from an Argentinean to a Bolivian perspective.

Second, the audio-visual partition of this archival material also allows to exalt Bolivia: while fragments of the game that incite Argentinean nationalism are shown in succession, the extradiegetic song "Condor Mallku" by Los Kjarkas drowns out the Argentinean sportscaster's voice, and attributes more importance to the Bolivian voice and perspective. The first two stanzas are significant, because they introduce the concept of brotherhood that is explored throughout the film:

> Cual ave que brota de los sueños
>
> Más allá de toda realidad
>
> Remontando cruzas por los Andes
>
> Llevando un mensaje de hermandad. (*Condor Mallku* 1980)

Freddy, as an immigrant that brings with him a reality beyond that known by Argentineans, has indeed crossed the Andes from La Paz to reach Buenos Aires, and can therefore be associated

with the "condor mallku"–which signifies the condor and leader in Aymara–that is the symbolic figure central to the song. As such, he can be considered as the one to bear a message of brotherhood in *Bolivia*. Furthermore, the message conveyed in the lyrics introduces the epistemic disobedience that displaces the locus of enunciation to Bolivia throughout the film.

Urraca explains that joining nonsynchronous images and music in this sequence "turn expressions of nationalism into ironic counterpoints, making the 'old' (history) into a specific spectacle" (151). While the spectacle "is the ruling order's nonstop discourse about itself, its never-ending monologue of self-praise" (Debord Loc. 540), one that serves as a means of unification, as Debord explains (Loc. 420), the Bolivian music, and the lyrics that both discard the notion of hierarchies and replace it with one of brotherhood, offer a counter-narrative that reveals non-oppositional, fraternal forms of identity. If the spectacle "is a social relation between people that is mediated by images" (Loc. 427), then the song presented at the beginning of the film points to the potential articulation of new relations between Bolivians and Argentineans that will not be based on national boundaries and identities, but on equality.

Wallerstein explains that "the world-system perspective is dialectical" (*The Capitalist World-Economy* 61), which implies the need for the analysis of the transformations of the parts of the capitalist economic system in order to understand its totality as a structure (54). In this sense, understanding the brotherhood evoked by the commonalities between the Bolivian immigrant figure and the Argentinean patrons of the café-bar in the film leads to the erasure of regional boundaries–produced through the fluid national denominations and the audiovisual language of the football game–, and anticipates future articulations of regional identities that would remain within the capitalist world-system while simultaneously attempting to reconfigure its structure. Under neoliberalism most of the flow of capital moved from peripheral countries to

core countries, but South American coalitions from 2000, such as the *Mercado Común del Sur* (MERCOSUR) and the *Comunidad Andina* (CAN) began forming what Escobar calls "a form of counter-hegemonic globalization" (223), which would start complicating the nation-state and regional economies by redirecting the flow of capital between countries on the periphery of the world-economy. By challenging the boundaries that separated Argentina from other South American countries, and establishing its commonalities with Bolivia, *Bolivia* therefore rearticulates the long-lost Latin American discourse of brotherhood the song "Condor Mallku" alludes to at the start of the film, and reconfigures Argentina's position within the capitalist world-economy, one that would eventually lead to regional alliances in the 2000s.

Argentina and the Coloniality of the Capitalist World-System

Escobar adds that these alliances not only attempt to create other narratives within the capitalist world-economy but also aim to fight the excesses of imperial globality (226). Bolivia has been one of the most significant to reject neoliberalism, attempt to free itself from exploitation by foreign markets, and challenge Western ways of structuring the world-economy by heading the negotiation of these alliances. Escobar explains that coloniality did not end with independence in Latin America, "but was rearticulated in terms of the post-World War II imaginary of three worlds" (219). Therefore, by rejecting Western economic policies and structures, Bolivia also rejects what Mignolo calls "the colonial wound, the fact that regions and people around the world have been classified as underdeveloped economically" ("Epistemic Disobedience" 161). Since in the film Argentina is shown to be increasingly associated with Bolivia, its position must therefore also be considered in terms of the coloniality of the world economic structure.

The opening song "Condor Mallku" not only alludes to *Bolivia*'s reconfiguration of Argentinean identities and socioeconomic space at the local level of Buenos Aires and the café-bar; it also points to the film's reflection on Argentina's economic spatiality at a regional and even global level:[49]

> Desde el corazón americano
>
> Rumbo a un hermoso cielo azul
>
> Vuela el condor mallku boliviano
>
> Al encuentro de su libertad. (*Condor Mallku* 1980)

According to the song, Bolivia is not only the heart of America–clearly a reference to South America here–, but also the *Andean* heart of the continent, still not free and flying in search of its liberation. Interpreted on their own, but also within Los Kjarkas' corpus of music, these lyrics are a clear allusion to the internal colonialism lived by many Andean Bolivians,[50] not only within the Bolivian frontiers, but also within the frontiers that define South America–as the film demonstrates through its reproduction of racist language used at Freddy's expense. Following Sanjinés' argument that Indigenous exteriority is the face of coloniality (9), then Freddy, as Indigenous coca grower from the region of La Paz, not only bears the condor's message of brotherhood mentioned in the song but also represents the face of coloniality. Furthermore, if Bolivia is the heart of the South American continent, the ongoing search of freedom mentioned in the lyrics of "Condor Mallku" therefore applies not only to Bolivia, but to Argentina as well.

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[49] It is interesting to note that Gonzalo Hermosa, one of the members of Los Kjarkas, acknowledges two dimensions to music: one is "a localized, identifiable, and recognizable dimension that can be understood in specific terms at a circumscribed, and local level" and the second is "another more general dimension that transcends the immediate geographic and cultural boundaries" (Céspedes 60). These two dimensions at the heart of the music of Los Kjarkas further echo the film's reflections on Argentina's spatialities located on a local level of the capitalist system, but that also transcend local boundaries.

[50] This is, of course in relation to the time when the film was directed and produced. The situation in Bolivia has changed and become much more complex since Evo Morales' first electoral win in 2005.

Thinking of the Argentinean crisis in terms of coloniality allows us to reconnect with Argentinean intellectuals of the 1960s and 1970s, both in cinematography and economics, who also delved into Argentina's colonial status within the international economic order. Solanas and Getino, two of the most important figures of Third Cinema, may describe the culture of a neocolonized country in the following terms, but their definition can also be applied to a neocolonized country's economy as well: "the culture, including cinema, of a neocolonized country is just the expression of an overall dependence that generates models and values born from the needs of imperialist expansion" (2). What this comment suggests is that to liberate a country from its neocolonized state, there is a need to unveil the patterns of dependence that constrain it to the neocolonial system.

Although many critics have interpreted New Argentine Cinema, including *Bolivia*, as a modernization of neorealist techniques, most have also argued for its rupture with previous Argentinean cinematic tradition, particularly the political cinema of the 1960s and 1970s. If, as Page argues, "we understand New Argentine Cinema's return to neorealist techniques as a kind of citation system, we must move beyond the simplistic spotting of similarities between themes and techniques to consider what is ultimately being called on or invoked in these incantations" (Loc. 722-727). In his interpretation of New Argentine Cinema, Aguilar refers to Emilio Bernini, who "has observed that cinema of the 1990s deals with 'closed worlds,' in contrast to the desire 'to give a global image of society' of the productions of the generation of the 1960s" (24). However, because *Bolivia* situates its narrative locally, regionally, and globally, it situates Argentina, even if indirectly, within global economic structures. Therefore, it engages with Third World Cinema's denunciation of neocolonialism, and through the lyrics of "Condor Mallku" and

those of "Bolivia," the song that ends the film, it can also be argued that it calls for national liberation from dependence to external markets.

Bolivia does not situate Argentina's patterns of dependence within the global world-economy per se, but it does reflect on the country's dependence on external financial assistance to fuel its own development through Oso, the character that serves as a reflection of Argentina at the end of the 1990s because he is on the verge of losing it all yet still relies on external funding to survive, leaving his fate in the hands of others. Throughout the film, Oso repeatedly mentions that he is waiting for the final judgment of a trial, which he is certain will favor him and therefore provide him with the financial assistance he desperately needs. In the meantime, he accumulates debt both in don Enrique's café-bar and at the Uruguayan dealership from which he got his car. His work as a taxi driver, and consequently his financial survival, become dependent on the financial assistance of a foreign "Other." Oso's situation is therefore very evocative of Argentina's increasing dependence on external borrowing under Menem's government. But it also points to the fact that, as a result of the neoliberal policies, and Argentina's incorporation in the free trade market, many of the Argentinean industries became controlled by foreign organizations, once again placing the country in a what Faletto and Cardoso would describe as a "complementary and subordinated role from the standpoint of the international capitalist system" (Loc. 224).[51] From this subordinated role, Argentina sustained the neocolonial relations established by the global economic structure, which as Miguez argues involve "an endless transfer of income from peripheral to central countries; thus, the periphery involuntarily contributed to the accumulation of capital in central countries to the detriment to its own country" (5). By relying on what can be considered foreign financial assistance, Oso's work also

[51] According to Faletto and Cardoso, after the first half of the 20th-century, Argentina had reached a degree of economic maturity. However, despite this achievement, its industrial sector was still controlled from abroad, therefore situating it in a subordinated role in the international capitalist system (Loc. 5418-5425).

becomes controlled by an external organization. Any capital he accumulates is therefore transferred into foreign hands, consequently placing him, just like Argentina, in a subordinate role in the capitalist economy.

Oso's failure to survive financially also serves as a criticism of economic dependence. As Prebisch explains, external financial cooperation may be important, "but only as a means of supplementing and stimulating internal action, not as a substitute for it" (208). Loans, in Oso's case, do not stimulate him to act to find other work, but rather substitute labor with dependence and inertia. Instead of actively going in search of work, as Freddy, his Bolivian counterpart, does, Oso waits for something to save him. When talking with Héctor, Oso claims that there is no solution to his financial problems: "un milagro me salva. Que me lo traigan los reyes" (Caetano 00:55:40). Although his comment is somewhat sarcastic, it points to his hopelessness at finding a way to survive, and underlines his passivity as he is confronted with the eventual and total loss of economic capital. Additionally, other characters in the bar seem to share Oso's attitude. For example, when discussing Oso's difficulties, Marcelo eventually tells him: "No te lamentés, ya va a mejorar" (Caetano 00:08:45).

This belief that financial issues will resolve themselves seems to bring time, at least for characters like Oso, to a standstill until they do. But this never happens in the film, and the characters, especially Oso, are further displaced towards the margins of Argentina's economic system as a result. *Bolivia* reproduces the inertia caused by this dependence not only through its narrative, but also through its cinematography. Page argues that the film produces a claustrophobic effect by constraining most of its takes of Argentinean characters to the café-bar (Loc. 2521), and repeatedly focusing on the clock that stops and that don Enrique constantly has to wind up. Additionally, positive mobility is rarely associated with Argentineans in the film.

While the Argentinean characters are mostly seen inside the microcosm of the café, the camera only follows Freddy outside its walls. Furthermore, while the slow-motion sequence that pays homage to fulfilled labor power mostly focuses on Freddy's movements, it also observes Oso drinking and smoking in the café-bar, contrasting his inertia with the celebration of Freddy's movements of labor.

It could be argued that even if he had wanted to find work in Buenos Aires, he would have failed to do so since the few jobs remaining are being offered to foreigners who, due to their immigrant and even illegal status are easier to exploit, and therefore compensate with lower wages. Indeed, Héctor mentions to don Enrique that he is leaving for Córdoba because he cannot find work in Buenos Aires. When don Enrique answers that he wish he had known this, Héctor criticizes him for hiring a foreigner, and suggests that by doing so he does not look after his co-nationals. Oso constantly complains about foreigners stealing jobs from Argentineans as well, and also criticizes don Enrique for the same reason as Héctor towards the end of the film. But while Héctor would have considered the *cocinero*/*parrillero* job that was given to Freddy, Oso never demonstrates the inclination to even consider taking such a job, convinced, as he is, that he will receive external help–either through loans or by winning the trial.

What his attitude and that of Héctor do demonstrate is yet another consequence of economic dependence–seen in the film, but also in Argentinean society in the 1990s–: what Jackovkis calls a "narrative of victimization," which sustained that "there is someone who is liable for robbing Argentina's wealth" (170). Indeed, while immigrants were initially blamed for the country's increased poverty levels, they were also accused of stealing jobs from Argentineans. Oso repeatedly comments that foreigners are *hijos de puta* who come to Buenos Aires *a sacar el hambre*, and that Argentineans become the victims of these foreigners' success.

During one of the conversations he shares with Marcelo, he claims that the Uruguayans at the dealership are ruthless: “me van a dejar en bolas y son capaces de cualquier cosa” (Caetano 00:08:32). Héctor also blames foreigners like Freddy for having to move back to Córdoba to find work. In a context of precariousness of work, it seems that the belief has become “to each his own,” but at the expense of Argentineans. This narrative of victimization is what ultimately leads Oso to despair, and the reason for which Freddy becomes the target of his mounting his anger. For him, Freddy comes to represent the reason for his economic failure.

As López-Vicuña argues, “clearly the insecurity felt by those who are being pushed out of their traditional positions clashes with the mobility of those crossing borders of class or nation” (153). However, *Bolivia* calls for a renewal of Prebisch’s belief that “the time has come to shake off the all too common habit of attributing the inadequacy of Latin America’s rate of development to external factors alone, as though there were no major internal stumbling blocks along the way” (207). Oso may have been marginalized from the Argentinean society because of his lack of purchasing power, and immigrants like Freddy may have rendered work even more precarious for Argentineans like him, but his inaction is also to blame for his failure to survive. *Bolivia*’s epistemic disobedience, which displaces the interpretation of the Argentinean crisis to a Bolivian point of view, as well as its (auto)-ethnographic quality, both call for the viewer to engage in an introspective analysis of the crisis, rather than one that continuously places the blame on Others. Comparing Oso and Freddy from the Bolivian point of view therefore reveals both the external and internal dimensions of Argentina’s economic crisis.

Unfortunately, *Bolivia* registers a moment of the crisis during which these conclusions had not yet been reached. The film was directed, produced and premiered before the 2001 December Crisis, and the social imaginary was therefore still marked by discourses sustained

during the 1990s. What it registers is the fact that the negative cycle produced by external dependence had not yet been broken. The film's narrative circularity, which begins and ends with don Enrique's search for a *parrillero*/*cocinero*, but also with a comment made regarding the regular disappearance of foreigners made by the manager of the building where both Freddy and Rosa stayed, seem to reflect the impossibility of escaping the deepening of the economic crisis as well as the tensions between Argentineans and immigrants at this point in time. Additionally, the film's dramatic climax suggests that the characters have learned nothing regarding the negative impact that the dependence on foreign financial assistance has on their lives, but also points to the inevitability of the Argentinean crisis.

Conclusion

Bolivia is a film about place, and Andermann argues that it uses "spatial enclosure as a way of studying how people are *emplaced*, being cast into social roles and token representations of themselves by the capital relation in which they are all caught up" (58). Because of its neorealist quality, *Bolivia* may be one of the most representative films of New Argentine Cinema, but a reading of this film that engages in epistemic disobedience suggests that in many ways it also departs from the objectives of this wave of films. Although it does not construct them, it does evoke potential alternative identities for Argentina on local, regional, and global levels. The microcosm of the café-bar, where Argentineans and immigrants interact, becomes a space where, in Harvey's terms, "'otherness,' alterity, and, hence, alternatives might be explored" and "a critique of existing norms and processes can most effectively be mounted" (184). In this sense, it is possible to associate Caetano's film with the revolutionary cinema of the 1960s and 1970s, because like this cinema, it is not one that fundamentally "illustrates,

documents, or passively establishes a situation" but rather "provides discovery through transformation" (Solanas and Getino 6).

By establishing commonalities between the Argentinean characters and Freddy, *Bolivia* reveals patterns of labor power that allude to forms of solidarity that were articulated during the economic crisis of the 1990s and the early 2000s. The construction of identities around fulfilled and unfilled labor power indirectly refers to the foundations of the *piquetero* movement, for example, which acted according to a logic of equivalence that rearticulated *populismo* in order to be inclusive of people of all nationalities in Argentina that were suffering the same consequences of neoliberalism's failures. As Quiroga and Pagliarone explain, *populismo* in this sense is one mostly defined by equivalences "de carácter negativo, es decir, definidos a partir de la oposición a la institucionalidad que no les otorga satisfacción" (196). However, the film's reproduction of the racist discourse sustained throughout the 1990s also points to the problematics of such international-popular rearticulations.

First, this new local identity which the film alludes to and that would take form in the *piquetero* movement and neighborhood associations proposes a type of citizenship that is "based on a vision of sameness and the manufacture of monocultural, monoepistemological state" (Lucy Taylor 600). Taylor argues that "claiming universality involves asserting that at some level all humans are the same, but what that sameness *is* is uttered from the Occidental locus of enunciation" (599), in this case from the white Argentinean of European-descent, which makes this "universality a powerful colonizing agent at the most fundamental ontological and epistemological level" (599). The potential *populismo* evoked in the film may rearticulate identities around working conditions, and therefore be inclusive of all people, no matter what their nationality, but its avoidance of ethnicity still suggests that Argentinean citizenship and

Indigeneity remain incompatible identities. This form of inclusion is very evocative of Peronist reforms under Perón, which Taylor describes as requiring Indigenous assimilation based on their class position (602). The fact that the postcard of Eva Perón on Rosa's bed is the only reference to the world of the political in *Bolivia* seems to further hint at this potential class-based identity that would once again be exclusive of ethnicity and race. The film therefore seems to reflect Taylor's argument that "this working-class politics and the possibilities for citizenship that it proffered, then, was a tool of coloniality" (602), reinforced through Western political subjectivities.

Second, this inclusive articulation based on negative commonalities that erased national and ethnic boundaries did not last beyond the Crisis. Centner explains that "since the 2001-2002 crisis several sites across Buenos Aires that were until recently landmarks of class-based isolation have witnessed historically peculiar and logistically complicated confluences of heterogeneous social groups" (337), but also that a new figure emerged "at the core of efforts to restore Argentina, draped in the guise of *lo nacional-popular*" (349).[52] The potential post-national identities alluded to in *Bolivia* therefore never came to pass. Much like the film's reconfiguration of space in the microcosm of the café-bar however, the Crisis did reconfigure the space of Buenos Aires, as well as citizenships according to occupation and negotiation of this space. These citizenships are akin to what Ong describes as "flexible citizenships," based on "the cultural logistics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement," because they "respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (qtd. in Centner 344). *Bolivia* certainly alludes to the flexibility of relationships and the constant renegotiation of

[52] Centner argues that "in Argentina, this refers to an amorphous nationalism that prizes the humble everyday citizen, with ties to traditions purportedly unfased by globalization" (349).

alliances as characters of both Argentinean and foreign origin adapt to the unstable economic context.

Although identities locally did not maintain the post-national articulations alluded to in the film, and that occurred during the economic crisis, the potential regional alliances hinted at in *Bolivia* indeed began being articulated in the 2000s. The previous section referred to the alliance between MERCOSUR and CAN, but others have been struck within Western institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) as well. Wallerstein explains that while the neoliberal globalizers still strive "to achieve a one-sided expansion of borders–open in the South, but not really open in the North" ("After Developmentalism" 1276),[53] the "offensive within the WTO was stalled […] by a coalition of medium powers of the South–Brazil, India, South Africa, etc.–who put forward a simple demand: free trade that works both ways" (1276). These alliances reflect Mignolo's claim that alliances "are not established by languages or traditions only, but by common goals and interest in the field of forces established and in the coloniality of power" (*Local Histories/Global Designs* Loc. 3567-3576). By reconfiguring Argentina's position within the world-economy, and reflecting on the rearticulation of boundaries at the regional level, *Bolivia* therefore also discerns the nascent foundations for future regional alliances that will attempt to move beyond the colonial structures of global capitalism, and preemptively inserts Argentina within the discussions to come.

Wallerstein claims that, "to understand the internal class contradictions and political struggles of a particular state, we must first situate it in the world-economy" (*The Capitalist World-Economy* 53). Therefore, not only does the film's association between Argentina and Bolivia allow for an analysis of the Argentinean crisis that takes coloniality into account, but *Bolivia*'s reconfiguration of Argentina's position within the world-economy also provides the

[53] These neoliberal globalizers are of course mainly from the U.S. and the European Union (Wallerstein 1276).

necessary information to understand its internal causes. The film's exploration of the themes of economic dependence and the 1990s Argentinean narrative of victimization points to the fact that the Argentinean crisis was caused by its excessive integration in the global economy, as Escobar argues (226), and the consequent structures of dependence that this integration sustained.

Additionally, Riggirozzi explains that by the end of this period, "it was clear that neoliberalism did not provide the instruments to resolve the problems which had accrued in Argentina" (98). But when *Bolivia* was produced, other alternatives had yet to be articulated and Argentina seemed trapped within the colonial world economic structure. The film alludes one last time to the coloniality of Argentina's economic status as it closes with Los Kjarkas song "Bolivia:"

> Quiero pegar
> un grito de liberación
> es por el siglo y medio
> de humillación. (*Bolivia* 1976)

Since dependence was one of the root causes of the crisis, Argentina, just like Bolivia, needs to free itself from the neocolonial capitalist structure. Until the crisis of 2001-2002, Argentina would not consider ways of liberating itself from neocolonial forms of economy, particularly those defined by neoliberalism. However, Wallerstein argues that, "it is only when the existing system is weakened in terms of its own logic that the push from below can possibly be effective" ("After Developmentalism" 1269). Indeed, once the climax of the crisis had passed, and after Néstor Kirchner took office in 2003, "the climate of mobilization and repoliticization opened up a space for a discussion on the role of the state, the quality of Argentina's democracy and, even,

class compromise, all of which allowed Kirchner to present himself as offering something qualitatively new from the neoliberal era" (Riggirozzi 106).

While *Bolivia's* reproduction of a racist discourse could not have allowed the viewer to consider the potentiality of these dialogues nor of the negotiations that would occur on local, regional and global levels for Argentina as realistic, at least at the time the film was released, it did create a new space from which to think about Argentina's economic crisis, one defined by epistemic disobedience. In doing so, the film only outlined the possible foundations for potential future identities, alliances and discussions that would eventually begin challenging Western capitalist epistemology. However, the violence of the film's language and narrative denies any conclusive alternatives or resolutions to the crisis, therefore reflecting New Argentinea Cinema's rejection of identitarian and political imperatives (Aguilar 20). But by thinking the Argentinean crisis from the Bolivian space, *Bolivia* re-engages Argentina with the Latin American discourse of brotherhood born at the turn of the 20th-century, the Argentinean populist project, along with Argentinean neocolonial economic theories of the 1960s and 1970s. In doing so, *Bolivia* points to the fact that Argentina, even at a time of economic crisis, had the necessary ontological and epistemological tools to move beyond this devastating moment in its history, and rebuild itself while participating in the reconfiguration of the cartography of capitalism. *Bolivia* therefore challenges the claim that New Argentine Cinema observes realities from a space of 'no-knowledge.' The knowledge was still there; it only required to be addressed from a different perspective in order to once again become constructive.

Decolonizing the History of Capitalism in Bollaín's *También la lluvia*

También la lluvia (2010), Icíar Bollaín's fifth feature film, offers a transnational narrative set in two time frames. One presents the first contact between the *conquistadores* and the Taínos at the moment of the Discovery of America, through the historical drama managed by the Spanish producer Costa (Luis Tosar) and directed by Mexican director Sebastián (Gael García Bernal); the other evokes the events that led to the Cochabamba Water War in Bolivia in 2000, and that problematize the filming of the period piece. Although critics and even Bollaín herself have claimed that *También la lluvia* is about the private journey and psychological development of the characters of the film, it also "deviates from Bollaín's characteristically more *intimista* format," as Santaolalla argues (201). Beyond exploring the character development, the narratives of the Conquest and Water War in the film also undertake a rearticulation of Western and Indigenous historiography, and explore the potential interpretations of contemporary events that can result from this dual perspective.

También la lluvia engages with a long list of revisionist historical and artistic projects initiated around the programs elaborated for the Quicentennial of the Discovery of America, and that have been produced since. As the five hundredth anniversary of this historical moment approached, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and its affiliated researchers believed that the celebrations to be held were a unique opportunity for the world to reflect upon the conditions of the "Encuentro de Dos Mundos,"[54] and the reciprocal influences and contributions of both worlds, from which profound transformations ensued on a global scale (Rodríguez 68). The emphasis of the commemorative events, as

[54] This is the denomination that was voted on by the 163 members of the UNESCO, as well as the commissions created in France, Russia, Poland and Japan, for the Quicentennial commemorative celebrations.

underlined by UNESCO, was to celebrate the fact that the Discovery of America had contributed to the completion of the world's image and had produced a globalizing effect (69).

As a megaproject that perfectly exemplifies transnational filming (Santaolalla 200), *También la lluvia* positively symbolizes the results of the globalizing effects initiated with the "Encuentro de Dos Mundos" over five hundred years ago. Co-produced by Spain, France and Mexico, written by a Scotsman (Paul Laverty), directed by a Spaniard (Icíar Bollaín), and created with the participation of a team of technical and creative personnel and actors selected from Spain, Mexico and Bolivia (200), Bollaín's film is representative of the first of three types of transnational cinemas identified by Higbee and Lim, which they define by its focus on questions of production, distribution and exhibition (9).[55] The success of the transnational nature of this project became evident when its Spanish, Scottish, Mexican and Bolivian participants were recognized and nominated for multiple awards, the most noteworthy being those won at the Goya Awards and the Berlin International Film Festival.[56] According to Santaolalla, the film's success as a collaborative production is also due to the fact that Bollaín distanced herself from neutral transnational co-production links and interests (209). Faithful to her record of creating socially conscious films, her team and she took extra care

> in their approach to the communities they were 'invading' during the shooting of *También la lluvia* by providing their support to a local film school, paying the extras 20$ a day and, at the request of the communities these actors belonged to,

[55] Although *También la lluvia* was a collaborative production in many ways, it is important to mention the fact that not all its commitments were honored. For example, despite committing to premiering the film simultaneously in Madrid and Cochabamba, this never came to pass (Santaolalla 209).

[56] At the Goya Awards, Karra Elejalde (as Antón/Christopher Columbus), won the Best Supporting Actor, Alberto Iglesias won the Best Original Score, and Cristina Zumárraga won Best Production Supervision. Paul Laverty was nominated for Best Screenplay, Luis Tosar (as Costa) for Best Actor, Icíar Bollaín for Best Director, and Juan Carlos Arduviri (as Daniel/Hatuey) for Best New Actor. *También la lluvia* won the Panorama Audience Award at the Berlin International Film Festival. Gael García Bernal won the Best Supporting Actor at the Premios ACE.

> purchasing 2000 bricks to complete the building of a local school, a tanker and a computer for a library. (209-210)

Therefore, not only was labor-power found amongst Westerners, Hispanic Latin Americans, and Indigenous Bolivians, but it was also remunerated in ways that took local needs and demands into consideration.

Santaolalla argues that Bollaín's film is also representative of the second sub-type of Higbee and Lim analyze, which they define as the representation of shared cultural heritage and geo-political boundary (9). Although there is no shared geo-political boundary in the film, *También la lluvia* does evoke a shared colonial discourse and its neocolonial contemporary adaptation through the hierarchical and geographical differentiation it establishes between Westerners, Westernized Latin Americans, and Indigenous Andeans, particularly around questions of accumulation of resources and capital. But in her analysis of the film, Santaolalla does not consider Higbee and Lim's third and final type of transnational cinema, which she defines as the deconstruction of Western cultural identities (219), therefore ignoring the most significant transnational characteristic of Bollaín's film. Higbee and Lim assign this third type of transnational cinema to postcolonial films that are not only "keenly aware of power relations between centre/margin, insider/outsider, as well as the continual negotiation between the global and the local," but that also challenge Western "ideological norms as well as its narrative and aesthetic formations" (9). Because *También la lluvia* incorporates multiple voices, perspectives and discourses in its interpretation of the global and local history of capitalism, thus deconstructing and challenging the power relations between Western/Westernized and Indigenous characters, as well how these relations were established spatially throughout history, it is also very evocative of this third sub-type of transnational cinema.

Although *También la lluvia* may in many ways illustrates the globalizing effect still in existence five hundred years after the Discovery, it also distances itself from the celebratory tones of the UNESCO program and many of the historical revisions it instigated through its evocation of this third sub-type. The transnational nature of the film, which extends to its narrative approach to history, engages in a dialogue with the cinematographic reactions critical of the UNESCOS's call for people to move beyond the *Leyenda Negra*, and to embrace the "Encuentro de Dos Mundos" denomination of the celebrations of the Quicentennial.[57] Indeed, *También la lluvia* engages with initiatives that were undertaken from the mid 1980s onwards and that emphasized the need to challenge the hegemonic Western historiography of the Americas.[58] One way artists did so was by decolonizing historical knowledge, which Mignolo partially describes as "liberating thinking from sacralized texts, whether religious or secular" ("Decolonizing Western Epistemology" 25-26). Because *También la lluvia* does not reproduce the accepted cinematographic versions of the Conquest story that celebrated the Iberians' religious or scientific motives and that eluded the foundational violence upon which America was built,[59] it joins the numerous artistic productions, some even supported by UNESCO, that refused to blindly replicate the program's celebratory tone,[60] and contributed to challenging the historiographic narrative about the Discovery and the Conquest.

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[57] When the denomination of the Quicentennial was announced, many criticized it because it obscured the Spanish invasion and the death of millions of Indigenous people (Rodríguez 68).

[58] These objectives were undertaken by Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups alike around the Quicentennial: by rejecting public celebrations, requesting public apologies from Spain and the Catholic Church, and calling for the recognition of the violent nature of the Conquest (Rodríguez 69), these groups started engaging with imperialism and colonialism in ways that acknowledged and elaborated upon the Indigenous history of colonization.

[59] For example, *Christopher Columbus: The Discovery* (Glen 1992) eludes the European massacre of the natives, Columbus' involvement in the slave trade, and Indigenous rebellions against the Europeans (Shohat and Stam 63).

[60] Carlos Saura's *El Dorado* (1988) received grants from the Fifth Centenary Committee to cover its costs (Santaolalla 207). There were many objections made against it because it further darkened Spain's *leyenda negra* (207).

More specifically, as Miriam Haddu argues, Bollaín joins a group of film directors that directed films around the Quicentennial that critically explored the "Encuentro de Dos Mundos" by revisiting "episodes of the colonialist history, exploring the first wave of globalization depicting the exploitation of American soil and the massacre of its natives" (qtd. in Cilento: 253). By recognizing the genocide that was the direct result of the European invasion of the New World, *También la lluvia* joins a list of films such as Carlos Saura's *El Dorado* (1988), and Ridley Scott's *1492: Conquest of Paradise* (1992) that further darkened the Spanish and European expansive enterprise undertaken in 1492, and that in doing so disrupted the much more positive filmography of the Conquest that existed prior to 1992. But rather than focus on character development and the internal conflicts that arose within the ranks of the *conquistadores*, or on the scientific and/or religious reasons attributed to this first globalizing enterprise, Bollaín's film delves into the economic reasons that led to the Discovery and to the ways in which the Conquest was conducted in order to establish a nascent capitalist system.

También la lluvia not only reframes the historical narrative of the Discovery and Conquest in ways that reveal the exploitive and brutal nature of the beginnings of capitalism. It also engages in another aspect of the decolonization of the historiography of the Conquest, begun around the Quicentennial, which according to Rodríguez was to acknowledge "the vision of the vanquished" (69).[61] But it does so in a way that reframes this history according to Indigenous terms.[62] *También la lluvia*'s incorporation of Indigenous history as one of resistance resonates with the narratives found in films such as Roland Joffé's *The Mission* (1986), Nicolás

[61] Under the "Amerindia 92" axis of the UNESCO program, many scholars–both Indigenous and non-Indigenous–began investigating for testimonies of Indigenous history (Rodríguez 69).

[62] Manyarrows explains that the legacy of Columbus is in fact the "legacy of struggle and survival that so many Native people have lived and breathed for the last five hundred years" (168).

Echeverría's *Cabeza de Vaca* (1991), and Salvador Carrasco's *La otra conquista* (1998). While these films represent Native resistance to the Spanish invasion and its attempts at Christian conversion (Santaolalla 207), *También la lluvia* illustrates Native resistance against Europe's capitalist project at the time of the Discovery. Although they diverge in their interpretations, they all evoke counter-narratives to the historiography of the Conquest that call for a redefinition of indigeneity throughout the history of colonialism, therefore deconstructing the dominant perception of Indigenous identity in Latin America as one of a vanquished and victimized people.

By reframing colonial history in ways that not only disengage from previous filmography of the Discovery and the Conquest, but that also redefine indigeneity during these historical moments, the revisionist films produced around the Quincentennial begin to decolonize Eurocentric historiography. But Indigenous characters and histories continue to occupy marginalized roles in their narratives,[63] which implies that these films still favored Eurocentric points of view. Following Benjamin's claim that "every image of the past that is not recognized by the present […] threatens to disappear irretrievably" ("Theses on the Philosophy of History" 257), the fact that these films did not confer a central, or at least equal, importance to Indigenous characters and histories implies that they participated, even if partially and indirectly, in the erasure of Indigenous perspectives of history. On the contrary, *También la lluvia* encourages a reflection on point of view, which continues Bollaín's tradition of experimenting with representations of reality that offer multiple perspectives inspired by historically documented

[63] In order to engage in the decolonizing of history, Miller suggests that the following questions should be asked: "What have the Indigenous people seen and felt? What kinds of lives have they created? Who has done what to them? How has it affected their lives? How have they responded? What have they needed? What have they wanted? What have they planned? How have their plans worked out? What do their histories mean to them?" (37). Although Joffé's, Echeverría's and Carrasco's films evoke Indigenous resistance, they do not answer most if any of these questions.

events.[64] By presenting Indigenous protagonists, thus evoking Indigenous historical consciousness, both during the Conquest and in contemporary Bolivia, *También la lluvia* is participating in historiography as decolonizing project, which according to Miller displaces "colonial interests from central positions in the narrative" (37), and acknowledges Indigenous historiography, taking the decolonization of history begun in films such as Joffé's, Echeverría's and Carrasco's a step further. Both the film-within-the-film and Bollaín's film as a whole claim that all perspectives must not only be considered but also explored when revisiting history, that it is now impossible to marginalize other histories and memories of the past, as Rodríguez argues (73).

Bollaín's film also distances itself from the wave of cinematographic revisions produced around the Quicentennial by challenging their representation of Western historiographic discourse, which is defined by its lineal view of time and notions of evolution and progress. In their attempts to interpret the Conquest, the directors of the wave of critical films produced around 1992 looked backwards in time to understand colonialism, situating it in a distant past that no longer exists. Consequently, the aforementioned films ultimately failed to acknowledge that five hundred years later, the Indigenous peoples of America were still facing the same issues, albeit in different contexts. In doing so, they adhered to a Western definition of postcolonialism, which suggests a stage after or beyond colonialism, and neglected the fact that for Indigenous people, postcolonial societies have not yet been formed, "that colonial mentality and structures still exist," and that neocolonial tendencies resist complete decolonization in the contemporary world (Battiste xix).

[64] Although Bollaín's films, *Hola, ¿estás sola?* (1995), *Te doy mis ojos* (2003) and *Mataharis* (2007), offer a duality or triplicity of perspectives about similar issues and shared experiences, her films, *Flores de otro mundo* (1999) and *Katmandú, un espejo en el cielo* (2011), align themselves best with *También la lluvia* because of their dual visual and narrative interpretation of the confrontation and negotiations between the West and the Other as taken from true stories.

The double temporality of *También la lluvia*'s narrative allows it to challenge Western notions of historical time because it both represents the beginnings of capitalism and coloniality in the Caribbean, and portrays Canessa's description of Andean Indigenous people of Bolivia "as inheritors of a colonial situation which has continued over time even though the symbols of power and oppression may have changed considerably" ("The Past is Another County" 355). By representing the production of a historic drama of the Taíno resistance to the brutal Spanish search for gold, and evoking the Cochabamba Water War that occurred in 2000 in Bolivia through its representation of the Indigenous struggle of Daniel Aduviri (Juan Carlos Aduviri) and his community against exploitive water laws, *También la lluvia* reveals the repetitive nature of capitalism and of its intersectional relationship with coloniality, therefore beginning to challenge the lineal views of Western historiography linked to notions of progress in a way that the films produced around the Quicentennial never did. In doing so, the film also evokes an Andean concept of temporality, which, whether from an Aymara or Quechua perspective, does not sever the past from the present. Mamani Condori explains that "el solo ejercicio de pensar en aymara/quechua supone partir del principio *qhip nayra*/*qhip ñawi*, vale decir, de interrogar al pasado para avanzar hacia el futuro" (306). Choque Quispe adds that this concept has led various groups to constitute new methods of government by integrating elements of the past in their current struggles (274), some of which are alluded to during the contemporary scenes of the film.

Because it incorporates and articulates Western(ized) Taíno, and Andean perspectives on the history of capitalism, from the Discovery and the Conquest to contemporary Bolivia, *También la lluvia* as cultural text becomes *art of the contact zone*, which Mary Louise Pratt describes as art that includes "exercises in storytelling and in identifying with the ideas, interests, histories, and attitudes of others," and that engages in collaborative work and "communication

across lines of difference and hierarchy" (40). Cilento argues that Bollaín is "concerned with trying to find a cinematic rhetoric capable of representing different and even opposing political contexts, not as a priori principles but as a dialogical exchange" (249). Indeed, the film attempts to move beyond the antagonistic dialectics of coloniality by simultaneously deconstructing the hegemonic Western historiography of capitalism and constructing an alternative to it. *También la lluvia* moves beyond what Knopf calls colonial positions of power and resistance (38), and articulates a historiography that evokes the construction of new imaginaries through which both Western(ized) and Indigenous historical perspectives are joined in the representation of the historical struggle against capitalism.

The Origins of Capitalism and Anti-Capitalist Resistance

While in the filmography of the Discovery, most films about Columbus portray his motives as religious or scientific (Shohat and Stam 62), *También la lluvia*'s portrayal of the Admiral in Sebastián's film relegates these motives to a secondary level, and rapidly reveals that the man's objectives are to accumulate endless capital in the new land he discovers along with his men. During the script read-through of Columbus' speech upon landing in the New World, for example, the viewer discovers that finding gold is his main objective, and that the first man to find the precious metal will be rewarded. In doing so, the film "takes an original line by portraying for the first time on film Columbus himself as not just an adventurous 'discoverer,' but as another gold-seeker" (Santaolalla 202).

Additionally, Sebastián's film underlines that Columbus was acting in the name of the Spanish Crown. As Antón (Karra Elejalde)–the character who plays Columbus–, rehearses the first letter the Admiral sent to Queen Isabella, the text he recites defines the man's journey as one

that will be advantageous to both the Spanish Crown and Christendom, evoking the abundance of resources and the countless benefits that will come from the New World. The language of this first letter, which focuses on the infinite quantity of resources to be discovered, alludes to the economic nature of the epistolary communications between Columbus and the Spanish Crown: Alarcón argues that "on his famous letters to his patroness Queen Isabella describing his explorations, our navigator wrote the word 'gold' eighty times with the same insistence of an avid prospector" searching for any evidence of this metal (33).[65] By drawing attention to this first letter, and by neglecting to explore the Admiral's personal aspirations of accumulating riches and power after the Discovery of the New World,[66] Sebastián's film highlights that Columbus' objectives were in reality those of the Crown.

The film-within-the-film also hints at the capitalist nature of these objectives. As Wallerstein explains, the central dynamic of the capitalist world-economy is to reward the limitless accumulation of capital, and to ceaselessly and spatially expand in order to continually achieve this accumulation ("Historical Systems as Complex Systems" 205). By revealing the economic nature of Columbus' journey, the film alludes to the Spanish Crown's objectives to expand Iberian presence in the world in order to accumulate capital: gold. In doing so, Sebastián's film suggests that the capitalist world-economy in reality originated in the 15th-century, and that its expansionist endeavors to sustain it were already well underway. Therefore, as *También la lluvia* engages in the representation of capitalism though its film-within-the-film period piece on the Discovery and the Conquest, it begins to challenge the hegemonic narrative

[65] In their analysis of Columbus' *Diario de abordo*, which can be applied to the letters the Admiral sent to the Spanish Crown, Vogel and Gomides argue that, "from the lens of economic theory, the Journal would seem to be the Fifteenth Century version of a modern business plan. The entrepreneurial Columbus had to persuade the venture capitalists of his day (The Spanish Crown) that the benefits of his future voyages would outweigh the costs" (qtd. in Rivera-Barnes 13).

[66] Amongst other things, Columbus was promised the title of Admiral of the Ocean Sea, to be appointed Viceroy and Governor of all the new lands he could claim for Spain, and a percentage of the revenues earned from the new lands.

capitalism which, as Wallerstein explains, would situate its origins in the 16th-century (*The Capitalist World-Economy* 271).

Sebastián's film also challenges the common belief that capitalism as world-system originated and developed in Europe. Although the film-within-the-film does acknowledge that the market where the resources were traded was situated in Europe, it also highlights the fact that this market could not have developed without the exploitation of the New World. Indeed, Fray Montesino's speech as shown in the film affirms that the gold amassed by the Indians serves to build European cities and churches, as well as to finance conquests in other distant lands and to make the wheels of commerce turn. The inclusion of his speech may situate the development of market-trade in 16th-century Europe, but it also indicates that this market could not have developed without the sweat, exhaustion, hunger, and even death of the Indians of the New World who extracted the gold that fueled it. Additionally, Fray Montesinos may play a relatively small role in Sebastián's film, but it is important to point out that his speech was chosen over those of Bartolomé de las Casas,[67] suggesting that the narrative of the period piece is not so much interested in the defense of Indigenous peoples by this important historical figure, nor in the 16th-century debates in which he participated in their defense, but rather in the ways in which the capitalism was being established as a system based on questions of exploitation and race.[68]

Because Sebastián's film explores the new model of labor that would sustain and allow for the development of market-trade in Europe, it displaces the origins of the capitalist world-system from Europe to America. In doing so, the film reflects Quijano's argument "that the

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[67] Alberto (Carlos Santos), the actor who plays Bartolomé de las Casas in Sebastián's film, mentions that his character appears in only eight scenes of the film, but Bollaín chooses to show only two of these.

[68] As he directs the rehearsal of Fray Montesinos' speech, Sebastián mentions that at this moment in time, Bartolomé de las Casas still had an *encomienda*, highlighting that he was still an active participant of the capitalist system that Fray Montesinso was about to denounce.

modern world-system emerged in conjunction with the Conquest of the Americas" and that it "is therefore simultaneously *colonial*" (Asher 834).

Sebastián's film exposes how this structure was established under the veil of political discourse in the earliest days of the Conquest. In his first speech to the Taínos, Columbus clearly declares Spanish domination over the Natives, who will become subjects of the Spanish Crown and receive its protection, at least if they agree to the terms he announces. In this initial scene between Iberian *conquistadores* and Taínos, the capitalist project is presented as an integral part of the Spanish political system, which offers protection to its subjects in exchange for taxes. However, as Columbus distributes the *cascabeles* to be filled with gold by the Taínos and gives his instructions, it is clear that the interest of the invaders is not only in accumulating gold, but also in the means of doing so. Because the Taínos are left with very little choice, this scene points to the essential elements internal to the processes of capitalist development, which, according to Hardt and Negri, are "slavery, servitude, and all the other guises of the coercive organization of labor" (122), and reflects the fact that during the first decades of the Conquest, there was more interest in gold and the expropriation of the labor power of the Natives than in the assimilation of new subjects under the Spanish Crown.[69]

Eventually, the period piece reveals that the exploitation of the Natives' labor power was rapidly established: the camera travels along the riverbank, observing numerous Taínos searching for gold, with the *conquistadores* watching over them as they search and line up to present their findings to the Iberian Captain. Columbus' presence in this sequence reveals that,

[69] As Quijano states: "the vast genocide of the Indians in the first decades of colonization was not caused principally by the violence of the conquest nor by the plagues the conquistadors brought, but took place because so many American Indians were used as disposable manual labor and forced to work until death" (538). He adds that "the elimination of this colonial practice did not end until the defeat of the *encomenderos* in the middle of the sixteenth century" (538).

beyond serving as a prospector for the Spanish Crown's capitalist endeavors, he also played an important role in overseeing the implementation of this labor structure. According to Quijano, the structure of control of labor, resources, and products articulated in Latin America at the time of the Conquest configured a new model of labor control, constituted "around and in the service of capital" for the first time in known history ("The Coloniality of Power" 535). He adds that America was the first space/time of a new model of labor, which rearticulated "all historically known previous structures of control of labor, slavery, serfdom … together around and upon the basis of capital and the world market" (534). Sebastián's film may never explore the historical moments during which the European structures of control of labor are officially rearticulated in Latin America–it never alludes to the *encomienda* system, for example–but it does evoke the new colonial division of labor instituted by the *conquistadores* that would be used in future models of labor in Latin America, all in the service of capital.

Sebastián's film visually exposes the binary mechanisms around which the new division of labor was formulated, suggesting that the Taíno Natives' position of inferiority was already present and being implemented from the very beginnings of the colonial world in relation to the accumulation of capital. For example, the sequence during which Columbus demands that the Taínos' search for gold points to this binary division by physically situating the Spanish in a line, directly in opposition to the Natives, and on slightly higher ground. The superiority of the Spaniards is also suggested through the repeated low-angle shots of the camera as it focuses on Columbus, offering a more imposing portrayal of the Admiral, while the inferiority of the Natives is suggested through the use of high-angle shots. This asymmetrical and oppositional division between Spanish and Natives is further emphasized in the sequence during which the

Taínos line up to hand over the gold they have found to the Captain overseeing their labor, with a table clearly dividing the structure of labor between exploited and exploiter.

This new model of labor control in the service of capital not only articulated power relations in the New World; Quijano argues that it also "determined the social geography of capitalism" globally ("The Coloniality of Power" 539), as well as spatial relations between Europe and non-Europe (551). As the culmination of the civilized course of history, Europe came to see itself "as a pristine development from ancient Greece" (Mignolo, "The Geopolitics of Knowledge" 60), becoming the center of civilizing power and societal development. The New World, not belonging to European space, was therefore considered non-civilized. This new configuration of space and people defined the Native Other as a figure that acted, spoke, and thought "in a manner *exactly opposite* to the European" (Hardt and Negri 127), and that was therefore situated "outside the defining bases of European civilized values" (124). Hardt and Negri add that "what first appeared as a simple logic of exclusion then, turns out to be a negative dialectic of recognition" (128). An example of this negative dialectic of recognition in Sebastián's film is the Captain's reaction when one of the Taínos hands over a *cascabel* filled with sand: infuriated by the Native man's audacity, the Iberian *conquistador* screams at him to speak in Christian language because he does not understand him and eventually slaps him. In this scene, the film reflect Hardt and Negri's comment that "the majority of the Spanish military, administrators, and colonists, hungry for gold and power, saw the occupants of this new world as irrevocably Other, less than human, or at least naturally subordinate to Europeans" (116).

Quijano explains that this codification of differences between conquerors/conquered and civilized/uncivilized placed the Natives in a position of inferiority (533), and granted "legitimacy to the relations of domination imposed by the Conquest" (534), all in the service of capital. It did

not, however, authorize the violence that accompanied the establishment of this new labor model. On the contrary, the power bestowed upon the Spanish Crown by Pope Alexander VI's Papal Bull was conditional, in that the Crown's representatives in the New World became responsible for conducting a civilizing mission that would convert the Natives to Christianity.[70] In Sebastián's film, Columbus' first words to the Taínos reflect this responsibility, as he demands that they recognize the Pope as the legitimate legislator of the World. But just as this scene deconstructs the political discourse used to coerce the Taínos into participating in the capitalist system, so does it challenge the Christianizing and civilizing mission that justified the Conquest.

When Columbus refers to the Pope and the Church in his first speech to the Taínos, the scene exposes a discursive and visual disjunction between Christianity and the accumulation of capital. While he asks the Taínos to recognize the Pope and the Spanish Crown, the camera does not focus on him but rather on his gestures as he starts implementing the capitalist project by distributing the *cascabeles*, exposing the fact that his gestures do not resonate with the words. The end of this sequence reveals yet another disruption between Christian and capitalist endeavors. While Columbus explains the power relations between Spaniards and Taínos and how they will be established through labor power, the cross is shown behind him, suggesting that Christianity and conversion have been relegated to a secondary concern. Furthermore, the low angle of the camera, used to aggrandize both the Admiral and the cross, serves as an incongruous contrast between the civilizing mission of the Iberians and the capitalist project that is actually taking place. This sequence therefore reveals that the Christianizing discourse was in reality used

[70] The Papal Bull granted all the lands discovered West and South of a certain point to the Spanish Crown, following certain conditions, the main one being that Christianity was to be spread and celebrated in all these new lands.

to justify the underlying and central objective of the Spanish Crown, which was to accumulate capital.[71]

By exploring the ways in which the new labor model was reinforced, Sebastián's film both reveals the foundational terror upon which the capitalist world-system was built, and further indicates the definitive rupture in the civilizing and Christianizing mission during the first years of the Conquest. Although his film only briefly represents the harsh conditions under which the Natives were forced to work, it exposes the workings of the capitalist system, which, as Wallerstein explains, "rewards accumulation *per se*, and tends to eliminate individuals or groups who resist its logic" (*The Capitalist World-Economy* 276). As the Taínos line up to hand over the *cascabeles* to the Spanish Captain, those who have filled it with sufficient gold are given approval and allowed to leave, while those who have filled it with sand or insufficient gold are taken away to a more secluded area where a soldier cuts off their hand. In this sequence, Columbus' approval of these methods exposes the Admiral's participation in the implementation of this new labor structure, tarnishing his image even further.

The sequence most indicative of the punitive means of reinforcing the labor model occurs towards the end of the film, once the Taínos, including their leader Hatuey, have been captured after escaping the forced labor imposed on them by the Spaniards. Santaolalla argues that "the spreading forest of crosses on which will be tied and immolated those who resist the demands of their oppressors that begins to populate the screen recalls images from *Spartacus* (Stanley Kubrick, 1960, USA) and the punishment meted out by the Romans to the rebel slaves" (216).

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[71] The beginning of this speech evokes the *Requerimiento* written by Palacios Rubios that would be used from 1513 onwards by the *conquistadores* upon first contact with newly discovered Indigenous peoples. Columbus' speech in Sebastián's film alludes to the fact that it was just a formality, and that it never impeded the massacres that followed its pronouncement. Some stories even relate that *conquistadores* would recite the *Requerimiento* miles before attacking new Indigenous tribes.

Although the Spaniards in this scene identify the Taíno rebels as opponents of Christianity, using the same negative dialectic of recognition that justified the binary mechanism around which the new model of labor was articulated, the use of the cross as a tool of execution of noncompliant Taínos demonstrates that Christianity had lost much of its meaning in the New World after the first few years of the Conquest, and that it was used only to further the Spanish Crown's capitalist enterprise.

Because of its reference to the violent ways in which the labor model was reinforced, Sebastián's version of the historiography of the capitalist world-system reflects the fact that history is mostly about the powerful and "how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others" (Smith 34). But Sebastián's film refuses to turn the violent exploitation against Native bodies into a cinematic spectacle and instead uses other techniques to expose the brutality of the capitalist project. During the shown sequences of his film, the camera focuses on the violence inflicted on Indigenous bodies in the scene of the crosses only; all other violence perpetrated against the Taínos is hinted at through editing and extradiegetic music. For example, when one of the Spanish soldiers cuts off the hand of one of the Taínos, the camera never shows the actual act, but rather evokes it by focusing on the Taíno being led to a bloody tree stump and then on the axe that will cut off his hand.

These moments are nonetheless important, not only because they evoke the violence inherent to the capitalist project as it was established in the New World, but also because they point to Sebastián's effort to incorporate Indigenous perspectives in his interpretation of the history of the Conquest. In the violent scenes of the film, the point-of-view shots create spectatorial identification with Indigenous characters, most often children and women, the most

vulnerable characters of the Taíno tribe. For example, at the end of the sequence during which the Spanish soldiers are chasing the fleeing Taínos, an elderly woman of the tribe grows tired, and eventually falls down in the center of a riverbed. The editing in this sequence oscillates between shots of the Spaniards and their dogs used to track the Taínos as they close in on the elderly woman, and of her body and face as she resolutely prepares herself for the attack. The final shots of this scene are particularly evocative of Indigenous perspective because they use both point-of-view shots, and what Shohat and Stam call point-of-hearing (209). Not only does the camera move from a close-up of the woman's face to an extreme-close-up of her eyes, and then to a frontal shot of the dog evoking her eye level as it jumps towards her, but all sound is eliminated from this scene–save for the quiet extradiegetic music evocative of her resolute stance, and the muffled barking of the dogs that converts into a growl as the one dog attacks her.

By inviting the viewer to experience such violent moments through the eyes and ears of some of the Taíno characters, Sebastián's film evokes the brutality of the capitalist project in a powerful way that does not offer the violent exploitation of the Native body as visual spectacle. It is only once the scene finishes that the editing, which focuses on an emotional Sebastián, suggests the emotive response the scene is supposed to provoke, and returns our spectatorial identification with the Western(ized) perspective. In sequences such as these, Sebastián's film displaces the Eurocentric subject and its construction of history, and introduces Indigenous "knowing" subjects who allow the viewer to explore their experience of the beginnings of the capitalist world-system. Indeed, beyond evoking emotional responses to the violence perpetrated against Indigenous bodies, these scenes construct a counter-narrative to the established and accepted history of Indigenous exploitation under capitalism, aligning with anticolonialist media, in which "filmmakers attempt to break down stereotypes and preconceived notions of Indigenous

cultures established by Western media discourse" (Knopf 17). Because Sebastián's film refuses to emphasize the massacres of Indigenous peoples during the Conquest or the violence perpetrated against them, it declines to adhere to the victimized image of the Natives of the New World. Instead, his film rearticulates accepted images of the imaginary ideological Indian in order to evoke the Indigenous historiography of the Conquest as one of resistance.

The scene during which the elderly woman stoically faces death is only one of many in Sebastián's film that elicit Jean-Jacques Rousseau's romanticized concept of the noble savage, not as primitive and uncivilized, but as proud and pure. Hatuey, the Taíno leader, echoes this resolute stance when he faces Columbus for the first time. Although he physically stands on inferior ground, and the discourse held by Columbus establishes the asymmetry of the power relations to be implemented between Taínos and Spaniards, Hatuey never concedes this inferiority to his people. On the contrary, he stares the Admiral straight in the eyes without blinking, evaluating the situation as he asks what will happen if they refuse to accept the terms. The end of this sequence ends with the camera focusing on Hatuey watching the Spaniards walk away with the same constant gaze, once again creating spectatorial identification with a Native character and his critical stance towards the introduction of the Spanish capitalist project.

From the Taíno's perspective, the binary opposition established in this sequence does not situate them in a position of uncivilized inferiority. On the contrary, it reflects Hardt and Negri's argument that "precisely because European society and its values are founded on the domestication and negative subsumption of the colonized," this "negative moment is able to operate a reciprocal destruction of the European Self" (130-131). Hatuey's incarnation of the noble savage redefines the confronting identities from an Indigenous perspective and inverts the negative dialectic of recognition used to articulate the new model of labor: while the New World

and its inhabitants represent the potential and righteous opposition to the capitalist system that the *conquistadores* are trying to establish, the Iberians' threat to ceaselessly and violently accumulate capital redefines the civilized European world as one blinded and rendered corrupt by its capitalist project.

This image is further developed when the *conquistadores*' use of violence is contrasted with that of the Taínos in Sebastián's film. While the Spaniards use violence to reinforce the new model of labor, and punish those of who resist it, the Taínos use it only as a defensive and collective strategy in order to save those captured and forced into labor. Furthermore, because the Taínos do not revert to violence before members of their tribe are taken captive, Sebastián's film suggests that Native resistance and violence was in reality provoked by the arrival and establishment of the capitalist nightmare that ensued after the arrival the Spaniards.

Finally, the scene of the crosses, the only scene in Sebastián's film that visually focuses on the violence perpetrated against the Taínos, completes the articulation of the Native as the capitalist system's opponent. Rather than evoke the victimization of the Taínos, this scene affirms Indigenous resolute resistance against the new system implemented by the Spaniards. As the flames are lit at the foot of the crosses, Hatuey and the other Taínos who are being executed begin shouting: "We despise you. We despise your God. We despise your greed" (01:10:11). As they do so, the camera repeatedly offers medium close-ups of Hatuey and the other crucified Taínos, whose eyes reflect the hatred expressed in their words, and who continue shouting their wrath against the Spaniards even despite the pain. As a reply to this clamor, the Taínos that have been spared begin chanting Hatuey's name, converting their leader into a martyr.

As Santaolalla argues, "in scenes of the *conquistadores*' atrocities and elsewhere, the film aligns itself with the nobility and courage of Hatuey, the solidarity of a race facing humiliation

and torture, and, significantly, the essential decency of a beleaguered people" (203). Although his film portrays the Taíno Natives, and particularly Hatuey, as ideological noble savages, it does not use this essentialist and romanticized approach to dehumanize and humiliate Indigenous people, but rather to empower Indigenous historical consciousness as one of resistance against the capitalist system established at the moment of the Conquest. Rather than portray Indigenous people as objects of history doomed to endure its weight, as Memmi would claim (111-112), this approach allows Sebastián's film to begin to break away from cinematographic colonial processes that erase Indigenous participation in the construction of history. Because his film offers an individualized portrayal of Hatuey and a few other characters, it deconstructs the portrayal of Indigenous people as an anonymous and victimized collective, and begins to convert Indigenous characters into active subjects of history, particularly of the history of capitalism.

The implications of Sebastián's filmic interpretation of the Conquest have a significant impact on the historiography of the capitalist world-system, particularly in its cinematographic form. By displacing the origins of the capitalist world-system to Latin America and revealing its brutal coloniality, his film associates the disruption of the myth of the civilizing trajectory of Europe with capitalism, and therefore delegitimizes the negative dialectic of recognition on which the colonial labor structure was founded. Additionally, by evoking Indigenous historiography of the Conquest as one of resistance, his film also complicates Western point of view and questions its assumptions and positions of dominance (Santaolalla 212). In doing so, not only does it restore Hatuey to his place in history as the first Indigenous leader to rebel against the *conquistadores*, it does so in such a way as to position him and the Taínos as the first to challenge capitalism. By evoking Indigenous historiography of the Conquest, Sebastián's film not only constitutes the capitalist system as colonial, it establishes the origins of resistance

against it as colonial as well. Therefore, the film spatially and temporally challenges the origins of the capitalist system, but also the resistance against it, which most would situate in 19th-century Europe as a class struggle. From this perspective, the development of the capitalist system can no longer be seen as an intra-European phenomenon, which suggests that, ultimately, Sebastián's film challenges Eurocentric epistemology, and starts to define capitalist space, time, and subjectivity in a way that privileges Latin America as a site of historical knowledge production over Europe.

Despite the fact that it challenges hegemonic Eurocentric epistemology by spatially rearticulating the origins of capitalism, and by reframing its history in ways that evoke Indigenous historiography, Sebastián's film fails to produce a completely decolonized version of history because the narrative still adheres to the Western lineal view of time and the notion of progress. Indeed, the shooting of his film reflects a linear succession of events, following the historical chronology of the Conquest from the first scene of his film that portrays the moment of the Discovery to the culminating scene representing the execution of the rebel Taínos. Furthermore, because Sebastián focuses only on his dream of representing the historical temporality of colonial domination, he situates the coloniality of capitalism far off into the past just like the films produced around the Quicentennial, and therefore does not acknowledge the ongoing coloniality of the division of labor structures found in Bolivia, Latin America, and on a global scale. Sebastián's obsession with the past, which according to Bollaín is understandable because the film is his way of effecting change (qtd. in Santaolalla 217), pushes him to neglect the contemporary conflicts that surround him in Cochabamba. Because his film offers an incomplete representation of history, his revisionist cinematographic project is ultimately doomed to fail. At the end of *También la lluvia*, as Costa and Daniel say their goodbyes, the

viewer is left wondering whether this transnational cinematographic revisionist project will ever be completed, and if so, with what degree of success.

The Cyclical History of Capitalism and Anti-Capitalist Resistance

Although incomplete, Sebastián's film is the starting point that Bollaín uses to explore the Discovery and the Conquest, not just as the origins of capitalism, but also as representative of a conjunctural moment in history that produced profound transformations on a global scale. By situating the production of Sebastián's film in Cochabamba, Bolivia, in 2000, just as the tensions around water issues were beginning to mount, Bollaín reveals how the capitalist model of labor established at the moment of the Discovery and the Conquest developed into a system with a worldwide span, and presents this Bolivian crisis as an example of how Indigenous people are still fighting against it. In the fall of 1999, the Cochabamba local government passed Law 2029, which legalized the sale of its water system and rights to Bechtel's subsidy, Aguas del Tunari, "a consortium of corporations led by International Water Limited, which resulted in a 300% rise in consumer charges" (Cilento 248). This international consortium justified this increase by explaining that the funds collected would be used to improve the existing system and expand its access to other neighborhoods of Cochabamba, half of which were still not connected to it.[72]

Through its representation of contemporary Bolivia, the film explores how Law 2029 was implemented, and how Quechua peasants of the Cochabamba valley and other inhabitants of the city rapidly started protesting against the changes, until the events that unraveled in April 2000 that culminated in the annulment of the privatization contract. But Santaolalla argues that "*También la lluvia* dramatizes a moment of transnational contact in the present that to some

[72] Cilento explains that "this, of course, was devastating to the inhabitants of Cochabamba, where the minimum wage was less than US $100 per month. Many people found themselves spending one-third of their income on water" (248).

extent restages a much bloodier incident in Spain's imperial past, inviting the viewer to recognize and interpret the parallels of two different but also related temporal and spatial contexts" (202). As Cilento explains, Bollaín uses different cinematic styles to evoke these disturbing parallels between the Conquest and the Spanish Crown's project to accumulate capital, and "the recent waves of corporate exploitation" (245).

Indeed, the reiteration of binary mechanisms elaborated through language, and the physical positioning of characters in both films establishes parallels between both historical moments. As the Cochabamba government claimed to be acting in the best interest of its population, its discourse in reaction to the Indigenous protests echoes and expands on the negative dialectic of recognition elaborated at the moment of the Discovery and the Conquest in Sebastián's film by placing the Quechua people exactly opposite the civilizing force represented by the Western consortium. *También la lluvia* reflects this through the discourse held by the mayor of Cochabamba as he explains the situation to Sebastián, Costa and Antón: while the government holds the tools to justify its modernizing mission, detailed in reports written by Harvard intellectuals and employees of the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F),[73] the Indigenous peoples of Cochabamba, who are for the most part illiterate according to the mayor, do not have access to these documents nor would they have the capacity to understand them and their arguments attesting to the fact that the privatization is in their and the city's best interests. Because of this, the mayor believes the Indigenous peoples of Cochabamba are demonstrating "un victimismo contra la modernidad" (Bollaín 00:52:54). In doing so, he situates the Quechua population outside Western values of literacy and modernity, replacing the colonizer/colonized

[73] Modernization is associated with urbanization and developmentalism, both of which promote the implementation and expansion of public services such as water distribution and electricity. In Bolivia, the I.M.F. agreed to assist the country's economy, and consequently its development program, only if it privatized national and local industries like Cochabamba's water company. The modernizing mission in Bolivia was therefore linked to the terms dictated by organizations such as the I.M.F.

and civilized/uncivilized relation evoked in Sebastián's film with the modern/non-modern and developed/underdeveloped dichotomies elaborated during the second half of the 20th-century, and adapting the Christianizing mission of the Conquest to a modernizing one.

But like Sebastián's film on the Conquest, *También la lluvia* works at unveiling the coloniality of the capitalist system that official discourses attempt to cover up. Through Daniel's early denunciation of Aguas de Bolivia–the stand-in for Aguas del Tunari in the film–, as well as the subsequent and escalating protests throughout the city, both the reasons for the protests, and the modernity of the Indigenous population of Cochabamba, become clear. Olivera, one of the Indigenous leaders of the Water War, explains that prior to the privatization of the system, communities from Cochabamba and its surrounding rural areas bought and built autonomous water systems to meet community needs (9). As Bollaín's film illustrates when Daniel and his *compañeros* talk with María, Quechua dwellers of Cochabamba such as Daniel and his community would dig ditches where they would install pipelines that would connect sources in the mountains to their neighborhoods. Yet others, who did not have enough funds to purchase a well and pipelines, would buy cisterns (Olivera 9). This clearly demonstrates that the Indigenous population of Cochabamba was not against modernization like the mayor declares to Costa, Antón and Sebastián. Unlike Sebastián's period piece however, these sequences of *También la lluvia* do not deconstruct the modern/non-modern negative dialectic of recognition by inverting it. Instead, they move beyond the oppositional dichotomy of power and resistance evoked in Sebastián's period piece by blurring the divisive line between modern and non-modern. Indeed, the film displays the Cochabambinos' capacity to combine the need for modern water distribution in the city with the Andean Indigenous symmetrical reciprocity labor system called

faena, which Gelles describes as "obligatory work parties directed communal authorities," whose work benefit the collective good (130).[74]

However, in order to maintain the nation's capitalist economy–and consequently sustain the negative dialectic of recognition the mayor alludes to in *También la lluvia*–Law 2029 was passed, and this alternative form of modernity was outlawed as it became illegal to buy or build systems such as the one constructed by Daniel and his *compañeros*. From the moment the law was passed, everyone had to go through Aguas del Tunari to have access to water. Olivera, whom Daniel incarnates in the film, stated that the privatization of the Cochabamba water system included the prohibition of collecting rain, leading him to say that even rainwater had been privatized (9). The title of Bollaín's film, as well as the words expressed by Daniel in front of the Aguas de Bolivia offices, therefore allude to the fact that water, as a resource, was 100% appropriated by the international consortium, and that its objective was to achieve a maximum accumulation of this resource. What this suggests is that the international consortium may have officially sought to improve the city's water system, and by extension help city dwellers such as Daniel and his *compañeros,* but in reality, it aimed to maximize the accumulation of capital through the monopoly of all the water supply for the region.

Law 2029 did not stop there, however, as is clearly shown in *También la lluvia*. Not only was the construction of such alternative systems rendered illegal, but only the:

> contracted company could distribute water. The law thus demanded that the autonomous water systems be handed over without reimbursement or compensation

[74] Gelles adds that as a result of these *faenas*, "each household gains rights to the common property resources of the community, such as the medicinal plants, firewood and pasture lands of the high reaches, as well as irrigation water" (130).

> for the people who invested their own time and money to build their systems. The law went so far as to include wells established in people's houses. (Olivera 9)

Therefore, Law 2029 not only approved Aguas del Tunari's complete monopoly of the collection of water, but it also legalized the expropriation of Indigenous labor to accumulate it. *También la lluvia* underlines these exploitative measures by showing not one, but two scenes during which employees of Aguas de Bolivia attempt to dispossess Daniel's community of its well, without offering anything in exchange for the labor and funds invested in its construction. This strategy in particular echoes the capitalist project as it is communicated and implemented by Columbus and his men in Sebastián's film, especially regarding the expropriation of labor power in the service of capital.

Although language is one of the strategies *También la lluvia* uses to establish parallels between the Conquest and contemporary Bolivia, its joint use with montage, which creates a narrative structure that fluctuates between past and present representations of capitalism, is perhaps the most distinct way the film associates the unjust expropriation of labor at both moments of history. For example, the film contrasts two moments, one during the Conquest, and one in 2000, during which important figures denounce the exploitative nature of the capitalist system: first, Fray Montesinos gives his speech about the exploitative measures that fueled the European market-trade in the 16th-century, and immediately following this sequence Daniel gives a speech in front of the Aguas de Bolivia offices, denouncing the fact that the international consortium is taking all water from them, even the rain. Despite the different temporalities, similar language used across these two consecutive scenes creates continuity as it evokes the same brutal expropriation of labor during both historical moments. In his speech, Fray Montesinos decries the fact the sweat and blood of the Natives was necessary to appropriate the

sought-after resource, gold; immediately following, the film cuts to contemporary Bolivia, where Daniel criticizes the exploitative proceedings of Aguas de Bolivia by questioning whether the consortium will steal the sweat from their brow next in order to appropriate all the water they can. Furthermore, both Fray Montesinos and Daniel expose the fact that the expropriation of Indigenous labor will only benefit far away lands–Europe, in the 16th-century, and California and London in 2000.

But, because *También la lluvia* introduces Bolivian political presence and the Cochabamba mayor's interpretation of the events only after the *toma* of the main square is underway, it exposes the government's neglect of Indigenous voices until that point in time, and alludes to its loyalty to foreign investment over its own people. It is only once the Indigenous people of Cochabamba have threatened and even interrupted commercial activity in and around the city–by taking over the Plaza 14 de Septiembre, and by blocking the roads and highways, both of which paralyzed commercial distribution networks and infrastructure–that the government starts paying attention to the mounting tensions of Cochabamba.

As the tensions in the city grew, the national government escalated the oppositional discourse already evoked by the mayor of Cochabamba in the film, and communicated it to the media. *También la lluvia* reflects the national government's discourse through the incorporation of an archival television news report of the Bolivian Vice President stating that the protests were actually subversive acts aiming to destabilize a democratically-elected government. Throughout the film, but most particularly during one of the final scenes of confrontations, this discourse is visually established as the Quechua protestors are placed in oppositional lines facing the local Cochabamba police or Special Forces, evoking the initial confrontational stance of the Taínos towards the Iberian *conquistadores* and their proposed capitalist project. Furthermore, the Vice

President's speech, which is presented alongside images of the body of Victor Hugo Daza, the only person to succumb to the violence of the confrontations, supports the politicians' claims that the Indigenous protestors are the source of the tumult in Cochabamba, and that the Special Forces were actually sent from La Paz to contain their violence and acts of vandalism. By placing Indigenous people as violent opponents not only of modernity but also of democracy, the film presents the Bolivian government as taking the developed/underdeveloped dichotomy one step further, to one divided between democratic representatives and subversive rebels.

In the eyes of the government, this of course justified the violent confrontations that ensued. Just like during the Conquest, the capitalist mode of production in Bolivia punishes those who oppose it: Wallerstein argues that the global capitalist system "still involves mechanisms that specifically penalize behavior that is non-responsive to the shifting optimal modalities of maximizing the accumulation of capital" ("Historical Systems" 205). Wallerstein explains that one of these mechanisms for punishing non-compliant behavior, which is also heavily represented in *También la lluvia*, is through military power (*The Capitalist World-Economy* 22). Once again, the film establishes parallels between Sebastián's film and contemporary Bolivia. For example, as Costa is driving Teresa, Daniel's wife, to find their daughter Belén, the viewer hears explosions, extradiegetic music and dogs barking before seeing soldiers led by their hounds. The images and sounds of this sequence recall the scene of Sebastián's film during which the elderly woman was chased by the *conquistadores* and eventually attacked by one of their hounds. By recalling the scene from Sebastián's film at this specific moment, *También la lluvia* forecasts the possible fate of Indigenous protestors if the squadron of soldiers and their dogs finds them.

Unlike Sebastián's film on the Conquest however, *También la lluvia*'s rendering of the Water War turns the violence perpetrated against Indigenous people into cinematic spectacle. In the film, the forceful repression of protests begins with the Bolivian police accompanying the Aguas de Bolivia employees as they attempt, for the second time, to seal off the community's well. While the confrontation between the police officers and the women still remains relatively pacifist, violence escalates every time a scene reflects the mounting tensions in Cochabamba, culminating in the news archival material reporting the death of Víctor Hugo Daza, the innocent seventeen-year-old that was killed by an army sniper as he was walking home from work. The fact that the news report incorporated in the film takes over the screen at moments when it focuses on the bloody beatings of protestors at the hands of soldiers further enhances the level of violence of these confrontations. Indeed, most of the archival material incorporated in the film shows the Special Forces sent from La Paz perpetrating excessively violent acts against the Cochabambino protestors. The comments of Sebastián's film crew as they watch the news further underline the brutality of the armed forces sent to repress the protests throughout the city.

Despite the increased visual presentation of violence on screen, *También la lluvia* refuses to use it in order to victimize the Indigenous population of Cochabamba. From the very first scene during which Daniel and his *compañeros* chase the workers of Aguas de Bolivia, to the scenes portraying what came to be known as "the last battle," the Indigenous population of Cochabamba is depicted as unafraid to face the dominant exploiters, both those belonging to the consortium and those representing their local government. For example, despite being beaten repeatedly and incarcerated by the Bolivian police, Daniel never loses his resolve to fight against the capitalist system as it is being implemented by Aguas de Bolivia and the Cochabamba government, and always returns to fight alongside his people. In reality, *También la lluvia*'s

representation of the Water War as more violent and bloody than the Conquest serves to highlight Daniel and his community's resolve to fight for their right to water and the results of their labor. In doing so, Bollaín's film, just like Sebastián's, decides to engage in a portrayal of Indigeneity as one on the frontline of resistance against capitalism, although in its contemporary form of corporate globalization and government efforts to privatize natural resources.

While *También la lluvia* establishes parallels between the ways in which capitalism was established during the Conquest, and how it continues to be implemented in contemporary Bolivia, the two historical moments diverge on one important point. While at the moment of the Conquest, Iberians such as Fray Montesinos denounced the exploitative nature of the capitalist system in the name of the Natives of the New World, in contemporary Bolivia the Andean people protest against the system themselves. Once again, the film represents the oppositional dichotomy of power and resistance, and reflects how the Indigenous Cochabambinos used a hybrid form of government in their successful struggle to overturn Law 2029. The Indigenous people of the Cochabamba valley and city started organizing: the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB), the Federación Departamental Cochabambina de Regantes (FEDECOR), and other local unions and organizations joined forces to form the civil alliance called *La Coordinadora para la defensa del agua y de la vida*, which would eventually lead the protests in the Plaza 14 de Septiembre, and the road and highway blockades in and around Cochabamba in April 2000. García Linera explains that the networks that formed during the Water War

> transformed themselves into a type of social organization that recognized no source of authority other than itself. That is, they became a government based on a structure of assembly-style, deliberative, and representative practices of democracy that de facto supplanted the system of political parties. (81)

También la lluvia evokes these transformations by following the increasing presence of the Indigenous Andeans in Cochabamba during the conflict. The scene during which Daniel denounces the actions of Aguas de Bolivia alludes to the fact that the movements of protest against foreign accumulation of a Bolivian resource and the expropriation of Indigenous labor may have started small, but as time goes by in the film, the movement grows in size, intensity and collaboration as the Indigenous characters take over not only the screen, but also central public spaces in the city. The film also observes a *consulta popular*, a meeting during which Andeans discussed the measures to be taken in order to have their voices heard by the local government. By acknowledging the presence of both Quechua and Spanish-speakers, as well as the voices of both men and women, this sequence further reveals the representative assembly-style developed during the conflict.

In doing so, the film reflects on the fact that the decisive and collective character of this social organization was the result of a rearticulation of both the democratic logic associated with Western politics, and the communitarian logic of the Andean Indigenous population. Olivera explains that to many during the Water War, democracy had lost its way, that it had become solely competition in the electoral market (20). On the contrary, for the Andean Indigenous protesters, democracy "meant participation in the distribution of wealth; collective decision-making on issues that affect us all; and pressure and mobilization in order to influence state policies" (20). Therefore, in reflecting this Indigenous conception of democracy, as well as its rearticulation in accordance with Andean communitarian logic, *También la lluvia* deconstructs the negative dichotomy upheld by the national Bolivian government, which defined the Indigenous protesters as subversive elements acting against democracy. It is only once the

government sent in its Special Forces to suppress their resistance to the capitalist system and its logic that they retaliated violently.

This organized resistance is only one way in which *También la lluvia* echoes Sebastián's film in its refusal to portray the Indigenous people as inferior victims to their Western(ized) counterparts. Just like in Sebastián's film, Indigenous resistance is also rooted in the proud and pure nature of the Andean people of Cochabamba, often contrasted to the capitalist obsession of the Western film crew. This continuity in the reference to the noble savage versus the venture capitalists is made particularly clear through the interaction between Costa and Daniel throughout the narrative. From his first appearance, Costa is presented as a practical man focused on producing Sebastián's film at the lowest cost possible, leading him to choose Bolivia where extras, catering and places to film are the cheapest available. Whatever is happening in Bolivia at the time is none of his concern, as he clearly declares to María when she asks him to film a documentary about the tensions in Cochabamba—"Yo no soy una puta ONG" (Bollaín 00:30:01)—proving that the human and cultural factors are initially of no consequence to him. In reality, he takes advantage of the desperate need for technology and transportation of the Indigenous people of Bolivia in order to contract cheap extras: finding two hundred extras is as easy as paying them 2$ a day. Throw in a few water pumps and trucks for good conscience, and "listo," as he says (Bollaín 01:07:06).

When Daniel gets caught in the midst of the growing conflict, and gets beaten by the police, causing the difficulty of dissimulating his bruises for the camera, Costa's pragmatic attitude leads him to frantically negotiate with his lead Indigenous actor, once again playing on the need of Daniel's family and offering him up to $10,000 to stay away from the protests. This scene is particularly evocative of the sequence in Sebastián's film during which Columbus and

Hatuey meet for the first time and discuss how their relationship will be established, as well as the one in which Taínos line up to hand over the gold accumulated in the *cascabeles*. The table once again functions as a divisive line between exploiter and exploited, and also alludes to the superior and inferior identities articulated along the lines of the capitalist model of labor. As he stands over the table and leans in towards Daniel and condescendingly offers him the $10,000, Costa is met with the resolute and unflinching attitude of the Cochabambino leader. Daniel may be sitting and hurting, which doubles his position of inferiority, but he still will not be dominated or intimidated by Costa. He refuses to speak, and only twice does he lift his eyes to meet and hold the Spaniard's stare without blinking in order to confront Costa's insults to his home. When Daniel does not react to Costa's offer, the producer evokes the image of the noble savage hinted at in Sebastián's film by sarcastically claiming that Daniel is probably too dignified to be "bought out." Daniel eventually accepts the offer verbally but in the end he refuses the terms of the new contract proposed by Costa, although, like Hatuey, he gives the appearance of agreeing to the terms of this contract. In the sequence following this scene, the viewer learns that Daniel never shows up on the film set the next day; instead, he appears on television during a news report, bloody and struggling against the soldiers removing him from the protests.

As *También la lluvia* establishes thematic, discursive, visual, and auditory parallels between the Conquest and contemporary Bolivia, it evokes Braudel's "dialectics of duration," an articulation between the *longue durée* and the short-term perspective of contemporary events (231). As Braudel argues: "présent et passé s'éclairent d'une lumière réciproque" (737). According to Marí however, these symmetries "se relevan demasiado obvias, y el mensaje de la película se expresa de una manera un poco burda" (370). But the film's parallels point to much more than simply evoking the continuity of the exploitation of Indigenous peoples at the hands

of foreign powers: *También la lluvia* actually gives a whole new meaning to the Conquest, as well as to Western historiographic discourse. First, by partially situating the origins of capitalism in Latin American, and revealing its continuities in present-day Bolivia, *También la lluvia* exposes the ongoing colonial nature of capitalism. Second, by evoking parallels in the accumulation of resources, expropriation of Indigenous labor, and violent ways in which the system is sustained by foreign domination, *También la lluvia* reveals the repetitive phenomena that constitutes capitalism as a system. Therefore, what Bollaín's film ultimately does is complete what Sebastián's revisionist project failed to do: because it reveals the cyclical nature of the capitalist system, *También la lluvia* deconstructs the lineal view of time linked to notions of progress inherent to Western historiography.

Anti-Capitalist History as Indigenous Myths of Return

Because the film considers the cyclical history of capitalism, from its colonial origins to its contemporary form as neocolonial capitalism in Bolivia, it seems to suggest, as Cilento does, that "the film's characters are entrapped in a Nietzschean dimension for most of the film, doomed to the eternal failure of something that will always remain the same and will never change" (247). But a historical system like the capitalist world-system, as Wallerstein explains, not only "implies the existence of some kinds of repetitive phenomena," but also "at some level (however limited) some kinds of thrusts towards equilibrium" ("Historical Systems" 205). Indeed, if Sebastián's interpretation of the Conquest can be considered as the conjunctural moment during which the capitalist system was not only created but also established, representing a rupture from former European economic systems, then history is not as cyclical as the parallels between the period piece and contemporary Bolivia would suggest. Furthermore, by

reiterating Indigenous resistance to the mechanisms of this system during the Conquest and contemporary Bolivia, *También la lluvia* also points to historical thrusts towards equilibrium between the two sides participating in the system. Consequently, while Bollaín's film distinguishes the cyclical rhythms of capitalism through its comparative approach to the Conquest and contemporary Bolivia, it also presents its moments of transitions and ruptures, therefore suggesting that its history is not only cyclical, but spiral as it transforms and moves forward at conjunctural moments.

Additionally, *También la lluvia* reflects Lopes' argument, that "in their interrelation with the historical formation of the world-economy, the structural and conjunctural history of the 'other,' their perspectives of the world and their political, economic, and cultural structures exist and consequently must be considered at the same levels of systemic importance and influence" (239). Because Indigenous people are actors in the capitalist system, their histories and perspectives must therefore also be considered in the interpretation of conjunctural and cyclical moments of the history of capitalism, in relation to Western(ized) ones. Sebastián's film may decenter the Eurocentric historiography of capitalism by incorporating Indigenous resistance in the narrative, but it does not consider the Taínos' perspective beyond their oppositional stance against the capitalist system. On the contrary, not only does *También la lluvia* establish a connection between the cyclical and conjunctural history of capitalism and Indigenous cyclical and spiral conceptions of historical time, but it also alludes to Indigenous Andean historiography to interpret the events of Cochabamba as the beginnings of the demise of capitalism.

By portraying Daniel as the incarnation of Oscar Olivera–one of the most important figures in the fight against late capitalism during the Water War–, alongside Hatuey, the first Indigenous leader to resist the establishment of the capitalist system in Latin America, *También*

la lluvia situates the Cochabambino leader in a long list of Indigenous leaders who have repeatedly resisted capitalism throughout its history. Although Hatuey and Daniel are from different geographical areas and cultures, the confluence of temporalities in the film, rather than just explore questions of colonialism and neocolonialism as Cilento suggests (247), also hint at the convergence between the two characters, and therefore evoke Indigenous historical rhythms that stress continuities.

At various points during *También la lluvia*, the temporalities become deeply porous, as Cilento argues (247), and at different moments of the film, Hatuey and Daniel become one and the same. For example, when Sebastián and his film crew watch Daniel's screen shots, they comment on the fact that he is a natural leader, and as he is being converted into the Taíno leader on screen, the Mexican director exclaims: "Hatuey. Hatuey. No me chiguen, ¡es Hatuey!" (00:13:54). This serves to reveal that the characteristics essential to the Taíno leader are also present in Daniel, highlighting the continuity in Indigenous leadership despite it being displaced spatially and culturally from the Caribbean to the Andes. Additionally, the scene of the cross suggests that Daniel not only represents the continuity in Indigenous leadership but that he is actually a reincarnation of Hatuey. By placing the Natives on crosses, and having Hatuey named after Christ by the *conquistadores*, and the other Taínos named after the apostles, Sebastián's film converts the Caribbean Natives into prophets against the capitalist system. Furthermore, by associating Hatuey to the Christian Savior, who is prophesized to return to Earth for Judgement Day, the film mythicizes the Taíno leader as a figure that will return to judge the capitalist system established at the moment of the Discovery. It is therefore possible to see Daniel, not only as actor that plays Hatuey in Sebastián's film, but also as a man who reflects the Taíno

leader's behavior and actions in his rebellion against the capitalist system, as a reincarnation of Hatuey.

This instance is not the only one to allude to the concept of repetition and continuity within Indigenous historiography. There are different visual elements of the film that suggest that Cochabamba is one more fight in the long and more local history of anticolonial struggle in the Andes, and that the Indigenous movement during the Water War is actually a repetition of the rebellion against La Paz in 1781 led by the Indigenous Andean leader Túpac Katari. Relying heavily on Andean systems of governance and communication, Katari organized and led an attack on La Paz in 1781, which was held for 109 consecutive days, becoming the longest siege of a city in colonial history. As Serulnikov and Frye argue, the strategy used was "to control El Alto, undertake surprise raids, cut off the few access routes into the city, and wait for its hunger-stricken inhabitants to lose their will to resist and surrender" (115). Although the Water War in 2000 is not the first time since 1781 that the Andean people of Bolivia resorted to some of its strategies, it pointed to several methodological elements first used by Túpac Katari and the insurgents that followed him, for example: "a communal ethos based in social discipline, often evidenced by decision-making in assemblies" and "the military tactic of the *cerco*, or siege, which takes advantage of geographical peculiarities of the region as well as Indigenous demographic superiority" (Postero 7).

Because *También la lluvia* attests to the use of these methodological elements during the Water War of Cochabamba in 2000, it also evokes this Andean rebellion. The film alludes to the Indigenous mobilization during the conflict and, through a public meeting held by Daniel and a some of his *compañeros*, serves as an example of the *consulta popular* that was organized by *La Coordinadora* and held in March 2000. Of course, Bollaín's film also incorporates the blockades

that paralyzed Cochabamba for days, and highlights the communal ethos that continued in this phase of the struggle. For example, as Costa and Teresa drive to reach Belén, the camera enters slow-motion, allowing the viewer to contemplate, through the haze of tear gas and smoke, the Indigenous men and women working together to build the road blocks in the streets of Cochabamba.

By evoking the parallels between the 1781 rebellion and the Water War, *También la lluvia* alludes to the Andean cyclical conception of time. But in doing so, it also evokes a more local narrative of reincarnation as well. Katari was finally captured later in 1781, and before he was executed, he declared that the *criollos* might be killing Túpac Katari the man, but that he would eventually return as thousands. *También la lluvia*, through its representation of the strategies reminiscent of the 1781 rebellion, also alludes to these words, which have grown into a myth in the Bolivian Andes. Towards the beginning of the film, Daniel is the first Indigenous voice to be heard above all others as he criticizes Costa and Sebastián for not seeing all people present, and as he denounces Aguas de Bolivia in front of their offices. However, as the tensions grow, the Indigenous people of Cochabamba begin organizing, until they are thousands taking over the Plaza 14 de Septiembre and eventually mounting road blockades in order to force the government to hear their collective voice and consider their perspective. Therefore, by following the growth of the Indigenous movement during the Water War, Bollaín's film suggests that the Andean myth of Tupac Katari's return is indeed being fulfilled: he has been reincarnated in the thousands of Indigenous people protesting in the streets of Cochabamba.

These instances of continuity and reincarnation in the film's representation of contemporary Bolivia, which allude to the fulfillment of both a fictional prophesy associated with the Taínos and the Andean Katari myth, point to Cochabamba in 2000 as a conjunctural

time in the history of capitalism. First, beyond the portrayal of Hatuey as Christ figure that will return for Judgement Day in the person of Daniel, there are other Judeo-Christian references of equal importance in *También la lluvia* that give even more significance to Daniel and his role to play in the history of Indigenous struggle against the system, and point to a moment of rupture in the history of capitalism. Perhaps the most noteworthy of all is Daniel's name, which refers to the Hebrew Prophet who foresaw the end of four kingdoms through visions in his dreams.[75] Daniel therefore not only incarnates Hatuey as returned Savior, but also as a figure that foretells the destruction of world-empires, or, according to *También la lluvia*'s interpretation, the capitalist world-system.

Second, the scene of the crosses and the final victory of the Indigenous protests in the streets of Cochabamba are the most crucial scenes in the film because they reveal that Daniel is not just one more leader in the history of Indigenous struggle against capitalism, and that the Water War is not just one more cycle of resistance in its repetitive history. While for part of the film, Daniel seems to be fated to a similar violent end as Hatuey and Túpac Katari–as Sebastián says, if he is not tortured, he might be disappeared–, the scene of the crosses shows a rupture in the cycle of Indigenous leader repression as he is saved by his fellow Indigenous actors, and escapes from the police. Because this sequence presents the first instance of successful Indigenous resistance in the film–Daniel escapes possible death while Hatuey succumbed to his execution–, it presents the first of many contemporary ruptures in the cyclical history of capitalism, all of which last for the rest of the film until the conjunctural moment when the Cochabambinos win the Water War.

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[75] As Santaolalla claims, the Judeo-Christian reference finds resonances in Daniel's entire family as well: "Teresa, Spain's most famous female saint, and Belén, the Spanish word for Bethlehem," names "unlikely to be missed by the film's largely Hispanic audience" (213).

This alludes to yet another temporal concept in Andean historiography, which is that of the *pachakuti,* described by Rivera Cusicanqui as the "revuelta o vuelco del espacio-tiempo, con la que se inauguran largos ciclos de catástrofe o renovación del cosmos" (22). If "the conquest was a pachacuti-the inversion of order-for many Andean people" (Flores Galindo 22), in the sense that it catastrophically inverted the Andean world by placing its peoples in a situation of colonial inferiority within the capitalist system, then the contemporary ruptures of this system by the Indigenous Andeans as represented in *También la lluvia*'s suggest that the Water War is the first *pachakuti* since the Conquest that has led Indigenous peoples to finally overthrow capitalist power and start reclaiming their own. Knowing that a similar conflict led the La Paz population to win the Gas War in 2003, and that Evo Morales went on win the elections in 2005, *También la lluvia* seems to suggest that the Water War in Cochabamba was the first instance in the renovation of the Indigenous cosmos, at least in Bolivia. As Evo Morales declared in his speech as he was sworn in, the time of Indigenous resistance was over; as Postero argues, from resistance, they now passed to taking power (2). Postero adds that the ceremony during which Morales was sworn in, along with his references to Andean historiography, was not only interpreted as an important event with deep cultural meaning both in Bolivia and in international circles, but also as a ritual of change, a *pachakuti*, by Andean Bolivians (3). While *También la lluvia* does not demonstrate this return to order in the sense that it represents a historical moment prior to Morales' electoral victory, it does hint at the momentum gained by Indigenous movements starting in 2000 en route to fulfilling a positive inversion of the capitalist system, a *pachakuti* that finally started freeing Indigenous people from the coloniality of this system and the positions of inferiority articulated by the model of labor established at the moment of the Conquest.

Conclusion

Cilento claims that *También la lluvia* "intends to generate self-awareness on how these histories have been mediated rather than to impose a political thesis or solution" (249). The meta-discourse in the film, as well as the archival material included in the narrative, certainly seem to support such an argument. But the film's articulation of both Western and Indigenous perspectives on capitalism, from the moment of the Discovery to contemporary Bolivia, reflects Sorlin's claim that all historical films actually use history "as a basis or a counterpoint for a political thesis" (208). By evoking a cyclical and spiral conception of historical time and of capitalism, and by positioning the Indigenous people of Latin America as the first to resist capitalism, *También la lluvia* empowers the Andean Bolivians as the rightful descendants of the capitalist struggle. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, by evoking successful Andean forms of government, community, and labor, Bollaín's film also demonstrates Stewart-Harawira's claim that: "far from being irrelevant in the modern world, traditional Indigenous social, political and cosmological ontologies are profoundly important to the development of transformative alternative frameworks for global order" (24). In doing so, the film distances itself from the Western and hegemonic historiography of capitalism as one of domination, and represents Indigenous people as empowered subjects of history, both past and in the making, that could potentially bring about a new world order.

Although the film decolonizes the history of capitalism by rearticulating both Western and Indigenous perspectives, it is important to approach critically this portrayal of indigeneity as a potential alternative to capitalism. First, presenting Indigenous people as the answer to global capitalism may decolonize their role in the history of capitalism, but it does not necessarily take into account the overpowering effects of neoliberalism and its supporters. As Santaolalla claims,

it is true that "in the end the tables are turned: a project that began as a narrative imposed on a local community, a history lesson taught from the outsider's perspectives, becomes a lesson learned by the teacher" (219). Costa is the character that demonstrates the strongest capitalist inclinations yet also the most significant evolution throughout the film: his interactions with Daniel teach him an important lesson regarding the value of human and cultural contact. However, at the end of the film, it remains uncertain whether he will really apply this lesson once he returns home, or if he will go back to his old behavioral patterns. When he Daniel, he promises to continue helping Belén, but also admits that he will never return, and that he will help Sebastián finish the film as best as possible. Additionally, the extradiegetic music of the closing sequence, which follows Costa in a taxi as he is leaving Cochabamba, "is the same non-diegetic musical theme […] heard on his arrival" (Santaolalla 212), implying a return to the beginning of a cycle in the Spaniard's life. Therefore, the capitalist system may have been broken in Bolivia, but potential ruptures of this system in other parts of the world are left uncertain.

Second, by supporting the strategic uses of Andean culture in Bolivia–Andean forms of government, labor and community–as the answer to national forms of capitalism, *También la lluvia* evokes the possibility of *andinocentrismo.* Although Rivera Cusicanqui claims that "la apuesta india por la modernidad se centra en una noción de ciudadanía que no busca la homogeneidad sino la diferencia" (71), the film's focus on Andean people dismisses an important fact: not all Indigenous people of Bolivia are Andean. Following Morales' elections, the Indigenous may have become the paradigmatic citizen in Bolivia, as Canessa argues ("New Indigenous Citizens" 204). But by articulating its political thesis in terms that position Andeans at the forefront of anti-capitalist movements and governance, Bollaín's film reflects the fact that

under Morales' administration the Andean culture has been "put forth as fundamental to the re-ordering or cleansing of Bolivian society, which was permanently stained by the colonial legacy of racism ad further tainted by the evils of capitalism and neoliberalism" (Postero 4).

Although it is of course important to take these arguments into consideration, perhaps what is essential to draw from them is that the universal ideology of history has:

> reached the point in which space and place can no longer be overruled. The world, therefore, is not becoming, nor can it be conceived of as, a global village. Instead, it is a 'series of non-homogenous pockets of identity that must eventually come into conflict because they represent different historical arrangements of emotion energy.' (Mignolo "The Geopolitics of Knowledge" 69)

If this is the case, then each locality will have to find its own ways to fight against the exploitative forms of the capitalist system. Indeed, decolonizing processes such as the ones explored in *También la lluvia* contribute to revealing that the world has now become polycentric, and that the West and all its advocates–represented by the Spanish and Mexican film crew–are no longer the only ones to define the world economic structure, nor its history.

Conclusion

Madeinusa, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia*, are films that negotiate textual, oral, and visual codes from the perspective of a non-Indigenous cultural landscape that differs from their Andean referent, and as such, they may seem like extensions of *indigenismo*. Because their representations of the Andean space–concrete as well as theoretical–incorporate both Western and Andean epistemologies however, these films attempt to address the fracture between both cosmovisions, and therefore rearticulate *indigenismo* in ways reminiscent of those articulated in José María Arguedas' novels and short stories. Furthermore, by integrating and identifying with Andean practices, perspectives and histories as well as Western ones, these three films generate an audiovisual space that seeks not only to promote a vision of equity and socioeconomic development towards this region of the world–thus reflecting the resolutions passed by the U.N.–, but also to find ways to overcome the power relations alluded to and/or inherent to *indigenista* literature. Although it could be said that because of this these films go beyond *indigenismo*, their representations still retain similar problematics. As Maduro claims, constructing a way of knowing "that aims to undermine an authoritarian, hierarchical, exploitive social system" requires an "open, humble, dialogical, consistently self-examining way of understanding and producing knowledge" (102), which, in the case of these three films, sometimes reveals the reproduction of the same discourses they are aiming to challenge and decolonize.

Despite avoiding directly mentioning the national space to which the town of Manayaycuna belongs during most of the film, *Madeinusa*'s exploration of consumerism as central to identity construction situates its narrative within the Peruvian neoliberal context. The film's circular narrative that displaces the Western character and replaces him with an Andean female protagonist, the delegitimizing of the Western gaze and the consequent Indianizing of

photography, as well as the camera takes that focus on creative adaptations of commodities in the town, are only some of the ways in which *Madeinusa* decolonizes the lens and engages with Andean ways of being and knowing as neoliberal citizens. By illustrating the creative adaptations of commodities and revealing other modes of circulation of capital, the film then not only proposes a perspective of Peruvian neoliberalism from its Andean margins, but it also points to the fact that Indigenous culture is not as threatened by the homogenization of worldviews under globalization as Stewart-Harawira would suggest (18).

Instead, *Madeinusa*'s cinematography and narrative demonstrate Mignolo's argument that "global designs are always controlled by *certain* kinds of local histories" (*Local Histories/Global Designs* Loc. 1899), in this case the global design being neoliberalism and the local history being that of the Andean town of Manayaycuna. It is the inhabitants' agency, and not that of the outsider, that determines negotiations between Andean and Western ways of knowing and being. Therefore, the film's representation of Andean forms of wealth, as well as the elaboration of native modes of circulation of commodities and consumerism that not only embrace Andean cosmology but in many ways strengthen the internal logic of the town's culture, suggest that *Madeinusa* begins to move away from a narratives that essentialize Andean cultures as pre-modern and hermetic, or would have Andeans lose their cultures in exchange for urban modernity, and towards a narrative of "alternative *mestizaje*," evocative of Andean identities currently being elaborated in Peru's cities.

But this narrative of "alternative *mestizaje*" is not one to decolonize Western epistemology in order to uncritically empower Andean cultures. In reality, it engages in what Mignolo calls "border thinking," which is made possible "when different local histories and their particular power relations are taken into consideration" (*Local Histories/Global Designs* Loc.

1915). Mignolo explains that border thinking requires "thinking from dichotomous concepts rather than ordering the world in dichotomies," therefore creating a dichotomous locus of enunciation located at the border or margins of the world-system (Loc. 2325). Indeed, *Madeinusa*'s cinematography and narrative reflect this dichotomous locus of enunciation: not only do they illustrate and elaborate decolonizing strategies that deconstruct Western knowledge of the Andes; they also offer a critical approach to their representation of Andeans as consumer citizens. On the one hand, examining Manayaycuna's participation in the national capitalist economy and its elaboration of an economy native to the Andes allows the viewer to better understand the difficult integration of Indigenous participation within the national economy and the internal difficulties that arise from the elaboration of native economies. Indeed, *Madeinusa* suggests that geographical determinism still affects and limits Andean levels of participation in the national economy, and that Andean rural people are still not considered consumer citizens of the nation. On the other hand, the fact that strategies of empowerment can also have negative impacts on the communities is highlighted in the film as it points to the crisis of the Andean family, and the oppression of women. In this sense, *Madeinusa* also reflects on the complexity of contemporary Andean society. By criticizing both Western and Andean epistemologies, the film therefore thinks, deconstructs and constructs from both cosmovisions.

But in order to decolonize the cinematographic lens towards the Andes, and reflect Llosa's objective to liberate the tensions that have held her country captive for so long (qtd. in Chauca et al. 49), *Madeinusa* must include the sources of these tensions and explore the problematics that are born out of negotiations between these pre-existing tensions and contemporary neoliberalism. In doing so, it illustrates Maduro's claim that:

> one of the tragedies and tendencies of all knowledge produced within and under relations of oppression, exclusion, domination, and exploitation is that inadvertently, surreptitiously, at least part of the ruling patterns, relations, conceptions, and/or values permeating the larger society might be reintroduced. (Maduro 88)

Salvador's reactions of disgust towards different aspects of the culture of Manayaycuna and his desire to liberate Madeinusa from her father, for example, suggest that this town "demands salvation and modernization by westernized white people of the capital," as Pagán-Teitelbaum argues (82). It also reinserts a patriarchal attempt at foundational romance, during which Salvador becomes what Spivak would call "the establisher of the good society" (52), who will protect the Andean woman from her own kind. The difficulty with this discourse is that Andeans do not wish to be saved nor do they accept to have external views imposed on their cosmovision, which is why Salvador ultimately has to disappear. But his possible death at the end of the film does not erase the presence of his discriminatory and superior attitude until then.

Madeinusa is also problematic because the film is decontextualized. Although there are ample references to neoliberalism through the representation of the Andean characters as citizen consumers, the film makes no direct reference to the internal conflict that victimized thousands of Andeans during the 1980s and early 1990s. The magical realist elements of the film seem to remove Manayaycuna from Peruvian history, and to perpetuate the image of the Andean cultures as timeless and ahistorical entities. Ubilluz Raygada argues that Salvador's association with a camera, and his disappearance at the end of the film, are evocative of the events that transpired in Uchuraccay in 1983, during which the inhabitants of the town assassinated eight journalists and a guide. The "Informe de Uchuraccay," conducted by Llosa's uncle Mario Vargas Llosa,

concluded that the primitive state of the inhabitants had led them to mistake the nine outsiders for elements of the Sendero Luminoso. While the end of *Madeinusa* may refer to this event, the fact that it represents the elaboration of a native economy and consumption practices, and engages in border thinking that criticizes both Western and Andean epistemologies, refute arguments made by critics such as Ubilluz Raygada regarding the film's reproduction of the discourse maintained in the report. However, what this indicates is the difficult nature of undertaking a cinematographic representation of the Andes in Peru after the conflict from a Westernized locus of enunciation.

Border thinking, according to Mignolo, is "a way of thinking that is not inspired in its own limitations and is not intended to dominate and to humiliate" (*Local Histories/Global Designs* Loc. 1947), but the reactions to *Madeinusa* demonstrate that old discourses and perspectives are difficult to deconstruct. Adrián Caetano's *Bolivia* is even more representative of this challenge, as it not only reproduces racist and national discourse, but also situates it at the center of its narrative. But Caetano expressed the desire to explore the relationships of people from the same social class, pointing to the fact that these discourses were only one element of his cinematographic representation of the Argentinean economic crisis. The film's epistemic disobedience–which allows the viewer to think the crisis from a space occupied by Bolivia in the world capitalist system–, facilitates the elaboration of the foundations of a discourse of Latin American brotherhood and acknowledges the need to rethink Argentina's neocolonial position in this system. Reflecting Harvey's argument that the concentration of the proletariat in towns made them more aware of their common interests (25), the film establishes a contact between people of different localities who are facing the same struggles, on local as well as regional levels.

Like *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia* also engages in border thinking because it does not simply attempt to decolonize the racist discourse prevalent in the café-bar, but it also offers a critical representation of Freddy, the Bolivian Indigenous protagonist that represents both the message of brotherhood and economic neocoloniality in the film. The Argentinean characters, particularly Oso, are represented as spiraling deeper into personal and economic crises, faced with the eventual loss of their families, their homes, and jobs that allow them to fulfill their labor power and realize surplus value that will allow them to also fulfill their roles as consumer citizens. Although the film does suggest that Freddy's perspective can be useful in thinking about the Argentinean crises, it does not idealize him either. Although he is more active and demonstrates more initiative than any of the Argentinean patrons of the café-bar, Freddy's philandering ways, his excessive drinking and aggressive reactions to discrimination also demonstrate that he is just as vulnerable to the negative effects of economic marginalization as any of the Argentineans that he works with or serves.

But the decolonization of the Andean character and of Andean space in the film comes at a price: while the film allows the viewer to establish the economic and neocolonial similarities between Andean and Argentinean characters, it does so in a way that neglects to take ethnicity and culture into account. It could be argued that the film decolonizes the lens and invokes Andean epistemology by incorporating songs by Los Kjarkas that serve as markers of Andean traditional orality, and using a circular narrative–migration and violence are recurrent and joint events in Buenos Aires at the time of the crisis, according to the film–, a temporality which is evocative of the Andean cosmovision. But the struggles of all characters point to the fact that they are "subject to the unified rule of capital," as Harvey would say (25), and therefore removes any trace of a national and ethnic character. Not only does this suggest that there is still no room

for indigeneity in Argentina's imagined national community at the time of the film's release, although the years following it demonstrated that this did not change after the crisis was over. It also points to Freddy's assimilation to the Western neoliberal cosmovision. Freddy is from La Paz and worked in the coca fields of the region, but the film reveals nothing of his beliefs or his traditions. *Bolivia* portrays Freddy as a modern Andean man who plays arcade games, dances *cumbias villeras* at *bailantas*, and drinks beer. Although he occupies places frequented by other immigrants, he engages in urban activities like any other consumer citizen would.

Claiming universality, as Lucy Taylor argues, "involves asserting that at some level all humans are the same, but what that sameness *is* is uttered from the Occidental locus of enunciation" (599). *Bolivia* problematizes this claim however. While the director is non-Indigenous, which could lead to interpret the film as a reflection of Taylor's claim, Freddy is representative of Bolivia's efforts to create and establish regional alliances in the 2000s, pointing to the fact that the Bolivian locus of enunciation proposed through the film's epistemic disobedience actually reflects the non-Occidental locus of enunciation from which these coalitions would be elaborated. In relation to Peruvian politics, Cadena argues that the language of ethnicity is "not the only one available to indigenous subject positions and to indigenous politics" (343), but *Bolivia* suggests that this can be the case elsewhere. Bolivia has a long history of using an ethnic discourse in its politics and struggles, but the recent victory of the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) is not solely due to ethnic politics. Indeed, Canessa points out that Morales' "political indigeneity does not come out of a career of identity politics or a long tradition of mobilizing under an ethnic banner but of adopting a globalized language of social justice" ("New Indigenous Citizenship" 205). Therefore, it is possible to interpret *Bolivia*'s avoidance of ethnic discourses in its epistemic disobedience as its acknowledgement of another

form of alliance in which Andeans can participate. Restricting Andeans to ethnic identity politics would be just another way of sustaining Freddy's neocolonial status. But it also points to the fact that a dichotomous locus of enunciation can open the possibility to the elaboration of similar discourses and identities.

También la lluvia, contrary to *Bolivia*, refers to Bolivia's ethnic politics, especially as they were rearticulated during the growing tensions in Cochabamba at the turn of the 21st-century. By transferring the focus of the narrative from the Western characters–Costa, Sebastián and María–to Daniel and the struggle of the *cochabambinos*, reproducing Andean forms of organization and mobilization that lead to the overthrow of a neoliberal policy, both on and off-set, and evoking Andean historicity, the film decolonizes the lens and acknowledges the importance of Andean citizens and their ways of knowing. The film also challenges Western discourses that would portray Andean Bolivians as outside of the modern by representing an articulate and powerful Andean community, capable of organizational structure and mobilization in order to be justly integrated into the city's water distribution system whilst remaining true to their communitarian beliefs. On the one hand, just like *Madeinusa*, *También la lluvia* celebrates Andean cosmovision, but it focuses on community as a strength on which to build–rather than a weakness that can only be eluded by embracing Western individuality–in order to challenge the neocolonial power structure the characters are facing and that is excluding them from modern utilities. On the other hand, the discourse of brotherhood in this film, unlike *Bolivia*, is associated with an Andean Indigenous perspective of Cochabamba. The global design of modernity as urban development is being enacted according to particularities of this city and the Andean regional history.

But *También la lluvia* also challenges Mignolo's argument that global designs "are brewed, so to speak, in the local histories of the metropolitan countries," to be "implemented, exported, and enacted differently in particular places" (Loc. 1857). By rewriting the history of capitalism, the film illustrates its coloniality, and therefore situates the origin of the modern world-economy in Latin America. What this suggests is that the global design of capitalism was in reality first developed and established in the "New World"–rather than in Europe as is commonly believed–, and then exported to be enacted elsewhere. Consequently, by shifting the geography of capitalist reasoning, *También la lluvia* echoes *Bolivia* and also engages in epistemic disobedience. But unlike Caetano's film, its disobedience is twice removed. Not only does the film displace the locus of enunciation of capitalist history to Latin America, it also shifts the locus of enunciation of the history of anti-capitalist resistance from 19th-century Europe to the Andes in the 15th-century. In so doing, Bollaín's film argues for a dichotomous locus of enunciation, but unlike *Madeinusa* and *Bolivia*, the dichotomous concepts are not thought from Western–as in European and North American–terms, but rather from Latin American and Andean epistemologies that decolonize Western knowledge.

También la lluvia does not, however, engage in border thinking in the ways that *Madeinusa* and *Bolivia* do. There is no criticism of Andean epistemology or of the Indigenous perspective. Cilento claims though, that "Bollaín's work is not a straightforward defense of indigenous cultures, but a film about how arduous it is to articulate such a defense" (251). Indeed, instead of simply empowering Andean epistemology, the film criticizes the capitalist world-system and how Western consciousness engages with its inequalities and perpetuates its exploitative modes of production. Indeed, by unveiling the film producer's perspective, and his reasons for choosing Bolivia for the shoot, "a pessimist may say that Bollaín points out that

colonialism and neocolonialism became the object of numerous Latin American films, and that in turn Latin American films contribute to neocolonial exploitation" (252-253). In doing so, Cilento argues that the film "problematizes the triumphalist pan-Latin American rhetoric" (252-253). Because *También la lluvia* explores the realization of Western characters regarding their roles in this system, the film does not fully discard the possibility of the elaboration of a form of brotherhood between Latin Americans, or even between citizens of the Hispanic world, but it certainly reveals the internal problems that need to be confronted before such a concept can be implemented in the long-term.

Indeed, like *Bolivia*, the film also points to the transitory nature of this discourse of brotherhood born out of a moment of crisis. *También la lluvia* observes the psychological evolution of the Spanish members of the film crew, and more particularly that of Costa, until are enlightened in some way regarding the situation of Andean Bolivians in Cochabamba, the repetitive historical exploitation of Indigenous peoples under capitalism, and their own roles in perpetuating it. As Cilento observes, the film "suggests that without self-consciousness no ethical affirmation is possible" (253). Indeed, Costa's behavior changes to a more respectful approach in his relationship with Daniel and María attempts to side with the struggle of the *cochabambinos* as she understands the need to register the ongoing exploitative modes of production that Sebastián's film is trying to denounce historically. But the film also suggests that this self-consciousness is temporarily lived and insufficient. Marí argues that Costa's transformation from being a materialist, pragmatic and cynical man to one that becomes idealist, generous and noble, is too abrupt and therefore portrays his evolution in a way that is not very credible (370). Furthermore, Santaolalla contends that the non-diegetic music that accompanies Costa's departure provides the "appropriate commentary on a community whose problems filmmakers

are relatively powerless to solve" (212). But even if his transformation were entirely credible, the film suggests that Costa's ethical affirmation will be mostly limited to his stay in Cochabamba. Although he promises to help Daniel with medical expenses for his daughter Belén, he admits that he will probably never return to Bolivia. Brotherhood is fleeting, and constrained to a moment of crisis that ultimately does not point to any change in Costa's role in the economic system.

Madeinusa, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia* attempt to develop a vision of equity towards the Andes, and aim to engage in the region's socioeconomic development in ways that acknowledge Andean epistemology. What the cinematographic decolonization of this region ultimately challenges is the idea of a monolithic Andean identity that can be thought from a single locus of enunciation. This, in itself, challenges the totalizing discourse of Western epistemology. But the three films also lead the exploration of what Quijano calls a "parallel horizon of knowledge" ("The Return of the Future" 85), which challenges, although to different degrees, Western structures that support the world capitalist system, such as the nation and the state. Of the three films analyzed, *Bolivia* and *También la lluvia* are the two that engage most with the people's loss of faith in the legitimacy of the nation-state as elaborated by Western models and that allude to alternative identities in the capitalist economy. On the one hand, *Bolivia* reflects Cadena's argument that "indigeneity may become the site for a broad political formation, a flexible set of alliances (and ideological disputes)" ("Alternative Indigeneities" 347), that can cross national borders and cultural/ethnic boundaries. On the other hand, *También la lluvia* alludes to the Indianizing of the nation-state, and points to the idea that in Bolivia, "indigeneity is the foundation of a new nationalism" (Canessa, "New Indigenous Citizenship" 204), one that is more inclusive and respectful of different cultures, and that rejects Western

individualism. *Madeinusa* formulates a hybrid, imagined community for the Peruvian nation, one which dissolves urban/rural and costal/Andean dichotomies and that redefines the identity of the consumer citizen. Williams considers that the Andean actors who are calling attention to the epistemological and political limits of neoliberal cultural politics and state practices are still often seen as the "threatening specter of an uncontrollable, ungovernable, and unintelligible 'other'" (266), but what Llosa's film proposes is that Andeans are only considered ungovernable because they refuse to fully adhere to the nation's totalizing discourse, and remain on the border of its system. It is the nation's refusal to accept and incorporate the hybrid nature of Andean culture that problematizes the governability of the nation, not the other way around.

As Stewart-Harawira argues, "far from being irrelevant in the modern world, traditional indigenous social, political and cosmological ontologies are profoundly important to the development of transformative alternative frameworks for global order" (24). Indeed, what the three films demonstrate is that cinematographic decolonization leads to the deconstruction of Western knowledges and the critical empowerment of Andean cultures, but that decolonizing strategies such as border thinking and epistemic disobedience which shift the geography of reasoning to Indigenous epistemologies can become the basis for thinking of alternatives to capitalism. From a marginalized position in the world-economy, these films hint at Andean cultures as important potential figures in its rearticulation. This process of cinematographic decolonization of the Andes is not without its challenges. Although epistemic disobedience and border thinking allow *Madeinusa*, *Bolivia*, and *También la lluvia* to engage in an interplay of Andean and Western modes of thinking that can empower Andean cultures as active participants in the world-system, historical tensions and perspectives, as well as artistic projects such as those proposed by the different forms of *indigenismo*, become obstacles that sometimes seem

insurmountable. No matter what they do, it seems these films will provoke controversies. But perhaps the best they can do at this moment in history is to create a cinematic rhetoric capable of initiating a dialogical exchange between Andean and Western modes of thinking, however difficult it may be.

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