LEGACIES OF COLONIALISM: THE VIOLENT CONCEPTION OF MÉXICO

AN HONORS THESIS

SUBMITTED ON THE FIFTH DAY OF MAY, 2023

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

OF THE HONORS PROGRAM

OF NEWCOMB-TULANE COLLEGE

TULANE UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE OF

BACHELOR OF ARTS
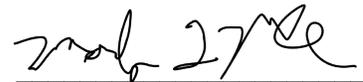
WITH HONORS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY

Lily Mesnik

_____

Lily Mesnik

APPROVED:

Christina Kiel

_____

Christina Kiel, Ph.D.

Director of Thesis

M Casey Love

_____

Casey Love, Ph.D.

Second Reader

Marilyn Miller

_____

Marilyn Miller, Ph.D.

Third Reader

Lily Mesnik. Legacies of Colonialism: The Violent Conception of México.

(Professor Christina Kiel, Political Science)

I provide a contribution to post-colonial studies with my unique take on the colonization of México, where systemic rape has arisen as a weapon for societal destruction. Using academic literature and history, I illustrate the negative effects of Spanish colonialism by rape. The rape that occurred in the Spanish conquest of Latin America increased social stratification in the colonial era, and aided in the cultural genocide of indigenous peoples via forced assimilation and the adoption of mestizaje as a cultural identity in the 20th century. To examine this hypothesis, the paper focuses on two time periods. The first time period, from the conquest through colonial New Spain, is one in which being a mestizo meant a lower position in society than the Europeans. The second time period, mid-20th century México, demonstrated a shift in perspective, as the Mexican government purposely elevated the value of mestizaje. This served to create a unified national identity, but also perpetuated a cultural genocide of indigenous peoples through assimilation. This unique manner of colonization clearly has affected México, in these two time periods as well as beyond. My research provides a new perspective for the analysis of Mexican socio-political culture. Linking periods of history in which mestizo identity had an impact allows me to tie the events back to the method of Mexican colonization, with sexual violence that destabilized civil society. In addition to a new analytical lens for studies of México, this work is applicable to contemporary conflict.

<center>Introduction</center>

"*¡Viva México, hijos de la chingada!*"[1] (Paz 74) This is the cry of the Mexican

people on the fifteenth of September, the anniversary of their independence, according to

Octavio Paz in his 1950 essay, *El Laberinto de La Soledad* (*The Labyrinth of Solitude*).

This phrase is also intriguing as the English copy of the book opted to leave it in its

original Spanish. Paz later elaborates on the meaning of the Chingada, saying "The

Chingada is the Mother forcibly opened, violated, or deceived" (Paz 79). For Paz, the

idea of these "hijos de la chingada" is the epitome of Mexican identity. Why would

Mexicans see themselves in this seemingly derogatory manner? It goes back to the

colonization of Latin America, when Hernán Cortés and his men seized the territory in

the name of Spain. This *chingada* that Paz refers to is "the Mother forcibly opened,

violated or deceived" (Paz 79). Paz's work is a basis for the Mexican national allegory, as

a nation born of rape and violation by Spanish men of indigenous women. How does this

national allegory of the 1950s relate to the conquest, and why was it written? The

motivation of the essay was to demonstrate how the assimilation between cultures that

was pushed at the time was actually fraught with trauma, stemming from the violent

origin that Paz alluded to in his work. The after-effects of the conquest resonate in his

work with the need for unification and assimilation in México due to many years of

conflict and separations between indigenous populations and Mexicans and the

idealization of the concept of mestizaje to promote these goals. Isolated in colonial

---

[1] trans: long live México, children of the violated (or screwed) woman, summarized from Paz 74

México, the mestizo population was transformed into the ideal Mexican, a symbol of cultural mixing but also indigenous eradication. This assimilation, orchestrated by the political elites, ultimately failed, and the indigenous people continue to advocate for rights and autonomy.

Like all colonization efforts, the conquest via sexual violence has affected Mexican society and politics for over 500 years. Rape of indigenous women by Spanish soldiers during the conquest of the territory that would become México has informed the actions of the government and the general public throughout its history. Most notably, the rape contributed to the creation of the mestizo population and thus increased the social stratification in colonial New Spain. While initially, relations between indigenous women and Spanish men were acceptable, as New Spain developed, they became less widely accepted. A hierarchy of peoples developed, putting Spaniards at the top, and indigenous people on a lower rung. In between these castes lived their children, the mestizos. The act of separating them from their parents and assigning them a entirely new social class created more fragmentation in society. These interracial relationships were not outright discouraged, but each child of mixed parentage bore a different place in the social and political culture. These relationships could have served as a way to encourage natural assimilation, but instead segregated society more. Later on, this notion of mestizaje first seen in the colonial period, was exploited as a concept to perpetuate the cultural genocide of the indigenous people via forced assimilation later in the 20th century.

I will provide a contribution to post-colonial studies with my unique take on the colonization of México, as well as connecting it to more modern conflicts, where systemic rape has arisen as a true weapon for societal destruction. Using literature, history, and even paintings, I delve into my case to illustrate the negative effects of Spanish colonialism by rape.

The use of rape in war is a newly studied phenomenon, but the research of modern cases on this topic will provide a context for the occurrence of rape in the colonization of Latin America, and how countries like México evolved uniquely due to this manner of subjugation. There is no shortage of studies on the motivations and effects of systemic rape in Sudan, Rwanda and the DRC, but the rape that occurred at the hands of the Spanish conquistadors throughout Latin America is excluded from the conversation. The use of this widespread, systemic rape has been understudied, but the effects of it should be illuminated. My research is significant in the larger body of literature on weaponized rape, as I am examining an old case with a new perspective. Though dealing with the past, the colonization of México still has modern-day impacts that may be unseen. Studies such as this one, that examine sexual violence as a tool of colonization and its impact on long-term development, are rare. I hope to provide a vital contribution to the field of post-colonialism in México, and provide a new perspective for analyzing past events.

In the examination of the effects of colonialism and sexual violence on states in Latin America, this thesis will focus primarily on a single country, México, and its

sociopolitical dynamics following independence. In general, Latin America was colonized relatively early and also gained independence earlier than many other colonies in Africa and Asia. Due to this, it has a long post-colonial history to analyze for the case study. I write on México and the territories of New Spain specifically, rather than Spanish-colonized Latin America as a whole, to avoid generalization. Although there were also Portuguese colonies there at the time, I do not touch on them. In México specifically, there is a strong tradition of literature and identity that provide insight to the effects of the sexual violence that was perpetuated by the Spanish. Independence and a search for identity go hand in hand in shaping the structure of the Mexican state (Richmond).

In 20th century México, there were many underlying issues with the cultivated notion of mestizaje, despite the fact that it was marketed as the grand solution to stabilize the country and prevent further unrest as in the years prior during the Mexican Revolution. Vasconcelos and other scholars advocated for the erasure of the indigenous race via mixing with the white, superior race. Tying back to the idea of eugenics, the Mexican elites wanted to breed out the bad traits of indigenous or African blood and replace those characteristics with those of white people (Doremus). Additionally, mestizaje has both exclusionary and inclusionary effects. It was created to promote national identity and decrease racial divides, but it may actually function to drown out the voices of black and indigenous people.

My first chapter will be a review of the existing literature on the subject, specifically in relation to rape as a weapon of war, and tactics of colonization. The second chapter is a brief historical overview of the Mexican case, providing context for my third chapter, in which I dive deeper into the historical cases to analyze them and provide evidence for my theory. The sexual violence, as well as general miscegenation that occurred in the conquest of the Mexican territory did in fact have exclusionary effects on Mexican society, specifically the indigenous populations. Mexican continues to feel the after-effects of this colonial rape even today, through their continual search for identity. The attempts at unification under the banner of mestizaje in the 20th century were not successful, as México is still fragmented, and indigenous people are still isolated from society and continue to advocate for their autonomy.

Chapter 1

Contextualizing Sexual Violence: An Overview of Relevant Literature

This chapter provides the background information necessary to study the subject of the legacies of indigenous rape. There are few academic sources on the subject of rape in Latin America, so I draw on relevant academic writings on different methods of colonization and rape as a weapon of war to set up the arguments of the thesis.

Firstly, I will focus on colonization in general and the different methods of colonization that inform structure and politics in post-colonial societies. The second section is focused on rape as a weapon of war, and how it fits into existing theories of international relations. I examine the international legislation surrounding rape of the International Criminal Court and how UN resolutions came to consider the systemic use of rape a weapon. I also touch on how sexual violence in conflict can fracture a society or oppressed group and diffuse throughout a region, creating instability. The effects of rape on an individual are well-known, and the effects on a larger group are equally as devastating as I will demonstrate in this section. The third section will discuss my research design and framework for the rest of the paper. I outline how I plan to use México as a case study, and how its mestizo population has had an influence on its politics and policies. I will focus on México during several different time periods, including during colonization and the early years of Spanish rule, in the 1940s when the

government made efforts to promote national identity, and in the present, to analyze the effects of these decisions.

Methods of colonization

Compared to Western powers' long history of conquest and subjugation, the scholarly field of post-colonialism is relatively new, starting in the 1970s with literary studies (Jazeel). Political scientists and theorists revisit the history of former colonies to study how imperialism and colonialism have led to instability, corruption and conflict. In the field of colonialism, researchers have found that the manner in which a territory was colonized and subsequently ruled has implications for the future of the country and its general stability and propensity for civil conflict. These methods of colonization varied, from violent to coercive to exploitative, but typically resulted in native populations losing land, resources or their lives. Countries today are direct reflections of their colonization history, as virtually all of Asia, Africa and the Americas were once European colonies. These legacies of colonialism are visible simply by looking at the arbitrary borders in South America and how they divided the indigenous populations and their ancestral territories between several countries.

Another legacy of colonialism is the emergence of polyethnic states. The use of arbitrary borders in Africa functioned similarly to those in South America. Some ethnic groups were divided across borders, and the majority of newly created states contained many different indigenous ethnicities and languages. Once the colonizers left, these

borders remained, and the new African governments were challenged to establish a new postcolonial state. The first goal of a new nation is to establish hegemony — that is, to exert total control of the territory and unify the population. The barriers to this hegemony were the lack of national identity, and also the fact that many anti-colonialists saw the very imposition of a state to be a foreign invasion. Authorities sought to produce a national identity by reminding people of their shared history of oppression and the progress that could be made in the future. In a further effort to unite the country, these newly independent states often formed single party governments that eventually gave way to dictatorship and corruption (Hill).

Blanton, Mason and Athow study former colonies in Africa and how likely they were to mobilize against their oppressors based on their ruling power. The study found that British colonies had a higher propensity for ethnic conflict while the French had a lower propensity, but if there was conflict, it would more likely be of a militant nature (Blanton et al.). The origin of these differences is in the structure imposed onto the country by colonizing power. The British favored a more decentralized system, relying on pre-existing indigenous structures to enforce their sovereignty. This unranked system fostered competition between ethnic groups, sometimes leading to ethnic conflict long after the colonizers had gone. In comparison, the French maintained a strict, centralized power structure that "impeded ethnic mobilization" (Blanton et al. 473). The study confirms that the way a country is colonized has long-lasting effects on that country and its development.

This ethnic conflict between invaders and the indigenous populations can also lead to bigger issues. There are many documentations of indigenous genocides, whether direct or indirect, as a result of colonization. Indigenous peoples were oftentimes forced off their land and killed outright. Other times, the native populations died as a result of European diseases, or from starvation as the Europeans hunted and endangered their food sources, like the North American settlers did with the bison in the 19th century. Today, these genocides are still being covered up by state governments, particularly in Canada, with the thousands of bodies that are discovered in connection to the Indian residential school system (Fountain).

Another method of colonization is an extractive regime, in which the imperial power uses their colony for resources from which it can profit. This leads to the exploitation of the natives, which then increases the rate of poverty, as workers are forced to meet quotas. Additionally, being forced to grow cash crops such as sugar, coffee, and cotton are harmful to the economy of the colony as they have less space to grow their own crops for food. In Dutch-colonized Indonesia, for example, this system of cultivation created an economy centered around cash crops. The Dutch were able to profit greatly from these crops, as their workers were underpaid, and they paid the money back to the government via land taxes on their property. These high labor demands led to an increased mortality rate for the peasants and indigenous workers. After Indonesia gained independence in the mid 20th century, the system of growing cash crops to export to Europe stayed in place as they needed a source of income (de Zwart et al.).

This system of cultivation also created economic stratification, as the European settlers controlled the industry and held poorer, native communities to high labor standards. This stratification along ethnic lines followed Indonesia even after its liberation from the Netherlands. Europeans essentially created their own infrastructures and societies in these colonized territories, so it is only natural that their societal and political order would continue after their withdrawal. Thus, the countries have never known a different model of society (Van Leeuwen and Folduari).

This idea that the manner in which a country is colonized matters for its long-term development is vital for the argument for the separate classification of rape as a "tool" used by colonizers that has unique effects. When studying colonialism, it is very easy to make generalizations on how it broadly affected groups of countries, but in reality, generalizations are harmful to the indigenous people who suffered. It is unfair to equate a French-colonized country in Africa to a Spanish or Portuguese colony in South America, because the colonizers are from different countries with unique cultures, and the indigenous people have completely different customs and cultures. The existing research on rape in war helps guide this study of how rape at the point of conquest informs México, in the past and the present.

Theory on rape as a weapon of war, colonialism and ethnic conflict

This thesis is also grounded in a body of literature that explores how rape can be used as a weapon in conflict, to subjugate populations, rather than simply appearing as a byproduct. To study México and the effects of colonialism, it must first be acknowledged how the rape of indigenous women was an intentional tactic used by the Spanish to conquer the territory. Placing rape as a weapon of war into previously existing international relations frameworks provides explanatory power for why actors decide to utilize sexual violence as a means and what could result from use of this method.

The idea of widespread rape in conflict is a newly labeled phenomenon. Sexual violence was first classified as a war crime in the Rome Statute instituted by the International Criminal Court (ICC), in response to atrocities carried out by soldiers in Rwanda and Yugoslavia in the 1990s. This classification allows for punishments to be inflicted on the country itself as well as the individuals who played some part in the systemic rape of minority women. In addition to this ICC Statute, Resolution 1820 from the UN Security Council declared "that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide" (United Nations Security Council Res. 1820). While this resolution is not binding, it serves as a strong statement against sexual assault and violence in conflict, and it acknowledges that rape can happen on a larger scale, not simply on an individual level.

The classification of rape as a war crime through international regimes is important as it validates the severity of the problem. The prosecution of individuals

responsible for these war crimes through the ICC demonstrates that global accountability is possible, and the UN Security Council Resolution demonstrates that systemic rape is a threat that should be taken seriously, setting a precedent for all of the countries in the UN. Considering women in the field of international relations is vital, and acknowledging the violence committed by men that had previously been ignored helps to center my focus on the indigenous women of Latin America, who historically have been silenced.

There is a difference between classification as a war crime and classification as a weapon of war. Labeling rape a war crime implies more passivity; rape was a byproduct of the conflict. Labeling rape as a weapon of war portrays it as the destructive force, the tool used by the perpetrators to accomplish their goals. This mindset "places systemic rape at the center of conflict and security", illustrating why studying rape within the framework of international relations is important (Carter 346).

Ethnic identities are socially constructed, and widespread sexual violence can have an impact on these identities. This could result in generational trauma, or just a complete reconstruction of racial and ethnic identities at the mercy of the colonizers (Fearon and Laitin). This method creates a norm of sexual violence that can then diffuse into other regions.

The linkages between ethnic conflict and racial and ethnic identities have been examined in numerous prior studies as well. Since 1946, 64% of all civil wars have been divided along ethnic lines (Denny and Walter 200). Ethnicity alone is not linked to higher instances of violent conflict, but when added into a country with a history of conflict and

social uncertainty, the ethnic divisions act as a sort of natural fault line. There is a relationship between ethnic diversity and the likelihood of civil conflicts. Multiethnicity was found to increase the likelihood of small domestic violence. Repression and grievances by a certain ethnic group can lead to mobilization. Blimes finds that often ethnic diversity is not the primary cause of conflict, but acts as an indirect cause. If there is already tension in a society about a certain issue, then that society would potentially be more likely to take sides based on existing groupings, ethnicities in this case, leading to conflict (Blimes 537).

Denny and Walker expand on this idea, summarizing that "ethnic groups will have a greater number of reasons, opportunities and incentives to mobilize and fight than non-ethnic groups" (Denny and Walter 199). Many aggrieved citizens are resentful, but never rebel. Having a group that shares an identity helps to overcome the issue of collective action. Additionally, ethnic groups tend to congregate in specific areas, and share in language, traditions, histories as well as physical location. These conflicts are not necessarily based on ethnic tensions, but can stem from a variety of issues that then naturally divide on ethnic lines (Denny and Walter 200). For example, in México, indigenous populations tend to live in more rural, underdeveloped areas, making them vulnerable as an ethnic group when it comes to land seizures and unequal wealth distribution. These divisions along ethnic lines form due to the fact that political power is historically divided along ethnic lines, as well as a result of colonial practices that favored a specific subset of the population (Denny and Walter 202).

Additionally, ethnic identities and national identities are often put into conflict with each other. Countries with stronger national identities are generally more peaceful, while in countries where ethnic identities supersede national ones, conflict is more prevalent (Sambanis and Shayo 308). In states with heterogenous populations, ethnic groups may form in response to societal pressure. As Eriksen puts it, the "internal cohesion of a group is contingent on the strength of external pressure" (Eriksen 63). Stronger ethnic identities may develop in response to a shared pressure or grievance, but the presence of conflict further exacerbates ethnic divisions (Sambanis and Shayo 309). This creates a sort of ethnic security dilemma, as each group is afraid of the other, as well as of their own vulnerability.

In recent ethnic conflicts, rape is used as a weapon to deconstruct and demoralize the "lesser" ethnic group, and in its fracturing, leaves more instability as group identity is called into question. The goal of this martial rape is "genetic imperialism and a realignment of loyalties in future generations" (Card 5). It becomes a weapon, wielded by the oppressors typically against the women civilians of the opposing group. Murder is only one of the ways to commit genocide; utilizing sexual violence in this manner creates a "genocide by cultural decimation" that can be seen in many recent conflicts (Card 8). Recent occurrences of rape in conflict can be seen in Sudan, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

Mass rape has occurred in many of these recent conflicts. The aggressors used rape and violence as a form of ethnic cleansing, targeting and isolating the women and

girls. The invaders raped the women, often viewing them as inferior due to their ethnicity.

This rape was not a coincidental occurrence, not "violence for violence's sake" (Lefort).

A report from Amnesty International even reports that some of the rape that occurred in

the Democratic Republic of the Congo was ordered by military commanders, and some

soldiers were even forced at gunpoint ("Democratic Republic of Congo: Mass Rape").

This method is especially effective in destabilizing and subjugating the society in Muslim

countries, such as Sudan. Their laws, connected to religion, consider any form of sex

outside marriage illegal. This separates families and the larger community, as husbands

are ashamed to stay with their wives or daughters who have been raped (Polgreen).

On an individual level, but also on a societal level, a culture of sexual violence

and rape leaves its mark. It destabilizes communities and may weaken ties created by

shared ethnicity. On an individual level, being raped has extremely negative effects on the

physical and mental health of the victims. This trauma is extended when there are

pregnancies that result from the assault. Regardless of the mother's decision towards the

pregnancy, it is a raw and painful experience. The children that do result from this

violence often face "endless struggles of identity and social hurdles" (Clifford). Their

native society may stigmatize the mothers and their children, seeing them as evidence of

the colonizer's legacy (Rimmer). They are often isolated from the rest of their society. In

post-genocide Rwanda, for example, the children of rape are often called "enfants non-

desirés", or the unwanted children (Clifford).

Pregnancies as a result of sexual violence, along with posing a threat to maternal health, only aid in the systemic destruction of communities. The children that are born serve as a reminder of the brutal colonizers, often having different skin colors or features due to their paternal genetics. These rape babies were often abandoned by their mothers and ostracized from their communities. Additionally, in the case of the "genocide orphans" in Rwanda, the abandoned babies were sent to orphanages across the country, putting even more stress on the already fragile infrastructure post-conflict (Lorch).

These unwanted pregnancies, along with disease and humiliation, serve to separate and isolate the women from their society and family. In Sudan, the rape of Darfuri women by Janjaweed soldiers served to "strip the humanity from the larger group of which she is a part" (Nowrojee et al.). The lighter skin of the children was a physical manifestation of the violation that occurred to the women, and as a result they were isolated from society. Religious beliefs also played a role in how this systemic rape fractures societies. Men from many religions, especially Islam, are unwilling to take back their wife after she has been with another man, regardless of whether it was consensual or not (Polgreen). Of Sudanese refugees interviewed in the refugee camps, women who were raped were six times more likely to get divorced (Physicians for Human Rights Report). Speaking on the subject of systemic rape in Sudan, Fricke and Khair write that "these rapes are part of a calculated plan to humiliate women and their communities, including forced impregnation, the ultimate goal of which is to achieve ethnic cleansing in the region" (Fricke and Khair).

16

This threat is not just present in zones of conflict. The systemic sexual violence can diffuse across borders, following the women or ethnic group targeted. This is another reason why systemic rape should be taken seriously at an international level. It is simple to let another country solve its own conflicts, but when the conflict nearby could put your country in jeopardy, action is necessary. Whether it is moving to internal refugee camps, or fleeing to other countries, sexual violence seems to follow its victims. In Sudan, instead of attacks from the Arab Janjaweed who were perpetrators of the original conflict, at the refugee camp the aggressors were guards or local men, waiting outside the camps for the women to leave (Fricke and Khair). The conflict in Sudan spilled over into Chad as well, but the women were still persecuted, this time by Chadian civilians and soldiers. This diffusion of conflict from one privileged group to the next, while the victims are the same, is serious and should be considered so during international negotiations (Physicians for Human Rights Report). This use of rape as a form of ethnic cleansing is dangerous as the threat spreads across borders, creating an international issue that endangers women as well as destabilizing their nation.

In sum, rape has a devastating effect on the individual, but also on a societal level. By isolating the victims from their families and their community, systemic rape can leave fissures throughout the fabric of society. The instability that results from the rape of one generation of women carries on for generations. Since the examples of systemic rape we currently have are modern, it is difficult to predict the long term projections for how the society will recover, if at all. Knowing these potential effects, this thesis examines the

history of different conflicts, specifically the colonization of México, to see how this communal trauma plays out.

The widespread rape of the indigenous women in México was a fundamental aspect in the creation of a new generation and social group — the mestizos. This thesis focuses on the social implications that came as a result of the creation of this group and how the sexual violence experienced by the indigenous populations continues to affect countries, even in the present day. This phenomenon is scarcely studied, but given that different colonizer tools have been proven to have differing effects, and trauma is a direct result of sexual violence on an individual basis, we can assume that when used in colonization, it too will have long-lasting implications for society.

Research Design and Framework

In the examination of the effects of colonialism and sexual violence on states in Latin America, this thesis will focus primarily on a single country, México, and its sociopolitical dynamics following independence. In general, Latin America was colonized relatively early and also gained independence earlier than many other colonies in Africa and Asia. Due to this, it has a long post-colonial history to analyze for the case study. I write on Spanish-colonized Latin America specifically, excluding Portuguese colonies, in order to avoid overgeneralization. In México specifically, there is a strong

tradition of literature and identity that provide insight to the effects of the sexual violence that was perpetuated by the Spanish. Independence and a search for identity go hand in hand in shaping the structure of the Mexican state (Richmond).

During the colonization of México, sexual violence and other relations between indigenous women and Spanish men were common. The initial colonization and subjugation of the indigenous people gave way to the creation of the mestizo population, people born with indigenous and Spanish blood. When the Spanish government took control, the intermixing of blood was discouraged, and society formed into unspoken castes based on one's percentage of Spanish blood. Looking at these two periods of time demonstrates how the generations that followed directly after the initial colonization were already impacted and divided as a result.

In the three decades following the 1910 revolution, in the 1930s and 1940s, the Mexican government sought to fully integrate the idea of mestizaje into national identity. This was a tactic to create stability in a country that just came out of conflict. In this paper, I will use this decision as a turning point, investigating the social and political climate in México surrounding indigenous peoples and mestizo peoples both before, during and after these policies were enacted.

In each of these time periods, I am looking for circumstances that would not have otherwise existed without the presence of the mestizo population. During the era of

colonial México, I will investigate how mestizaje influenced the policies of the newly

formed government, and how they initially restricted the intermixing of different races.

Additionally, I want to examine the aftermath of the revolution and how the Mexican

government adopted a new ideology with regards to their large mixed-race population.

Instead of adhering to the social hierarchy, they recognized that there was unnecessary

separation and sought to unify their country under one identity, that of the mestizo.

       With this thesis, I seek to draw conclusions about the true aftermath of

weaponized rape in the conquest of Latin America, how it negatively affects state

institutions and regime stability still today, and the occurrence of ethnic tension and

conflict in those states. My goal is to show that colonization by rape led to societal

disruption and the formation of the mestizo population, which has detrimental long-term

effects on the country and its stability. This work is valuable for many subjects, such as

post-colonialism and rape as a weapon of war, as the intersection between the two is

lacking. By analyzing an old case with a modern perspective, the destabilizing effects of

sexually violent colonialism can be uncovered.

<u>Chapter 2</u>

<u>A Brief History of Mexican Colonialism, Culture and Conflict</u>

The last chapter discussed the prior literature on rape as a weapon of war in modern conflicts, as well as the manner in which colonizers influence the country they seek to colonize. This use of rape as a weapon has been effective at destroying the society in which it touches, breaking social bonds and creating generational trauma. The unique manner in which México was colonized, including this weaponized rape, does have significance for the future of the country. Before delving deep into the case, this next chapter will provide an overview of key events in Mexican history through the lens of sexual violence and mestizo identities.

Initially, it will delve into the history of the indigenous peoples of Latin America, culminating in the Spanish conquest of the territory and physical destruction of the city of Tenochtitlan and the Aztec empire. Continuing in this time period, the chapter examines the Spanish colonial era and how their government functioned in relation to race and class divides. The second section is devoted to México in the 20th century, after the Porfiriato ended, and is followed by a period of nation building, from 1911 to the 1940s and 1950s. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the recent political and social atmosphere in the country in the 1990s and 2000s, as an accumulation of 500 years of Mexican history.

<u>At the point of contact; pre-Columbian México</u>

        The first evidence of stratified civilizations in current day México appeared around 1500 BCE. These civilizations were groups such as the Olmecs, the Mayans and the people of Monte Albán. Cities, such as Teotihuacán, developed but eventually collapsed as civilizations grew and shrunk, and conquered others. The Aztec people, also known as the Mexica, appeared many years later, around the 12th century CE. They were primarily a warrior people, unliked by many of their neighboring communities. The Aztec civilization was highly ordered and structured; the men were all trained as warriors while the women were viewed as subordinate. Their central city, Tenochtitlán, was built around Lake Texcoco. What is now México City was built on the remains of Tenochtitlán. In the 1400s, the Aztecs dominated many neighboring indigenous groups, expanding their empire. In 1502, when Moctezuma II rose to power as leader of the Aztecs, there were an estimated 11-20 million people who belonged to the empire (Kirkwood 33).

        In 1492, the Spaniards first made contact with the Americas. The conquistadors initially established control in the Caribbean, with the island of Hispaniola, what is now the Dominican Republic and Haiti, but eventually began sending exploratory parties to the mainland territory of modern-day México. Governor Velázquez of Cuba was the person who tasked Hernán Cortés with the expedition to colonize the mainland of what is now México. Though Cortés had land in Cuba, in 1519 he decided to disobey the governor and claim the land for himself, though still in the name of Spain. Cortés was aided in his conquest of the territory by two people, who acted as translators for the

native peoples. These people were Jeronimo de Aguilar, and Doña Marina, also known as la Malinche or Malintzin. La Malinche was initially gifted to Cortés by her own people, one of the indigenous tribes. She aided Cortés in his conquest, as a translator but also as a guide to the foreign territory and cultures. Later, she bore his children. Due to her perceived betrayal of her own people, she has become a powerful symbol to México for her treachery but she is also seen as a victim as it was not her choice to join Cortés; she may have been forced to cooperate (Kirkwood 38). This perspective is more modern, as feminists have begun to reclaim her as a symbol of resistance (Tracey 38).

After defeating many bordering communities and convincing groups such as the Tlaxcaltecas to turn on their Aztec rulers, Cortés made his way into Tenochtitlan in 1519. At first, the Spanish conquistadors were revered by the Aztecs, seen as an omen sent from their gods. This initial trust made the conquest of the Aztecs easier. The Aztecs had the military power and advantage over the Spanish, but Aztec elites were split over whether to welcome the Spaniards or send them away. They were eventually granted access to Tenochtitlán,and proceeded with their plans for conquest. At one point, the Spaniards massacred over 6,000 Cholulans, one of the neighboring tribes (Kirkwood 42). Bartolomé de las Casas was a Dominican friar, sent from Spain to help convert the indigenous people, but also served as one of the foremost Spanish chroniclers on indigenous peoples and events, often sympathizing with and defending the indigenous peoples. He denounced this massacre at Cholula, seeing it only as a way to inspire fear and kill the

native population (Kirkwood 42)[2]. The church rationalized many of the actions of the Spanish by claiming to have brought Christianity to the indigenous populations and saved them from practices of human sacrifice and cannibalism. In 1521, the Spanish overtook Tenochtitlan, destroying the city and leaving the Aztec empire in shambles (Kirkwood 49).

The colonial period of México's history lasted from 1521 to 1821. The Spanish named this colony *Nueva España* (New Spain) (Kirkwood 51). New Spain grew to encompass most of Central America and the Caribbean, the southwestern United States, and even the Philippines, with the territory in Mexíco being the main seat of power. Although they were all united under the Viceroyalty of New Spain, there was still a level of autonomy between the regions (Meyer and Sherman 133). In the initial creation of the colony, the Spaniards destroyed many remnants of the Aztec religion, often building churches right over the ruins in an effort to further evangelize the population. Many missionaries were sent from Spain to encourage this process. Quickly, the Spaniards enslaved the indigenous populations, just as they had with the Spanish Arabs after the Reconquista in Spain (Kirkwood 58). The Spaniards created a system of encomiendas, first instituted in the Caribbean colonies, where Spanish men were given land, but were also responsible for the indigenous people on that land, using them as workers but also encouraging their conversion to christianity (Meyer and Sherman 131).

––––––––––––––––––––

[2] Attributed to Thomas, Hugh. Conquest : Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico. Simon & Schuster, 1993.

In this colonial society, a social hierarchy was quick to develop. The initial hierarchy included Europeans at the top, followed by mestizos, and then slaves, which included indigenous persons. Eventually, more nuances evolved. Instead of classifying all Spanish together, the peninsulares, or Spaniards born in Spain, had a higher status than the criollos, or those of Spanish descent born in New Spain. By the 18th century, Spanish bureaucrats had up to 16 different racial classifications (Kirkwood 61).

With regards to governmental structure, the indigenous people and the Spaniards had different designated officials. The *corregidores de indios* (governors/rulers of the indigenous people) collected tributes for the king, and although they were supposed to treat the indigenous peoples fairly, oftentimes did not. The indigenous people were often exploited for their labor. Cortés initially ruled New Spain as Viceroy, but was eventually ousted and replaced by Don Antonio de Mendoza (Kirkwood 66). Slavery of the indigenous people was eventually abolished, but they were still used for cheap labor, especially for mining for riches. The movie, *También La Lluvia* (Even the Rain), is a good portrayal of indigenous life under Spanish rule. In the initial conquest, indigenous people were forced to pan for gold, and punished if they failed to meet a certain quota. A specific scene shows indigenous peoples searching the rivers for gold, expected to deliver a bell full of gold to their Spanish supervisor, lest they be abused and tortured (Bollaín et al). The colonial economy was mostly to benefit Spain. They would send their raw materials back to Europe, and later be forced to buy back the finished goods for a higher price. Additionally, in an effort to spread Christianity and create a unified people, the

Spanish government encouraged intermarriage between the Spanish and indigenous nobles. They saw marriage as a way to provide stability and transmit Spanish culture (Meyer and Sherman 154). Whether these marriages were fully consensual is difficult to say, but regardless the act of having any sort of relation with an indigenous woman still served to assert Spanish culture as the dominant one. While this effort to convert the population and acquire gold and riches were their motive for colonization, their method for subjugating the native people was violent and invasive. Separating motives and methods is important, as the unspoken parts of their goals for riches and territory allude to the complete subjugation of the indigenous populations who may have caused the Spaniards troubles. Rape was used as a weapon, it was not their end goal, but the act did further assert Spanish dominance and legitimacy.

The Council of The Indies, created in 1524 by King Charles V, was the supervisory body for the oversight of the Spanish colonies in the Americas, including the Viceroyalty of Peru and the rest of Spanish-controlled South America. Some Spaniards were actually rewarded for marrying indigenous nobility. This view of inclusivity was contradicted in the period that followed through the rest of the colonial period, in which the government created strict caste systems to discourage and exclude lower classes from intermarrying (Meyer and Sherman 140).

In the late colonial period, New Spain continued to grow and develop. By the late 18th century, four-fifths of the population were not white. In 1810, 3.5 million people out of 6 million people identified as indigenous. The indigenous people continued to

dominate the rural areas of the state, while in the cities, class divisions grew. There was little overlap between the social classes, and the criollo populations were growing dissatisfied with being seen as inferior to the peninsulares. These tensions culminated in the Mexican war of independence, from 1810-1821 (Meyer and Sherman 278).

The Mexican war of independence from Spain was vital in the creation of modern-day México, but it was followed by a long period of instability and political strife. Porfirio Diaz took power in 1876, creating an authoritarian dictatorship fueled by promises of saving México from its economic crisis. Diaz rewarded his supporters, but punished those who did not support him. He introduced a sense of false stability for México, with economic growth and an increased dependency on foreign investment. During his time in power, Diaz suppressed the rural peasant and indigenous uprisings, taking away most of their land. This dictatorship, known as the Porfiriato, gripped México until the 1910 revolution, when the working class rose up with the peasants to remove Diaz, forcing him to resign (Kirkwood 132).

In 1920, Álvaro Obregón won the election and was tasked with starting to rebuild México after a new constitution was promulgated in 1917. In an era post World War I and the Mexican Revolution, Obregón was focused on national reconstruction. As president, he sought to create a sense of national identity through the unification of Mexican culture and society. He appointed José Vasconcelos as the secretary of education and created a huge increase in federal education expenditures, building many rural schools. His goal was to use education to incorporate indigenous populations into mainstream society.

Vasconcelos also commissioned artists, such as Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco, to paint murals on public buildings. These murals depicted mestizo and indigenous history, creating a national narrative that was accessible even to the illiterate population (Meyer and Sherman 615). Obregón also worked to expand Mexican infrastructure, building roads and augmenting the agricultural sector. Plutarco Calles followed Obregon as president, and continued his unification efforts (Kirkwood 147).

In 1934, Lázaro Cárdenas was elected president, and he is regarded as one of the leading left wing presidents of post-revolution México. He was concerned with peasant and workers' rights, with a big emphasis on agrarian reform. Cárdenas also nationalized the railroads and promoted the unionization of working classes (Kirkwood 163). By 1940, one-third of the population had received land as a result of the policies of Cárdenas. He modernized and urbanized the rural areas of México. Manuel Avila Camacho succeeded Cárdenas as president, and returned to a more moderate political orientation, focused on economic growth and capitalism (Meyer and Sherman 627).

The PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) remained in power through party strength, election fraud, and lack of opponents. This party, that Calles helped to found, ruled México throughout the 20th century. It is often compared to many of the soft authoritarian regimes that befell other Latin American countries throughout the 20th century, but this Mexican version with the PRI can be seen as more stabilizing. The goal of the PRI was to institutionalize their revolutionary ideals from the beginning of the century, after the Porfiriato and the tumultuous years that followed. Under the PRI, the

party and the state were almost inseparable. The government was clientelistic and

corporatist; businesses and companies were very involved in the running of the state

(Ackerman). During their time in power, the PRI held constant elections, and actually

replaced the politicians in office. This one party system brought political stability and

economic growth. Before the 1982 debt crisis, the PRI won every election without fraud

(Magaloni 5). The PRI gained this level of popularity because the party was formed after

the revolution, when the party vowed to prevent a dictatorship like Diaz' from occurring

again. Due to the steady economic growth and quasi-democratic elections, one can argue

that, for a period of time, México under the authoritarian PRI, was stable (Magaloni 8).

In 1968, this stability wavered as student-led protests erupted against the

controlling nature of the PRI regime, culminating in the massacre of Tlatelolco (in the

Plaza of Tres Culturas), in which the army fired on and killed thousands of students

gathered in protest. Unrest continued, along with rising separation between the ruling and

rural peasant classes, until 2000. Vicente Fox, from the PAN (National Action Party) won

the 2000 presidential election, officially ousting the PRI. He represented a new era of

México, even attempting to pacify the Zapatista rebels who continue to fight for the

rights of indigenous people and rural populations (Kirkwood 208).

The Zapatista movement is important in modern México because it highlights the

rifts and inequalities that still exist in Mexican society. The Zapatista Army of National

Liberation (EZLN based on the Spanish) is an indigenous group that fights strongly for

their rights. Founded in the 1990s, they marched on Chiapas in 1994, drawing worldwide

attention as the indigenous guerrilla fighters fought against the national Mexican army.

They demanded autonomy for indigenous communities, as well as better access to

resources. The EZLN proclaims to be fighting against neoliberalism and for the political

autonomy of indigenous people, but also expresses support for other causes. This

transnationality legitimizes their organization internationally. Though their initial

government negotiations were unsuccessful, they succeeded in getting the world's

attention. The Zapatistas are even still active today, helping indigenous communities gain

rights to their own land and working to preserve their culture and customs (Inclán). The

renewed persistence of the Zapatista movement demonstrates how the PRI left México

with disparities and lack of resources for rural indigenous populations.

This historical overview is meant to provide a framework for the analysis that

follows in the next chapter. To delve deeper into the political atmosphere and discover

how rape as a weapon of conquest has influenced México at different points throughout

history, it is essential to first understand that history. In the next chapter, I will discuss the

evidence for rape actually occurring in the conquest, as well as how those first

generations of mestizo children were socially isolated from their parents and segregated

into different castes. In the later time period, the chapter analyzes how indigenous people

have interacted with Mexicans through different governments, and the use of mestizaje as

a way to unify and assimilate the indigenous people into modern, whiter culture. While

figures such as La Malinche, and José Vasconcelos were only mentioned briefly, the next

chapter will conduct a more thorough analysis to connect back to the destructive

ramifications of rape as a weapon of war in the conquest of México.

Chapter 3

Mestizaje Throughout the Ages, and Its Colonial Roots

The relationships between indigenous people and conquistadors in Latin America during colonization have had observable repercussions throughout México's history, specifically with regards to the isolating social hierarchy in New Spain and a failed attempt at unification and assimilation in the mid 20th century. Both the physical identity of the mestizos as well as the connotation and culture that have developed surrounding the word demonstrate how the idea of miscegenation between the Spanish and indigenous people served to destabilize México. Mestizaje was also used to build a national identity and unite México, but ultimately failed as the PRI rose to power and the indigenous peoples continued to be dissatisfied. In order to prove my theory, this chapter examines México in the colonial period as well as in the 20th century to demonstrate how mestizaje as a legacy of colonialism created a sociopolitical conflict.

Discourse on Mestizaje

In the field of Latin American studies, the word mestizo, or mestizaje, has several meanings that have cultural significance. The first meaning of the word is the straightforward definition: mestizo is the mix between Spaniards and indigenous peoples. This version of the word is most prevalent in the colonial period of New Spain, when ideas on ethnicity-based hierarchy governed society. As Mexican culture continued to evolve in the 19th and 20th centuries, the concept of mestizaje developed a new weight. It

was no longer simply a mixture of blood, but an identity, a strict caste in New Spain. This mestizo identity is clearly contradictory, as in the 19th century the political elites condemned mestizaje, whereas in the 20th century, the government influenced public perception to view mestizaje in a more positive light. This positive generalization of mestizaje as a convergence of Latin American culture held true until recently. When authors or historians mention mestizos in modern-day México, it does not mean those people have directly one indigenous and one Spanish parent, rather that their culture is one of combination and fusion, neither strictly European nor strictly indigenous. It is "[n]ot race in the biological sense, but as an attitude" (Miller 29). The cultural significance assigned to the concept of mestizaje leads it to surpass simple notions of biological race. Unlike in the colonial period, there is no identifying someone as mestizo based on their physical characteristics or genetics, every Mexican in the 20th century should be considered mestizo because it has been adopted as their national identity.

The Colonization of México

While different people led the Spanish conquest of separate parts of Latin America, each territory conquered in the name of Spain faced similar circumstances and the Crown instituted similar governmental structures for them all. This colonization and the resulting deaths can be described as a "colapso demográfico sin precedentes entre la población nativa" (unprecedented demographic collapse among the native population) (Stolke). With the Spanards came forced displacement, hunger, wars against and between

33

groups as well as diseases, such as smallpox. Groups were massacred and their people captured, to be used as workers in the fields and homes of the Spanish. This conquest also resulted in numerous relations between indigenous women and Spanish men, and the birth of the new Mestizo generation (Stolke).

In comparison to other European colonies, in Spain's colonies, relations between Spaniards and the indigenous population occurred in greater numbers. The Spaniards valued the indigenous people in a different manner than that of other imperial powers. Countries, such as England, simply saw the indigenous people as an obstacle to overcome to conquer the land, but the Spaniards saw their beauty and vulnerability and decided that interracial relations were acceptable, and might even be useful in furthering their plans of conquest. Although the Spanish conquistadors appreciated the beauty of the indigenous populations, they still perceived them as uncivilized and sinful.

Many first-hand accounts from Spanish colonizers about the land and the people of the Americas mention how the indigenous people were nude. Antonio Pigafetta observed,"van estos indios desnudos por completo, salvo un paño de tela de palmera para cubrir sus partes naturales" (these Indians go completely naked, save a palm tree cloth to cover their natural parts) (qtd. in Barbosa Sanchez 44). Benzoni also writes about their nudity, saying that "las doncellas iban completamente desnudas, mientras que las casadas llevaban cubiertas sus vergüenzas" (the maidens were completely naked, while the married women covered their "shames") (qtd. in Barbosa Sanchez 45). This analytical, almost scientific commentary on their bodies was the beginning of the objectification of

the indigenous people. Women especially were objectified, seen as currency in their own societies as well as from the Spanish perspective. Indigenous leaders initially gifted women to some of the Spaniards as a show of goodwill. These accounts also portray the indigenous women as provocative and lascivious, causing men to abandon their strict Christian morals. Araceli Barbosa Sánchez attributes this to the patriarchal society and victim-blaming that still occurs today (Barbosa Sánchez).

Rape did occur at the hands of the colonizers. While some of the indigenous people, specifically Moctezuma and many Aztecs, initially viewed the conquistadors as being sent from the gods, their perspectives changed rapidly as they enacted their mission to subjugate and conquer the territory. Abel Posse, in his essay "El alucinante viaje del doble descubrimiento" re-emphasizes that this imperialist rape was seen only in Spanish-conquered nations. He says that the rape was their way of repairing their own imperialist genocide and restoring the population. They essentially set out with the goal of creating an ethnicity, and they did that with the mestizos (Colombres).

More evidence of these relationships, and their often non-consensual nature, can be found in a journal from Miguel de Cuneo. He describes a sexual encounter with an indigenous woman in which "me araño de tal modo con sus unas" (she scratched [him] with her nails) and after, he gave her "una buena tunda de azotes" (a good whipping) (Ares Queija 240).

The *pueblo mestizo* (literally mixed people) is the group of people born between relations (consensual or not) between the Spanish and the indigenous populations of Latin

America. The word *pueblo* has a double connotation in this sense, meaning both town and people. It evokes a sense of belonging and unity within the group. This mixture of colonizer and colonized blood gave way to a whole subset of the population that was neither Spanish nor indigenous. Their descendants are a living memory of the conquest of Latin America, of the rape of indigenous women. On a memorial of indigenous land in México City there is a quote *"No fue triunfo ni derrota, fue el doloroso nacimiento del pueblo mestizo que es el México de hoy"* (the conquest was not a triumph or a defeat, but the painful birth of the mixed people that is México today[3]) (Cacari Stone et al.).

There is an unspoken consensus in the field of Latin American studies that the indigenous women were sexually abused by the Spanish colonizers, yet actual sources are hard to come by. This consensus is perpetuated by Octavio Paz, as he describes the character of the Mexican, united in that they are all children of the violated women (Paz). Additionally, many of the indigenous societies had no written records, so it is difficult to examine their perspectives. We are looking at the case retrospectively, with concrete ideas about consent and what rape means, and imposing our modernized ideas on a less advanced society from centuries ago. Acknowledging the breadth of this violence serves as the foundation for my argument that this systemic rape as a form of colonization left a legacy on the Spanish colonial countries of Latin America.

These relationships were beneficial to the Spaniards, who most likely would not have survived for as long as they did. The presence of the indigenous women ensured

---

[3]Spanish translated by author, Lily Mesnik

them food in times of famine, servants for labor, and helped the Spaniards to better impose their culture onto native societies. These relations between the colonizers and the indigenous women also caused political and religious dilemmas. The government of Spain, as well as the Church, saw the budding issue and helped to explain away the conflicts created (Stolcke). Traditionally, Catholic men needed to marry within the church, but the new laws meant that they could marry or have sex with indigenous women as long as they would eventually be converted to Christianity.

While technically it was made legal, Bartolome de las Casas still condemned these relationships. He accused the men of appropriating the women and living unlawfully with them (Ares Queija). His objections went largely unheard during this time period, and the conquistadors continued to rape and often impregnate the indigenous women.

As I discuss in the first chapter, those in power look to exert that power to subjugate a specific population in whatever way possible. For the Spaniards, they exploited relationships with indigenous women to better conquer the indigenous groups of the Americas. Perhaps the best example of this would be the Malinche. She was the translator for Hernán Cortés when he first arrived in Latin America, betraying her own people to aid in his conquest of the territory. More than a translator, she has evolved into a symbol for México, for her betrayal but also as a victim of the repressive Spanish regime. She is regarded as the mother of mestizaje, as she bore Cortés' children (Paz). The negativity surrounding the Malinche as an indigenous woman with mestizo children

demonstrates how rape victims and their children are often outcast from their society. This is detrimental to a society as women are directly responsible for birthing the future generations, regardless of the ethnicity of their children. Paz writes, "as a small boy will not forgive his mother if she abandons him… the Mexican people have not forgiven La Malinche for her betrayal" (Paz 86). In a way she has been cast out and isolated from both groups of which she was a part of, much like the mestizo people themselves. The Spaniards do not want her once Cortés is done with her, and her own indigenous group gives her away to him. It is her meaning to the Mexican people though that is the most valuable; she is seen as a sort of emblem for their identity, raped in the same way that their land was violated by the Spaniards, yet many continue to blame her for her actions.

Rape and cultural decimation in México

The use of sexual violence is well documented for more recent cases in the literature previously mentioned, such as Rwanda and Sudan. The official classification of systemic rape as an act of genocide in these cases was important as it sent a message to the world as to the severity of the aggressors' actions. Ethnic identities of a group are constructed organically, but widespread sexual violence is a threat to these social identities, and the society of which they belong (Fearon and Laitin). This intermixing of cultures and blood that occurred between the indigenous peoples and the conquistadors in México served to fragment the native societies immediately, while also having long lasting effects. The Spanish government actually encouraged the Spanish men to marry or

have relationships with indigenous women, to further their assimilation efforts, which ultimately helped in what could be called "genocide by cultural decimation" (Card 8).

These mixed relationships blurred the lines between groups, with the dominant Spaniards soon assuming the role of the elite group and forcing the indigenous people to remain on the outskirts and in the lower classes of society. Through military force as well as cultural infiltration, the Spaniards succeeded in conquering Latin America, destroying indigenous civilizations in the process. This destruction of society parallels that of the more modern cases. In the DRC, the systemic rape was effective in destabilizing their society, allowing a shift in governance ("Democratic Republic of Congo: Mass Rape "). Sexual violence functions to "destroy a group's social identity by decimating cultural and social bonds" (Lorch). By forcing so many indigenous women to separate from their home culture, the Spaniards greatly weakened the indigenous resistance, as women are vital to societies, especially in their roles as the birthers of future generations.

It is probable that some of the relations between indigenous women and Spanish men were consensual to an extent; we cannot make a generalization either way as consent is a modern notion. What is known is that there were accounts of women resisting sex with Spaniards, and that many indigenous people were also enslaved, creating an unequal power dynamic. Regardless, the mestizo population that resulted as a union from these populations created unique circumstances and furthered the Spanish colonization efforts.

These effects of destabilization of indigenous communities are comparable to the modern cases of rape as a weapon of war, thus they should be treated similarly.

Additionally, the Spanish conquest did not happen in an ideological void. They brought

with them their own religious and cultural beliefs, specifically Catholicism, which

informed their conquest and subsequent governing of Latin America. The introduction of

the mestizo population as a new class in colonial American society coincided well with

the strict exclusion of many minority groups at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition in

Spain.

Colonial México: Casta paintings and stratification of society

The viceroyalty of New Spain was established in 1535, officially declaring Spain

as the ruler for these territories. The political sphere in New Spain was split into two

segments. There was *la república de indios* (indian republic), and *la república de*

españoles (spanish republic). In theory, the domains would be fully separate for legal and

judicial purposes, with mestizos, creoles and Africans being included in the Spanish

Republic. These laws were an attempt to create socio political divisions between

indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. For the first few generations post conquest, the

Spanish government did not directly interfere with the election of local indigenous rulers.

Spaniards were able to break into these communities with their indigenous wives, or

mixed children, in order to further their destabilization. By the end of the 16th century,

the indigenous communities had lost what little autonomy they had, as the crown and

clergy slowly integrated and seized power ("República de Indios").

The society of New Spain became further fragmented with the introduction of stricter social castes in the 18th century. These social strata are delineated in a series of "casta" (caste) paintings that rank each different ethnicity and people of mixed ethnicities. These paintings were usually done in a set of up to 16 by an artist, and depicted parents of different races and their children. The title of one of these paintings is "De Mulato y Mestizo, nace Cuateron " (from mulatto and mestizo, is born a quadroon) (Earle 429). For the sake of classification, the painters, influenced by society and laws at the time, decided that every different ethnicity or mixed ethnicity needed its own specific title. One of the most famous sets of these casta paintings is from Miguel Cabrera, a mestizo himself. While paintings are not officially recognized mechanisms for spreading beliefs, such as a law may be, they are evidence of the culture and the hierarchy imposed by the wealthier classes. Franco Dávila saw the casta system and paintings that depicted it as a way "to bring more order and coherence to our system" (qtd. in Earle 431).

In this time period, developed notions of race as they are known today, did not exist. People were classified based on their parentage, their position in society, and their "proximity to colonial power" (Earle 434). There was an idea of *calidad* (quality) that, instead of strict ideas of race based on skin color, encompassed the social body as a whole. This included factors such as occupation, wealth, place of origin, etc (Carrera). The casta paintings also featured certain associations for each grouping, such as a specific food or manner of dress. The paintings demonstrated many different terms to classify and label one's race, but there was no concrete system or official registry. As Laura Lewis

41

describes it, it was "an integrated system of relations and dispositions rather than a series of distinct stations" (qtd. in Earle 434). The principle was to have a degree of separation between social classes, but still maintain a unified country. This idea of separate yet unified can be seen in the example of a 1666 funeral procession. All citizens marched in the funeral procession (for the death of a Spanish monarch), yet each caste had their own physical space while marching. The physical space in which they marched in the line represented the position they occupied in the political community (Carrera).

Institutionally, the hierarchy of the castes was determined by the community and by the church. There were a few different official records of peoples' castes, one of which being on the baptism records. The government had two separate books, one for "indios" (Indians) and one for "gente de razon" (people of reason). The indigenous people were the sole groups to be recorded in the book of indios, every other caste was represented in the book of the gente de razon (Frederick 503). To further the gap between the Spaniards and the indigenous populations, there were the separate government systems as well, with the *república de indios* y *república de españoles*. The separation of indigenous legislation aided to the idea of native isolationism; the indigenous people are so different from any other group so they should be left alone (Frederick 505). In this time period as well, mid to late 19th century, intermixing between races or castes was less common. Whereas relationships between Spanish men and indigenous women were commonplace during the conflict, both Spaniards and indigenous people tended to marry within their caste in this later period. When Spaniards did marry outside their caste, it was

mostly with a group, such as the mestizos, that are closer to white Europeans than to their indigenous or black ancestors (Frederick 511). With these interactions, it is clear to see how the system directly informed the casta paintings. Indigenous and European unions were frowned upon, and indigenous people were kept isolated from the rest of society, even from their mixed children, who would fall under the *república de españoles*, and the book of "gente de razon".

This time period is a direct reflection of the rape that occurred in the conquest of México. The sexual relationships between Spaniards and indigenous women often resulted in pregnancies. With the addition of African slaves to the continent, even more miscegenation occurred. This created the broad spectrum of races in the colonial period. Throughout history, these children of mixed blood, specifically when the cultures of their parents are in conflict, have had many names; mestizo, mulatto, "enfants non-desirés" (Clifford). These names, all with some negative connotation, imply that the identity of the child is different from that of the parents. As seen in the casta paintings, mestizo children were seen as better and "more european" than their indigenous mother, but still not white enough to occupy the same space as their Spanish father. To restate Card, martial rape has the potential to create "genetic imperialism and a realignment of loyalties in future generations" (Card 5) as the children are ostracized from both parental cultures. This mestizo population continued to grow throughout the colonial period, as they constituted an entire social caste. To equate Card's theory to the Mexican case, the impregnation of indigenous women can be viewed as a form of ethnic cleansing, as often

their children grew up to identify as mestizo, instead of just indigenous, and would be

forced to comply with different rules under the *república de españoles* instead of the

república de indios like their mother. The colonizers enforced racial segregation but also

continued to weaken the indigenous population through their miscegenation, as a way to

dilute the inferior indigenous blood and Europeanize the general population. Mestizos at

the time served as a bridge between the Mexicans and the indigenous population, which

meant they also bore the brunt of both relationships (Frederick 510).

Postcolonial México: Creating Mestizaje

As discussed in the previous chapter, México's postcolonial era began with their

liberation from Spain in the Mexican War for Independence in 1821. 50 years later,

Porfirio Diaz, a dictator, took power. His dictatorship lasted from 1876-1911 and was

followed by a period of uprisings and revolutions until 1920. The dictatorship and

subsequent instability destroyed the Mexican state (Alonso).

In the 1900s, ideas of race and nationhood took hold in the rest of the world,

spurred by the First World War (Meyer and Sherman 483). Before this era, race was a far

less established idea. Theories of eugenics emerged in the late 19th, and early 20th

centuries out of fear of societal degradation. Connected with nationalist ideals, scientific

race improvement and the theory of inheritance of acquired traits grew in the intellectual

sphere. The school of eugenics in Latin America coincided with the end of the World

War, the fall into depression, and the revolution in México (Contreas).

At the same time in México, Porfirio Diaz devalued indigenous Mexicans. He claimed to want to modernize and industrialize México, but for the rural indigenous populations, this vision was unrealistic. He thought that by monetizing their land, they would be incentivized to modernize and get involved in urban business. In actuality, he made no effort to educate or include indigenous peoples. Diaz encouraged foreign investment and foreign landowners, selling off large swaths of land when the indigenous occupants could not prove their ownership. Big land companies and wealthy landowners seized most of the land, reinforcing the hacienda system while poor rural peasants, indigenous workers, and criminals worked the land for a very low price (Meyer and Sherman 458).

It was Diaz's complete neglect of the rural agrarian populations that aided his fall from grace. In the early 1900s discontent was stirring, and the liberal movement began to grow. Many were outraged by the horrific treatment of the hacienda workers and the various social inequalities, while others were concerned about the political stability of the country and whether it would continue to slip back into dictatorship. The liberal plan of 1906 was a series of reforms that the liberal movement wanted to institute, either with Diaz in power, or through a revolution. They demanded freedoms of speech and the press, prison reform, labor laws, and especially land redistribution for indigenous communities who lost their ancestral lands (Meyer and Sherman 487). Diaz's dictatorship, the Porfiriato, demonstrates how vital it was for leaders of the time to account for the entire population of their country. Ignoring the rural indigenous people,

which consisted of a large part of México's population, was his pitfall as their mistreatment by the government spurred collective action, further driving a rift between indigenous and Mexicans, rural and urban populations.

Although it coincided with the Mexican revolution, the theory of eugenics swept over the rest of Latin America as well, especially in Argentina and Cuba. Having realized that skin color was inherited, writers and politicians such as Domingo Sarmiento and José Martí wrote about their visions for the citizens of their countries. Domingo Sarmiento, who would become the president of Argentina, alluded to the extinction of indigenous peoples in one of his books. José Marti of Cuba, in his book Nuestra America (Our America), wrote about a collective Cuban race that would supersede a strict racial hierarchy (Martinez-Echazabal). He had "no fear of a racial war" due to the presence of mestizaje in Cuba (Miller 12).This idea of collective race, in line with the increased nationalism globally, took hold in many Latin American countries, especially México.

The idea of Mexican identity has been an ongoing topic of debate throughout Mexican culture for over a century. After the "political chaos and social disunity" of the 1910 revolution, elites thought that developing a strong sense of nationalism would be integral to the rebuilding of México. Manuel Gamio and José Vasconcelos were two of the leaders of this push for a national Mexican identity in the early 20th century. They decided that the national identity of México was one of mestizaje (Contreas).

This attempt to manufacture a national identity was adopted by many leaders of the 20th century in different ways. Manuel Gamio, (1883 - 1960) was the head of the state

department of anthropology in México (Contreas). He is regarded as the father of modern

Mexican anthropology and sought to use art and visual communication to aid in the

assimilation of different cultures. José Vasconcelos was the secretary of education in

México, first elected under Obregón (Telles and Garcia). He had a theory of *la raza

cosmica* (the cosmic race); to combine the best aspects of different races and cultures to

create a new, unified race for all of México. Both he and Gamio relied on a basis of

eugenics and hereditary biology to encourage this assimilation. They saw diseases, such

as syphilis, that were common to impoverished, darker-skinned citizens as detrimental to

their goal of unifying the nation, so they passed public health legislation to promote a

healthier population. This integration of peoples also meant making indigenous land more

accessible as they became part of the greater Mexican society (Contreas). In these ways,

the nation of México was engineered and constructed by the state; they created their own

form of cohesion, based on the idea of a common origin for all citizens (Gutierrez

Chong).

This integration was meant to encourage indigenous people to become a part of

larger Mexican society. They were meant to put their Mexican identity before their

indigenous one. Culture was a dividing line between indigenous people and non-

indigenous people, so there needed to be a strong national identity. While white Mexicans

tended to live in the city, the indigenous peoples were often from poorer rural areas, some

do not even speak Spanish. The urban México advances into modernity, leaving behind a

vital portion of the population in the process. Gamio sought to emphasize that these

cultures, not race, were the separating factor, although that was not necessarily true

(Doremus). Gamio and Vasconcelos helped to transform the mestizo into a representative

of national identity. Instead of forcing the indigenous people to assimilate to white norms,

or vice versa, they created a new identity with characteristics of both groups (Contreas).

      To actually manufacture this new cultural identity, Gamio wanted to use art and

visual communication, as many Mexicans were illiterate, but also employed film and

literature. Vasconcelos sent artists to indigenous communities for inspiration, to create a

new nationalist art style. The incorporation of Aztec and Maya motifs in art helped to

perpetuate the idea that indigenous history is also Mexican history. Gamio saw the

potential for indigenous culture, saying it "is the true basis for national identity" (Alonso

469). Many prominent artists of the time struggled with the idea of national identity in

their works, such as Diego Rivera and Samuel Ramos. These artists were essential in the

reframing of Mexican identity through their art. Diego Rivera especially was known for

his huge public murals depicting the history of the territory of México through the present

(Doremus). These murals were meant to modify the narrative of Mexican history. Instead

of history being solely European or solely indigenous, he painted both together. The

history of the Mexican is one of European conquest, but also of many indigenous

civilizations, and this dual history is what the mestizo character should represent to

reunite México.

Indigeneity and Mexican Government:

        The work towards inclusion was not only accomplished through artists and anthropologists. Lázaro Cárdenas was the president of México from 1934 to 1940. His presidency was a period of social reform for the country. He focused on agrarian reform, specifically the socialization of agriculture, which helped the indigenous people. He also built many rural schools, promoting hygiene, education and spanish language learning. He saw indigenous people as the future of México, given how indigenous identity and Mexican identity had been intertwined. He wanted to assimilate the indigenous people into Mexican society, but still preserve their culture. At this point, Cárdenas and other contemporaries decided not to force the indigenous peoples to fully conform to European culture, but decided the best course of action was to merge both indigenous and Mexican traditions and cultures. In this way, their culture could still live on in one form or another, although the Mexican culture still served as the dominant, more favorable one when merged together.

        This period of indigenous inclusion ended when Manuel Avila Camacho won the presidency, serving from 1940 to 1946. Camacho shifted his focus to the country's economy. He promoted more traditional capitalistic economic development, favoring the industry over agriculture. Unlike Cadenas more indigenous-centered approach, Camacho favored the notion of mestizaje as the key to economic and social welfare (Doremus).

        This period of Mexican history is controversial with the notion of manufacturing a sense of nationalism for the country. After such a tumultuous period in Mexican history,

Mexican politicians and intellectuals began to herald the creation of a national identity as a force for good. They proposed the unification of cultures under mestizaje, but there were a few underlying issues. The idea of creating a new mixed race, is indirectly calling for the erasure of indigenous peoples and their blood. Vasconcelos takes a eugenics approach to the issue, of breeding out the bad traits to create the perfect race, one more white than indigenous. Additionally, while indigenous people are the focus of mestizaje, black people are often still marginalized. (Telles and Garcia). It was these issues that Andres Molina Enriquez addressed in his 1909 book *Los Grandes Problemas Mexicano*s, repairing the ideas that mestizos are half-breeds, and that indigenous people are lesser than the white man (Contreas).

Regardless of the intentions behind mestizaje as a way to unify México, it is important to examine its after-effects. In seeking to repair México and stabilize their country, the promotion of national identity ushered in the PRI. The rise in power of the PRI as an institutionalized authoritarian government was in some way a unification of the country, but it was the economic growth and political stability that created a false sense of democracy. This false democracy continued for years, until the hegemony of the PRI was disturbed and unrest began to form. With the debt crisis of 1982 and the end of the PRI in sight, the Zapatistas began to be active as well. Based on the ongoing presence of the Zapatista movement in the present day, Vasconcelos, Gamio, and the Mexican government were not overly successful in repairing México's racial divisions through the use of the cosmic race, the assimilation of everyone under mestizaje. Their main goal was

to bring indigenous people closer to their urban Mexican neighbors, encouraging them to adopt more Mexican customs, and learn how to speak Spanish. This sort of forced modernization of indigenous people did not function well for Diaz, and many years later was still largely unsuccessful. It is clear that the indigenous people will continue to fight for their own autonomy, despite the Mexican government being willing to help them assimilate to a different life.

<u>Conclusion</u>

It is clear that this idea of mestizaje still contained racist ideology. With roots back through colonialism, the mestizo identity is still a cause of divisiveness in society. By promoting certain cultural productions and encouraging indigenous people to comply with this notion of mestizaje, the political elites created a third culture, of both indigenous and Mexican heritage. Vasconcelos's idea of a cosmic race, which was the grand combination of all existing races into one completely new race, also advocated for taking the best characteristics from each of the contributing races (Miller 2004). This notion itself is a generalization, and racist in the way that it associates certain racial groups with specific features or behaviors. What are the best characteristics of each race? Is there even a characteristic that each member of the same race has in common? As in the colonial era, this idea of the creation of a new race is another version of ethnic cleansing. While in the past, it was a physical dilution of indigenous blood, now it manifests as a cultural cleansing, by encouraging indigenous people to participate in this new culture instead of their own. The notion of cultural unification under mestizaje "[a]llowed for the continuation of racist paradigms and practices in postrevolutionary México" (Miller 36).

Mestizaje continues to be a tool used by the elite to perpetuate the assimilation and eradication of indigenous peoples and culture, and in that way, the colonial legacy of rape still lives on. While not all mestizos are born from rape, their contextual identity as Octavio Paz's *hijos de la chingada* and as products of miscegenation continue to create ripples in society similar to modern-day cases of weaponized rape (Paz). Cassandra

Clifford writes that the children born from this conflict [the Rwandan Genocide] face "endless struggles of identity and social hurdles" (Clifford). This struggle for identity seen in Paz's work and many others demonstrates the true similarities between the effects of rape in each situation. This reiterates the point that the parallels drawn from the modern cases and the Mexican case demonstrate similar negative effects that have served to fracture societal relationships and weaken a state.

My research provides a new perspective and framework for the analysis of Mexican socio-political culture. Linking several periods of Mexican culture in which mestizo identity had an impact allowed me to tie the events back to the manner in which México was colonized, not just by military force, but with sexual violence that destabilized civil society. In addition to a new analytical lens for studies of México, I hope my work will be applicable to more modern countries. For many countries, such as Rwanda or Sudan, "many of the psychological effects [of rape as a weapon of war] have yet to be felt" (Clifford). My map of the legacy of rape as a weapon of war and conquest in México could guide predictions for the future of these countries, and they can learn from them. Looking at the attempts to create national identity in the mid 20th century in México specifically can inform how political scientists and policy-makers work to repair conflict. Instead of isolating the generation of rape babies from these 1990s tragedies, the governments can encourage learning about their own heritage, and putting their self-crafted identity before any state-imposed identity.

One take away from this research as well is how México tends to gloss over subjects of race and ethnic disparity. The racism in México is very different to the overt, institutionally entrenched racism of the United States. An example would be the census forms for each country. On the Mexican Census form, the only ethnicity questions are about being afro mexican, or of afro mexican descent. They also record the number of people who speak indigenous languages. In contrast, the USA requires that you write in your full race and ethnic background, along with anyone who lives with you. While racial tensions in the United States are perceived as higher, the citizens are also more aware of the issues. In México, there is more of a social stratification, with race playing a role. The indigenous people often still reside in the poorer, rural areas, and there is less of a cultural clash due to the years of assimilation efforts. To truly understand the underpinnings of racism in México, adding race specific questions onto the census would be a logical first step, so people can share their experiences.

Another important aspect of this research in the present is the feminist theory that accompanies the topic. Many third-wave Chicana feminists have reclaimed some of México's history for themselves. The figure of la Malinche is no longer a traitor in their eyes, but a mediator, a victim of circumstance. While she was regarded as the raped woman and as the traitor to her own people, she has become a strong motif for Chicana women celebrating their mestizo heritage. Authors such as Caroline Tracey, Gloria Anzaldúa and many others have identified with the Malinche, seeing her as a representation of the everyday struggles between oppression and agency. Masculine

54

culture has tricked women into perceiving her as the traitor, but in reality, Malinche did

not sell out her people, they sold her out first (Tracey 40). Instead of hiding away, these

feminists celebrate their Chicana identity, proud to be "hijas de la chingada" (Tracey 41).

The reclamation of these subjects, the Malinche, mestizaje, is important because

womens' perspectives are left out of the history. Out of the primary sources from the time

of the conquest, the authors are almost entirely male. To recognize that all of these stories

and chronicles are from a masculine perspective can help reframe the Malinche's

character, and that of other indigenous women. For so long, the Malinche was seen as a

deserter, for leaving her people to help Cortés, but this reframing helps to look back on

history through a different lens.

Gloria Anzaldúa sees the Malinche as a slave, someone forced to submit and stay

silent. It is not the Malinche (La Chingada) who betrayed México, but it is México who

betrayed her. As a result, many indigenous and mestiza women blame their own

indigenous identity. Instead, they should proudly claim their identity, as a way of

breaking the silence that so many women before them were forced to keep (Anzaldúa

23). The Malinche is also one of the three mothers of the Chicana (Mexican-American)

women. The other mothers are also symbols of feminist and indigenous resistance: the

virgin Guadalupe who shoulders the burden of the conquered México, an example of

syncretization of indigenous and Christian religions, and La Llorona, the wailing mother,

always searching for her lost children (Anzaldúa 30).

Anzaldúa views the intersection of all her identities, as a queer Chicana woman through a unique lens, embracing a mestiza identity that is all encompassing. She equates it to her own sexuality, as the mestiza has no home country, but all countries belong to her, same with the queer woman, who connects with other queer women around the world similarly cast out (Anzaldúa 80). This reframing and reclamation of mestiza identity is vital, as white culture slowly kills with its ignorance. The mestiza struggle is also a feminist struggle, as women worldwide work to repair the inherently sexist elements of their cultures (Anzaldúa 84).

Regardless of the present day framing of mestizaje as a symbol of feminist and indigenous resistence, it does not distract from the actual events that occurred as a result of the rape during the conquest. Just because the word or subject, in this instance mestizaje, has been reclaimed by a specific population does not erase the previous harm done. It is a generalization to say that every aspect of mestizaje is negative, especially as it is something more valued and celebrated in the present, but the ways in which the government and ruling elite have used it to erase and corner indigenous and mestizo people should not be forgotten. The search for a Mexican identity and the isolation of the mestizos are some of the repercussions of the rape that happened 500 years ago.

Works Cited

Ackerman, Edwin F., 'The Emergence of the PRI in México', *Origins of the Mass Party: Dispossession and the Party-Form in México and Bolivia in Comparative Perspective* (New York, 2022; online edn, Oxford Academic, 18 Nov. 2021), https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197576502.003.0004, accessed 26 Apr. 2023

Alonso, Ana María. "Conforming Disconformity: 'Mestizaje,' Hybridity, and the Aesthetics of Mexican Nationalism." Cultural anthropology 19.4 (2004): 459–490. Web.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands : The New Mestiza = La Frontera*. 1st ed. Spinsters/Aunt Lute 1987.

Barbosa Sánchez, Araceli. Sexo y conquista. 1. ed. México, D.F: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994. Print.

Blanton, Robert, et al. "Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict in Africa." *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 38, no. 4, 2001, pp. 473–91.

Blimes, Randall J. "The Indirect Effect of Ethnic Heterogeneity on the Likelihood of Civil War Onset." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2006, pp. 536–47. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27638505. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.

Bollain, Icíar et al. Even the rain. United States: Image Entertainment, 2012. Film.

Cacari Stone, Lisa, et al. "El Nacimiento Del Pueblo Mestizo: Critical Discourse on Historical Trauma, Community Resilience and Healing." *Health Education & Behavior*, vol. 48, no. 3, June 2021, pp. 265–75. *SAGE Journals*, https://doi.org/10.1177/10901981211010099.

Card, Claudia. "Rape as a Weapon of War." *Hypatia*, vol. 11, no. 4, ed 1996, pp. 5–18. *Cambridge University Press*, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.1996.tb01031.x.

Carrera, Magali Marie. Imagining Identity in New Spain Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings. 1st ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003. Print.

Carter, K. R. "Should International Relations Consider Rape a Weapon of War?" *Politics & Gender*, vol. 6, no. 3, Sept. 2010, pp. 343–71. *Cambridge University Press*, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X10000280.

Clifford, Cassandra. *Rape as a Weapon of War and It's Long-Term Effects on Victims and Society*. 2008.

Colombres, Adolfo. "A los 500 años del choque de dos mundos : balance y prospectiva." Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ediciones del Sol-Cehass, 1989. Print.

Fontaine, Theodore. *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*. Edited by ANDREW WOOLFORD et al., Duke University Press, 2014. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11sn770. Accessed 26 Apr. 2023.

Contreas, Francesca. "Eugenics in Nation Building: Post-Revolutionary Mexican Identity Formation." *Modern Latin America*, https://library.brown.edu/create/modernlatinamerica/chapters/chapter-3-México/moments-in-mexican-history/eugenics-narrates-the-nations/.

"Democratic Republic of Congo: Mass Rape - Time for Remedies." *Amnesty International*, 25 Oct. 2004, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr62/018/2004/en/.

Denny, Elaine K., and Barbara F. Walter. "Ethnicity and Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 51, no. 2, 2014, pp. 199–212. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24557416. Accessed 3 May 2023.

Doremus, Anne. "Indigenism, Mestizaje, and National Identity in México During the 1940s and the 1950s." Mexican studies 17.2 (2001): 375–402. Web.

Earle, Rebecca. "The Pleasures of Taxonomy: Casta Paintings, Classification, and Colonialism." The William and Mary quarterly 73.3 (2016): 427–466. Web.

Eriksen, Thomas H. "Ethnic Identity, National Identity, and Intergroup Conflict." *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict and Conflict Reduction*, edited by Richard Ashmore, Oxford University Press, 2001, 42-68

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization*, vol. 54, no. 4, ed 2000, pp. 845–77. *Cambridge University Press*, https://doi.org/ 10.1162/002081800551398.

Frederick, Jake. "Without Impediment: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Colonial Mexico." *The Americas*, vol. 67, no. 4, 2011, pp. 495–515. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41239107. Accessed 27 Apr. 2023.

Fricke, Adrienne, and Amira Khair. "Laws without Justice: An Assessment of Sudanese Laws Affecting Survivors of Rape." *Refworld*, https://www.refworld.org/docid/47a6eb870.html. Accessed 1 Feb. 2023.

Gutiérrez Chong, Natividad. "Forging Common Origin in the Making of the Mexican Nation." Genealogy (Basel) 4.3 (2020): 77–. Web.

Harris Rimmer, Susan. *Orphans' or Veterans? Justice for Children Born of War in East Timor*. Working paper, The Bernard and Audre Rapoport Center for Human Rights and Justice, 2006. *repositories.lib.utexas.edu*, https:// repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/28000.

Hill, Jonathan N. C. "Identity and Instability in Postcolonial Algeria." *The Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, Mar. 2006, pp. 1–16. *Taylor and Francis+NEJM*, https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380500409735.

Inclán, María, 'The Zapatista Movement, Autonomous Education, and Indigenous Cultural Survival in Southern México', in Claire Smith and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Global Indigenous Archaeologies* (online edn, Oxford Academic, 18 Aug. 2022), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197607695.013.45, accessed 26 Apr. 2023.

Jazeel, Tariq. *Postcolonialism*. Routledge, 2019. *EBSCOhost*, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx? direct=true&AuthType=ip,sso&db=nlebk&AN=1913508&site=ehost-live&scope=site&custid=s8978822.

Kirkwood, Burton. The History of México. 2nd ed. Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood Press/ABC-CLIO, 2010. Print.

Lefort, Rene. "Congo: A Hell on Earth for Women." *Le Nouvel Observateur* (2003): 11-18.

Lorch, Donatella. *Wave of Rape Adds New Horror To Rwanda's Trail of Brutality - The New York Times*. https:// www.nytimes.com/1995/05/15/world/wave-of-rape-adds-new-horror-to-rwanda-s-trail-of-brutality.html. Accessed 1 Feb. 2023.

Magaloni, Beatriz. "STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS OF MASS SUPPORT FOR THE PRI." Voting for Autocracy, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 82–97, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511510274.003.

Martinez-Eschazabal, Lourdes. "Mestizaje and the Discourse of National/Cultural Identity in Latin America, 1845-1959." Latin American perspectives 25.3 (1998): 21–42. Web.