

# From Indigenous Resistance to the Contemporary Argentine Contempt for Authority

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#### **ARTICLE INFO**

#### Keywords:

Argentina, indigenous, suicide, contempt, conqueror, coloniser

#### **ABSTRACT**

The political stability of a modern democracy, excluding environmental or external causes, is determined by multiple factors, all influenced by human behaviour. One indicator of political stability that takes the human factor into account is the time in office of a ruler. The stability of a ruler can be directly affected, for example, if they are killed, or indirectly, if the laws issued by the ruler are not followed. Non-compliance is dependent on the level of contempt for authority among citizens. A post-hoc hypothesis from a previous publication suggests that indigenous contempt for the authority of the white conqueror and coloniser is seen as a primary causal factor of political instability in Argentina. In this work, indigenous contempt has been shown to have originated from the mistreatment of indigenous peoples by the conqueror and coloniser, and it is expressed in practice by laws and norms being violated as a covert form of resistance. This behaviour has been spread throughout Argentine society due to extensive genetic mixing between Amerindian and Eurasian peoples, initially encouraged by the Spanish Crown. It is observed that these behaviours persist in the 21st century, partly because mistreatment and discrimination against indigenous peoples continue, and partly because pigmentocracy exists, a social system where wealth and status depend on skin colour. It is therefore crucial to understand that a large part of the causes of Argentina's political instability can be traced to the non-compliance with laws and regulations, which originated as forms of indigenous resistance to the Spanish conqueror and coloniser. Public policies aimed at improving compliance should be designed to integrate indigenous cultures into Argentine identity, ensuring that all citizens wish to comply with the laws because they now see them as their own.

#### 1. Introduction

Argentina is viewed as a unique case in the concert of nations. For the rest of the world, it is perceived as a country perpetually in crisis (González, 2021), paradoxically possessing natural, human, and economic resources (Dalto, 2019) in an extensive and privileged territory. Argentina has a long history of economic defaults from 1827 to 2023. The endless sequence of

#### Cite this article as:

Felice, C.J., & Ruiz, G.A. (2024). From Indigenous Resistance to the Contemporary Argentine Contempt for Authority. *Journal of Advanced Research in Social Sciences*, 7(4): 1-32. https://doi.org/10.33422/jarss.v7i4.1301

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failures over the last 200 years has been reflected in a lack of political stability in Argentina, highlighted in numerous publications (Jouet, 2008; Martins, 2020; Calvert, 1989). Due to its peculiarity, the Argentine case has been extensively studied in academic circles, attributing the failure to various reasons, including the failure to seek alternatives to compensate for the end of geographical expansion (Di Tella, 1967), unequal land distribution (Solberg, 1987), economic growth being blocked by institutional instability (Prados de la Escosura, 2004), the breakdown of democratic institutions (Spruk, 2019), lack of institutions to support growth, adverse external shocks, and poor political decisions (Glaeser, 2018), among many others.

When indicators of a country's political stability are being defined, multiple factors must be considered. A general scheme that presents how the different indicators are displayed is shown in Figure 1.

**Unknow factor 3** 

# Unknow factor 2 GDP/per capita Unknow factor x Economic growth rate Number of parties POLITICAL STABILITY Other known factors..

Figure 1. General political stability model. Black: known factors, Blue: unknown factors Source: Felice and Ruiz, 2023a

In this model, political stability is regarded as a construct, that is, it is recognised and quantified as a complex concept without a clear definition. However, the unknown factors, although not considered in the model, could exert a strong influence on political stability or be causally related to political stability rather than some apparently causal factor (e.g., GDP per capita).

The different indicators of political stability proposed by the World Bank, or the ones that can be extracted from the variables of the Database of Political Institutions (Beck, 2024), are difficult to interpret because they include subjective concepts, numerical parameters, and different variables. Therefore, they must be applied carefully when being used for individual countries or in comparisons between countries. Cultural aspects, such as patterns of social behaviours or intergenerational transmission of values, are not directly considered in the definitions mentioned. Therefore, the proposed models only use measurable practical effects of political stability (e.g., the number of strikes).

In this work, the time a ruler remains in office (TIO) has been used as an indicator of political stability (Felice and Ruiz, 2023a, 2023b). The analysis of temporal series of tenure times of American rulers, from conquest and colonisation to the present day, has shown the existence in Latin America of chaotic social behaviours in both mathematical and human terms, revealing how contempt for authority affects the political stability of a country. In the same works, based on the conclusions, two post-hoc hypotheses were presented regarding the origin of contempt

for authority in Argentina. In these publications, the time series were analysed descriptively without delving into the origin of the primary cause. However, post-hoc, it was proposed that the primary hypothesis be separated into two variants:

- 1) The contempt of the Spanish in America for the authority of the Spanish crown is a primary causal factor of political instability in Argentina.
- 2) The indigenous contempt for the authority of the white conqueror and coloniser is a primary causal factor of political instability in Argentina.

The first hypothesis has been factually demonstrated in another publication (Felice and Ruiz, 2024). It attributes the origin of contempt for authority to Spain's lack of control over the conquerors and colonisers in America. Initially, this behaviour was directed towards the crown and, over time, it was extended to any authority. The most notable effects have been persistent tax evasion before and after Argentine independence and the establishment of pigmentocracy, a social phenomenon with negative effects that have contributed to Argentina's political instability.

In this paper, the second hypothesis is demonstrated, which claims that the mistreatment of indigenous peoples inflicted by the Spanish in America during the conquest and colonisation period was the original cause of the indigenous contempt for white authority. This contempt, expressed in the form of noncompliance with laws and norms, has spread throughout society over time due to the deep genetic mixing that occurred in Argentine territory. This mixing has erased ethnic and ethical boundaries, allowing socially toxic behaviours to become permanently entrenched, often without the memory of why they originated.

#### 1.1. Notice

Before starting, it should be noted that in Argentina, there are no indigenous versions of history. The absence of written material is due to the lack of written languages in Argentine territory when the Spaniards arrived. There were exceptions elsewhere in America, such as the book *First New Chronicle and Good Government (Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno)*, written in Spanish by the Inca-descendant chronicler Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, or the *Popol Vuh*, which contains much of the wisdom and culture of the Maya but is controversial as a bilingual translation in Quiché and Spanish of an already lost original work.

#### 1.2. Language Usage

In this work, the terms Amerindian, indigenous, and native are used interchangeably to refer to people self-defined as descendants of pre-existing peoples before the arrival of the Spaniards. These words are also used as adjectives for the noun "genes," indicating that specific genetic material from descendants of peoples pre-existing before the arrival of the Spaniards is being referenced. Terms such as racial mixing, genetic flow, or genetic admixture are also used to refer to genetic material of multi-continental origin, such as an individual with European, American, African, and Asian genes. The word ethnicity encompasses a group of individuals with similar phenotypic characteristics.

Regarding the use of the concepts of race and racial mixing, there is consensus among anthropologist-biologists to replace the concept of race with population, as race is a social construct and not a biological reality. Individuals classified within a race do not possess identical genetic content, as even a population belonging to the same ethnic or geographical group shows variations in its gene frequencies (Carnese, 2019). In fact, population genetics has demonstrated Charles Darwin's statement that it is not possible to detect discontinuities between human races (Darwin, 1871). The concept of the black race only considers the level

of melanin concentration in an individual, an evolutionary adaptation that allows better tolerance to ultraviolet rays from the sun in the equatorial zones of the planet and is not related to other physical or intellectual capabilities of an individual (Jablonski, 2000).

Thus, since races do not exist, it makes no sense to talk about racial mixing. The concept can be replaced by the more appropriate terms genetic flow or gene combination, which better represent the dynamic situation of human interactions. These concepts could be used, but as they are not yet fully disseminated, in the present paper, the terms races and racial mixing are used exceptionally, as they are the most common nomenclature in bibliographic references, allowing conceptual clarity to be maintained in this work.

#### 1.3. Definitions and Context

#### 1.3.1. Contempt for Authority

To validate our hypotheses, contempt has been first defined as an intense sense of disrespect and aversion towards another person whose capacity and moral integrity are doubted. In the specific case of contempt for the authority of a president, governor, viceroy, or any governing figure, it is defined as the undervaluation of the power expressed by an individual in relation to the one who governs or holds command, de facto or by right. This can be manifested **directly** in practice, stripping the granted authority from the individual, with or without formal agreement, or **indirectly**, by violating laws or norms issued by the authority and intended to be enforced (Villegas, 2009; Hirschkind, 2012). The context considered is Latin America during the conquest, colonisation, and the independent stage after Spanish rule, with an analysis focused on the historical, cultural, sociological, psychological, and statistical characteristics of Argentina.

# 1.3.2. Political Stability and Contempt for Authority

In this work, political stability is defined as the stability over time of a ruler's tenure in office (TIO). The relationship between these concepts and the justification for using this definition has been explored in depth in other publications (Felice and Ruiz, 2023a, 2023b). The main concepts and a diagram showing how political stability and contempt for authority are related have been provided in detail in another publication (Felice and Ruiz, 2024).

#### 2. Materials and Methods

All the material on which this work is based relies on versions written by Spaniards, historians, and researchers from around the world between the 15th and 21st centuries. The historical sources used, as well as the selection and analysis criteria, are outlined as follows:

- Decrees of the Spanish Royal Crown between 1500 and Argentina's independence in 1816, addressing the relationship between the Spaniards and the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Whenever possible, the original source of the information has been sought, avoiding indirect references.
- Historical documents that serve as direct testimonies of the relationships between Spaniards and indigenous peoples during colonial times, such as those by Felipe Poma de Ayala in 1615 or Fray Bartolomé de las Casas in 1552.
- Proofs (*Probanzas*) by Spaniards and indigenous peoples: These legal documents of evidence and testimonies were used to prove an action, merit, service, or claim before the authorities. Proofs from both Spaniards and indigenous peoples have been selected, and in all cases, published works commenting on these proofs have been used.

- Documented indigenous testimonies: Statements by Diaguita indigenous people from the 16th century, consisting of translations from Kakán to Spanish written by a Visitor (*Visitador*) in his report to the Royal Crown, have been included, as well as contemporary transcriptions of interviews with Ranquel and Huarpe indigenous peoples in Argentina. In all cases, the testimonies have been selected to directly capture the indigenous version of some of the topics addressed in this publication.
- Publications on historical events: An attempt has been made to balance publications in Spanish and other languages to gain different perspectives on the same historical events, from both Latin and foreign historians.

#### Other sources of information are as follows:

- Publications in social sciences: Selected to support everything related to post-traumatic stress, the transmission of behaviours across generations, and suicides.
- Scientific publications: A wide variety of publications on historical and bioarchaeological analysis has been included, selected to support much of the analysis of historical events.
- Databases: Public Argentine databases on demographics, indigenous peoples' records, the 2010 population census, suicide statistics, and georeferenced geography of Argentine cities have been used. The information has been selected to analyse the suicide rate in localities with and without indigenous peoples registered with INAI (National Institute of Indigenous Affairs).

The inclusion criterion for testimonial evidence consists of accepting only those that are documented and publicly available, whether from official documents by 16th-century Spanish Visitors or interviews conducted in the 21st century with descendants of Ranquel and Huarpe indigenous peoples. Evidence from politically biassed publications, non-peer-reviewed sources, or unverifiable sources has been excluded from our analysis. Indirect reports from third-party publications, statistics from non-official entities, and historical documents without recognisable authors have also been omitted.

To understand the origin of indigenous contempt for authority, this work employs the *methodology of comparative historical analysis*, which consists of identifying recurring patterns of social behaviour based on collected historical data. The obtained information has been analysed and interpreted, seeking similarities, differences, and trends.

In the case of analysing suicide rates among indigenous peoples, a *quantitative methodology* based on the statistical analysis of data obtained from public databases has been employed. In all cases, a logical analysis of the premises derived from the analysis of each data set has been used as a control mechanism.

The main methodological limitations identified include:

- Subjectivity and bias in the sources: Many of the historical documents, such as Royal Decrees or reports by Visitors and priests, were written from the perspective of the Spanish colonisers. The authors of these documents often had political, economic, or religious interests that influenced how the indigenous peoples were portrayed. This may distort reality or downplay forms of resistance that were inconvenient for them.
- Lack of indigenous sources: Indigenous voices are largely absent or filtered through the interpretation of the colonisers. This means that the record of their resistance strategies may be incomplete or misunderstood. The few indigenous narratives that do exist were often reinterpreted by European intermediaries, further complicating the identification of genuine behavioural patterns.

- **Data fragmentation**: Indigenous resistance was diverse, depending on geographical, cultural, and temporal contexts. The use of scattered historical documents makes it difficult to obtain a coherent and generalised picture of resistance tactics, as each document may reflect very specific circumstances.
- Chronological limitations: The historical documents consulted primarily focus on the early centuries of the conquest, which may overlook the evolution of resistance forms over time, especially in later periods. As power relations changed, so did resistance tactics, and some of these changes may not be well reflected in the documentation of the time.
- Lack of quantitative data: Although historical documents offer qualitative information about interactions between indigenous peoples and colonisers, they lack systematic or quantifiable data. This limits the statistical or structured analysis of behavioural patterns over time.

#### 2.1. Factual Analysis

In this paper, the hypothesis is demonstrated through the analysis of the historical, psychological, sociological, and statistical aspects of the conquest and colonisation of pre-existing Amerindian peoples in America.

Historical aspects include information from historians, archaeologists, bioarchaeologists, and previous research on chaos in the historical stability of political offices. Psychological aspects consider suicides, acculturation, post-traumatic stress disorder, aggressive behaviours, addictions, loss of self-esteem, and other negative effects resulting from the conquests of indigenous peoples. Sociological analyses evaluate the intergenerational transmission of social behaviours, both among indigenous peoples and across different cultures worldwide.

In the historical analysis, data from the past are examined and evaluated. This involves reviewing historical documents, records, past events, and scientific publications from various authors to form a comprehensive understanding of past events. Interactions between individuals and social groups over time are also analysed. This includes studies of behaviour, social structures, and statistics concerning groups of people.

For the logical analysis, logical connectors  $\Lambda$  (and) and  $\rightarrow$  (implies) are used to relate basic statements and identify cause-and-effect relationships. Each analysis concludes with a logical premise deduced from the facts, which serves to demonstrate the initial hypothesis through the logical analysis of the premises presented. These statements are based on evidence provided and are not mere opinions or suppositions.

#### 3. Literature Review

# 3.1. Origins of Indigenous Contempt for White Authority

To demonstrate the hypothesis, factual statements are deduced through historical and sociological analysis. In the historical analysis, past data are examined and evaluated, including the review of historical documents, records, past events, and scientific publications from various authors to develop a comprehensive understanding of past events. Interactions between individuals and social groups over time are also analysed, involving the study of behaviour, social structures, and statistics related to groups of people. The analysed information allows conclusions to be reached that can be verified as either true or false. These statements are based on the presented evidence.

#### 3.2. Reasons that Generated the Contempt

#### 3.2.1. Violence

Before this section, a set of definitions is provided to clarify the meaning of certain terms used in the historical analysis of violent conflicts between Spaniards and indigenous peoples: 1) *Genocide*: the intentional total or partial destruction of a group of people who share one or more cultural, political, phenotypic, or religious characteristics. Destruction may or may not include the culture associated with the victims; 2) *Massacre*: the premeditated murder of multiple people characterised by the defencelessness of the victims; 3) *Extrañamiento* (also known as denaturalisation): the forced relocation of a people from their ancestral lands, often to regions far from their place of origin, causing the disintegration of communities and families, and subjecting them to pseudo-slavery to prevent future rebellions (Zelada, 2017).

To understand the origin of indigenous contempt for white authority, the events that occurred to indigenous peoples during the Spanish conquest and colonisation are examined. Essentially, the conquest consisted of forcibly subjugating the pre-existing ethnicities in America, leading to the development of negative emotions and feelings towards the conqueror, who became the primary source of *contempt for white authority*.

It is expected that individuals, after being forcibly dominated, would feel hatred and seek to hide their emotions and feelings, as openly expressing or acting upon them could result in punishment for themselves or their loved ones.

For centuries, the public expression of these feelings and emotions by indigenous ethnicities was repressed. Conquerors and later colonists employed an endless list of atrocities over time, beginning with particularly cruel methods during the initial stages of conquest. These included burning feet, amputating ears and noses, flaying faces, cutting hands, whipping, insulting, beating, pulling hair, hanging with heavy weights attached to the feet, splashing with hot wax, separating families, dismembering territories, mass hangings, burning people alive, slow roasting, and *aperrear* (death by dogs). Over time, these methods evolved into more systematic techniques such as starving, overloading individuals with work, destroying plantations with cattle and horses, and after the destruction of the last Diaguita stronghold in 1667, compulsory uprooting, exploiting indigenous labour (*encomendados*), paying them with clothing and food, forcing different ethnicities to coexist, making them work without pay, or working them to death (García Hamilton, 1984; Clendinnen, 1982; de las Casas, 1552; Montes, 1998; Farberman, 2006).

At the outset, many Amerindian women were accosted, abused, beaten, and raped, or 'persuaded' to become lovers and concubines of Spanish soldiers (Socolow, 2015). During that period, it was common for rulers to give their daughters to opposing factions as a means of strengthening ties, a practice seen both between Native Americans and Spanish conquerors, and among European nobility. However, to understand contemporary social behaviours in Argentina, it must be acknowledged that the Royal Crown never prohibited relationships between Spaniards and indigenous people. As a result, by the later stages of the conquest, the most common relationship was the formation of stable unions between Spanish men and Amerindian women. This is evidenced by the high proportion of mitochondrial genomes in the present Argentine population, as discussed in the section *Identity in Conflict* in this paper.

The atrocities committed by the Spaniards were also documented by an Amerindian chronicler of Incan descent, Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, during the Viceroyalty of Peru. In his 1180-page book, the author denounced the injustices of the colonial regime to the King of Spain, including plates illustrating the most common tortures inflicted by the Spaniards on the indigenous population (Guamán Poma de Ayala, 1615).

One documented example is the description of the living conditions of the Marapa carpenters in Tucumán, a province in north-western Argentina. Indigenous carpenters were denied their own crops, not provided with clothing or medicine, and their living conditions were poor, as they were exploited for labour (Noli, 2001). Indigenous people were, in fact, the workforce of America, performing roles such as carpenters, masons, seamstresses, farmers, bakers, miners, tailors, blacksmiths, weavers, cooks, barbers, and adobe makers, among other professions (Chavez, 2014), all under conditions of forced and cheap labour.

If the Afro and Afro-mestizo population is included in the analysis, the long list of injustices must also acknowledge practices specific to San Miguel de Tucumán, such as the buying and selling of slaves, using slaves as mortgage collateral, and considering slaves as property that could be donated or used as dowry. The African and Afro-mestizo population was the lowest social stratum and was predominantly employed in domestic tasks, as the local economy did not require their labour, which was already provided by the indigenous *encomenderos* (Chavez, 2014).

The most extreme violent methods, such as massacres and genocides, were employed at the beginning of the conquest to instil terror and subdue the population. One of the earliest was the Massacre of Xaragua in 1503 on Hispaniola, where many chiefs were hanged or burned alive, and their children were killed (de las Casas, 1552). An example of genocide was the destruction of the town of Quilmes in 1666 in the Argentine Northwest. The Quilmes-Diaguita resistance to the Spanish was fierce and bloody, but when unable to defeat them, the indigenous people were besieged until an unbearable famine forced their unconditional surrender. The subsequent *extrañamiento* was an extreme measure taken by the governor of Tucumán, Alonso de Mercado y Villacorta (Lorandi, 1988; Zelada, 2017; Boixadós, 2011b), as a means of total subjugation and to obtain abundant slave and semi-slave labour.

These massacres and genocides continued, though to a lesser extent, until the late 20th century, with official recognition by Argentine courts only arriving in the 21st century. Modern examples include the massacres of the Pampas peoples (Jiménez, 2017; Lenton, 2017), the Pilagás, Qom, and Mocoví-Mocoi (Trinchero, 2009; Lenton, 2020), and the Selk'nam people in present-day Tierra del Fuego (Gigoux, 2022). In the case of the Pilagás, a Federal Judge ruled that the Argentine National State must provide material and non-material reparations to the Pilagá people (Carbajal, 2019). Similarly, the Qom and Mocoví-Mocoi peoples were awarded a favourable ruling from a Federal Court ordering the National State to provide reparations to the victims (Poder Judicial de la Nación Argentina, 2020). These rulings have yet to be fulfilled by the Argentine government.

#### **Logical Analysis**

A1: Spanish conquerors and colonisers exerted violence on the indigenous peoples.

B1: Violence was applied before and after the independence of Argentina until the 20th century.

C1: The forms of indigenous resistance to the white man were and are necessarily indirect.

A1  $^{\circ}$  B1  $^{\circ}$  C1  $\rightarrow$  D1: Contempt for authority is an indirect form of resistance.

# 3.2.2. The Absence or Poor Education as a Source of Contempt for the White

In addition to the mistreatment previously mentioned, a lack of education among indigenous populations has been a contributing factor to the discrimination they face. Statistics indicate that only in the late 20th century did governments in Latin America demonstrate a willingness to employ education as a means of promoting equity among indigenous groups. Data from surveys revealed that indigenous boys and girls exhibited higher repetition and dropout rates,

which exacerbated their already elevated levels of illiteracy, particularly among indigenous women (Blanco, 2004). An example of the belated educational inclusion of indigenous peoples is reflected in the adoption of ILO Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, approved by the United Nations in the late 21st century (Vallejo-Almeida, 2018). Under this convention, signatory states were obligated to "... ensure education at all levels...". Ratification took place in 2014 in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, yet in many instances, the commitments of the convention have not been fulfilled (Mato, 2012).

Educational discrimination has been documented not only amongst clearly identified indigenous groups in Argentina, such as the Wichis of the Chaco Province, but also within public and private schools involving citizens who may not identify as indigenous or their descendants yet share similar skin tones and phenotypic traits. In Greater Buenos Aires, NOA, NEA, Entre Ríos, and Tierra del Fuego, schools of lower quality, characterised by diminished physical, human, and social capital, are predominantly attended by children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Llach, 2003). These children typically possess darker skin and belong to families with lower per capita incomes, compared to lighter-skinned counterparts (Bailey, 2016). Such evidence of discrimination aligns with the geographical regions in Argentina where the highest concentrations of Amerindian mitochondrial DNA have been recorded, with 70% found in the north, 41% in the central regions, and 66% in the south (Catelli, 2011).

Discrimination extends beyond skin colour, with phenotypic characteristics such as hair colour, physical appearance, and even clothing playing significant roles (Ravindran, 2021). This phenomenon affects not only Argentine citizens but also immigrants from Bolivia, Peru, and Paraguay who attend public schools in Buenos Aires (Bigham, 2018).

A paradox in Argentina lies in the use of the terms 'black' (negro) and 'black woman' (negra), which carry two entirely opposing connotations. These terms can be used in a racist and derogatory manner but are also employed as affectionate or friendly nicknames, regardless of the individual's skin colour (Adamovsky, 2017). This paradox may seem difficult for outsiders to comprehend, yet it is rooted in Argentina's deep mestizo heritage, where it is common for families, particularly in the north, to encompass a broad spectrum of skin tones among both current and ancestral members. Thus, the meaning of the term depends heavily on who uses it, the context in which it is used, and the manner in which it is expressed. This social paradox provides insight into the internal contradictions inherent within Argentine society.

In conclusion, indigenous peoples, their descendants, and other citizens who exhibit one or more Amerindian phenotypic traits have been subject to educational discrimination, resulting in an inequitable denial of fair access to primary, secondary, and university education. This social mistreatment has contributed to a sustained contempt for authority, as demonstrated by non-compliance with laws and regulations issued by those in power.

#### **Logical Analysis**

A2: Indigenous peoples were educationally discriminated against before and after the independence of Argentina.

B2: There was a significant genetic mixing between Spaniards and indigenous people that diluted ethnic boundaries.

C2: Discrimination in the educational system generates contempt for authority.

A2  $^{\circ}$  B2  $^{\circ}$  C2  $\rightarrow$  D2: Educational discrimination persists in the 21st century and affects not only indigenous peoples.

#### 3.3. Contempt for Authority as a Way of Resistance

At the beginning of the conquest, one method used to control indigenous populations was the establishment of Indian Towns and Reductions. These were social, territorial, and jurisdictional units where the forced concentration of indigenous peoples was practised to dominate, catechise, and efficiently collect tributes. Reductions were conceived as communal lands, governed by indigenous authorities, with the inhabitants being obligated to pay taxes for being original Indians (Tell, 2016).

These reductions were not successful in permanently relocating the indigenous population due to their surreptitious resistance, although relative success was achieved in increasing tribute extraction and evangelisation (García, 2021; Saito, 2017). In northwestern Argentina, Spanish subjugation by force was incomplete. A combination of actions and omissions enabled resistance to conquest in veiled forms, underpinned by *contempt for white authority*.

In the late 17th century in San Miguel de Tucumán, *denaturalised encomiendas* and at least two multi-ethnic reductions coexisted, whose inhabitants tended to conduct their own business and lead autonomous lives, evading Spanish control (Farberman, 2006). Detailed documents from the visit of Judge Antonio Martínez Luján de Vargas to San Miguel de Tucumán in 1693 noted the persistence of the Amaichas and Colalaos in returning to the Calchaquí Valley, from which they had been expelled. This geographical proximity enabled them to comply with the demands of their encomenderos while simultaneously exploiting the resources of the valleys, working as day labourers, and maintaining rituals of community cohesion (Noli, 2003). This duality of behaviour, in which they complied with exploitative demands while trying to recover their customs, allowed them to survive, preserving elements of their customs and social organisation to this day (Giudicelli, 2018).

Veiled resistance to the Spanish became the norm, expressed through actions such as reducing productivity, planting poorly or not at all, working slowly or unwillingly, destroying and stealing tools, clandestinely marrying to avoid paying tribute, or transmitting culture through various artistic and architectural expressions as covert means of resisting subjugation.

In the case of the denaturalised Calchaquíes in the encomiendas and reductions of Marapa and Chiquiligasta in Argentina's NOA region during the 17th century, resistance was demonstrated by abandoning work sites to return to their lands, occupying land without the encomendero's permission, disobeying orders, stealing cattle, forming criminal gangs, or maintaining their indigenous names (Noli, 2003). The Quilmes, a Calchaquí ethnic group, resisted by neglecting their mita shifts (Boixadós, 2011a), illegally occupying land in the Pampas, working inefficiently or unwillingly, fleeing from work in the reductions (Carlón, 2007), or avoiding taxes by staying in the Calchaquí valleys rather than returning to the reductions.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, the Guaraníes, indigenous peoples of northeastern and northwestern Argentina, also resisted the conqueror after their military defeats. Among their strategies were refusal to provide military service, feigned collaboration as guides, forming isolated communities, escaping, rebaptising as resistance to Christianity (stating, "I baptise you to remove your baptism"), reinterpreting Catholic elements, or resisting communal work (Razzera, 1994).

Throughout the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries, the Mapuches, an indigenous people from the southern part of the continent, have exhibited *resistance to the white authority*, both passively and actively. This remains a sensitive geopolitical issue in Argentina and Chile. Current active resistance includes social demonstrations demanding autonomy, protests at official events, graffiti, and other actions reaffirming Mapuche identity (Roncarolo, 2005; Radovich, 2009; Akhtar, 2013), in response to the discrimination they face (Gómez-Barris, 2012).

During the 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries, the Huarpes, an indigenous people from the Cuyo region of Argentina, resisted by refusing to pay tribute, engaging in banditry, systematically abandoning assigned lands to live scattered in the countryside, resisting land expropriation, achieving the restitution of indigenous protectorates (Escolar, 2013), and by currently resisting official narratives that claim they are extinct (Escolar, 2020).

Despite the significant impact of Reductions on the culture and way of life of indigenous peoples, adaptation, resistance, and the development of continuity strategies persisted even under colonial coercion, the primary method being to simultaneously serve both indigenous and Spanish purposes (Abercrombie, 1991). These actions were common throughout colonial America (Pérez, 2021) and continue into the 21st century. For instance, the Chuschagasta and Tolombón peoples of the Choromoro Valley in Tucumán attempt to maintain their identity by revitalising traditional farming methods, pottery craftsmanship, and animal husbandry (Manzanelli, 2020).

In the 20th century, beginning in the 1940s and 1950s with the advent of Peronism, media discourse concerning indigenous issues underwent a significant shift. The word "Indian" (indio) disappeared from the narrative and was replaced by "worker" (obrero). At that time, "obrero" referred to the most underprivileged social classes. This linguistic change resulted in indigenous issues being relegated to the background (Mathias, 2021; Ottenheimer, 2014).

Nevertheless, resistance persisted despite this shift, as demonstrated by several examples: 1) refusal to pay land taxes by Mapuche communities in Neuquén and Río Negro, arguing that taxes should not be paid on lands usurped from them; 2) illegal occupation of lands under claims of ancestral rights; 3) non-compliance with labour norms by sugar mill workers in the 1930s and 1940s, including refusal to adhere to work hours or accept low wages; 4) non-compliance with educational norms to protect and preserve cultural identity; and 5) disregard for traffic regulations in rural areas, claiming they are not adapted to traditional ways of life (Fernández, 2017; Almirón, 2022).

#### **Logical Analysis**

A3: Contempt for white authority is manifested through indigenous resistance.

B3: Indigenous resistance consists of non-compliance with laws and regulations.

C3: Indigenous resistance persists over time to the present day.

A3  $^B3$   $^C3$   $^D3$ : Indigenous resistance to authority is manifested by non-compliance with laws and regulations up to the present day.

#### 3.4. Traumatic Effects of the Spanish Conquest

It is evident from psychology and sociology that the dominant behaviours and actions of one people over another cause changes at an individual level in the inhabitants of the dominated people. However, this perspective is rarely analysed in the literature concerning indigenous peoples, as discussions are often limited to descriptions from an external observer's viewpoint. Examples include descriptions of social changes such as loss of habitat, extinction of native languages, wars, genocides, exile, and family fragmentation, or the various forms resistance to conquest took.

Despite the numerous physical and non-physical aggressions endured by indigenous peoples and their communities over time, there have been no specific studies on the short, medium, or long-term psychological effects on the dominated populations. This topic is of great interest, as it offers insights into the deep-rooted political instability in Latin America and is analysed further below.

#### 3.4.1. Emotions and Feelings in the Subjugated

A key to understanding the profound contempt for authority that underpins social structures in Latin America is recognising that feelings and emotions shape behaviours that propagate through generations. From a neurobiological perspective, emotions are observable, neurophysiological, transitory reactions to stimuli, while feelings are non-observable, private experiences of emotions (Damasio, 2012).

An example that aids in understanding the origins of indigenous contempt for white authority lies in empathetically recognising the emotions provoked by witnessing children suffer from violent aggression during war or subjugation during conquest and colonisation. Specific examples include the massacres of Xaragua and Higuey in 1503, in present-day Haiti, where men, women, and children were killed under the orders of Nicolás de Ovando (Ortega Balbas, 1972). These massacres are often described in the literature in statistical terms, without delving into the specific physical and psychological consequences for the individuals subjected to them. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas provided the only detailed account of the types of violence used by the Spanish in his *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*. However, these descriptions are insufficient for fostering empathetic understanding. Therefore, bioarchaeological research on populations along the Peruvian coast, where children suffered from violence, will be analysed.

The study examines the forms of aggression inflicted upon infants during the Spanish conquest through forensic analysis of violence and traumatic injuries in the remains of children from two cemeteries in the Puruchuco-Huaquerones community (1470-1540 AD) on the central coast of Peru. Analysis of cranial trauma frequency revealed a statistically significant increase in one of the cemeteries' subsamples, indicating an escalation of violence during the Spanish invasion, with a higher number of perimortem lethal injuries, particularly to the skull (Gaither, 2012).

The fact that these children were not shielded from violence by their families and communities suggests that the Spanish conquest profoundly disrupted the indigenous community's social fabric at Puruchuco-Huaquerones. These qualitative and quantitative findings provide insight into how humans may have reacted to the violence of domination. It is understandable that hatred, as a primary emotion, became the source of a set of covert behaviours of resistance to the conqueror, which were then transmitted through generations. Our conclusion is that acute and chronic aggressions fostered social customs of resistance, which, in newly independent nations, have transformed into obstacles to development.

#### **Logical Analysis**

A4: The violence exerted by the conquerors and colonisers had traumatic effects on the indigenous peoples.

# 3.4.2. Emotional Empathy to Understand the Origin of Contempt

Specific studies focusing on the psychological or sociological effects of the Spanish conquest on the indigenous peoples of Argentine territory have not been found. However, numerous publications detail the negative actions of conquerors or colonisers in a general sense, such as land loss, destruction of indigenous cities, confinement in concentration camps, dissolution of families, forced labour, or poorly paid work, among other actions (Delrio, 2020; de las Casas, 1532).

Descriptions of mistreatment and its effects on indigenous peoples are generally made from the observer's point of view, involving cognitive empathy on the part of the authors of these publications. However, to understand the central hypothesis of this paper—the origin of

contempt for authority in indigenous people and their descendants—it is necessary for the reader to engage in emotional empathy. To this end, examples illustrating the effects of the conquest from the perspective of those who were subjected to it, the indigenous peoples of what is now Argentine territory, are provided below.

A description of 21st-century testimonies regarding the consequences of mistreatment on individuals from the Diaguita, Ranqueles, and Huarpes ethnic groups can be found in the supplementary material "S1 Testimonials."

# **Logical Analysis**

A5: The traumatic effects of the mistreatment of indigenous peoples persist into the 21st century.

# 3.4.3. Suicides in Cities Where There Are Indigenous Peoples

This section is self-contained in that it includes all the key elements of a scientific paper: introduction, materials and methods, discussion, and conclusions. This structure is maintained to ensure a logical progression in demonstrating the initial hypothesis. All data regarding each analysed city, the type of self-declared indigenous people, the number of inhabitants, and the number of suicides can be found in the supplementary file "S2 Suicides 2017-2021."

One of the most dramatic manifestations of colonialism is suicide (Ansloos, 2022; Lawson-Te, 2010; Azuero, 2017), which results from a set of negative factors experienced by indigenous peoples and their descendants, such as the loss of territories, cultural demise, or the imposition of foreign customs. Suicide remains prevalent among Native American Indians in the USA, First Nations and Inuits in Canada, Australian Aboriginals, Maori in New Zealand, and indigenous peoples in Latin America. All of these groups exhibit suicide rates far higher than the rest of the population (World Health Organization, 2014; Azuero, 2017). Young men and communities undergoing cultural transition are among the most vulnerable groups (Goldston, 2008; Casiano, 2013). As discussed in the literature review, many of the causes that initially gave rise to indigenous contempt for authority persist in contemporary forms. For example, the massacres of the Pilagás, Qom, and Mocoví-Mocoi peoples in the 20th century, educational discrimination at all levels, informal employment as a modern form of labour exploitation, and the ongoing appropriation of indigenous territories through legal and illegal means.

The process of losing one's culture and adapting to a new social and religious environment, along with the intense dislocation of cultural references, creates stress among individuals in such societies, significantly increasing the risk of suicide. Indigenous peoples remain one of the most vulnerable groups in this regard (World Health Organization, 2014; Marín-León, 2012).

The problem is even more severe than it appears. Suicides do not only affect the individuals who take their own lives but also their spouses, relatives, and friends, resulting in psychological and physical harm such as mental illnesses, cirrhosis, sleep disorders, and, in some cases, further suicides and deaths (Erlangsen, 2017; Pitman, 2016). These effects are not confined to indigenous populations, meaning that the consequences of post-colonial stress disorder can permeate entire communities.

In this study, suicide rates in a set of Argentine cities with and without declared indigenous communities are evaluated to demonstrate the persistence of factors leading to indigenous contempt for authority. Based on the above discussion, evidence of the persistence over time of symptoms associated with the damage caused by the conquest and colonisation in modern Argentine territory can be inferred from the analysis of suicide rates in populations with indigenous peoples.

To this end, suicide rates have been calculated for 538 populations across the country, matched by an equal number of inhabitants with a margin of error of less than 2% in 96% of cases. In each pair of populations, one contains indigenous peoples and the other does not, with both having the same number of inhabitants. The analysed populations include all those officially declared as containing indigenous communities by the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs. The analysis covers small populations (<300 inhabitants) to urban centres (<1,000,000 inhabitants). Populations exceeding one million inhabitants were excluded due to insufficient data.

For the calculation of suicide rates, standardised age measurements have been employed, with weighting applied using the Argentine population distribution by age range as a reference (REDATAM, 2010). The calculated rates present no sampling error, as they are based on absolute quantities derived from the 2010 National Population Census. There may be some underreporting of suicides, which would only serve to strengthen the evidence presented.

To determine whether there is evidence of a higher suicide rate among indigenous peoples in Argentina, as a probable symptom of post-colonial stress disorder, the difference in suicide rates between pairs of localities with and without officially declared indigenous communities has been analysed.

$$D = Rw - Rwh \tag{1}$$

where,

D: Suicide rate differenceRw: Rate with indigenousRwh: Rate without indigenous

Next, the subtractions are grouped by sign, and they are graphed by population intervals as shown in Figure 2:

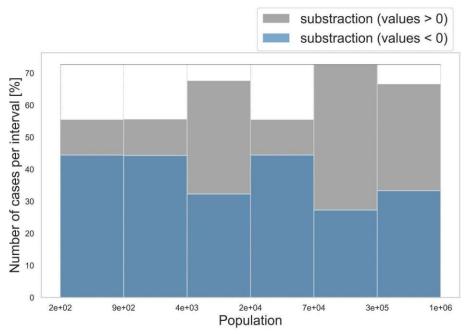


Figure 2. Percentages of positive (grey) and negative (blue) subtractions between suicide rates of localities with and without indigenous communities, grouped by population intervals. X-axis is logarithmic

Sources: Ministerio de Seguridad (2024), INAI 2019

In the graph, it can be observed that when comparing pairs of localities with the same population, all subtractions are positive, indicating that populations with declared indigenous communities consistently exhibit higher average suicide rates.

It should be noted that Figure 2 only presents the percentage of cases per interval, without displaying the absolute values. This limitation is addressed in Figure 3, which shows the number of cases per population interval.

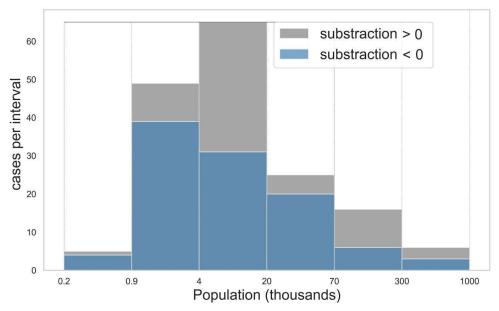


Figure 3. Number of cases per population interval

Figure 3 highlights that across the analysed population range, localities with indigenous communities consistently display the highest suicide rate values. The data on suicide rates in cities with declared indigenous communities demonstrate that the primary causes leading to suicides persist into the 21st century.

#### **Logical Analysis**

A6: The persistence of mistreatment towards indigenous peoples is evidenced by a generally higher suicide rate compared to the rest of the Argentine population.

 $A6 \rightarrow B6$ : Suicides indicate the persistence of the causes that generate contempt for authority.

# 4. Intergenerational Transmission of Social Behaviours

To support the hypothesis that indigenous contempt for authority is a social behaviour transmitted across generations, the long-term effects of subjugation by conquerors on indigenous peoples will be described below.

A study has shown that among American Indians and Alaska Natives (AI/ANs) from North America (Basset, 2014), the incidence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and related symptoms is strikingly higher than among U.S. whites. This is observed despite the fact that, in general, the inciting events, risk factors, and comorbidities appear similar across the U.S. population. It has been suggested that one factor contributing to the prevalence of PTSD among North American indigenous peoples is the enduring subjection to racist and genocidal policies over the past 500 years. These populations share stories of colonisation involving military resistance, externally imposed governance, forced dietary changes, mandatory boarding school education, and active missionary movements.

These historical antecedents substantiate the negative attitudes of these communities towards white conquerors and their descendants, reflected in a practical disdain for authority manifested through non-compliance with the law.

A clear example can be observed in Canada, where the rate of police-reported crime is six times higher in Indigenous communities than in non-Indigenous communities (Allen, 2020). The most common transgressions, such as vandalism, graffiti, and reckless destructive or obstructive behaviours, help explain the large disparity between the crime rates of Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. These behaviours, which may appear rebellious, are understood as expressions of contempt for the authority of whites.

To further validate the intergenerational transmission of social behaviours, an example from indigenous communities in Mexico will now be presented. In a study of two neighbouring Zapotec communities in Oaxaca, Mexico, it was found that predominant conflict resolution methods contributed to maintaining these customs in subsequent generations (Fry, 1993). Parents in the peaceful community commonly employed positive verbal strategies to discipline and control their children, whereas parents in the more aggressive community used corporal punishment. Children learned behaviour patterns that were accepted, expected, and rewarded by other community members, and these patterns were transmitted between generations, helping perpetuate specific styles of conflict resolution.

It should be noted that the intergenerational transmission of customs occurs on both sides of contempt: in the despiser, who teaches the next generation to identify perceived ethnic, social, economic, or psychological traits that render others inferior, and in the despised, who imparts ways of resisting the despiser, depending on their social position within their specific context.

In the case of indigenous peoples and their descendants, affected by pigmentocracy or antiindigenous sentiment—paralleling anti-Semitism—certain similarities explain the persistence of toxic social customs on both sides of contempt.

One common factor is genocide. The Holocaust of the Jewish people is widely known and marked a turning point in the establishment of the modern state of Israel. In Argentina, documented genocides include those of the Quilmes, Pampas, Pilagás, Qom, Mocoví-Mocoi, and Selk'nam peoples, whose descendants are currently engaged in disputes with the Argentine state, demanding recognition of these massacres and acknowledgment of their ancestral territories. It is noteworthy that, in both cases—of the Jewish and indigenous peoples—knowledge of genocides has not eliminated either anti-Semitism or the mistreatment of indigenous peoples and their descendants.

Another common factor is contempt for certain phenotypic traits, which, in the case of National Socialist Germany, reached an extreme in Hitler's pseudo-scientific racial classifications, used to justify genocide (Hitler, 1943). In the Argentine context, phenotypic characteristics played a crucial role in establishing pigmentocracy in the 20th century (Wade, 2012).

Further evidence supporting the hypothesis of intergenerational transmission of behaviour patterns is the well-established fact that the dominant values within a culture strongly influence attitudes towards corruption. For instance, the level of trust a person has in others has been shown to depend on their country of origin. In Britain, immigrants from various nationalities have demonstrated that their level of trust in others remains influenced by cultural aspects specific to their country of origin, even in subsequent generations (Guiso, 2006).

In our context, when a cultural habit is established and persists, it influences social relationships beyond those that originally formed it, affecting individual behaviours, social institutions, and prevailing cultural norms about right and wrong (Henrich, 2001). This further validates our hypothesis that social culture determines individual decisions.

If a social custom is deeply entrenched within a society, the arrival of immigrants may not be sufficient to alter it. Between 1860 and 1920, 27 million immigrants arrived in the United States, yet this did not change the cultural custom of bearing arms—considered a toxic habit—nor the stability of its democratic institutions and the tenure of its leaders in office—a positive cultural trait. Similarly, between 1857 and 1940, more than 6 million immigrants arrived in Argentina, yet this did not alter the significant instability of its institutions or the chaotic tenure of its leaders, both considered toxic habits.

Attitudes towards corruption or the abuse of political power for personal gain may also persist across generations and contribute to corrupt behaviours. An analysis conducted among 848 individuals from 16 European countries revealed that ideas, attitudes, beliefs, and norms concerning corruption persisted in respondents born in the surveyed country, even when their parents were born elsewhere (Simpser, 2020). The study demonstrated a robust relationship between attitudes towards bribery and two measures of bribery behaviour. These results align with laboratory findings among individuals familiar with real-world corruption, indicating that corrupt individuals are more likely to make decisions leading to bribery (Campos-Ortiz, 2011). Both findings reinforce our hypothesis that contempt for authority is transmitted through generations in Latin America. It is crucial to emphasise that these results must be analysed within the specific historical context of Latin America, as measures to address instability depend on the personal history of each country.

### **Logic Analysis**

A7: Contempt for authority is a social behaviour that was transmitted across generations.

# 5. The Pigmentocracy

This section describes a characteristic phenomenon of Latin America, particularly Argentina—pigmentocracy, a *social system where wealth and status are determined by skin colour*. In Argentina, pigmentocracy is associated with a particular form of contempt for authority. Understanding the origins of pigmentocracy is essential to comprehending the complexity of Argentine social behaviour.

#### **5.1.** The Origin of Pigmentocracy

Simultaneously—and almost paradoxically—alongside the conquest's subjugation of the indigenous population, a process of fusion between conqueror and conquered took place, largely because the conquest was initially carried out predominantly by men. This situation was unique because, unlike the Anglo-Saxon conquerors of North America, the Spanish Crown theoretically recognised equal rights for indigenous people and Spanish citizens. A Spaniard could marry an indigenous woman, and in practice, as early as 1514—just 22 years after Columbus's arrival—the Catholic Monarchs encouraged mixed marriages by issuing a Royal Decree that validated any union between Castilian men and indigenous women (Fernando El Católico, 1515).

This Royal Decree facilitated genetic admixture, which persists to this day in the form of mtDNA, the genetic expression of the maternal lineage, overwhelmingly characterising the inhabitants of Argentina. There is no province or locality among the 47 places analysed in the country with an average Amerindian mtDNA content of less than 41%, with extreme values found in Córdoba (41%) and Catamarca (100%) (Ramallo, 2011; Salas, 2008).

The mestizaje that resulted from the union of Spanish men and Amerindian women led to the emergence of ethnic nuances during Argentina's conquest, colonisation, and independence

phases. Genetic mixing blurred the lines between indigenous and white, giving rise to *pigmentocracy*—a social phenomenon wherein lighter-skinned individuals disdain and underestimate darker-skinned individuals, and darker-skinned individuals disdain and disobey lighter-skinned individuals.

This type of skin colour discrimination, at least in the case of Argentina, is compounded by discrimination based on other phenotypic characteristics, such as facial features or hair type (Wade, 2012). However, skin colour remains the predominant characteristic from which discrimination arises. Measurements of income inequality in Argentina reveal a surprising linear correlation between skin colour and household income; in other words, the darker the skin, the lower the family income. This difference is significantly independent of the mother's education level (Bailey, 2016). Skin colour also influences educational achievements; darker-skinned individuals in Argentina, on average, receive up to three years less education than their lighter-skinned counterparts (Zizumbo-Colunga, 2012).

These findings indicate that in Argentina, individuals are discriminated against based on their skin colour, irrespective of their social origin. In fact, in the 2008 Latinobarómetro Corporation survey, 68% of 1200 respondents in Argentina stated that, with equal qualifications or degrees, it is less likely for a non-white person to be promoted or accepted in a job compared to a white person (Latinobarómetro, 2008). Not being white also increases the probability of holding a job without social security by 47% compared to being white (Salvia, 2010). Even in professional football, having darker skin is associated with receiving more yellow cards on average than lighter-skinned teammates (Figueroa, 2017).

In Latin America, prior to the independence movements, three basic levels of racial hierarchy existed: white Spaniards occupied the highest social status, brown-skinned Amerindians were placed at the intermediate level, and black-skinned African slaves were at the bottom. After the region transformed into independent republics in the 19th century, these hierarchies were theoretically abolished, eliminating distinctions between the descendants of indigenous people, slaves, and European colonists (Adamovsky, 2021).

However, this shift did not fully succeed for two reasons: the inherited custom of despising darker skin and the racial mixing that blurred the boundaries between hierarchies. The borders between skin colours were – and remain – blurry, creating a continuous gradient from black to white, as depicted in the paintings of the great *casta* exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 2004, curated by Ilona Katzew (Taylor, 2009).

Nevertheless, despite white Europeans being a minority, the caste system established during the colonial period made light skin desirable, as it guaranteed better access to jobs, resources, and social recognition. This led to darker-skinned individuals striving to *lighten* their skin through marriage with someone lighter, modifying baptismal records, or saving money to purchase certificates officially declaring them white (Twinam, 2015).

This pursuit of a better life by lightening skin perpetuated discrimination based on skin colour across time and political systems. Placing white skin at the top of the social scale transformed the ethnic caste system of the colonial period into a pigmentocracy, where skin colour became a persistent social marker that has endured across centuries and remains ubiquitous throughout 21st-century Latin America (Adamovsky, 2021; Telles, 2013). In Latin America, pigmentocracy refers to the prioritisation of individuals with lighter skin over those with darker skin, within a gradient of colours from white to black, passing through brown (Telles, 2015; Hernandez, 2015).

#### 5.2. How Miscegenation Generated Pigmentocracy

The process of miscegenation in Latin America occurred in two main forms: forced and voluntary. Forced miscegenation took place during the early colonial period and was employed by the Spanish as a method to obtain labour due to the limited indigenous population or the excessive mortality caused by diseases or mistreatment of indigenous people (Perusset, 2006).

Voluntary miscegenation stemmed from the significant male predominance among Spaniards who arrived during the early stages of conquest and colonisation. Unions between Spanish men and indigenous women took various forms, including rape, polygamy, sexual trade, and, at times, lasting monogamy, which had the formal support of the crown. Marriages between conquerors and mestiza women of Spanish and indigenous descent were common, giving rise to different social strata in American societies in subsequent generations (Rodriguez, 2007).

Despite the miscegenation, discrimination based on skin colour and phenotypic aspects persisted in the Americas. To maintain their dominance in the face of increasing racial mixing, the Spaniards sought to differentiate themselves by asserting their *rights of precedence*, *purity of blood*, *and legitimacy of birth*. Precedence referred to descending from the original conquerors of America, while purity of blood meant demonstrating genealogical purity. Maintaining power required proof of purity; without it, one could not enter schools, receive priestly orders, take vows, access public offices, or obtain degrees from certain institutions (Castillo Palma, 2011).

In the 17th-century colonial caste system, mestizos were viewed with suspicion and barred from accessing communal lands or holding important administrative positions. In the negative stereotype, the mestizo was seen as *lustful*, supposedly inheriting *bad habits* from his mother through breastfeeding. Paradoxically, however, mestizos could also rise to higher echelons of colonial society if noble indigenous and Spanish lineage were part of their ancestry. For indigenous women, one way to climb the social ladder was to marry a Spaniard to lighten their blood, so their children, showing signs of miscegenation, could stop paying tribute (Cajías de la Vega, 2005).

In the colonial caste system during the 17th century, mestizos were viewed with suspicion and could not access communal lands or hold important administrative positions. In the negative stereotype, the mestizo was *lustful*, inheriting *bad habits* from his mother through breastfeeding.

The social custom of favouring white over indigenous blood became entrenched throughout Latin America and emerged as the principal cause of the current pigmentocracy, where lighter-skinned individuals disdain those with darker skin. In 21st-century Argentina, the skin colour of adults in large urban centres such as Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Mendoza, Salta, Resistencia, Bahía Blanca, Neuquén-Plottier-Cipolletti, Rosario, and Paraná exposes them to higher unemployment, lack of social security, and lower incomes. This discrimination occurs independently of the education level, gender, or age of the individuals analysed (Salvia, 2010).

In the 21st century, the system of discrimination based on skin colour remains pervasive throughout Latin America, as consistently demonstrated by the America Barometer Surveys conducted between 2004 and 2023, and in numerous publications that denounce discrimination in areas such as health, education, income, electoral practices, and clientelism during elections. The paradox lies in the fact that Argentina's population is predominantly brown, the result of centuries of genetic mixing, as shown in the America Barometer surveys. A detailed analysis of the skin colour of citizens across the Argentine provinces can be found in the supplementary material 'S3 Skin Colour in Argentina.

#### **Logic Analysis**

A8: Pigmentocracy has existed in Argentina since colonial times.

B8: Pigmentocracy implies social discrimination.

C8: Social discrimination produces contempt for authority.

D8: The significant admixture between male Spaniards and indigenous women blurred ethical boundaries between white and indigenous people.

A8  $^{\circ}$  B8  $^{\circ}$  C8  $^{\circ}$  D8  $\rightarrow$  E8: Pigmentocracy affects the entire society and is a source of noncompliance with laws and regulations.

#### 6. Discussion and Conclusions

This publication has presented, through the factual analysis of historical, psychological, and sociological sources, the origins of *indigenous contempt for the authority of the white conqueror and coloniser*. This explanation allows for an understanding of how the toxic social behaviours exhibited by the inhabitants of the Argentine Republic originated. Paradoxically, the racial mixture permitted by the Spanish Crown between Europeans and indigenous peoples gave rise to pigmentocracy, which cemented toxic customs related to law compliance within society.

# 6.1. Pigmentocracy

The concept of pigmentocracy, as applied in this paper, serves to explain the ongoing transition of social behaviours between extreme forms of contempt. At one extreme, indigenous contempt for white authority is reflected in higher incarceration rates and tax evasion among individuals with a greater Amerindian and African genetic heritage. At the other extreme, the Spanish legacy of contempt for authority manifests in white-collar crimes and intellectual property violations. Between these extremes, a gradient exists, with individuals sometimes violating laws or norms, expressing both forms of contempt in practical terms. This duality of behaviour is evident in violation maps, as all provinces demonstrate quantitative values for both types of contempt (Ruiz and Felice, 2024).

The persistence of pigmentocracy in pre- and post-colonial Argentine society has had, and continues to have, measurable effects that impact the development of the independent nation. What initially emerged as forms of resistance against conquerors and colonists transformed, following the loss of cultural memory, into violations of norms and laws, hindering the country's stability.

Pigmentocracy arises from a biassed conception of others, based on longstanding prejudices, which has remained unchanged in Argentine society for centuries. As a practice deeply rooted in culture, any attempts to change it through laws alone, without first enacting profound cultural shifts, are unlikely to yield effective results.

An example of the difficulty in changing customs can be seen in the attempts by U.S. society to reduce the number of deaths from mass shootings. Research has shown that states with more permissive gun laws and higher rates of gun ownership experience higher rates of mass shootings (Reeping, 2019). However, despite evidence of the harmfulness of this gun-carrying custom (Zeoli, 2019), there have been, at least in the literature reviewed, no profound attempts to change a practice that is perceived as part of social identity (Lacombe, 2019).

#### 6.2. Identity in Conflict

Argentine society is highly admixed. Despite the existence of state-recognised indigenous peoples and communities, the boundaries between indigenous and non-indigenous groups are blurred, depending on the perspective adopted. In genetic, phenotypic, and cultural terms, there is a continuum without clear limits, as there are individuals who do not self-identify as indigenous but may have significant genetic or phenotypic ties to indigenous heritage. These individuals may also share elements of Spanish Andean language and celebrate indigenous rituals or customs.

This diffuse duality manifests itself in territorial conflicts, which represent a highly complex issue involving a wide variety of land ownership situations. In these conflicts, those involved may be self-identified descendants of indigenous peoples or Argentine citizens who do not identify as indigenous. This unique aspect of Argentine identity can result in situations that may appear paradoxical or absurd to an external observer. For instance, a rural landowner who does not recognise themselves as indigenous could possess a greater Amerindian genetic heritage than other individuals claiming land as indigenous. In cases such as those between 2007 and 2008, 54% of rural indigenous populations were involved in territorial conflicts, but 32% of non-indigenous peasants also sought access to, or retention of, land (Domínguez, 2009).

As previously emphasised, the formal recognition of indigenous peoples by the state does not imply that pigmentocracy affects only them. Descendants of original peoples who have mixed with Euroasiatic immigrants, both pre- and post-colonial, and are now part of Argentine citizenry, also experience the effects of pigmentocracy to varying degrees. However, in this area, the boundaries are blurred, cultural memories intermingle, and some individuals emphasise their Euroasiatic heritage while neglecting their American roots, whereas others have begun to recover their indigenous and African legacies more recently.

The current indigenous peoples represent an extreme case within the complex issue of indigeneity in Argentina. The Spanish Crown's novel approach of validating relationships between Spaniards and Amerindians had a lasting impact, continuing to this day. Indigenous peoples in 21st-century Argentina, despite being socially isolated, are not genetically isolated. Their lack of integration into Argentine society stems from the absence of cultural recognition and the societal contempt that isolates them as an extreme case of pigmentocracy. This isolation will persist as long as the forms of pigmentocracy affecting them remain intact.

#### 6.3. Contempt for Authority and Political Stability

It is important to note that this work does not focus on analysing political instability in Argentina, but rather on studying the causes that generate it, through the observation and analysis of human behaviour over time.

In this publication, it has been deduced that indigenous resistance to the conqueror and coloniser manifests as non-compliance with laws and regulations, a pattern that persists in the 21st century. This indirect expression of contempt for authority is compounded by and intermingles with the non-compliance inherited from the Spanish contempt for the authority of the Spanish Crown in America (Felice and Ruiz, 2024). Both forms of contempt contribute to political instability, defined here as the duration of a ruler's time in office. This instability has been demonstrated in two prior publications (Felice and Ruiz, 2023a, 2023b), where "ruler" refers to viceroys, governors, presidents, democratic and de facto interveners, caudillos, and others from a broad list of designations.

Indigenous contempt for authority, in the form of historical non-compliance, is not unique to indigenous peoples; this behaviour has permeated Argentine society due to the country's

unique genetic composition. As shown in a separate publication (Ruiz and Felice, 2024), the Argentine Northwest (NOA), which has the highest percentages of Amerindian and African genetic content, also displays the highest rates of traffic accidents and tax evasion. These behaviours appear to represent a combination of the forms of contempt for authority analysed in this work. The variables used in that publication include samples from the main cities of each province, and no indigenous group was specifically targeted; the samples were representative of all inhabitants of the provinces.

The other form of contempt for authority, inherited from the Spaniards and based on the absence of punishment (Felice and Ruiz, 2024), is also widespread across society. This can be seen in the vast number of traffic law violations in certain provinces of the NOA (Ruiz and Felice, 2024), characterised by both massive non-compliance and the lack of significant penalties, perpetuating a harmful cycle of fatal traffic accidents.

Non-compliance with laws and regulations, as manifestations of the two forms of contempt for authority, underpins all the factors of *political instability* described in the section "Political Stability and Contempt for Authority" of this work.

# **6.4.** Proof of the Hypothesis

All the information analysed in this work can be condensed into a set of factual statements that serve to demonstrate our hypotheses regarding contempt for authority. The statements are validated from the point of view of propositional logic.

Table 1

| Logic operation                             | Result   |
|---|--|
| A4 $\wedge$ A5 $\wedge$ B6 $\rightarrow$ A9 | Mistreatment of indigenous people persists to the present day.   |
| $D1 \wedge D2 \wedge D3 \rightarrow B9$     | Mistreatment generates contempt, and contempt leads to non-compliance with laws and regulations.   |
| $A7 \land E8 \rightarrow C9$                | Toxic social behaviours rooted in the mistreatment of indigenous people have been transmitted across generations and have spread throughout society. |

Each statement is supported by historical, psychological, and sociological foundations, presented in the relevant sections of this work.

#### **6.5.** Corollary

From these premises, it can be deduced that forced changes gave rise to indigenous contempt towards the white conqueror and coloniser. This contempt was expressed in practice through non-compliance with the authority of the white population, a custom passed down through generations, which evolved into a more general contempt for laws and regulations issued by any authority.

However, it must be acknowledged that pigmentocracy has blurred ethnic and ethical boundaries, causing toxic social customs to spread throughout society, forming a gradient from indigenous communities to those considered "white" at the other extreme. Furthermore, contempt for laws and regulations implies non-compliance, which negatively impacts the stability of Argentine rulers, as demonstrated in the section "Political Stability and Contempt for Authority".

Thus, the proposed hypothesis, that *indigenous contempt for the authority of the white conqueror and coloniser is a primary causal factor of political instability in Argentina*, is factually demonstrated.

#### 7. Conclusions

In this paper, the origin of indigenous contempt for authority has been presented through an analysis of historical, psychological, and sociological sources. This explanation sheds light on how the toxic social behaviours of the inhabitants of the Argentine Republic originated.

Essentially, in Argentina, contempt for all types of authority stems from two sources: the Spanish disdain for the authority of the Royal Crown in America and the indigenous rejection of the authority of the white conqueror and coloniser. Paradoxically, the racial mixture sanctioned by the Spanish Crown between Europeans and indigenous people led to the emergence of pigmentocracy, which reinforced toxic customs regarding the adherence to laws within society.

The propositionally logical and well-founded statements provided here support one of the initial hypotheses regarding the origin of contempt for authority among Argentine citizens in the 21st century. However, to establish a complete causal relationship, it is necessary to substantiate the hypothesis through statistical methods, beyond the factual evidence provided. This would require a quantitative study of the extent of non-compliance with laws and regulations, a task that falls outside the scope of this work. Nevertheless, the findings presented here, in combination with those from another publication addressing contempt for authority as a source of noncompliance (Felice and Ruiz, 2024), enable a clearer understanding of the primary causes of political instability in Argentina. This clarity allows for more rational measures to be taken, focusing on addressing the root causes of noncompliance with laws and regulations rather than merely treating the symptoms.

For instance, instead of attempting to resolve indigenous territorial claims through judicial or forceful means—taking into account both indigenous and official perspectives—a different approach could be considered. One potential solution involves fostering a sense of national identity among the descendants of indigenous peoples, encouraging them to feel Argentine while embracing their Diaguita, Huarpe, or Mapuche roots, in the same way that descendants of 20th-century European immigrants feel Argentine while maintaining their Italian, Spanish, or German heritage.

A comprehensive analysis of the issues surrounding contempt, along with factual and mathematical conclusions, and a detailed proposal for possible solutions to Argentina's challenges, will be discussed in a forthcoming publication. In that work, specific recommendations on policies and actions aimed at enhancing Argentine political stability will be thoroughly examined.

#### 8. Suggestions for Politicians

Historical information plays a crucial role in understanding the toxic social behaviours of Argentinians. Evidence can serve as the foundation for cultural plans and laws designed to promote cultural changes that foster political stability and the well-being of the population. It is important to consider ethnicity in social planning and resource distribution, alongside cultural measures that strengthen Argentine multiculturalism and dismantle pigmentocracy. Additionally, integrating non-European contributions into Argentina's historical narrative, recognising the social contributions of indigenous peoples alongside those of European and African immigrants, and blending American and African worldviews with Eurasian perspectives will help create a culture that is inclusive of all Argentine citizens.

#### 9. Limitations of the Work

Throughout this work, an effort has been made to avoid ideological polarisation or bias in the collection and analysis of historical information. However, some cultural bias may have influenced the interpretation of the accumulated data. In sections where psychological aspects are examined, there may be subjective elements, especially regarding the interpretation of indigenous testimonies that have been indirectly translated.

Certain aspects of our analyses may be considered anachronistic. For instance, the Spanish response to specific behaviours exhibited by some indigenous peoples should be understood in the context of the time. An extreme example is the practice of cannibalism among the Lules, Guaraníes, or Mocovíes in present-day Argentine territory (Prebisch, 1991). When judged within the historical context, this behaviour likely triggered strong rejection and disdain towards the indigenous population, leading to broad generalisations. Therefore, to avoid a romanticised perspective of native peoples, the indigenous viewpoint has been analysed in this work solely to focus on the effects of conquest and colonisation on individuals, as a means to explain contemporary social behaviours.

In the section on the intergenerational transmission of social behaviours, most of the analysis remains factual due to the absence of quantitative data on customs from the colonial period. Examples include reduced labour productivity, illegal land occupation, or tax evasion. A more in-depth exploration of historical documents, such as the minutes from municipal councils, wills, or inventories of entities, would be necessary to gain further insight.

One area that has not been developed with sufficient depth in this work is the concept of the ethnic and ethical gradient among Argentinians, stemming from extensive miscegenation. This is partly due to the need for knowledge of genetics, genetic markers, and the relevant methodologies to describe this information, which falls beyond the scope of this publication. Furthermore, the social behaviours inherited from both indigenous and Spanish peoples are dispersed across the population in ways that are challenging to quantify, making it difficult to draw precise conclusions about their prevalence and influence.

#### Acknowledges

This work was supported by institutional funds from Facultad de Ciencias Exactas y Tecnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán; Laboratorio de Medios e Interfases and Instituto de Investigaciones Biológicas (UNT-CONICET).

#### **Supplementary Material**

All material is either **here** or in the QR code

S1 Testimonials

S2 Suicides 2017 2021

S3 Skin colour in Argentina



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