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Coloniality as a Relationship and Blood Cleansing: A Brief Study on the Contributions of Santiago Castro-Gómez.

Colonialidad como emparentamiento y limpieza de sangre: un breve estudio sobre los aportes de Santiago Castro-Gómez.

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ABSTRACT

In the present work, in the light of the reading of the philosopher Santiago Castro-Gómez, we will try to elucidate his theory about the coloniality of power and the way in which such a device codified the bodies according to the discourse of blood cleansing. So, first, we will briefly develop two different types of theories about power: on the one hand, the theory of the coloniality of power, presented by the Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano; on the other hand, the analytics of power, developed by Michel Foucault. Both theories, which seem immeasurable, are put into dialogue by our philosopher. In the second part of our work, we will prepare to present the practices and modus operandi corresponding to the coloniality of power to manifest its uniqueness in comparison to other types of powers. Likewise, we will show how a certain sector of the population, in an attempt to consolidate their family and personal interests, used these practices to limit corporality. Third, and by way of conclusion, we will make a brief sketch about the link between the coloniality of power and the political practices of current Colombia.

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RESUMEN

En el presente trabajo, a la luz de la lectura del filósofo Santiago Castro-Gómez, intentaremos dilucidar su concepción acerca de la colonialidad del poder y la manera en que tal dispositivo codificó los cuerpos conforme al discurso de la limpieza de sangre. De manera que, en el primer apartado, desarrollaremos brevemente dos tipos diferentes de teorías sobre el poder: por un lado, la teoría de la colonialidad del poder, presentada por el sociólogo peruano Aníbal Quijano; por otro lado, la analítica del poder, desarrollada por Michel Foucault. Ambas teorías, que parecen inconmensurables, son puestas en diálogo por nuestro filósofo. En la segunda parte de nuestro trabajo, nos dispondremos a presentar las prácticas y el modus operandi correspondientes a la colonialidad del poder para manifestar su singularidad en comparación a otro tipo de poderes. Asimismo, desplegaremos de qué manera cierto sector de la población, en un intento por consolidar sus intereses familiares y personales, utilizó estas prácticas para limitar la corporalidad. En tercer lugar y a modo de conclusión, realizaremos un breve bosquejo acerca del vínculo entre la colonialidad del poder y las prácticas políticas de la actual Colombia.

Palabras claves: Estudios Postcoloniales. Taxonomía de cuerpos. Teoría heterárquica del poder. Colonialidad. Castro-Gómez.

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Introduction

In principle, we must understand that one of the purposes of Santiago Castro-Gómez in his book El tonto y los roguelas (2019) is to analyze the present of Colombia, a present strongly influenced by colonial legacies (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.60). For this reason, he goes back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to examine what Aníbal Quijano called the coloniality of power. The coloniality of power consists of a set of techniques and mechanisms for the direction of behavior that mark the behavior and modes of valuation of society until today in Colombia. Castro-Gómez argues that the coloniality of power comes as a consequence of the consolidation of the reservation, i.e., of the

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confrontation of forces between the Empire, the Church, the encomenderos and the Creole landowners. It is about the way in which the Creoles sought to protect and increase their power in the social space. The Creoles began to create a strategic network of kinships from their personal interests to ensure the transmission of acquired and inherited privileges. In this way, "large'family clans' are thus formed that encode the bodies according to their lineage and produce a 'memory' of the inherited privileges" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.48). Here the Colombian philosopher means that power was maintained within certain groups of families through the creation of marriage alliances and kinship strategies.

In this sense, coloniality is constituted, as Aníbal Quijano and Walter Mignolo point out, simultaneously with the process of conquest and colonialization of the Americas (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.45). So this technique was reproduced by settlers, landowners and Creole encomenderos of New Granada, who were harmed by the reservation. Thus, while the coloniality of power originated in the specific local practices of New Granada between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the problematic core lies in the fact that, according to Castro-Gómez's perspective, Colombia is still firmly rooted in colonial vestiges.

The concept of "coloniality" from a heterarchic perspective of power

As we noted earlier, the main emphasis of this chapter is the link Castro-Gomez finds in two seemingly different types of power: the coloniality of power and the analytics of power. To conduct such research, our philosopher attempts to trace a genealogy of the first specific type of power. However, he does not use the macrosociological method proposed by Aníbal Quijano, but approaches this concept from the genealogical method of analysis formulated by Michel Foucault (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.43).

Now, Castro Gómez affirms that the analysis developed by Foucault until 1975 was strongly influenced by Nietzschean thought, who considers power as the intertwining of multiple forces with different intensities, which dispute each other in a tense way. For Nietzsche, any force is in relation to other forces, to obey or to command. Power is precisely this relationship between dominant forces

and dominated forces. Dominant or higher forces are called active; while the lower or dominated forces, reactive (cf. Deleuze, 2015b, 59-64). This model of the permanent struggle between forces of different kinds is used by Foucault to analyze hospital, school and prison practices. We see then, and I return to Castro-Gómez for the clarity of his arguments: "the analysis of power consists in raising a diagram of the forces in conflict, in tracing their genealogy, showing what are the various strategies of struggle, the stratifications that are generated, the historical modification of the forces that fight" (2019, p.20). So power is not the result of a hierarchy, but is the arbitrary and partial product of the forces that compose it. In short, power can be understood as a network that unites multiple power relations that cross, characterize and shape society at the microphysical level.

However, in mid-1976, Foucault modified this microphysical model of power and opted for a more global analysis of power focused on biopolitics. Such technology appears in the second part of the eighteenth century and operates in the regulation of global processes that allow the population to guarantee a productive life for the State. Biopolitics tends to the search for a certain type of population, as axes of normality, through the violent and oppressive exclusion of those who are part of otherness. In the words of Castro-Gómez: "biopolitics declares as 'enemies' of society all those groups that, due to their ethnic origin, language or religion, do not conform to the desired population norm" (2019, p.21). The introduction of this novel technology of power allows the French philosopher to reflect on the totalitarian states of the twentieth century that emerged in Europe: fascism, Stalinism and Nazism. Indeed, in his course Defending Society (1975-1976), Foucault declares that modern biopolitical rationality shapes even the discourse of "race war" fostered by Nazism. Recall that the guiding principle of Nazi eugenics was "racial hygiene," focused not only on genetic and biological characteristics, but also on mental and spiritual qualities. Thus, eugenics became the central axis of medical practice with the intention of effecting a biosocial transformation through the control of reproduction. The Nazi party wanted to eliminate all kinds of disabilities from German society, either because they were not "fit" for society (mentally retarded, congenital diseases, homosexuals, political dissidents), or because, although genetically healthy, they were not considered Germans (Jews,

Gypsies and Slavs). Thus, an ideological division was made between those who were and those who were not considered racially and genetically desirable (Geyer and Fitzpatrick, 2009, p.87).

In this genealogical search, the French philosopher tries to discover the origin of this type of discourse, namely: creator of opposable populations constantly at war. Foucault finds a strong connection between racism and colonialism, since it is specifically in colonization where the discourse of physical, ethnic and moral superiority operates as a biopolitical device.

Now, as we pointed out in the introduction, Castro-Gómez takes up the term coloniality of power of Aníbal Quijano;this is a specific structure of domination developed in the American colonies from 1492 onwards. This category implied not only subjugation and domination by armed force, but also the establishment of a power bond founded on the idea of an ethnic and cognitive superiority of the colonizers over the colonized. The colonizers promoted the idea of the existence of "races" that divided by taxonomies the world population, establishing a codification on the bodies. In this sense, there were "by nature" superior and inferior subjects, depending on the race or population to which they belong. So that each subject was assigned a fixed and immovable place within the social hierarchy. In fact, it is the notion of "race" into which colonialism has its epistemic roots. This type of hierarchical classification of the population allowed in the sixteenth century the consolidation of Spanish rule in America; in the seventeenth century he found a greater scientific justification with the naturalistic model; and then, in the nineteenth century, it was founded on the biological model.

After all, both Foucault and Quijano establish an extrinsic link between racism and colonialism. But, Castro-Gómez explains that it is impossible to say that Foucault was thinking about the coloniality of power as defined by Quijano, since the French philosopher was interested in the racism exercised within European borders. However, in contrast to Quijano, Foucault does not refer to the colonial racism established in the sixteenth century nor does he maintain that colonialism makes possible all types of racism, but refers to a specific type of colonialism: English and French colonialism that emerged in the nineteenth century. For Foucault, there are different forms, some totally different, of racialization, which depend on the agents involved, the context and the various forms of power.

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What is of main interest to Castro-Gómez of the Foucaultian turn towards a more global model of analysis of power is that Foucault postulates, simultaneously with the birth of biopolitics, the origin of a suprastate security system that allows, in the seventeenth century, the strengthening of each of the States. More precisely, in the lessons Security, Territory, Population (1977-1978), Foucault argues that the technologies of government over human behavior used by the pastoral power of the Middle Ages came to control populations in modern European states with the use of biopolitical techniques. Then, states begin to control everything that may be considered harmful to society through a string of internal security devices. They also wield power through external security arrangements to strengthen strained ties between States.

From this supra-State system of security arises the notion of "Europe". Foucault considers that this term is presented only in the seventeenth century caused by colonial relations of power. The plurality of this idea allows the formation of a group of states that compete with each other, but without risking the internal security of each of them or the system as a whole (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.27-28).

Now, this suprastate security device, presented by Foucault as an interstate-system, is what Quijano, like Wallerstein, called the world-system. The plurality of this term should be highlighted, since Europe is constituted by a multiplicity of defined States belonging to an interstate network, which is formed from a balance of power. Therefore, it is a "system", rather than an "empire".

The relevance of this world-system is that Foucault then deepens his analysis until he finds a new governmental rationality: mercantile rationality. Thus, from the emergence of trade liberalization, a new external security device originates that radically modifies the notion of "colonialism". Colonialism no longer implies only the territorial domination of European countries over their colonies, but adds economic dominance (Castro-Gómez, 2019, pp.30-31). This level is referred to by Foucault as a macrophysicist.

At this point we can see how Castro-Gómez delineates the link between the French philosopher and the Peruvian sociologist. Although the "heterarchic analysis of power" is properly

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Foucaultian and the concept of "coloniality of power" is Quijano's, we highlight castro-Gómez's specific philosophical reading: this is where the novelty lies.

Our philosopher articulates the various chains of power, each of which works with its own logics and are linked through different technologies present in coloniality. This does not imply that there are no hierarchies of power, in fact, the molar level where these hierarchies circulate and the molecular level that breaks the current structures (i.e. hierarchies) intersect continuously. "It is constantly reconstituted in each other, or extracted from each other" (Deleuze, 2015a, p.272). The powers are in perpetual motion, changing, penetrated by events, singularities or virtualities that make them fluctuate. The devices are partially connected, because they connect, disconnect and move from one point to another point. So when Castro-Gómez takes up five hierarchies of social classification used since the sixteenth century: class, race, gender, sexuality and religion described by Quijano, he makes a Foucaultian reading of each of them: "that production of hierarchies is not in itself hierarchical, but obeys a heterarchic logic, that is, the inductive articulation between different techniques of power" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.34). If hierarchical theories of power posit that the most global levels of power structure and subordinate the less global levels, then the coloniality of power hierarchically determines all existing power relations. However, "in a heterarchic theory of power it is not possible to speak of capitalism as if it were the bearer of a single rationality, but as the conjugation between different technologies of government" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.36). From this reading, coloniality is understood through multiple government devices that regulate and discipline the population and operate both at the biopolitical level and at the corpopolitical level. For this reason, we will no longer say that there is a "coloniality of power, but that there are many colonial devices" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.36).

Coloniality and blood cleansing: strategies of kinship

Beginning his research, Castro-Gómez points out that the primary feature of the coloniality of power is domination by means that are not necessarily repressive. It points, more specifically, towards the

naturalization of the Western cultural imaginary to break with other cognitive, affective and volitional visions of the world.

Thus, "The coloniality of power refers to the way in which the Spanish domination sought to eliminate the 'many ways of knowing' typical of the native populations and replace them with others that served the civilizational purposes of the colonial regime" (Castro-Gómez, 2005, p.63). In fact, European culture became an aspiration, since it was the way to access power. Our philosopher points out: "The coloniality of power is revealed, then, as a desire to identify with the European conqueror, that is, to see and define themselves from the mirror of the colonizer" (2019, p.48). In other words, in the quest to participate in colonial power, the desire to be part of Europe ran through both colonizers and colonized.

It was necessary to meet one of the following requirements: to have "blood of conquerors" or to have "noble blood". The first involves validating having direct descent from the Spanish settlers; the second, to have direct descent from a nobleman. Castro-Gómez explains:

> On the one hand the nobility of privilege, which was acquired for being a descendant of Spaniards -even if they were not nobles-, on the other hand the nobility of birth, which was had from the cradle for being "son of something", that is,hidalgo. (2019, p.48).

However, the population groups of New Granada that did not meet one of these requirements were considered of lower racial quality. Thus, they began to use the term "white" to indicate those subjects who managed to verify that they were direct descendants of the first Spanish settlers or that they had some kinship with a Spanish noble family.

In this sense, the Platonic model is clearly perceived: there is a higher idea as a serial reason and then ideas linked to the first according to their graduations follow. The pattern or original that contains all perfection is the white man and the rest of the ideas, the dominated, are like paintings or images, which may disagree with perfection quickly, but in no way could contain more perfection of the things from which they have been taken. In short, to turn the dominated into a man with the nature, subjectivity and ways of relating of the European white man.

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Castro-Gómez takes up the statutes of cleansing of blood constituted in the Council of Toledo in 1449, by means of which the entry of Jews or Arabs converted to Christianity to colleges, military orders and monasteries in the Peninsula was prohibited. Thus, an attempt was made to mark a distance between the old Christians and the Jewish or Arab converts. The only way they had to access these institutions was to perform the so-called "blood test", a procedure through which candidates had to certify the family tree of the family and be subjected to an extensive interrogation in order to prove that they do not carry in their veins "Jewish blood" or "Moorish blood". Therefore, blood cleansing has an essential criterion of differentiation: genealogical ancestry. In fact, the term "race" commonly used in the structure of blood cleansing thinking does not relate to skin color, but meant having a blemish, a defect, a Jewish or Muslim ancestry.

This type of strategy was appropriated by the group of landed Creoles of the seventeenth century to create an ethnic border between them and the rest of the population. In this way, they could maintain their family and personal interests. Castro-Gómez explains: "The key point is that members of family clans begin to stage themselves no longer as 'old Christians', but as 'whites' (2019, p.49). Indians and mestizos were derogatorily called "land castes." As in the statutes of cleansing of blood, whiteness is not about the tonality of the skin, but about a set of processes of kinship or the search for European descent.

Consequently, this type of power did not act only by force, but tried to tear away the ways of knowing the world that the dominated had to impose on them as their own the perception and language of the dominator. In short, the cleansing of blood was established within the imaginary of the dominated. Therefore, repression manifested itself primarily in the different cognitive modes of a human being: "the ways of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols and modes of meaning; on the resources, patterns and instruments of formalized and objectified expression, intellectual or visual" (Castro-Gómez, 2005, p.62). Thus, the dominators stripped the dominated of the legitimacy of the ways of producing knowledge and meanings that the latter had. In fact, when the mestizos increased their economic capacity, they tried to take over the distinctive signs of the Creoles. They married white women from impoverished

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families, applied the gift or dona, wore clothes and ornaments typical of the nobility, rode horses, carried weapons, etc. Even the caciques considered legitimate successors of the pre-Hispanic indigenous nobility demanded to be named with European titles such as duke, marquis or count.

Coloniality and related strategies: safeguarding privileges

The coloniality of power arises from the confluence of two forces that operate with entirely different logics, namely: sovereign power and pastoral power. Both forces are agencyd and constitute the safeguard. On the one hand, there is the sovereign power that acts by territorialization. At the end of the fifteenth century, Spain formed a group of "middle-ranking captains, adventurers without work, landless peasants, soldiers, sailors and impoverished nobles, who saw in the voyages of conquest the possibility of improving their economic situation and of rising socially" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.59). This group, led by the Spanish crown, is sent to explore new territories to conquer. The main interest of the sovereign is not the population, but the guardianship of territories and metallic resources. These territories had to be organized on the basis of juridization, taxation, vassalage and administration to ensure sovereignty. On the other hand, pastoral power is executed by individualization. This type of power does not seek to increase the wealth of the sovereign, but "the evangelization of the indigenous, the salvation of their souls and the expansion of the spiritual reign of the church throughout all nations, according to the commandment of Christ" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.46). Foucault explains that the pastoral line refers to Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Hebrew practices, while the sovereign line derives from Greek and Roman practices. As we can see, they are two totally different types of power: "The imperial machine operates on the territory, while the ecclesial machine operates on subjectivities" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.46).

Now, the empire and the church noted that the exploitation of indigenous labor and its extermination could harm their interests. Castro-Gómez comments that, for the former, it was considered a loss of sovereignty; and, for the latter, as a delegitimization of their missionary work. For this reason, both powers approved the Laws of Burgos in 1512 and the New Laws in 1546. These encomiendas proposed to organize the indigenous communities separated from the Spaniards, under

the tutorship of an encomendero responsible for their evangelization. The reservation attributed the lands to the indigenous communities (not as owners) and the tributes to the Spanish crown. Likewise, the indigenous communities were separated from the other castes, whether mulattoes, mestizos, etc. Thus, the Spanish colonists and their Creole descendants were the most harmed by these decrees, since they desired the possession of the lands and labor of the Indians, but now the Indians would have a place in the economy of that society (cf. Castro-Gómez, 2005, p. 261). As our philosopher explains, the interests of sovereign power were categorically different from the interests of the Creole encomenderos and landowners, "since the reservations legally prevented the fruit of indigenous labor from remaining entirely in their hands and under their jurisdiction" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.49).

Likewise, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Spanish government changed from the Austrias to the Bourbons and the latter "realized that the mestizo labor force had become the most dynamic productive sector of the American colonies (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.56). Therefore, they declare measures to favor the cleansing of the blood of the mestizos, such as access to higher education, entry into the army or the priesthood, as well as the possibility of buying and selling.

But, the Creoles, feeling that they were against their interests, made the Spanish authorities strictly regulate the legal measures of whitening. They implemented a more precise taxonomy to measure blood whiteness that also implemented rights and duties according to the caste to which they belonged. "Belonging to a 'race' meant having a macula in the family tree, carrying the stain of the earth for being an individual fruit of the relationship with blacks, Indians, mestizos, Muslims, Arabs, etc.". We can observe that the term "race" was used as a synonym for caste, for this reason, whites were not considered as a race.

So The Creole families increased their income through indigenous labor outside the reservation and the work of slaves in mining. For this reason, the phrase "it is obeyed, but it is not fulfilled" became popular, since the Creoles obtained greater independence from the power of the Spanish crown. Castro-Gómez exemplifies this situation, the first with Antón de Olalla, who was a farmer and infantry ensign of New Granada who participated in the expedition of Jiménez de Quesada

in 1537. Their descendants began to make marriage alliances in order to maintain and increase the inherited patrimony. In fact, the second is the example of the husband of Olalla's daughter, Francisco Maldonado de Mendoza, a Spanish nobleman who had arrived in New Granada. Among other issues, he founded the Mayorazgo de la Dehesa de Bogotá, through which it was guaranteed that only members of his lineage could obtain their assets. In this way, he forced his descendants to use his surname. Thus, a clan was composed with the most prestigious families, "clan that monopolized encomiendas, lands, mines and also managed to monopolize municipal and provincial power in the New Kingdom of Granada" (Castro Gómez, 2005, p.69).

The Creoles implemented all kinds of practices to stage their whiteness socially such as "The type of clothing used, Catholic marriage, the distinctive use of the "Don", the type of office that a person performs, the place of housing, the use of heraldic emblems and the ostentation of university degrees" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.50). Even the university was a center of teaching in which pastoral power was linked to the coloniality of power. These institutions were governed by the Church and not by the State, who perpetuated a rebellious Truth and the evangelizing mission in society. Thus, the university "was heading towards the Christianization of indigenous and other population groups in the Americas, some universities established chairs of aboriginal languages in order to prepare missionaries to exercise this moral and epistemic function" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.51).

Creole elites took university education as a mechanism for caste exclusion. Indeed, one of the requirements for admission to the academy was to check the cleanliness of blood, that is:

> [...] it was demanded that both his parents and his parents be legitimate children, that they did not perform low trades and that he was not stained with the blood of the earth, that is, that his family was not related to blacks, Indians or mestizos" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.51).

Castro-Gómez explains that the procedure used was similar to the so-called "information", which was used in Spain during the fifteenth century so that Moors and Jews could not participate in power. The so-called "information" consisted of an extensive interrogation in front of a commission and a notary who transcribed the statements of the applicant and his witnesses to validate the blood cleansing.

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Indeed, "the university operates as a mechanism for legitimizing inherited cultural capital" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p. 51). The colonial university constitutes a legitimate border between the Creoles and the castes, since it structures and validates the dominant sectors from the naturalization and universalization of the differences between the classes.

However, these mechanisms failed to stop the rapid process of miscegenation in New Granada, to the point that the reservation began to be an obsolete institution. As a consequence, the Creoles created a strategy as a defense of the advance of miscegenation, namely: "the taxonomization of populations according to a discourse of castes" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.53).

As we saw earlier, the Spanish crown had used the classification of the population as a mechanism for the collection of attributes, since both whites and Indians had to pay taxes, while mestizos were exempted. Now, in this case, Castro-Gómez finds another way to operate from the classifying discourses, since they intended to distinguish their place in the social pyramid from their degree of cleansing of blood. In the same way that scientists made descriptions about fauna and flora, the Creoles created a "physiological representation of the population", that is, the description of the subjects from the color of the skin, eyes, height, hair type. The more "whiteness" an individual had, the more likely he is to be socially recognized and to obtain public or ecclesiastical office. Castro-Gómez explains: "The phenotype of individuals (white, black, Indian, mestizo) determined their position in the social space and their ability to access those cultural and political goods that could be translated in terms of distinction" (2005, p.69).

In short, the second objective of the strategies of kinship of the Creoles that our philosopher presents is the centralization of power, namely: the strategies used to maintain family privileges. These strategies of kinship had the pretension of avoiding the usurpation or expropriation of power by some kind of centralized instance – such as the Spanish crown – and generating a separation between the Creoles and the rest of the neo-Granada population. After all, "the coloniality of power is a type of power that was characterized by systematically circumventing Spanish laws and their most representative institutions" (Castro-Gómez, 2019, p.59). While they never attempted to overthrow the Spanish crown, it is true that they sought to circumvent their controls and accommodate their

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mandates to their personal interests. They prevented the crown from supervising the privileges they accumulated, such as titles of nobility, slave labor, land holdings. In short, the coloniality of power refers both to the strategic creation of family alliances based on the whiteness of blood, and to the protection of inherited and acquired privileges.

Conclusion

The discourse of cleansing blood generated an internal desire for the whiteness that encompassed colonial society and constituted the subjectivity of social actors. As we said before, the imaginary of whiteness was little related to skin color, "as with the personal staging of a cultural imaginary woven by religious beliefs, types of clothing, certificates of nobility, modes of behavior and [...] for ways of producing and transmitting knowledge" (Castro-Gómez, 2005, p. 64). Indeed, the imaginary of whiteness encompassed a system of signs by which they imposed distinctions associated with social status, specific ways of producing knowledge, certificates of nobility, values, ways of behaving and disciplines. Foucault explains that power subjects us to the production of truth, since it is necessary for power to work. In fact, "we are judged, condemned, classified, forced to perform tasks, destined for a certain way of living or a certain way of dying, based on true discourses that carry with them specific effects of power" (2001, p.34).

For this reason, Castro-Gómez affirms that it is the process of taxonomization of bodies that causes the racialization of bodies and not the belief of a true pre-existing nature in bodies. Now, another of the fundamental aspects of the coloniality of power is what Castro-Gómez called "the expulsion of the State" (2019, p.59). Because the first settlers of the Americas were individuals in a bad economic and social situation; after the conquest, they began to claim rewards such as titles of nobility, money, and privileges of the Crown. Thus, they accumulated large amounts of privileges granted by the Crown and also obtained outside the law from the exploitation of slave labor and the cleansing of uncontrolled blood by being far from the royal authorities. Castro-Gómez explains that "both the advanced and captains and their direct descendants, the Creoles, constituted a "separate

group" that always sought to defend their local privileges against the central authority" (2019, p.59). They sought to ignore and avoid all real controls and mandates.

The relevance of these points is that, according to our philosopher, today both characteristics invade the present day of Colombia. The coloniality of power is part of the habitus of Colombia's ruling elite, as it constantly seeks to misrepresent the law in favor of their personal interests. Like the Creoles, the ruling elite tries to circumvent the rules and accommodate them in their favor. Our philosopher argues that these behaviors arose with the device of whiteness; however, this has not remained in the past, since, after the wars of independence, these political practices marked the way in which individuals are linked to the "public". So, this type of behavior seems to be rooted in neo-Granada social ties in the sixteenth century. In short, once the political party has won the elections, the state must reward certain families and institutions through the granting of jobs, privileges, contracts, etc. The State, based on clientelism, forms power links to guarantee electoralsupport.

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