

CHIMBORAZO MARKAPIKA CATOLICO PROTESTANTE KARIKUNAMI, PAYKUNA ASHTAWAN KASHKATA MIRACHINKUNA DOMINACIÓN MASCULINA EN LAS IGLESIAS PROTESTANTE Y CATÓLICA DE LAS COMUNIDADES KICHWAS DE CHIMBORAZO MALE DOMINATION IN THE PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC CHURCHES OF THE KICHWAS COMMUNITIES OF CHIMBORAZO

UCHILLACHISHKA YUYAY

Kay killkayka, pampakunapi yachaykunata chalashpami, imashina protestante shinallatak católico Apunchikpak wasita pushak karikunaka warmikunata makashpalla, rimashpalla kawsashkamantami yuyarikrin. Apunchikpak wasita pushaktukushpa, Apunchikpak shimita willaktukushpa, michikkunatukushpashmi católico karikunaka shinallatak protestante karikunaka, Chimborazo markapika -yuyaywan, rimaywan, makaywanpishmi-warmikunata llapichishpalla kawsankuna. Kay killkayka yuyarinmi, imashina warmipak aychapi, yuyaypi, samaypipash, karikuna makashkamanta rimashkamantapash. Ashtawankarin, warmikunapak kawsayta alliman apankapak niktukushpallami, warmikunata llapishpa, wishkashpa, uchillayachishpa maykan karikunaka kawsankuna. Maypikarin, warmikunaka karikunalapitakmi kutichirinkuna paykunapak kawsayta michichun. Shinallatak, tapurikuna rimarikunapishmi tiyan, imashina karikuna Apunchikpak shimipi wankarishpa warmikunata llapishpalla kawsahkamanta. Runakunapak alli kawsaypi wankarishpashmi maykan karikunaka warmikunata uchillayachinkuna. Maykan warmikunaka yachaymantapash mana yachaymantapashmi karikunapak llapichina yuyaypi yaykurinkuna. Chashnami, warmikunapak llaki kawsayka Apunchikpak munashkashina rikurin. Llaki kawsayta pipash mana kuyuchina shinata rikuchinkuna. Kay killkayka rurarirkami: tapurikunapi wankarishpa, killkashkakunapi ñawirishpa, rikushkakunapipash yanaparishpa.

Sapi shimikuna: católico tantarishkakuna; kichwa warmikuna; llakikuna; protestante.

RESUMEN

El texto analiza, a partir del trabajo de campo etnográfico, la manera cómo en las iglesias protestantes y católicas los líderes indígenas, en calidad de catequistas, pastores, evangelistas (re) producen las violencias visibles e invisibles sobre las mujeres indígenas kichwas de Chimborazo. Se reflexiona sobre la manera como circula la violencia física contra el cuerpo, la psiquis y el alma de la mujer a fin de corregir, guiar y mejorar las fallas cometidas con la intención de dominarlas, cercarlas y disminuirlas hasta el punto de obtener la entrega de sus voluntades y almas. También se cuestiona la forma como la dominación masculina se enmascara y justifica, con frecuencia, con base en los principios bíblicos y los valores indígenas como la complementariedad, categorías que contribuyen, unas veces sin saberlo y otras a pesar suyo, a su propia dominación al aceptar tácitamente los límites impuestos; a la vez que fundan la perpetuación y naturalización de las relaciones de poder. Metodológicamente ponderó las entrevistas y la revisión de archivos.

Palabras clave: católicos; iglesias; mujeres kichwas; protestantes; violencia.

ABSTRACT

The text analyzes, based on ethnographic fieldwork, the way in which the Protestant and Catholic churches, indigenous leaders, as catechists, pastors, evangelists (re) produce visible and invisible violence against the indigenous Kichwas women of Chimborazo. It reflects on the way in which physical violence circulates against the body, the psyche and the soul of the woman in order to correct, guide and improve the failures committed with the intention of mastering, fencing and reducing them to the point of obtaining the delivery their wills and souls. The way in which male domination is often masked and justified is often questioned, based on biblical principles and indigenous values such as complementarity, categories that contribute, sometimes unknowingly and sometimes despite themselves, to their own domination of tacitly accept the limits imposed; while founding the perpetuation and naturalization of power relations. Methodologically weighted interviews and file review.

Keywords: Catholics; churches; kichwa women; Protestants; violence.



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RIKSICHIK

Kay llankayka, taripaykunata rurankapak paktachina ñan kallarishekami kan. Kay taripaykunaka manarak kullkiwan yanpaykunataka charinchu: “Chimborazo markapi católico shinallatak protestante runakunapak kawsayta yachankapak”. Universidad Nacional de Chimborazo hatun yachana wasipimi kay yachay taripaykunapash ñawpakman rikun.

Kay killkay kallarinapakka Carmen Martínez Novo, taripak warmi, paypak killkapi: Ñishkakunamanta, política shinallatak pi kashkamantapash rimashka, kunashkatami hapina “wakin willachishkakunawan kallarina, kay llankay ñukapak yuyayta achikllata sakinapak richun” (2009:21); ñawpakunapi ñukapash pacha kamakmanta willak kashkata yuyarishpa, ñawpakman rik tantarishkakunapak, “protestante wawki panikunawampash” shunkumanta sumak kuchuyay tiyashkamantapish.- shinapash kay taripay miraripika yallishkami kichwa runakunapak kashkamanta, allichishka yuyaymanta shinallatak yachaymantapish, ñishkamanataka mana rimanichu, shinallatak runapak kawsaymanta rimankapakka mana achkatak rikushkanichu, chaykunamanta rimankapakka asha jarkaykuna tiyashkamanta.

Shinallatak, mutzurishkami karka taripak shina kichwa runa kashkamantapash ñukapa yuyayta paktata churana kay yanapak llankaypi, karikunata, warmikunata achka yachakkunami, paykunallatakmi kikin kawsay yuyayta shayachikkuna kan nishpa.

Kay ishkay yuyaymi yanaparka “chaspirinkapak” tawka watakunata católico-kunapak pachakamapak shimita willak kashka yuyaymanta, imapish washayachishka kawsayta ña ama ashtawan harkashpa

katinkapak.

Shinallatak tikrashpa rikusha ninimi ñukapak yachaymanta llankaytapash, yachakmi kani nishpa mana yanka ripararak shinachu rurashkani, kichwa llaktakunawan ñukapak shuk paktachinami kan, ashtawankarin imashina apunchikmanta willakkunapak tantaripi hatun tukuna yuyayta mirachikushkamanta llakiwan rikushkani.

Chimpapura parlankuykunata rurarkani riksik chayankapak sapan yuyaykunata, rimaykunata tarinkapak, imashinatak shuk tantarimantapish, kikin kaymantapish purichikuna kashkata, chaypakka shuk paykuna rimashkata paktata wakichinkapak grabadorawan pallashkani.

Tawka chimpapura parlamakuykuna, parlamakakuna, rimashkakunaka kichwa shimipi rimashkunami karka, mana taripak munashkamanta, ashtawankarin kay taripaykunata rurankapak yanapakkuna kichwa shimipi rimakkuna kashkamanta achikllayachinimi. Killkanakunaka achka suni, sinchimi, chashnapish chay rimaykunallatakmi ashtawan sumakyachikkunami karka. Chimpapura parlamakuykunataka mana pushakkunawan, ushayukkunawanchu rurarkani, ashtawankarin punchanta purik, mana ima minkayta charikkuna mashikunawanmi rurarkani.

Kay killka kallariyapika yuyachinmi warmikunapak, yuyaykunapak parlamakakunamanta, yachachikunchik, rikuchikunchik mana alli kashkata allichikunchik nishpami paykunapak aychapi llakichishkakuna, wanachishkakuna, chashnami llapishkakuna, manachishkakuna, washaychishkakuna paykunapak munayta, yuyayta shunkuta kunka kama. Kunanka chay rikushka “yallishka” llakikunamantaka rikuchisha ninkuna ñawpa warmikunaka ashtawan sinchi kashkata shinapish kay pacha warmikunaka ima llakikunatapish mana chimpapuray tukukkuna.

Ishkay nikipika, imashinami Chimborazo markapi católico tantarishkakuna shinallatak protestantekunapak llakikuna, tupanakuy shinallatak karuyanakuy ukupi rikurinmi kichwa warmikunata rikuripak shinallatak mana rikuripak llakichishka kawsay.

Makashpa yallitak mancharina llakikunaka rikurinmi católico karikunapi, wakimpika machashka kashpami shina llakichinkuna, kutin protestantekunapika pakalla, mana rikuripak shinapish sinchi llakikunami tiyan, chaykunaka achka sinchimi rikurin allichinata yuyanapakka.

Puchukaypika, protestante tantarishkakunapi karikuna yallitakmi warmikunata rikurankuna; shinallatak, yachachinkuna kunankunami kariwan ama tuparichun -chaymantami ashtawan sinchi katiraykunata rurankuna, nishunlla kari warmi aycha pura chayarinakuy imapi mana sawarishka kashpaka, manarak sawarishpa aycha pura chayarinakushka kaspika, apunchikpak wasi kanllallapimi sawarichinkuna, chayka achka pinkaymi kan kikinpakllatak, ayllukunapak, apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkakunapak, washallami riparankuna, alliklla parlanakunkuna, wakinkunaka llakirinkuna, shinaka mana sawarishkakuna aycha pura chayarinakuyka, waynayakkuna nishka, Pachakamakpak shimi killkashkamanta pachami tziknishka wanachishka kan, apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkakuna shinallatak apunchikta shuktak katikkuna tantarishkamantapish, paykunapak tantari ukupika chaykunata wanachinkapak, ushayta charinchikmi ninkunami.

Shinallatak rikuranchikmi, imashinami kariapak llakichika pakashka, shinallatak allimi nishka shina tukun Apunchikpak shimi killashkamanta, kichwa runakunapak chanchimanta ishkantin nishka kashkamanta, wakinkunataka mana yachashkamanta, kutin shukkunataka mana yachashkamanta-

pish llakikunataka ashtawan sinchiyachinkunami, wiñaypak shina, chayka chashnallatakmi nishka shinami tantarishka ushay shinamanta rikukpika.

“YALLISHKA” LLAKICHIKKUNA

Chimborazo markamanta shuk yuyak mama parlashkawan kallarinchik:

Imashinami kusakuna paykunapak warmikunata kaspikunawan waktashpa makaktami rikurkani. Wiwakunata shinami makakkuna karka. Ishki kimsata waktaywanmi urmakkuna karka. Wakimpika warmikunaka paykunapak kusakuna shinallatak machashkakuna karka. Yuyak warmikunapa umakunata rikukpika achkakunami umakunapi chukri alliyashkakunata charinkuna. Sinchi warmikunami kak karkakuna, yawarta pichariwanmi paykunapak kusakunata katishpa takiwan, wakaywan rikkuna karka. Kunan punllakunaka yallitak hawalla warmikunami kankuna. Manapish sinchita rimakpimi wasikunamanta rinkuna, shitanakunkuna, apukunapak ñawpakman rinkunapish. (Juana Gualli, iskay punlla sasi killa de 2016)

Shuktak kawsay:

Ishki kutinmi umata pakirka, mashna kutintakshi chankakuna, chakikuna, rikrakunapish ankasyarkashi, ashka waktaykunamanta. Rikunki ñuka imatami rurak kani nanaytakunata anchuchinkapak, puri tukunkapakpish; “chawpi punllami kallpak karkani maypimi yana tiyu yaku allpa tiyanman, chay rupakuk allpawanmi kakurik kani. Chashnami mana yalli nanakpi, purita ushakkani. Kunan punlla warmikunaka willanaman kallpakunkunallami, mana ñukanchik shina sinchikunachu. Kunan punlla warmikuna paykunapak

kusakuna manapish sinchita rimakpimi wasimanta llukshishpa rinkuna. (María Guaman, chunka pichka punlla wayru killa de 2016)

Kay parlashkakunamanta, allimi tapurina: ¿Kichwa warmikunta mana kashushpaka, maypitak mishayashka sumak kawsayka sakirin? ¿Mishayashka sumak kawsana shutipichu warmikunata makashpa kaw-sankuna? Tatzo (1996) shinallatak Rodriguez tapurikkunami kariwarmi yanaparina-manta, kashna ninkuna: warmi, kari.

Inti killaka rikuchinmi achikta amsata, karita warmita, kawsayta wañuyta; tukuy kay pachapi imalla tiyashkatapish.

Ishkantin, ishkay tukushpa sumakta kawsayka mana nishkallachu kana kan, runa sami kawsaypika tiyantakmi ishki kana, yurakunapi: kari kiwa/warmi kiwa, kari urku/warmi urku, kari kuychi/warmi kuychi. “Kuychita rimashpaka rikushpaka sumakkashkata, mishashkatami rikuchirin” (Rodríguez 1999).

Imashinami hanakman wakin killkakkuna nishka shina; ishkantin kanamantaka mana pantarinachu, shinapish llakikunaka katinllami. ¿Kay Chimborazo markapika Ishkantin, ishkay kanamantaka manachu chay llakichikuna pakalla shina purik kanka? Kikin kawsaymantapacha willashkakunami imashinami kichwa warmikuna karikunapakaka uchillayashka shina kashakauna (Connel 1997).

Chay parlashkakunata allitak yuyarishpa rikukpika makaykunaka wiñaypak kama-chik kashka shinami kan, mana rikurinchu wiñashkalla, umapi churashka kashkallamanta shina kashka (Bourdieu 2015). Pierre Bourdieu nishka shinaka, kay punlla kawsaypika chayshinallatak katinmi; shinallatak kayshukman chayshukman mana alli nikunaka katinllami, ashtawanka protestantismo-

ta katikkuna shinallatak catolicismota katikkunami chashna paktachishpa katikunkuna.

Kay kawsaymanta parlashkakunaka mana rimanchu nishkalla llakichikunamantaka, ashtawankarin rikushka llakikuna kashkata-mi riman, shinapish hamuktay tukunchikmi imashinami chay llakichishkakunaka “yanapanmi wakimpika mana yachashkamanta, wakimpika yachashka hawallatak paykunapak llapishka kawsayta rikuyta ari nishkata hatunyachishpa” (Bourdieu 2015). Paykunapak llakiri pachakunapimi rikuchinkuna, shinallatak mirachinkunapish tukuy chay llakichikunata. Kari warmi chikanyachimanta rikuytika; wiwakuna, yurakuna, urkukuna shinallatak kuyllurkunapish sapan paktachikunatami charinkuna, shinapish tantachik paktachinakunata, hanakman parlashkakunata yuyaripika, kichwa runapak kawsaypika pakallayachishkami rikurin, karikunapak kawsayllata mirachinkarayku. Warmikuna wakin parlashkunata rikukpika ishkay kawsayka mana rikurinchu, ashtawankarin ishkantik kana rikurinmi llakichinapaklla imashina karikuna kawsaypi shinallatak ñina kawsaypi llakichinapak. Llapishpa charik karikunaka hawamantami churankuna imallata paktachinata, mana paktachinatapish, riksishkakunatapish shinallatak (Bourdieu 2007).

Warmikunapak aychata makana, wanachinaka, allichikunchik, rikuchikunchik, imapish mana alli kashkakunata niskami kashka (Herrera 2013). Yuyaytaka wanachinami kan, llakichina manchachina kankakama, uchillayachina, pakana, paykunapak munayta, yuyayta kunkakama, “llakichishkakunaka mana harkarinkunachu, ashtawankarin wanachik unanchakunata hapishpa katinllakunami, ashtawan llapishka tukushpa katinllakunami mashna chaniwampish, ushayta charishpapish” (Gledhill 1999).

Imamanta, imakunallamantami nik tukushpa warmikunataka makakkuna kashka, chaykunaka tawkakunami, achikyachina munaywan wakinkunata riksichinchik: “mana alli yanushkamanta, mana alli takshashkamanta, wawakunata mana alli kamaschkamanta, karikunapa yaya mamata kariyashkamanta” shuktakkunamantapish. Warmikunata llakichinkapakka, imatapish huchachinllakunami. Shinami warmipak aychaka makanapak kashka shina, kasuna, manchana tukunkama; shinami yuyayyuk, llankanata yachak warmikuna tukukkuna ninkunami (Lechuga 2007).

Warmikunataka makanakata mana pinkakkunachu karka, llaktapi kawsakkuna, ayllukuna rikuytami makakkuna kashka, shinami ashtawan ushayyuk, alli kari nishka rikurik kashkakuna. Shuk parlakka charinkami kanchis chunka pichka watata, payka ninmi; “warmikunataka yachachinami kanchik, mana kashkapaka warmi mandashkami tukushun”.

Kay rikuyamanta pachaka, shuk runaka ashallapi muyuchishkami kan, kichushka, maypipish rikurashka, ashata kuyurik shina kakkipash rikurashka, imata rurakta chaparan (Foucault, 2009). Llapishka kawsayta rikurikpika kikin aychapi killkashka shinami, shinapish mana warmikunachu chay llapishka kawsayta minkay tukuna kan (Bourdieu, 1998 shinallatak 2015) Chashna rikurikpika, Foucault shinallatak Bourdieu yuyachinkunami sinchi kashkata, shukka; uchilla kawsaypi ushay tiyashkatami yachak chayachin. Kutin, shukka pakalla, ukulla mana rikuyapak llakikuna tiyashka rikuchin.

Wakin warmikunata parlachishkamanta yuyakpi wakimpika rimanmi maykama paykunapak mancharishkata, shinallatak alli nishkata paykunapak llakikuna apashkata, shinallatak kushiyak shinami tukunkuna

paykunapak kachunkunapish chay llakikunata apakushkata, paykunapak ushushikuna chay shina llakikunata apakpipash manatak alli ninkunachu.

Pierre Bourdieu rimashkata rikushpika (2015) allimanpish yankamanpish warmikuna rimashpaka karikunamanmi ashtawan llapishpa katichun yanapan. Wakimpika warmikunata llakichishka mana ima alli kashkata rikuchinchu, shinapish sinchi kashka shinatami rikunkuna kay punlla kipa wiñay warmikunapak kawsaykunawan rikurikpika, kay pacha kipa wiñak warmikunaka “mana sinchi” warmikuna nishkami kan. Imashinami chay llakikunaka alli kashka shinata rikuchikllatakmi karikunaman, warmikunamanpish kari tukushka yuyaykunata kun, chaymanta rikurikpika kay nishkaka mana ima kashka layami rikurin: “Kunan punlla warmikunaka wakllikunami”.

Wakin “yuyak” warmikunapak yuyaypika, warmikunata makanaka allimi kan, ama karikunata kariyashpa kawsachunkuna, kariyak mamakunata kasuchunkuna, ayllukunapi ama yanka parlukunata rurachun. Wakimpika yuyankunami yuyayuk kachunkuna, kazukkuna kachun, pakta, pakta kachun, shinami llapishka, kazuchishka warmikunata rurankuna. Shinaka, ushaypak yuyaykuna, paktachi ñankuna shinallatak hillaykunapish, ushaypak mutsurishkami kan ninmi (Morey 2008 shinallatak Gledhil 2000), shinapash allillatakmi wanachinaka, kan alli warmi kachun (Morey 2008), ama llullashpa, ama riparashpa, ama yankata rimashpa kawsachun.

Karikuna llakichishpa warmikunata charishkataka maykan warmikuna yanapankunami kashna rimashpa: “ñukaka ima pacha mana yaka rimanillachu, chaytaka ñuka kusapak mamami allitak yachachishka”. Chaymnata washalla rimak warmikunataka mana alli kashkatami rikuni, chaypika

kusaka makanallmi Kan. Pitak imaninkapish. Shinaka chay llapishka kawsak warmikunallatakmi yanapanakuna paykunapak llaki kawsay mirarichun (Bourdieu 2015). Tantachishpa rikukpika, maykankunaka católico karikunami warmikunataka makankuna ninkunami, chaytami shamuk killkaypika yuyarikkrinchik.

CATÓLICOS “MACHAKKUNA”

Chimborazo markapika, católico, protestante runakunami piñarinakushpalla, allí kashpalapish kawsankuna. Kay Bourdieu (2007) yachaypi wankarikpika religión hatun pampa (campo) shinami, catolicismo protestantismo nishkakuna uchilla pampa shinami (subcampos).

Hatun pampa kunapi, uchilla pampakunapimi ashka makanakuy tiyankuna, paykunapak ashaka charishkata mana kacharisha nishpa. Pampakunapi charikkuna mana kacharisha nishpa, pampapi mana charikkunaka kichushun nishpami makanakuyman yaykunkuna. Mishanakuy pampakunamanta yuyarikpika; paykunapak makanakuytami ashtawan rikuchinkuna (De Luque 2002). Kay Chimborazo markapi católico shinallatak protestante kawsayta rikukpika achka watakunatami mishanakuy, makanakuy shamushkakuna.

Kay makanakuypika protesante runakuna piñarishpaka kashnami rimankuna: “machakkuna”, “makakkuna”, “mana apunchikta katikkuna”, “aychapaklla kawsakkuna”, “rurashkalla apunchikpi krikkuna” nishpa. Chashna piñanakuymantami kaymanta wichimanka killkarikrin.

Parlachishkakunata uyakpika; machashka runaka sinchi kashkatami willarishpa kaparikka kashka, payllapitak achkata waktarishpa. Paypak kari tukushka kashkata, shinallatak kichwa runa kashkatami kashna nin:

“¡Ñukami kani Juanchi Gushñi, karaju!”
Ñukami runa kani karaju. Chashnami runa kashkata rikuchishpa shina nik kashka (Andrade 2005), ashtawan sinchiyakmi kashka machashka kashpa kitillikunapi kawsak mishukunapak rikuypi, chay mishukunami tukuy kullki ushayta, llakta pushayta, apunchikman tantarikunatapish charikkuna karka.

Machashpallami ashtawantakka karikashata rikuchik kasha. Chashna machashpami kari wiwashina maypika warmikunata makakkuna kashka. Kari wanrataka, pipash mama urmachinkachu ninkunami kashka. Machashpallami karipak warmipak imalla runanata sinchita rimakak kashka (Gutmann 1997).

Shinallatak kaparikkunami wayrapi uyarikta paykuna kari kashkata “¡Ñukami kari kani, karaju!” “¡Ñukami kari wamra kani karaju!” nishpa. Machashka runaka mana paypak llapirishka kawsayllatachu yuyarin, ashtawankarin paypak mashipak chimpapura, paypak warmipak chimpapurapimi sinchi kari kashkata rikuchin.

Shinllatak, ashtawan kari kashkata rikuchinmi kari wawarak wacharikpi. Kusaka, shuk kari wawar wacharikpika kushikushpa, sinchikashkatami rikuchin. Kari wawapak yayaka ashtawan kari kari kashkatai rikuchin. Paypay shutipish mirarinkami ninmi. Pablo Solon (2016), paypak Kamuk: “¿Alli kawsanata ushanchikchu?” nishkapika kashnami nin; ayllu llaktakunapika, shuk wawa wacharikpika ashka kushikuymi kan, tukuy ayllukunami tantanakuspa karanakunkuna. Chaymi, kay tapuykuna llukshin ¿Shuk warmi wawa wacharikpika shinallatakchu kushiyankakuna?

Parlachishkunata uyakpika, maykan warmikunaka llaki kawsashkatami willankuna. Warmi wawa wacharikpika kusakuna makakmi kashka, shuktak ayllukunapish

yankatami rimakkashka. Karikunapura tantanakushpash kaminakumi kashka, kaka warmillami kanki nikkunami kashka, warmillatami wachachinki nikkunami kashka. Karmi shina, warmi shunku nishpami rimarikkuna kashka.

Maykak warmikunaka kusa makanata manchashpami maypika mana warmi wawataka allí chuchuchikkuna kashka. Sinashpaka, ayllu llaktakunapika tukuy wawakuna wacharikipi mana kushikunkunallachu Pablo Solon nishka shina.

Protestante karikuna karitapish warmitapish kuyanllaunami. Tukuykunami Apunchikpak wawakuna ninkunami. Chashna rimaykuna tiyapimi maykan warmikunaka protestante tukusha ninkuna. Ashtawankari, protestante karikunaka mana hayak kakuta upyanllachu. Warmitapish mana makanllachu. Warmikunapish sumaktami takinkuna ninkunami. Shinapish, maykan protestante karikunaka pakallami warmita makankuna.

Maykan willashkakunapi wankarikipi protestante warmikunaka católica warmikunapakka allí nishka ñañakunami. Protestante ñañakunataka allí ñawiwanni rikunkuna, católica warmikunaka paykuna shinami tukusha ninkuna. Shinapash, kitillipi kawasak mishukunaka protestante warmikunata mana rikunachikchukunakarka. Supay warmikuna nikkunami karka.

PROTESTANTE KARI WARMIKUNAWAN YUMANAKUYMANTA

Alli tukushka warmikunaka alli nishkami kashkakuna “mushuk” Apunchikman tantarishka wasikunapi, aychapi shinallatak kawsaypi warmikunaka alli kuyashkakuna, kazushkakuna católico tantarishkakunawan rikupika may sumakmi kashkakuna krik tukuk warmikunaka, apunchikta yuyarina wasimanpish kayakkunami kashka. Chayka

mana nisha ninchu warmikunaka kacharishpa sakishkami tukushka nishpaka, ashtawampish ashtawan rikurashkakunami kashkakuna aycha munaypi, mana sawarishka kashpa, sawarishkamanta kanllamanka aycha pura mana chayarinapi, chaytaka warmikunapak ñutkupimi allitak churakkuna, chayta mana paktachikpika sawarina warmitaka apunchikpak wasi kanlla pampallapimi sawarichikkuna, chayka achka pinkaymi ayllukunapak shinallatak apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkakunapakpish, chaykunata riparanakushpami alliklla parlanakukkuna, asikkuna, mana rikuyta chanzakkuna, llakirik tukukkuna.

Apunchikpak tantari wasikunaka mana paykunallachu kashna llakichik kashka ashtawanpish Willachik antakuna, yachana wasikunapish chay llakikuna tiyachunka yanapashka. Kay rikuymantaka ni tukunchikmi Protestantekuna tantarishka apunchikpak wasikunaka shuk wichkana wasi shinami tukushka, shinapish mana wichkashpa charinkapak, ashtawankarin aychatapish samaytapish rikurakkuna kashkamanta, “pimi” chay tantarishka ukupi rikushpa katirankapak. Rikuraykuna shinallatak katiraykunaka mana samarichu. Maypipish muyushpa rikurakkunami. (Foucault 2009). Shina kashpaka protestante tantarishkakunaka mana hapishkakunachu católicokunapak kawsayllata, ashtawankarin mirachishkakunami warmikunata ashtawan llakichinkapak chayshina karikunapak yuyaykunallatak sinchiyachishpa.

Aycha pura chayarinakuy ama tiyachunka rikuraykuna, katiraykunaka tiyanmi protestantekunapak kawsaypika, chaypakmi tantarishkakunaka achkata llankashkakuna, kay apunchikpak katika sapiyachishka kachun, chaymanta rikunkapak sawarita shinallatak aycha pura chayarinakuy hawapish, ashtawanakrin karikuna warmikuna, musukuna kuytzakuna ama maypish kachun

warmiwan kariwan kawsaykunapi kachunkuna (Fedrici 2016). Chay yuyaykunaka michikkunapakka shamunmi apunchik killkachishkakunamanta, “Pacha kamapak munayka sumakyachishka kachun, karuyachun huchakunamanta, aycha munaymanta” nishpa (1 Tesalonecenses 4, 3).

Chay rikuymantaka, kichwakunapak apunchikman tantarinakushkamanta yuyaykunaka, katiranmi, harkanmi, mitzanmi chikanyachinmi (Foucault 2007), shinami kipa wiñayka, warmika, mamaka, protestante runa warmika, warmi shinaka kawsanata hapin, alli nishka kanata paypak yuyaypi tarpun (Bourdieu 2015), Pacha Kamak killkachishka kamukpi nishkamantaka, ayllukunapishmi mirachinkuna.

Shina, warmipak yuyayka ukuyashpa katin punllanta yachachishkakunata chaskishpa tukuy samaypi, yuyaypi, shinami yuyarin paktachin punllanta, machaymanta shinami pacha kamakman mañan, tiyarin, manchachishka shinallatak takin (Bourdieu 2013). Shuk rimaykunapika warmikunapak yuyayka shukllayashkami tantarishka kawsaypika, chaymantami chashna manchay kawsaytaka paypak umapi shinallatak aychapi, shinaka tukuytakmi llakichikkunapak yuyayka aychayashpa sakirin, llakita apashpa kawsankapak (Negri shinallatak Hardt 2002).

Católicokunapish, protestantekunapish aycha munayta ari ninkunami sawarishka kashpalla, Foucault nishkata hapishpaka kayta nin:

...kallaripika apunchikta katikkunami churashkakuna ñawpa tantarishkakunaman shuk paktachinata, shuklla warmiwanmi kawsana nishpa; kipataka pachakamakllatakmi chashna mirashpa kawsachunka churashka, mana chayllata paktachichun nishpash ashawan kachashka yuyaymi kashka, kariwan

warmiwan aychapura chayarinaka kankami mirankapaklla, wawata charinkapaklla nishka. Tukuripika, aychapura chayarinakushpaka mana kankachu aychay munaymantallaka nishkami... (2007:18)

Kay yuyaykunata paktachinaka katinllami kichwakunapak apunchikman tantarina wasi yuyaykunapi, apunchikpak killkachishkakunapimi tantarinkuna, aycha pura chayarinakuytaka harkarinatakmi kan mana sawarishpa, shinallatak sawarishkamanta kanllamampish, ishkantik aychapura chayarinakuyka huchami shinallatak shuktak llakikunami kan. Manapish sawarishkakuna aycha pura chayarinakuyka aycha munay huchami, kaytaka apunchikpak shimika wanachinmi, protestantekunapak apukunaka llakichinmi paykunaka paktachinapak ushayta charinchikmi minkay tukushka tantarikunata pushak kashkamantaka nishpa, shina wanachikunataka mana karikunatachu rurankuna, wakinlla paktachishpash mana sinchita wanachinkunachu.

Shinami, warmikunapak aychaka paykunatak llakichishka kankapak allichirishka shina kan, imashinami Silvi Federici nishka shina:

Kay shinami, aycha pura chayarinamanta rikupika, wawakunata charina, mama tukunaka warmikunapak ñawpamanta kawsay, yachay shina tukushpa katishka. Warmikunamanta llankakkunaka kaykunatami kanllaman llukshichishkakuna, chay yuyaykunata mañayta churashkakuna mana allichu nishpa, chay shinami karikunaka llakichishpa, manchachishpa warmikunapak aychaka paykunapak kashkata rurashkakuna, sapiyachishkakunami warmikunapak aychaka ushaypak hillaykuna, shinallatak ushaypak tantachik kashka shinata rurashpa. (2016:27)

Aycha pura chayarinaka; Pacha Kamak munashka, alli apunchikta katikpak yuyaypika kusantin warmintin kashpami chayarinakuna, aycha pura chayari kawsaytaka punllanta katirashkami kan. Nishunlla; michikkuna paykunapak rimaypika ninnkunami Apunchikpak killkachishka shimi nishkata Hebreos 13:4 pi hapishpaka kaytami nin “Tukuykuna sawaritaka kuyaychik, kusapaklla, warmipaklla kaychik, aycha munay huchataka Pacha Kamakka wanachinkami” Shinallatakmi michikkunapish yuyachinkuna “Pacha Kamakka aycha pura chayaritaka sawarishka kawsaypi paktachichik” ama tiyachun mana munashka chichu sakirina, shitashka wawakuna ama tiyachun, aycha pura chayarinakushkmanta unkuykuna ama tiyachun, kuytza mamakuna ama tiyachun, shulluykuna illachun. Pacha Kamak munanmi; shitashka warmikuna, wawakuna ama tiyachun. Shinashpaka karikuna warmikunata rikurashka, wanachishkaka alli nishkami sakirin. “Wanachinallatakmi kashkani, rikuranami kani, kanllatak yachankimi mana allichu shuwana, wañuchina, manapish sawarishka kashpa wawata charina, manarak sawarishpa aycha pura chayarina” (Morey 2008).

Tawka parlachishkakunami ninkuna; aycha munayta harkarinaka warmikunapakmi nishpa, ninkunami: Kanllatak kikimpak aychaman chayarikta sakikipimi karikuna chayarin, kanmi huchayuk kanki aychapi chayachishkamanta, kazuchinami karkanki warmi shinaka, kaytaka apunchikman tantarishka wasikunamantaka mayhankunapish rimanllami, paktanmi kichwa runakunapi shinallak mishkunapipish.

Achka kutinmi karikunapak llakichikunaka warmikunamanta ari nishka kan, paykunallatak allipi sakirishun nishpa, chaymantami warmikunaka shuklla apunchikta katik runata

munana, yuyana shinapish sawarishka kashpalla, shinami riksishka kashun ninkuna “Pacha Kamakpak llankakkuna shina” kikin tantarishka apunchikta katina wasi ukupi. Shinami yanapankuna warmikunaka llapishka, llakichishka kawsaypi kanata, imashinami nin Pierre Bourdieu. (2015:42)

Aycha munayta harkarinapak katiraykunaka shamunmi Apunchikpak shimi killkachishkamanta, shinallatak michikkunamanta. Hatun pushayta mana kashpaka rikurayta churashka shinami aycha kawsaypak. Michikkuna, Pacha Kamakpak shimita willakkunaka “yachachinkunami Pacha Kamak tukuy ñukanchikpak hawapi kashkata, chaymanta mana huchallipakchu” (Federici 2016).

Apunchikpak wasiman tantarishka protestantekunapish tzikninkunami, wanachinkunami mana “karipish warmipish chay tantarishka ukumanta karpika”, chayka nisha ninmi mana chay apunchikta ifina ukumantallatak sawarikkuna karki. Shuk protestantewan, shuk católicawan sawarikipika achkatami tapurinkuna, apunchikta katikwan, mana apunchikta katikwan sawarishkakuna nishpa, protestantekunaka yuyankunami mana krik warmika allichirina kashkata, chayka mayta “mana harkaypakmi” kan ninkunami. Chimborazo markapak runa warmikunapika, karikunami yuyarinkuna paypak warmipak kawsaymantaka, yuyarinmi maypi kawsanata, mayhan ayllukunawan kawsanata, warmika chayta paktachinallatakmi charin mana imata ashtawan nishpalla, chaytaka apunchikpak shimi killkachishka-llapitakmi nikun ninmi 1 Corintios 11:8 “karika mana warmimanta shamunchu, ashtawanakrin warmimi karimanta shamun” chaytaka wakin michikkuna chaytakmi kana kan nishkmanta, karikuna llapishka, warmi-

kunaka katishpa kawsakkunalla kachun. Pacha Kamakpak killkachishkataka mana pipash imata ninchu, ashtawankarin warmikunami allilla parlanakunkuna.

Kayta paktachik warmikunaka; “Apunchikta alli katik warmi”, “alli llaktayuk”, “alli warmi”, nishkami kan, Matthew Gutmann (1997), nishka shinaka Warmikunapak alli kankami; alli warmi kana u mana kashpaka warmi shina alli kana, chaytami chikanyachina, kayta rikukpika warmi shina tukuyupi alli kanami alli kan, mana warmi kana ña wacharishkamantalla.

Apunchikpak wasimanta kanllaman sawarishka, sawarina warmi churarina illaklla sawarinaka; ayllukunapak shinallatak sawarikkunapak pinkaymi kan, chayka rikuchinmi aycha pura chayarinakuyka shuk pinkay kashkata imashinami nin warmikunata mitzak Silvia Federici (2016), ashtawampish wakin hatunyachishkakunapak chikanyachi, apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkapi mana wankuri tukuy. Shuktak llakichikunaka, pinkaypi sakirishka sawarikkunaka apunchikpak wasiman mana yaykuy tukunkakunachu tawka killakunata, chaytaka sapan apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkakunapi paktachinkuna. Mayhan wanachi kachumpish, chay ishki tukushkakunata tukuyman rikuchi, tukuyman willaymi kan, shinami tukuykuna riparashka, kayta chayta nishka, wakinkuna huchachishka, wakinkuna llakirishpa rikunkuna wakin michikkuna, pushakkuna chaypi tantarishka chusku, pichka runakuna wanachishkamantaka, chaykunaka mana paypak kawsayta kawsak nishkakuna, ashtawanka karikunallami chay tantarishkakunaka kankuna,

Protestante tantarishkunapika warmikunapak kawsayta rikunkapakka kusakunami karka, paypaka yayamamapish shinapish ashtawan yallika michikkunatami kazuna

karka, paykunami tukuytapish yalli apukuna kashkamanta shinallatak paykuna chay llaktata michik kashkamanta shinallatak paykunaka apunchik kashashkamanta. Chashna rikukpika, paykunaka tukuytami harkanata munashka, punllanta kawsayta ayllullaktapi imashina kawsanta rikushpapi-sh, sawarishkapi imashinatak kawsan chayshinallatak aychapura chayarinakuykunamantapish (Federici 2016).

APUNCHIKPAK TANTARINA WASIKUNAPI PAKALLA LLA- KIKUNAMANTA

Tuparkanimi evangelicos tantarishka apunchikpak wasikunapi alli kashka shina warmikunata alli charinamanta michik “rimakushka” hawapish, apunchikta katikkuna shina paktachina kashka hawapish “warmikunata rikuyta llakichi” rimakushkatapish, chashnaka pakalla llakichikunapish katinllami. Charinllakunami makashpa llakichikunata shinallatak rimashpa llakichikunatapish.

Karikuna kashna llakichikunaka, yallishka, arininkushka, paktachilla nishka shinallatak yaykurishkapish katinllami samaypak yaykuna nishkakuna, pacha kamakpak shimi willakkuna paykunapak pushakkuna apunchikpak wasikunapi pakashka, kikin wasi ukullapitak pakashka, chaykunaka Apunchikpak Killkachishka shimi nishkapi paktachishpa kay shimikunata nishpa: Pacha Kamak tantachiskataka pi runapish mana chikanyachichun nishpa, Pacha kamakman mañashpa kusantin warmintin kuyanakuñami nishpa rimashkakunata uyachishpa, llaki tukushkakunapak uma hawapi Pacha Kamakpak shimi killkashkata churashpa, tuta kachu, punlla kachumpish uni pachakunata rimashpa, wakachishpa, paykuna nanarichun nishpa. Kay alli tukukunakuypika mana warmikunaka rimankunachu, ashtawankarin

karikunallami paktachinkuna michikkuna, apukuna kashkamanta.

Chay alli tukuy paktachikunapika karikunami ari ninkuna ña mana ashtawan warmikunata makashunchu nishpa, warmikunaka kari nishkakunata kazushunmi nishpa, taksanata, churanakunata allichinata, yanunata, utka hatarinata, shukkunatapish paktachishami nishpa. Alli tukunakuyka harkay tukunmi warmikunata makaykunata, shinapish kari mandashka kawsayka katinllami. Kay yuyaypika runakuna protestante tukushkakunata tantachishpa shinallatak rikurayashpa katinllami. Kallaripika ayllukunata tantachishpa, apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkunata tantachishpa imalla paktachina kashkakunata paktachichishpa warmikunata kazuchishpa kawsankapak imalla paktachinakunapi, shinallatak yuyarishkakunata paktachichun nishpa, imallata apunchikpak wasipi rurana kashkata paktachishpa kachichun nishpa (Durkheim 1982). Pichka chunka watakuna washaka, Durkheim, Michel Foucault (1975) yuyachinmi apunchikpak wasi tantarishkaka ushaypak hillay shinaka hawamanta churashpa katinmi paktachinakunata, wakinkunaka achkata allichishka hillaykunata hurashpa, mana rikuyapak ruraykunata rurashpa, shuklla shinata rurashpami Apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkakunataka awkakunata yachachina wasipi shina, yachana wasipi, mana kashpaka imakunata rurana wasipi shina shuk yuyayllata rurashpa katinllami, kunan punlla wichkana wasikunapi shina.

Rikunchikmi imashina kuchullapi kashkata, punllanta “michik rikurakushkata paypak wiwikakunata shina” (Foucault 2010). Kay yuyaypika: “Michikka runakunata imatapish ni tukunllami pay yuyashka shina paktachun, mana paktachinakuna, kamachikkuna tiyakpipish, paypak munayllamanta, wakin yachayta, yuyayta mana paktachin nishpalla. Apunchikta katikkunapika, munayta pakta-

na kanmi; “kazuk kana” (Foucault 2007).

Shuktak rikuyapika; católico tantarishka ukumanta apunchikpak shimita willakka michik, kushipata shina mana pakta apukayta charinchu, wakinllapimi chay shina ushaytaka charin. Católico tantarishka ukumanta apunchikpak shimita willakka killanta rurashka tantanakuykunapi, kushipata umayashkapika mana rimankunachu kari warmikunapak pakta kawsaymantaka. Runa warmikunapak, católico warmikunapak, tukuylla warmikunapak llakikunamantaka mana uyarinchu kushipatakuna católico tantarishka ukumanta apunchikpak shimita willakka tantarikunapika.

Wakin paktachikunapi, catolicokuna, shinallatak protestantekunapish mirachishkakanapishmi ayllukuna ukupi, tantarishka kawsaypipash ayllullaktapi. Wasi kawsaykunapi shuktaykunata mirachishkakunami, kuyanakupash kawsayta wiñachishkakuna. Shinapish, apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkapika warmikunata llakichimanta rimaykunaka mana tiyanchu, tushuykunapi, ima rikuchikunapi, krikkunapak apunchik wasi tantarishkapi shinallatak, shinapish kay puchukaypika llakikuna mana rikurik shinami, mana sapimanta chinkachinkapak ashtawanakrin yuyarinkapak rimay kachun, catolicokunata krikkunata rurankapak, mushuk kawsayta apamukuk shina, warmikunapak llakikuna illak católico iglesiapak chimpapurapi. Kay yuyachimanta pachaka, ni tukunchikmi krikkunapak hatun tantanakuykunapak chawpi iñuka mana warmikunapak llakikunata chinkachinkapakchu kan, ashtawankarin shuktakyachinkapak yuyayllami.

Kofi Annan, Naciones Unidas pak ñawpa killka kamayuk nishka shinaka, “Llakikunaka yallitak llakichikmi kan tukuy kay pachapi kawsakkunapak hayñikunata, chayshina tukuykunapak kawsaypimi kan.

Mana riksinchu mayllata kashka muhunku-nata, kawsaykunata, kullkiyaykunata. Ash-tawan chashna llakikuna katikllapika, mana ushanchikchu kawsayman paktakushkata, ñawpakman rinata, kasi kaytapish”.

Ecuador mama llaktapak pushakkunaka, kay llakikunata shutichinkunami kashna shina, sinchi kashkata rikuchikmi kan, yuyaypi, kamikunapi, aycha munaypi, yuyaypi shina-llatak paktachinakunata mana paktachishpa-pish, tawka kutin ayllu uku shuk runapi, shuktak runapi, paypak aychapi, yuyaypi ishkantipi llakichishpa, mana chukrichi-shpapish, llakillatakmi kan.

Kay rimashkakuna, rikuchishkakunata chimpapurashpa rikukpika; Ecuador mama llaktapak pushay ukumantaka achkatami willaykunata rurashka, paktachichuntak mañashpa sapan willachik antakunapi kay rimaywan “Hatarichik Ecuador, karillami ashtawan nishkapish llakimi kan” warmiku-napak comisaria yaykunkunapi, warmikuna-ta ayllukunata mitzak tantari ukukunapi kay killlakunami tiyan “Karillami ashtawan nina kawsay tukurinkakama mana shaykus-hachu”, “Hatari Ecuador, karillami ashtawan nishkaka llakimi, Chimborazopish tantarin-mi”.

Kay ñukapak llankayta tukuchinkapakka; mana karikunapak warmikunapak rikurik mana rikurik llakikunata rimankapakchu kan, ashtawankarin católicokunapak apun-chikpak wasiman tantarishkakunapi, evan-gelico apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkaku-napi llakikunamantami, Michel Foucault shinallatak Pierr Bourdieupak yuyakunata rikuchishpa, mana pantachina, chimpapura-na yuyaywan.

TUKURI YUYAYKUNA SHINA-LLATAK PAKTACHICHUN MAÑAYKUNATAPISH SAKINI

Católico kawsaykunapi shinallatak protes-tante kawsaykunapish tiyanmi, parla-nakuy, tupanakuy, karuyanakuy, allipish mana allipish. Ishkantik apunchikta katikku-napak tantanakuy ukupi rikukpika chay ishkantikpak llakikunaka tantarinkunami “ni shuk kutin mana chikachun kan” (Hardt shinallatak Negri 2002). Kay shina mirachi-shka kanakuy pachapika, karikuna llakichi-shka kawsayta charirakkuna yanapankunami rantimanta, wakin pachakunapika sinchiya-chinkuna, shukta pachakunaka washaya-chinkuna, pantachinkuna, shuktakkunaka pakankuna, chinkachinkuna. Apunchikta iñina ukumanta rikukpika mashna waranka shina rimaypimi rimakunkuna wasi uku uchilla kawsaykunamanta pacha, uchilla rikuyanta pachapish (Foucault 2010, 2009). Mushuk yuyaykunata shinaka yuya-chinchikmi karikuna warmikuna kawsay pura kawsayta paktanata, chikan chikan muskuykunamanta tantalla, kay tukunmi shuk ñan chayshina sumak kawsayta paktankapak (Sumak Kawsay).

“Tukuykuna paktachishpa kawsaypak wiña-chishka chawpirikunaka ashtawan allitakka llakichinkapak llapinkapak shayachishka karikuna warmikunapish chaypika llakita apanmi” (Bourdieu 2015), rimak shina, paktachishpapish runa católicokuna shina-llatak protestantekunapish. Ashtawanakrin kaykunata charikkunaka wiñachishpa, mira-chishpa katinmi apunchikta iñina ukukunapi kari warmi chikanyanakuyta hatunyachik shina rurashpa.

Runa protestantekunapak Apunchikpak tantarina wasikunapika, warmikunata riku-rankapak, wanachinkapak, allichinkapak nishka, kari kana warmi kanami mirashpa katin, chaypimi rikuripak mana rikuripak

wanachikunapish kan – Shinaka, rikuraymi yallitak nanachik shina kan, tukuy imapish, nishunlla ñukanchik imashina kanchik kari warmi kawsaypi, aycha munay harkaripi kanllaman, manarak sawarishpa, chaytaka warmikunapak umapimi churashka kan, mana chayta paktachishpaka wanachishkata apana kan, chayka kanmi apunchikpak wasi kanlla pampapi sawarichishka, chayka pinkachinmi shuk runata, aylluta, shinallatak apunchikpak wasiman tantarishkakunatapish. Karikuna llakichikunataka pakankunami católikunapak apunchik wasipi shinallatak protestantekunapak apunchik wasipipash, apunchikpak shimi nishkata, runakunapak chanichikunata paktachishpa, chaypika rimankunami ishkantin kawsaymanta, wakimpika manapish yachashpami chaytaka paktachinkuna payllatak llapishka kaw-sankapak, ari ninkuna hawamanta churashkakunata paktachinkapak, shinallatak kallarichinkunami tukuy kawsaypak shukkuna yalli ushayta charishkata.

Paktachi tiyachun mañashpaka, musurishkami rikurin “kari warmi pakta kawsayta” sinchiyachinkapak rimaykunata mashkana, apunchikta ñikkuna tantarishkakunapi kikin kari warmikuna, kipa wiñaykuna, yuyakuna yuyaykunata chawpinakushpa, katirashpa, rikurashpa, taripaykunata rurashpa, shinallatak shuk paktachikunatapish paktachishpa, “kari warmi kawsaykunapi pakta kashpa”, ishkantik apunchikpak mañana wasikunapi tantachishka kullikunallawan-tak kullki mañachikunata wiñachishpa imapish.



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