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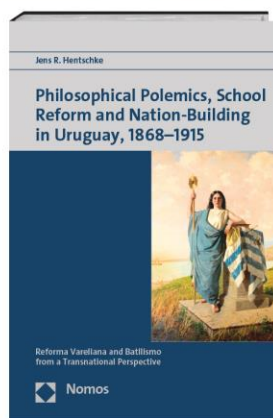
# ABSTRACTS BOOK



University  
of Glasgow



## Transnational and Post-Development Perspectives On Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay



### Philosophical Polemics, School Reform and Nation-Building in Uruguay, 1868–1915

Reforma Vareliana and Batllismo from a Transnational Perspective

By Prof. Dr. Jens R. Hentschke

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This monograph revisits Uruguay's remarkable transformation from a volatile product of 'balkanisation' in the River Plate area into Latin America's first welfare-state democracy, associated with President José Batlle y Ordóñez (1903–7, 1911–15). Central to the country's belated polity formation and nation-building was its school reform. The author investigates this, for the first time, from its start in 1868 under José Pedro Varela to the end of Batlle's second term and argues that continuities in change prevailed over the alleged rupture of

1903, including at the level of normative ideas. Moreover, by placing Uruguay into the broader context of what scholars have called the "Corridor of Ideas" from Santiago de Chile through Buenos Aires and Montevideo to Porto Alegre, this pioneering study also shows how Uruguay acted as a crossroads of intellectuals and a laboratory for the contestation, assimilation, and merger of global and autochthonous political and pedagogical philosophies.

### Fighting Corruption in Paraguay and Chile

Exploring the Local Embedding of the International Anti-Corruption Discourse from a Post-Development Perspective

By Dr. Malte Gephart

2017, approx. 168 pp., pb., approx. € 36.00

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NEW

Malte Gephart explores anti-corruption discourses in Paraguay and Chile and convincingly shows that corruption is not a neutral concept. Local appropriations of the international and transnational anti-corruption discourse can deviate considerably in content and be used for competing political agendas.

This book will appeal greatly to those studying corruption, Latin America and development studies.



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## Session 1: Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> April 9.30-11.00

### **Colombia: Perspectives on the peace process**

#### **Struggles over the truth about the land issue in the armed confrontation: The Colombian Peace Process (2010-2016)**

Maria Teresa Pinto Ocampo

Since the eighties, the dominant narrative about the war framed the armed struggle mostly as a narco-terrorist attack against the consolidated Colombian democracy. But, with the peace negotiation that began in Cuba in 2014, emerged an alternative version, promoted not only by the FARC-EP peace delegates but by different sectors of the society, that considers the war as a civil war produced by political and economic inequalities in Colombia. This alternative version brought the rediscovery of the land issue in the public arena and the emergence of the dispute between the two opposite versions about war and land in Colombia. This paper address the emergence of the disputes and the struggles that took place in the public arena.

#### **The role of academia in the challenges facing Afro-descendent communities in the Colombian Caribbean in the restitution of their lands in the context of the Peace Agreement**

Ana Laura Zavala Gullien, University of Sheffield

This paper aims to explore the role of the activist scholar in supporting the territorial claims of San Basilio del Palenque, an Afro-descendant community of the Colombian Caribbean, in the context of the peace agreement celebrated between the Colombian government and the FARC in 2016. This agreement includes both discussions on agrarian reform and reparations for the victims of the armed conflict that involves San Basilio as a community affected by the war including land grabs. Therefore, this presentation will firstly analyse the political process of the community towards territorial reparation, and secondly, the use of research legal and geographical methods in the construction of evidence of the land dispossession that accompanies this process in the aftermath. The encounters and disagreements between the activist scholar and the members of the community in the collaborative research will be specifically addressed in this paper.

#### **Peasants, victims and activists: Community organisation and the pursuit of social transformation in post-no Colombia**

Daire McGill

Montes de Maria is one of the areas of Colombia most affected by both direct and structural violence, yet is also a region with a historically organised and politicised peasantry. As a territory with many victims but also somewhat of a laboratory for state and civil society initiatives (including post-conflict and transitional justice processes implemented during the armed conflict), it constitutes an interesting case to examine the dynamics of victimhood, community activism and processes to reduce violence and increase justice in post-No Colombia. This is made particularly salient by the fact that the region, in line with the majority of areas most affected by armed conflict, voted yes to the peace accords in October 2016. Drawing on qualitative interviews with peasants in Montes de Maria, as well as organisations working closely with them, this paper will analyse how

communities in the region organise to demand transformative peace and justice. This includes self-generated processes in addition to external initiatives in order to discover how peasant organisations experience, adapt and respond to public policy initiatives. The paper concludes by noting the strengths and weaknesses of community organisations in Montes de Maria and their potential for promoting transformative social change.

## **Consumption, ethics and aesthetics in contemporary Latin American culture**

### **Zona franca? Art, ethics and consumption in contemporary Cuba**

Dr Dunja Fehimovic

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw a pivotal shift in the functioning of art in Revolutionary Cuba, as economic instability and touristic openings facilitated a new degree of contact with international collectors and curators. Shaped by experiences of economic hardship, political disillusionment and the mass exodus of an influential generation of artists in the early 1990s, Cuban visual artists still working on the island today are also experiencing, more than ever, the economic and cultural benefits of being 'de moda'. If the international art market's interest in un- or anti-commercial art soon revealed the paradox that 'the noble, non-profit and "revolutionary" artist was convertible (just like any other) into a marketable entity' (Weiss 2007: 192), then in the wake of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the US and Cuba, this problematic is more visible than ever. This paper will focus on the 12th Havana Biennial (held in 2015) and in particular on an exhibition area entitled 'Zona franca' to examine the relationship between consumption (Cuba as free trade zone) and ethical issues (art as offering honest, open expression) established by the work of artists such as Nadal Antelmo, Luis Gómez, and Reynier Leyva Novo.

### **Sobriety and intoxication in *Borracho estaba, pero me acuerdo* by Victor Hugo Viscarra and *Opio en las nubes* by Rafael Caparro Madiedo**

Dr Joey Whitfield

This paper looks at the aesthetics and ethics of consumption at an individual, personal level. I analyse two texts which deal with the consumption of intoxicating substances: *Borracho estaba, pero me acuerdo* by Víctor Hugo Viscarra (Bolivia 2006) and *Opio en las nubes* by Rafael Chaparro Madiedo (Colombia 1993). Both are about chaotic characters leading drug-fueled lives but while Chaparro Madiedo led a relatively middle class existence, Viscarra wrote from within the marginal milieu. I use close analysis of these texts to interrogate Herman Herlinghaus's claim that Latin American culture of the drug war is paradoxically characterised by an 'aesthetics of sobriety'. For Herlinghaus this ethical and ecological aesthetic has arisen in reaction to the intoxicatory tendencies of neoliberal modernity. What I will suggest is that these texts work to celebrate intoxication, albeit in ambiguous ways.

### **Responsibility towards others and/or the planet in *Las constelaciones oscuras* by Pola Oloixarac**

Emily Baker

The so-called ethical and ontological turns noted in disciplines such as philosophy and anthropology are also observable, I would argue, in Latin American literature. A number of authors such as Roberto Bolaño, Juan Gabriel Vásquez, Michel Laub and Pola Oloixarac explore the possibility of creating a responsibility-towards-others in their literature via frameworks that engage with—and probe the limitations of—corresponding theories in philosophy such as Jean-Luc Nancy's

Heideggerian-influenced notion of constitutive relationality (being-singular-plural), and Emmanuel Levinas' notion that the 'face' combined with the biblical command 'thou shalt not kill' represents an ethical imperative. However, there often seems to be a tension (rightly or wrongly) around the question of whether to direct resources towards raising the standards of life on earth in terms of human dignity and well-being, as the priority; or whether to focus on halting the acceleration of the destruction of the planet that we are witnessing in the late capitalist era due to excessive consumption and exploitation of natural resources, for the benefit of future generations. This paper explores these tensions in the novel *Las constelaciones oscuras* by Pola Oloixarac in its dual critique of both the exploitation of nature and the apparent human bio-political trajectory.

## **Violence: A pending task in Mexico**

### **Organised crime and state building: The end of the single party regime and the rise of the cartels**

Alejandro Lerch

States are legally and politically bounded to engage with the forces of drug-trafficking. Weak states necessarily do so in informal ways. Thus, drug trafficking is informally incorporated into the network of relationships that structures the edifice of political power. In contexts of high informality and vast illegal drug markets, the most probable outcome is to see drug-trafficking affect politics. In Mexico, informal political mechanisms and arrangements provided for the establishment and sustained for seven decades the single-party regime (PRI). Informality could be found, in the mechanisms for the transmission of political power (*dedazo*); in the opportunistic brokerage to keep rural and urban populations at bay (*caciquismo*); in the selective allocation of social benefits (*clientelismo*); in the informality, and in the vast power yielded by “imperial” presidents. Such pervasiveness in informality and patrimonialism is theoretically illustrative of the difference between governance under a “regime” and governance under a “modern state”. My research looks into how drug-trafficking in Mexico has been managed in contingent and increasingly political ways from within the political structure that controlled Mexico for the largest part of the 20th century. My main interest is to highlight the role that organized crime plays in the early stages of state building.

### **How many illegal firearms are in Mexico? Deciphering spatiotemporal patterns of illegal gun markets: A subnational analysis**

David Pérez Esparza

Previous research has shown the statistical association between the supply of guns in the U.S. with both the illegal demand of guns and the violent crime experienced in Mexico. Although this association has increased substantially after the mid-2000s, to date there is no empirical research able to estimate the illegal availability of guns in Mexico, neither across time nor the local level. Using a unique dataset exclusively disclosed to the author by the Mexican Army, this paper shows the first spatiotemporal subnational estimation of the illegal prevalence of: (a) pistols, (b) revolvers, (c) shotguns, (d) rifles, and (e) other guns. By showing not only *how many* illegal firearms are in Mexico, but also *where are they*, and *how powerful criminals* can be as a result of them, the author suggests the need of a specific strategy to minimize the illegal prevalence of this phenomenon, on the one hand, and to increase social and institutional resilience to tackle these illegal trafficking networks, on the other.

## **Intersectionality as a tool to fight gender violence in Mexico**

Paulina Jiminez Fregoso

The latest report of Amnesty International (AI) has shown the systematic abuse against female inmates and detainees in Mexico. This research proposes that, to protect the rights of a group that has been wrongfully perceived as vulnerable -such as this- a cultural change in society is needed, but also a change in the way in which international and national courts cope with the adjudication of the women's rights.

By using the *intersectionality theory* that emerged from the black feminist movement, this paper shows firstly, how gender violence cannot be understood as a homogenous phenomenon but as a consequence of the different personal characteristics of the victim. Secondly, it proposes a way in which international human rights adjudication can provide a better understanding of gender violence. To exemplify the importance of intersectionality, the paper will analyse the "Atenco case" (2006) in two stages. On the one hand, the paper will critically assess the decision of the Mexican Supreme Court of Justice and the absence of an intersectional approach in this case of State violence against women. On the other hand, it will provide additional legal arguments to suggest why the Inter-American Court should determine this case by taking intersectionality into account.

## **Central American transit migrants in Mexico: Responses to violence on the journey**

Alejandra Diaz de Leon

Most of the Central American migrants that attempt to cross Mexico in their way to the United States tackle the journey with no information and no social networks helping them. On the way, many migrants will die, disappear, and experience physical violence or humiliations. This paper explores how migrants from Central America react to the violence and vulnerability they experience in Mexico. Conflict literature predicts that in the absence of rule of law and while experiencing a highly stressful situation, social ties will break and individualism will prevail. However, my findings suggest that when faced with volatile and dangerous situations, most migrants *choose to cooperate*. This strategy provides them with security, information, and a sense of validation. Likewise, once the groups are formed, they show strong bonds and deep trust between members who recently were strangers to each other. Many groups manage to stay together through traumatic situations and then separate when reaching the U.S.-Mexico border. In concluding, the paper outlines the shortcuts that migrants use to decide who to trust, the characteristics of these groups and some of the social dynamics created as a response to violent and volatile shared settings in Mexico.

## **Patagonia and her others**

### **History and nature in Patagonia: The constitutional convention of 1957 in Chubut**

Dr Sebastian Barros, Lic. Guillermo Williams

The history of Chubut territory has suffered many political and administrative changes since its inception as the National Territory of Chubut. In the 1940s, its southern half formed the Military Governorship of Comodoro Rivadavia, only to, in 1955, return to its former boundaries, as a province. Central to this was the Welsh settlement, which provided a historical background, to be used during the political discussions at the time of the provincialization process.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the role of the Welsh settlement's history in the discussions which took place at the 1957 Chubut constitutional convention, particularly regarding the dispute over the location of the provincial capital. The arguments surrounding the proposal to keep Rawson as capital alluded at the lower Chubut valley as the place of history, culture and honour, and politics. Opposed to the valley was Comodoro Rivadavia, the industrial city in southern Chubut, until then

capital of the military governorship. We find that beneath this discussion, there exists an underlying dichotomy between History and Nature, where history implies cultural and social development as well politics, and nature involves certain alterities, such as native groups as well as workers, the latter representing Comodoro Rivadavia.

### **Welsh Patagonia, the state and the elimination of the native**

Dr Geraldine Lublin

The first Welsh settlers arrived in what we now call Chubut on behalf of Argentina but at a time when the territorial claims of the state were only nominal. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Patagonia's indigenous peoples should often appear as constitutive Others in accounts of the history of the settlement, both in the past and in the present. Nevertheless, the settlers also went to great pains to keep the Argentine state at arm's length in the early decades. Following on from Patrick Wolfe's contention that, as a result of its primary aim to access territory, settler colonialism is 'inherently eliminatory' ('Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8/4 (2006), 387), this paper uses the case of Welsh Patagonia to problematise Wolfe's logic of elimination and tease out the varying narratives that a settler colonial structure can utilise across time.

### **Are affinities possible in settler colonial contexts? Exploring indigenous-Welsh relations in global perspective**

Dr Lucy Taylor

This paper explores the possibilities and limits of affinity between the Welsh and indigenous in Patagonia in the nineteenth century. These settler and indigenous communities interacted most intensively from 1865 to 1885 in the Chubut Valley. Grounded in archival research, the paper takes a broadly postcolonial perspective, infused by insights from settler colonial theory. It foregrounds the common subordination of the Welsh and indigenous within global racial discourses which portray the Welsh and indigenous as 'barbaric' within their respective contexts (Wales and Argentina). It asks whether the visceral, everyday experiences of depreciation and oppression might generate decolonial affinities. It concludes that such affinities were real but limited in the past, but that revisiting nineteenth century experiences with a fresh and decolonial perspective today might serve to shift the assumptions which underpin the mythologised 'history' that prevails in both Patagonia and Wales. Through this a new basis to build affinities might be established today.

### **Identity performance and boundary making in the Chubut province of Argentina**

Lucy Trotter

This paper is a condensed version of my PhD thesis, and draws on 16 months of empirical fieldwork with the Welsh-Argentine communities in the Chubut Province to explore the constitution of Welsh-Patagonian in relation to otherness through the medium of performance, which I take broadly to mean the performance of the self, in the Goffman sense. The arrival of the Welsh in Patagonia in 1865 has often been represented in academia, literature, art and children's books as being an arrival to an empty land, and I argue this myth in more recent years has taken on a new form in the idea that Welsh-Patagonia is a 'little Wales away from Wales', where we can find a Welsh community free from Argentine influence. I explore the complexity of identity construction and the various ways and different contexts in which this is realised. I argue that the constitution and consolidation of one's identity as Welsh-Patagonian vis-à-vis local Argentine takes place through performances, music, film and daily habitual acts. I further highlight the key role that social media plays in maintaining idealised ideas between Welsh-Patagonia and Wales, and demonstrate the ways in

which issues of class and race are foundational to, and sometimes perpetuated by, these performances.

## **Latin American music: Researching archives and live performance in local and translocal settings**

### **Ethical issues in creating the online archive Cantos Cautivos**

Dr Katia Chornik

Cantos Cautivos is a digital archive of testimonies on musical experiences in political detention centres in Chile under Pinochet's dictatorship. Former prisoners and the Chilean Museum of Memory and Human Rights were my associates in developing this project. Most materials have been obtained from survivors via online crowd-sourcing. This paper examines a selection of ethical issues encountered when creating the archive. I focus on the power relations between the development team and contributors, drawing on research on music archives and communities (Landau and Fargion 2012), responsibility and reciprocity (Hellier-Tinoco 2003), and contemporary memory museums' exhibiting practices (Arnold-de Simine 2013). I argue that whilst the often conflicting agendas of those involved in (re)constructing memories linked to traumatic events have been reconciled by highlighting the patrimonial value of the archive, the limited time left to collect materials and the inclusive role that music played in political detention and in subsequent commemorative initiatives, the project's online format has attracted mixed responses from the heritage community. This paper contributes to the understanding of a lesser-studied type of music archive as well as its specific ethical challenges, including online exposure and users' technological gaps, highlighting the importance of democratic power relations in applied research initiatives.

### **The anonymous musician: Hidden characteristics of the working and organized musician in Chile**

Eileen Karmy

Memoria Musical de Valparaíso is a research project and an online archive on music and labour in the Chilean port city between 1893 and 1973. This paper aims to report the main findings of this research and to discuss the approach of the working and unionised musicians in local music literature. Based on a range of unpublished archival material, this research is focused on the musicians who founded the Musicians' Mutual Aid Society of Valparaíso in 1893, a forerunner of the first Musicians' Union of the country, established in 1931 ([www.memoriamusicalvalpo.cl](http://www.memoriamusicalvalpo.cl)). I argue that musicians who were members of these organisations have been "anonymous creatures" for music scholars, as well as "players" of the popular music of the time (Ehrlich, 1985). The working characteristics of musicians remain hidden whilst their characteristics as artists –far from mundane problems– are highlighted, avoiding viewing them as 'mutualists' or 'unionists', and building a canonical and idealised image of musicians.

This paper will analyse the pivotal role of the working musician to reconstruct the past of popular music, focusing on the largely unexplored contribution that musicians' organisations had played in the development of public policy in labour and culture in Chile (Thornton, 1990; Karmy and Brodsky, 2014).

### **New Chilean Song and Victor Jara in translocal space: Lifestyles and repertoires of the musicians of El Sueño Existe Festival, Wales**

Ignacio Rivera



El Sueño Existe (The Dream Lives on) is a festival of Latin American music and politics that takes place every two years in Machynlleth, Mid-Wales. Since its inaugural event in 2005, this festival commemorates the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song, through the participation of amateur and professional musicians from Latin America and Europe. Based on interviews with musicians who have participated in the festival, and on my analysis of the repertoire performed in this event, I will explore the role and impact of Chilean New Song and Víctor Jara's music in the formation of cultural identities and lifestyles within translocal settings (Bennett and Woodward 2014). I argue that Víctor Jara and other New Song musicians are inspirational references that not only operate as a medium for the transmission of specific music pieces, but they act as performative figures that configured a way of living (DeNora, 2000). This paper contributes to the debate on the role of music in the production of lifestyles in dialogue with the experience of exile and migration, as well as the use of Latin American music as a form of counterculture among left-wing British artists.

### **“Cuequeras choras”: A case study of women's engagement into the world of urban cueca in Valparaíso**

Maria Battle

As Chile's national dance, cueca has been present in this country since the times of the republic's formation. This trajectory has diverged through different contexts, whose main oppositions refer to rural and urban environments. One of the ways in which such oppositions have come to take form is the generalised association between peasant cueca and the figure of the “cantora” (a female folk singer) on the one side, and the association between urban cueca and the “roto” (male cueca singer), on the other side. For several decades, urban-rural boundaries have been increasingly fading, and this is particularly evident in young generations who were raised in peasant contexts but are now settled in urban scenarios (due to higher education, more dynamic job markets and so on). As a result, today it is easier than ever to come across men and women who, knocking down these historical gender-territorial barriers, embody a fusion of these two worlds. My paper is a case-study of a group of young feminist women in Valparaíso, focusing on the ways in which they have adapted and resignified the male-dominated world of urban cueca, and how this is reflected in the formal aspects (music, lyrics and performance) of their repertoires.

## **Environment and sustainability**

### **Beyond the ‘commodity consensus’: Socio-ecological conflicts in Argentina's mining section**

Alexandra Bechtum

Even though Argentina's mining sector historically played a minor role, it is embedded in the latest trends of the reprimarization of the economy in the region due to the boom in prices for raw materials and increasing demands on a global scale. Maristella Svampa (2015) summarises the current dynamics as a ‘commodity consensus’ – a consensus between national, regional and global actors about the control over and the export of primary goods. This model causes the spatial expansion of export-oriented productive logics into territories that were declared ‘unproductive’ before. As a result, numerous socio-ecological conflicts arise about the access to and control over land and natural resources; and seem to call the alleged consensus into question.

The paper presents the characteristics of the *modelo minero* in Argentina and socio-ecological resistance against it. It starts from the premise that socio-ecological configurations are particularly interesting to study the relationship between society and the state due to their complex, historically contingent and multiscalar nature. By focusing on the construction of specific *comunidades del No* (Antonelli 2009) against mining projects, it can be shown, first, how conflicts are framed and

articulated locally; and second, how specific actor constellations affect the dynamics of the mobilisation.

### **Influencia de la ingeniería británica en las tecnologías de la energía solar en Chile (1872-1970)**

Nelson Arellano

La ingeniería, parafraseando a Daniel Headrick, constituyó una herramienta del imperio británico en su presencia en Sudamérica desde el siglo XIX. Tres ingenieros británicos resultan relevantes para la historia de las tecnologías de la energía solar por sus publicaciones en 1883, 1915 y 1953. A la luz de la Historia de la tecnología resulta pertinente realizar una revisión de la circulación de las ideas técnicas y las relaciones norte-sur que la ingeniería británica sostuvo con el desierto de Atacama. Con esta aproximación se espera contribuir a comprender el descarte artefactual y la duración intermitente de las tecnologías de la energía solar entre 1872 y 1970 especialmente en la industria del salitre. Archivos en Valparaíso, Santiago de Chile, Brescia, Boston, así como revistas de ciencia e ingeniería, aportan un valioso material para elaborar una narrativa acerca de la memoria de las tecnologías de la energía solar, conocer las reglas del hablar y callar en ingeniería y los valores sociales en las formas del olvido que inciden en el problema de la sustentabilidad. Siguiendo a George Basalla y David Edgerton no nos centraremos en innovaciones ganadoras perpetuadas por la selección sino en la búsqueda diligente de alternativas viables a estas innovaciones.

### **Can your wealth change your perception of 'bad' weather? A case study of the Rama indigenous group, Nicaragua**

Andrew Papworth

Studies investigating the impact of climate change on food security typically focus on the global or national scale, meaning local issues are sometimes ignored in national and international policy-making. This is particularly true of Nicaragua with its contrasting Atlantic and Pacific regions. While some case studies on smaller geographical scales have been conducted, local people's understandings have often been missed. This is important because determining the best responses to climate change should take into account people's individual vulnerabilities. This project attempted to address these shortcomings by focusing on the Rama indigenous group that lives on Nicaragua's east coast and is heavily reliant on fishing for its food security. The data for this research comes from 38 in-depth interviews conducted with Rama individuals in three of the six Rama communities between January and June 2016. One preliminary finding suggests the Rama who fish using traditional Rama methods (with hand nets and paddle-powered canoes) view windy weather as 'bad'; being the most difficult in which to catch enough fish for their families. In contrast, those that can afford modern motorboats and gill nets see weather like this as 'good'; being the most productive time to fish.

### **Emotional violence in Latin American visual culture**

#### **Political cartoons as Bakhtin's carnivalesque: A multimodal discourse analysis of Argentina's *Humor Registrado* magazine**

Muireann Prendergast

Political cartoons, although generally neglected by academic criticism, are often the only form of socio-political critique permitted during periods of authoritarian rule (Barajas 2000). This paper

explores the reasons behind this, reading the genre as a form of Bakhtin's carnivalesque, a participatory space of oppositional discourse outside the official version but with which it has an "ambivalent" relationship (Bakhtin, 1984). As a result, political cartoons can be allowed to circulate as a "safety valve" (Holquist, 1984) of controlled protest and favourable alternative to open unrest. Drawing on Multimodal Discourse Analysis, combined with Social Semiotics (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996) and Semiology (Barthes 1968), this study investigates the above-mentioned hypothesis in relation to the political cartoons of the covers of the satirical fortnightly publication *Humor Registrado* during the final year of Argentina's traumatic Dirty War, 1982-1983. The magazine's role in challenging the dictatorship is explored through an analysis of its representations of key social actors and violence during Argentina's difficult period of transition from dictatorship to democracy following defeat in the 1982 Malvinas/Falklands War.

### **"Rodeado de viejos vinagres": Emotional violence, dystopia, and stasis in 'La guerra del cerdo'**

Dr Mariano Paz

This paper discusses the two cinematic adaptations of the Adolfo Bioy Casares novel 'Diario de la guerra del cerdo': 'La guerra del cerdo' (1975), directed by Leopoldo Torre Nilsson, and 'La guerra del maiale' (2012), by Italian filmmaker Davide Putortí (shot in Argentina, in Spanish). If the novel has traditionally been read as a conservative reaction against youth movements and revolts during the 1960s and 70s Argentina, I will argue that the films cannot be interpreted in the same manner. Drawing on the idea of civil war (stasis) as a type of conflict in which the domestic space becomes politicised and the political space is permeated by domestic relations (Giorgio Agamben, 2015), I will discuss the ways in which the films portray the escalation of domestic violence in Argentina. Reading them as critical dystopias, and focusing on the representation of domestic spaces and interpersonal conflicts, I will conclude that the films are denouncing the national propensity for violence based on generational, gender, and class divides.

### **"Like watching TV": *La hora de los hornos* and historical video art**

Dr Clara Garavelli

2018 marks the 50th anniversary of the premiere of the mythical Argentine film *The Hour of the Furnaces* (Getino, Solanas 1968), which paved the way to Third Cinema Theory and practice. Bearing this anniversary in mind, a number of scholars have gathered together to reflect on the film's legacy, and, as part of that project, this paper will explore how the Latin American Film 'movement' that experienced its heyday in the sixties and seventies – of which *The Hour* is a prime example – was imbued with the countercultural, experimental and socio-political radicalism of the time, and will situate within that same countercultural context the case of Video Art, developed during this period. Following the premises of Guy Debord's "society of spectacle" and Marshall McLuhan's famous statement "the medium is the message", video artists aimed to challenge the artistic establishment while carrying out social criticism of the massmediatization of culture and the passivity effect on spectators of broadcast television. Accordingly, this paper will examine the intrinsic relationship between the film and its counterparts in the art world, in order to reflect on the synergies that exist amongst two distinct fields of study that have marked a decade in Latin American culture and history.

## SESSION 2: Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> April 11.30-13.00

### **The politics and culture of gender**

#### **Through Mary Lester's eyes: A gendered perspective of 19<sup>th</sup> century Honduran landscape and peoples**

Dr Jose Lara

In 1881, Mary Lester, a single British female ventured across the largely unknown Honduran terrain in the hopes of becoming a land owner and head teacher of a small colony of Europeans that was to be established on the north coast of Honduras. Lester was unsuccessful in achieving either goal, but as part of her voyage, she produced a narrative that provides a 'gendered' view of Honduras's ethnic populations, landscape, and socio-political climate. In this presentation, I seek to show how *A Lady's Ride Across Honduras* is 1) a work of self-discovery and self-fashioning of a woman who is able to overcome numerous obstacles, including a prevalent anti-British sentiment in Honduras, as a result of her resolve, her resourcefulness and the female support networks she is able to build, and 2) a first-hand account of the chaotic efforts of the newly-independent government to modernize and civilize both its peoples and terrain. In other words, Lester's manuscript is a rich narrative that subverts the canonical nineteenth-century male-dominated travel experience by bringing to the forefront female social conditions and lived experiences in the New World, and by commingling various discourses into her text – ethnography, gender, geography, history, natural history, nationhood and politics.

#### ***Antiprincesas*: Challenging gender identity construction in contemporary Latin American children's literature**

Dr Emma Staniland

Inspired by Nadia Fink's series of children's stories *Colección Antiprincesas* (2015, ongoing), this paper explores the persistence of the Princess trope in contemporary Latin American children's literature. Fink's first books, aimed at readers of 6 to 12 years, sought to present new kinds of heroines to young readers, taking Frida Kahlo and Violeta Parra as alternative figures of inspiration. Their success saw Fink expand her range of portrayals with the stories of Juana Azurduy, Clarice Lispector and Gilda, and '*antiheroes*' Julio Cortázar and Eduardo Galeano. An intriguing starting point for discussions of gendered identity portrayal in Latin American children's literature, and its role in personal development – especially in the contemporary globalised contexts of consumerism and social media –, these texts challenge the persistent presence of the princess archetype to which much feminist literary criticism has turned as focal point, but whose pull remains highly evident in writing for this age group. Combining a survey of relevant recent publications with a contextualised feminist critique of the notions of heroines and anti-heroines, this paper explores the resilience of the princess stereotype as a lodestar for contemporary female gendered identities, thus to better understand the value of distinct representations like those of Finks.

#### **Contemporary women presidents of the Americas**

Prof. Victoria Rodriguez

This paper builds on an extensive body of scholarly work on women's political representation as presidents and prime ministers worldwide, but attempts to systematically study the presence and performance of women as chief executives in the Americas. During the past fifteen years women have served as presidents of the three most important countries in South America – Argentina,

Brazil, and Chile – as well as in Costa Rica. Pending the outcome of the US presidential election, we might also have the first female president of the United States. For the past three years I have conducted a major research project analyzing the presidencies of Michelle Bachelet, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, Dilma Rousseff, and Laura Chinchilla. This paper is based on that body of work and goes beyond analyzing the rise of women to political power by tracing their career trajectories; instead, it focuses on the policy agendas and policy priorities of the women holding the top political office in their respective countries.

## **Indigenous people, politics and identity in Bolivia**

### **New responses to old concerns: Transformations in ethnoterritoriality in Bolivia**

Cian Warfield

Ethnopolitical activism has been at the heart of academic discourse for two decades. Central to this political narrative, has been the call made by indigenous communities in Latin America for access to ancestral landscape and claims for ethnoterritorial rights. This paper explores the changing relationship between indigenous communities and ethnoterritoriality in Bolivia and, in doing so will map out the transformations taking place in ethnopolitical activism as a result. First, this paper will begin by analysing the TIPNIS conflict in Bolivia which was a development dispute between the Morales government and local indigenous groups in this natural reserve and indigenous territory. This conflict, which involved the construction of a highway through the reserve, was the manifestation of longstanding historical tensions around the complicated issue of development between lowland indigenous groups and rural, highland campesinos. Second, this paper will showcase the change in relationship between landscape and the indigenous by analysing the significance of neo-Andean architecture constructed as the result of a newly mobilised indigenous middle class in El Alto. Indigenous Aymara are buying and selling landscape, constructing lavish buildings to celebrate their cultural ancestry. Indigenous groups no longer preserve landscape (TIPNIS case) but reengage with ethno-space in transformative ways.

### **Approaching state transformation in Bolivia: From self-determination and reconstitution of ancestral territories to indigenous autonomy**

Britta Katharina Matthes

This paper invites us to rethink how we make sense of the state as a category. It interrogates the case of the Pluri-national State of Bolivia, of which indigenous autonomies have been seen as the key building block. However, the practice has not lived up to this expectation. In this paper, I use an Open Marxist perspective on the state (which is stretched due to Bolivia's peripheral position) in order to shed light on these experiences. I argue that understanding the state in Bolivia as a political form of the relations of capital (Holloway & Picciotto, 1977; Clarke 1991) helps to understand how the earlier demands for self-determination (in the lowlands) and reconstitution of ancestral territories (in the highlands) became *in-form*-ed as indigenous autonomies. In the process of 'translation' into the state agenda (Dinerstein 2015), the demands from indigenous peoples have become more and more subordinated/adapted to the dominant mode of production (i.e. extractivism) and modernity, reflected in bureaucratic organisations etc. The paper concludes that the Pluri-national form of the state has little to do with the emancipation of indigenous peoples (and their epistemologies) from earlier exclusion, marginalisation and assimilation. Continuity in the subsumption into the modern-colonial-capitalist matrix prevails.

## **Why do indigenous autonomies fail in Bolivia?**

Dr Radoslaw Poweska

Throughout last decade Bolivia has been hailed as outstandingly successful example of the indigenous peoples' political recognition. Under the banner of the Plurinational State, the incorporation of one of the most advanced and far-reaching set of indigenous rights in Latin America was brought about, including right to self-determination and self-governed territorial autonomies. Notwithstanding, the ongoing process of implementation of indigenous autonomies is far from meeting the enthusiastic expectations, and being full of complications and disappointments, it seems rather a failure. There are several factors impacting this situation, including the ambivalent position of the central government towards indigenous autonomies that it discursively advocates; as well as the impact of state extractivism contradicting the principles of indigenous self-determination. However, there is also crucial element of internal indigenous divisions about how their incorporation into the state should look like and about their expectations about their place in the wider Bolivian society. The discussion about indigenous autonomies is addressed by the interplay of tradition and modernity, seeking own identities and looking for just incorporation and benefits from the Bolivian development. The paper is based on the author's recent fieldwork in Bolivia.

## **Reflections around Rio (Part 1): Football and nationhood in Colombia and Mexico**

### **The begrudged emergence of a rivalry: The United States versus Mexico from South of the border**

Roger Magazine

Mexico's 'misfortune' to be separated from the competitive South American football confederation and grouped with the U.S. in the 'lowly' Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football has destined the two teams to meet on a regular basis. Each of these meetings, from the first in 1934 to the present day, has the potential to highlight different aspects of the complicated relationship between the two countries. On the one hand, they constitute an opportunity for Mexico to demonstrate its dominance and autonomy in at least one facet of the relationship to its powerful neighbor. On the other, these meetings can bring the two nations together in a competitive rivalry. Certain actors, such as the Mexican Football Federation and Mexican television networks with their Spanish-language affiliates in the U.S., have favored the emergence of a rivalry with its substantial economic promise. Meanwhile, many Mexican intellectuals, including sports journalists, have favored downplaying the rivalry in an effort to maintain an image of Mexican football superiority and national autonomy. The history of the matchup, seen from the Mexican point of view, will be used to discuss some of the dilemmas of Mexican nationalism in relation to the U.S.

### **Competing for the shirt: The kit of the Colombian *selección* and the construction of *colombianidad***

Peter J. Watson

In a nation where the state has struggled to establish a unifying sense of *colombianidad* upon its territory, football in Colombia is one of few practices that crosses historic fissures and contributes towards nation-building. The football shirt of the national team is the demonstration of supporting the team and the nations' representatives on the global sporting 'field of battle', as well as exhibiting a sense of national belonging. However, the changing colours and design of the *Selección's* official

shirt has also been a symbol of Colombia's search for national identity, and is a contested symbol between official and anti-state actors. For instance, at the peace negotiations during the 2014 World Cup, both government and FARC negotiators wore the national team colours, and the recent white shirt worn for the Copa América matches drew criticism for being an allusion to the peace talks as well as a move away from the colours for the national flag. This paper examines Colombia's ongoing nation-building process through the prism of the national football shirt as a charged object of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) and its problematic and contested symbology in the correlative imagination of the Colombian nation (Radcliffe and Westwood, 1996).

### **Colombia: Political violence and invention of the nation in football code**

David Quitián Roldán

Football has served many purposes in Colombia, helping to pacify the bipartisan violence of the second half of the twentieth century and defining the country's National Front of the "independent republics" in which the guerrillas emerged. At the same time, it contributed to imagining the nation (alongside cycling) through the fantasy of athletic sports produced by radio. However, the singularities of this process overflow the civilizing process proposed by Norbert Elias and suggest a different capitalism to that posed by Benedict Anderson for Imagined Communities: capitalism through sound.

The anthropological reading of radio footballing stories and radio scripts during the period of the 'Frente Nacional' (1958-74) opens the possibility of imagining that the story of the nation was made through football via AM radio. This interpretation dialogues with the most recent episodes of Colombian football: its deep ties to drug trafficking and its active role in the national government's peace process with the FARC guerrillas in Cuba. Such roles lead us to consider football at times as a 'total social fact' (Marcel Mauss, 1950 and Ignacio Ramonet, 2006) and at other times as an 'Instituição zero' (Simoni Guedes, 1977), the perfect wildcard for Colombian radio drama.

### **Violence, law and justice in modern Mexico**

#### **"Enemies of our institutions": Violence, insurrection and political legitimacy in early-Independent Mexico**

Dr Rosie Doyle

This paper analyses legal responses to insurrectionary politics in the decades after Independence in Mexico. It explores how insurrections were legitimised to the extent that they became politics as usual. However, since they were a source of instability there was a concern to legislate against insurrection. The relationship between violence and the delegitimation of insurrection through recourse to the law will be the particular focus here.

#### **The killing of a taxi driver: Justice, civil society, and the press in mid-century Mexico**

Dr Benjamin Smith

On 27 November 1954, the Chihuahua City taxi driver, Juan Cereceres, picked up his hired vehicle and started his regular night shift. The following day, he didn't come home; the car was found in the centre of the city; there was a bullet hole in the windscreen; and the driver's seat was drenched in blood. For the next six months, journalists from the city's El Norte's newspaper investigated Cereceres' disappearance, tracking down witnesses, ordering autopsies, and employing forensic experts to crack the case. The investigation revealed a cover-up, which reached to the top levels of the state administration. Reporters even accused the governor of keeping the taxi driver's body for a month in his own freezer. The exposé generated considerable outrage and pushed members of civil

society to form a pressure group, which called for justice for Cereceres and the removal of the governor. This paper uses the Cereceres case and the subsequent scandal to look at the relations among journalists, civil society, and justice in Dictablanda Mexico.

### **The judge and the *jefe politico*: Paradoxes of legal rule in Porfirian Mexico**

Dr Timo Schaefer

This paper examines the repressive and the protective sides of the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz as they are revealed in the records of judicial amparo proceedings. The legal instrument of the amparo – a kind of writ of injunction offering protection against unconstitutional executive actions – was created in its modern form during Mexico’s Reform period and became widely used during the Porfiriato. For historians, records of amparo proceedings can be tricky to analyze: on the one hand, they often contain detailed accounts of abuses committed by Porfirian district chiefs or *jefes políticos*; on the other hand, they are themselves the result of a new form of protective state intervention. Records of amparo proceedings thus support readings of the Porfirian regime as both repressive and invested in the strengthening and refinement of the legal state. The paper assesses the historical significance of Porfirian amparo proceedings by considering their antecedents in the legal culture of the early republican period.

### **Social movements, democracy and alternative development models in Latin America**

#### **Social movements and progressive politics in Latin America: New theoretical directions**

Prof. Ronaldo Munck

Since the late 1990s, Latin America has seen the rise and fall of left-of-centre governments across the region. In many countries social movement mobilisation played a key role in facilitating the unprecedented electoral rise of various progressive governments. However, there is a common view that “progressive governments are seldom beneficial for social movements” (Biekart 2005) insofar as they led to divisions and the co-optation of these movements. In reality, there have been a whole range of different outcomes that cannot be reduced to a simple choice between co-operation with these governments or co-optation. What is clear is that while its modalities varied considerably, social movements played an important role in the rise of the leftist or progressive parties to power and were part of the ongoing political dynamic around their policies and practices since 2000. As the tide of left-wing governments appears to recede in Latin America, social movement theory is in need of new explanatory frameworks and new directions. In much of the literature on the contemporary role of social movements, development and democracy, we find a series of binary oppositions that, arguably, need to be superseded to achieve a more rounded and complex analysis, which is what this paper will explore.

#### **Unity for government, heterogeneity for movements: The epistemological gap between nation-state and indigenous movements in the Andean region**

Dr Ji-hyun Seo

This paper analyses the changing relationship between leftist governments and indigenous movements in the Andean region. Despite the latter’s great contribution to the election of leftist governments in the Andean countries in the 2000s, their demands do not seem to be fully or even partially materialised under the leftist governments. Consequently, a majority of the population, including indigenous movements, have been increasingly showing their discontent at the ballot box



as well as on the streets, sometimes endangering the governability of these governments. Some commentators argue that this uneasy relationship between indigenous movements and the so-called leftist governments is attributed to the economic crisis that these countries have faced in recent years due to a decrease in international commodity prices. Others maintain that this popular dissatisfaction has emanated from each government's unmet promises. Even this bitter relationship at the ballot box is regarded as a tendency – 'a turn to the right', following other countries in Latin America. Rather than looking for political and economic explanations, this paper focuses on the 'epistemological gap' between leftist governments trapped in a development strategy based on the nation-state on the one hand, and indigenous movements, which have been demanding the materialisation of a plurinational state from a decolonial episteme.

### **Social movements and the dilemmas of power: The case of Brazil**

Dr Marieke Riethof

The relationship between social movements and the PT governments in Brazil have often been treated as symbiotic, based on the view that both types of actors underwent a process of political moderation after Lula first won the presidential elections in 2002. A common explanation is that social movements were reluctant to challenge the PT governments, potentially jeopardising the progressive project, and also benefited from financial resources and political influence. However, a focus on moderation and co-optation has risked obscuring the tensions in government-social movement relations, downplaying renewed mobilisation and opposition. This blind spot is particularly apparent when explaining the growing social and political polarisation in Brazil since the late 2000s, culminating in the mass demonstrations in 2013 and 2015, and Dilma Rousseff's impeachment in 2016. Instead, this paper traces episodes of disagreements, opposition and mobilisation since 2003, with a focus on the labour movement as one of the PT's closest allies.

### **Communicating dissent in South America**

#### **Replacement, adjustment and re-appropriation: Examining the role of the media during the June 13 protests in Brazil**

Cesar Jimenez-Martinez

In June 2013, at the very same time that Brazil hosted the FIFA Confederations Cup, thousands of people protested on cities all over the country, in what became the largest social unrest experienced by Brazil since 1992. The demonstrations, called the June Journeys, have been narrated as a series of protests against the public money spent on stadiums in detriment of health, education and public transportation. Analyses concerning the role of the media during these protests have usually adopted a simplistic perspective. Some of these studies contend that while the government and the national media hid or span information, alternative media collectives exposed alternative and 'truer' viewpoints. This paper will argue that the struggles in the media were much richer than this simple dichotomy. Drawing on more than 60 interviews with journalists, activists and representatives of the Brazilian government, I will argue that, when seeking to advance their own agendas, all these actors employed a series of strategies of visibility that aimed to *replace*, *adjust* or *re-appropriate* previous coverage about Brazil. The significance of these strategies lies on the fact that, while some of them challenged power relations, others relied on the reinforcement of the status quo, even when employed by those who claimed to confront the powers that be.

## **The conquest of (an anti-neoliberal) time: Enabling a communicative commons in Chile's 2011 student movement**

Jorge Saavedra Utman

Recent events of contention throughout the world have caught the attention due their emergence, aims and use of innovative expressions of dissent. Urban camps, square occupations as well as the organizational and networked features of the Internet have been highlighted by researchers, academics and activists as distinctive features of media and communicative practices in the so called Arab Spring, the 15 M movement in Spain and the Occupy movement in cities like New York and London. The overwhelming attention on these cases and these specific media and communicative practices has left somewhat unaddressed relevant cases showing distinctive communication and media practices in recent expressions of dissent. One of these elements is the key role of time and, most precisely, the challenge to fast paced rhythm proper of 24/7 logic of neoliberalism as means and ends to root and sustain mobilization processes. To develop this point, my presentation will take the case of the students' movement in Chile, in 2011. Based on interviews and focus groups with activists that took part in the events of 2011, I will describe and contextualize how meetings, conversations and dialogues subverted the time logics of neoliberalism as well as the time of institutional democracy. This presentation will explain and illustrate the way in which this challenge to neoliberal time was necessary to hold communicative practices rooting and experiencing the movement in a democratic and participative way. With this presentation I would like to address questions about the political and communicative relevance of time for grassroots activism, about the implications of sustaining mobilisations following the rush of neoliberal time, and ultimately about the creation of time as a basic commons to sustain dialogues and conversations needed for democratic environments.

## ***"We are plural – we publish all the political parties": Media access for the anti-impunity campaign in Uruguay, 1989-2012***

Beth Pearson

The quantity and quality of access to the media for civil society actors is a key measure of a democratic media (Manning, 2001). A plural media enables a wider range of perspectives to be represented by a range of groups in society. This is particularly relevant in post-authoritarian contexts, where certain groups will have been systematically excluded from the press during the dictatorship and the media reflects and may play a role in how state-civil society relations are reconfigured (Lawson and Hughes, 2005; Voltmer, 2013). However, there is little empirical research on how access to the media for civil society actors changes over the process of democratisation. This paper presents longitudinal qualitative research on source access to newspaper coverage of the civil society-led campaign to repeal the Expiry Law in Uruguay. The country has the dual distinction of having the most totalitarian-like media in South America during the era of military dictatorships (Lessa, 2010) and having experienced the most progressive media reforms since the return to democracy (Waisbord, 2009). However, the state was slow on dealing with impunity, thereby creating a political space for civil society actors. The paper combines content analysis of *El Pais* and *La Republica* with qualitative interviewing to establish and explain patterns in the coverage of major events - the 1989 and 2009 plebiscites and the *Marcha del Silencio* from its inception in 1996 to 2012. It finds that source access for civil society actors changes over the democratisation process and is contingent on a range of factors.

## **Social movements and media practices: Unravelling the offline and online communications of environmental SMOs in Chile**

David Jofré

This paper aims at examining how social movement organisations (SMOs) rely on diverse offline and online media simultaneously for their various communications needs. Empirically, the study explores the case of environmental organisations in Chile and their diverse media practices according to their goals and level of institutionalisation. Existing literature explains social movements' uses of diverse media as communicative resources to articulate their communities, campaign their causes, mobilise people, organise collective action and attain influence on decision-makers. Many scholars argue that the affordances of online media have improved their effectiveness in these areas. However, most of this literature has been focused on each new technological development at a time. Only a few scholars are trying to incorporate the role of older media, such as newspapers or TV, into a comprehensive understanding of SMOs and their communicative possibilities. This piece of research joins these debates by building grounded theoretical insights from empirical data produced through qualitative interviews with leaders and communication officers of SMOs in central Chile between May and September of 2016. Such analysis posits a good opportunity to contribute with a picture of today's complex media ecology and how it shapes the emerging civil society of a post-authoritarian country.

## **Latin American literatures**

### **Cultural memory and identity in Mario Delgado Aparain's *No robaras las botas de los muertos***

Karunika Kardak

The defence of the Siege of Paysandú (1864) has been viewed as the epitome of Uruguayan patriotism that upholds universal values and goes beyond the partisan politics of the time. This paper will discuss the representation of the Siege of Paysandú in Mario Delgado Aparain's *No robarás las botas de los muertos* (2002). It will analyse the novel's treatment of history and cultural memory and comment on Uruguayan national identity through an analysis of the novel's transnationalism and its representation of Afro-Uruguayans. It will be argued that, although to some extent the novel romanticises the defence of siege, it also questions its heroism by presenting a variety of critical voices. Furthermore, Delgado Aparain's fictionalisation of this historical event's transnational and cosmopolitan nature also speaks to the present-day consolidation of Mercosur in Latin America. Moreover, another significant concern of the novel is the 19<sup>th</sup> century maltreatment of African descendants in northern Uruguay and Brazil. These two themes will be analysed in order to discuss the novel's 21<sup>st</sup> century reinterpretation of national identity and cultural memory.

### **Food culture and detective fiction: The case of Leonardo Padura**

Dr Diana Battaglia

This paper analyses the representation of food, cooking and meals in the detective novels of Leonardo Padura, stressing the cultural values associated with these daily practices. Padura's novel inscribe themselves into a long tradition of detective novels (such as the ones written by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán and Andrea Cammilleri), which consider the description of food and meals as a distinctive cultural feature. The importance of food as a cultural code and a system of signification has been clearly stated by scholars such as Barthes: 'an entire "world" (social environment) is

present and signified by food' (2008); or Lévi-Strauss: eating is more than feeding oneself: to eat is to enter a system of signs and symbols that shapes one's collective identity (1964). Starting from these premises, I will argue that in Padura's novels the mention of food and cooking is used to inscribe the characters into a cultural and national narrative, to re-construct social relationships and make references to important elements of contemporary Cuban society. Food complement the social backdrop of the story and set the Cuban character of the novel, bringing in elements of syncretism, *mestizaje* and hybridity; the lack or abundance of food and the references to the semi-hidden presence of the black market economy denounce Cuba's economic and historical situation. Finally, the convivial aspect of food reinforces the emotional bond between the characters and traces the profile of a generation. Hence, the representation of food and eating rituals can be read as part of a wider discourse on cultural, national and generational belonging in Padura's fiction.

### **Creation versus imitation: Exploring the American translations of Lorca's "Poeta en Nueva York"**

Karen Angella Brown

Octavio Paz explores the link between literary translation and creation in 'Literatura y Literalidad', describing both as "operaciones gemelas"—or twin procesos (1971: 21). The intent underlying this paper is to explore three different versions of Federico García Lorca's highly acclaimed poetry volume, 'Poeta en Nueva York'—all done by North American poets and translators—, through the lens of Paz's writings on translation and creativity. Another key question to be explored is: Why was Lorca's work so prolifically translated in the United States but less so in Britain?

## SESSION 3: Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> April 14.00-15.30

### Land, religion and indigeneity

#### **Marxism, *mística* and the struggle for land reform: What is the secret to the experience of the Landless Workers' Movement in Brazil?**

Graham McGeoch

This paper proposes to present the *mística* in the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in Brazil and discuss why so many social movements and political activists from across Latin America want to incorporate it into their own struggles for justice? Brazil's Landless Workers' Movement (MST) is the largest social movement in the world (with approximately 450, 000 members/activists). João Pedro Stedlie (the foremost MST leader) has described *mística* as that which sets the MST apart from other social movements. (Stedlie & Fernandes, 2012). The MST has incorporated *mística* as a social practice to sustain peoples' involvement in the struggle for land reform and it also uses it as an organising principle for the movement. The *mística* has roots in religious ritual, ideological formation, Paulo Freire's 'codes' which present generative themes for the content of a liberating practice of education (Freire 1993), and Augusto Boal's 'street theatre' where anyone can 'act', meaning to perform and to take action, uncovering essential truths about societies and cultures (Boal 2003). The *mística* has a flag, hymn, banners, words of order, music, action and reflection. This paper assesses the MST *mística* from a macro-ecumenical perspective (macro-ecumenism is a Latin American concept for inter-religious dialogue that includes non-religious actors, like social movements).

#### **From "Mal de Mina" to Pachamama: Discovering the environment in Bolivia's mines**

Dr Elena McGrath

My paper will trace the shifting understandings of hazard and pollution in Bolivian mining camps over the final decades of the twentieth century. I argue that while Bolivia's mining camps had long been sources of environmental degradation and threats to worker health, the critical role the mines played in the Bolivian economy encouraged a devil's bargain: by legislating worker protections and expanding healthcare for workers, the state absolved itself of the collateral damages of the mining industry. Beginning in the 1980s, two things changed. First, NGOs and social movements working in mining regions began raising concerns about these camps as sites of pollution, ill health and poverty. Second, the Bolivian government began a series of austerity measures to curb inflation in the country as well as the influence of the mines and their workers in the political life of the country. Between 1985 and 1989, the state shut down state mines throughout the country, leaving nearly 30,000 miners and their families without a means of earning a living. My paper will show how understandings of pollution and labor shifted in this period, highlighting the articulation of forms of indigenous "earth politics" [Waskar Ari, 2014], anti-poverty activism, and neoliberal economics in the lead up to Bolivia's first "Ley de Medio Ambiente" in 1992.

#### **Learning to listen and the rebellion in dialogue: Nature and community in 'tojolabal' and the Zapatista experience in Chiapas, Mexico**

Rodrigo Liceaga

Generally accounted for its revolutionary potential and alternative democratic organization through assemblies and autonomic institutions, the Zapatista movement in Chiapas has a crucial but less explored foundation in land and Nature. This paper points out the importance of reiterating the singularity and complexity of the ongoing dialogue that was established between the Zapatistas

insurgent fashion and its Mayan roots, where a very particular display of rebellion and patience, prudence and struggle, was always grounded and bonded to land and soil. The aim of this paper is to emphasise how, through the lens of the 'tojolabales,' the practice and experience of 'land' and 'community' unfolds alongside a very specific acknowledgement of Nature and co-existence. The latter which is not alien to contemporary philosophical proposals for re-thinking political practices, such as the work of Giorgio Agamben and his idea of the inappropriable, and could eventually offer grounded and contemporary inspiration for practicing community and the world in a different way.

### **Contesting intercultural education as a critical education process in the encounter with 'difference'**

Antonia Manresa Axisa

The term 'intercultural' in Latin America forms part of a politics of contestation challenging dominant homogenizing state ideology. The demand for the recognition of difference also positioned the claim for an 'alternative pluralist political project' (Walsh, 2009; Lopez, 2009). This has led to the articulation of 'interculturalism' as a practice (Walsh, 2003) and as 'a dialogue' between 'saberes' (ways of knowing) (De Sousa, 2010), identifying the aim of intercultural education as a means for social transformation. However, in Ecuador bilingual and intercultural education has become a site for bitter dispute. Consensus appears to relate only to the accusation that 'intercultural education' has become a political rhetorical tool. Where does this leave 'bilingual intercultural education' on the ground? From my own ethnographic analysis based on a particular Quichua Amazonian Ecuadorian community, I consider that 'difference' enters the classroom in unexpected ways. By analysing classroom discourse I contest the notion that difference is articulated as a critical process of educational practice challenging official knowledge (Giroux). I describe instead how ontological difference (De la Cadena, 2015) is articulated passing unnoticed, avoiding epistemological confrontation. In so doing I suggest the ability for exercising possible ways of 'worlding' is retained (Blazer, 2010).

### **Argentine film & TV**

#### **"Un café con Peron" and other (h)istories: Consumer artefacts and *argentinidad* in the television mini-series *Lo que el tiempo nos dejó* (2010)**

Brigid Cruzado

In 2010, Argentina celebrated its bicentenary year with a series of spectacular commemorative events. Alongside the celebratory parades, concerts and exhibitions organised by the federal government of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, the television channel Telefe broadcast a collection of six one-hour long dramas entitled *Lo que el tiempo nos dejó*. With the popular historian Felipe Pigna as advisor, the series re-envisioned significant events in the national past from the perspective of the 'ordinary' citizens involved. As a work of 'historical event television', a syncretic audio-visual text that combines dramatic narrative with documentary footage, it sought to foster a popular historicity inscribed with the hallmarks of a distinctly Kirchnerist national imaginary. Through an aesthetic discourse that enjoins the places, sounds and consumer artefacts of the everyday past and the hegemonic discourse of period media narratives, the series highlights a discord between past lived experience and canonical historiographic orthodoxies. This paper will explore how, in doing so, *Lo que el tiempo nos dejó* attempted to re-construct an affective genealogy of meaning between private and public histories of the nation, articulating a neo-revisionist conception of *argentinidad* past, present and future.

## **La ficción y la ciencia en la narrativa seriada argentina: *Cromo* (2015)**

Dr Carolina Soria

En el periodo 2007-2015 se modifican los patrones de producción, exhibición y consumo de las imágenes de ficción emitidas por la Televisión Pública Argentina. Dicha transformación es el resultado de un proceso de cambio legislativo— la Ley de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual (LCSA), sancionada en 2009—, tecnológico— la innovación de la Televisión Digital Abierta (TDA), desarrollada en 2010; institucional —los concursos de fomento *Prime Time* promovidos por el Instituto Nacional de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales (INCAA)— y estético— el privilegio de construcciones narrativas clásicas. En el marco de estos cambios coyunturales propongo examinar las series ficcionales realizadas por directores cinematográficos, *23 pares* (2012) de Albertina Carri y *Cromo* (2015) de Lucía Puenzo, Nicolás Puenzo y Pablo Fendrik y su relación con el intertexto científico. El objetivo es analizar, por un lado, ambas narrativas y su relación con aquellos tópicos y estilos que definen la poética autoral de cada realizador —la temática de la identidad (genética, de género, sexual y política) y el thriller basado en investigaciones científicas, respectivamente— y por otro, vislumbrar el modo en que las ficciones edifican sus universos a partir del asesoramiento científico proporcionado por investigadores del CONICET (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas).

## **Searching for Eva's body: Trauma and cultural memory in María Seoane's *Eva de la Argentina***

Dr Mirna Vohnsen (co-author Dr María Belen Rabadan Vega)

This paper analyzes the way in which the theme of the desaparecidos (the disappeared) is explored in María Seoane's film *Eva de la Argentina* (2011). Informed by the theories of trauma and cultural memory, this study argues that the film serves as yet another exposé of the shattering traumatic experience of the desaparecidos during the Dirty War in Argentina (1976-1983). Constructed around the question posed by Argentine writer Rodolfo Walsh on the whereabouts of María Eva Duarte de Perón's body, the film unravels the events that have led to its disappearance. Merging the stories of Eva and Walsh, who disappeared in 1977, Seoane employs the voice of a desaparecido to tell the story of the missing body of Eva. In doing so, the film establishes a direct link between Eva, Walsh and the victims of the Dirty War. Moreover, the search for Eva's body arguably evokes the search for the desaparecidos undertaken by their family members. Through the re-enactment of the disappearance of Eva and Walsh, it will be demonstrated that the film denounces and memorializes the plight of the desaparecidos in Argentina. Ultimately, trauma, memory and search become the pillars underpinning this cinematic recreation of Argentine history.

## **Theoretical approaches on Latin America**

### **Modernidad, crítica y de-colonialidad: Alternativas teóricas**

Stephan Gruber

El pensamiento crítico latinoamericano, sobre todo la denominada teoría de-colonial (Quijano, Dussell, Mignolo, etc.), se opone a teorías críticas que aún postulan la modernidad como horizonte para las luchas emancipatorias (Escuela de Frankfurt, marxismos, etc.). Las ideas de progreso, universalismo y racionalidad suelen ser descartadas por ineludiblemente marcadas por el eurocentrismo. En ese clima, el diálogo entre teorías críticas suele enrarecerse, en parte debido al reducido interés que la Teoría Crítica de Frankfurt ha dado al pensamiento de-colonial (Allen 2016). El resultado: un aislamiento pernicioso para ambos proyectos teóricos. Esta ponencia, en búsqueda

de reanimar un diálogo crítico beneficioso para trabajos actuales sobre la modernidad en América Latina, planteará tanto recuperar la figura de la modernidad como tener una sensibilidad a las diferencias locales. Así, discutirá las limitaciones de las alternativas anti- o post-modernas al no lidiar con el universal realmente existente del capitalismo global (Chibber 2013); pero también señalará que esta recuperación de la modernidad debe asumir las críticas de la teoría de-colonial (Srnicek y Williams 2015). Asimismo, una visión más pragmática de la racionalidad e institucionalidad social (Jaeggi 2014, Laden 2012) permite tener criterios normativos que superen la objeción de la teoría de-colonial a la racionalidad moderna.

### **Social and demographic inequality within Latin America and the Caribbean**

Prof. Ludi Simpson

Most of Latin America has speedily undergone a demographic transition, involving smaller families and an ageing population. Some countries are catching up, and there is a strong sense in which smaller families and longer life is a success story related to economic and social development. This collaborative project (<http://www.cmist.manchester.ac.uk/research/projects/s-alyc/>) has devised and analysed an historical and sub-national evidence base to quantify how close are the links between demography and economic development. Our comparative studies from a dozen authors suggest that demographic experience is converging more slowly than socio-economic trends, or not at all. Mapping of these indicators identifies cross-border commonalities. Planning and politics aim to cope with future population and therefore require demographic projections. These can take some trends as highly likely, expect inequalities to persist, model the extent to which planning impacts on population change and vice versa, and study countries within which demographic experience is much more homogeneous than others. The paper will report on the project and summarise strategies and conclusions of its studies of fertility, mortality, household size and structure, economic activity, and their link to educational advance, urbanisation and industrial structure. The paper co-author is Leandro Gonzalez, CIECS, Cordoba Argentina.

### **Structural heterogeneity and regional development: Concepts and theories for empirical studies in Latin America**

Prof. Humberto Martins

The paper focus on the concept of “structural heterogeneity”, originally developed by the Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean (ECLAC) in the late 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The main objective is to discuss the capability of this concept in providing a useful approach and theoretical aspects in order to constitute a basis for empirical studies regarding the development of Latin America, especially in regional aspects and subnational level. Along the discussion, the concept of “structural heterogeneity”, as well the ECLAC’s approach, are related and compared with others, mainly more recent established, such as “unbalanced growth”.

### **Gender and sexuality politics**

#### **Power without empowerment: Lessons of critical mass representations in Costa Rica**

Dr Tricia Gray

Only recently have there been the empirical conditions, especially in the developing world, to test hypotheses derived from critical mass theories of representation, like do quotas increase the gender parity, or does gender parity in politics make a difference? Costa Rica adopted a legislated quota in 1996 and has maintained 30 percent critical mass gender representation for more than three



electoral cycles, thus presenting conditions for a quasi-experimental approach to test the effects of the quota over time and the relative impacts of reforms to the quota policy. This paper presents field research, including archival research and elite interviews the author conducted in Costa Rica in 2016. The analysis utilizes a sequential policy tracing model to measure the empirical values of descriptive representation across electoral cycles. The results indicate how institutions and quota policies can shape electoral outcomes, and how increased descriptive representation affects the political processes. The Costa Rica case study indicates that monitoring and institutionalization of gender quotas improve numeric descriptive representation, but increased gender parity has not necessarily improved substantive representation. The conclusion highlights growing trends toward gender parity quota measures juxtaposed against resistance in the processes of electoral systems and the process of political representation.

### **The diffusion of same-sex unions and marriage policies in Latin America: What role for international learning?**

Dr Kelly Kollman (co-author Dr Iñaki Sagarzazu)

Few policy areas have been transformed as dramatically since 1990 as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights. Until recently this policy revolution largely was limited to the democracies of Western Europe and North America. Since the mid-2000s, however, several Latin America countries have expanded the rights of their LGBT citizens, seven of them by adopting high-profile same-sex unions (SSU) laws. Most regional scholars have highlighted the role that factors such as recent democratization, economic modernization, secularization and the visibility of national LGBT movements have played in the increasing policy success of LGBT rights campaigns. These scholars, however, disagree about the impact that international influence has played in these regional policy outcomes. We join these debates by examining the role that both domestic and international factors have played in the implementation of national SSU policies in Latin American countries since 1990. To test these competing explanations we use event history analysis and an original database that contains information on the institutional, cultural and economic characteristics of 14 Latin American countries as well as their connections to global and regional society.

### **Advancing legislative gains in Argentina and Chile: The early days of the LGBTI rights revolution**

Dr Penny Miles

Whilst claims of an LGBTI 'rights revolution occurring across Latin America (Encarnación, 2016) abound, some countries have prospered (Uruguay, Argentina) more than others (Peru, Nicaragua). Argentina is a world leader, while neighbouring Chile has lagged behind considerably. Subject to an Inter-American Court condemnation in 2012 for violating rights on the basis of sexual orientation, its executive and legislature have been historically reticent to address these rights issues. This paper takes an historical approach to some of the first pieces of legislations enacted in Latin America that address opposite ends of the LGBTI rights spectrum (Sanders, 1996): decriminalization of sodomy in Chile in 1999 and the first bill recognizing same-sex partners in Buenos Aires in 2002. It examines i) the political opportunities that facilitated these changes including federalism, timing, elite support and favourable committee organizing, and ii) the framing of the arguments that eventually led to approval in the comparative voting chambers. It then explores these changes in relation to the resulting 'rights revolution' focusing particularly on the importance of federalism and the judicialisation of politics, in assisting more rapid advance across certain countries in the continent compared to others.

## **Struggles in policies on abortion and same-sex unions in Italy and Chile: The power of formal and informal institutions**

Dr Giulia Sirigu and Dr Carmen Sepulveda

The recent literature on institutionalism, whether new, or feminist, has argued that it is key to look at both formal and informal institutions to better understand outcomes and processes behind specific institutional changes. Globally, reproductive issues as abortion and LGBT issues, such as same-sex unions, and social policies have become a reflection of the power struggles between conservative and more progressive forces to maintain or change specific gendered institutions. This is particularly so in countries where Catholicism remains the most influential religion in society, as is the case of Italy and Chile.

These two country cases and specific policies provide an excellent opportunity to compare and highlight the way in which formal and informal institutions come to play a key role in advancing or hindering gendered institutional changes. This paper analyses the policy processes behind these policies. By looking at the interplay between actors, ideas and institutions, it tries to explain why in some cases some institutions matter more than others and how actors and ideas navigate these spaces. This includes politicians in government or the legislature, doctors, mass media and social movement actors, as well as state institutions and their internal rules such as: the legislature, its commissions, and state agencies.

## **Reflections around Rio (Part 2): New perspectives on football in Latin America: Football, geography and gender in Brazil**

### **Footballers and fishermen: Race and masculinity in Brazil's first Independence Centenary**

Gregg Bocketti

In 1922, Brazil marked its first independence centenary with more than a year of celebrations through which Brazilians acknowledged, debated, and performed the meanings of sovereignty, nation, and citizenship. The celebrations took many forms, from parades to international exhibitions of art and commerce to a series of sports competitions. This paper focuses on two episodes which captured the public imagination in Rio de Janeiro, then the national capital and the center of official celebrations. In October, the Brazilian national football team won the South American Championship. A month before, a group of fishermen sailed a handful of small traditional fishing boats, called *jangadas*, to the capital from the northern city of Fortaleza. While the football victory fitted seamlessly into the dominant discourse offered by prominent commentators and officials of a modern nation led by cosmopolitan white men to international prominence, the *jangadeiros* proved a challenge: here was a group of mixed-race men from the provinces using an old technology to insert themselves into the capital's celebrations. This paper compares footballers and fishermen, then, as an opportunity to see beyond official discourse and into larger Brazilian debates about race, masculinity, and citizenship at a critical moment in Brazil's modern history.

### **The Northeast needs football, too**

Courtney J. Campbell

This paper examines newspaper coverage of the campaign to bring a World Cup match to Recife in 1950. Throughout the first half of 1950, north-eastern newspapers printed a flurry of conflicting opinions on whether and how the city of Recife would host a World Cup event. If granted a World Cup match, as a *Folha da Manhã* article pointed out, 'the attentions of the whole world' would be on the Ilha do Retiro stadium, whose construction relied on donations and volunteer labour.

Newspapers explicitly discussed the importance of positively representing the north-eastern region – the region with the highest infant mortality and lowest life expectancy rates in Brazil – on an international stage through a World Cup match. In this way, the successful campaign became a centrepiece for a discussion of regional inequalities, representation, inferiority, and pride. It did not culminate in consensus or horizontal camaraderie, but rather emphasized that attempts to define and represent the region were multivalent and reflect a constant negotiation of geographic scale – from the local and regional to the national and global – in everyday understandings of a sense of place.

### **Saving women from themselves: Policing *futebol feminino* in Brazil, 1940-1983**

Joshua Nadel

Scholars have long recognized men's soccer as constitutive and reflective of identity formation and social change. By the turn of the twentieth century, women also took up the sport. Some women's activities reinforced traditional gender roles, such as sewing uniforms or cooking for players. However, they also played soccer in significant numbers. Given the gendered division of labor, women struggled to carve space for their leisure. Female players frequently faced hostility and violence. Women's activities in soccer sparked debates about their physical capacities and mental health throughout Latin America. The preoccupation with women's bodies intertwined with racial inequalities. This paper presents research on women's clubs in Brazil. It argues that women's clubs offered an important model for women seeking to engage in wider public service and local politics. Moreover, women involved in organized soccer played important roles in the field of physical education. These fields shaped state policies toward reproductive health, sexual education, and the family. The relationships between women often fractured along the lines of race, class, and sexuality. Still, women's football constituted a counter-hegemonic space of solidarity.

### **Marta, Brazil and the body of the nation**

David Wood

The historical associations between masculinity, football and nationhood in Brazil can be traced to the early twentieth century, and was reinforced by the victories of the *seleção* in early editions of the South American Championship, notably the 1922 tournament, which coincided with the country's Independence celebrations. The public performance of male corporeality as a national practice was further normalised in the international arena through the Estado Novo of President Vargas and the celebration of the national team at the 1938 World Cup finals. The ban on women's football, instigated just three years later and lifted only in 1979, formalised football's status as a man's game.

Against this historical background, the men's and women's football tournaments at the Rio Olympic Games offer an opportunity to assess the extent to which this situation has changed. By comparing the figures of Neymar and Marta, captains and wearers of the iconic number 10 shirt in the men's and women's national teams respectively, this paper will explore the extent to which it is possible for a woman to embody the nation through the practice of football.

## Reconfiguring Indigeneity through film (Part 1)

### Contested authority and Indigenous film collaborations: *Sey Arimaku* (Pablo Mora, Colombia, 2012) and *O Mestre e o Divino* (Tiago Campos, Brazil, 2013)

Dr Charlotte Gleghorn

The ethnographic and visual archives mobilised in recent examples of collaborative Indigenous film demonstrate the negotiated status of colonialist image-making in Indigenous contexts. Far from constructing directors and communities as isolated contingencies removed from mediatic circulation and mainstream filmic influences, the films *Sey Arimaku* (Pablo Mora, 2012), produced by long-term collaborators Amado Villafañe (Arhuaco) and Pablo Mora, and *O Divino e o Mestre* (Tiago Campos, 2013), by the Vídeo Nas Aldeias filmmakers Divino Tserewahú (Xavante) and Tiago Campos, demonstrate how the filmic apparatus has become a fertile and productive terrain through which to probe indigeneity, its representation and transformation. Both films, reflexive documentaries of sorts, correspond to the overt reflexivity of much Indigenous filmmaking, in line with recent developments in documentary more generally, where the themes of collaboration and disputed authority feature prominently. In these productions film emerges as a key reference point for Indigenous self-determination, in spite of the ambivalent position the medium held previously as a colonialist instrument of power. This paper analyses the two documentaries as productions which foreground the negotiated aspects of Indigenous representation and the films' recovery and mediation of colonialist film histories.

### *Ch 'ixi Misti* or *Q 'ara* filmmaking? Ukamau's cinematic processes and practices in the Andes

Isabel Segui

Focusing on the cinematic practices (and not so much on the resultant text), this paper interrogates the work of the Bolivian Ukamau group, which conducted different filmic processes with Indigenous communities in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador between 1969 and 1977. The academic consensus is that the theoretical aim of these films was to enable the self-representation of the Indigenous subaltern communities, allowing for a re-telling of the official History, from the point of view of its traditionally marginalized subjects. However, since the Indigenous participants possessed neither the cultural (technological) capital nor the economic one, the process of making movies was inevitably mediated by intellectuals of mestizo/criollo origin, who despite being sympathetic, had their own political and artistic agendas. This paper analyses the circumstances of production and dissemination of four Ukamau films: *Blood of the Condor* (Bolivia, 1969), *The Courage of the People* (Bolivia, 1971), *The Principal Enemy* (Peru, 1974) and *Get Out of Here!* (Ecuador, 1977), in order to understand the complexity in power terms of these highly negotiated cinematic practices and who was, eventually, the owner of the filmic Voice and why. The analysis is based on testimonies of members of different crews, paying special attention to the few recovered memories of Indigenous participants.

### Can Maria speak? Interpreting *Ixcanul* (Bustamente, 2015) within the Guatemalan context

Amanda Alfaro Cordoba

This paper considers the filmic text as an aesthetic device which is at the same time infused with socio-cultural tensions. In regards to the latter, in particular, films problematize the contexts in which said tensions react and construct environments and plots which refer to real conflicts. Taking the essay 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' (Spivak, 1983) as point of departure, I examine *Ixcanul*'s central conflict, specifically the cultural framework in which its *mise-en-scène* operates, by analysing the matrix that makes it realistic and locates it within a contemporary Guatemalan context. Furthermore, by

describing how the subaltern subject, María, endures and resists strategies of invisibilization at various levels – physical, linguistic and cultural – this paper ponders analytical tools drawn from postcolonial and decolonial frameworks in order to disentangle the structures of domination (coloniality of power) present in the film.

## **Understanding a ‘system of violence’: An analysis of women’s experiences on the U.S-Mexico border city of Juarez**

### **Femicide/feminicide antisystemic word from the Global South**

Dr Julia Monárrez

Femicide (Russell and Radford, 1990) is a word that has the power to describe the deadly violence committed by some men against some women. This concept also gives us the opportunity to understand why some women are converted into killable and disposable subjects whose deaths, have no legal consequences (Giorgio Agamben 2006). By this I mean, besides impunity, it’s not worth calling them murders or sacrifices or crimes against women, the importance of calling this Femicide/feminicide resides. However, we need to recognize other systemic and global power structures: neoliberal capitalism, immigration, induced wars (Calveiro, 2008) and parallel governments that influence the persistence of death of women and girls and their expulsion from humanity (Achille Mbembe 2011). Drawing from a history of Juarez Mexico’s feminicide, and the «Feminicidio 1993-2016 statistics data base», I show a system of violence that is bound to kill 150 girls and women, through what Maria Lugones (2011) calls gender coloniality: the intersection of race, class, gender and sexuality with the complacency of exceptionality State. I argue the paradigmatic case of Juarez as Systemic Sexual Feminicide. At the same time, I present some political actions by relatives of victims attempt to forge other possibilities of access to justice.

### **Victimisation of women in private and public spaces during the border crisis**

Dr Shadi Whitburn

From 2007 through 2012 the Mexican government, backed by the U.S., conducted militarised counter narcotic operations that led to a border crisis around the northern region of Mexico. In 2010 Ciudad Juarez, registered homicide rates of 278.6 victims per 100,000 inhabitants (Molloy, 2013). Fear of crime and generalised violence forced the displacement of thousands of civilians between 2009 and 2011 across the U.S.-Mexico border (Morales et al., 2013; Albuja & Rubio Diaz-Leal, 2011) while creating a ‘cultural trauma’ equivalent to those experienced by residents of war zones in Iraq and Afghanistan (Campbell, 2009). This paper aims to analyse the gender dimension attached to the border crisis using narrative data collected during ethnographic research. It examines the ways in which women from Juarez have had to negotiate multiple insecurities caused by the breakdown of the social order during the ‘drug war’ alongside the inequalities and oppressive conditions that patriarchal forces and structural violence has established. Findings suggest that the state military intervention not only exacerbated pre-existing demeaning conditions for women who were living the ‘invisible war’ inside closed spaces (Kelly, 2000) but also proliferated violence through official abuses of power and impunity that has led to the mass victimisation of women and children around border communities.

## **Reconfiguring the map of the sensible in Roberto Bolaño's 2666**

Dr Sarah Bowskill

This paper analyses the extent to which Roberto Bolaño's novel 2666 can be said to make a political statement with regards to the feminicides in Ciudad Juárez drawing on the work of Jacques Rancière who has proposed that the only contribution that literary texts can make to the political is in the way in which they reconfigure the map of the sensible/perceptible. Rancière proposes three specific ways in which texts can alter the map of the sensible: by changing perceptions of space and time including bodily positions and movements, by changing what and who is and is not visible and by changing what is said, heard and silenced. The analysis, therefore, will explore the extent to which Part 4 of Bolaño's novel, *La Parte de los Crímenes*, changes perceptions of the feminicides focusing on the locations in which the women's bodies are found and the mobility of the killers compared to the relative immobility of the victims. It further identifies an appearing and disappearing motif in the novel and considers the role of the narrator in revealing the conspiracy of silence which allows the feminicides to continue.

## **Narratives of (non)belonging: Living and making the city**

### **Fluid intimacy and the architecture of danger: HIV narratives in public spaces in Santiago, Chile**

Angelica Cabezas Pino

Secrecy is a key component of HIV narratives in Chile. The danger of being recognized by strangers as HIV+ open up a possibility for being humiliated or attacked, in a country that has been described as homophobic by many scholars. People with HIV prefer to keep their condition away from public knowledge, since the disclosure will produce stigmatization and isolation from those "healthy". Therefore, people who are living with HIV in Chile need to learn how to navigate public spaces by constantly renegotiating secrecy to create safe spaces. This paper seeks to look at some of the strategies of negotiation that reshape the architecture of intimacy, in order to balance power relations within the city. The goal will be not just to recognize how practices of stigmatization affect to those living with HIV, but also to identify responses from them by rethinking and re-establishing new limits to public and private, through the articulation of new discursive strategies.

### **Fiction and destiny: Finding a place to write in Havana, Cuba**

Molly Rosenbaum

This paper, based on ethnographic fieldwork in Havana, Cuba, will analyze the creative process of young writers, who are looking to carve a space on the city's well-regarded literary podium. I will compare a multitude of different concepts of space, moving from the tangible to the imagined. I will first look to the physical, often communal, spaces of creation—the writer's workshop, the classrooms, the spaces within the home and the lively neighborhoods—in order to understand how these spaces both support and intrude on the creative process. I will examine the space of material culture—writing notebooks, the computer and the newly introduced smart tablets—as a way to access the intimate, personal moments of creativity. Finally, I will conclude my paper with a look at the metaphorical space of 'being a writer', especially a young writer, in Cuba's market-less publishing system. Havana's urban landscape, and the growing infrastructure problems, is a topic that has been studied across disciplines and the paper adds to the discussion by understanding how the idea of layered spaces sheds new light on the creative, writing process.

## **Bileez Siti/Cuidad de Belice: How Belizeans and Central American construction workers negotiate the city they cohabit**

Giuseppe Troccoli

Belize City, the former capital of Belize and its biggest urban centre, is considered the (Afro)Creole place *par excellence* of this 'Caribbean country in Central America'. The city also retains its historical character of point of arrival and departure. Belizean dwellers refer to their plans to return to their natal villages far from the city's violence, while emphasizing their links with the many relatives that moved to North America. On the other hand, the Central Americans that immigrated from the 1980's because of civil wars negotiate their conditions as non-native Belizeans, while those recently arrived, escaping economic instability and gang violence, project their futures in the USA. This paper draws on ethnographic material from fieldwork with construction workers in Belize city – both Central Americans and Belizeans – to explore how the urban space denotes their narratives of belonging in terms of class, ethnicity and national identity. Through processes of inclusion/exclusion in the city's life, framed within differential participation in the labour force, these workers also project their futures within or beyond the city they inhabit. The paper looks at the ethnically and nationally diverse Belize City inhabitants involved in creating idiosyncratic understandings that mutually shape their lived experience.

## **Mexican democracy at a crossroads...yet again: Looking towards the 2018 elections**

### **Democracy without democrats: Actors and political change in Mexico**

Dr Augustin Goenaga Orrego

Mainstream theories of democracy argue that competitive elections are the defining feature of democratic politics. This "procedural" view of democracy is based on the idea that as long as formal institutions foster open political competition, the vigorous pursuit of actors' self-interest in the electoral arena leads to higher levels of collective welfare. In this paper, I refer to the disappointing legacy of electoral competition in Mexico to show how the poor quality of intra-party democracy in Mexico since 2000 undermines the virtues of electoral competition, and turns elections into zero-sum conflicts that foster corruption, inter-party collusion, low responsiveness to voters, and poor governance. The paper concludes with a discussion of the prospects for democratic consolidation, deepening or erosion in the context of the 2018 presidential election.

### **A populist strategy for Mexico**

Dr Erick Palomares

The contribution to the "emancipatory social science" by the national-popular governments in Latin America have revitalized the idea of "occupying the State". Chief among the different approaches that have emerged in the region in the last two decades is the Laclau's idea of "populist reason". His populist strategy has grown in popularity in Europe mainly due to the emergence of *Podemos* in Spain, who have fully embraced many of his concepts. As the theory moves from Latin America to Spain, we can ask ourselves if the relevance and applicability of this idea can be brought back to another Latin American nation; can the populist strategy be envisaged in the Mexican context? Is Mexico under a regime crisis and as such, accordingly to Laclau's theory, in a "populist moment"? The objective of this paper is to elaborate a series of reflections about these and other related questions, with the dual purpose of discussing the theoretical elements of Laclau's theory and its applicability in the Mexican

case, and to use to frame a discussion of the complex situation Mexico is currently going through.

### **Democracy...What do you mean? Why definitions matter in the Mexican context**

Dr Pablo Calderon Martinez

This paper will conduct a brief analysis of how the perceived "democratic" crisis in Mexico – uniquely captured by the return of the PRI to the presidency and, perhaps even more so, by the recent security crisis – has been sparked not necessarily by the “failure” of the democratisation processes (as has been claimed in some circles) but rather by how the social understanding of democracy as a concept has evolved. To this end, this article will, first of all, present a theoretical overview of how the concept of democracy has evolved (specifically how democracy is operationalized). In a second instance this paper suggests that the claims and demands by civil society in Mexico cannot be understood by solely focusing on the defects or omissions in the “pacts” that shaped its transition. Rather, the paper argues that the “democratic” demands that emanate from civil society are not necessarily the result of a failed process of democratisation, but rather the result of a successful transitions shaped by the narrow parameters by which democracy was understood. In a nutshell, looking forward towards the 2018 elections, we can say that Mexico’s democracy has not failed as a process but rather as a concept.



## SESSION 4: Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> April 16.00-17.30

### Argentine Literature

#### **“Una mancha entre los arboles”: Nature as a crime scene in Ricardo Piglia’s *El camino de Ida***

Dr David Conlon

Throughout his career, the Argentine author Ricardo Piglia has been noted for his innovative deployment of the conventions of the detective genre as a means of exploring crimes and notions of culpability that are ambiguous, diffuse, and resistant to orthodox narrativization.

With this paper, I will explore how Piglia’s 2013 novel *El camino de Ida* continues this tendency, but with an ecological slant. Set largely on a university campus, the story concerns a series of mysterious bomb attacks, and draws the reader into the murky world of private investigation, government surveillance, and eco-terrorism. Though conventionally structured insofar as the novel culminates in the solution of the mystery and the designation of a culprit, I will argue that the overall effect is to problematize environmental and environmentally-motivated crime. As I will show, throughout the text Piglia cultivates an alternative reading of events, whereby attention is shifted away from specific acts of eco-terrorism and towards ideological constructions of ‘Nature’. My contention that *El camino de Ida* is concerned with collective crimes of everyday practice and disavowal of responsibility, which resist codification except for in the context of ecological crisis.

#### **The Argentine neo-fantastic: A literature of the interface**

Dr Ricki O’Rawe

In each of its iterations—as genre, mode, or aesthetic—the Fantastic operates as a ‘discourse of the limit’ (Armitt) by destabilising the cause and effect relationships assumed to form the basis of reality. In the Neo-Fantastic works of Argentine authors like Borges or Cortázar, the reader often enters a tale in the aftermath of the fantastic event, having missed the drama of the ‘crack’ (Callois) or ‘hesitation’ (Todorov) that was central to the 19th century tales that established the mode. Instead, the reader discovers a world that grants ‘equal validity and verisimilitude on both orders’ (Alazraki). This coexistence does not, however, entail harmony and the unease created by the interface of the real and the fantastic in these tales is of no lesser import. This paper aims to explore this interface of realms in terms of liminality. By exploring the ‘subjunctive mood’ (Turner) that emerges in these tales, this paper will highlight its potential for seeking an ineffable secret order in the real (Alazraki). This paper argues that it is the interfacing of conflicting paradigms and the attendant liminality that grants the Fantastic the power to express such a secret order, or at least to suggest it. It will show, therefore, that liminality is central to the philosophical potential of the Fantastic.

#### **Malatesta’s influence on Pierre Quiroule’s utopian texts**

Rocio Hernandez Arias

Pierre Quiroule’s utopian trilogy, which is formed by ‘Sobre la ruta de la anarquía’ (1909) ‘La ciudad anarquista americana’ (1914) and ‘En la soñada tierra del ideal’ (1924) was composed when Anarchism and Communism were crossing its last gold period in Buenos Aires. Quiroule and his contemporaries are active writers who published in the Anarchist and Communist periodicals showing the influence of these who helped to expand the movements in South America.

Malatesta defended an anarco-communist society which would be ruled by the principles of communal support, abolition of private property and egalitarianism. By reading some of the papers Quiroule's published in some important Anarchist and Communist Latin American periodicals, we could know how important the visit of this Italian thinker was for him. However, when you read the novelistic utopian trilogy, it just becomes obvious that Quiroule bases its ideal society on Malatesta's thought. The aim of this paper is explain how Malatesta's work is transferred to Quiroule's novels and how he manages to convert a theoretical text into the description of an ideal society based on this ideas.

## Cities

### **Entangling the (not so) straightforward institutional agenda: A multiscale assessment of Valparaiso's urban regeneration**

Rodrigo Caimanque

This work assesses the institutional processes underpinning the strategies of urban regeneration in Valparaiso, Chile. It shows that despite the Chilean's centralized political system, the production of urban governance unfolds through various intertwined and temporal socio-political relations at different scales of decision-making. Over the last 20 years, the port-city has been object of several attempts to overcome its sustained economic underperformance through centralized strategies aimed to produce the so-called 'urban renaissance' of the city. Those strategies have tried to generate diversification of the economic base, historically associated by the port activity. Among those changes, the tourist-heritage agenda has been dominant, backed up by the city condition as UNESCO world heritage site since 2003. However, those market-based plans have not succeeded in addressing structural problems of poverty and unemployment. Instead, the outcomes have been expressions of socio-spatial differentiation. Attempts to regenerate the city either in its historic quarter or the still determinant port, have triggered different trajectories and intersections of institutional and political backups, agents' alliances and mechanisms of social contestation, far from its originally straightforward conception. These tangled and unfinished processes keep Valparaíso in a thin line between a radical gentrification and chances for a just and inclusive city.

### **"Pertinencia" and the paradox of public space in the private city: The case of Bogota, Colombia**

Erich Hellmer

Over 14 months of qualitative doctoral fieldwork on public space and citizen participation in Bogotá, Colombia, a serious lack of *pertinencia* (sense of ownership/responsibility) for public space was consistently identified as a key source of urban conflict. Recent municipal administrations, particularly those of Enrique Peñalosa, have used public space reclamation and expansion as a corrective for this perceived deficit in citizen responsibility, using internationally promoted discourses of right to the city, inclusivity and democratization as justifications for a variety of interventions. Yet while the government promotes increased citizen culture through quantitatively and qualitatively expanding the city's public spaces, most of the city's development remains private, and citizen participation in planning has largely remained a chimera. Thus, by exploring various examples of public space interventions (state-led and citizen-led), I argue here that efforts to expand good citizenship by improving or expanding public space represent superficial or partial attempts at actually "democratizing" the city, and reveal a paradox in contemporary planning and governance practices, which conflate individual responsibility with collective benefit.

## **Mexico City's soundscape**

Dr Enea Zaramella

In today's globalized, cosmopolitan, and homogenized (Western) world, it is certainly true that urban sounds and noises do not vary much from one city to another (whether linked to transportation, advertising, emergency vehicles, etc.). Yet, within what we may call a "normalized worldwide urban soundscape", we can still find meaningful social and historical elements, usually related to labour and professions, located on the edge of the modern, technologically - advanced world. The case study presented in this paper relates to Mexico City's contemporary soundscape, and explores the historical tension between what the Fonoteca Nacional or National Sound Archive classified as "sounds in danger of extinction" despite their clear tangibility in the urban scape. The paper focuses on the kinds of interpretations of belonging made possible by singular sounds (such as the knife sharpener, the organ grinder, and the tamale seller), which form part of Mexico City's overall quotidian soundscape. By means of unpublished testimonies, the paper finally investigates how the workers who produce these sounds as part of their working lives experience the city; the changes and challenges they have witnessed over time; and the future of their trades and accompanying "sounds in danger of extinction" as they see it.

## **Reconfiguring Indigeneity through film (Part 2): Roundtable discussion**

### **Escribiendo teatro y guion cinematográfico en Mixteco**

Armando Bautista Garcia

Una reflexión acerca del proceso de escritura en lenguas Indígenas y sus diversos retos a partir de mis propias experiencias como escritor de teatro, cuento y cine en lengua Mixteca. Quiero abordar diferentes aspectos prácticos de la escritura en Mixteco, entre otros la ausencia de una escritura estandarizada, la marginación y discriminación lingüística, y la falta de acceso a una literatura amplia en la misma lengua. La escritura para cine además genera una variedad de consideraciones, como son la comprensión del público, el acceso a financiamiento, así como la escases de actores, directores, productores, etc., que sean hablantes nativos del Mixteco. *Sandaa Sakuiti*, el guión actual que estoy escribiendo se plantea como una obra completamente en Mixteco. Para este trabajo estoy colaborando con Nicolás Rojas un director que es hablante nativo del Mixteco. Como parte del proceso de desarrollo del proyecto estamos explorando diversas estrategias, entre otros la formación de actores que sean hablantes nativos de Mixteco. Para la realización de películas en lenguas Indígenas que sean además una forma de auto-representación se requiere de la formación de talento igual que de una comunidad cinematográfica Indígena.

### **Exploring migration and Indigeneity as a filmmaker**

Dr Itandehui Jansen

In this presentation I would like to address the creative and production process of the short film *Alma & Esperanza* (2012) and the feature film *Tiempos de lluvia / In Times of Rain* (2017). Both films share similar themes and have as a nuclear element of the story the migration from a rural Indigenous community to an urban setting. I will discuss the different visual elements and directorial choices with regard to the representation of Indigeneity and migration in the different filmic elements, such as the casting process, the choice of locations, language, character development, metaphors and symbols. The production process of these two films was quite different, as the short film was shot with no budget and no crew, while the feature film was shot with a 20 member crew. I

want to address the different implications of the different approaches in relation to working with and in an Indigenous community.

## **End of the left turn in Latin America? New socio-political dynamics in focus**

### **Social mobilisation during Kirchnerism (Argentina 2007-2015)**

Dr Ana Natalucci

En general, cuando se alude al giro a la izquierda en América Latina se atiende a cuestiones relativas a las características de los gobiernos que asumieron a principios del siglo XXI. Sin embargo, si se observa la movilización esta atravesó un proceso de multiplicidad respecto de los actores movilizados, las demandas propuestas y los repertorios utilizados. Aunque esto tiene relación con la larga tradición de politización, es cierto que desde el gobierno nacional se alentó en un primer momento la movilización ante la falta de apoyo de las elites políticas. Hacia 2007 -en ocasión de una nueva elección presidencial- aquella cobró una dinámica propia que permitió la emergencia de actores que cuestionaron al gobierno en dos sentidos: por un lado, la cuestión de la distribución de la renta y al modelo de desarrollo y, por otro, a derechos que habían sido dejado de lado. El resultado de este proceso no fue la dicotomización del campo político sino más bien su heterogeneización. El objetivo de este artículo es analizar este proceso considerando en especial los actores, demandas y repertorios utilizados concentrándonos en las dos gestiones de Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.

### **Opening of the social and shutting down the political: Differences and similarities between Argentina and Brazil's new social protest cycle**

Dr Juan Pablo Ferrero

The recent electoral results in Argentina (2015) and the successful impeachment of Dilma Rousseff in Brazil (2016) mark the crisis of the left turn in the region. In order to understand the meaning behind the new socio-political configuration, the aim of this paper is to explore the type of actors and demands enacted in the social protest cycle initiated in 2011 in both countries. The argument is that *Kirchnersimo* and *lulismo* translated the social anti-neoliberal sentiment into the political institutions by promoting new forms of government interventions in the economy. Over time, they contributed to cement an anti-neoliberal consensus which dichotomised the political field in two antagonistic camps, i.e. K versus anti-K; PT versus anti-PT. This simplification of the political field is what the new wave of social protest has challenged. The paper argues that there is a current state of flux in which traditional national narratives about development, social cohesion and prosperity are being rearticulated with new social demands which resist to be part of a total ideological representation.

### **Regional cooperation and local geographies**

Diana Morales-Arcila

Recent trends in economic geography are calling for the acknowledgement of regions as active actors in their development model and economic performance. In addition, a discontent with top-down and neoliberal economic policies is growing and calling for alternative strategies to guarantee economic and sustainable growth and development. However, most of the related research focuses on post-industrial, Global-North experiences and on cities rather than regions integrated by urban and rural areas. This leaves a gap related with regions of the Global South in which urban and rural economic economics coexist and contradict. Amongst the local manifestations of these trends, regional cooperation (agreement between local actors -public and/or private- within countries)

appears not just as an alternative to improve local and regional development, but also as a mechanism of local institutionality and governance improvement. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to explore and analyse the relationship between regional cooperation and local institutions, and regional cooperation and local and regional development, by using a comparative case study of two regions located in Colombia and Chile.

## **Politics, violence and borders**

### **“Cavando su fosa?” The Mexican Marxist left and the 1946 presidential election**

Dr William Booth

This paper examines one important political manifestation of the accommodation between Marxism and authoritarianism in early Cold War Mexico: the tactical decision to endorse - and with great enthusiasm - Miguel Alemán Valdes of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) as presidential candidate for the election of 1946. It concentrates particularly on internal Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM) documents, party pamphlets and its newspaper, *La Voz de México*, with support from United States diplomatic records. This analysis necessarily must extend to the self-perception of the PCM and its consequent overestimation of its strength as a party and underestimation of its importance as a working class organisation - perceptions which resulted in the endorsement of the successful candidate Miguel Alemán. This endorsement was intended to benefit the left but almost certainly hastened its precipitous decline.

### **Obstetric violence in Mexico**

Rachell Sanchez

There are seventeen states out of the thirty-two in Mexico that do not have a clear policy condemning forced and coerced sterilization of women nowadays. After the eugenics movement, notions and ideas of race as something that is damaged and in need of fixing in the search to have a “better” national body became legitimized by the notion of science as truth. This becomes expressed in a series of practices and procedures in order to better the race and modernize the nation. My work focuses on studying the cases of obstetric violence found on tribunals and different organizations. Obstetric violence cases usually appear among people that lived in rural areas of Mexico in which the majority of the population are from indigenous descent. This series of practices and discourses disseminates which bodies are deemed acceptable for the reproduction of imaginary ideas that construct the nation. Simultaneously, they determine who should be able to reproduce and who should not. The fact that there are bodies that should not be able to reproduce under the “truth of science” justifies the notion that deems acceptable practices of sterilization to a sector of Mexican women without their full and informed consent.

### **Mapping proximal transnationalism: The formation of transnational spaces and identities**

Marcos Estrada

Living in proximity to another country is a salient feature that allows individuals to engage in cross-border practices at a lower economic cost, which deserves further attention in the field of transnationalism. Analysing the Brazilian-Paraguayan bordering region, I advocate for the concept *proximal transnationalism* to emphasise the existence of a distinct form of transnationalism, which results from the greater engagement, regularity and intensity in cross-border practices.

The concept of *proximal transnationalism* is grounded on analysis of empirical data generated in the course of ethnographic research in the landless camp Antonio Irmão, known as the ‘landless camp of Brasiguaios’ in Brazil. *Proximal transnationalism* has two main features; it emphasises that

transnationalism within border regions allows and stimulates the formation of a transnational spaces and identities. For example, within the Brazilian and Paraguayan border region, individuals perceive the existence of a transnational space that seemingly disregards the established political borders. In addition, many individuals living in both sides of this border region are attributed and/or uphold the Brasiguayo [*brasi(leiro)*] + [(*para*)*guaio*] identities.

The overall conclusion is that scholars should embrace *proximal transnationalism* as typology to further understand cross-border processes within border regions in terms of their social ties, practices and identities.

## **Feminist research through a masculinities lens**

### **Applying a masculinity lens to trouble a “known” gender narrative: Reconstructing patriarchies in post-Mitch Nicaragua**

Sarah Bradshaw

This paper re-visits fieldwork undertaken in Nicaragua after Hurricane Mitch and published in various articles in the early 2000s. The published works with titles such as ‘Reconstructing Gender Roles and Relations’ suggested the analysis was from a gender perspective; in reality, the focus was on women. By re-visiting these findings, the paper considers possible shifts in a familiar ‘known’ story when men are placed as the central focus of the analysis. The paper highlights that while applying a lens of masculinity can allow men’s gendered experience of an event to be better understood, overall the ‘new’ narrative that emerges remains largely unchanged. It re-visits the notion of patriarchy and how patriarchal control is maintained when challenged by a crisis such as a ‘natural disaster’. It highlights how understandings of maleness were re-constructed through male/male relationships, as men sought to re-establish their masculinity in the new terrain through questioning the responsibility and thus masculinity of other men. This in turn allowed a re-construction of the strong male-female patriarchal relations found before the event. While the nature of how patriarchal control was exercised might have shifted, it did not necessarily lessen, suggesting patriarchal relations are highly resilient to crisis.

### **Feminising poverty? Masculinising power? Multiple privations and the threat of “patriarchal pushback”**

Sylvia Chant, Brian Linneker, Sarah Bradshaw

In recent years there has been a focus on processes of ‘feminisation’ among academics and policymakers, especially on ‘feminisation of poverty’ and ‘feminisation’ of poverty alleviation. A ‘feminisation of responsibility and obligation’ has been recognised across a range of actions and actors. While often based on the notion that this is responding to an assumed state of feminised poverty, the data to support this are often lacking or far from convincing, particularly with regard to the narrowness of constituent criteria. This paper problematises the notion of ‘feminisation’ processes across the region and in particular questions the evidence base for the general view that poverty is feminising— suggesting instead a varied landscape of re- and de-feminising poverty and in some cases a masculinising tendency to privation and/or disaffection. In some cases this seems to be taking the form of a ‘patriarchal push back’ which includes overt public displays of male power and violence. Such events, highlight the endemic, and growing, violations of women and girls, which make ‘normal’ cities increasingly dangerous spaces for them. It seeks to highlight how any masculinisation of privation may have adverse effects on women and girls, and explores what feminist responses to this might entail.

## **Traumatic masculinities as a means of moving on? Men and masculinities among Chilean exiles in the UK**

Jasmine Gideon

It has been suggested that female refugees are better able to cope than men, in part as a result of their gendered roles and responsibilities. It is also often argued that in the context of state violence and oppression male victims' masculinity is broken down and this results in their inability to cope with life after conflict. Drawing on the case of Chilean exiles in the UK, this paper considers the usefulness of these debates and asks how far men are able to develop new models of masculinity - such as the notion of 'traumatic masculinities' - that enable them to 'move on' after experiencing trauma and repression.

## **Whither housing policy post UN-Habitat III and in an era of post neo-liberalism?**

### **Housing rehab for consolidated settlements in Latin America: A new policy agenda for post UN Habitat III**

Prof. Peter Ward

Since the first Habitat Conference in 1976 the primary focus for housing policy has been upgrading and regularization (tenure and services) directed towards informal settlements and are largely a conventional wisdom today. However, settlements that formed 20-40 years at the then periphery and which developed through self-building have been overtaken by subsequent decades of suburban growth and are today located in the intermediate ring of cities (i.e. the old periphery or the contemporary "innerburbs"). Now fully serviced and integrated into the urban fabric they are no longer considered a policy priority, yet they, too, need to be brought back into the policy focus for UN-Habitat 2016. Self-built, intensively used, high density, multi- and mixed-tenure and now containing second and third generations of residents who were raised in these settlements, there is an urgent need to shape creative policies for these second generation households, many of whom are inheriting the homes from their parents. This paper presents findings from a path breaking comparative research in nine Latin American countries (eleven cities) where a common methodology has been applied to gather household, settlement and municipal data about consolidated settlements and the housing rehab needs and policies that can be applied to attend to the needs of these now often dilapidated housing as well as for renewal of the often now heavily deteriorated infrastructure of these neighborhoods ([www.lahn.utexas.org](http://www.lahn.utexas.org)). It offers a spectrum of policies for housing and community rehab and retrofitting of the low income housing stock. Drawing upon tools and policy approaches of housing rehab and urban regeneration in the USA and Europe it proposes a new agenda of physical development, financing, legal regulation, and social mobilization policies to target housing and neighborhood rehab of the old established working class self-built neighborhoods of cities.

### **Social housing development in Mexico and China: Political economy of urbanization and local context**

Yu Chen

In both Mexico and China, the housing sector is viewed as stimulus to the economy; and housing policy is pro-market and pro-ownership. The public sector play critical roles in social housing development. In Mexico, it is stimulated by the expansion of cheap mortgage to low-income urban working class. In China, local government leads the entire process of social housing production. These different approaches should be understood from their respective contexts: urbanization and

land regimes, structure of existing housing market, as well as previous housing policy models. The social housing boom was not only the result of housing policy made by national governments, local governments adopted and reinterpreted policies made at national level for their own interests. A common denominator between the two cases is the intensification of the capitalization of urban land. In Mexico, it is the final product of that process; while in China, it is an intermediary product of the process, as well as a catalyst for further land capitalization. There, local government use social housing as policy instrument to relocate neighborhoods and villages for their urbanization projects, and extract enormous profits from the rising land value.

### **Assessing the impact of urban containment policies in Mexico**

Tania Guerrero Rios

The dispersed growth pattern of Mexican cities over the past decade is a result of neoliberal housing policies. These policies have resulted in massive single-family low-income developments located in the urban periphery, where land values are low, at a considerable distance from employment hubs or essential urban amenities. In response to these problems, the government implemented a housing law reform in 2012, such that federal financing for social housing was made conditional on location within Urban Containment Perimeters, to promote low-income housing development in less peripheral locations. Although this policy has succeeded in containing urban expansion, few low-income developments have been built within the perimeters defining the most urbanised areas, while most are still located in peripheral areas. At the federal level, this containment policy has been the major urban land management strategy of the last twenty years. Its implementation has however underestimated the market impacts as it lacks complementary financial and legal mechanisms to promote infill development. This paper will discuss preliminary findings on the hidden impacts of containment policies in terms of additional land consumed, number and type of housing developments within each perimeter and changes in the housing shortage.

### **Beyond informality: Mexico's changing residential landscapes**

Prof. Ann Varley

While recent decades have seen a renewed scholarly interest in urban informality, debates about informality overlook the massive expansion of formal housing for lower-income groups. Mexico's residential landscapes have changed dramatically over the past twenty years. The Mexican government has portrayed the expansion of formal housing as a sign of triumphant modernisation, but scholars have generally been highly critical. This paper asks how the new mass housing developments compare with existing options for the urban poor. It first asks whether, as is often assumed, they cater for a distinct, better-off, population than unserved informal settlements. Examples from the city of Guadalajara confirm the many criticisms of the new housing developments and suggest that informality may indeed offer certain advantages. It is important to consider, however, whether all the formal developments suffer from the same problems, and what might be learned from any less problematic cases. Finally, the paper asks whether the new developments have changed the 'rules of the game' significantly: will informal housing cease to be an option for the urban poor?



## **Migration & transnational crossings**

### **International labour migration: What access to justice for migrant temporary workers?**

Camille Thomas

Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Trinidad and Tobago, this paper presents a comparative study on the non-accessibility to justice in labor disputes for migrant workers and temporary workers in the Caribbean context. From January to April 2016, I conducted observations and interviews in Port-of-Spain, the capital of Trinidad and Tobago, with migrant temporary workers and Trinidadian workers of a French company. Building from Foucault's thought, I analyze the non-accessibility to justice as an effect of the international labor migrations under which the individual (in this case, a temporary migrant worker or a Trinidadian worker) identifies himself as a flexible workforce restraining his rights through the ignorance of those rights. In other words, this paper argues that the labor migrations, which encourage the worker to perceive himself as a holder of limited rights, also favor a managerial conflict resolution that is unfavorable for the employee.

### **“Con mis manos en la tierra”: The mirasol man talking back – or, understanding everyday resistance of Mexican labour migrants in Canadian agribusiness**

Dana Dulcke

Transnationally organized temporary labour migration of tens of thousands of farm workers from Latin America and the Caribbean's is keeping the Canadian Agrobusinesses internationally competitive. Every day thousands of migrants work apparently invisible in huge greenhouses where they perform hard manual labour, are exposed to high physical risks and legally put into positions of extreme vulnerability and dependency. These labour relations are characterised by the powerful decision-making positions of the employers. They not only decide on the working hours migrant workers have to obey to, but are also in charge of the worker's residence, their access to medical care and their mobility. But how do these migrants themselves deal with their work situations in Canadian agrobusinesses? Are they really that powerless? Or do they find ways of everyday resistance and are actually 'talking back' (hooks 1989)? In my paper I propose to discuss the impressive ways of how Mexican temporary farm workers are 'talking back' within their marginal positions. The focus will be on the analysis of the long-term experiences of Hector and Alejandra. By using dance, sports and church services they become active and visible Subjects in the highly unequal power relations that structure transnational labour migration in agriculture.

### **Collaboration in a time of isolation: Right-wing networks across the Cold Atlantic**

Dr Michelle Carmody

This paper looks at the relationships forged between South Africa and the Southern Cone countries of Chile, Paraguay, Brazil and Argentina during the Cold War. In the context of increasing diplomatic isolation from the rest of the world, these non-democratic regimes sought closer alliances with each other, collaborating on military and counter-insurgency techniques, as well as proposing the establishment of a common security agenda and the creation of a South Atlantic Treaty Organization. This paper will introduce a new research project that seeks to address the following questions through looking at these transatlantic relationships: Why and how did Third World right-wing actors come together and develop relationship of mutual assistance, independently of the US, during this period? What do these collaborations tell us about the vision these actors had for the future of their respective regions in the final decade (s) of the Cold War? In particular, what vision for the world did these non-democratic regimes hold, and how did they see the international system evolving in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century? By extending recent work on South-South left-wing networks to

the study of right-wing actors, this project aims to further develop the historiography of Latin America's Cold War.

## **Contested spaces: Land and natural resources in Latin America**

### **The ongoing struggle for control of Lambayeque's sugar estates and regional power dynamics in Peru**

Dr Andrew Jobling

This paper focusses on struggles for control of sugar estates in the department of Lambayeque, Peru. These have developed subsequent to measures instigated by the Fujimori regime in the mid-1990s to oblige the de-collectivisation and privatisation of the country's major agro-industrial cooperatives. More than 20 years on processes of restructuring have yet to reach any definitive conclusion and continue to spark social conflict. This involves protracted and often bitter contestation between would-be new investors, groups of workers and residents, and the state. Furthermore, struggle takes place in multiple arenas including political lobbying, legal battles, use of the media and public relations campaigns, as well as, within estates, episodes of periodic violent conflict that further contributes to a climate of ongoing uncertainty and intimidation. The paper will use the sugar case study to develop broader reflections on emerging regional power structures in contemporary Peru.

### **Land grabbing in the East: Agricultural frontier expansion between Brazil and Bolivia in the late Twentieth Century**

Heloisa Giminez

This paper aims to describe and analyse the process of land grabbing in the Bolivian East, and its practices of estrangement of indigenous-native-peasant population with regards to their culture and traditional means of survival. This process begins in the 1990s and increases in the 2000s, with the growth and development of the agroindustry for exportation. The argument is that the process of land grabbing and the removal of the indigenous-native-peasant populations of their traditional and rightful territory is fostered by the expansion of the agricultural frontier of the Brazilian Centre-West towards the Bolivian East in the last two decades of the twentieth century. The analysis is based on testimonies and interviews collected by the author among members of peasant movements engaged in the struggle for land in Bolivia.

### **The problem and promise of the coproduction of water in the Ecuadorian Andes**

Dr Geoff Goodwin

Decision making over water occurs on various scales and involves multiple actors. The intrinsic qualities and relative scarcity of water make this a conflictive process. Tensions have escalated over the last fifty years as economic, social and environmental pressures on the natural resource have increased. States have performed a dual role in this process, introducing changes that have increased pressure on water on the one hand, while creating regimes that have regulated its use and distribution on the other. Meanwhile, the failure of states to provide universal and equitable access to water has encouraged communities to contest water laws and policies and establish organisations to govern the use and distribution of the resource at the local level. What is the potential for states and communities to work together to create regimes that enhance the governance of water and alleviate social and political conflict? The concept of 'coproduction' provides a useful starting point to explore this question. However, in its basic form, it overlooks the political economy of water

governance and fails to consider the power of different actors to influence decision making. This paper will provide a critical evaluation of the concept and explore the potential of coproduction regimes through the analysis of community water organisations in rural highland Ecuador. Drawing on fieldwork conducted in the region, the paper will focus on the relationship between community organisations, local governments and state agencies, exploring decision making processes at the local and national levels and examining how power and authority are distributed within the regime.

Keynote address: Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> April 17.45-19.00

"(Re)Assembling Feminisms: Perspectives from Brazil."

**Professor Sonia Alvarez, University of Massachusetts Amherst**

Professor Alvarez specializes in the study of social movements and protest politics, comparative and transnational feminisms, and Latin American politics and cultures, with a focus on Brazil and the Southern Cone.

A feminist, anti-racist and social justice intellectual-activist, she has participated in Latina/women of colour feminist movements in the US, as well as solidarity movements, alter-globalization organizing, and other transnational activist efforts. Since the 1980s, she has been connected with feminist and women's movements in Brazil, Latin America, and globally, while conducting research *on and with* them.

Her recent (co-edited) books include *Translocalities/Translocalidades: Feminist Politics of Translation in the Latin/a Americas*; and *Beyond Civil Society Agenda: Activism, Participation, and Protest in Latin America* (in press). She has published a number of journal articles and book chapters, many written collaboratively, and in Portuguese and Spanish, as well as English, on topics including movements, feminism politics, NGOs, civil society, transnational activism, and democratization.

Her current work focuses on the "sidestreaming" of feminist ideas and practices into parallel social movements, the dynamics of feminist discursive fields of action and activist assemblages, and the (mis)encounters of feminism and anti-racism in Brazil. That work forms part of a larger book project entitled *Feminisms in Movement*, under contract with Duke University Press. She is presently engaged in research on women/gender/sexuality in contemporary protest and, with Barbara Cruikshank, co-coordinates an international research-action network on the global politics of protest in the 2010s, ["Comparative and Transnational Perspectives on Protest."](#)

## SESSION 5: Friday 7<sup>th</sup> April 9.00-10.30

### Cuban literature and culture

#### **Redefining narratives at the grassroots: A case study of Granma province, Cuba**

Prof. Tony Kapcia and Dr Par Kumaraswami

In a state and political culture which are always imagined to be the last redoubt of Grand Narratives, our research in the (marginal and largely rural) eastern province of Granma seems to suggest that, for a very long time perhaps, two of those narratives for which Cuba is best known - literature and history - seem to have been subjected at the local level to processes of redefinition, partly empirically but also perhaps conceptually, which may prove revealing in our understanding of a) the relationship between local, national and global concepts and practices of literature and history; b) the impact of state policy in 'de-colonising' and re-orienting narratives and discourses of literature and history; and c) concepts of centre and periphery

#### **Thematic analysis of the work of Silvio Rodríguez**

Leticia Carrera Perez

This paper is part of an investigation project that aims to study in depth the activity of the Cuban songwriter Silvio Rodríguez against crystallization of taste and ideas. In it, an analysis of part of his work will be performed in an attempt to understand the functionality and the ways in which his texts are constructed. A thematic study of previously established corpus will be addressed by using digital humanities and different computer resources, as a software called Iramuteq, that will indicate us the current keywords, the lists of most frequent words and the most recurrent topics in the selected stage of his work. These results will be contrasted with other methods of analysis that will allow to know the strategies followed by Silvio Rodríguez. Finally, we will be able to establish a relation between this information and the historic and biography environment of the artist.

#### ***Finca Paso Seco*: A transnational and interfaith Quaker response to the Jewish refugee question in Cuba, 1939**

Steven Baumann

Transnational history sets out to explore history that is not constrained by borders but rather opened by the movement of people and institutions. Using the archives made available by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) on their centennial anniversary, I will analyze the unique case of the *Finca Paso Seco*, a Quaker-led World War II refugee operation fifteen miles south of Havana, Cuba. Through these documents, I will define the operations and growth of a transnational nongovernmental organization, the AFSC, while they attempt to create a safe place in Latin America for newly stateless Jews from multiple countries in Europe. Fleeing the recent memories of *Kristallnacht* and the fear of imminent danger, Cuba was the final chance for these uprooted people, rejected by other nations. American Quakers, hoped to be the link that turned the chance of safety into reality. As proven by prior work on *M.S. St. Louis*, *S.S. Orduña*, and the *S.S. Flandre*, not all refugees escaped successfully. However, through cooperative efforts of the Cuban government and the AFSC, a success story emerges in the *Finca Paso Seco*, which illustrates the usefulness of transnational cooperation, the emergence of World War II relief and rehabilitation operations, and reassesses Latin America's role as a place of refuge in the twentieth century.

## **Memory politics and the legacy of authoritarianism**

### **Ideological construction of the enemy. The case of the 1976-1983 military dictatorship in Argentina**

Magdalena Lisinska

The military dictatorship 1976-1983 in Argentina was one of the most brutal and undemocratic regimes in Latin America. It introduced an organized and institutionalized violence on a massive scale, which caused the death and disappearance of thousands of people. In addition to the large-scale political changes, which resulted in domination of the armed forces at all levels of governance, the characteristic feature of the dictatorship was ideologization of the state's policy. The military saw Argentina in republican, but not democratic terms, as the catholic, anti-communist and anti-liberal state. The ideological bias of the dictatorship was especially visible at the level of security, both domestic and international. The main concept, around which the Argentine security policy was developed, was a concept of an enemy. Argentine generals believed that their country was threatened by the Marxist and communist forces, regarded as the greatest evil of the century. The main goal of the paper is to analyze the construction of an enemy during the last military dictatorship, taking into consideration its consequences to the state's domestic and international policies. The author will seek to find links between state violence and ideology of the military.

### **Memories of dictatorship and political crisis in Brazil and Argentina**

Sue Iamamoto

This paper analyses the crisis of the progressive governments in Brazil and Argentina through a very specific lens: the memory of the military dictatorships. During the last years, both countries have experienced an increasing polarisation in the streets, with emergent right-wing movements being counteracted by left-wing protestors seeking to renew their political projects after the recent setbacks. In both sides of the "trenches", the narratives on the dictatorships have achieved prominence. Curiously, this crisis also happens in the context of the 50th (2014) and 40th (2016) anniversaries of the military coups in Brazil and Argentina, respectively, when an impressive number of academic analysis on the remnants of authoritarianism have also appeared. Thus, this paper investigates how these intellectual analyses influence and are influenced by the narratives that are displayed during the demonstrations. Using a theoretical framework stemming from memory studies, this paper understands the memories of the dictatorships as more than simple reverberations of a recent traumatic past, but as "platforms" or "prisms" (Huysen, Rothberg), providing a moral language, tropes and images that assist social actors in their understanding of the shifting political situation.

### **The changing and problematic politics of cultural memory in Peru today**

Dr Alexandra Hibbett

Since the Truth Commission (2001-2003), memory has been an increasingly relevant term for a sector of cultural production in Peru. This paper, firstly, will trace how cultural memory, in context of the Commission, was linked to the figure of the victim and the creation of an empathetic community (in productions such as the Commissions' Public Audiences and photography exhibition, and in novels and films that follow their example). Secondly, it will review of some of the critiques this kind of memory productions have been susceptible to. It will then show some changes in the role ascribed to memory by more recent cultural productions, where the figure of the victim is put in a different light: in the Memory Museum's main exhibit in Lima, a testimonial essay by Agüero, a film by Del Solar and a novel by Salazar Jiménez. Lastly, paper will evaluate the extent to which previous

problematic aspects to cultural memory's claim to sociopolitical relevance have been overcome in these later productions. The paper's intention is to create a nuanced understanding of the sociopolitical roles that different cultural memory productions in Peru attribute to themselves and to map out some of their ongoing problematic aspects.

## **Brazil: Participation and protest**

### **Discursive resistances in Brazilian mass protests**

Matheus Lock Santos

In the last decades several mass protests erupted across the globe and had strong social impacts. In 2013, Brazil experienced a series of mass protests that shooked the country's political system with long lasting effects. In this paper, by focusing on the demonstrations that occurred in Brazil in 2013, I analyse the new modes of resistance that emerged in these events. I will argue that the protesters created narratives capable of "hijacking speech", confronting dominant political discourses by the Brazilian mainstream media without, necessarily, elaborating a prior form of hegemonic narrative or constituting a multitude in exodus from the State. I also emphasise the importance of looking at these narratives not as representations of the political event but as constitutive expressions of its emergence and power.

### **Municipal councils and social movements: Analysing the outcomes of participatory democracy**

Dr Valesca Lima

The inclusion of citizens in spaces of decision-making has in recent years become a central concern of academics and policy makers interested in developing a functioning participatory model. Despite the development of a near global consensus on the importance of including citizens, workable and effective models presents mixed results. In the context of the housing activism, a set of new democratic innovations has pushed for more citizens' participation on social housing policies. This innovation is implemented in the context of Brazil by experiences of participatory democracy, which involves the participation of social movements and grassroots association in structures of local policy-making. Within this context and by having Brazil as a case study, this research is particularly looking at the inclusion of non-state actors in democratic structures and their transformative potential to promoting rights to housing at local level. More concretely, this study examines how civil society organisations interact with the state in the process of policy-making and the opportunities and challenges for power and influence to these groups. This research was guided by a qualitative research methodology and based on empirical evidence from field studies in Brazil.

### **Armed struggle, social ties and solidarity: The case of the Araguaia guerilla movement**

Dr Rafaela Pannain

This paper aims to analyze the participation of peasants and communist activists in the Araguaia guerrilla movement during the 1960s and the 1970s, in the North of Brazil. The main question that shall guide this paper is: to what extent the emotions resulting from the existing social ties and the new sociability networks can explain the participation of different peasants and communist activists in the conflict? With this guiding question, we will shed a light on an aspect neglected by the literature about this struggle as well as by the main studies on rural guerrilla movements in Latin America.

## Research frontiers in colonial Latin American history

### Recreating “Reconquista” in family histories in 17<sup>th</sup> Century New Spain

Dr Karoline Cook

During the mid-seventeenth century, prominent families in New Spain crafted detailed genealogies that traced the deeds of their ancestors to Christian battles against Muslim forces in Iberia during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Their family histories also incorporated accounts of the conquest of Mexico, placing medieval Iberian conflicts alongside New World conquests. These sources suggest that seventeenth-century Spaniards born in the Americas actively created and maintained connections to peninsular pasts through the production of genealogies and histories. Growing preoccupation with lineage across the Spanish world perpetuated memories of the Reconquest, and informed subsequent interactions between Christians and Muslims, and Spaniards and indigenous peoples. The paper explores how memory and local interpretations of ‘conquista’ and ‘Reconquista’ transformed relationships in Spanish America as local competitions over status placed increasing importance on lineage, despite the challenges of tracing these in a transatlantic setting.

### Piety, beeswax, and the Portuguese slave trade to Lima, Peru, in the Early Colonial Period

Dr Linda A Newson

The demand for beeswax for liturgical and medicinal purposes rose with the arrival of the Spanish in the Americas. However, the absence of bees in Peru meant that this demand could not be met locally and so beeswax had to be imported. While some was imported from Spain and from regions to the north, especially Nicaragua, an alternative source that emerged was associated with the Portuguese slave trade from Senegambia, where supplies of beeswax were abundant. Using the account books of one of the main slave traders to Peru, Manuel Bautista Pérez, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this paper examines how the slave traders acquired beeswax in Africa and follows its transportation to Lima, via Cartagena de Indias and Panama. It reveals the complexity of influences on the beeswax trade, including the presence or absence of bees and particular types, the nature of the demand for particular types of beeswax, and the importance of competition from other products and imports. It shows how transatlantic connections were contingent on very particular circumstances.

### Tracking the Archbishop: Draft cartography and the construction of Pedro Cortes y Larraz’s *Descripcion geografico-moral de la diocesis de Goathemala* (1768-1770)

Dr W. George Lovell

Housed in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, the “Mapas y Planos de Guatemala” are an attractive array of maps, painted in distinctive watercolor form, prepared in the wake of the tour of inspection undertaken between 1768 and 1770 by Archbishop Pedro Cortés y Larraz (1712-1787) of his expansive Central American diocese, which stretched from Chiapas to El Salvador. The 113 maps that complement Cortés y Larraz’s written account of his “visita pastoral,” the *Descripcion geografico-moral de la diócesis de Goathemala*, offer “bird’s eye” views of parish settlements and the diverse landscapes that surround them. A felicitous find in the Hispanic Society of America (HSA) in New York unearthed 69 documents that turn out to be pen and ink sketches, veritable drafts or *borradores* upon which Cortés y Larraz’s watercolor maps are based. Following commentary about the HSA’s bountiful but still little known Latin American holdings, discussion centers on the collective endeavor at the heart of Cortés y Larraz’s assiduous project and the presentation of several draft maps and the finished product as an archival “show and tell”.



## **Geographies of memory: Conflict, culture and commemoration in Latin America**

### **The testimony of space: Exploring sites of memory and violence in Peru's internal armed conflict**

Daniel Willis

This paper takes a tripartite Lefebvrian approach to the production of sites of memory and violence in Peru's internal armed conflict. Focusing on the infamous prison massacre on El Frontón island as a case study, the paper will explore the historical production of spaces of exception before and during the conflict, comparing them with the Emergency Zones created in Andean and Amazonian departments. Secondly, the paper will demonstrate how the logic of exclusion which underpin the production of these spaces are supported by a cultural framework which depicts Leftist radicals and indigenous ethnic groups as incompatible with developing elite projects of modernity. Drawing on Agamben and Ong, the paper argues that this cultural framework supports the exercise of spatially gradated forms of sovereign and governmental power, a mode of governance which has become prominent during Peru's neoliberal restructuring of recent years. Finally, it will be explored how memories associated with these spaces of exclusion have been forgotten and silenced in the truth and reconciliation era, suggesting that victims of political violence continue to suffer forms of discursive exclusion even after their deaths.

### **The case of Centro de Memoria de Paz y Reconciliación in Bogota, Colombia: A grassroots commemoration of violence?**

Dr Brett Troyan

Colombia's most visible and established site to remember the victims of its now close to fifty years of civil war (often referred to as *La Violencia*) is located in the capital of Colombia, Bogotá. The location of this site of memory (*Centro de Memoria Paz y Reconciliación*) should come as no surprise however the institutional genesis of this memory site reveals much about the Colombian state's ambivalent relationship towards the commemoration of past episodes of violence. It was the city council of Bogotá that created the *Centro de Memoria Paz y Reconciliación* while the Colombian central government undermined and ignored the memorialization of victims and of events of violence. This paper will examine how the spatiality of the center reflects the grassroots origins of this memory center; it was a number of civil society organizations composed of human rights activists and of victims of violence that pushed successfully for the creation of this center. Thus, this site of memorialization was designed to encourage individual citizens to participate in the establishment of the narrative around past violence through the creation of spaces that allow for a memorialization shaped by the relatives of the victims of violence. The case of Centro de Memoria de Paz y Reconciliación in Bogotá, Colombia: a grassroots commemoration of violence?

## **Return of the developmental state in disguise: Trade-offs between ecological and economic sustainability**

### **Parent de fumigar: Community-based accountability promotion in the Soybean Republic**

Ana E. Carballo and Maria Eugenia Giraudó

The recent global commodities boom has seen the strengthening of a development model based on the extraction of natural resources. A particularly relevant example is the expansion of soybean

production in South America and particularly in Argentina, where the legalization of pesticide-resistant genetically modified crops has enabled an extensive increase in production, consolidating a large agricultural business complex in what has been dubbed the 'Soybean Republic' (Turzi, 2011). These dynamics have posed environmental and health risks associated with soybean monocropping. In the last decade, many social movements have emerged, demanding accountability for the damages inflicted by these practices. These movements have taken different forms, some resulting in high profile cases of community organizing, such as the resistance to the installation of a Monsanto plant in the town of Malvinas Argentinas and the lawsuit of the collective '*Parente fumigar*' (Stop Spraying) against pesticide use in peri-urban areas in the city of Cordoba. This paper explores the experiences of activists resisting pesticide use in Cordoba, Argentina. Based on in-depth interviews with community members, the paper examines their experiences of negotiating conflicts with large-scale agricultural businesses, their local governments as well as within their own communities, and the expansion of community based forms of accountability promotion.

### **Revisiting 'universalism': International migrants and social pensions**

Gibran Cruz-Martinez

Social protection coverage in Latin America has experienced an exponential gradual development since the creation of the first bismarckian welfare programs in the first decades of the XX century. Several scholars have examined the different configurations present in the production of welfare and the allocation of social risks throughout the region. Using –mainly- cluster analysis, different welfare regimes has been identified. Benefitting from existing research on welfare regimes in the region, the aim of this paper is to examine potential different welfare regimes experienced by different categories of migrants in representative cases of the region. Is there a categorization and hierarchization of migrants in Latin America? What different types of welfare provision is accessible for different types of migrants established in the region? The categories considered in the paper are high-skilled workers, refugees and individuals without a legal status. One country of each of the welfare regimes proposed by Martinez Franzoni are used as representative case studies in the comparative analysis.

### **Post-seismic reconstruction in coastal Ecuador between implementations of SDG and EU Free Trade Agreement**

Dr Johannes M. Waldmueller

Drawing on an ongoing ethnographic case study of the conflictive resettlement of the island population of Muisne (Esmeraldas province) after the earthquake from April 2016 in coastal Ecuador, this contribution provides a multi-sectorial analysis of the key policy tensions and trade-offs between SDG implementations and improved data gather mechanisms on the one hand, and impacts of the EU-Ecuadorian Free-Trade Agreement on the other. While the economic and productivist perspective of the Agreement contributes to channel reconstruction and resettlement aid toward „productive sectors“ in order to maintain certain lands either available to, or excluded from, future European investors (depending on national „strategic“ interest, according to the Agreement text), SDG implementation throughout all national policies not only enter into conflict with economic interests, but occasionally also provide space and justification for, e.g. declaring lands (and ecosystems) worth of environmental protection, thus effectively limiting access of people to their habitat and home towns. This is the the case of Muisne, where thousands of people remain in temporary camps, due to an official ban prohibiting relocation to the town, which is located on an attractive peninsula, supposedly destined to tourism investors protected by the free-trade agreement and a recently created eco-system protection zone.

## **Identities in transition: Trajectories of gender, race, ethnicity and power**

### **Producing socio-spatialities, vending on the streets: Gender, indigeneity and mobility amongst Andean women in three Bolivian markets in El Alto (Bolivia) and Sao Paulo (Brazil)**

Aiko Ikemura Amaral

The article focuses on processes of creation and transformation of socio-spatial identities by Aymara-descent women working in urban street markets in Brazil and in Bolivia. I argue that these women (re)produce markets spaces in their own image, in the intersection hegemonic categories of citizenship, indigeneity, *mestizaje*, and various expectations of womanhood. Based on nine-months fieldwork in the cities of São Paulo (Brazil) and El Alto (Bolivia), I highlight the constant (re)negotiation of their identity and space in the urban scenario. Starting with the 16 de Julio market, in Bolivia, I discuss the *cholita* as the embodiment of the in-betweenness of these categories. Later I turn to the Kantuta and Coimbra markets in Brazil, in order to discuss how market vendors there – regardless of not presenting themselves as *cholitas* – also play what Linda Seligmann (1989) describes as a ‘brokerage role’ between different scales of socio-spatial production. Finally, I discuss the apparent conflict between what these women consider to be the norm in terms of ‘women’s role’ in the household and the market and their relative autonomy as street market vendors, analysing how various perceptions of the public/private divide impact on how they understand their work to be gendered.

### **The paths of the Sateré-Mawé seeds: Reflections about women, craftwork and mobility between urban and indigenous areas**

Ana Luisa Serta and Almada Mauro

The Sateré-Mawé presence in Manaus, capital of the Amazonas state, in Brazil, is made particularly apparent by communities that started to arise in the city out of land occupations mainly conducted by female leaderships in the 1990's. Integrated into the process of developing communities and associations, seed handicrafts have gradually become one of the main life strategies of Sateré-Mawé women in urban areas, as opposed to the domestic work in so-called "family homes". From the identification of a broad circulation centred around the gathering and trade of seeds, I aim to present some of the paths they mobilise within a *circuit* (Magnani, 2000) that goes beyond the city, involving multiple spaces and agents. Through the paths of the seeds I intend to address multisite relations established between indigenous and non-indigenous, town and village, which ultimately destabilises borders. This movement seems inextricably linked to the agency of women and the organisations established by them in the city, where the practice of craftwork emerges in a context of transformation of gender roles. By assuming positions as leaderships in urban communities, shamans, coordinators of associations and providers of their homes, these women subvert typically male prerogatives among the Sateré-Mawé while developing particular ways of experiencing the urban space.

### **“You’re not the Indian I had in mind”: Four stories of place, race, indigeneity and gender in the city of Sao Paulo**

Desiree Poets

How do place, race, ethnicity and gender intersect to keep urban indigenous women socially, temporally and geographically ‘in their place’? What are the possibilities and limits of the multicultural turn that shape their contemporary struggles for power? This paper tackles these questions through the stories of four female Pankararu students of São Paulo’s Catholic University

PUC-SP. Taking an intersectional approach, it focuses on their complex paths to empowerment in and through higher education. The Pankararu emerged in Brazil's Northeast through a process of *ethnogenesis* in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and have migrated to São Paulo since the 1950s. As *pardos*, their trajectory shows how blackness and indigeneity, race and ethnicity are historically intertwined. In São Paulo, their fight for rights such as to differentiated education and health care has been inseparable from their recognition as a culturally distinct community, as the state does not usually recognise the collective rights of indigenous groups that live outside their ancestral lands. Claims to citizenship and recognition, as such, are enmeshed with claims to authenticity and 'purity' that renew 19<sup>th</sup>-century 'scientific' race theories. Intersecting these matters with the Pankararu students' gendered experiences, this paper assesses the extent to which multiculturalism can pave the way to de-colonial horizons.

### **Intersections between race, gender and migration: Elaborations on race and *mestizaje* amongst Bolivian migrants in Sao Paulo**

Dr Carolina Cotta de Mello Freitas

This paper will examine perceptions of race and *mestizaje* amongst Bolivian migrants in the city of São Paulo, Brazil. Racial systems in Brazil and Bolivia have specificities that are highlighted in the interaction that stems from their meeting. Taking this into consideration, I reflect on how women and men work out issues of race and miscegenation, pointing out similarities and differences in the look/speech of Bolivian women and men settled in São Paulo. The aim is to give thought to the intersection of race, gender and migration, understanding that identities are decentered, but formed and informed by racial systems – in this case, the Bolivian and Brazilian.

### **Mexican literature and culture (Part 1)**

#### **Maria Luisa Ocampo and a new national identity in post-revolutionary Mexican theatre**

Guadalupe Elias

During the first two decades of the twentieth-century, most plays produced by theatre companies in Mexico were the work of non-Mexican dramatists. In the early 1920s, Mexican playwrights became increasingly active in productions and formed alliances with theatre companies to include Mexican plays in their repertoire. This was the beginning of a decades-long process of development of a national theatre, one that took inspiration from Mexican popular traditions, themes and social and political topics. This movement began in the last years of the Revolution, when the new regime gained power and national identity was being redefined. María Luisa Ocampo (1899 – 1974), a prolific playwright and an active theatre promoter, was a key figure during these decades. Like many other Mexican women writers of her generation, Ocampo's work has not yet received the attention it deserves from critics. This paper analyses her portrayal of the new and changing Mexican identity after the Revolution. I argue that Ocampo was a fundamental figure in post-revolutionary Mexican theatre, and that her critique of politics, the regime, gender roles and the middle class made her a controversial author at the time whose work is essential to study today.

#### **What happens in Clipperton...: Criminality and trauma in *Isla de Pasión* (1989) by Laura Restrepo and *Isla de bobos* (2007) by Ana Garcia Bergua**

Dr Niamh Thornton

The 100 Mexicans who occupied Clipperton Island in 1914 dwindled to 12 by 1916. All but forgotten by a country at war the inhabitants died from illness, starvation, and drowning. In 1916, during the

Mexican Revolution four women and seven children were rescued by a US Navy ship. No longer willing to tolerate the abuse he meted out, the women colluded in killing the final man, Victoriano Álvarez, shortly before their rescue. There are two novels that explore this incident, *Isla de pasión* (1989) by the Colombian Laura Restrepo and *Isla de bobos* (2007) by the Mexican Ana García Bergua. Both novels focus on Clipperton as a locus of national sovereignty, gender politics, and conflict. The authors shift their narratives between Mexico City and the distant atoll. Simultaneously, it is at a considerable remove from the centre of power and illuminates its fault lines. Terrible criminal acts were committed on Clipperton and, on their return, were borne as traumas by the women. This chapter will consider the power that this space possesses as a last bastion of Porfirian rule and site of trauma.

**Between church and state: Reconfiguring Mexican history in Fray Servando Teresa de Mier's *Historia de la Revolución de la Nueva España***

Prof. Luis Ramos

This paper demonstrates how Fray Servando Teresa de Mier pushes the limits of eighteenth-century discourses of creole identity by breaking with a loyalist attachment to Spanish imperium. By situating Mier's political thought in the context of an alternative Enlightenment tradition—one that aims to reconcile Christian ethics with a republican political vocabulary—it demonstrates how his insurgent ideology is coterminous with a broader effort to transform the church into an instrument of statecraft in eighteenth-century Catholic dynasties. It first traces the roots of his heterodox religious and political ideas to influential Catholic reformist circles in Europe—reformist circles that have until recently been forgotten or overlooked in the current historiography of the Enlightenment. It then considers how Mier establishes an insurgent narrative of national origins in his *Historia de la Revolución de la Nueva España* by examining how he interprets strategic moments in Mexico's religious past as evidence of its national unity and cultural autonomy. Finally, it demonstrates how Mier informs the literary parameters of Simón Bolívar's vision of Spanish American independence by examining how his use of Christian and indigenous religious tropes prompts the Venezuelan revolutionary to imagine a continental union of nations bound by a shared history of anti-colonial resistance.

## SESSION 6: Friday 7<sup>th</sup> April 12.00-13.30

### Latin American cultures

#### **“Documental poetry”: Violence and otherness in contemporary Spanish American poetry**

Dr Laura Alicino

This paper aims to analyse contemporary Spanish American “documental poetry” about violence. This type of poetry is characterised by the explicit use of visual, textual, and virtual documents that do not belong to the author in the body of the text. Although this peculiar use of documents could be related to verisimilitude, many authors place great emphasis on the ethical relationship between the voice of the poet and the voice of the ‘Other’, as it emerges from the document itself. In this way, they problematize the relationship between society and poetry, using the latter as a form of social practice and community resistance with relevant sociological and political implications. By exploiting Susan Sontag’s theory about the representation of pain and the concept of *opacity of the subject to itself* stated by Judith Butler, in this work I demonstrate how these authors can avoid the risk of the “reification” of suffering and how practices of creative writing can transform the private pain into a political message.

#### **Contested otherness: Foreigners and migrants in Chilean contemporary cinema**

Sandra del Valle Casals

Within the framework of new Chilean identity accounts after the end of the military regime during the 90s, and underpinned by the significant wave of south-south migrants into Chile since 2001, the foreigner/migrant emerges as the most visible sign of Otherness. The “looking relation” with the non-national goes from fascination with foreigners to the rejection towards Latin American racialised migrants. By looking at the politics of representations, in this paper, I seek to explore this political-ideological, voluble, troublesome relationship with the Other(s) and its expressions in contemporary Chilean cinema. Whilst the decade of 1990 was a period of strong re-configuration of the national identity and the borders of the nation (Larraín, 2001), this also opened up a niche in dispute for the cinematographic representation of the modern nation that was emerging from a militarised national past producing new subjectivities. Drawing on critical theories of representation, I will aim at exploring the conflictive, historical, and negotiable ways in which Otherness has been constructed in relation to Chilean national identity throughout the analysis of films such as *Ulysses* (2011), *Crystal Fairy & the Magical Cactus* (2013), and *Tea time* (2014).

#### **“Mil ochocientos once”: Revolution, *Murga* and dictatorship in Uruguay**

Gabriela Rivera Rodriguez

In this paper I will study the Uruguayan carnival’s theatre spectacle *1811*, by the *murga Falta y Resto*. This play was represented in 1984, last year of the civil-military period in the country. In it we can see how the director used historical motifs, as the *Revolución oriental* and the *Redota* in order to bring to stage a historical context which allowed a hidden political criticism to the government. Hence, the aim of this work is to analyze, from a historical, political and literary perspective, this spectacle in order to study the scenic elements which created a frame where criticism could be executed, as well as the mechanisms used to avoid the regime’s censorship.

## **Citizenship and the state**

### ***Vivir tranquilo: Electricity, citizenship and security***

Dr David Howard

The paper assesses the links between the concepts of modernity and development in the Dominican Republic in the context of electricity, security and citizenship. Research focuses on government policy transition from the Plan Nacional de Seguridad Ciudadana during the 1990s through to the current Vivir Tranquilo programme, both aiming to enhance the security of citizenship and citizens' security, with the indirect consequence of disfranchising legal, but non-documented residents, most notably those of Haitian and Haitian-Dominican origin. A key aim underlying the Vivir Tranquilo programme has been the progression 'towards a culture of peace' which arguably is threatened by ongoing public tension and protest against the cost and inadequacy of formal electricity provision. The World Bank recently highlighted electricity production, distribution and access as a key factor restricting investment and development in lower income states.

### **Making foreign: Social policy, legal identity and citizenship in the contemporary Dominican Republic**

Eve Hayes de Kalaf

Proponents of conditional cash transfer programmes (CCTs) argue that the improved registration of populations, particularly among indigenous and Afro-Latino communities, can facilitate the selection, monitoring and evaluation of beneficiaries. Lack of documentation has become a matter of universal concern and by 2030 the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aim to 'provide legal identity for all'. This empirical study in the Dominican Republic (DR) offers a critical perspective into identity management and its impact on questions of race and social exclusion. Specifically, it traces fundamental shifts in regional and domestic social policy that targeted and documented poor populations for subsidy payments. Crucially, however, the state began including some Dominicans into these initiatives while refusing to document others. Its actions culminated in a landmark 2013 Constitutional Tribunal ruling that retroactively stripped the native born offspring of 'undocumented' Haitian migrants born in the DR since 1929 of their Dominican citizenship, leaving tens of thousands with no nationality. Although scholars often approach social policy in Latin America from an inclusionary and pro-poor perspective, this paper aims to examine how it can be used for much more malevolent purposes, namely to permanently exclude minority groups from recourse to public funds and birthright citizenship.

### **Chronicle of an unfixable history: Lorenza Congo and state effects in San Ignacio de Moxos**

Chuck Sturtevant

In San Ignacio de Mojos, the name of Lorenza Congo is frequently used as a symbol of an earlier time when indigenous Mojeños owned a wealth of cattle and gold. Beyond a few standard characteristics – her diminutive size, wealth and generosity – the stories people tell about her differ widely. The differences include disagreements about her age, her race, her relationship to various descendants, and morally freighted habits such as her relationship to various white men and drinking. In this paper, I will examine several variations of these stories paying particular attention to the position of the tellers within a local social milieu. These different histories about Lorenza Congo establish teller's legitimacy within the indigenous organizations, political parties and government entities where those ideologies are promoted and debated. At the same time, these institutions produce state effects: they document and fix cultural practices and indigenous histories, both to manage

indigenous populations and to package these “cultural resources” as a (marketable) national patrimony. Working with the histories of Lorenza Congo, this paper will explore the intersection of these processes: the telling of varied and unfixable histories that uphold the position of individual actors in a particular social milieu and the process of fixing an official history involved in the production of state effects of legibility and intelligibility.

## **A new look at an old topic: The impact of the 1970s on Raul Castro’s Cuba**

### **The role of sexual education in the 1970s: The origins of Cuba’s ProNess**

Dr Emily Kirk

Contemporary Cuba has increasingly been noted internationally for its progressive sexual education programs. Indeed, since 2012 the National Program of Sexual Education and Sexual Health (ProNess) has had a significant impact on the country, and sparked many changes. Until now, these changes (including LGBT rights, gender roles, attitudes towards safe abortions, and consciousness-raising) have been attributed to developments under Raúl Castro’s leadership. Yet the origins of these changes can actually be found throughout the 1970s. The policies and practices that were instituted in the 1970s laid the groundwork for the progressive sexual education programs that exist today. Chief among them was the paradoxical role of the Declaration of the First National Congress on Education and Culture in 1971, as well as the official founding of the National Group for Work on Sexual Education (GNTES) in 1977. This paper will examine the - at times controversial - sexual education strategies and practices that were developed throughout the 1970s in order to illuminate the origins of what is perceived to be the recent changes in the field. What happened in the 1970s, and how did this impact on Raúl Castro’s Cuba?

### **Militarised by Moscow? Re-examining the extent of the Soviet influence on the Cuban Revolution in the 1970s**

Dr Anna Clayfield

Many non-Cuban scholars have long characterised the 1970s in Cuba as the period in which the Revolution became not only thoroughly Sovietised but, consequently, militarised. It is widely accepted that this apparent ‘militarisation’ firmly put an end to the guerrilla ethos that had buttressed the Revolution until then, replacing it with a more methodical approach and the pervasive presence of the newly professionalised armed forces in all areas of Cuban politics and society. This paper challenges the notion that the Revolution was either completely Sovietised or militarised during the 1970s. Drawing on materials used for the political education of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) at that time, it argues that, while the Revolution transformed structurally in its second decade in power, its underpinning guerrilla values remained unchanged. Such values continue to be consciously promoted by the leadership, particularly since the handing over of power to Raúl Castro in 2006. Long considered a leading proponent of both Soviet orthodoxy and, as former minister of the FAR, militarisation, this paper also proposes, therefore, a new understanding of Raúl Castro as a military and political figure.

### **Socially committed art and the Cuban revolution**

Isabel Story

By the 1970s, the cultural authorities had arguably become one of the most significant bodies of power in Cuba. In particular, from the 1970s onwards, the focus of the cultural establishments began to shift outwards to the international arena. Yet, paradoxically, despite this notable shift,



significant importance was still placed on an inwards focus on the nation's history. Concurrently, Cuba also began to inscribe itself more fully into socialist internationalism through re-emphasising national folklore and tradition. The net result was an increased focus on institutionalisation, economic development and a drive for equal opportunity in the cultural world. These co-existing currents meant that in Cuba the USSR was viewed as a legitimate source of education and inspiration, but also as a potentially hegemonic force. This led to the development of a performative element regarding the public relationship between the two countries. Culture played a key role in these soft power and institutional goals. This paper will explore how Cuban cultural policy developed during the 1970s, with a particular focus on the theatre and the visual arts.

### **The origins of Cuba's health paradox: Revisiting the 1970s**

Dr Robert Huish

Today Cuba is well recognised as a global health power. The country has first world health statistics, an unparalleled health workforce, and an immaculate record of international medical outreach. The 1970s are recognised as the vital decade when Cuba worked through its "epidemiological transition". The literature has largely accredited this achievement to the expansion of hospitals and vaccination programs across the country, but very little is mentioned about how social equity factors into the equation. This paper explores how "income inequity" (Wilkinson, 1996) and "social hierarchy" (Cockerham, 2013) in the 1970s factored into Cuba's epidemiological transition. The paper suggests that despite massive investments in health care infrastructure, the social determinants of health factored greatly in achieving good health in Cuba, despite the nation remaining relatively resource poor.

### **Colombia at the crossroads: Conversations about war, resistance and transformation (Part 1)**

#### **The everyday experience of Colombia's Victims' Law: Transforming lives – or more of the same?**

Sanne Weber

Colombia's decades long conflict has produced millions of internally displaced people. Since 2011, a land restitution and reparation programme is slowly returning land to its original owners and assisting people in the difficult process of resettling, through individual and collective reparations with a transformative and gendered focus. This paper will explain the impact of the Victims' Law on the everyday life of two villages in Colombia's Atlantic coast. The paper will identify the gaps between the discourse and perceptions of the involved State institutions, and the expectations and needs of the communities involved. 'Listening' to the experiences of the communities involved in the process, the paper identifies key issues to take into account if Colombia's Victims' Law aims to live up to its expectations of 'dealing with the past', restoring survivors' trust in the State and transforming their lives. The paper draws on nine months of fieldwork, based on a feminist approach and using ethnographic and participatory visual methods.

#### **The archive of silence: Children born of war in Colombia**

Tatiana Sanchez Parra

Children born of wartime sexual violence have a physical presence in the present of the communities. However, unlike other forms of violence such as displacement, torture, and sexual

violence, these children did not leave a mark in the material territory or in the social geographies of the violent past. Although they emerge from the past, they do not belong to it. As such, they do not appear within the reconstructions of social memories of the armed conflict. Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Colombia, in an area that was occupied by paramilitaries between 2000 and 2004, and where a group of children born out of wartime rape were referred to by members of the community as “little paramilitaries”, this paper argues that in the case of Colombia the framings and technologies through which transitional justice mechanisms have gathered and organised information about these children have created a phantasmagoria that lives in the present without having a material presence. This situation represents a challenge when trying to understand the various effects of the armed conflict in people’s lives, but also when thinking of the potentiality of transitional technologies, logics, and techniques to address the harm, redress it, and foster cohesive scenarios of transformation and reconciliation.

### **Understanding transitional geopolitical conjectures: Colombia’s hidden peace processes**

Gwen Burnyeat

In order for transitions to be successful, civil society must be behind them. During the negotiations between the Colombian government and FARC in Havana, heralded internationally as a sophisticated and serious process, Colombian civil society, understood in the broadest sense, reacted to this macro-political process in a number of ways. Polarised by war, the transitional period began to reveal rifts that were political – left/right – but also socio-cultural – rural/urban, upper/working class, victim/non-victim. Reconciliation is traditionally understood as occurring between political antagonists, or victims and victimisers. However, between 2012-2016, peace-building at civil society level was increasingly called for in order to prevent future spirals of violence. A transitional geopolitical conjuncture, understood as the convergence of transnational political and social processes with historical trajectories, crystallised, in which state and non-state groups began to interact in new and complex ways. These are ‘Colombia’s hidden peace processes’. This paper will outline some of these different encounters, drawing on ethnographic material and affect theory, and open questions as to how to decipher the social and cultural histories of transitions.

### **Chile and the Inter-American Human Rights System**

#### **The IAHRs in transitional ties, justice for torture survivors: The case of García Lucero vs Chile**

Karina Fernandez

This paper seeks to understand the developments made by the IAHRs in cases related to torture during Latin-American dictatorships. Special emphasis is given to the Case of García Lucero et al. v. Chile, as it is a landmark judgement about the right to justice and reparation of survivor victims in transitional times. It is also the first judgment in a case related to the right to justice and reparation of a survivor of torture perpetrated before the *ratione temporis* jurisdiction of the Court. The analysis of this case puts in evidence some of the changes in the Court Case law as well as some interesting relevant gaps. To understand this case and its historical development and weaknesses, the paper analyses an illustrative number of individual petitions presented upon the Inter-American Commission against Chile within the period 1973-2016, by victims of several crimes perpetrated during the dictatorship as well as the responses issued by the Commission. The García Lucero case is part of the latest’s developments of the IAHRs in terms of victim’s reparations; it is part of the development of a system that during 40 years has evolved, especially in its contribution to a normative construction of Transitional Justice.

## **The role of the case Atala Riffo and daughters vs Chile in Latin America's gay rights revolution**

Cristian Pena

Through a comparative perspective of the recognition and practice of LGBTI rights across Latin America, this paper seeks to understand the role that the Atala case has played in the region's Gay Rights revolution (a term coined by Encarnacion, 2011). By 2013, 76 per cent of the countries in the region had decriminalized homosexuality (100 per cent if only counting the Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries, SPLA); 38 per cent of the countries in the region had Legal Protections Against Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation (SPLA: 70 per cent); and in 57 per cent, homosexuals had the right to serve in the military (SPLA: 70 per cent) (Corrales, 2015). It was during this time and context, that Ms Atala made history by winning the first-ever LGBT specific case at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. The IACtHR ruled, for the first time in its history, that sexual orientation and gender identity are categories protected against discrimination by the American Convention. This ruling is considered to be one of the most important cases in the history of international jurisprudence in favour of LGBT rights (Corrales, 2015). What the impact of this judgment has been, in both Chile and the region, is debatable.

## **Indigenous peoples and human rights: Cases and developments of the IAHR**

Sebastian Smart

Recent decades have been marred by social protest, particularly over the land claims of the indigenous peoples' in Latin America. Throughout Chilean history, the Mapuche people have fought against the division of their land and their displacement from it. Today they suffer poverty and inequality when compared to non-indigenous Chileans (INDH, 2014). The last 10 years, has seen condemnation at both the national and international level of the violence used by the State during the Mapuche conflict (land disputes), namely via: the disproportionate use of force in police interventions, illegal arrests, use of weapons against unarmed civilians, torture, and the arbitrary application of the Anti-Terrorism Law (Ibid, p. 24). On 29 July 2014, the Inter-American Court in the case Norín Catrimán et al. condemned the Chilean state, because the sentences it issued against the Mapuche for their alleged crimes were based on an antiterrorism piece of legislation, which violates the principle of legality and the right to the presumption of innocence. One of the key issues of this decision is that it recognises the Mapuche people as protected ethnic group under the American Convention, that is to say, there is an open door for upcoming cases of recognition of ancestral land, self-determination or application of previous consult and consent. Based on a case analysis, this paper examines and unfolds the potential openness and restriction of the IAHR to claim Indigenous Rights in Latin America.

## **Illicit drug economies, governance, and the security-development nexus in Latin America**

### **State-narco networks and the "War on Drugs" in post-transition Bolivia (1989-1993)**

Dr Allan Gillies

Conventional policy and academic discourse holds illicit drug economies, political and socio-economic instability, weakened state capacity and violence as synergistic phenomena. The case of post-transition Bolivia confounds these assumptions. Despite the exponential growth of the Bolivian coca-cocaine economy during this period, the trade remained relatively peaceful and the country

sustained its long-promised democratic transition. This occurred against the background of escalating US militarised counterdrug efforts in the Andes, as Bolivia became a key test case for the newly renascent 'war on drugs'. The paper examines the role of state-narco networks – a hangover from the authoritarian era – within these complex processes; an important factor in the function of the illicit trade, shaping its wider political, social and economic implications. In so doing, my analysis addresses the undertheorisation of the relationship between the state and the drug trade in the Global South, moving beyond mainstream assumptions to capture the nuanced state-narco interactions that emerged in the Bolivian context, their underlying logic and distinct effects. This provides fresh insights into the interplay between illicit economies, governance and the security-development nexus, the relationship between the drug trade and democratic transition, and the course of the 'war on drugs' in the Andes.

#### **Four cases and the human rights impacts of drug control policies**

Lic. Luciana Pol

Only in recent years Human Rights movement has started focusing on drug policies implications. Through 4 cases occurred in Buenos Aires we will analyze the serious consequences and impacts related to human rights as a result of the 'war on drugs.' The current drug control regime has had a huge impact on the operation of security, judicial and prison systems in Latin America. The emphasis on drug control through criminal punishment and law enforcement actions to combat drug trafficking has had a direct impact on many communities, increasing the levels of violence. Practices such as systematic torture or forced disappearance, which have distressing precedents in the military regimes of the 1970s and 1980s, have also returned. The cases of Walter Vargas, Federico Taja, XQ and Liliana will guide us through the dynamics underlying the violence associated with drugs. Human rights organizations encounter today the extreme militarization of state responses, the levels of violence that have no precedents, one-third of the prison population incarcerated for non-violent drug-related crimes, the criminalization of growers and users, and the lack of adequate health policies. These policies are not being effective reducing the illegal markets and their consequences, so what is the goal they are pursuing?

#### **The *Cambiamos* governments in Argentina: *Menemismo* reloaded, *Kirchnerismo*'s antipode, or something different?**

**The end of *neodesarrollismo*? The political economy of Argentina under Mauricio Macri**  
Dr Christopher Wylde

Mauricio Macri was elected President of Argentina through a critique of the previous *Kirchnerismo* model. Since his victory he has certainly sought to reform a number of institutions and shift a number of key policies in a neoliberal direction. A forty percent devaluation of the peso, negotiating to a conclusion the long-running dispute with the *fondos buitres*, sharp decreases in energy subsidies, and the elimination of most export taxes have all been elements of a shock therapy policy and represent clear channels of change from *Kirchnerismo*. However, just as significant have been the elements of gradualism and continuity present in the emerging *Macrismo* model. The flagship social programme under Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, the AUH, is being maintained. Furthermore, economic growth (albeit ephemeral for now) is being prioritised over inflation control and debt reduction. Given the presence of these different strands of both continuity and change in the Argentine public policy profile, *Macrismo* must be understood in terms of sedimentation rather than metamorphosis; offering a preliminary conclusion of a developmentalist flavour present in the emerging Macri model.

## **A schizophrenic actor: Organised labour, the state and Cambiemos**

Dr Daniel Ozarow

Labour has enjoyed a schizophrenic association with the state both during the *Cambiemos* government and previous administrations. However continuities and changes can only be comprehended by disaggregating labour laws into their individual and collective components. On the one hand notable differences exist between governments in term of *individual* rights. Under the Menem, De La Rúa and Macri Presidencies *individual* labour rights (wages, conditions, job security) eroded as these governments prioritised corporate interests and labour flexibilisation. Although these tendencies were generally reversed under *Kirchnerismo*, distinct trajectories of continuity have transcended all governments in terms of *collective* rights. Whilst the right to strike and collective bargaining have even been strengthened, the persistence of neocorporatist segregationism means that Argentina remains in contravention of ILO free trade union Conventions. Full legal recognition still only applies to the General Workers Confederation (CGT), freezing out other unions. Similarly, like his predecessors, Macri has sought to buy off support from favoured union movement sectors, in his case by granting health insurance privileges and bonuses only to the CGT. This paper analyses how these nuances can be understood in terms under Cambiemos and how the contradictions of the current labour-state relationship are generating growing and unsustainable tensions.

## **The Argentine feminist resistance: Standing against 'machismo' and neoliberalism**

Martina Rodriguez

While all Argentinian women experience different forms of sexist violence and oppression during their lives, only in recent months have hundreds of thousands have been taking part in strikes and marches to demand it ends. In order to understand why these protests have spread and grown exponentially *now* as opposed to in the past, the current contemporary political context (and differences with the previous government) must be understood. Cristina and Nestor Kirchner's administrations were characterized for being regional pioneers with respect to human rights legislation. Numerous laws were passed to protect women and other aspects of equality (equal marriage; gender identification; the establishment of a Womens' Secretariat; sex education). However in the first year of the new Cambiemos government several of these inclusive social policies and women's protections more specifically, have been reversed. Laws have eliminated the Special Victims Unit for Violence Against Women (UFEM), the country's only entity that investigates femicides. Further, President Macri's austerity, labour flexibilisation and precarious work policies have disproportionately affected women, provoking severe impacts on their quality of life and accentuating their conditions of oppression. In this paper the changing political climate is analysed as a generating factor for the burgeoning *Ni Una Menos* movement.

## **Mexican literature and culture**

### **Guillermo del Toro's *The Book of Life* (2014) and the return home**

Dr Catherine Leen

Guillermo del Toro's multifaceted work is a reflection of his border-crossing life and artistic vision. One of a trilogy of Mexican directors dubbed the three amigos, who have enjoyed critical and commercial acclaim with their work set in Mexico, del Toro is unique in his exploration of the fantastic, the monstrous and the surreal. His work is also notable for its transnational subject

matter, which ranges from Mexican vampires to the Spanish civil war, to an exploration of the Day of the Dead in the recent animated feature which he co-produced, Jorge Gutierrez's *The Book of Life* (2014). This paper examines whether a children's film produced by 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox can represent Mexican ritual and spirituality for an English-speaking audience without becoming a Disney-like homogenous and even stereotypical cultural production. It situates this work in the context of Mexican animated film and the problematic representation of Mexico in many U.S. animated films.

### **El estado del plan de abajo: Where crime meets humour**

Dr Charlotte Lange

Broadly speaking, conventional crime fiction moves between the parameters of 'unlawful act' and 'restoration of justice'. In Mexico, where crime is thriving and corruption is endemic, the traditional mystery novel therefore does not seem particularly plausible and, consequently, a different literary approach had to be found to turn an imported genre into a successful autochthonous genre. In this paper, I will argue that it was Jorge Ibarguengoitia, playwright, novelist and satirist, who played a crucial role in transforming crime fiction into a genre which is now of relevance in a country in the grip of crime. I will demonstrate how he parodies long-established approaches to detective fiction in *Las muertas* (1977) and *Dos crímenes* (1979) which are both set in the fictional Estado del Plan de Abajo. The specific sites of crime described in the novels give way to the detailed portrayal of a larger crime scene: Mexico as a whole. Ibarguengoitia's Plan de Abajo is populated by a bribable police force, an unscrupulous army, a hypocritical bourgeoisie and generally immoral characters. I will show how parody can be used to not only deconstruct conventional detective fiction, but also to challenge societal norms.

### **Remix studies and the Zapatista discourse: A new take on digital intertextuality**

Isabelle Gribomont

Remix studies is a relatively new field focusing on creative production as a political activity, drawing on concepts of creative freedom, intellectual property and copyright laws. The term "remix" designates genres and techniques of composition among which collage, assemblage, appropriation, as well as artistic practices such as self-reflexive and performative critical strategies. Remixes can be seen as cultural processes entailing cross-cultural hybridization. In this paper I will look at the Zapatista's writings as such "meanings networks" which associate various inputs (Maya tales, quotations, genre-specific conventions, etc.) in order to create a new output with a value-add. The fact that the Zapatistas explicitly reflect on issues of creative production, authorship and copyrights has a lot to tell us on their take on communication and knowledge transmission. Similarly, the Zapatistas' decision to create their own media team instead of relying on independent medias is itself revealing of the importance granted to intermedial communication and the handling of one's own image within the movement itself. This awareness of the implications of our digital era seems to indicate that the "Remix" elements of the Zapatista aesthetic are part of a broader impulse towards re-thinking the distribution and production of intellectual properties within a clear anti-capitalist and anti-individualistic stance.

## **The Olympics in Latin America**

### **The same game all over again? Mexico, Brazil, the Olympics and the World Cups**

Prof. Thomas Carter

This paper is a historical examination of the parallels between the Mexico's run of hosting the Olympic Games and FIFA World Cup nearly fifty years ago and Brazil's run of hosting the same events in the last three years. As these are the only two countries to ever host both events within the same four-year cycle, it raises the question as to whether there is something unusual or special about the circumstances of Latin American countries being awarded these events so close in time. This paper examines the global and national political, economic and social contexts leading up to each country's events after having been awarded the events.

### **Rio 2016 and the right to the city: The *Plano Popular da Vila Autodromo***

Adam Talbot

The Comitê Popular da Copa e Olimpíadas do Rio de Janeiro, an umbrella group for protest against the Olympics, had a plethora of reasons for opposing the 2016 Olympic Games. These can be summed up as an attack on the right to the city, defined as not only the right to access urban resources, but the common right of citizens to change themselves by changing their city. This renders the argument in terms of democracy – while arguably democratically elected governments planned the reshaping of the urban environment, the lack of participatory planning processes tells a different story. This paper will focus on one specific planning process – the Plano Popular da Vila Autódromo, an award-winning plan for favela upgrades created through collaboration between residents and researchers at Rio's universities. While the plan was, broadly speaking, ignored by City Hall, it showcased an alternative vision where citizens exercised their right to the city by participating in the planning of their city.

### **Student protests and the XIX Olympic Games: Political participation and governance during a Mexican sport mega-event**

Alex Elias

The XIX Olympic Games were part of a modern nation building project that the Mexican government supported and considered a milestone of its economic progress and political stability. The student movement of 1968 indirectly questioned the projects associated with the Games and transformed the organisation of future Olympic Games. This paper analyses documental sources from the government and the IOC, as well as semi-structured interviews and newspapers to address how the framework of the Olympic Games altered the political participation of Mexico City's citizenry during the XIX Olympiad (1962-1968). By assessing the political impacts of mega-events it touches on debates about security and surveillance, politics of silence, repression and patriotism. The paper suggests that the Organising Committee was able to inadvertently persuade citizens to accept the Olympic projects with a five year preparation period. This program altered the events of 1968, but also the governance of future Olympic hosts and the IOC.

## SESSION 7: Friday 7<sup>th</sup> April 14.30-16.00

### **US/Latino relations**

#### **The decline of US hegemony in the Western hemisphere: Evaluating US influence in the region through indicator analysis (1990-2015)**

Quintijn Kat

It is widely assumed among scholars of international relations that the dominant position held by the US in the Western Hemisphere during the Cold War is decreasing. Though several likely causes for this decrease have been identified in recent scholarship, the actual decrease itself has not been demonstrated through methodologically sound analysis of data. This paper therefore presents a systematic analysis of the decline of US hegemony in the Americas in three sections, each corresponding to the three main indicator groups (military, economic, and ideological) of hegemony. It does so by comparing data in each of these categories over time, spanning the period 1990-2015. Through this analysis, the paper provides an answer to the question of whether we can speak of a decline of US hegemony, or whether this is an assumption that is not supported by measurable facts. Lastly, in the fourth section, the paper places the data analysis within the larger debate on US hegemony in the Americas, and therein provides a quantitative-based contribution to the discussions regarding the causal explanations for the decline of US hegemony.

#### **Latino vote in the US presidential election of 2012 and 2016**

Dr Alicja Fijalkowska

The choice of a Democratic candidate in the presidential election has become a tradition for the Latino population in the US. According to Pew Hispanic Center, the 2012 election was not an exception. In fact, over 70% Latinos voted for Barack Obama, while only 27% of them supported Mitt Romney. The purpose of this paper is to compare the Latino vote in the US presidential election of 2012 and 2016, taking into consideration individual states with large Latino population and the country as a whole. The presentation will include answers to the following research questions:

- 1) Which candidate was supported by the majority of the Latino population during the US presidential election of 2012 and 2016?
- 2) Have the preferences of Latinos changed between 2012 and 2016?
- 3) What was the demographic structure of the Latino vote during the 2012 and 2016 election?
- 4) What were the most important issues that affected the choice of a particular candidate in 2012 and 2016?
- 5) Did machismo affect the choice of Latinos in the 2016 election?

The research will be conducted using the analysis of exit polls and the comparative method.



## **Media/communications**

### **Making social media and human rights count in the struggle for change in Mexico**

Rupert Knox

Mexico's seriously flawed democratic transition has been exposed in recent years. Several social movements have emerged to challenge the State on a range of issues, including violence and treatment of the victims of the "war on the cartels", enforced disappearances and media manipulation of the democratic process. The Movement for Peace and Justice with Dignity, Yosoy132 and the Ayotzinapa 43 movements have featured various uses of social media as part of collective contentious mobilizations and dissemination of alternatives to dominant mainstream media narratives. Human rights claims have often featured in their repertoire of actions, facilitating coalescence around strategic objectives and attempting to leverage the State's institutional recognition of human rights obligations. This paper, based on the latter stages of doctoral research, considers how social media use and human rights claims have constrained and facilitated these processes in the specific socio-political context of contemporary Mexico. It explores these issues in relation to academic debates on the embedded use of communications technology in grassroots political protest movements and the role of social mobilizations in legitimating domestic human rights claims.

### **Desentrañando crímenes: Cruces entre el documental argentino y la investigación periodística**

Dr Pablo Lanza

Una forma de cine documental que ha cobrado impulso en los últimos años es aquella cuyos films organizan su narración en torno a la investigación periodística sobre un crimen. Como expusiera Bill Nichols, una de las formas paradigmáticas del documental clásico consiste en la exposición de un problema, el desarrollo de sus antecedentes, la situación actual y finalmente la propuesta de una solución del mismo (a través del uso del relato over de la llamada "voz de Dios").

Los films que proponemos analizar, por el contrario, ubican en el centro de sus narraciones a las herramientas de investigación utilizadas –aquellas que la forma clásica dejaba afuera presentando únicamente sus resultados–. Esta forma de presentación favorece, por un lado, un relato en presente que trasmuta una lógica informativa por una en la que prima el suspenso, a la vez que mantiene el carácter probatorio de la voz formal del documental (Plantinga). Y por otro, practica un cruce con el periodismo de investigación, rama que se caracteriza por revelar historias de importancia pública que han permanecido ocultas hasta entonces. Dentro del corpus fílmico se encuentran las recientes *Imagen final* (Habegger, 2008) y *¿Quién mató a Mariano Ferreyra?* (Rath y Morcillo, 2013).

### **Crónicas contra la violencia: el nuevo periodismo infrarealista mexicano**

Dr Maria Alonso Alonso

Diego Enrique Osorno define el periodismo infrarealista como un movimiento de contra-poder que cuestiona las verdades históricas establecidas por el discurso hegemónico de los gobiernos, y lo hace utilizando una narrativa sumamente influenciada por autores como Bolaño o artistas como Matta. Teniendo en cuenta esta nueva estética de la palabra, la presente comunicación propone un análisis de una serie de textos publicados por los nuevos cronistas de México, testigos de la historia un país en estado de excepción implícito a causa de las consecuencias del aumento de desigualdades en una sociedad tan asimétrica como la mexicana. Con este fin se abordarán algunos de los títulos publicados en la antología *The Sorrows of Mexico* (Maclehose: 2016) en la que Lydia Cacho, Anabel

Hernández, Sergio González Rodríguez o Juan Villoro, entre otros nombres, presentan una serie de metaficciones historiográficas que ilustran la naturaleza de este periodismo infrarealista. La colección está formada por textos que tratan diferentes temas, utilizan técnicas narrativas diversas y ofrecen líneas de investigación variadas que muestran la forma en la que la violencia que surge de la modernidad mexicana actual se puede denunciar desde un activismo creativo.

## **Law, policy, and inequalities**

### **Democratising through culture? The Concertacion and the role of cultural policy in post-authoritarian Chile (1992-2010)**

Soraya Hamdaoui

Most research on democratization has been focused on civil-military relations, economic and labour policy or human rights issues, while cultural policy has been widely overlooked within debates on transition from authoritarian rule to democracy. However, the existing literature highlights that cultural policy was often mobilized as an efficient resource to either support ambitious political projects (revolutionary state, diplomacy, nationalism) or defuse tensions after violent episodes (civil war, terrorism). Additionally, policy studies on ethnic groups, community arts or cultural heritage suggest that cultural governance is relevant to understand the deepening of democracy. Based on those observations, this research seeks to investigate how cultural policy contributed to the process of democratization by taking post-authoritarian Chile as a case study. After the reinception of democracy in 1990, civilian action was made perilous in the areas of economy and justice because of the military's legacy and the persistence of elite pacts. Cultural policy in this context was then used as an institutional device favouring new channels of citizen participation, the rise of non-state actors and the return of cultural expression. Also, by widening the space of civilian intervention, it helped validate the democratic centre-left coalition as an autonomous and credible force.

### **Building up a convenient accountability: How the “anti-corruption” law in Brazil was put into force**

Fernanda Odilla Vasconcellos de Figueiredo

This paper focuses on how Brazil designed and put into force a legal instrument that makes companies strictly liable for domestic and international acts of corruption and highlights the role of external drivers during a 15-year process. It also introduces the concept of ‘convenient accountability’ which suggests that Brazil has adopted the slowest and cheaper methods in order to see to demands of those who want and do not want greater accountability in the case of the new clean company act (Law 12846/2013); also dubbed as ‘anti-corruption law’. Despite the apparent force of the civil society in this case of ‘pressure from below’, until now, no company has been punished under the new law. An already over-whelmed anti-corruption agency was chosen to enforce the new legislation in the federal and international spheres against companies, some of them being traditional campaign financers and governmental contractors. Hence, it remains uncertain whether Brazil will effectively enforce its anti-corruption law that, on paper, even exceeds international requirements.

### **Income inequality: Comparative perspectives from Latin America**

Daniela Perez Aguilar

Inequality has been a relevant issue in the various meanings of the word whether is in relation to gender, income, race, class, etc. For social science the importance of understanding the origins,

justifications and mechanisms involved in processes of inequality is key to promoting and generate social change. In this presentation, I will explore a particular aspect of inequality: income inequality. A vast part of the literature on the topic has been written taken into account the experience of developed countries. One of the most influential ones is the work of Esping-Andersen and “The three worlds of Welfare capitalism”(Esping-Andersen, 1990). In this work, the author identifies three iconic types of capitalist societies to understand the overall level of inequality between different countries. Another recent theory from Thomas Piketty focuses on the importance of capital to understand the increasing income inequality using examples from the U.S. and Europe (Piketty, 2014). The purpose of this presentation is to explore the theories on income inequality from Latin America, in relation to what has been studied in developed countries. The aim is to identify the similarities and differences to generate a better understanding of the multiple aspects of income inequality. This presentation will consider aspects of social policy, sociology and economy.

## **Colombia at the crossroads: Conversations about war, resistance and transformation (Part 2)**

### **Charting uncharted waters: Participatory budgeting as a novel transitional justice case study**

Diana Dajer

As part of a broader peace process between the Colombian Government and the FARC-EP guerrilla, on November 6 of 2013 the parties disclosed an agreement on measures to encourage citizen and political participation. With the title Political participation: democratic openness to build peace, the agreement drafts key guidelines to create and promote mechanisms to boost participation as a condition to build peace at the local level in Colombia. One of these mechanisms is participatory budgeting. Although different exercises of participatory budgeting have been implemented in Colombia since 1996, the agreement on citizen and political participation suggests an interesting role for participatory budgeting exercises that has not been studied so far: the capacity of participatory budgeting to be a transitional justice mechanism. In this context, the paper discusses the potentials and pitfalls that the implementation of participatory budgeting as a transitional justice mechanism in Colombia might face. Likewise, given that over the last decade offline participatory budgeting processes have been complemented with the use of information and communications technology in various countries, the paper also studies the relationship between these technologies and peacebuilding in participatory budgeting processes in Colombia, using Medellin as case study.

### **Military conversion in Colombia**

Andres Ballesteros Moyano

This research aims to identify the expectations about military conversion in Colombia. The civil conflict in Colombia has lasted more than 50 years. With ongoing peace negotiations between the government and FARC rebels, an end to the conflict seems near and peace is feasible. However, considerably more efforts are needed and the process requires the planning of different institutional adjustments. One of those pertains to the use of military resources and, hence, military conversion in the post-conflict society. Colombian military forces and police are currently designing and planning a transformation process (“Armed Forces 2030”) to determine the future roles and uses of military capabilities. This might also lead to the reallocation of oversupplied military resources to civilian use. Making use of existing theoretical and empirical work, I seek to systematically analyse the possible development of the military-conversion process, its determinants, and key actors’

attitudes toward it. Empirically, I rely on interviews with different stakeholders and experts on defence and security in Colombia that have been conducted in 2016.

## **Political economy of Brazil since the 1990s**

### **Working conditions and super-exploitation of the working class in Brazil, 1992-2014**

Carlos Nascimento

This paper contributes to the studies on the super-exploitation of the working class in Brazil. It proposes a typology of families of employees by classifying them as exploited families, families exploited excessively (super-exploitation), and intermediate cases. This typology was constructed from: i) microdata of the National Household Sample Survey of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics; and ii) the minimum wage required for a worker to support a family of four individuals, calculated by the Inter Department of Statistics and Socio-economic Studies. The paper presents an analysis of the evolution of these family types in two periods. In the first (1992-2002), recessive neoliberal economic policies were predominant in Brazil and, in the second (2002-2014), successive governments implemented employment generation policies and real gains in wages. While throughout the 1990s more than half of working families could be considered super-exploited, in the 2000s there was a downward trend for families super-exploited to less than 40,0%, of the total of those families. However, the aforementioned share is still high and the study also shows, among other things, that the working conditions of a significant part of the families who are not considered super-exploited could, in fact, also be regarded as super-exploited.

### **Three decades of class inequality in Brazil and Argentina**

Pedro Mendes Loureiro

This paper compares the patterns of income inequality in Brazil and Argentina, from 1980 to 2013, focusing on their class dimension. Applying a neo-Marxist typology of class positions to household surveys, the Gini coefficient of household per capita income is decomposed into inter- and within-class components using the ANOGI method. As the latter also reveals how each fraction relates to all the others, including the extent to which their incomes overlap, it offers the basis for a class-relational account of inequality. The patterns are explained in terms of the wider transformations of the countries' political economy, seen through the periods of the debt crisis, neoliberalism and neodevelopmentalism. The paper finds an increase of class inequality during neoliberalism and an inflection afterwards, but confined to changes within categories of workers. Difference in the two national trajectories are explained by changes to their productive structure, as well as popular and class mobilisation dynamics, with greater gains for workers associated to greater struggles. In both cases, however, the relative position of capital and social stratification more broadly were never challenged during neodevelopmentalism, highlighting the class conciliation dynamics in place.

### **Trade specialization, productive structures and regional development in Brazil**

Soraia Cardozo

This paper analyses the relationship between the international trade integration of the Brazilian macro regions and their productive structures, employment and income. It shows how, during the 2003-2013 period, the national economic space has been heterogeneously articulated to the country's trade pattern as an exporter of natural resources-intensive goods. Using the analytical approaches of the inter-regional division of labour, regional indicators were developed based on the following data: foreign trade, industrial structure, the sectoral composition of GDP, employment and

income. Among the main conclusions, the paper emphasises that the regions which most increased the exports of commodities were the North, the East and the South; that there is a relationship between changes in the international trade insertion and in regional production structures, with the share of natural resources-intensive activities in GDP increasing; that, in manufacturing, there was an increase in the share of labour-intensive sub-sectors and a decrease in high technology ones; that there was an increase of imports directed to industrial production in the five regions; and that natural resources-intensive, export-oriented activities have a low job-creation capacity, and those created are predominantly concentrated in lower-paid tracks.

## **Gender, violence and identity: Challenging violence in Latin America**

### **Warriors and weavers: Brazilian and Colombian indigenous women's responses to violence in digital communications**

Dr Thea Pitman

This paper examines the differing forms of self-representation online chosen by indigenous women with respect to the ways these self-representations suggest a response to violence, both the many forms of violent repression of indigenous peoples *per se* and/or gender-specific violence. It will focus on two case studies: The first concerns the Nasa women involved in the setting up of the first indigenous *telecentro* in the offices of the Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte de la Cauca (ACIN) in South-Western Colombia in 2001. This resulted in the creation of the ACIN's website (<http://www.nasaacin.org/>) which was designed to provide a platform through which the community could denounce aggression and articulate resistance. The second concerns a group of women from different indigenous communities in North-Western Brazil who have been involved with a project specifically to tackle violence in their lives, articulated via the website (*Eu sou pelas*) *Mulheres indígenas* (<http://www.mulheresindigenas.org/>, 2014–). The paper seeks to uncover the complex set of factors, both those relating to social context and those relating specifically to self-representation online, that underlie the preferred self-representation of the Nasa women as 'tejedoras' of their social fabric, in comparison with that of the Brazilian indigenous women as 'guerreiras'.

### **Masculinity and violence in football stadiums in Central America**

Rodrigo Jimenez

Central America is one of the most violent regions of the world with high rates of homicide, femicide, injuries and violence against women. This culture of violence is related to social constructions of masculinity expressed in armed conflict. Football is the national sport in the region where thousands of men participate in the championships and World Cup qualifiers. Players become national leaders and examples to follow. The construction of dominant masculinities are fed into their conduit by these sports where demonstrations of violence pervade the collective imagination of men. That's why the study on violence in these areas is critical to understanding the reproduction of patriarchal violence against women, against other men and against men in himself. And its relationship with partner violence, sexual violence, drug and alcohol abuse, brawls between bars, absenteeism among others. Is a space where men channel erratically their emotions, having a major social impact. It is essential to study the phenomenon to generate social change exercise of new masculinities that impact in reducing these manifestations.

## **Ripples, networks and negotiation: The complex pathways of helpseeking for women suffering violence in Rio de Janeiro**

Dr Polly Wilding

Taking a political economy approach to the study of violence is commonly understood to involve the exploration of how different actors are located in the political economy, frequently focusing on the privileged positioning of powerful actors, and their ability to outmaneuver the powerless. However, if we examine the complex pathways of women who are faced with the violence of partners, it becomes clear that differences *between* those positioned at the 'bottom' are key to their ability to respond. Taking the example of women suffering domestic violence in Rio de Janeiro, this paper will demonstrate how the micro context of women's lives, and how they are situated in the local political economy, shape their ability to voice their concerns, to be heard, and to challenge the context of violence in which they are living. Therefore women's identities, social networks, and personal histories all play a role in determining their room for maneuver. A feminist approach interrogates the power relations that underpin violence, as well as the space for action, shaped by the available sources of support and further oppression – it also allows us to reconnect these different factors on multiple levels.

## **Material dialogues: Cultural reflections on violence and politics in contemporary Argentina**

### **Embodied truth: Materiality and subjectivity in the cinema of Jonathan Perel**

Dr Niall Geraghty

In each film he has made to date, Argentine director Jonathan Perel has recorded objects and spaces closely related to the most recent dictatorship of 1976-1983, and attempts to memorialise crimes committed during the period. Each film utilises fixed shots, records only diegetic sounds, and – with the exception of his first film, *El predio* (2010) – foregoes direct engagement with human subjects. Nonetheless, throughout his filmic work, Perel captures the political debates surrounding attempts to memorialize the atrocities of the Dirty War, and the slow material development of a new memory landscape in Argentina. By examining Perel's films in conjunction with Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's conceptions of 'faciality' and the 'passional regime of signs' (1987: 121-29, 67-90), and Alain Badiou's concept of the 'truth-procedure' (2003), this paper will demonstrate that (despite the apparent absence of human agency) the material focus of Perel's work reveals the human subjectification which is inherent to this reconfiguration of the Argentine landscape and which underpins his unique aesthetic programme. Moreover, by drawing on recent materialist conceptions of cinema and art (Hainge 2013, Marks 2000), it will be argued that Perel seeks to incorporate the 'truth' which emerges from his work directly within the viewer's body.

### **Connecting storylines, crimes and slow violence: Socio-material interactions in Marcos Herrera's *La mitad mejor***

Dr Lucy Bell

Set in Buenos Aires' underworld of slums and suburbs, Marcos Herrera's novel *La mitad mejor* (2009) is built on different, interconnected plots involving the self-immolation of a young boy, drugs manufactured from worms collected from a waste dump, and illegal boxing/doping activities. In this paper, I will analyse the relations between the various levels of the narrative, the acts of bodily violence inflicted on/by the characters, and the various settings in which these acts take place: the

waste dump that opens the narrative and acts as a plot device, recurring image, and protagonist; the two rivers depicted in the novel; the city's underground and buildings. Mobilising Latour's actor-network theory (1993) and Rob Nixon's notion of 'slow violence', I argue that the violence recounted in the stories cannot be untangled from social and material conditions. My contention is that the characters depicted by Herrera are caught in vicious cycles of financial and physical precariousness, social exclusion and environmental injustice, spectacular and invisible ('slow') violence – cycles that reveal the complex socio-material interactions between human and other-than-human worlds.

### **The minefield of memory: Materiality and performance in Lola Arias' *Campo minado* (2016)**

Dr Geoffrey Maguire

Described as an 'extraordinary exercise in the mining of memory and the staging of history' (Tripney, 2016), Lola Arias' play *Campo minado* brings together six British and Argentine veterans of the Falklands/Malvinas war to share personal memories of the conflict. In this reading of the play, I contend that the material on-stage presence of old photographs, hand-written letters and pieces of uniform enables the director to present the archive of cultural memory not as 'a stable repository' (Borggreen & Gade, 2013) but as 'a dynamic and generative tool' (Osthoff, 2009). In this sense, the paper argues that the play's tactile, material interactions between actors and objects thus allows for an understanding of memory's 'eventhood' (Borggreen & Gade, 2013), moving beyond the restrictively semiotic nature of conventional conceptions of the archive. Through a theoretical engagement with recent work on concepts of materiality in documentary theatre (Martin, 2009, 2010; Reinelt, 2009), this paper ultimately claims that the performative emphasis on the materiality of the document in *Campo minado* represents a means of overcoming the 'repetición maníaco-obsesiva del recuerdo' (Richard, 1998) and of eluding dominant, politicized discourses for a more reflective account of the conflict's legacy in contemporary Argentina.

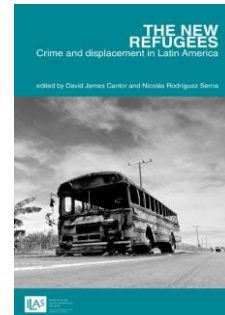
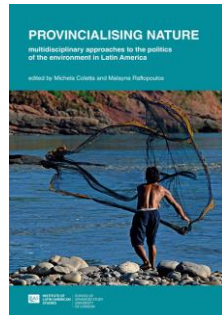
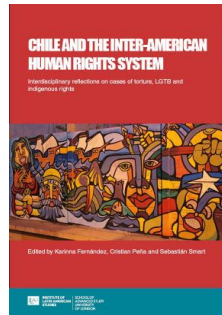
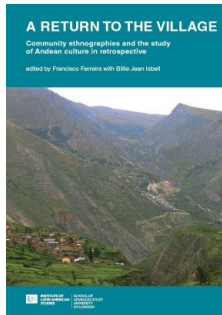
### **Political violence and the material culture of national identity (a view from the page)**

Dr Catriona McAllister

The performance of national identity relies upon a combination of material objects and ritual, coming together in acts of 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995). The military *junta* that governed Argentina from 1976-1983 appropriated this symbolic apparatus as part of a 'theatre of operations' that 'resemantized' the idea of the nation (Taylor, 1997). The material culture of national identity in post-dictatorship Argentina can therefore be perceived as a conflicted site of meaning, with the familiar expectation of patriotic pride haunted by the shadow of the recent past. The relationship between objects linked to national identity, their use in ritual and their manipulation by a repressive state is a central question of Martín Kohan's *Ciencias morales* (2007). Set against the backdrop of the Falklands/Malvinas conflict, the novel explores the function and implications of national symbols as part of a wider meditation on post-dictatorship patriotism. This paper will therefore consider the reading of the past offered by *Ciencias morales*, with a particular focus on its critique of nationalism in Argentina.







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**The new refugees: crime and displacement in Latin America**

David James Cantor & Nicolás Rodríguez Serna (eds.)

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**Los nuevos desplazados: crimen y desplazamiento en América Latina**

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