# SLAS 2013

## Conference programme

SLAS | Society for Latin American Studies

*The UK association for the study of Latin America*

**Annual conference 2013**
**University of Manchester**
**11th-12th April 2013**

**Conference timetable**

| | Thursday 11th April | | Friday 12th April |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | 08:00-09:00 | Registration |
| | | 09:00-10:30 | Panel session 3<br>(P05, P07, P09, P18, P19, P22, P24, P32, P34, P35, P36, P38, P41) |
| | | 10:30-11:00 | Tea/coffee break (ATB atrium and UP 4.210) |
| 11:00-12:00 | BLAR Editorial Meeting (G110) | 11:00-12:30 | Panel session 4<br>(P02, P05, P07, P08, P09, P12, P15, P18, P20, P22, P32, P34, P38) |
| 12:00-13:30 | Registration (ATB atrium)<br><br>SLAS Committee Meeting (12:00-13:00) (G110)<br>Lunch for Ctte members ( 13:00-13:30) (G101)<br>PILAS 'Meet-and-Greet Lunch' (12:30-13:30) (G101) | 12:30-14:00 | Buffet Lunch (ATB atrium)<br><br>SLAS AGM (13.00-14.00) (G107) |
| 13:30-15:00 | Panel session 1<br>(P01, P03, P04, P11, P21, P26, P30, P31, P33, P37, P39, P40, P42) | 14:00-15:30 | Panel session 5<br>(P02, P07, P08, P09, P10, P12, P13, P15, P16, P20, P23, P25) |
| 15:00-15:30 | Tea/coffee break (ATB atrium and UP 4.210) | 15:30-16:00 | Tea/coffee break (ATB atrium and UP 4.210)<br>Book launch (ATB atrium) |
| 15:30-17:00 | Panel session 2<br>(P01, P03, P04, P11, P26, P27, P28, P31, P33, P37, P40, P43) | 16:00-17:30 | Panel session 6<br>(P02, P06, P07, P08, P10, P12, P13, P16, P20, P23, P25) |
| 17:00-17:30 | BREAK (hotel check-in, pub etc) | 18:00-19:00 | BLAR Wine Reception<br>(Instituto Cervantes, Deansgate) |
| 17:30-19:00 | Keynote lecture (Theatre 1, Crawford House):<br><br>Professor Walter Mignolo (Duke University) | 19:30-20:00 | Arrival/welcome drink at Bem Brasil, Deansgate |
| 19:00-20:15 | University Wine Reception and Buffet dinner<br>(ATB atrium) | 20:00-late | Conference Dinner (Bem Brasil), with live music |

ATB: Alan Turing Building; UP: University Place. See maps on rear cover.

**The Society for Latin American Studies annual conference 2013**

# SLAS2013

## University of Manchester
## 11th-12th April 2013

# Conference programme

Convenors: Peter Wade and Parvathi Kumaraswami

NomadIT: Rohan Jackson, Megan Caine, Darren Hatherley, Eli Bugler

**The Society for Latin American Studies and the conference organisers at the University of Manchester would like to express their thanks to:**

The Americas Research Group at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office
The School of Arts, Languages and Cultures, University of Manchester
The School of Social Sciences, University of Manchester
VisitManchester: www.visitmanchester.com; www.marketingmanchester.com
Instituto Cervantes Manchester: www.manchester.cervantes.es
Wiley-Blackwell
Bem Brasil: www.bembrasilrestaurants.com

The following publishing houses/journals have supported this conference through advertising or presence in the book fair:

AMDigital, Combined Academic Publishers Ltd, CUP, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru - University of Wales Press, Hispanic Research Journal, MUP, Pathfinder Books, Routledge, Wiley-Blackwell and Zed Books.

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# Welcome from the conference organisers at the University of Manchester

The University of Manchester is delighted to welcome all delegates and participants to SLAS2013 – the Annual Conference of the Society for Latin American Studies. As you will see, the conference programme is both comprehensive and varied, and we are especially pleased to welcome our keynote speaker, Professor Walter Mignolo (Duke University) to Manchester. Our postgraduate students – identifiable by their SLAS2013 T-shirts – are on hand to assist you with registration and any other queries.

We hope you have an enjoyable and productive conference.
Peter Wade and Par Kumaraswami

# Practical information

## Using this programme

The timetable on the inside cover of this book gives times of the keynote, panels and other events. The *List of panels* which follows these practical notes, allows you to obtain titles, convenors, timing and location of individual panels. This is followed by a more detailed list of panels and papers and their abstracts, in numerical order. Finally, at the end of the book there is the *List of delegates, presenters and convenors* to help you identify who is present and the sessions in which particular colleagues will present their work.

If you need any help interpreting the information in the conference book, do ask one of the conference team at the reception desk.

**Please note:**
Each 90-minute session ordinarily accommodates three or four papers. This can be used as a rough guide in establishing which papers will be presented when, within multi-session panels. However, convenors have a degree of flexibility in structuring their panels, so we cannot guarantee the success of panel-hopping!

## Venue

The conference registration and all panels will take place in the following buildings on our main campus:

ATB: Alan Turing Building
UP: University Place
Crawford House

There is a campus map on the inside rear cover; and there will be conference signage giving directions to all rooms. The events section, panel lists and panel details all indicate the locations being used. If you have any problems finding your way around, please ask a member of the conference team for assistance.

## Food

Registration includes refreshments (tea, coffee and water), which will be served Thursday afternoon and Friday morning and afternoon, in the Alan Turing Building atrium. On Friday we will also serve some refreshments in Room 4.210 in University Place, so as to save those meeting in that building a walk back to ATB in their break.

A lunch is included as part of your registration and this will be in the ATB atrium (only). To avail of any refreshments or lunch you must wear and display your conference badge.

## Publishers' stalls, Alan Turing Building atrium

The publishers' stalls are located in the atrium of the Alan Turing Building. Delegates are invited to browse the titles and talk to the representatives of these publishing houses. The following publishers will be present: Combined Academic Publishers Ltd, CUP, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru - University of Wales Press, Hispanic Research Journal, MUP, Pathfinder Books, Routledge, Wiley-Blackwell and Zed Books.

## Conference team

There is a team of helpful students, familiar with the programme, university and surrounding area, to whom you can turn when in need of assistance. Team members can be identified by their SLAS2013 t-shirts. If you cannot see a team member, please ask for help at the reception desk (in the ATB atrium). Any financial arrangements must be dealt with at the reception desk with the conference organisers.

## Contact address

During the conference, emergency messages should be sent to slas2013@nomadit.co.uk. There will be a message board for delegates at the reception desk. Rohan Jackson, the conference administrator can be contacted on +447866425805 (preferably emergencies only).

## Internet

There is wireless access around the campus, with login info available from our reception desk.

## Conference badges and meal tickets

On arrival at the reception desk you will be given this book and your conference badge. The badge will be necessary to enter sessions, the keynote, and to avail of refreshments/lunch – so please wear this at all times during the conference.

SLAS re-uses the plastic badge holders and lanyards, so please hand these in at the boxes provided on the reception desk (or to a member of the conference team) when leaving the conference for the final time. This not only saves resources, but helps keep registration costs to a minimum.

## Local travel

The University of Manchester is situated just to the south of the centre of Manchester, and one can move easily between the two on foot, bus or by taxi. See the map on the rear cover.

## Walk

A 30-minute walk from the main campus to either of the Deansgate venues.

## Bus

Any bus from the main campus on Oxford Road will take you into the city centre. For Instituto Cervantes and Bem Brasil, it's best to alight when the bus turns from Oxford Road onto Portland Street. From Oxford Road, continue on Peter Street past St Peters Sq until you reach the intersection of Peter Street and Deansgate. Turn LEFT for Instituto Cervantes and RIGHT for Bem Brasil.

## Taxi

Taxis pass frequently on Oxford Road, and will cost £5-7 for the Deansgate venues.

# Events

**Keynote, Thursday 11th April, 17:30-19:00, Theatre 1, Crawford House.**
This year's keynote is being given by Walter Mignolo, the renowned cultural studies scholar and a leading figure of coloniality/decolonial studies.

**Four pillars of moveable memories: Abya Yala, Europe and Africa in the imperial invention of América and Latino-a América in the US**

Basically, the invention of America and the invention of Latin America has run its course. At the moment in which Western Europe (the heart of EU) and the US are losing control of their lasting global hegemony, the futures are up for grabs, so to speak. "Latin" America is not a subcontinent but rather the political project of the Creole elites that cut the umbilical cord with Spain, and later in the nineteenth century, with Portugal, to take advantage of their relations with the upcoming empires; of France for the politics involved in the naming of the subcontinent; and of England for the economy. Today, "Latin" America remains as the memory of people of European descent. The legacies of pueblos originarios and of forced African migrations are delinking from Western "Latinity." Furthermore, the growing presence and influence of Latino/as in the US enriches the moveable pillars of memories on which the future is being built. In the sphere of the State, however, the politics is still based on "Latin" America. But there is another component to keep in mind crossing the pillars of memories in the political society, on the one hand, and the national-states, on the other: the triple conflicting co-existing trajectories of dewesternization, rewesternization and decoloniality

**About Dr Mignolo**

Walter D. Mignolo is William H. Wannamaker Distinguished Professor and Director of the Center for Global Studies and the Humanities at Duke University (http://waltermignolo.com/). He has been working for the past 25 years on the formation and transformation of the modern/colonial world system and on the idea of Western Civilization.

**University Wine Reception and Buffet dinner, Thursday 11th April, 19:00-20:15, Alan Turing Building atrium**

All delegates are invited to stay on after the keynote to eat and drink and discuss, in the atrium.

**Book launch, Friday 12th April, 15:30-16:00, Alan Turing Building atrium**

CAP will be launching two titles from Duke Press, with some extra refreshments and two authors in attendance:
The Paraguay Reader: History, Culture, Politics Edited by Peter Lambert (attending) & Andrew Nickson
Intimate Indigeneities: Race, Sex, and History in the Small Spaces of Andean Life by Andrew Canessa (attending)
Please come along, meet the authors and hear more.

**Wine Reception, Friday 12th April, 18:00-19:00, Instituto Cervantes**

The Institute is at 326-330 Deansgate, Campfield Avenue Arcade M3 4FN (Tel: 0161 661 4201) and this is marked on the map on the rear cover.

All delegates are invited to attend this wine reception, although those heading onto the dinner at Bem Brasil won't be able to linger too long!

**Conference Dinner, Friday 12th April, 19:30-late, Bem Brasil Deansgate**

Bem Brasil is close to the Instituto Cervantes, and is at King St W Manchester, Lancashire M3 2GQ (Tel: 0161 839 2525). It is also marked on the map on the rear cover.

Tickets for the dinner had to be purchased in advance. All ticket-holders are invited to turn up from 19:30 for a pre-dinner drink, and dinner will be served from 20:00. There will be live music later in the night.

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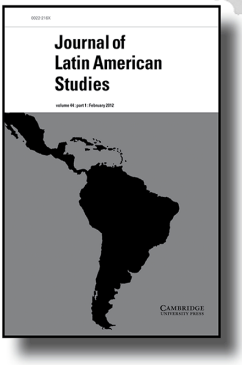


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* Access will be for three months from registration and is valid until 31st December 2013.

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# List of panels

| Ref. | Panel title | Date | Start Time | Location | Session Slots | Convenors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P01 | The international dimensions of resource dependency: perspectives from Latin America | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | ATB G107 | 2 | Karen Siegel (University of Glasgow); Jewellord Nem Singh (University of Sheffield) |
| P02 | Securing the future with justice and dignity in Latin America | 12/04/13 | 11:00 | ATB G207 | 3 | John Gledhill (University of Manchester) |
| P03 | New perspectives on Latin American literature | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | ATB G205 | 2 | Lucy Bell (University of Surrey) |
| P04 | Fieldwork, art, science: issues on audio-visual based research | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | ATB G207 | 2 | Lígia Dabul (Universidade Federal Fluminense); Angela Torresan (University of Manchester) |
| P05 | Latin American cinema(s) in black and white | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | UP 4.212 | 2 | Beatriz Tadeo Fuica (University of St Andrews); Sarah Barrow (University of Lincoln) |

| Ref. | Panel title | Date | Start Time | Location | Session Slots | Convenors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P06 | Issues on political leadership and the quality of democracy | 12/04/13 | 16:00 | ATB G205 | 1 | Laura Tedesco (Saint Louis University); Peter Lambert (University of Bath) |
| P07 | Mobility, migration and transformations in Latin America | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | ATB G107 | 4 | Jenny Rodríguez (Newcastle University); Angelo Martins Junior (Goldsmiths College/ University of London) |
| P08 | Violence and affective states in contemporary Latin America | 12/04/13 | 11:00 | ATB G209 | 3 | Frank Smith; Silvia Posocco (Birkbeck, University of London) |
| P09 | Public heritage and national identities: tracing continuities and discontinuities in Latin America | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | ATB G205 | 3 | André Cicalo (Freie Universität Berlin) |
| P10 | Peasants, liberalism and race in the Americas | 12/04/13 | 14:00 | UP 4.211 | 2 | Elizabeth Cooper (The British Library) |

| Ref. | Panel title | Date | Start Time | Location | Session Slots | Convenors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P11 | Multiculturalism and ethnic conflict | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | ATB G209 | 2 | David Lehmann (University of Cambridge); Luis Vázquez (CIESAS) |
| P12 | Paradigms, policies and practices of diversity: pluriculturalism, language use and education among Latin American indigenous peoples | 12/04/13 | 11:00 | ATB G108 | 3 | Rosaleen Howard (Newcastle University); Sheila Aikman (University of East Anglia); Josep Cru (Newcastle University) |
| P13 | Student movements and political change in contemporary Latin America | 12/04/13 | 14:00 | UP 4.209 | 2 | César Guzmán-Concha (Freie Universität Berlin); Mariya Ivancheva (Central European University) |
| P15 | Extractivismo en América Latina: despojo y acumulación neoliberal más allá de la izquierda y la derecha | 12/04/13 | 11:00 | UP 4.214 | 2 | Irene Vélez-Torres (University of Copenhagen); Guillermo Ruiz Torres (Freie Universität Berlin) |

| Ref. | Panel title | Date | Start Time | Location | Session Slots | Convenors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P16 | (Re)constructing the environment in the 'post-neoliberal' state | 12/04/13 | 14:00 | ATB G109 | 2 | Gemma Sou (University of Manchester); Anna Laing (University of Glasgow); Rosalyn Bold (University of Manchester) |
| P18 | Seeing, observing, presenting: science and medicine in society | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | UP 4.211 | 2 | Fiona Clark (Queen's University Belfast); Patience Schell (University of Aberdeen) |
| P19 | Sport and spectacle in Latin America | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | ATB G108 | 1 | Thomas Carter (University of Brighton) |
| P20 | Poetry and resistance in contemporary Latin America | 12/04/13 | 11:00 | UP 4.213 | 3 | Cornelia Gräbner (Lancaster University); Joanna Crow (University of Bristol) |
| P21 | Journal editors' workshop | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | ATB G113 | 1 | Rory Miller (University of Liverpool); Jasmine Gideon (Birkbeck College) |

| Ref. | Panel title | Date | Start Time | Location | Session Slots | Convenors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P22 | Gender, machismo and marianismo in 21st century Latin America | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | ATB G114 | 2 | Jimmy Turner (University of Hull) |
| P23 | Indian imaginaries in Peru | 12/04/13 | 14:00 | ATB G113 | 2 | James Scorer (University of Manchester); Charlotte Gleghorn (Royal Holloway, University of London); Paul McAleer (University of Hull) |
| P24 | Imagination as social practice in contemporary Cuba | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | UP 4.214 | 1 | Rebecca Ogden; Patrick O'Shea (University of Manchester) |
| P25 | Ethics, aesthetics and new art history in Latin America | 12/04/13 | 14:00 | UP 4.212 | 2 | Ignacio Aguiló (University of Manchester) |
| P26 | Racism and anti-racism in the Americas | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | ATB G108 | 2 | Mónica Moreno Figueroa (Newcastle University); Emiko Saldívar (Instituto Mexicano de Derecho Humanos y Democracia) |

| Ref. | Panel title | Date | Start Time | Location | Session Slots | Convenors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P27 | Technoscience, knowledge(s) and politics in Latin America | 11/04/13 | 15:30 | ATB G109 | 1 | Oscar Javier Maldonado; Derly Yohanna Sánchez Vargas (Lancaster University) |
| P28 | Interdisciplinary perspectives on nineteenth-century Latin America: race and gender, slavery and independence | 11/04/13 | 15:30 | ATB G113 | 1 | Camillia Cowling (University of Edinburgh) |
| P30 | The extra-insular island: Cuba beyond its geographical frontiers | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | ATB G114 | 1 | Stephen Fay (King's College London); Jorge Catalá-Carrasco (Newcastle University) |
| P31 | Social policies in Latin America: considerations on the post-neoliberal era | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | UP 4.214 | 2 | Beatriz Junqueira Lage Carbone (Goethe University Frankfurt) |

| Ref. | Panel title | Date | Start Time | Location | Session Slots | Convenors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P32 | Populism and clientelism within political practices in Latin America | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | ATB G109 | 2 | María Urbina (University of Nottingham); Maya Collombon (Institute of Political Sciences) |
| P33 | Radical Americas I: Latin American Marxisms of the Cold War era | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | UP 4.213 | 2 | Geoff Goodwin (Institute of the Americas, UCL); William Booth (UCL) |
| P34 | Radical Americas II: Latin American "socialisms" of the 21st century | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | UP 4.209 | 2 | Geoff Goodwin (Institute of the Americas, UCL) |
| P35 | Overcoming neoliberal subjectivities in Latin America: from disengagement to new political practices, identities and collectivities | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | ATB G209 | 1 | Susanne Hofmann (University of Leeds); Ainhoa Montoya (University of Manchester) |

| Ref. | Panel title | Date | Start Time | Location | Session Slots | Convenors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P36 | Constructing and contesting legitimacy: state formation in nineteenth century Mexico | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | UP 4.213 | 1 | Melissa Boyd (University of St Andrews) |
| P37 | Music, art and cultural heritage | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | UP 4.212 | 2 | Edlaine Gomes; Andréa Vieira (Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro) |
| P38 | Social movements and political participation | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | ATB G113 | 2 | Samuel Thomas |
| P39 | Transnational migration: the experiences of Brazil and Spain | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | UP 4.211 | 1 | Cynthia Campos (University of Essex) |
| P40 | Development, poverty and policy | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | UP 4.210 | 2 | Alexandre Pereira (King's College London) |
| P41 | Liberalism, slavery and race | 12/04/13 | 09:00 | ATB G207 | 1 | Sarah Washbrook (University of Manchester) |
| P42 | Violence, inclusion and exclusion | 11/04/13 | 13:30 | ATB G109 | 1 | |
| P43 | Violence, gender and exclusion | 11/04/13 | 15:30 | ATB G114 | 1 | Marta Romero-Delgado |

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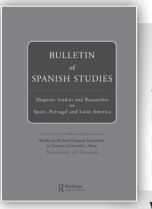


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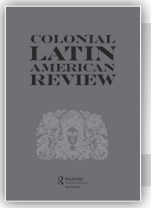


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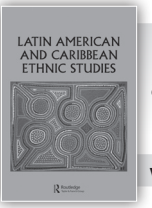


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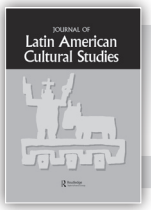


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# Panel and paper abstracts

# P01

# The international dimensions of resource dependency: perspectives from Latin America

**Convenors: Karen Siegel (University of Glasgow); Jewellord Nem Singh (University of Sheffield)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: ATB G107**

**Panel abstract**

The aim of this panel is explore the regional and international dimension of resource exploitation, environmental governance, and political economy of development in Latin America in the context of changing inter-state and state-civil society relations since the start of the new millennium.

**Brazilian's resources new secenarios: petropolitics, defense and energy security**

*Sabrina Medeiros (Escola de Guerra Naval (EGN) e Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro); Juliana Branco (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro); Ana Luiza Paiva (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro)*

The new Oil (Pre-Sal) reserves modified the way Brazilian predicted its energy security conditions, which reflected in its dealing with many other issues: redistribution of petroroyalts to each municipality involved, navy royalts, national royalts, and also, the debate around miles and ocean soberany, enviromental and international security.
Thus, this study is about measuring political conditions of Brazilian reputation in international scenario based, also, in its new performance on energy grants. Also, it is important to investigate how political decision is currently affecting the way Brazil will deal with its new positioning. Then, not only decision making process is determinate, but which kind of energy security the pre-sal represents to Brazilian performance.

As Oil and Gas are constituted as a world industry the discoveries are fundamental to the new world scenario and the new demand that the industrial process will require in the high of 2020. The Brazilian government is pressed to introduce a huge legislation that can maintain the resources obtained from oil in benefit of its society. In international requirements field, Brazil had asked for the extension of its continental platform, also to garante its oil exploration. In terms of national arrangement, there are many obstacles concerning federative instances that dispute the administration and returns of the exploitation.
To its development, then, Brazil will face a big challenge dealing with national strategic plan and the local enviromental necessities, including party coalitions, regulation agencies and all king of civil society and political pressure.

**The domestic and international limits of post-liberal integration: the Councils of Energy and Planning of UNASUR**

*Stefano Palestini (European University Institute)*

Energy and physical integration constitute the core of the economic agenda of the so called "post-liberal" regionalism in South America. Both areas of integration are encompassed in the program of ALBA and UNASUR, responding to a demand which is coming from the public as well as the private sectors of South American societies. On the one hand, the lack of infrastructure has been perceived as an obstacle for increasing economic (trade and productive) integration among South American countries. On the other hand, South America is well known not only to be a region well endowed with energy resources, but also to be extremely asymmetrical regarding the distribution of such resources. During the first decade of the 21th century, there have been both: integration initiatives and institution building processes, such as the Initiative for the Integration of South American Regional Infrastructure (IIRSA), the South America Energy Council (COSEAS) and more recently the UNASUR Councils of Planning (COSIPLAN) and Energy. In spite of the socio-political demand for deeper integration and the supply of regional institutions, the agenda has had few advances. In this paper, I explore the political economy of both areas shedding light on the interaction between domestic and international factors which explain the limits of energy and physical integration in the region.

**Environmental social movements and the political economy of natural resources in Brazil**

*Marieke Riethof*

With Brazil emerging as an economic and political power with global leadership ambitions, its commitment to environmental protection has also come under increasing scrutiny domestically and internationally. While the Brazilian government tends to stress national autonomy and sovereignty over natural resources, it has also made several notable contributions to climate change negotiations. More recently the Brazilian government has committed itself to a unilateral and voluntary reduction of carbon emissions and has shifted its policies away from the traditional emphasis on developing countries' differentiated responsibilities. However, there are significant discrepancies between Brazil's domestic and foreign environmental policy priorities, which can be explained by conflicting commitments to economic and green development strategies, as well as its global and regional leadership ambitions. At the same time civil society organisations have drawn attention to these very discrepancies and are playing an increasingly significant role in policy-making in Brazil through their use of protest and lobbying. This paper examines the role of Brazilian environmental social movements in recent debates on environmental issues, including the expansion of hydro-electric power generation and rainforest protection (Forest Code legislation). Although these policies are a key part of Brazil's efforts to mitigate the effects of climate change, they have also provoked vocal international and domestic opposition due to their high environmental and social costs.

**The Caribbean and Asia in changing international relations: an investigation of Asia's interest in the region**

*Kavita Johnson (University of Tsukuba)*

The relationship between the Caribbean and Asia (for the purposes of this paper, China and Japan) may be considered as an important economic adjustment strategy of Caribbean states, following the recent changes in the orientation of the international economic system. Over the years, Caribbean states have received significant amounts of loans, grants and technical assistance from Asia, thus intensifying their relationship. However, Caribbean sceptics argue that there are underlying motives behind China's investments for example; positing that China has a growing demand for the Caribbean's raw materials such as bauxite in Jamaica and gas in Trinidad and Tobago.

This paper seeks to examine the Caribbean's increased engagement with Asia and the extent to which it is beneficial for Caribbean states. It will explore Asia's interest in the Caribbean so as to determine whether or not Asia's generosity is mainly driven by their interest in the region's resources. Moreover, projects and policies implemented will be highlighted to examine the social, environmental, economic and political impact that this relationship has on the Caribbean region.

**Spaces of conflicts and cooperation: how national imperatives for extraction shape environmental politics in the Southern Cone**

*Karen Siegel (University of Glasgow); Jewellord Nem Singh (University of Sheffield)*

Whilst most research on natural resource politics has focused on the extent to which Left governments have pushed for a post-neoliberal agenda or the degree upon which consultative mechanisms have deepened the quality of democracy in the region, our paper seeks to delineate a fundamental aspect of resource politics: the consequences of resource politics to environmental governance at the regional level. Despite the proliferation of regional cooperation and the successful re-election of 'post-neoliberal' governments, the underlying logic of 'neoextractivism' - the extensive and intensive exploitation of natural resources under a statist paradigm – has failed to reconcile apparent tensions between expansion of capitalist accumulation and environmental sustainability. At the national level, we find economic policies, which deploy a discourse of redistributive politics. Its principal concern is to ameliorate the poverty legacies of the past; development strategies were not coherently fashioned to resolve these contradictions in the growth model. At the regional level, we show how the timid results of regional environmental cooperation are principally derived from the formidable tasks of forging a counter discourse against the dominant neoextractivist logic in domestic politics. We draw examples from regional and national initiatives on resource exploitation and environmental cooperation arrangements in the Southern Cone to demonstrate our arguments.

# P02

# Securing the future with justice and dignity in Latin America

**Convenor: John Gledhill (University of Manchester)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 11:00-12:30, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:00**
**Location: ATB G207**

**Panel abstract**

This panel invites analyses that consider what security means to different groups in society, how far and why they accept the securitization of social problems, what interests shape and profit from public security agendas, and the relationships between crime, violence, politics and economic change.

**Genealogía de la violencia actual mexicana**

*Lars Leer (Oslo and Akershus University College)*

En el plano internacional se puede pensar que la agudización de violencia en México es un hecho novedoso y coyuntural, atribuido a las luchas intestinas entre los llamados carteles del narcotráfico, por un lado; y frente a la decisión del presidente Felipe Calderón de enfrentarlos militarmente, por el otro.
Sin embargo, una genealogía del conflicto desde los antecedentes de la Revolución Mexicana (1910) demuestra que la actual violencia es apenas una de las varias vertientes de una confrontación violenta de carácter casi permanente producto del irrespeto fundamental al derecho a la vida, en los que confluyen tanto causas estructurales como la degradación extrema a la que se ha llegado.
Así mismo, la supuesta "colombianización" de México obliga a la elaboración de un paralelismo con la historia reciente de ese país y de la manera como se aborda el problema de la violencia y su relación con los llamados carteles de las drogas y su espiral de violencia paramilitar.
Estudiar estos hechos desde una perspectiva crítica a las políticas presidenciales y al modelo de "guerra al narcotráfico" impuesto a México por Estados Unidos, es de urgente utilidad y de central importancia para comprender tan complejo fenómeno.

**Local perceptions from a global natural resource: the Brazilian Amazon case**

*Grace Iara Souza (King's College London)*

This article examines whether and how local people in two Amazonian cities, Manaus and Novo Airão, perceive the Brazilian Amazon as a "global natural resource", essential for human and environmental security. It begins by providing an insight into the main points analysed by the existing literature, which for the most part view the concept of the Brazilian Amazon as a part of the "global commons" from an "etic" (culture-generic) perspective. In contrast, by using an "emic" (culture-specific) approach, based on a combination of 67 in-depth interviews and participant observation, the article examines the differences and similarities in viewpoint of local people in the Amazonas region, and analyses their perceptions in light of the existing literature. The findings reveal that global international demands tend to be adopted by national governments in the Global South without any adaptation to local needs, resulting in serious consequences to local human and environmental security. As a result, the article suggests that the concept of "interconnected geographies of care" would provide a better approach to the global challenges the Brazilian Amazon faces and help reveal the steps the Brazilian government needs to take to meet these challenges.

**Public and economic insecurity in El Salvador's free-market democracy**

*Ainhoa Montoya (University of Manchester)*

In post-war El Salvador, endemic violence and a neoliberalization process initiated even before the war's end have given rise to a flourishing private security industry. This paper explores the relationship between endemic violence and securitization in post-war El Salvador and how the commoditization of security has affected ordinary Salvadorans. Drawing on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in a rural Salvadoran municipality during 2008 and 2009, I examine the proliferation of extortion-related incidents that occurred in 2009 – coinciding with the first after-effects of the financial crisis that had surfaced in the United States in mid-2007 – and how these incidents exacerbated both public and economic insecurity. Since then, both one-off payments and systematic extortion have affected Salvadorans of all classes. In the face of extortion-related death threats, daily headline-making homicides and rampant impunity, Salvadorans have welcomed increasing militarization and zero-tolerance policies that mimic those of the United States and undermine the demilitarization efforts of the

country's Peace Accords. It is within this post-war context of public insecurity that a private security industry, owned partly by Salvadoran political actors and former military personnel, has flourished. This paper highlights how economic and public insecurity reinforce one another when security is available only to those who can afford it. It also suggests that we pay attention to the role of the political economy in order to understand the implications of securitization for ordinary people.

**'No one takes responsibility': uncovering the gendered political connections between multiple forms of insecurity**

*Mo Hume (University of Glasgow); Polly Wilding (POLIS)*

Despite progressive legislation across Latin America to address multiple forms of violence against women, research shows that many women are reluctant to address intimate partner violence through formal legal challenges preferring to 'deal with the problem' rather than seek formal redress through legal processes that can be costly, time consuming and often result in impunity. Further, when women do make formal complaints, their legal claims are repeatedly ignored or not taken seriously. This reluctance to prosecute is often perceived as passivity on women's part rather than a response to systemic patriarchy. Building on feminist theorising on violence and based on detailed empirical research in El Salvador and Brazil, the paper offers an exploratory discussion of women's coping strategies and, in particular, the ways in which they resist and challenge their gendered subordination. In a context of chronic generalised violence, the paper argues that it is crucial to understand women's multiple strategies of survival beyond (and including) the law as everyday forms of resistance rather than passive acceptance or merely survival. In this way, a much more nuanced understanding of women's agency is emphasised as a critique of both the shortcomings of the legal process and the state itself. We aim to set out a tentative research agenda that seeks to understand the gendered political connections between multiple forms of insecurity.

**Security responses in hybrid political orders: the gang truce in El Salvador in 2012**

*Susan Hoppert-Flaemig (University of Bradford)*

The call for security reforms in many countries of the world became louder with the emergence of human security and good governance concepts in the 1990s.

Despite the debates about the concepts in academic and policy circles, there is still limited knowledge about what security actually means for state elites outside the Western world and why strengthening state institutions does not necessarily lead to security provision. This paper aims at understanding state security responses by looking at the attempt of the FMLN Government in El Salvador (since 2009) to establish a policy based on citizen security principles that would differ from the hard line Mano Dura approach of previous governments. Drawing on the concept of hybrid political orders, it is argued that security policies are often an outcome of formal and informal processes of negotiation between multiple state and private actors. The truce between the two biggest Salvadoran street gangs established in March 2012 serves as an example of the ambiguity of security policies: the process lacked transparency and the conditions of the truce are not fully known, but homicide rates dropped significantly since then. The gang truce never appeared in the government's official programme, yet it became an important issue on the security agenda. It shows that while many official measures to reduce and prevent violence could not be implemented straightforward, other unforeseen opportunities opened up in a space where the existence of powerful non-state actors was at least implicitly acknowledged.

**Legitimizing punitive power through Peruvian "gangs"**

*Matías Viotti Barbalato*

In recent years social insecurity has spread through Peruvian society as it has across Latin America. After the end of the armed conflict, which lasted from 1980 to 2000 (CVR 2003), came the emergence of "pandillaje" ("gangs") in Peru. "Pandillaje" has been defined by social science and mass media as violent and hierarchical bands involved in delinquency and related to the hooligans of Peruvian football teams (Santos, Martinez and Tong). From our point of view the concept of the "gang" is a social construction which came from the Chicago School theories. The Chicago School has defined the gangs as schools of delinquency without taking into account their political, historical and social context. Following this line of thinking, the dominant discourse in the 1990s defined a sector of youth as violent and "dangerous", hiding other kinds of violence like the structural, symbolic or routine.

This research is an analysis of "pandillaje" within the power relations drawing on our two years of fieldwork with the "gangs" known as Los Chacales and Los Dioses. We will analyse this process through the different forms of

governmentality through which society legitimizes the social exclusion and the violence of policies like "zero tolerance" which are widespread in Latin America. We are going to analyze the role of these young people in a different context from the "official" definition of "gang", when they created a Youth Social Association and carried out a self-organised project to provide themselves with work against their social exclusion.

**From rights to penal populism: analysis of the ideas guiding the Chilean youth justice reform**

*Paula Perez Morgado (King's College London)*

In its recent history, Chile has developed several reforms to its justice system. Amongst these, youth justice has been reformed and its effects have yet to be investigated.

The objectives of this paper are to analyse the origins of the ideas that led to the change in the way that the criminal system dealt with juvenile crime and investigate what changes the latest Youth Justice reform has had in the Chilean youth criminal procedure.

I argue that the ideas that guided the changes to the youth justice system evolved from a big concern about the infringement of children's rights in the criminal system in the early nineties towards an alarmist view of youth crime that should be controlled for the sake of citizens' security when the new law was finally enacted and implemented in the late 2000s. This idea is addressed by looking at the ideas about crime, young people and the criminal justice system present in the discourse of politicians, policy makers and other key actors of the system. The data analysed comes from the annual president speech, interviews with key actors and the records of Parliamentary debates where the Act on adolescents' penal responsibility was discussed.

**Gun control, the politics of fear and neoliberal governance: a case study of the Brazilian referendum**

*Roxana Pessoa Cavalcanti (King's College London)*

Brazil has the second largest firearm manufacturing industry in the world's western hemisphere, the US being the largest. It is a country delineated by social inequality, a society marked by fear of crime and an epidemic number of firearm related deaths. A civilian lead social movement started in 1997 aiming to reduce violence and the number of guns in the country, this resulted in the

approval of a radical referendum, the first of its kind in the world, which asked the population whether firearms sales should be banned to civilians or not. This paper investigates the referendum by examining how the theoretical frameworks developed by Wacquant (2003; 2009) and Chevigny (2003) facilitate the understanding of factors that may have shaped the result of the referendum. The paper adopts a qualitative approach to explore not only the construction and dissemination of global gun proliferating myths, ideologies of crime, criminals and the criminal justice system but also to evaluate the detrimental effect of these issues on society. For this purpose, interviews were conducted with activists from pro-gun and pro-control lobbies and media content was analyzed.

**Pacifying the poor: the effects of Rio de Janeiro's public security policy**

*Angela Torresan (University of Manchester); Neiva Cunha (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro/UERJ)*

With the advent of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics, Rio de Janeiro's state government launched a security policy in 2008 specifically targeting the drug business in favelas. This policy is founded on a widespread perception of favelas as poor neighbourhoods that have been transformed into no-go areas by networks of illicit trafficking. The main discursive strategy is to "reclaim" favela territories in order to "reintegrate" their communities and social space into the city. Twenty-two of Rio's favelas are currently in different stages of the pacification project. Some are still going through the secretive intelligence phase of operations; a few have been recently occupied and their residents are trying to come to terms with the imposed changes; and others are experiencing the multiple effects of the implementation of social programmes which follow the militarised occupation and securitisation of the area. We reflect on the various effects of the pacification policies (both military and social) on the residents of pacified favelas. Using three examples, Santa Marta, Vidigal and Chapéu Mangueira, we explore how the different processes of urbanisation are "reintegrating" communities into the city and what kind of citizenship is elaborated through this potentially turbulent process of securitisation. We discuss how the old questions of inequality, poverty and public neglect, are resignified into a problem of national security in the case of Rio de Janeiro's pacification of favelas.

**Changes and uncertainties in public security at Rio de Janeiro**

*Rodrigo Monteiro (UERJ)*

City of Rio de Janeiro will host two global events (World Cup 2014 and 2016 Olympic) and has gone through significant changes in its public security policy during the past years. Effects of these changes has been a reduction of the homicide rate, the UPPs (Peacemaker Police Units) and the resumption of territories previously dominated by drug traffickers or militiamen groups.
This research is sponsored by FAPERJ, and is part of a series of other studies by NUPEVI. At this papper we intend to present results of our research in three pacifed favelas in city of Rio: Batan (40,000 residents), Complexo do Alemão (60,000 residents) and Fallet-Fogueteiro-Coroa (20,000 residents). These communities still have populations with a high deficit of citizenship.
In general, a major achievement was the guarantee of basic civil rights: the right to life, to come in and go out of the favela freely, as well as access to vocational courses and a wider range of social projects.
However, there are differences in how each community enhances and develops their social organizations, the NGOs, the access to public services, the access to real estate informal transactions and how is the relationship between the existing social projects and the military police.
Several dilemmas, uncertainties and changes permeate discourses of residents, policemen and organization managers. This presentation aims to address such issues that also represent responses from the local residents and their different associations to the changes implemented in their neighborhoods.

**The production of insecurity in Brazil and Mexico**

*John Gledhill (University of Manchester)*

Diminishing socio-economic inequality is a necessary but not sufficient condition for eliminating other forms of insecurity in Latin American societies. In recent years, the trajectories of Brazil and Mexico can be distinguished in terms of the way public policies have worked to reduce or increase social inequality, although both remain societies with high levels of inequality and deep deficits in the public provision of healthcare and education as well as high levels of crime and violence. There are also significant differences between their public security policies, and in both countries, significant differences between the security situations of different regions, which require further critical analysis from a multi-dimensional perspective on what security and insecurity mean for

ordinary people. This paper focuses on impediments to the production of public security policies that work for all citizens irrespective of their race and social class that are common to both countries. They include the role of legitimated and deniable violence in political life and pursuit of economic interests, and the extension of criminal opportunities through continuing diversification of national and transnational illegal economies that are part of a global development model in which criminal practices have become ever more entangled with the practices of apparently respectable states and private corporations. They also include the "capture" of police and military by non-state actors, and the continuing prevalence of rights-violating forms of state intervention that all too often lead disadvantaged citizens to accept the rule of crime as the lesser of two evils.

# P03

# New perspectives on Latin American literature

**Convenor: Lucy Bell (University of Surrey)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: ATB G205**

**Panel abstract**

This panel offers an opportunity to present new readings of well-known and less familiar literary texts.

### Rediscovering Antônio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa: representations of the loyal black slave in Brazilian Romanticism

*Helen Lima de Sousa (University of Cambridge)*

This paper looks at the image of the loyal black slave in the novel As tardes de um pintor, ou as intrigas de um jesuíta (1847), by the 19th century Brazilian Romantic writer Antônio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa. Teixeira e Sousa is recognised as the author of Brazil's first novel, *O filho do pescador* (1843). However, repeated criticism of Teixeira e Sousa's poor writing style within later (mainly twentieth-century) literary criticism has detracted significant value from Teixeira e Sousa's novels. Subsequently, little extensive research has been undertaken into Teixeira e Sousa's writings.

In contrast to twentieth-century criticism, recent studies suggest that Teixeira e Sousa's writings achieved a significant level of popularity among the literate members of Brazilian society during the nineteenth century, and even among more eminent Brazilian writers of the time, such as José de Alencar. In light of these studies, this paper proposes a more in-depth study of Teixeira e Sousa's novels. In particular, it focuses on Teixeira e Sousa's representation of the loyal black slave in his 1847 novel, which offers an alternative to the more popular Indianist element of Brazilian Romanticism. Looking into Teixeira e Sousa's own life history, and drawing on comparative cultural and literary occurrences, this paper discusses why the Brazilian Romantic chose to write so explicitly, and positively, about slavery at a time when Brazil was coming under increasing pressure to end the slave trade and abolish slavery. Key to this discussion are the concepts of education, race, and miscegenation.

**Me acuerdo, no me acuerdo: memory, history and identity in *Las batallas en el desierto* and *Vidas perpendiculares***

*Elsa Monica Treviño-Ramírez (University of Cambridge)*

In this paper I explore identity and memory through a comparative reading of José Emilio Pacheco's *Las batallas en el desierto* (1981) and Álvaro Enrigue's *Vidas perpendiculares* (2008). Through the operation of recollection, these bildungsromans underscore their historical setting in 1940s Mexico as a conflictive stage for the development of the characters' self-definition. However, while Pacheco engages with the relationship between history, memory and the self through an uncertain literary nostalgia, Enrigue subverts the process of remembering using narrative fragmentation and dislocation. These differences hint to a transformation in the relations between the writer and the past.

*Las batallas* is a central book for the Mexican canon. The coming-of-age tale of young Carlos is marked by the reflective exercise of memory that, from a seemingly innocent first-person narration, introduces a poignant sociopolitical criticism and it has been widely studied for its uses of history and memory. Vidas perpendiculares, on the other hand, has received little critical attention. The novel is the sardonic autobiography of a multi-reincarnated being written during the character's life as a Mexican teenager. Through formal, spatial and temporal disruptions of the narrative, Enrigue challenges memory as a source of identity and questions the possibility of nostalgia by ironically subverting the experience of the past.

This paper contributes to the debate regarding the transformations in the relationship between Mexican writers and history. It does so through the exploration of the tensions between the works of a highly praised, canonical text and a lesser-known, very recent novel.

**Adam through the glass: deconstructing *Bolivia Construcciones***

*Mariano Dagatti (CONICET / UBA)*

In late October 2006, *Bolivia Construcciones*, Bruno Morales' first novel, received La Nación-Sudamericana Award for Fiction. The novel, which from the title itself suggests the focus on different construction procedures, tells the story of a Bolivian migrant, construction worker for a construction company in the city of Buenos Aires. Three months later, the jury, following an allegation of plagiarism, reverses the decision under the powers conferred by the existing award, arguing for the inclusion of fragments of the novel *Nada*, written by Spanish author Carmen Laforet, "so that the story does not allow to identify the sources so as to be visible to any reader". A few days later, many intellectual and literary critics signed a letter in novel's defense, claiming legitimacy in the recurrence of "a series of long-standing literary uses" and "the constant presence of an allegorical level below the realistic". The case quickly took on new dimensions and the expansion of the case put into question the notion of belonging in literature, in a novel, not naively, which works on construction about / on migrants and therefore on the belonging and provenance in a supposedly globalized world. The case is the result of a novel that, by building their own devices, has become a novel, which brings into focus different dimensions of belongings in the culture: intellectual property, copyright, authority, reward, experimentation, skills reading, and has started to roll a sum of conflicts artistic, cultural and social perhaps intractable.

**Carlos Yushimito del Valle, a transnational writer of the twentieth-first century**

*Nefer Munoz-Solano (Harvard University)*

This paper explores the literature of the Peruvian writer Carlos Yushimito del Valle, whom in 2010, the British literary magazine *Granta*, named one of the best 22 young writers in Spanish language under the age of thirty-five. Yushimito del Valle is not only a writer but also a prolific literary critic and scholar who is part of a new generation of intellectuals that is changing the landscape of Latin

American literature.
A Peruvian citizen of Japanese descent, Yushimito del Valle resides in the United States but his creative work frequently brings him to Latin America and Europe. His literature is influenced by a tradition of great Latin American narrators including Felisberto Hernandez and Guimaraes Rosa, as well as the poetic voices of Cesar Vallejo and Walt Whitman, and the thought of Walter Benjamin.
This paper examines his second book, *Las Islas*, a collection of eight short-stories set in Brazil, which Yushimito has never visited. Critics throughout Latin America and Spain have praised this work for its originality and hypnotizing effect in capturing the reader's attention. Additionally, this paper analyzes the influence of the author's multi-national background on his writing.

**Crystallization and Neo-Plasticism in *Rayuela* by Julio Cortázar**

*Italia Boliver Reynaud*

The concept of the figura has fascinated critics in their study of not only *Rayuela* (1963) but of the entire cortazarean body of work. For many, the figura has proved to be mysterious and indecipherable. Others have successfully identified some of its constitutive parts such as 'reciprocity' and 'resonance'.
In *Rayuela*, the author, Julio Cortázar, explicitly extends an invitation to the reader to 'trazar imaginativamente [las líneas] que [cierran] la figura' (Cortázar 1996, 383). He suggests that in the novel there are already present 'ciertas líneas' that carry 'una incitación' for the reader to complete the figura. Cortázar stresses that 'las líneas ausentes son las más importantes' (Cortázar 1996, 386). Taking this as a basis, we can affirm that the figura is the result of a collaboration between Cortázar and the reader. Not only this, the figura is something unfinished, a 'work in progress' that depends on the creative abilities of the reader (read here as 'intentionality'). This means that the figura is an element of interpretation and therefore we can say that in *Rayuela* there is not one but many figuras.
This paper investigates one of the figuras of Rayuela by firstly identifying the lines that are already present, and secondly, by finding the missing ones. This is done by looking into the 'clues' of the novel and into Cortázar's ideas and beliefs about reality (what I call 'crystallization').

**Beyond Literature: the intermediality of Julio Cortázar's *Todos los fuegos el fuego***

*Lucy Bell (University of Surrey)*

In this paper, I shall reexamine one of Julio Cortázar's most canonical texts: the 1966 short story collection *Todos los fuegos el fuego*. It is by now a commonplace of Cortázar criticism to oppose his 'closed' short stories with his 'open' multi-media works – an opposition which Cortázar himself helped to construct in his famous 1962 lecture 'Algunos aspectos del cuento'. Against this critical trend, I shall argue that his short stories in fact enclose and preempt the logic of his experimental collage works, particularly *Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires* (1968) and *Fantomas contra vampiros multinacionales* (1975). Moreover, their fragmentary form will be linked with that of the different media advertised in the journals in which Cortázar published his work in the 1960s, *Visión* and *Confirmado*: notably, photography, cinema and telephony. Close readings of two short stories, 'Todos los fuegos el fuego' and 'El otro cielo', will enable me to argue that these seemingly hermetic, literary stories are in fact intrinsically outward-looking and intermedial. My contention is that it is precisely the dialectical relation between closure and openness, containment and uncontainment, which underpins the aesthetics of the short story.

# P04

# Fieldwork, art, science: issues on audio-visual based research

**Convenors: Lígia Dabul (Universidade Federal Fluminense); Angela Torresan (University of Manchester)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: ATB G207**

**Panel abstract**

The diversity of experiences evolved from the widespread use of audio-visual resources in social sciences related research in Latin America has motivated people to reflect on the boundaries between artistic practices and scientific

discourse, and on the social situations in fieldwork research.

**Doing audio-visual fields on woollen fiber (Pampas)**

*Annika Capelán (Lund University)*

In this paper I address the issue of depiction and audio-visual descriptions in ethnographic research, asking what work audio-visualizations do. The paper is based on a study where woolen fiber is followed through different sites: for instance in sheep shearing and a spinning facility on the South American Pampas; in a scientific laboratory; and an art collection in Buenos Aires, where it appears as a work of art. By looking ethnographically into processes of transformation of woolen fiber, the paper explores how fiber helps figure and reconfigure modes of doing ethnography. I draw on ANT/STS approaches that hold that descriptions are never mere illustrations (cf. Fyfe and Law 1988) and that ethnographic witnessing, story-telling and visualizations, are never 'innocent mirroring' (Haraway 1994). I suggest that a combining of multiple modes or technologies for doing ethnography – including the textual, the tangible, audio (between noise and silence) and visual (also engaging invisibility) - offers possibilities to cut across ontological realms of subject, object, language and being (Latour) allowing for a 'spilling over' between artistic and scientific practices and discourses. This, in turn, not only has implications for the onto-political value of the knowledge we produce, but also opens up for a discussion about the interference, selection and 'versioning' of the fields we both construct and convey.

References: Fyfe & Law (1988) Picturing Power: Visual depictions and social relations. London and New York: Routledge

Haraway (1994) A game of cat's cradle: science studies, feminist theory, cultural studies. Configurations 2.1 59-71

**'I thought we were making a fiction film, but this is a film about reality!': 'fiction', 'reality' and ethical dilemmas in ethnographic filmmaking**

*Flavia Kremer (University of Manchester)*

During my fieldwork in Bororo villages I noticed the enduring relevance of a classical theme in Bororo ethnography: moiety exogamy. Despite contemporary tolerance to feelings of 'love' as the main motivator to intra-moiety marriage alliances, the classical taboo prohibiting intra-moiety marriage still deeply affects people's lives. This paper analyses my attempt to use filmmaking as a means to explore this issue ethnographically. With this purpose, I invited two

young women to travel to another village in search of a potential partner from the 'appropriate' clan and moiety. As the filmmaking process started it was necessary to make it clear that the film was a 'fiction' film (it was important to stress that the girls were not actually chasing a husband to get married). The 'artists' also wanted to warn the whole village that the film was 'fiction': 'just like a soap opera'. Many Bororo people got involved in the film. Placing the film as 'fiction' opened an interesting space for dialogue between participants. It also raised practical problems related to how some of the Bororo wanted to portray marriage. They suggested a film about marriage as 'it was before' to serve as a model for future generations. For the film's sake, however, portraying marriage as 'it was before' was not a good idea (it would need good actors, rehearsals, appropriate artifacts and costumes, etc.). This paper uses the ethnographic dialogue initiated through this filmmaking process to discuss conceptions of 'reality' and 'fiction' in relation to ethical dilemmas in anthropological filmmaking.

**A place with the size of the world**

*Peregrina F. Capelo Cavalcante (Federal University of Ceará)*

The film *Where the stones are born* is a narrative that came out of an ethnographic research on survival strategies in areas affected by desertification in Ceará, Brazil. I used several artistic aesthetics, such as photography, cinema and literature in an attempt to explore the subjective experiences of people who live in a semi-arid and desertified area of Brazil. I will focus on the complex process of bringing together a poetic narrative and ethnographic methodologies to create a product that attempts to bridge the boundaries between art and science.

**No right to be seen: (in)visibility and notions of agency in contemporary Peru**

*Martha-Cecilia Dietrich (University of Manchester)*

Since the official end of the internal conflict in the year 2000, Peru has entered a period of transition from conflict to post-conflict. Aftermath narratives dominate the scene of public discourses that engage with different perceptions of the past. However, as one of my informants explained, the struggle for establishing "truths" has not come to an end, but the language has shifted from guns and grenades to words and images. Nonetheless, it is the place given to certain memories and their representations that has nurtured polemic debates over the right to be represented.

For my research, I have conducted a collaborative filmmaking project with women imprisoned for their affiliation with the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary movement. Following their creative engagement in the making of (self) representation, my aim was to understand specific aspects of their lived experiences. At the threshold between art and science its "humanising agenda", as critically referred to, has led to interesting debates over the legitimacy of such work. In addition, the recently discussed "negation" law, which foresees to prohibit any form of public approval, justification and minimisation of crimes committed by insurgents to "avoid the distortion of a historic reality", leaving extensive grounds for (mis)interpretations. This has created concern among artists, filmmakers and academics like myself, who run the risk for being accused to support militant ideologies. Taking these aspects into consideration, I shall discuss how audio-visual representations relate to the creation of truth, identity and agency in the context of Peruvian aftermaths.

**Weaving memory: considerations on the making of a working-class generation ethnographic film**

*José Sergio Leite-Lopes (Museu Nacional - UFRJ)*

Our paper presents the process of making a seventy-minute documentary film based on fieldwork we carried out in a textile company-town in the Northeast of Brazil during the 1970s and 1980s and on an ethnographic visit thirty years later. In the context of a decade of deindustrialization, former workers and unionists challenged us with strong memory demands. The film combines the testimonies of some of our former research subjects about their career and day-to-day life during the 'time of the company' with visual material accumulated in the 1970s and 1980s and the emergence of new characters and events linked to the (re) construction of this social memory. While focusing on the local peculiarities of these workers' life-experience the film also evokes what they have in common with other workers in Brazil and elsewhere. The background of this local experience is Brazilian history itself in its connections with workers' lives. We discuss two levels of relationships: One pertaining to the ethnographic context itself, that is, the ambiguities in the legitimation or not of the social relations of domination presented by the workers; and the other concerning the production of the film. We reflect on the relations between the team of anthropologists and professional film-makers, and between those and the workers. We also look at the quality of visual material from public and private, local and national archives and the links between diegetic and non-diegetic music.

**Photographer in the field: researching visual representations of the indigenous identities**

*Agata Lulkowska*

Practical side of the audio-visual academic fieldwork, conducted by a profession photographer/filmmaker, implicates complex consequences. Direct research experience becomes translated into a medium, which simplifies a complex set of impulses from all the senses (including not only vision and sound, but also sense of touch, smell, taste, and emotions accompanying it), into a two-dimensional representation.

Nevertheless, in some cases, the audio-visual media proves to be the much more appropriate than the textual one. Like in case of negotiating the visual representation of the identity of selected Indigenous communities in Colombia, which is my research area. Because the research topic is VISUAL representation, it seems much more sensible to give it justice in some form of visual medium. It obviously creates a constant tension between artistic and scientific aspects of the research, especially if the researcher is a professional art photographer at the same time. And the outcome of such work will inevitably be placed on the boundary of the scientific research and artistic production, potentially appealing to two different types of the audiences. It also raises a question about new standards of such research, and possibility of using different art forms in pursue of the research question.

**Matters on audiovisual experiments in researches**

*Lígia Dabul (Universidade Federal Fluminense)*

Brazil is living an institutionalisation process where audiovisual subjects are becoming an area where Social Science reflects upon and a fertile knowledge production procedure, which contributes to disclose, stimulate and also regulate the audiovisual production related to researches. There are different ways of conceiving and evaluating films that were born as part of researches, and they coexist and act. Based on an experience of an audiovisual production linked to researches about art and social life, we wish to reflect upon some of these ways, such as the one that consider these audiovisual products as scientific communication tools, consequently to be treated and evaluated as vehicles to present results and/or research data. We would like to consider in what degree we can find only a restrict number of people who closely follow what is being researched and propounded concerning the subject about which the images and

sounds were created, alongside an expectation (also from the creators) for a wide circulation and comprehension of these films. So, maybe the embed theory and the nature of data can only be minded and assessed by spectators who control the researches that exist on the subject of these films. We will consider other dimensions about the predominance of treating social scientists' films as scientific communication, as well as the fact that these audiovisual products do not usually register/communicate in what degree creating them interfered in the objectives of the researches within which they were created.

# P05

# Latin American cinema(s) in black and white

**Convenors: Beatriz Tadeo Fuica (University of St Andrews); Sarah Barrow (University of Lincoln)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30, 11:00-12:30**
**Location: UP 4.212**

**Panel abstract**

Since the 1990s several films have been made on a shoestring budget and supported by international funds. Thus, this panel seeks to analyse and compare specific examples from different nations in order to explore current national/ transnational tensions present in Latin American cinemas.

**Chair: Santiago Oyarzabal**

### Slackers: middle class stasis and neoliberal desolation in New Argentine Cinema

*Fernando Sdrigotti (Birkbeck, University of London)*

This paper focuses on the figure of the adolescent and young adult slacker and its portrayal in New Argentine Cinema. I will explore how this type of character – made famous cinematically by Richard Linklater in the film aptly name *Slacker* – with all its aura of stasis and laziness, might be useful to understand some of the narratives produced during the worst economic and social crisis in modern Argentine history. My main arguments will be focused on the [middle] class-

inflected nature of this figure, an interesting counterpart to the many marginal and working class characters that populate this cinematography. For matters of space I will base my analysis in the films of Martín Rejtman, Raúl Perrone, and Ezequiel Acuña, although the paper's ultimate aim is to put New Argentine Cinema in dialogue with other cinematographies, both in Latin America and the rest of the world, thus suggesting a possible reading of Argentine cinema in [global] context.

**Scenes from postmodern Argentina: the films of Esteban Sapir**

*Mariano Paz (University of Limerick)*

An overwhelming majority of contemporary criticism on Argentine cinema is devoted to the movement known as New Argentine Cinema (NAC) and to filmmakers such as Pablo Trapero, Adrian Caetano, and Lucrecia Martel. One particular director, however, has been almost completely ignored by current scholarship on the topic: Esteban Sapir. This may be because Sapir's films are very difficult to classify: although they share important features with the key representatives of NAC such as *Pizza, Birra, Faso* (Caetano & Stagnaro 1998) and *Mundo Grúa* (Pablo Trapero 1999) - very low-budget, independent productions that break with mainstream film narrative – they also differ in significant ways. Sapir is not concerned with the aesthetics of realism, and his films draw on aspects of genre cinema, rely heavily on non-diegetic music, and avoid any naturalistic style. This presentation will discuss Sapir's two feature films, *Picado Fino* (1996) and *La Antena* (2007). In the first place I will show how, although dramatically breaking with realism, the films' formalised style, fast cutting and innovative shot composition still constitute a cinematic strategy for reflecting on the same issues of social fragmentation, anomie, and change that are so clearly represented in NAC. I will also claim that the films' black and white cinematography is used to convey a Manichean political discourse – a choice that establishes a direct link with the genres that inform the films (crime film, the thriller, fantasy), and which serves as an ideological commentary on recent Argentine society.

**The non-professional actor and the representation of the marginalized in the New Argentinian Cinema through the film *Estrellas* (Federico León and Marcos Martínez, 2007)**

*Pablo Lanza*

The documentary *Estrellas* (Federico León and Marcos Martínez, 2007) bring forward a series of questions regarding several of the characteristics of the New Argentinian Cinema and the films of directors such as Adrián Caetano (*Pizza, birra y faso*, 1997) and Pablo Trapero (*Mundo grúa*, 1999). Through the figure of Julio Arrieta, a non-professional actor from a shantytown, the film examines the representation that Argentinian filmmakers have made of marginalized people. The use of what Arrieta calls "face-bearer" actors, that is to say, non-professional actors who get roles according to their looks and cannot play against type, and their future once they are the focus of the spotlight, is one of the topics of the film. In order to argue this conception, Arrieta proceeds to shoot a sci-fi film about an alien invasion to his shantytown to prove that they can participate in stories of a different genre and *Estrellas* presents us the backstage of the film. Also, the film proposes a different aesthetic, dispensing altogether of what could be called a vérité style, choosing instead a series of static shots well planned in advance that chose not to wallow in the poverty of the slums at the same time that blurs the line between fiction and non-fiction. Ultimately, *Estrellas* raises a series of problematic questions regarding the representation of the "other", the choice of certain aesthetics decisions and the possibilities of cooperation between the filmmaker and the subject.

**Out of the shadows: Peruvian cinema at the turn of the millennium**

*Sarah Barrow (University of Lincoln)*

In August 2004, debut feature *Días de Santiago* by 'new' Peruvian film-maker Josué Méndez finally screened in Lima at the capital's major film festival to great acclaim, after several months of worldwide screenings and prizes, including a nomination for the Tiger Award at the Rotterdam Festival which also supported its completion and distribution costs. The release strategy was deliberate: Peruvian critics had become prone to respond unfavourably to 'national' films, accusing them of being unambitious and lacking in stylistic innovation. This film – with its minimalist aesthetics, international support, and formal references to films such as those by Wong Kar Wei and Scorcese – offered something refreshingly different in their view. At the same time, it took a new approach to

the representation of conflict, with a focus on the trauma suffered by a young combatant returning to civil life after a stint serving in the Armed Forces.
This paper sets out to explore the distinctive features of this film in terms of both its aesthetic qualities and its production history, and argues for it to be considered as a 'landmark' work. I aim to place it not only in the context of Peruvian cinema but also as a film that resonates with others like it across Latin America – in terms of funding and distribution strategies, aesthetic choices and a thematic emphasis on 'coming of age' that provides an oblique yet meaningful response to the socio-political context of a turbulent period in national and regional history.

**Independent films without a mainstream cinema: a close look at Uruguay**

*Beatriz Tadeo Fuica (University of St Andrews)*

In 2001, the Uruguayan film *25 Watts* (Juan Pablo Rebella, Pablo Stoll) received the Tiger Award at Rotterdam's International Film Festival. While it was aesthetically innovative in Uruguay, many of its aesthetic choices were already present in films produced elsewhere. Several film critics and scholars have pointed out that *25 Watts* was influenced by the works of some Argentine and American Independent directors. However, while there were mainstream productions with certain patterns and filmmaking styles from which to deviate both in Argentina and in the United States, this does not seem to have been the case in Uruguay. This analysis seeks to explore what it is that this Uruguayan film is evoking or referring to when citing these foreign directors. This paper focuses on some specific sequences in *25 Watts* which make us reflect upon the dialogue the film establishes with the international circulation of independent films and with the creation of a marginal space within local audiovisual media.
The national and international success of *25 Watts* was the beginning of ControlZ Films, the most prolific Uruguayan production company. Many others have also contributed to the undeniable increase in the number of Uruguayan films made during the first decade of this millennium. The development of specific local policies and the creation of funding bodies, together with international factors, have developed a new context. Consequently, this presentation also aims at exploring in greater depth the current landscape of Uruguayan cinema.

**Glocal encounters with nature in contemporary Latin American cinema**

*Clara Garavelli (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)*

The focus on the encounters between man and nature has been recurring in the field of cultural production from its beginnings. In cinema, these encounters have arisen frequently and have been considered from different perspectives, in various forms and with divergent political, ideological and philosophical purposes. Many contemporary Latin American productions portray this relationship of man with nature in a minimalist way, mainly due to economic necessity, but also to aesthetic choices that seem to follow Bazinian premises. Accordingly, this paper aims to explore how that encounter is consecrated in formal terms, particularly through the cases of *La hamaca paraguaya* (Encina 2006), *Alamar* (González Rubio 2009) and *La Libertad* (Alonso 2001). Considering the local problematic inherent to the spaces represented and the influences of international capital in the production process, national-transnational theoretical approaches will also be discussed. As many critics and scholars have noted, it has become de rigueur to analyze films from transnational approaches following theories of globalization. Nonetheless, the collaboration of different nations in the production phase has been a common practice in filmmaking since its early stages and yet national criticism has prevailed. Therefore, what remains of local identity in the aforementioned films, in spite of this new internationalism, will be also contemplated when reviewing the interrelations of man and nature.

# P06

# Issues on political leadership and the quality of democracy

**Convenors: Laura Tedesco (Saint Louis University); Peter Lambert (University of Bath)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: ATB G205**

**Panel abstract**

The aim of this panel is to discuss issues on leadership that include the political conditions that help the emergence of different types of leaders; the impact of leaders on the quality of democracy; and the relationship between leaders and political parties.

**Latin American democracy: What to do with the leaders?**

*Laura Tedesco (Saint Louis University)*

The democratic deficit or the gap between citizens' aspirations and their level of satisfaction is increasing in Latin America. Such dissatisfaction helps to understand many of the region's presidential crises: since 1985, 23 Latin American presidents have left government abruptly. While civil society may have been able to provoke the fall of presidents, it has not managed to avoid the re-emergence of deep-rooted political practices under subsequent administrations. Extreme presidentialism, clientelism and populism have not only remained, but have re-emerged strengthened after deep political crises. This article offers some ideas regarding the impact that different types of political leaders can have on how well democracy works.

**Mediatized politics and personalised leaderships: the Chilean case**

*Ximena Orchard (University of Sheffield)*

The construction of political leaderships that grow in the media and outside party structures is a recurring pattern in Chile, which challenges the ability political parties have to develop leaderships of national projection. It is possible to argue

that the last two Chilean presidents were imposed by means of surveys to their own political parties, a pattern repeated in the current presidential race.
Mediatization of politics, as a theoretical construct, offers some insight for understanding the development of this phenomenon, which acquires unique characteristics in each country of the region, and avoids generalizations. In Chile, there are signs that indicate that media praxis has been adopted by political actors, changing not only the way in which political activity is represented in public communication spaces but how practices of political actors are organized. Academic analysis about the place of the media in the Chilean process of democratisation has generally been centered in the characteristics of media market structures. These studies allow us to understand the limited role the media have played in terms of making political and economic power accountable. However, it will be argued that the mediatization of politics has to be studied in terms of how politics itself has been modified as a result of continuous interactions with a predominantly market-driven media system. This phenomenon that can be conceptualised as media effects on political actors has deep implications in the style of leadership that dominate the Chilean political scene.

**Arnoldo Alemán, Daniel Ortega and the quality of democracy in Nicaragua**

*David Close (Memorial University)*

Since 1984, Nicaragua has held six presidential elections, returning four presidents, each with a distinct governing style that affected the country's quality of democracy in terms of both institutional performance and citizen participation, whether positively or negatively. This paper considers two of those presidents—Arnoldo Alemán (1996-2001) and Daniel Ortega's first and second term (1984-90; 2006-11)—to assess their impact on the quality of Nicaraguan democracy. Both are personalistic leaders, the architects of the Liberal-Sandinista power-sharing pact of 2000, which lessened presidential accountability and turned key governmental institutions into partisan tools. Thus the two actively collaborated to undermine the quality of democracy. Further, in his second term Ortega continued centralising authority in the presidency and strengthened personalistic, caudillo-style politics in Nicaragua.
However, Ortega's first term furthered political pluralism and his second developed the Consejos del Poder Ciudadano (CPP), that offer a restricted opening for citizen participation. Though a plainly clientelistic mechanism, the

CPPs recall the mass organisations of the 1980s that were the foundation for the formation of civil society organizations in the 1990s. The paper thus will analyse the quality of democracy through the operation of the usual democratic institutions and processes, as well as via the nature of citizens' political engagement. It gives particular attention to Ortega's shift and to explaining his changed behaviour.

**The limits of agency: Lugo and the 2012 coup in Paraguay**

*Peter Lambert (University of Bath)*

On June 22 2012 Fernando Lugo was removed from power by Congress on the grounds of 'poor performance of duty'. This 'lightening impeachment' or 'parliamentary coup' put a premature end to an administration that had come to power on a wave of popular support and had promised a programme of social and political reforms to address Paraguay's problems of poverty, inequality and corruption. This paper examines the administration of Fernando Lugo from the popular euphoria of 2008 through his failed attempts to get his reform programme through congress to the crisis of June 2012. It will analyse Lugo's leadership, but also the challenges to the presidency and his policies and the role of political opposition, powerful lobby groups and the media to block reform and undermine his administration in ways that pushed the limits of constitutionality and indeed democracy.

**Hugo Chávez and cancer: a new theme for populist discourse?**

*Ryan Brading (Institute for the Study of the Americas)*

After Hugo Chávez, the President of Venezuela was re-elected in December 2006, Chávez organized a referendum in December 2007 to introduce a constitutional reform that would allow him to be re-elected indefinitely. However, in spite of time and resources aplenty Chávez lost. However, this unexpected defeat didn't stop Chávez. As the parliament was still fully controlled by the government, on June 30, 2011, Chávez succeeded in a second referendum. This referendum was different because it included the indefinite re-election of 'all' high-ranking politicians, not only the president. Thereupon, Chávez was re-elected in October 2012. The focus of this paper is to investigate this element of 'indefinite re-election' and democracy in Venezuela as Chávez intends to stay in power until 2031; despite his battle and treatment with cancer – Chávez announced to the Venezuelan people on June 30, 2011, from Havana Cuba. What is interesting is that Chávez's popularity increased after informing the nation his illness and

painful recovery. What is puzzling about Chávez's 'apparent' battle with cancer is the lack of specific information stating where and what type of cancer he recovered from. It is treated as a closely guarded state secret. This paper attempts to figure out if this is another populist discursive strategy to further galvanize Chávez's 'Cult of Personality' and military/democratic 'Caudillo' status in Venezuela's deeply polarised society.

# P07

# Mobility, migration and transformations in Latin America

**Convenors: Jenny Rodriguez (Newcastle University); Angelo Martins Junior (Goldsmiths, University of London)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30, 11:00-12:30, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: ATB G107**

**Panel abstract**

Mobility and migration have transformed geographical, cultural, social, technological and political actors, spaces and dynamics in Latin America. The panel explores the interplay between mobility, migration and transformations to subject positions, identities and materialities in the region.

### I want to vote: buildings around the issue of representation for the community of Brazilian immigrants

*Alessandra Barreto (Universidade Federal Fluminense)*

A lot of factors acted to enable the construction a channel between the Brazilian state and its diaspora. The Brazilian government's initiative to organize a forum institutionalized to discuss with the Brazilian communities abroad is not something that could be considered innovative at the macro level. Some Latin American countries have carried out initiatives in order to maintain a close relationship with their emigrants. It may be related to issues as diverse as the extension of rights and measures to promote and strengthen the culture of origin the sense of belonging to this community. There are some ongoing public

policies by the Brazilian government to meet the demands of immigrants. These, in turn, are organized in various countries through associations and community representation and mutual aid. This paper presents, from an Antropologiade approach, the speeches of political leaders and immigrants on the subject of parliamentary representation for Brazilian immigrants to analyze how social actors understand and experience the policy, with dissenting voices present in a field of battle, whose representations shed light on the possibilities and alternatives to citizenship in the contemporary world.

**Construccion identataria de los migrantes peruanos en París**

*Francisco Xavier Garcia Lara (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales)*

En el prefacio de la obra de Abdelmalek Sayad "La doble ausencia", Pierre Bourdieu nos recuerda que nos encontramos frente a un análisis de dos términos de carácter indisociable "emigración e inmigración". Ellas mismas no pueden existir la una sin la otra, corresponden a una doble imagen de un mismo paisaje. El caso de la inmigración en Francia es un tema muy controversial que ha sido y es sujeto de muchas investigaciones, el presente trabajo ha sido concebido de acuerdo a la situación en la que los inmigrantes peruanos han venido configurando sus identidades como migrantes, como peruanos, como familias, etc. y como a partir de estos grupos de pertenencia, se inventan estrategias para integrarse a una sociedad pero a su manera, hemos recorrido puntos de vista teóricos tales como el de la existencia de un movimiento diaspórico de este grupo de migrantes, cuyos valores como peruanos van siendo reinventados para adaptarlos a esta nueva condición de vida en Francia.

Paris es una ciudad que atrae grandes masas migratorias, ya que es una ciudad diversa y cosmopolita que muestra varios rostros a los migrantes. Hemos recorrido del mismo modo el caso de la emigración peruana desde los últimos años del siglo XIX y las primeras década del siglo XX; este recorrido migratorio ha pasado por varias etapas que han dado como resultado la expansión de corrientes migratorias en diferentes países, hecho que ha ayudado a consolidar diferentes redes sociales, asociaciones, clubes, etc. cuyo rol con la re vinculación con el Perú representa un movimiento transnacional cultural peruano.

**Student mobility in Latin America: shifting identities**

*Cândida Alves (Universidade de Brasília); João Paulo Santos (UniCEUB Centro Universitário de Brasília)*

In recent years, Latin American integration has received considerable attention from political, academic and cultural spheres of the countries in the region, leading to a variety of measures for approximation. One may wonder, however, to what extent the feeling of identitary link to Latin America is shared by the population of these countries. An example of this approximation effort is the academic mobility of students, based on curriculum equivalence and acknowledgment of diplomas. In this sense, the aim of this research was to analyze the identitary linkage of Latin American undergraduate students to Latin America – including Hispanics and Brazilians – and what they think about Latin American integration. Furthermore, we intended to analyze how foreign students feel about Brazil and Brazilians and how Brazilian students feel about the Hispanic countries and their populations. In a pilot study, a total of 16 people were interviewed: 11 Latin American foreign undergraduate students and 5 Brazilian undergraduate students, all studying at the time at the University of Brasilia. The interviews were analyzed with Analysis of Content. It was noted that the displacement, even temporary, to another country in the region served to intensify the feeling of sharing things in common. Regarding Brazilians, the contact brought about by the mobility of foreign students was important to minimize the symbolic separation that exists between Brazil and Hispanic countries in the region, creating identitary links to Latin America.

**Mobile musicians: indigenous identity making in the Peruvian evangelical church during the civil war**

*Nina Laurie (Newcastle University)*

This paper examines the mobilities of evangelical indigenous musicians in Peru during the civil war in the 1980s and early 1990s. It examines the geographies of the state of emergency and how evangelical communities in the southern Andes forged indigenous subjectivities in this context. It highlights the role that spaces of creativity play in the everyday production of 'enclave subjectivities' and focuses on the efforts to secure a space for performance in Quechua music festivals under curfew regimes and at time when 'congregating' was banned. It reveals how, despite tight state control over local movement, mobility networks were forged around music festivals linking local and transnational circuits in

ways that became significant for identity making among young, indigenous people. Drawing on archive work and life history interviews with evangelical Christians in Apurimac, the paper examines the creation of emergency zones as technologies of partition and explores the 'respectful modes of citizenship' that emerged in the face of this to facilitate the hosting of Quechua music festivals and the movement of musicians nationally and internationally.

**Differentialities versus identity: new approaches to migration and kinship**

*Igor Machado (Federal University of São Carlos)*

This article interweaves the relations between migration and kinship, to construct the concept of "differentiality," inspired by Ingold's reflections about limits, margins and lines, in his study Lines (2007). Differentiality is an alternative to "identity," seen here as a concept that has led to limitations in the understanding of the processes of production of differences. To achieve this objective, I follow two distinct ethnographic paths: international emigration from the region of Governador Valadares (M.G.) and Japanese immigration in Brazil. More than a systematic comparison between the two cases, we will present a reflection process that led us to differentiality, passing through ethnographic cases. The article then follows a temporal line related to ethnographies: first those related to the region of Governador Valadares, and the theoretical implications of these works. The ethnographies about the Japanese presence in Brazil are then presented, as well as their theoretical developments, which consider the previous ones.
In the first case, based on a well mapped and detailed field, it is the ethnography itself that structures the reflection: we show how in Valadares what drives the movement of people is in and of itself a process of kinship. In the case of the "Japanese" study, we mapped distinct forms of marking the kinship relationships, understood from the notion of relatedness (Carsten 2004). These distinct forms allow us to generate the idea of "differentiality," which arose as an alternative to the theory of identity and its fixation with limits and margins.

**Migrações no Brasil no século 21**

*Rosana Baeninger (UNICAMP)*

A reconstrução histórica das migrações internas no Brasil e seus aportes teóricos estiveram até o final do século 20 alicerçado nos processos internos vinculados à dinâmica econômica e penetração do capitalismo em âmbito nacional; as migrações rurais-urbanas, a industrialização, a desconcentração econômica, a

reestruturação produtiva, o processo de urbanização. Todos esses fenômenos compuseram e podem explicar os processos migratórios até o final dos anos 1990. A inserção do Brasil no cenário da economia internacional, com destaque para os anos 2000, aponta especificidades nas complementaridades regionais via migração no país; entendo que os movimentos migratórios internos refletem também a nova ordem econômica internacional.

Ao entrarmos no século 21, o cenário para o entendimento das migrações internas se amplia; além do contexto nacional é preciso incorporar as transformações advindas da nova ordem internacional na divisão social do trabalho no mundo (Harvey, 1992; Sassen 1988). Tornam-se, por vezes, limitadas as explicações das migrações internas no país apenas pelos movimentos estruturais ou conjunturais da dinâmica da economia brasileira. É nesse contexto, que este estudo procura incorporar às explicações dos processos migratórios nos anos 2000 um olhar para fora das fronteiras nacionais. A dinâmica econômica do local/nacional se estabelece como o pano-de-fundo das migrações, mas não como a única determinante – diferentemente de quando estávamos em busca do tipo/etapa; emergem indícios de formas sociais globais nos processos migratórios, onde a rotatividade migratória (Baeninger, 2008) permite captar a fluidez da força de trabalho.

**Migrações Internacionais: Imigrantes Brasileiros em Portugal e o Retorno**

*Suelda de Albuquerque Ferreira (Universidade de Lisboa), Jorge Malheiros (IGOT, Universidade de Lisboa)*

O presente projeto pretende estudar a migração brasileira para Portugal, centrando-se na construção do projeto de retorno ao Brasil e na identificação dos motivos que o condicionam, tendo por objeto a «segunda» vaga migratória (período posterior a 1997/1998 (Malheiros, 2007). O stock de imigrantes brasileiros em Portugal mantém-se estabilizado, constituindo-se como o grupo de estrangeiros com maior representação, contudo, os pedidos de apoio ao retorno voluntário da OIM e as declarações de imigrantes e de associações de imigrantes a investigadores e à imprensa apontam para o aumento do número de retornos no atual contexto de retração económica. Entende-se a imigração brasileira como processo dinâmico composto por fluxos de pessoas em ambos os sentidos, o que justifica objetivos de investigação complementares, designadamente se mantém um processo de substituição sistemática dos imigrantes brasileiros, se

os imigrantes regressados mantém relação com Portugal e como se processava sua reinserção no Brasil.

**Truncated dreams: Honduran retornados, deportados, y mutilados**

*Kathleen Dwyer (National Unizversity of Ireland, Galway)*

In this paper I discuss the structural violence surrounding Central American migration, by examining the impacts and implications of legal structures and physical barriers on the lives and bodies of "failed" Honduran migrants. Based on fieldwork I conducted in Honduras, I analyze the consequences for those who are returned to their countries of origin, a critical subject that is seldom discussed at length in the literature on migration. With immigration as an increasingly hot-button issue in United States, the more violent or tragic stories can no longer be left out of the discourse on policy reform.

It is well known that the migrant path from Central America to the United States is fraught with danger, from the physical demands of the journey to victimization at the hands of criminals or immigration officials. For this project I interviewed return migrants of many kinds: deportees who had built lives in the United States, migrants who failed to reach the US, immigration detainees, and men who lost limbs falling from the trains on their way Al Norte through Mexico. Returning to Honduras as an "unsuccessful" migrant has deep social and psychological implications for their sense of agency and identity, and for those mutilados, the physical consequences of their injuries could permanently impact their employability and mobility. My paper explores the grounded perspective of unsuccessful migrants, and the structural violence which mediates the experience of Honduran emigration.

**Migration, remittances and development in Latin America: the cases of Paraguay and Bolivia**

*Pablo Sebastian Gómez*

This paper aims to understand the effects of migration and remittances, two interconnected processes but rooted in different causalities; on the sending areas in two countries in the south of Latin America, Bolivia and Paraguay. The general view among analysts and the public is that out-migration has positive effects for sending countries because it provides a safety valve to poverty and unemployment. However a number of scholars from the global South argue that migration is not only a symptom of underdevelopment, but a consequence and

a cause of it.
We will focus on the particular case of Paraguayan and Bolivian migration as these migration streams constitute a little researched case of south-south migration. In Paraguay and Bolivia the remittances come mainly from Argentina and Brazil (from the Global South) but also from USA and Spain (from the Global North). This is interesting to develop comparisons between different migration systems. We want to study whether migration, from Bolivia and Paraguay has had developmental effects in these two countries. Also, we want to investigate whether the effects of remittances are equal in these two countries (Bolivia and Paraguay).
The information used comes from two sources: the Permanent Household Survey (EPH), a nationally-representative household of Paraguay and Bolivia (2010) and data from the World Development Indicators (WDI). Analytical work on the impact of remittances is complex due to the intrinsic endogeneity and selection bias involved in decisions surrounding migration and remittances. To meet these various methodological challenges we perform propensity score matching.

**Moving through the borders: the mobility of Brazilian migrants to London**

*Gustavo Dias (Goldsmiths, University of London)*

This presentation addresses the question, "How have Brazilian migrants dealt with border controls in London in the aftermath of 9/11?" The empirical focus is how Brazilians have journeyed through both airports located in the Schengen area and in British territory to London. As a main research orientation, I draw the theoretical framework from the concepts of mobility, borders and places as approached by scholars who reflect on the movement of people through an interwoven perspective, where places are connected in the migrant journeys not as arenas of fixed rootedness, but as flexible spaces which have also been transformed and shaped through mobility (Cresswell 2006, Ingold 2011, Knowles 2010). In addition, I use the notion of borders and surveillance discussed by contemporary literature focusing on airports and borderlands (Adey 2004, Mezzadra 2007, Ceyhan 2008). According to this, a wide range of technological apparatus known as smart borders has been installed in airports since the events of 9/11. In this process, I explore the idea that the journeys produced by these Brazilian migrants are tactical border crossing movements involving people, places and choices which do not follow a specific path, rather choices and decisions are taken while they are journeying to London. I attempt to

reflect on migration beyond the concepts of flows and networks, and surveillance mobility, not in terms of static categories but as a continuum which is present in the movement made buy this kind of mobile people.

**Occupational mobility of Japanese immigrants and economic development politics in Brazil: the case of agricultural cooperatives, 1930-1980**

*Gustavo Taniguti (University of São Paulo)*

In this paper I examine how occupational mobility of Japanese immigrants ─ from colonos to land owners ─ and government policies towards economic development programs were crucial to the emergence of agricultural cooperatives in Brazil. Using data from a 1958 Japanese population census in Brazil and bibliographical material, I suggest theoretical and empirical guidelines for a better understanding of the interplay between the market and noneconomic factors in the experience of these cooperatives. It is argued that the agricultural cooperativism represented one of the main collective organizational devices of Japanese immigrants for economic activity coordination, as well as it aggregated potential resources for the inclusion of this population in political and social processes in the host society. Cooperatives of Japanese immigrants in Brazil increased significantly from the 1930s, and especially during the Brazilian military dictatorship they have become fundamental institutions for the agriculture modernization policies. To understand the conditions that allowed these entrepreneurships emergence and its outcomes for the Japanese immigrants and their descendants over time I consider external and internal organizational factors, like the State regulation through laws and economic development plans, political regime changes, the spatial mobility of immigrants, the growth of the regional economy and cultural characteristics of immigrants. I explore relevant political processes of Brazilian society to understanding the performance structures of these cooperatives on market, as well as the orientation and influence of social forces that operated over these structures, sustaining or modifying it over time.

**Mobilidades espaciais, laborais e familiares : trajetórias biográficas e territorialidades de migrantes bolivianos(as) que se inseriram no setor de confecção das cidades de São Paulo e/ou Buenos Aires**

*Patrícia Tavares de Freitas (Unicamp)*

Os processos de globalização contemporâneos, concomitantes ao recrudescimento da competitividade comercial e às dinâmicas de reestruturação produtiva, vêm

incidindo de diversas formas nos mercados laborais dos grandes centros urbanos, destacando-se a emergência de circuitos de subcontratação que ultrapassam as fronteiras nacionais. Essas novas configurações do mundo do trabalho, em alguns setores produtivos e/ou comerciais, trazem à tona, da perspectiva sociológica, a questão das articulações entre migração e trabalho na experiência social dos que se inserem nesses circuitos a partir de suas regiões de origem, de maneira informal e precária.

Para avançar na compreensão dos sentidos e impactos individuais e/ou familiares dessa experiência migratória/laboral dinamizada a partir da inserção em circuitos de subcontratação, abordaremos a experiência boliviana no interior desses circuitos para o trabalho em oficinas de costura, nas cidades de São Paulo e Buenos Aires – captada a partir de observação participante multisituada e entrevistas biográficas com bolivianos(as) que, em algum momento de suas vidas, se inseriram nessa atividade.

O paper proposto focalizará as relações entre, por um lado, os perfis biográficos (mobilidades espaciais, laborais e familiares) anteriormente constituídos pelos entrevistados, a partir dos seus locais de origem e de passagem. E, por outro, as novas territorialidades estabelecidas pelo compartilhamento de uma experiência comum de migração e inserção laboral, a partir da consideração das formas de entrada, de saída e de mobilidade no interior do circuito, de aquisição de habilidades e de circulação de informações sobre essa atividade.

**The veins of labour and sickness: a qualitative comparative analysis on the relation between labour migration and health in the Peruvian mining industry**

*Lander Vermeerbergen (Catholic University of Leuven)*

The mining industry in Peru is responsible for 49.2% of the total export and approximately 450,000 Peruvians were working in the industry in 2006. This investigation connects internal migration, external labour flexibility and the health of miners in the mining industry in 2012.

The mining industry causes labour migration flows to mining centers. Those flows create differences between rural and urban (1), indigenous and non-indigenous(2) and finally local and non-local miners(3). Moreover, some authors suppose that rural, indigenous and local miners fulfill the “bad” secondary jobs, while the others fulfill the “better” primary jobs. Besides internal migration the industry is characterized by external labour flexibility, which is connected with reductions

in work related health. External flexibility could create health-differences between miners in subcontracted firms and miners in head companies(4) and finally between temporal and permanent miners(5).
The health of miners is shown in a unique model which combines labour organisation and function characteristics. Western sociology focuses on the demand-control model, supposing that only active work with high labour demands and labour control is healthy. This model has a narrow focus on the labour organization of mine organizations, so that, this research adds the concept of "overworked".
The influence of the five segregation lines on health is investigated through methodological triangulation. In addition, the research works with expert interviews and Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). QCA gives deterministic paths, combinations of conditions derived from the different segregation lines, which lead to unhealthy and healthy labour in the mining industry in Peru in 2012.

**Músicos brasileiros em Lisboa: mobilidade, bens culturais e subjetividade**

*Amanda Fernandes Guerreiro (ICS- Social Sciences Institute / University of Lisbon)*

O mundo contemporâneo caracteriza-se pela intensificação dos processos de globalização e a massificação das migrações transnacionais. Neste cenário estão inseridos músicos brasileiros que decidem dar continuidade às suas carreiras profissionais e artísticas em Lisboa. Não sendo reconhecidos do grande público estão sujeitos aos mesmos percalços vividos pelos outros imigrantes brasileiros sobretudo os migrant workers. Contudo, carregam consigo os bens culturais que difundem através de suas apresentações e, assim sendo, fazem parte de uma forma de mobilidade específica. A peculiaridade da mobilidade empreendida por estes músicos contém aspectos relevantes para a análise da globalização e das mobilidades transnacionais na atualidade, confrontando-as com as suposições de que estes processos impulsionariam a superação das fronteiras e identidades nacionais. Além disso, pode indicar para o modo como a experiência migratória implica em formas de constituição subjetiva específicas. Este artigo busca aliar os debates sobre a globalização, o transnacionalismo e à mobilidade às discussões que dizem respeito à produção e circulação de bens culturais brasileiros num contexto, que embora seja transnacional, compartilha o mesmo idioma. Desse modo, explora a partir de observações feitas em campo e pensadas à luz das

reflexões bibliográficas a forma como a mobilidade dos músicos brasileiros em Lisboa viabiliza a circulação de bens culturais brasileiros, ao mesmo tempo em que é também resultado desta circulação.

**O sentido de melhorar de vida nas migrações contemporâneas no Brasil**

*Lidiane Maciel*

A noção de "melhorar de vida" trabalhada na literatura sobre migração relaciona-se com a concepção de ascensão social e mobilidade social. A primeira diz respeito a uma visão positivada do processo, já a segunda permite oscilações. A mobilidade social é caracterizada por meio do deslocamento da função que os indivíduos desempenham no mercado de trabalho. Nesse caso o fator econômico é estruturado da noção de "melhorar de vida". Na década de 1990 a industrialização perdeu a força transformadora das décadas passadas. Nesse contexto, a percepção de "melhorar de vida", encontrada nas falas dos migrantes é deslocada e não mais se relaciona estritamente com os ganhos econômicos conseguidos na migração. Há, portanto, outras dimensões e motivações no que tocam os condicionantes do processo migratório que serão consideradas. A partir de uma pesquisa de campo no interior de São Paulo – Brasil, mapeamos algumas disposições que articulam a esfera das macro relações econômica com da micro relação social da população em questão rediscutindo o sentido de melhorar de vida nas migrações contemporâneas.

**(In)visibility of the homosexual social subject in Cuban queer exodus: the Mariel case**

*Raúl Marchena Magadán (University of Manchester)*

The new ideal of the 1959 revolution in Cuba was for many a dream come true but for others, it represented the beginning of a long struggle. For the LGBT community the subsequent years will reflect the struggle Fidel foresaw in his first speech post revolution and that for many only left "exile" as an alternative to "come out" of a closet bigger than that of their sexuality. This paper aims to discuss and analyse the relationship between the Revolution and the LGBT community and its relevance for the emigration process in the post-59 Cuba taking as a point of analysis the six months of the Mariel exodus in 1980.

**Is the Atlantic Ocean separated us? Transnational families: daughters and parents relationship**

*Tania Tonhati (Goldsmiths, University of London)*

Recently international mobility and immigration has affected Brazilian families and introduced a new phenomenon in Brazilian society – contemporary transnational family. By analysing the later historic and socio-economic context of Brazil society, two main migratory waves were identified. The first migratory wave, in the 80s, which was characterized by male migration in search of financial improvement as men were considered the breadwinner and thus the ideal person to go abroad and send remittance back to his family. And the second wave in the 90s, when women have started also leaving the country in search for employment, study and improvement of career. By focusing on the second wave, this paper aim to present that feminization of migration is challenging traditional intergenerational expectations of the role which women should play in family life. In the case of Brazilian society, women are the main source of family practical, emotional and moral support. This social fact can be understood as inheritance of patriarchal society, Catholic Church and lack of welfare-state. This new phenomenon influences the way Brazilian families have organized themselves until recently. Many of Brazilian women who left Brazil in the 90s or early 00s now are in their later 30s or early 40s, and are facing the challenge of traditional intergenerational expectations, once their parents are ageing and they are living apart from them in another far away country. Then, I will present in this paper to what extend adult-migrant daughters and left-behind parents negotiate their relationships, expectations and obligations of transnational care and support.

**Complexities and contradictions in Latin American women's migration experiences**

*Jenny Rodriguez (Newcastle University); Angelo Martins Junior (Goldsmiths, University of London)*

Transnational mobility is a central feature of globalization, where the interplay between migration and identity is central to understand the shifts and transformations experienced by individuals. However, the gendering of migration needs to be problematised further. It has long been argued that female migration is primarily associated with economic needs and family roles; however, other intersecting dimensions of women's social backgrounds provide

a more comprehensive picture of their reasons for, and experiences of migration. The paper explores the complexities associated with the agentic efforts of Latin American women in their migration trajectories. Findings suggest that family and societal regimes are the main push factors, and motives for extending their stay abroad seem to be associated with a desire for a cosmopolitan lifestyle, developed once in the host country. Deployment of identities is characterized by complex dynamics: whilst women might live cosmopolitan lives in rhetorical and representational terms, they are isolated from their home environment and struggle to adapt to and navigate hurdles in the host environment. At the same time, there are identifiable processes of reconfiguration of the self whereby through emotional and material acculturation, women normalize their experiences in the host country. The paper unpacks the contradictions that emerge from Latin American women's agentic efforts and explores the reasons for female migration focusing on how, in the context of displacement and the "flexible world", women struggle with the messiness of being themselves and the sense-making to narrate themselves.

# P08

# Violence and affective states in contemporary Latin America

**Convenors: Frank Smith; Silvia Posocco (Birkbeck, University of London)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 11:00-12:30, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: ATB G209**

**Panel abstract**

The panel aims to explore connections between situated experiences of violence and shifting affective states in contemporary Latin America. It considers the way people redefine their socio-cultural and emotional life and how affect permeates the body politics in the context of violence.

**Social emotions in societies in conflict: the case of Bojayá (Colombia)**

*Sandra Rios (University of Aberdeen)*

The category of social emotion has become a crucial aspect for understanding the construction of categories of victimhood in societies in conflict. In this paper I analyse how the emotions of numbness and fear as usual responses to atrocities change in order to support the activities of resistance. However this change does not mean releasing the negative emotions. Emotions draw the boundaries of the sense of self-worth and self-respect of the victims. The ethical problem of letting the negative emotions go is that it could lead to forget that the victim was inexcusably wronged. Negative emotions such as anger or sorrow can still influence rightful behaviour. In this presentation I will focus on dignity as a social emotion constructed in the context of ten years of memorialisation and resistance of the community of Bojayá.
The research is based on a case study of the surviving community of Bojayá. In the Church of Bellavista (Bojayá), 79 people were killed as a result of the armed confrontation between guerrillas and paramilitaries with complicity of some members of the State in 2002. The massacre left 79 civilians murdered, 48 of them were children. The conflict is still taking place. This research is based on the study of informal and official archives, fieldwork and interviews.

**The legacy of "violence" in the Peruvian highlands: a community-based approach in the region of Ayacucho**

*Francisco Ferreira (Royal Holloway, University of London)*

The basin of the river Qaracha is a highland rural area characterised by the presence of peasant communities with very rich Andean traditions, and very poor socio-economic conditions. During the 1980s, this area was much affected by the armed conflict between Shinning Path and the Peruvian army, which radically altered the life and culture of local communities as a result of massive violence, deaths, and displacements. On the basis of extensive ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in this area in the late-2000s, the paper explores the legacy of the armed conflict on local communities, particularly focusing on how their traditional organisation and culture have been affected, and how the role of the state has changed there since then due to the conflict. It is explained how many aspects of local traditions changed or disappeared in the context of violence, and how some of them have been -at least partially- recovered or readapted since then, contributing to the reinvention of local cultures and to a flexibilisation of

local societies. It is also explained how the conflict brought an increasing state intervention in these communities, and how this state intervention has become a major motor of change in a context of -and in combination with- wider social changes in recent years. As a conclusion, it is argued that the armed conflict has been a key historical turning point for these communities, which has determinately influenced their evolution since then.

**Discourses of violence in Mexican narcoculture**

*Andrew Lantz (Texas A&M University)*

In recent years, violence related to the so-called Mexican Drug War has escalated to unprecedented levels in quantitative and qualitative terms. As cartels seek to undermine the sovereignty of the Mexican State, they convey their message of social control to the public by utilizing various mediums of communication, such as banners (narcomantas), films (narcocine), commissioned ballads celebrating their violent acts (narcocorridos), and corpse messaging, which involves leaving threatening and signatory messages on or around the bodies of their victims. Cartels use intimidation and brutality to scare the public into complicity, paralyzing its will to act by making violence a pertinent presence in quotidian Mexican life.

This ever-present threat of brutality makes for an interesting relationship between the cartels and Mexican citizens. Some people attempt to impede new trends of violence through community-centered protests, organizations, and education. In a sort of massive case of Stockholm syndrome, other citizens revere their social captors, or at least view them as the better of two evils, recognizing the criminal organizations as more legitimate authoritative figures than the Mexican officials. The propaganda of the narcoculture industry perpetuates this reverence by framing cartel members as modern-day Robin Hoods who contest the hegemonic entities of neoliberal societies, namely the Mexican and United States governments.

This paper brings in Michael Warner's theories of publics and counterpublics to explore how cartels rely on the "reflexive circulation of discourse" of propaganda to establish the social space to legitimize their conduct and how this new normality of violence affects socio-political behavior.

**A critical analysis of the 'turn to affect' in studies about Latin American violence**

*Jonathan Newman (Sussex University)*

How will the 'turn to affect' perpetuate themes of violent determinism and sentient priority already found in the Latin American discourse on violence and what are the methodological and analytical problems with this? The growing movement on affect provides analysis on violence that follows previous work on emotional, cognitive and social transformation that has come out of Latin America (e.g. Taussig, Scheper-Hughes, Green, Rotker). The paper's critical approach to this geneology of discourse reveals why this particular panel discussion was almost inevitable and further questions whether, like earlier work on emotion, the observation of specific 'affects' reveals more about the observer than the observed. Drawing on methodological and theoretical problems encountered with ethnographic work designed to uncover the emotional impact and affective responses to violence among Colombian coffee farmers, the paper sets out challenges that research on affect and violence will need to overcome.

**Displaced death, situated peace: an exploration of how Mexican activists living in Barcelona experience, and affect, the reality of Mexico's drug war**

*Jamie-Leigh Ruse (University of Durham)*

In this paper I will explore the experience of war and death in Mexico from varying positions of geographical displacement, and emotional attachment. Since 2006 Mexico has suffered from a conflict in which over 80,000 have died, thousands of individuals have disappeared, and at least 200,000 have been displaced. By looking at the work of Barcelona-based association for peace in Mexico, Nuestra Aparente Rendición (Our Apparent Surrender), I will look at the effects on Mexican migrants living in Catalonia of coming to know a violent reality when not physically present, and how the analysis of war is transformed into practical action via transnational networks and tools. Within the work of Nuestra Aparente Rendición, I will also explore the somatic experience of displaced death, and how that translates to varying notions of shared grief and suffering, as well as assertions of solidarity and shared humanity across transnational networks encompassing Mexico, Europe and the USA. I will do this by examining how volunteers experience counting the dead in Mexico's only civilian-led, nation-wide count of the dead in relation to the Drugs War, Menos Días Aquí. Through this I will discuss the significance of making violence and

suffering visible through differing forms of protest and testimony.

**From physical to symbolic urban periphery: social and cultural fragmentation in Santiago de Chile**

*Juan Ruiz (University of Essex)*

Everyday violence, fragmentation of the cities and absence of the State from the poorest and more excluded districts have been taking place in the last two decades. In this context, it is clear that violent crime has a significantly fracturing effect on society. This paper will present an ethnographic research conducted in a stigmatised, excluded shanty town of Santiago de Chile. I argue that inhabitants arrange strategies to cope with all kinds of undergoing violence taking place within the neighbourhood.

In order to cope with the structural stigma and violence, a cultural dispute is produced between opposing social norms; the community divides itself into two opposing status groups, each with its own value orientation. The complex social class distinctions used outside the shanty town are mirrored and built up inside to differentiate people from each other. They are not simply instrumental but also expressive in operation, which means that not only do they keep people alive, but also enable them to live with honour, infusing public social situations with meaning.

While in the past the shanty town was in Santiago's outskirts, today it seems to be placed on the symbolic periphery of the city. The symbolic periphery refers to the stigma of been a violent and dangerous community with an identity of resistance, something that in a mirror game mutually reinforce the fragmentation processes and urban segregation. The final outcome is a deepening in social and cultural fragmentation within the community.

**Warrior ethos and cruelty among drug dealers in favelas of Rio de Janeiro**

*Alba Zaluar (IESP/ UERJ)*

I will present findings about the turf war in Rio de Janeiro regarding its rules and dynamics, its links with local politics and transnational business, as well as the actor's subjective meanings part of the ethnographic data gathered over years. My approach has been to interact with as many actors as possible during long periods of time using multiple sources of data to adjoin the clues and contradictions provided by the various agents interviewed or observed. I followed the precepts developed by Gluckman and Buroway on the extended case method, adapting

it to the violent social contexts in the favelas of Rio. I therefore emphasized conflicts and diversity within the group, situation or network studied and expanded my analysis with statistical and historical material. The result was an historical reconstitution with findings collected over several years. In 1980, I found a new neighbourhood organization of which there had been no record prior: drug-dealing gangs engaged in turf wars. In them, a kind of male identity was the crux of the matter to understand the subjective meanings and emotions, the habitus or ethos not revealed on the surface of everyday experience or in general and objective data. Some vulnerable young people, who plunged in violence and crime, interiorized the warrior ethos or violent social practices, becoming their own executioners by killing each other with increasing cruelty always justified by the warfare. This altered completely not only the local balance of power but the sociability between neighbours in such areas.

**Violent Relations: revenge and segmentarity among the Calon Gypsies of Bahia, Brazil**

*Martin Fotta (Goethe-Universität)*

This paper argues that for the Calon Gypsies of Bahia the constant potentiality of violence is a basic organisational principle. It is the principle of coding the space – through demarcating one's home range from the space of enemies (inimigos) and unknown Gypsies (Ciganos), violence turns the homogenous space of the non-Gypsies into the heterogeneous space of the Calon. Violence is also a form of sociality: it is a denial of commonality with brasileiros (non-Gypsies) and it places a limit to sociability among the Calon; feuding, in particular, becomes a way to show ones' Gypsyness.

All violent confrontations are justified by emotions – sadness or anger – alone and not by an appeal to any "Gypsy law"; through it men act out their complete presence and preparedness. Any revenge involves only small agnatic groups, and results in a blood feud, i.e. in the killing of a perpetrator by agnates. Like emotions, revenge does not travel well across generations, although it might take time.

Nevertheless, due to the character of settlements, violence impacts all their inhabitants, causing flight or at least a reconfiguration of alliances. Violence thus influences people who are not directly related, might not observe loyalty in the same way, or even refuse to participate, but who live in the same settlement or are related to the people who do. It functions as an "apparatus of counterpower"

or a "Clastrian machine" -- interpersonal violence limits the size of settlements and prevents the development of hierarchical order.

**Violence, cultural conceptions and affective state: the case of Primavera del Ixcan**

*Frank Smith*

This paper focuses on the way violence perpetrated by the military during the civil war in Guatemala altered both people's frameworks of meaning and the way they experienced and related to the world around them. This paper draws on field work carried just after the signing of the peace agreement in 1998 and 1999 and explores the way people formerly displaced from the town of Primavera drew on and redefined traditional Mayan cultural symbols, concepts and meanings and rearticulated them in the immediate post war context. It examines the emergence of a new symbolic landscape that enabled people to give meaning to experience and mediate levels of latent fear and social anxiety in the aftermath of conflict violence. It explores how people were drawing on existing cultural repertoires to redefine their socio-cultural and emotional life in order to both give meaning to their experiences of violence and to account for the emergence of a new symbolic landscape in post-war Guatemala.

**"See what you like, hear what you like, but you don't tell anything": violence, fear and displacement in Colombia**

*Mateja Celestina (University of Manchester)*

This paper is based on a ten-month fieldwork undertaken in the department of Cundinamarca, Colombia. It forms part of a research aimed at better understanding of the experiences of the processes of forced displacement and emplacement. I propose to explore how exposure to (performative) violence, predominately carried out by paramilitaries, influences the feeling of displacement. I assume that not to 'feel displaced' means feeling relatively comfortable where one lives in a given context and situation, with the usual doubts, concerns and problems one faces in day-to -day life. From this starting point my paper examines how fear that is the result of violent conflict launches displacement as a temporal process. While people accommodate living in terror and fear, living in fear means not living one's life fully. One is in a state of alert and changes one's practices. It is no longer only the armed groups that perform surveillance, people themselves also do it. The changes in the usual way-of-being in order to survive,

like ley de silencio or short-term relocations, can be seen as the beginning of the displacement process. After the decision to migrate is finally taken, the experiences of life before displacement continue affecting people's view of the world. People continue curtailing their lives – their relations and actions, in some cases also political participation. Thus part of experience of the past continues, and fear takes on a different, recycled, form.

**Songs of torture: music in Chilean detention centres during the Pinochet regime**

*Katia Chornik (University of Manchester)*

On seizing power on 11 September 1973, General Augusto Pinochet established over a thousand detention centres, from the Atacama Desert to the Magellan Strait. Tens of thousands of political prisoners were held in these centres, without recourse to fair trials and lacking elementary judicial guarantees. Most inmates were subjected to serious abuse through physical and psychological torture; many were killed, their bodies "disappeared". Despite the regime of terror, precarious living conditions and censorship, detainees developed diverse musical activities on their own initiative, including composition, performance and teaching. Pinochet's system also used music to indoctrinate inmates and as a form of, and soundtrack to, torture. Evidence of the above is fragmented and little known, and has been largely overlooked by critics. This paper investigates the musical landscape of detention and torture centres through the testimony of an ex-agent of the Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia (DINA, Pinochet's secret police), who I interviewed recently. The paper discusses practices of compulsory and voluntary musical activities in centres in Santiago and provinces, including Villa Grimaldi, Londres 38, Chacabuco, Tejas Verdes, Irán 3037 (aka La Discothéque) and José Domingo Cañas 1305. To present day, this is the most detailed account specifically dealing with forced musical activities in captivity during the Pinochet regime and also the only one coming from a Chilean ex-agent.

# P09

# Public heritage and national identities: tracing continuities and discontinuities in Latin America

**Convenor: André Cicalo (Freie Universität Berlin)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30, 11:00-12:30, 14:00-15:30**
**Location: ATB G205**

**Panel abstract**

The objective of this panel is to explore intersections of public heritage and national identity across Latin America, with examples that will help us trace similarities and differences, national specificities and regional continuities in this field.

**Musicians and nation: the construction of a national music culture in Colombia, 1848 - 1910**

*Alejandra Isaza (University of Manchester)*

In this paper I wish to share the findings, questions and answers that I have come across through my research about the link between music and politics in Colombia during the second half of the nineteenth century. By proposing a link between the data about found about musicians and their work I want to try to understand if there was a process of construction of a national musical culture in Colombia during this period. In doing so, I also wish to explain the factors that associate in order to produce such musical culture. The first factor is the role of the musicians in this process; the second factor is the role of the concert as a social space/ activity in which a type of culture is exercised and promoted as social heritage and the third factor is the role of support networks which stimulated the musicians' work through their expectations about that artistic production. The formation of a musical national culture during the second half of the nineteenth century can be synonymous with the formation of an urban musical culture, the emergence of new patterns of consumption and the construction of social identities by the groups that formed Colombia society at the time. Through the understanding of

these interrelated dynamics is possible to comprehend the process of production of a national representation in/through music.

**Memories of warfare in contemporary Bolivia**

*Sue Iamamoto (Queen Mary, University of London)*

Much of the literature about collective memories, particularly about war events, focus on their stabilizing nature, how they help to maintain status quo. Indeed, memories of warfare have been used by official nationalisms to tell a story of glory, heroes and national communion. In the Bolivian case, the anti-colonial rebellion of Tupac Katari was interpreted by the official historiography as a precursor of the Independence Wars, and the Chaco War is commonly understood as an event that symbolically founded the contemporary Bolivian nation.
However, both events were clearly cited by the social struggles that have shaken Bolivia from 2000 to 2005, which fought against the governments' neoliberal policies, such as the water and gas privatizations. On one hand, Katari was a reference to peasant activists: in 2000, they blocked all the roads connecting La Paz to the rest of the country, claiming they were "sieging" the city the same way Tupac Katari did. On the other, the Chaco War was cited to defend the gas nationalization (since it is located in the Chaco region) and when Aymara peasants used war mausers to resist the army actions to break their road blockades.
The Bolivian example shows us that collective memories are more dynamic, and can have an important role in social change situations, than most of the literature would predict, and that warfare events are tricky references to official nationalisms, particularly in societies in which so much of the past (racism, xenophilic political elites) is still valid.

**Reconstructing national identity: the uses of cultural heritage in the representation of Peruvian ancient past**

*Bea Caballero (Birkbeck, University of London)*

This paper considers how Peruvian cultural heritage has been appropriated by the Peruvian state to elaborate or invent a glorious ancient past that contributes to the construction of a specific Peruvian identity discourse. The paper discusses the diverse uses of pre-Columbian images and representations in contemporary Peru, and how Peruvian cultural heritage has been socially and politically constructed to become a powerful instrument that forms and (re)shapes the

collective memory of the nation as well as modifies indigenous communities' identities. To provide an example of these processes, the paper discusses the case of last year's centennial celebrations of the Machu Picchu scientific discovery. In doing so, it explores how the Peruvian Inca past has been actively and powerfully reconstructed through a series of events, festivities, cultural performances and celebrations, which contributed to situate Cusco nationally and worldwide as the symbolic centre of an idealized Inca past. By highlighting this re-interpretation (or reconstruction) of the ancient past, this paper is interested not only in how the use of Machu Picchu places the Inca culture within the contemporary Peruvian national discourse, but also in the ways which this selective use of the past tends to ignore the living conditions and challenges facing contemporary indigenous communities in the Southern Andean region.

**National identity and cultural heritage in Brazil: problematizing values**

*Márcia Chuva (UNIRIO - Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)*

The cultural preservation practices implemented by the nation states are integration devices of segments of a population contained within national territory. This modality of cultural and territorial integration, triggered by the power of definition of national cultural heritage has been one of the vehicles of construction of national identities, through the materialization of a national history and the reproduction of its image in school books, musical themes, tourism propaganda, amongst other spaces.

In the 1930's and 1940's in Brazil, the colonial baroque art and architecture became national patrimony through the state policies as the first genuine Brazilian artistic expression and the images of this baroque Brazil were exhaustively reproduced in many settings. In this way, a single national identity was forged and recognized, although many other aspects of Brazilian culture were therefore simply ignored.

In the 2000's thanks to the process of redemocratising of the country and in conjunction to international regulations of Unesco, new policies were implemented referring to the recognition of Brazilian cultural diversity, with the safeguard of cultural artifacts, assets and practices related to indigenous, afro-descendent and popular culture.

Considering the historical background of the criteria of value assignment of cultural heritage in Brazil, I intend, through this presentation, establish comparisons between the different narratives of national identity, expressed in

literature, the arts, music, monuments etc.. And also, reflect upon the policies of cultural heritage and its reach in the post-colonial context in relation to the submerged, buried and parted identities by the still hegemonic national identities.

**The public heritage of opposition movements and their use in the construction of a 'pink' national identity in Argentina**

*Michelle Carmody (Leiden University)*

The first decade of the twenty-first century saw what has been called a 'pink tide' sweep across South America. In the wake of the collapse of the neoliberal consensus, a number of nation-building projects explicitly mobilised a public heritage of anti-imperialist activism to legitimise their centre-left policies and construct a concomitant national identity. This paper investigates this process, paying particular attention to how certain opposition tropes have been domesticated while others have been marginalised.

Using the example of Argentina, it will discuss the way president Nestor Kirchner embraced the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, one of the most recognisable symbols of resistance to the 1976-83 dictatorship, and also one of the sources of the strongest critiques of the neoliberal policies of both the dictatorship and subsequent democratic governments. The Kirchner government adopted the symbolic Madres in order to promote a national political identity based on a rejection of economic imperialism in word, without necessarily eliminating its structures in deed.

The paper will go beyond the well-explored topic of the memorialisation of authoritarian-era crimes in the construction of a post-authoritarian national identity and instead look at the shifts that have occurred in the use of this past in the legitimisation of the present. While focused on the case of Argentina and its particular trajectory through dictatorship, democracy and neoliberalism, the paper will also place the example within the context of the region-wide 'shift to the left' and will raise discussion points relevant to other national projects within this emerging tradition.

**Re-Defining the global and the local in film festivals: Mexico City's Centenary commemoration**

*Niamh Thornton (University of Ulster)*

Film festivals are often narrowly defined closely following the model of the so-called A-list, such as Cannes, Toronto and Berlin. These provide significant

opportunities for filmmakers and producers to lay out their stall or garner publicity for their offerings. Such annual global marketplace gatherings have been well studied. What are neglected in this field are the event festivals that coalesce around a theme or historical commemoration, which are usually more local in flavour. An example of one recent event which helps complicate this picture of what a festival is took place in 2010 in Mexico City to commemorate the centenary of the Mexican Revolution. From September to November of that year the national film institute presented a film series that included a canonical selection of Mexican films alongside a number of international films that touched on similar themes. Thereby, they intersected the national and the global. Festival theory presupposes a global view. So, where does the national focus of such an event fit? When the national event draws on the international, where, then, does that leave the local? This paper will consider these questions and see how this commemoration can help expand the definition of what a festival is.

**Use of indigenous culture in the construction of a tourist image of the Chilean national identity**

*Camila Bustos*

This work is part of an ongoing doctoral research, which deals with the relationship between heritage, tourism and ethnogenesis processes in the Atacama Desert in northern Chile. In this context, this paper raises questions about the mechanisms used by the Chilean State to patrimonialize indigenous culture and to use it as a symbol of national identity and as a touristic resource. It is on this last point that this reflection will center its attention.

Tourism is essentially an economic activity which constructs images and representations- allegedly authentic-on cultural identities. In this context, "nationalized" indigenous heritage becomes an essential resource for promoting tourism of the country. However it is essential to analyze who are the state agents who are producing these images and discourses, what is the role of indigenous communities involved, how to negotiate the selection of cultural elements that are patrimonialized as well as the exclusion of other cultural elements.

To perform this project, ethnographic fieldwork has been done during the years 2010 to 2012. The objective was to study different Atacama communities who are currently developing projects to patrimonialize indigenous culture for tourism as a strategy of ethnic development stimulated by government agencies and NGO's. Parallel to this, an ethnography of the agencies involved in these processes has

been done, as well as of their management mechanisms and uses of indigenous heritage as part of the multicultural identity that is promoted for tourism.

**Slave Heritage and the nation: changing discourses in Brazil?**

*André Cicalo (Freie Universität Berlin)*

My presentation explores the recent institutional efforts to commemorate slavery in Rio de Janeiro, with the establishment of a slavery memorial and an Afro-cultural itinerary in the port area. Rather than being completely accidental, the facts described interweave with the contemporary flourishing of affirmative action in favour of Afro-Brazilians, which aims to redress historically-rooted social inequalities, include minorities, and challenge the myths of racial democracy in Brazil. These facts give the impression of a radical revision of Brazil's national identity from mixed and non racial to multi-racial and multi-ethnic. Looking at the discourses of different social actors involved in the process of slave-heritage making in the port area of Rio de Janeiro, I discuss how new discourses of inclusion can also cohabit with persistent practices of exclusion. Examples of these relate to the growing urban gentrification in the port area and the relative marginality of black social movements in the decision processes of public memorialisation of slave memory. This case study is useful to reflect on changing ideas of the nation, setting out discontinuities but also the continuities between the myth of racial democracy and the recent turn in favour of racial and ethnic politics/policies in Brazil.

**The Mexican national identity through the museums: the construction of new heritage from feminism and migration**

*Cristina Castellano*

Historically, museums and Nations were constructed in a similar way and time. The museums are the repositories of the "legitimated culture" of countries. They produced long thoughtful speeches seeking to represent the treasures and the imaginaries of peoples. The identities are mnemonic constructions that had been transformed and negotiated over the time. In Mexico, the consolidation of the Mexican national identity emerges as a Government project in the post-revolutionary period. The political party in charge of this sees in mestizaje the "essence" of the Mexican national identity, leaving out of the discourses the presence of living indigenous peoples as well as Mexican afro heritage. Since then, the politics of representation changed and discourses on national identity

were transformed. All this let us think that Mexico has done a lot of work to include the heritage of "los olvidados "in the project of nation. However, the contemporary scenario shows a paradox. The folklorization of traditions lives with the struggle of "new minorities" communities who ask for recognition within the nation. This is the case of women and other sexual minorities as well as migrants. In this talk we will show how heritage of gender and class (migrants) is integrated in the Mexican national identity and how this phenomenon is represented in the national contemporary museums. We will give answers based on case studies.

# P10

# Peasants, liberalism and race in the Americas

**Convenor: Elizabeth Cooper (The British Library)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: UP 4.211**

**Panel abstract**

This panel seeks to explore the interrelationship among, peasant agriculture, liberal political projects, and race from a comparative perspective across Latin America and the Caribbean.

**Rethinking liberalism and indigenous citizenship in Peru: the corporate inclusion of indigenous people to suffrage in the nineteenth century**

*Alicia del Aguila (International IDEA-Peru Programme/ also: Lecturer Universidad Ruíz de Montoya)*

This paper suggests that citizenship in Nineteenth Century´s Peru was rooted in corporate logics, and liberals adapted their ideas to the diverse and complex reality, driven by the belief that the legitimacy of the precarious State required to include the indigenous majority.

Indeed, the challenge of the new republics was to build an order based on law and equality in a society heavily corporate and heterogeneous. Regarding citizenship, between 1834 and 1896, most of Peruvian Constitutions and electoral laws established "corporate" solutions", namely alternative requirements (for

example, 4 in the Constitutions of 1856 and 1860) that allowed access to suffrage various subjects, including indigenous.

Unlike Bolivar or Juarez, Peruvian liberals chose to respect the indigenous communities. Even they approved "positive discrimination" in favor of the Indians, to access the suffrage (1847 and 1849). The German Organisism of Krause and Ahrens or Constant's liberalism, rather than English constitutionalists were essential for these. However, rather than the result of ideas or theoretical influences, the "corporate" requirements to vote were the liberal response to the challenges of the complex reality, not vice versa.

In this paper we analyze the constitutions and electoral laws, the liberal arguments and reasons for these proposals were part of political consensus, until the second half of the nineteenth century. Finally, we propose a "corporate" period from 1834 to 1896, culminating in the liberal "mutation" to positivism and the electoral reform of 1896, which excluded the vast majority of the illiterate population, including indigenous.

**Forging a new paradigm: artisans as the nexus of intellectual resistance in late nineteenth-century Puerto Rico**

*Daniela Abraham (Texas A & M University)*

The recent trend towards global restructuring has revived an interest in the Caribbean as a part of the greater picture of Global Studies, obscuring the relevance of local processes as an integral piece in developing an understanding of social and cultural systems. The dialectics of global and local processes necessitates a solid understanding of regional studies, for, as Sydney Mintz (1998) asserts, "it is within these local sites that people create their specificities". Thus, this study aims to analyze a specific form of resistance within the complex web of historical developments in nineteenth-century Puerto Rico. It is contended herein that the artisans constituted the building block of intellectual resistance between the peasantry and the bourgeoisie in late Spanish colonial Puerto Rico. By the inherent character of their labor, artisans depended on a network of interrelated exchanges to survive, and they developed a conception of society based on the need of each producer for the other. As a result, a new ideology of resistance, based on acquiring the liberal ideals of the American republic, was born in the tobacco factories of Cuba and Puerto Rico. This paper will shed light into the ways in which the artisans' superior hierarchical position on the social scale allowed them to create a knowledge infrastructure that operated in the tobacco

factories by means of readers and the press as vehicles to educate the workers and promote the new liberal ideals that gave way to the organized labor movement of the American century in Puerto Rico.

**Struggles in the countryside and national politics in Chile's "troubled twenties"**

*Claudio Robles-Ortiz (Catholic University of Chile)*

Contrary to interpretations of rural Chile as an archaic countryside unaffected by social conflict prior to 1930, this paper analyses the transformation of rural workers' collective action, and assesses its impact on the political crisis that brought the end of oligarchic during the nation's "troubled twenties." Based on evidence from a wide range of hitherto unused sources, especially estate reports by graduating agronomists, local newspapers and Labour Office documentation, the paper demonstrates that the transition of the hacienda system towards agrarian capitalism drastically changed rural labour systems, ending the precarious 'peasantness' of the labour tenants. Thus, the gradual proletarianisation of large haciendas' work force also transformed the nature and scope of peasants' politics. Rural workers engaged for the first time in a wave of mobilisation that included unionisation, strikes, labour petitions to estate administrators and authorities, and even participation in political organisations. In particular, through a detailed study of rural strikes the paper shows that rural mobilisation followed a clearly discernible pattern. Workers went on strike not only to confront landowners, but also to advance their demands through the institutional framework provided by the state's Labour Office, while activists from the Federación Obrera de Chile (FOCh) worked to integrate the rural proletariat into the nation's growing labour movement. As the landowning elite's aggressive response indicates, rural mobilization was significant in Chilean politics because it had become an essential part of the national labour movement and its challenge to oligarchic rule.

**Becoming wealthy, becoming citizens: coca growing and resistance in the Bolivian Yungas**

*Alessandra Pellegrini (University of Zurich)*

The coca peasants of the Bolivian Yungas – the so-called "traditional coca growing region" - live almost entirely on a cash crop economy. They sell their coca leaves to a relatively high price compared to other agricultural products in

a legal, free market regulated by supply and demand, and linked in diverse ways to a shadow economy. They are relatively well-off, and while they generally self-identify as peasants, some increasingly feel to have comparable economic powers of middle classes. However, within the national imaginaries, they clearly pertain to the rural peasantry and as such, to a category generally perceived to be socially and economically inferior to urban middle and upper classes. This raises the question in which ways the wealth generating activities associated with the coca economy represent a resistance to such a societal system. I suggest that coca growers challenge these discourses and categorizations by invoking specific meanings of the coca economy. They do so by creating an ethic of capital accumulation which encourages people to accumulate wealth and allows them to fully participate within the capitalist system. This in turn fosters their sense of citizenship as being the "economic backbone" of the nation. Thus, they challenge the complicated relationship between ethnic/racial and economic categorizations in Latin American societies through the accumulation of wealth within the coca economy, resulting in a feeling of being middle-class: they are therefore an example of how ethnicity/race and economic accumulation become related in novel ways which break to a certain extend with the region's history.

**Políticas de desposesión en el Plan Colombia: campesinado y coca en la lucha antidroga de la Amazonia colombiana**

*Estefania Ciro (UNAM)*

El estigma del campesino cocalero en Colombia durante los últimos años ha estado influido por cómo se desenvuelve el conflicto civil entre las FARC y el gobierno. Tras el Plan Colombia, el señalamiento se hizo más pronunciado; desde las principales ciudades, los campesinos cocaleros son estigmatizados como "guerrilleros"; el campesino es criminalizado, fumigado y perseguido. Ya fuera de las ciudades, las cosas son diferentes. En el piedemonte caqueteño, la entrada de la selva amazónica colombiana, el cocalero es un actor presente en la cotidianidad rural.

Las implicaciones de ser campesino cocalero van más allá del ámbito privado de su decisión, sino que entra a esferas de lo que es políticamente aceptado como lo legal e ilegal, donde el Estado es el principal determinador. Lo que se plantea acá es estudiar es el espacio de ilegalidad creado, impuesto y reproducido por el estado en el marco de la lucha antidrogas. Es el estado quién lo determina como ilegal. Es el estado el que despliega una serie de políticas sociales y penales para

su control; su presencia es políticamente inaceptable. Las consecuencias de este marco de control es el despojo.
El objetivo es exponer el marco estatal de lo legal e ilegal del cultivo en el Plan Colombia. Para esto definimos al estado como estado neoliberal en los términos de Wacquant (ala penal y asistencial), y a las consecuencias sociales en el marco de la acumulación por desposesión propuesta por Harvey.

# P11

# Multiculturalism and ethnic conflict

**Convenors: David Lehmann (University of Cambridge); Luis Vazquez (CIESAS)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: ATB G209**

**Panel abstract**

Multiculturalism's darker side: conflicts arising from the application of multicultural policies and from the abandonment of integrationist policies of mestizaje and corporatism in favour of the market and/or multiculturalism.

### Contesting sovereignty at the (post)colonial frontier: indigenous land titling and local landowner resistance in the Bolivian Chaco

*Penelope Anthias (University of Cambridge)*

In 1996, as part of a package of multicultural reforms, Bolivia's INRA Law enabled indigenous peoples to claim collective rights to their ancestral territories, as Tierras Comunitarias de Orígen (Original Communal Lands). However, the legal process for titling these territories met with strong, and sometimes violent, resistance from local non-indigenous landowners. This paper examines the evolution and dynamics of one such land conflict, in the Guaraní TCO of Itika Guasu, located in the resource-rich but historically marginal Chaco region. Drawing on two years of ethnographic fieldwork, I explore the racialised discourses and practices through which private landowners defend their claims,

highlighting how the ever-present threat of violent conflict has informed negotiations between local actors, and between local actors and the state. The result, I argue, has been a selective and incomplete application of legal norms, which has ultimately frustrated the decolonizing aspirations of the Guaraní land struggle.

**The conflict in TIPNIS indigenous territory in the plurinational state of Bolivia**

*Gabriela Canedo Vasquez*

The TIPNIS conflict caused by the government's intention to build a road through an indigenous territory, has shown several contradictions that showing the construction of complex Plurinational state, such as lack of respect for self-determination of indigenous peoples, the existence of different ways of thinking about development, the economic model and territory. The opposition and ethnic conflict between indigenous and peasant coca growers. All this in the context of the plurality, which symbolically has affected the recovery of identity of indigenous people.

TIPNIS conflict is structural, as compared to other conflicts of a more cyclical, since it reveals the difficulty of the Plurinational State of specificity and therefore discursive contradictions emerge, economic, cultural and others.

The contradictions and ruptures also have occurred in the cultural and symbolic, since even before the conflict, President Evo Morales and his administration, represented the "good life", the defense of Mother Earth, and the rights of peoples indigenous, with the aim of building the road all this talk falls.

The conflict also had a cultural-political connotation as far as the eighth and ninth place demanded compliance with the constitution, the Indians claimed the realization of the constitutional precepts that underpin explicitly plurinationality principles for all Bolivian society.

**Conflict, claim and contradiction in the new indigenous state of Bolivia**

*Andrew Canessa (University of Essex)*

Recent conflict between indigenous people and a self-styled indigenous state in Bolivia has brought to the fore some of the paradoxes and contradictions inherent in the concept of indigeneity itself. The contemporary politics of state-sponsored indigeneity in Bolivia has as much capacity to create new inequalities as it does to address old ones, and there is a conceptual deficit in understanding contemporary

indigenous rights claims, in particular as they relate to the state. Anthropologists are understandably reluctant to define indigeneity in any objective way, but as indigeneity discourses proliferate we need some conceptual tools to distinguish between competing rights claims based on indigeneity. I propose a conceptual distinction between inclusive national indigeneity for the majority, which seeks to co-opt the state, and a concept of indigeneity for a minority, which needs protection from the state. Only by looking at the kinds of claims people make through the rhetoric of indigeneity can we make sense of indigenous conflict in Bolivia and elsewhere.

**The constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples in Bolivia after Evo Morales: limitations and opportunities**

*Nieves Zuniga (University of Essex)*

The election of Evo Morales as the first indigenous president of Bolivia, in December of 2005, brought about the greatest increase in the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights in the country's history. The constitution of 2009 includes the right of self-determination to indigenous peoples, defines the Bolivian State as Plurinational, and grants all indigenous languages the same official status as Spanish, among other recognitions. In spite of those changes, some indigenous groups have expressed dissatisfaction through demonstrations and marches, asserting their rights over the land, and arguing for the necessity of decolonizing society. This paper explores the grounds of those criticisms and the reasons why the recognition of cultural diversity in the constitution fell short. My argument is that there are two elements that can explain it: the limitations of the inherited language of modern constitutionalism to include alternative indigenous ways of thinking; and the existence of competing demands over recognition that involve the whole society in what James Tully calls continuous 'processes of mutual disclosure and acknowledgement'. The case of Bolivia challenges liberal and multicultural approaches to the struggles over recognition whose objective is to find a just and definitive solution; and it makes us consider alternative approaches that point out to constant possibilities of dialogue, interaction and negotiation between the actors as necessary conditions to achieve just and stable multicultural democracies.

**Entre el conflicto y el reconocimiento: negociaciones de la política indígena chilena en la Araucanía**

*Francisca de la Maza (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)*

Desde 1990, en Chile se generan políticas diferenciadas para la población indígena en un contexto latinoamericano de reconocimiento de los derechos indígenas. Sin embargo, Chile no cuenta con reconocimiento político a nivel constitucional y sólo en el año 2008 se ratifica el Convenio 169 de la OIT. Uno de los principales focos de la implementación de la política indígena es la región de la Araucanía, parte del territorio tradicional del pueblo mapuche. Los diferentes programas de la política indígena han generado espacios de reconocimiento a nivel local privilegiando una visión "culturalista" de la cultura mapuche, considerando "lo mapuche" como un valor y una fuente de identidad y desarrollo local y regional, pero promoviendo escasamente la generación de derechos políticos y de mayores espacios de participación indígena. Por otro lado, la Araucanía también está marcada mediáticamente como la zona del "conflicto étnico" por la presencia en algunos sectores de tensiones vinculadas a demandas de tierra, presencia de megaproyectos, de forestales, entre otros aspectos, que afectan a comunidades mapuches, con una fuerte represión política. La ponencia busca discutir y analizar estos dos lados, aparentemente contradictorios, que constituyen sólo una parte de la compleja problemática de las relaciones interculturales pero también son un espacio privilegiado para la negociación tanto para las organizaciones indígenas como para los representantes políticos.

**Agrarian conflicts between the zoques of Chiapas: interethnic problems and state burocratization**

*Fortino Domínguez (Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural)*

Keywords: agrarian conflics, zoques, interethnic conflicts

This paper illuminates the internal dynamics of an agrarian dispute of ejidal property within the zoques community of the Chapultenango municipality in Chiapas, Mexico. We argue that government land policies and its burocratization deleteriously affected indigenous communities by essentializing them as "harmonious" and "ecological" citizens, the effect of which underscores a paternalistic (i.e. el buen salvaje) and racist approach to policymaking. We begin by examining the process and politics of illegal land redistribution of the impoverished zoques in Chapultenango during the 1940s. We then present how the eruption of the Chichonal volcano catalyzed the Chiapas Government

to create a public policy called Reconstruction of the Chichonal Volcano Program (PRVC) which consisted in the relocation of some Chapultenango residents.This policy aimed to give assistance to the victims by providing housing accommodation and giving inhospitable lands to the zoque families in other municipalities nearby Chapultenango.However, this policy placed zoque families in a vulnerable situation in that it started a rivalry between the zoques and the locals. Although some zoques have settled in other villages, some of them returned to Chapultenango and demanded the whole territory for themselves. The place where there have been more conflicts is the cooperative farming of Esquipulas Guayabal. As a result, Zoques have gone to court three times and have not yet found resolution.

**The peasant rondas of Mexico: end or beginning of commmunal conflict?**

*Luis Vazquez (CIESAS)*

La ponencia se propone analizar la aparición de las primeras rondas campesinas en Michoacán (México), en especial en la zona indígena conocida como Meseta Tarasca, región serrana donde ha habido una larga historia de violencia campesina por la disputa de límites y recursos forestales y antes agrícolas. Con la Guerra al Narcotráfico (2008-2012) se ha transformado este conflicto en un asunto de seguridad, con operaciones y controles militares. De la articulación de los intereses militares y comunales han surgido las "rondas comunitarias" armadas y para el supuesto control del narcotráfico. En los casos de Cherán y Urapicho se ha evidenciado que los conflictos comunales permanecen y se mantienen ocultos tras la acción contrainsurgente. Para las autoridades centrales, Michoacán ha sido pacificado, pero queda la duda que el conflicto tome un giro muy parecido al de las rondas campesinas peruanas en tiempos de la Guerra a Sendero Luminoso.

**Relaunching the Latin American indigenous problem in the post-state era**

*Carlos Rodriguez (Texas A&M)*

The discussion on indigeneity has taken on a new turning point and urgent relevance in recent years in view of the shift in geopolitical paradigms associated with globalization. The waning of nation-state sovereignty associated with globalization has given a new impetus to indigenous movements around the planet and Latin America. This paper discusses the critical way in which some Latin American indigenous groups are reinventing a new political subject beyond the paradigm of nation-state. With Globalization, nation-state sovereignty co-exists

in a conflictual and dispersal manner alongside transnational power entities; hence it is no longer grounded in territory. This new political order breaks down the continuity between the nation-state and its politics of recognition and multiculturalism; in this current moment, becoming "indigenous" is no longer a problem of inclusion within the nation-state. Nowadays, for Latin American indigenous people, the struggle for recognition is exceeded by a post sovereignty order where the state apparatus is a restricted entity for achieving this. Are the indigenous condemned to a new radical marginalization in this post-state era? Is this moment the opportunity for relaunching a new global transnational citizenship for indigenous people? In order to discuss this issue, this paper will be analyzing this contemporary problem of Latin American indigeneity by focusing on Uwas, Aymaras and Xincas. This paper will use modern political theory (Marramao, Galli, Schmitt) and cultural studies.

# P12

# Paradigms, policies and practices of diversity: pluriculturalism, language use and education among Latin American indigenous peoples

**Convenors: Rosaleen Howard (Newcastle University); Sheila Aikman (University of East Angla); Mr Josep Cru (Newcastle University)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 11:00-12:30, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: ATB G108**

**Panel abstract**

The panel will debate legislative reforms on linguistic, cultural, and educational rights for indigenous peoples; examine how these are constituted in discourse; and interrogate the obstacles to their being effectively implemented in practice.

**Positioning interculturalism in Chile's Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme: neo-liberal constraints and failed practices of pluralism**

*Andrew Webb (University of Cambridge); Sarah Radcliffe (University of Cambridge)*

Reforms to education in Chile, regarding indigenous populations, have followed a similar path to other countries in Latin America owing largely to pressure from international organisations such as the World Bank and OECD, and attention brought by global media to indigenous demands for greater autonomy across the continent. The Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme (PEIB), launched in 2000 by the Chilean Ministry of Education promised to offer alternate pedagogies from previous colonising mechanisms of schooling. Interculturalism therefore became at once both a source of hope for indigenous populations working towards greater recognition within the nation-state, and a crucial signifier in state rhetoric for its multicultural project of removing exclusionary practices. In practice however, interculturalism's position between these two spheres remains uneasy, having failed to deliver either. In this conference paper we draw on fieldwork conducted during 2011-2012 to argue that these tensions are due to the restrictive types of diversity and pluralism which Chile's neo-liberal multiculturalism is able to accommodate. Although Mapuche professionals are employed within the education system, there is limited scope for Mapuche-led notions and understandings of alternate pedagogic practices. Interculturalism therefore remains at the margins of legislative reform – in fields outside education – while in the classroom, IBE continues to construct indigenous pupils and their knowledges as Other to the dominant Chilean norm.

**Ecuador's 2010 intercultural education system: attempting a meeting of equals?**

*Maria Antonia Manresa Axisa (Newcastle University)*

Since 1989, Ecuador has had two parallel public education systems; an intercultural bilingual education system for the indigenous populations, managed by the indigenous movement and a Hispanic education system for the Spanish speaking population, managed by the Ministry of Education. The existence of an independent indigenous education system has represented a unique experience in the region, resulting in a separate curriculum model and pedagogy for the indigenous nationalities. However this has also represented a segregated education system, in which 'intercultural' tends to be considered as unidirectional (Walsh, 2009), i.e. from the indigenous population towards the dominant Spanish speaking population but not the other way around. With the new constitution of 2008, which among other things stated that intercultural education was a right for all, a change to this parallel education system was imminent. In 2009 the President

Rafael Correa, declared by decree, the incorporation of the intercultural bilingual education system under the administration of the Ministry of Education. Soon after in 2010 a new law for creating a unified intercultural education system was passed. In this paper I will show that this new law maintains a segregated educational policy and demonstrates a high degree of centralization of power. I shall argue that this policy is likely to promote essentializing of cultural identity by presenting a fixed representation of indigenous 'knowledge'. I conclude by questioning whether this new unified intercultural education system is capable of addressing the historical process of inequality, leading to social transformation, as stated by the new constitution.

**Exploring grassroots efforts to revitalise Yucatec Maya in Mexico**

*Josep Cru (Newcastle University)*

As a consequence of growing indigenous mobilisation in Mexico, particularly after the Zapatista uprising in 1994, there have been significant legislative changes concerning indigenous languages and cultures in Mexico. Thus, article 2 of the Mexican Constitution was amended in 2001 to acknowledge the contribution of indigenous peoples to the multicultural composition of that country. In 2003 the Law of Education was reformed to include a paragraph stating that speakers of indigenous languages will have access to compulsory education both in their own language and in Spanish. Also in 2003, the General Law on Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples was approved, becoming the first official legislative text that explicitly addresses the promotion of indigenous languages in Mexico. Two years later the National Institute of Indigenous Languages (INALI) was created in Mexico City with the aim of cataloguing and standardising the indigenous languages of Mexico. All these top down initiatives, which stem from official institutions, may have a positive impact on the public recognition of indigenous languages but they also have enormous limitations for actual language revitalisation on the ground. Against this background, this presentation will look at current efforts to promote Maya in alternative domains of use to formal education such as the Internet, social media, the radio and popular culture. Adopting a microlevel perspective, this presentation will look at grassroots initiatives that focus on local contexts, horizontal linguistic practices, and speakers as the final agents of language management.

**Language, indigenous knowledge and gold mining: language shift among the Arakmbut of the SE Peruvian Amazon**

*Sheila Aikman (University of East Anglia)*

This paper examines the loss of Harakmbut language practices and use by the Arakmbut of SE Peruvian Amazonia where massive in-migration of non-Harakmbut speaking gold miners and traders over 30 years has 'shrunk' Arakmbut social spaces. It examines changes in use of Harakmbut among different generations and examines how steady massive physical encroachment of non-Arakmbut speaking gold miners and traders has shrunk social spaces for the transmission and performance of Arakmbut knowledge such as forest, garden, village and house. It questions the influence of the Spanish-language primary school, today an institutional fixture in Arakmbut villages managed by a Dominican missionary network. Using ethnographic research, it asks what these changes mean for specialized features of Harakmbut speech and registers and considers how Arakmbut individuals have the potential to develop their linguistic diversity over a lifetime through communication with the invisible spirit world and knowledge gained through productive activities for the benefit of the community. What does this shrinking of space mean for Harakmbut diversity and usage with continued territorial devastation from gold mining and as Arakmbut lives articulate in complex ways with local, national and global societies. What does the rejection of intercultural bilingual schooling as a space for the regeneration of indigenous language mean and are there new spaces that can claimed for the revitalization of Harakmbut language and identity.

**Whose future is it anyway? Mexican indigenous language maintenance and a Freirean educational experiment**

*Lucia Brandi (University of Liverpool)*

'This sociolinguistic paper explores the experiences of young indigenous language speakers in central highland Mexico as a contribution to current debate on education policy and indigenous language maintenance. It moves from the empirical and particular to the theoretical and general, in order to discuss how notions of pluriculturalism and inter-cultural encounter should be understood and processed in discussions of Mexican national life and public policy. Indeed, in a context where most indigenous language speakers still suffer material and political discrimination, it questions the extent to which such terms can be regarded as euphemistic and coercive. The on-going doctoral study centres

on a group of older teenagers in a hitherto isolated Totonaco-speaking rural community now undergoing very rapid infrastructural change. The young people have risen through (so-called) bilingual primary and Spanish-monolingual state-run secondary schools to now attend an independent and ideologically-driven high school, set up by local Totonaca Elders as an alternative to state provision, and drawing on Freirean principles of critical pedagogy and socio-political action. Some of the students will go on to study vocational courses at the very newest state-sponsored Universidad Íntercultural, while others migrate to the Spanish-speaking provincial capital to study at more prestigious traditional universities. Through their daily routines, unfolding life-stories, experiences, actions and beliefs, the young people provide a unique perspective on life at the inter-cultural educational chalk face, literally and metaphorically embodying cross-linguistic and cross-cultural consciousness, capacity and change'.

**Praxis and research on language revitalization: perspectives from the Mexican and Latin American experiences of collaboration**

*Lorena Cordova (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social)*

Language Revitalization (LR) is a project (and topic) that has gained an important place in both academic and indigenous political movements. For over two decades in Latin America LR has been developing projects, academic programs and community-based strategies to achieve these languages continue to be used and transmitted by its speakers. However, LR as a topic arises largely from academic groups (non-indigenous and indigenous), and many social organizations and movements have agreed to implement academic support actions in favor of their languages. This academic presence, although it has been an important element to display the importance of linguistic diversity has created some contradictions about how to conceive of LR, which co-participatory methodologies to develop, how to train LR agents, which materials produce and, above all, why revitalize a language and/or a linguistic variety. In this paper, based on our experience in Mexico, and other Latin American experiences we know, we want to talk about how, from the academic/research field, we can unravel these contradictions and how we tried to bring certain changings to our research praxis. Since the exposure of certain language ideologies around the LR, our aim is not to answer the questions set but rather try to show how we have been testing our collaborations and how it has arisen interest in start watching the LR as a sociopolitical practice

and not just as a interesting subject for academic research. We believe is not enough to have ideologies in favor of LR but we need the development of long-term revitalization processes.

**Language rights and linguistic decolonization in the Andes**

*Rosaleen Howard (Newcastle University)*

This paper will survey the recent legislation and related Constitutional reforms around language and education rights for indigenous peoples in the Andean states (Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia). It will look at the discourses emerging in the legislative documents and in policy making at ministerial level, comparing these discourses with practices on the ground. In particular, the emergent discourses of decolonization and 'buen vivir', present to varying degrees across the three countries, beg the question whether it is possible to talk of linguistic decolonization, and what such a process might look like. This question will be considered in relation to legislative provisions; institutional structures which might facilitate decolonization of language planning practices; and changes in social attitudes and language use in daily life.

**Jiwasanaka: political discourses and educational practices on "lo aymara" in Bolivia**

*Carmen Osuna Nevado (UNED)*

In aymara language "jiwasanaka" means "we all" in an inclusive way. That is how an aymara teacher explained to me the new educational process in Bolivia: Intra-cultural, inter-cultural, pluri-language education will be implemented in the whole educational system, not only in indigenous rural schools. Based on my Ph.D. fieldwork results, I propose to highlight some issues regarding the new educational law and its implementation in classrooms. I will use an Ethnographic perspective, focusing on two levels: in one hand, the discourses of key persons, responsible for designing and implementing new educational policies and, in the other, the educational practice, using data obtained during my participant observation carried out in two schools in La Paz city. In my argumentation I will reflect on the understanding of "lo aymara" and will deep in some contradictions between theory, practice and its (un)expected consequences.

**On language, culture and identity in Peru: many laws have been enacted, but ... to follow this?**

*Nonato Chuquimamani Valer (DRE Cusco)*

The official languages are Castilian and in areas where they predominate, so are the Quechua, Aymara [...] according to the law [...] Article 48 ° Constitution.
Intercultural Bilingual Education is offered throughout the educational system: [...] Art ° 20 ° General Education Law.
This and more declare Peruvian law, the question is, throughout Peru, a bilingual school does it work? Are papers in two languages? Does bilingual radio and television programs? Universities do they teach in an Indian language? Does the Congress is in session and written records in an indigenous language? So ... what bilingualism, how equal opportunities, what justice can we talk?
To make a bilingual intercultural education, minimally need a) of teachers trained in these proposals, b) bilingual curricula, c) educational materials for all curricular areas for all grade levels and in all Indian languages in addition to Castilian.
The history, knowledge, technology, value systems of indigenous peoples should be incorporated in curriculum design. We need to hear, speak, read, write and think in Quechua and Castilian. Classroom teachers must master the indigenous languages of the areas where they work, Representatives and members of indigenous peoples should be involved in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of educational programs and be trained to carry out the management of these programs. We listen to others in their languages and be listened to us in our language, so there will be equality and democracy.

# P13

# Student movements and political change in contemporary Latin America

**Convenors: Cesar Guzman-Concha (Freie Universität Berlin); Mariya Ivancheva (Central European University)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: UP 4.209**

## Panel abstract

This panel asks how the 2000s protests of the student movement in Latin America continue or contest the legacy of past waves of student mobilization. We also ask what are the similarities and differences between Latin American student movements and the recent student protests in Western countries

### #YoSoy132: a Mexican students' movement and the limits of electoralism

*Patrick Cuninghame (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana – Unidad Xochimilco)*

Despite its origins at a private university, the movement rapidly spread throughout the entire Mexican university system to become the first national students' movement since 1968. It has organized itself similarly to the Indignados/15M and Occupy Wall Street movements, that is through horizontal, networked, local directly democratic assemblies, without a leadership. While originally generating a broad range of educational, political and social demands, voicing them through permanent national and international mobilization, the movement became embroiled in electoralist politics and was erroneously identified with the candidacy of Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador of the centre-left coalition, despite its claims to be neutral. However, as press scrutiny grew, the movement tended to withdraw into itself and its general assembly became closed to outside observers, so limiting its democratic potential. Since July 1st the movement has gone into crisis and decline, affected by the demoralization that has afflicted the Left once the electoral tribunal found against any claims of fraud in September. Overall, it can be said that its electoralism did not allow the movement to develop autonomously from the party political system nor to organize around its own

political agenda.
In analysing the causes and consequences of the movement's electoralist strategy and its subsequent decline, this paper will compare #YoSoy132 with other major students' movements of 2012 on the American continent, namely in Chile and Quebec. It will also compare the movement with the European students' movements of 2008-2010, and previous Mexican students' movements of 1968, 1986 and 1999.

**The monsters in the neoliberal chiaroscuro: the new and the old radical left on the rebirth of the Chilean student movement (1987 - 2011)**

*Luis Thielemann (Universidad de Chile)*

In 1987 was the last major student struggle against the dictatorship of Pinochet. Their demands were mainly to the recovery of student democracy, and were driven vertically by the major political parties of the center and the left, as the Christian Democrats and the Socialist and Communist parties. Twenty years later, the student movement starring the biggest protest against neoliberal policies and their effects on the educational system. Their demands were related to the demercantilization of schools and universities, accompanied by a radical critique of political and economic order as a whole.
Between these four phases are distinguishable events that intersect in time. A crisis and depoliticization, which is visible from 1987, one that begins with the re-founding of the FECh (Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile) in 1994-95, characterized by the institutional reconstruction of the university movement. A third phase of rising conflict and resistance to neoliberal reforms from 1996-2005. Finally, a fourth phase from 2006 to 2011 with the entry of secondary students to struggle and radicalization of criticism towards a post-neoliberal scenario.
This paper seeks to trace the lines of influence of the Radical Left on the student movement in Chile from 1987 to 2011, and their mutual determination along these four phases. It is a study through unpublished sources -documents, political writings, magazines, records and interviews- left by student unionism and reconstruction of social networks, and also by the riots and the occupation and strike actions.

**Chronicle of a death foretold: radical protest on a radical university**

*Mariya Ivancheva (Central European University)*

The paper deals with the dynamic of protest on the Bolivarian University of Venezuela (UBV). UBV was designed by Chavista intellectuals, former student movement members under the Venezuelan "Fourth Republic". Professors were disappointed their own students did not inherit their radical tradition. Yet, when in 2008/9 UBV faculty were challenged by the emergence of a new UBV student movement, they were all but happy and negated the radical potential and claims of the movement. Under the critical gaze of faculty, who have the credentials of radicals under a more repressive regime, students slowly watered down their critiques to fit within the framework of the Revolution. Contextualizing this wave of protest within the Venezuelan and global history of student protest, I claim that it discloses the imminent paradoxes of internal critique in post-revolutionary contexts. It also shows the challenge of traditional institutions – as universities – to serve as locus of radical reform.

**Neoliberal colonialism and the reinvention of Puerto Rico's university student movement, 1981-2011**

*José A. Laguarta Ramírez (The Graduate Center, CUNY)*

The University of Puerto Rico went through two consecutive student strikes, from April to July of 2010, and December 2010 to February 2011, representing two phases of the same conflict, which was at the same time part of a broader and ongoing movement in defense of public education within the U.S. dependent territory. Student demands that administrators desist from plans to eliminate tuition waivers and implement an "austerity fee" echoed those of previous strikes in 1981, 1992, and 2005. This sequence, in turn, manifests a gradual shift away from the themes of nationalism, anti-imperialism, and anti-militarism that dominated the U.P.R. student movement of the 1940s and 1960s-1970s. Although these themes and concerns have remained part of a plural discursive frame of mobilization, the 2010-2011 uprising was the consolidation of a broad movement against neoliberal policies and for institutional transparency and democratization. The uprising represents the movement's recovery of a level of participation and militancy not seen since 1981, and greater organizational coherence and effectiveness than in previous strikes. Plural and contradictory in terms of framing, repertoires, mobilizing structures (organizations), and composition, the current movement is broadly class-based in so far as the figure

of the working-class student and the student-worker has achieved a newfound centrality. Occurring in the midst of a worldwide wave of student rebellions, the U.P.R. uprising was both a point of reference for others, and a conscious link in that global sequence, explicitly insisting on the transnational character of the struggle against neoliberalism.

**GDU and GDusers, a different, new and spontaneous student movement at the State University of Campinas - Unicamp: when the on line social networks change the social affective in university**

*Márcio R. de Carvalho (State University of Campinas)*

The creation of a group in "Facebook" - GDU, "gays of Unicamp" - changed social, emotional and political life of almost an entire university community. To understand this phenomenon it is important to analyze three themes: "on line social networks", "urban studies" and "gender studies". First of all, it must be said that the "place" of this phenomenon is the main campus of Unicamp, where students, faculty members and staff were experiencing academic excellence coupled with cosmopolitan experience (typical of university settings), when it was created, almost two years ago, the group dedicated to the webs of previous gay relationships (virtual or not). In short time, changes are consistent: 1) the role of on line social networks in view of the centrality of internet in experiencing "homoaffective" and the constitution of GDU as a virtual "place" (1,500 members, whose privacy is guaranteed) full of links and discussions of all kinds (the promotion of commercial events, movies and debates about gay rights); 2) the urban characteristics of the campus, allied with virtual tools, provide quotidian encounters among people which recognize each other and known for various quotidian activities; and 3) the political-pedagogical aspect that this "meeting" (in "facebook" and in events like parties or "pool parties") has helped "coming outs" and altered social affective life. Overall, we understand that GDU is a spontaneous creation, such this student movement doesn't distinguish its character experiential enjoyment of affective sexual-pedagogical practice: the pedagogy of "gay style" - or even freedom if you prefer.

**El movimiento estudiantil colombiano de 2011: bono demográfico e inconstrucción política de la moratoria social**

*Fabian Acosta (Universidad Nacional De Colombia)*

Varias circunstancias cuentan en este análisis: el desmonte de la opción

de bienestar como moratoria de los jóvenes frente al mundo del trabajo, la educación restringida al mercado, la desestructuración política de la juventud como categoría social. La existencia de potentes movimientos estudiantiles en contra de estas circunstancias, de su marginamiento social, su emergencia como nuevos sujetos autónomos enfrentando el capitalismo global, colocan a la juventud universitaria y a los jóvenes en el centro de las luchas antisistema. En Colombia se desenvuelven profundos síntomas de un sistema globalizado en crisis. Recientes movimientos estudiantiles con su imaginación y sus luchas, creando nuevas formas de acción y de producción de bienestar, capaces de hacer inteligible transformaciones sociales más allá de la guerra y de la desigualdad social. La Inconstrucción política de la moratoria social indica que el sistema de educación, particularmente el superior se privatice, y que no avance en lógicas de bienestar sino de mercado. Igualmente la emergencia de múltiples y poderosas fuerzas de conocimiento, de interacción y de autonomía. Tenemos entonces: capitalismo salvaje y guerra social, de un lado. Generaciones como la juventud abocadas al no-futuro. Sumado a ello, la explosión de todas las opresiones morales, institucionales, subjetivas, políticas y económicas que han degradado lo humano y particularmente a las y los jóvenes. La inconstrucción es la nueva epistemología de estas realidades transformadas. Mirar los movimientos estudiantiles a través de su prisma ofrece la posibilidad de comprender las diferencias del presente, el potencial de movilización social contenido en ellos.

**Fragmented consciousness and student movement in Chile: toward organic intellectuals?**

*Nicolas Fleet (University of Cambridge)*

Beyond the material claims of the student movement in Chile, against the commodification of education and its over-determining effect on social inequality, this paper discusses the latent normative basis of the social movement in terms of intellectual and professional orientations differentiated through higher education. Such a focus limits the analysis of the movement to higher education, but regarding the centrality of the struggle in this segment, it will be considered as illustrative of the whole movement. The student movement is oriented to control the education system as a mechanism of both material and normative social reproduction. In turn, the normative dimension is conditioned, on one hand, by the qualitative segmentation of higher education in direct relation to social stratification. Therefore, higher education for students from poorer social

background with lower 'cultural capital' tends to form 'semi-professionals' and subaltern intellectuals, that are subsequently limited to instrumental tasks and away from the administrative centres of decision-making. On the other hand, the university system is highly diversified into 'ideological state apparatuses', which produces organic intellectuals mobilizing particular social interests and cultural values, and also non-organic professionals pursuing social mobility. The specific normative dimension of the student movement is hypothesized as an orientation to overcome the segmentation of higher education as fragmented intellectual and professional consciousness, potentially projecting the struggle on the educational patterns leading to socially differentiated opportunities of exercising intellectual leadership and power. Empirically, the paper uses 29 interviews with academics from different segments of Chilean higher education.

# P15

# Extractivismo en América Latina: despojo y acumulación neoliberal más allá de la izquierda y la derecha

**Convenor: Irene Velez-Torres (University of Copenhagen)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 11:00-12:30, 14:00-15:30**
**Location: UP 4.214**

**Panel abstract**

Este panel indaga casos de despojo por procesos extractivos mineros, petroleros y agro-industriales, las transformaciones en el manejo de los recursos naturales y los desafíos que representan para los movimientos sociales en América Latina.

### Extractvismo de minerales en Perú y Colombia: una mirada sobre los mecanismos de gobierno y la militarización de los recursos naturales en la última década

*Irene Velez-Torres (University of Copenhagen)*

Esta ponencia busca explorar las condiciones en las que el extractivista minero ha devenido dominante dentro del régimen de acumulación capitalista en Perú

y en Colombia durante la última década. Se analizarán los más sobresalientes mecanismos militares y políticos que han determinado y regulado la predominancia del extractivismo en estos países, observando también quiénes son los actores y cuáles los espacios económicos donde se acumula el plus-valor derivado de las actividades mineras. En este contexto, se investigarán comparativamente los efectos de este fenómeno en términos de las relaciones sociales de producción, propiedad y control sobre la tierra y los recursos naturales de los territorios, en particular los recursos mineros. El énfasis lo pondremos sobre tres ejes analíticos: la racionalidad de los gobiernos, los actores/espacios de acumulación, y los procesos político-militares que han intervenido en la construcción de los modelos extractivistas mineros en ambos países. Teniendo en cuenta ejercicios hegemónicos de poder y sus resistencias, este análisis contribuirá a formular estrategias para comprender críticamente y plantear alternativas al extractivismo, cruzando retos y perspectivas de los gobiernos y las gobernabilidades autónomas reclamadas por los movimientos sociales.

**Enfoque diferenciado: extractivismo y estado autoritario en México y Colombia**

*Alke Jenss (Philipps University of Marburg)*

Esta ponencia se enfocará en los temas (ii) y (iii) y de esta manera tratará transformaciones en el manejo de los recursos naturales tanto en México como en Colombia después del anio 2000. Desde una perspectiva desde teorías del estado (Poulantzas 2002), pregunta por las respectivas configuracioens de las relaciones sociales. Hay una acción recíproca: tanto el modelo extractivista genera cambios en los modelos de articulación socio-política como las relaciones de fuerzas que podemos observar tienden a fomentar el enfoque a industrias de minería y petróleo. El legado histórico tanto del autoritarimso prolongado del PRI en Mèxico (que siempre ha tenido una base en la explotación del petróleo) como de los ciclos de violencia en Colombia (siempre con un enfoque hacia las exportaciones) hacen de los dos países puntos de partida muy distintos en la región para analizar el modelo extractivista.

La economía de minería y petróleo en Colombia se distingue considerablemente de la de México: Mientras en Colombia el Estado ha reducido su intervención en el sector radicalmente, en México la industra petrolera es todavía dominada por la estatal PEMEX. Como eje central de la estrategia de desarrollo en Colombia la gran minería es beneficiada por desplazamientos violentos masivos

de comunidades. Esto no se puede entender sin el papel del Estado. En México ocurre en mucho menor escala. Pero los cambios estructurales cada vez más se apoyan en los órganos represivos del estado como institución que afianzan una reconfiguración del estado, y están implicados también órganos "informales" de seguridad.

**El estado de emergencia como mecanismo de represión de la protesta indígena: un análisis de los conflictos sobre recursos naturales en Perú, 2008-2012**

*Claire Wright (University of Salamanca)*

Desde la Independencia, los regímenes de excepción se han utilizado como mecanismo de represión social en América Latina, al permitir la suspensión de los derechos humanos y la militarización del territorio. En el caso de Perú el uso del "estado de emergencia" se acentuó en la tercera ola de la democracia en el contexto de la lucha contra Sendero Luminoso. Con el aumento en la conflictividad social en recientes años – sobre todo en el contexto de conflictos socioambientales – los gobiernos no han hesitado a la hora de emplear este mecanismo como una arma más para reprimir la protesta indígena.
Es así que entre 2008 y 2012 se han producido varias declaraciones de estado de emergencia en este tipo de conflictos, incluyendo: Huamanga (2008), Bagua (2009), Cajamarca (2011), Espinar (2012), Cajamarca (2012). A través de un análisis en profundidad de estos casos se pretende establecer cómo y por qué el estado de emergencia se ha convertido en una respuesta por parte de los gobiernos a la protesta indígena, qué implica y qué efecto tiene sobre la protesta indígena en Perú.
Para finalizar, el paper subraya el peligro latente que supone la presencia de instituciones autoritarias en países que muestran una gran dependencia económica de los recursos naturales.

**Acumulación primitiva permanente : el caso de la palma de aceite en la frontera Colombo-Ecuatoriana**

*Edna Yiced Martinez (Free University Berlin)*

El término "land grabbing" ha sido utilizado para denominar los cambios en las formas de propiedad y uso de la tierra en las últimas décadas en las economías de periferia. Analistas y activistas políticos-sociales señalan que "land grabbing" es el resultado de las políticas neoliberales que han convertido la tierra, los recursos

naturales y otros bienes en productos disponibles para el mercado y el capital. Si "land grabbing" se refiere a los cambios y el despojo ocurridos en la últimas tres décadas, cómo explicar los cambios y despojos ocurridos desde hace siglos. Cómo entender la existencia de muchas otras empresas agrícolas, mineras algunas establecidas desde la la época colonial, así como las luchas históricas por la posesión de la tierra, el control sobre la mano de obra y los recursos naturales. Con este este ensayo se cuestionan las miradas, las explicaciones de corto plazo y la inmediatez. Se pregunta si realmente existe una "nueva ola" de extracción de recursos en América Latina o si lo que ocurre hace parte del histórico y desarrollo normal del capitalismo. En el ensayo se propone una mirada de largo aliento desde la teoría económica clásica Marxista. Se sugiere una nueva comprensión del concepto y proceso de acumulación original o primitiva" de Carlos Marx, aplicado a un estudio de caso: La agro industria de la palma de aceite en la región del pacífico colombo-ecuatoriano (Tumaco y San Lorenzo).

Palabras clave: Acumulación "originaria-primitiva"; land grabbing, neoliberalismo; palma aceite; Ecuador; Colombia.

**Agribusiness and resource (re-)concentration on Peru's coast**

*Andrew Jobling (Sheffield Hallam University)*

Over the past decade an on-going process of (re-)concentration of land-based resources on Peru's coast has continued to gain considerable momentum. This has been backed by state action explicitly designed to promote the agribusiness sector and occurs within the context of a neoliberal and 'extractivist' development model in Peru that has evolved since the 1990s. Though other resource conflicts in Peru have gained significant academic interest in recent years – in particular those relating to mining in the highlands and the impact of extractive industries on indigenous communities in lowland areas – to date there has been only limited analysis of the phenomenon of land and resource concentration on the coast. This paper then, seeks to develop such an analysis with particular attention to new patterns of socio-economic differentiation (including the inclusion or exclusion of peasant communities and small-sized farms on the coast), inequitable access to state support and resources among different producer and interest groups, and, emerging power relations within areas where agribusiness is particularly concentrated. The paper draws on case studies of the development of large-scale agribusiness operations via irrigation projects (Olmos and Chavimochic) as well as via the privatisation of agro-industrial sugar cooperatives. The paper goes on

to analyse the discursive practices that seek to legitimise and make 'common sense' the current model of agribusiness-led development as well as nascent opposition to this. In so doing, local and regional discourses are contextualised in relation to broader hegemonic and counter hegemonic struggles over Peru's development model.

# P16

# (Re)constructing the environment in the 'post-neoliberal' state

**Convenors: Gemma Sou (University of Manchester); Anna Laing (The University of Glasgow); Rosalyn Bold (University of Manchester)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: ATB G109**

**Panel abstract**

This panel explores the (re)construction of the concept of the environment in the 'post-neoliberal' state in Latin America

**Household level disaster risk reduction: autonomous adaptation or de politicisation**

*Gemma Sou*

With increasing urbanisation and the effects of climate change, natural and man-made disasters are becoming more common in urban areas of the global south. Research and policy within disaster studies has shifted from top down capital intensive solutions to a promotion of bottom up strategies that focus on the capacity of vulnerable groups to negotiate their lives in relation to the environment (autonomous adaptation). However, this approach is criticised for depoliticising the environmental vulnerability of affected households, as adaptation is expected to occur in a political vacuum, with little state intervention. This has been labelled as a process of 'roll out' neoliberalism.

My research investigates what vulnerable households are doing to reduce their disaster risk in hazardous Bolivian communities where state intervention is

minimal. This is achieved by focusing on informal housing construction and the application of the concept of the home in order to explore the multiple motivations that are articulated through the construction of the house. The research also explores local governance in relation to environmental vulnerability in order to assess whether one can talk about a 'roll out' of neoliberalism, in which the state is seeking to produce more 'autonomous' civil societies that rely more on individual actions than on coordinated institutions in the (re)production of their social lives in relation to the biophysical world (Castree and Felli 2012)

**The mangrove and the Forest Code: what will the tide bring in next time?**

*Luciana Lang (University of Manchester)*

Depictions of the natural environment have often been associated with processes of nation formation. In the 90's, two public opinion surveys were conducted in Brazil to prove that 'edenismo' (from Eden), the exaltation of the natural qualities of the landscape common in the romantic literature movement of the nineteenth century, is still alive today. Using the indicator 'national pride', the conclusion of the survey was that the main reason for Brazilians' national pride is 'nature'. This paper will explore how the institutionalisation of the environment, including the Forest Code and the Brazilian National System of Conservation Units, both granting rights to nature in a selective manner, is a major stake in Brazilian politics, with loud repercussions in the international arena. While there appears to be a rhetorical shift from the neo-liberal model towards progressive socio-environmental policies, alternative ways of achieving economic growth are treated with scepticism. Some stake-holders have an optimistic vision of the dialectical encounter between capitalism and limited natural resources and call that vision green economy, while others claim that social welfare should come first. This study will try to unveil the many voices in the contemporary discussion on environmental issues in Brazil by presenting the controversies around the reform of the Forest Code as a backdrop, and then focusing on what could be seen as a fractal of the overarching environmental picture: the construction of an Olympic Village on part of a preserved, albeit abandoned, mangrove in the periphery of Rio de Janeiro.

**Monte Verde, 'nuestra casa grande': (re)constructing indigenous territories and the environment in 'post-neoliberal' Bolivia?**

*Katinka Weber (University of Liverpool)*

This paper examines how Chiquitano people in the Eastern Bolivian Santa Cruz department and state actors are constructing the environment and space of the Monte Verde territory. From the mid-1990s, three Chiquitano Organisations took advantage of the Bolivian government's neoliberal multicultural legislation in order to claim Monte Verde as first-peoples communal land (TCO). As Chiquitano began formulating their legal claim and settlement plans, and communities moved into Monte Verde, state administrative actors and NGOs pressured for the 'sustainable' exploitation of indigenous territories and 'territorial management'. Seemingly contradicting the constitutional text which defined TCOs as spaces where indigenous people 'maintain and develop their own forms of economic, social and cultural organisation', indigenous movements' could only gain territorial ownership if they administered the space and resources present as the state required.

In response, the Chiquitano organisation were involved in dividing the territory into 'zones of use' already before they received the legal title for their territory in 2007, representing a shift from subsistence and the emphasis on 'relational spaces', to a logic of production-oriented projects and spaces perceived as 'zones of utility' (cf. García Hierro and Surrallés, 2005: 10-11). This paper argues that an analysis of developments in Bolivian indigenous territories underway in so-called 'post neo-liberal' Bolivia point to a remarkable continuity, rather than a break, when it comes to the conceptualisation of resources, land and the environment from the side of local and national state actors, as well as some Chiquitano leaders and community members.

**Territories in resistance: fighting for the plurination in Bolivia**

*Anna Laing (The University of Glasgow)*

Bolivia has seen many seemingly progressive changes since the election of its first indigenous President, Evo Morales, in 2005 and with the announcement of the 2009 Constitution that gave unprecedented rights to both the indigenous and the Pachamama (Mother Earth). However, tensions between the state and social movements remain, with many questioning the economic development strategies of the Bolivian state based on environmentally degrading natural resource extraction, road building and dam construction projects that often take

place within indigenous territories.
My research explores the case study of a national indigenous and environmental movement in opposition to the Bolivian government's proposed construction of a highway set to cut through an indigenous territory and national park, known as the TIPNIS (Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro Secure). This has involved a nine month period of fieldwork in Bolivia that has aimed to explore the creative tensions of contentious politics that acts to (re)configure the relations between the state and indigenous/social movements in Bolivia as well as the possible implications for the future politics of natural resource management and indigenous rights. Further to this, the research seeks to critically engage with social movement theory through ethnographic fieldwork that analyses the empirical realities of everyday grounded politics in the national campaign in defence of the TIPNIS.

**Contested constructions of environment and indigeneity in contemporary Bolivia**

*Rosalyn Bold (University of Manchester)*

Bolivian negotiators have played a vocal role in international climate summits, and indigenous rights and environmental issues would seem to go hand in hand in the discourse of the current MAS administration through concepts like the pachamama. President Evo Morales has however been accused by the country's indigenous leaders of promulgating a 'double discourse' on the environment, especially in the wake of the Tipnis crisis, in which a road building initiative came into conflict with the territorial claims of indigenous peoples. They claimed the road would further the 'colonisation' of their territory by highland coca- farmers. The road was also contested by indigenous social movements, asserting a vision of territoriality based on indigenous control, and resulting in environmental sustainability.
Morales called the People's World Conference on Climate Change (PWCCC) in Cochabamba in April 2010, in response to the 'weakness' of international climate agreements. Repeatedly emphasised at the PWCCC was the 'climate debt' which developed nations owe to the third world as the cost of having 'colonised' much of the 'carbon space' available in the atmosphere. Complex interweaving notions of colonialism and indigeneity seem to haunt debate and state strategy on the environment, evoking agentive landscapes of indigenous territoriality, and international development models. I will analyse state strategy and national debate on the environment as it navigates these underlying currents.

# P18

# Seeing, observing, presenting: science and medicine in society

**Convenors: Fiona Clark (Queen's University Belfast); Patience Schell (University of Aberdeen)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30, 11:00-12:30**
**Location: UP 4.211**

**Panel abstract**

This session will discuss intersections in the circulation of knowledge in Latin America and broader networks, from the early colonial period through to the twentieth century, particularly the modes and strategies employed in written and visual of scientific and medical information.

### The writing medicine woman: manuscript culture and conventual recipe collections in late colonial Mexico

*Yari Perez Marin (Durham University)*

While the majority of print medical texts that circulated in New Spain from the mid-sixteenth century through the end of the colonial period were written by male authors, medical information was also exchanged in manuscript form in ways that allowed for the active participation of women. Health advice and remedies shared by way of correspondence and in recipe collections provide an alternate vantage point from which to consider how women interacted with the medical establishment, not only as patients but also as selective, critical readers and as producers of information.
Taking as a point of departure the recipe collection of the Convent of the Purísima Concepción in Puebla, compiled in the early nineteenth century, I examine the epistemological framework behind the manuscript's organisation, which appropriates information from unnamed-yet-often recognisable print sources, juxtaposing them with innovative solutions authored by some of the convent's own sisters. My work also seeks to bridge the gap from a disciplinary standpoint between research that has been done on European recipe collections (see Lynette Hunter, Sarah Hutton and Elaine Leong), and the study of female authorship and

conventual life in Spanish America (see Margaret Chowning, Asunción Lavin and Stephanie Kirk). In addition to considerations about genre and the intersection of the medical and culinary spheres, attention is paid to the link between women's writing and outside political events, with the collection's latter entries arguably reflecting the radical institutional changes experienced by Mexican convents as the colonial period came to a close with the War of Independence.

**Appealing to the Republic of Letters: an autopsy of anti-venereal trials in eighteenth-century Mexico**

*Fiona Clark (Queen's University Belfast)*

This paper shall focus on a report compiled, at the request of the Royal Academy of Medicine in Madrid, by an Irish physician, Daniel O'Sullivan (1760- c. 1797), into trials held in the Hospital de San Andrés, Mexico City, in the early 1790s to judge the efficacy of a new, vegetable-based, anti-venereal cure. The document opens the doors to a hidden and murkier world than is made evident in any 'official' account that has formed a basis for our understanding of these events to date. I will discuss how the broader context of O'Sullivan's desire to participate in the Republic of Letters and the use of language employed in the creation of the work allow for a reading of the text focusing on narrative form. This enables us to elucidate the nuances and strategies that employed in the creation and presentation of a critical narrative and the role of the author. I will also highlight how his understanding of the function of 'critical history' and the 'historian' as eye witness, or autoptēs, is tied to early rhetorical concepts as well as his medical and theological training. This analysis will underline that any future discussion of the trials must take into account the details related by the Irishman, notwithstanding the particularly poor light he sheds on hospital practice in this period.

**The venerealization of Peru: race and medical knowledge in the Andean periphery**

*Paulo Drinot (University College London)*

This paper examines the formation of medical knowledge on venereal disease in Peru in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this particularl Peruvian periphery of VD research, there was little 'scientific excellence' of the sort that Marcos Cueto and others have identified in the context of other fields of biomedical research and of other peripheries. But a close analysis of

VD research in Peru shows that Peruvian physicians were actively involved in research, in touch with developments in VD research elsewhere, and no less receptive to such developments than their counterparts in the biomedical core. Of course, in Peru as elsewhere, biomedical attention on VD overlapped with a broader, non-medical, preoccupation with gonorrhoea and particularly with syphilis. Like few other diseases, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries commentators connected VD to anxieties over aberrant sexual behaviour and social and racial degeneration in a broader context of perceived uncontrolled, and possibly uncontrollable, social and political change. At the same time, VD emerged as a field in which policy makers, in alliance with physicians, could play a key role in moral and social governance. However, as Davidson and Hall note in their survey of the historiography of VD in Europe, "responses to VD have always been powerfully inflected by local and historical contingencies". In Peru, I argue in this paper, the making of medical knowledge on venereal disease was intimately tied to doctors' racialized understandings of the character of the Peruvian population, and particularly of its non-white population.

**Cultivating natural history knowledge in nineteenth-century Chile**

*Patience Schell (University of Aberdeen)*

Newly-independent Chile had limited local scientific expertise, no institutions dedicated to the natural sciences and little formal knowledge of its natural environment. At the end of the nineteenth century, Chile hosted multiple natural history museums, a research-active naval hydrographical office, natural history education in schools, government-funded natural history research and internationally-known publications. This paper will focus on the ways and routes through which this natural history knowledge was created, adapted and transmitted thanks to collaboration between career-minded naturalists, for whom Chile's 'unexplored' status proved irresistible, and non-naturalist supporters, for whom fostering the natural sciences aided national progress. The work of three foreigners was especially vital to this cultivation of knowledge. French Claudio Gay was hired in 1830 to survey Chile, write Chile's natural history and found a natural history museum. This work lasted the rest of his life, and his publications, both in the official newspaper El Araucano and through his own myriad volumes, trained Chile's literate public in the results and methods of natural history. Venezuelan Andrés Bello advocated for natural history through various government roles and, as the editor of El Araucano, disseminated Gay's

writings and translated foreign work. Prussian Rodulfo Philippi, long-time director of the National Museum, built the collections, sponsored expeditions and published his results nationally and internationally. These foreigners contributed to an environment in which Chile sought to establish itself as a continental power and in which the natural world contributed to national identity.

**Knowledge, authority and exclusion: on mobility between therapeutic practices by AIRDs-patients and the role of internet in contemporary Brazil**

*Márcio Vilar (University of Leipzig)*

In this paper, I report and analyze some experiences of people with autoimmune rheumatic diseases (AIRDs), who move between conventional symptomatic treatments and other scientific treatments that have been marginalized within medical science in contemporary Brazil. These therapies are not included within the established field of rheumatology, despite their being successfully developed by medical doctors according to established scientific standards. Rather, they are still ignored within the context of public health. Within this context internet serves as the main informational platform through which knowledge and forms of exchange concerning these "outside" therapies circulate without being necessarily seen or controlled by medical or governmental authorities.

The paper asks two questions: How do the strategies of self-presentation of these excluded therapies in internet look like? And, what happens when people with AIRDs question the medically prognosticated "chronicality" of their illnesses, leave the conventional therapies and seek solutions for their problems through the marginalized therapies? After presenting three case-studies, I will explore two implications. Firstly, when switching from an established therapy to a tabooed one, people with AIRDs not only seem to discredit the authority of medical doctors, but also change and partially to assume ways they understand and conceptualize their own diseases, as well as the whole medical institutional environment and forms of engagement. Secondly, these movements seem to occur in consonance with a "paradigmatic shift" actually ongoing within different medical fields related to therapeutic principles of dealing with AIRDs.

**Placebo, candomblé, and the art of performative healing**

*Hannah Lesshafft (University of Edinburgh)*

Although the influence of the placebo effect, or 'meaning response' (Moerman 2002), is well known in biomedicine, it is usually not seen as a healing resource but is instead rejected as deception or fake. In biomedical knowledge production, placebo effects are regarded as confounders that need to be eliminated in order to study the "real" efficacy of a drug. Meaning responses are part of any medical encounter and impact physical and psychological processes. However, biomedicine fails to employ them in an honest and skillful way.
Traditional healing methods are often depreciated as relying "merely" on the placebo effect. I turn this argument around by regarding ritual performances as creative ways to enact and support healing processes. An example of such ritual performances is Candomblé, an Afro-Brazilian religion in which 'deep knowledge' is being produced through bodily experience including dancing, and elaborate rites of initiation. In Candomblé, dualisms like mind-body, subject-object, and construction-reality are being rendered useless. Humans create their deities by worshipping them and thereby cultivate axé, the vital force. In turn, they receive axé from their gods during trance possession and ritual performance. The enactment of worship and healing in Candomblé can be seen as a model for creating meaning responses. The transformative performances include dance, ritual baths, dressing and eating like the gods, and ultimately embodying the deities through trance possession. Recognizing such practices as a healing art may help to understand the importance of imaginative, bodily performances in different medical contexts, instead of rejecting them as fraud.

# P19

# Sport and spectacle in Latin America

**Convenor: Thomas Carter (University of Brighton)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30**
**Location: ATB G108**

**Panel abstract**

Papers in this panel should examine how sport-related spectacles are organized

and to what purposes they are conducted. Examples may be drawn from local community events to national celebrations to global, international events fro m the past, present, and future.

*Discussant: David Wood (University of Sheffield)*

**What are we seeing? Spectacle & sport in Latin America**

*Thomas Carter (University of Brighton)*

This paper examines the role of national and global sport spectacles in Latin america. It lays out some theoretical concerns regarding spectacle as a political force in the first instance. It then moves on to consider how sport has been harnessed to promote national identities through athletic spectacles in various Latin American countries. It then examines the rise and implementation of global sport spectacles in Latin america. All of these concerns tie in directly to the idea of Latin American modernity and the emergence of modern nations in the Americas. I so doing, it shifts how we understand spectacle from a state-centric perspective to one of broader sociological concern that interrogates the formation of individual personhood. Thus, questions of gender, race, ethnicity, religion as well as citizenship and nationality are all deployed and employed in these spectacles. How they are portrayed and articulated becomes central to reification of power relations in that given locale.

**Is the "aguante" a Macho matter? A contribution to the public policies on football violence**

*Raul Mario Cadaa (Universidad Nacional De La Plata)*

The "aguante" is a word than the Argentinean people use it to means: endurance, stamina, stoicism, tolerance, etc. This word has been associated with the football sphere and local hooliganism (barras bravas). The majority of the social scientist on sport area had related the "aguante" to the machismo. The idea of the "aguante" as a macho matter has been spread for the national newspapers. This thing has been used for the "barras bravas", politicians, journalists and managers to justify the violence generated inside the football stadiums. In this presentation we will analyze, in opposition, the relationship between the marianismo (the female counterpart to machismo) and the concept of the "aguante". We will use the theoretical framework of Machismo and Marianismo in Latin America, from Evelyn Stevens to other colleagues and contributors.

The confirmation of this hypothesis could help to demonstrate than "women are morally superior to and spiritually stronger than men" and the real and right meaning of the word: "aguante". Spread this scientific information by the mass media could be a contribution for the development of the public policies on football violence.
machismo – marianismo – aguante – violence – hooligans

**A bridge from 2007 to 2016: a way to make the adapted sports more visible**

*Luiz Fernando Rojo Mattos (Universidade Federal Fluminense)*

Almost all people when talking about the next sportive mega events in Brazil are referring to the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. Undoubtedly, these are the two most important of them, but there is another that, in each edition, is acquiring more visibility and importance: the Paralympic Games.
In this paper, I'll focus on this event, trying to show how the 2007 Parapanamerican Games in Rio de Janeiro was a decisive moment in turning the adapted sports into a concrete reality for a large public in Brazil. After that, I'll compare it with the possibility that the 2016 Paralympic Games can consolidate these advances, which is a desire present in declarations from athletes and directive members involved in this event.
To interpret these discourses, I'll use Bourdieu's contribution about the capacity of nomination and Simon's theory about the power dispute between "hetero-identity" and "auto-identity" to analyze how these events can impact other spheres with in Brazilian society. So, I'll put specific attention on following the change in the social identity of this group and its capacity to amplify its definition, passing from "lame" to "people with disabilities". One example of it can be observed in the media coverage of the last events which showed a slow, but constant, substitution of categories from "poor thing" - associated with pity – to "warriors" - associated with overcoming.

**Olympics and Paralympics in Rio de Janeiro 2016: the discourses of Brazilian media and academy**

*Barbara Almeida; Dr Wanderley Marchi Jr. (Federal University of Parana)*

The selection of Rio de Janeiro to host the Olympic and Paralympic Games of 2016 (Rio 2016) sets a geographical and cultural expansion of the Olympic market to South and Latin America, but also a symbolic achievement for Brazil

and some politicians. As would be expected, the selection brought mixed feelings and analysis from the media and academia. In this sense, we propose to look how Rio 2016 was conceived by media and academy right after its selection. As method, we used the content analysis of published news and analysis of nation-wide newspaper and magazine, and papers on the main journals of sport area. The categories of interest were the mention of (1) major stakeholders and their interests, (2) challenges and (3) possible legacies of Rio 2016. The major stakeholders cited were the Brazilian government through its former president, the Brazilian Olympic Committee and local authorities, who generally intended to increase their political capital. The challenges were mainly related to transport infrastructure and corruption, which would be also the legacy. The findings showed a clear difference among the sources, whereas opinions and political standings were more evident in the media but not absent on the academic discourse. This evidence of diversity and structural specificities of the analysed voices are discussed.

# P20

# Poetry and resistance in contemporary Latin America

**Convenors: Cornelia Gräbner (Lancaster University); Joanna Crow (University of Bristol)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 11:00-12:30, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: UP 4.213**

**Panel abstract**

The panel invites papers on all aspects of the relationship between poetry and resistance in contemporary Latin America; for example on specific poetic practices, on the relationship between poetry and social movements, and on the place of poetry in cultural politics.

**Claiming a place in the public sphere: Mapuche poetry in contemporary Chile**

*Joanna Crow (University of Bristol)*

Focusing on the life stories, public statements and written works of David Aniñir and Jaime Huenún, this paper explores the multiple, creative ways in which contemporary Mapuche poetry challenges official discourses of nationhood in Chile, most notably neoliberal multiculturalism. It highlights some the dilemmas and problems that Aniñir and Huenún have faced as they engage with and participate in the mainstream literary scene of the capital city, Santiago, but also underlines their achievements. Both urban poets support the Mapuche political movement and its nation-building project, but they do so in different ways, elaborating distinct concepts of identity and resistance.

**'Permutando en el submundo que nadie pesca'. The role of the 'flayte' in Mapurbe (Mapuche urban) cultural production**

*Sandra Collins (Queens University)*

Over the last two decades, Mapuche poetry in Chile has reached international readership. Poets use written poetry as a medium to voice their grievances with the unjust policies of the Neoliberal economic system. Much of their poetry has been categorized as 'ethno-literature' or 'ecocritical' poetry for its close thematic association with the land. Subsequently, there has been less critical attention to Mapuche urban cultural production which has been undergoing its own particular 'reinvention' in recent years. One of the more recent socio-political categories – the Mapurbe (Mapuche of urbe) has been overlooked in spite of the impact it has had on young Mapuche in Santiago and Temuco, who have begun to appropriate concepts outside the Mapuche world, and engage in artistic experimentation considered by some Mapuche to be 'unpure'. Few scholars have taken into account the double marginalisation of the Mapurbe, or examined how this has played out in their cultural production. My paper demonstrates the multi-faceted nature of Mapurbe cultural production, in particular the role of the flayte, or 'chav', seen as a delincuent by both Mapuche and Chilean communities. I will discuss the work of the forerunner of the Mapurbe movement, David Aniñir, as well as the various forms of music which have been combined with Mapuche instruments, language and thematic content, in particular punk, hip-hop and heavy metal. Mapurbe urban resistance is a testament to the dynamism and vibrancy of Mapuche culture, which is often mistakenly portrayed as incongruous to modernity.

**Resistance in an Andean poem**

*Charles Pigott (School of Oriental and African Studies)*

This presentation shows how a Quechua oral poem redefines history to build solidarity among Andean peasants. I collected the poem during fieldwork in Ancash, Peru. I show how the poem synthesizes a common Andean identity through the figure of the Inca, by way of linguistic, cultural, historical and religious elements. By reference to the Inca's divine power, and his designation as a guiding spirit, the poem grounds this shared identity on a cosmological, not just political, basis. This identity is embodied insofar as the text is sung while walking around the village, whose features are imaginatively redefined as key landmarks of the Incan Empire. The Incan community, operating on a reciprocal and moral basis, is contrasted with the European colonizers, presented as egoistic, destructive and amoral. Thus, the text forges solidarity and defines this solidarity as morally superior, providing an account of Andeans' marginalization that safeguards a positive self-image. This suggests that 'essentialist' identities are theories to account for and come to terms with current circumstances (Mohanty 2000), realized through a process of ideological erasure (Irvine & Gal 2000) or 'wilful forgetfulness'. The negation of the European 'others' to define the Andean 'self' is paradoxical because it is by virtue of the 'other' that the 'self' thereby takes form (Hastings & Manning 2004). Incommunication is thus a form of communication in its own right (cf Cornejo-Polar 1990). This can be understood by reference to Derrida's (1967) notion of différance, where meaning arises through a constant interplay of opposites.

**Poetry and Women's social movements in Colombia: Piedad Morales and la razón poética**

*Cherilyn Elston*

Since the early 1990s, poetry in Colombia has been promoted as a transformative practice, having a role in instilling peace and social justice in a nation saturated by conflict. In particular, this has been concentrated around the Festival Internacional de Poesía de Medellín, winner of the Alternative Nobel Prize, which claims a role in the transformation of Medellín from murder capital to 'capital mundial para la poesía'. This understanding of poetry draws not only upon the idea of poetry as having a spiritual or 'civilising' function but the etymological roots of poiesis, the notion of making, transformation or 'bringing-forth'.

Over the same period a number of women's social movements have emerged in

Colombia, linking feminist, pacifist and anti-militarist discourses in campaigning for a negotiated solution to the conflict. These movements have been linked to both an understanding of poetry in its literary sense and the role of the poetic as transformative.

One of the central figures in these movements was the poet and activist Piedad Morales (1956-2012). Active in the alternative cultural scene in Medellín, she was a published poet and founding member of the Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres por la Solución Negociada del conflicto armado, Carnavalenguas and Mujeres de Negro. This paper will analyse her poetic practice, as it appears in her poems and her activist politics. Using María Zambrano's theory of razón poética, it will look at the use of poetry in the creation of alternative discourses or an alternative cultural politics to the armed conflict in Colombia.

**Democracy as Resistance: civic and aesthetic engagement in Carmen Naranjo's *Mi Guerrilla* (1977)**

*Denise Callejas (Vanderbilt University)*

In this paper, I examine the way in which the Costa Rican poet Carmen Naranjo calls for a poetic rebellion against a rigid political representation in Mi Guerrilla (1977). The lyric self ponders her participation in a given polity and by extension, her role in serving as a historical index of that polity's culture. I argue that the lyric self reasserts her political subjectivity by resisting the inscription of a collective "we" that lacks a sense of social and cultural responsibility. The constant search for a symbolic representation becomes the creative impetus that sustains the activism of the poetic speaker. Naranjo's poems target the homogeneous discourse of a consumer-driven, capitalist society. To counter this discourse, Naranjo focuses on the sensory experiences that can redefine the potential for civic and aesthetic engagement. Her poetry thematically touches upon the debate on neoliberalism and state adherence to the logic of the market that currently dictates our contemporary notion of democracy. I turn to recent theory on the relationship between aesthetics and democracy (Rancière, Panagia, and Docherty) to discuss how Naranjo's poetry identifies the ramifications of a politically stagnant discourse by linking it to a meta-poetic reflection on the appropriation of language itself. Through a textual analysis, I will show that what the poetic voice seeks is not a collective conscience, but rather calls for a personal introspection in order to produce a position of dissent within a given polity.

**Poetic language and forms of resistance in the Zapatista communiqués**

*Junia Lima (Universidade Federal de Campina Grande)*

The present proposal was extracted from a research on Zapatista letters, written and made public between the years 1994 and 2005. Initially characterized as an armed insurgency by Mayan Indians, this movement owes a part of its visibility to the writings publicized through the internet globally. The Zapatista discourse highlighted its capacity to transpose spatial frontiers and mobilize people, regarding its demands, accusations and political articulations. However, its uniqueness remains also in its various narrative forms, aggregated to the purpose of claiming rights. Among these forms, poetic language is one of the most effective tools of resistance. This language goes beyond political manifesto, as it exceeds the need to always outline and define things. Clearly, the communiqués are aiming to state and explain demands articulated in indigenous ways of being in the world. However, what I see in the Zapatista poetics is that there are things that are said to be understood, and others to be felt. In order to analyze the forms of resistance from the Zapatista poetic language, I propose to reflect worldviews that rearrange themselves in ways to articulate claims. These worldviews are intertwined with pieces of reality which are intercepted by poetry, creating an arrangement between what is said / explained and what is unlimited / indefinite.

**Poetry against consolation during the apotheosis of neoliberalism**

*Cornelia Gräbner (Lancaster University)*

This paper looks at the role of poetry in the context of the Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity. The movement was initiated by the poet Javier Sicilia, who publicly renounced poetry after the assassination of his son in the context of the Mexican drug war; during the apotheosis of neoliberalism.

First I will look at Sicilia's refusal to continue writing poetry; a stance which resonates with that taken by Theodor Adorno. For Adorno, a poem is and has to remain an 'open wound'; once it gives consolation, like a painkiller, it renounces poetry. I read Sicilia's refusal to write poetry as a renunciation of a consolation that would have prevented people from taken action for social change.

I then turn to two poems that were recited during public meetings, and which were documented by the collective EmergenciaMX. The first oem functions as an 'open wound' and enquires into the social function of the pain caused by the destruction of the social fabric.The second functions as a mirror in the Zapatista sense. This poem returns to the poet and the listener not only who they are,

but also who they would like to be and, more importantly, all those who are by their side but who they cannot see because they remain outside of the peripheral vision.
Thus, poetry during the apotheosis of neoliberalism is only possible as resistance to the culture that normalizes the destruction of the social fabric; and it becomes poetry because it emerges from a collective.

**The fiction and photography of Juan Rulfo: poetics of evocation and resistance**

*Amit Thakkar (Lancaster University)*

The fiction of Juan Rulfo has frequently and long been subjected to poetics-based analyses, for example bathos and catachresis (Thakkar 2012), orality (Perus, 1998) and imagery (Merrell, 1977). Very little work has been done on his photography beyond Béatrice Tatard's work of 1994, Juan Rulfo, photographe. Esthétique du royaume des âmes. This paper will build on the links between Rulfo's fiction and photography that I briefly analysed in the context of postcolonialism (2012) to explore further connections, especially the possibility of a poetic as well as a thematic connection between the two. I will examine that connection through the technique of poetic evocation: of certain words (llorar, calor etc.), of phrases (for example, 'allá ellos' and ''¡Mueran los caciques!') and of concepts (for example, nothingness and dignity). The paper will explore the extent to which such evocation is a key aspect of Rulfo's poetic resistance to the prevailing rhetoric of a 'Revolution' that was institutionalised by the time of the publication of his works in the 1950s. It will conclude by considering the relevance of such a poetic critique in present-day Mexico.

**No me hablen de las puertas del infierno / Yo estuve allí: the poetry of Alicia Partnoy as testimonio**

*Kate Dunn (University of Edinburgh)*

Alicia Partnoy is a survivor of kidnapping, unlawful detention and torture in the Argentine Dirty War. After being forced into exile in the USA, she testified about her experiences at the United Nations, Amnesty International and CONADEP (Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas). Partnoy continues to campaign against human rights violations and has been testifying in Argentina at the trials for crimes committed during the dictatorship.
To literary scholars, this writer is perhaps best known for her testimonial

narrative in the short stories of "The Little School" / "La Escuelita". My research is focussed on her poetry collections "Venganza de la manzana" (1992) and "Volando bajito" (2005), considering Partnoy's poetry as a writing of resistance against dictatorship and injustice. This paper will seek to demonstrate that her poetry constitutes testimonio, described by Guillermina Walas as 'aquéllo que comunica y hace presente figurativamente las imágenes de un pasado irrevocable, a veces fantasmagórico y terrible que muchos preferirían poder olvidar o que fuera mera ficción, pero que por el contrario estamos en la obligación de reactivar para entender y aprender, para solidarizarnos con nuestros semejantes y emprender alianzas tanto concretas como simbólicas.' I will explore the particular possibilities that poetry offers for the expression of testimony and the ineffability of trauma. I will also analyse how poetic form is used by Partnoy to counteract the loss of voice that her authoritarian captors wished to impose upon her.

# P21

# Journal editors' workshop

**Convenors: Rory Miller (University of Liverpool); Jasmine Gideon (Birkbeck, University of London)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00**
**Location: ATB G113**

**Panel abstract**

This panel is aimed at those who are just starting to submit articles or to receive requests to referee papers. The editors of leading journals in Latin American studies will explain briefly what sort of papers they are looking for, how they evaluate articles, how they would advise authors to respond to referees' reports, and how to report on an article by another author, if invited to do so by an editor. After brief introductions from each of the journals present on the panel, the format will be a Question-and-Answer one.

# P22

# Gender, machismo and marianismo in 21st century Latin America

**Convenor: Jimmy Turner (University of Hull)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30, 11:00-12:30**
**Location: ATB G114**

**Panel abstract**

This panel seeks to draw together views from across disciplines on machismo and marianismo in 21st Century Latin America, particularly questioning whether there is any regional commonality and continuity. A variety of theoretical and substantive paper proposals is encouraged.

**Chair: Suzanne Clisby (University of Hull)**

### Marianismo revisited: the appropriation of the Virgin Mary by Catholic women in Quito

*Maria Calderon*

The quintessential role model for catholic women is the Virgin Mary. She represents the church's ideal feminine characteristics: obedience to God, chastity and a complete dedication to motherhood. In regions where Catholicism is important such as Latin America, many academics have argued that the Virgin strongly influences how women behave and are socially judged. For some, the influence of the Virgin is positive. However, for others the effect of the Virgin is damaging as she presents a limited and essentialist model of femininity that gives an inordinate amount of importance to sexual purity. However, the actual way that women perceive and relate to the Virgin has not been adequately explored. In this paper I will look at the cult of the Virgin Mary in terms of its practices and its meanings. I did fieldwork in Quito, Ecuador from 2004 to 2006; I interviewed middle class women, most of them married and between 30 and 50 years old. I found out that these women strongly identify with the Virgin Mary; they view her not only as a role model but mainly as a protector and a mother. Furthermore, the Virgin is not regarded as an afflicted figure or victim but instead as a brave

and empowered woman. The image they have of the Virgin contrasts with the Church's views that emphasis her obedience and sexual purity. Thus, I argue that the Virgin has become the property of these Catholic women and an icon of resistance of male imposed Catholic rules.

**The image of women in Marianismo and Franquista National Catholicism: a comparative analysis**

*Rosa Garcia-Orellan (Universidad Publica de Navarra)*

The paper begins by comparing the literature on Latin American marianismo with Spanish National Catholicism of Franquismo, as found in the Basque port of Pasaia between 1939, the end of the Civil War, to the end of desarrollismo in the 1970s. There, the ideal woman was a housewife, a model promoted by the Falange, through its Sección Feminina, which promoted the image and values of the ideal woman. Key elements included marriage, especially regarding reproduction; the wife's work as "contributing the family wage"; and the image of the ethereal woman: the woman, heart of the home, submissive and attentive to her husband. This ideological framework permeated the world of the woman defined as housewife, which was consolidated in Spain through large, extended families. By the 1970s, however, the ideal was the woman in the nuclear family and she was being forced by economic necessity to occupy a public space alongside her traditional private one. It is in this new reality that we find the roots of the changes, conflicts and newly emerging norms that combined to produce a new reality for women in the twenty-first century. Analysing marianismo within this framework will give us a fresh approach to understanding women's emerging roles.

**Understanding early mothering in Chile today: affordances and limitations of marianismo as a key theoretical tool**

*Marjorie Murray (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)*

For decades, several authors have claimed that marianismo is a fundamental concept for understanding kinship, gender and the maternal self in Latin America (e.g. Stevens 1977, Morandé 1984, Montecino 1991) claiming that the cult of feminine spiritual and moral superiority leads, in turn, to abnegation or the infinite capacity of sacrifice and humility. At the same time, anthropological accounts of mothering in different contexts in the region have turned down this theoretical tool as either too general to account for the specificities of ethnographic findings

or as simply inadequate.

In my ongoing ethnographic research on early mothering in different contexts in Chile I have studied the process of becoming a mother -concretely from late pregnancy until the child turns one year of age – of 32 women in Santiago and the Araucanía Region, including women of different class and ethnic identities, living in urban and rural locations. The focus on this process accounts for the materialization of different personal and normative expectations regarding motherhood as well as the everyday coping and decision-making. Based in my findings in this paper I discuss the affordances and limitations of marianismo as a theoretical frame for an understanding of motherhood in Chile today. I claim that regardless of its unsuitability and inaccuracy in a range of cases and contexts, marianismo remains a useful tool to account for class and ethnic differences regarding mothering and kinship, as well as for the various existing tensions between normative expectations and women's everyday experience.

**Representations of men in Colombia's marginalised communities: 'Barbaric' masculinity?**

*Sarah Parry (University of Liverpool)*

Colombia has an unquestioned history of violence. This violence has taken place in various locations and to varying degrees of severity, however, it has been a constant since independence. Throughout the many periods of violent conflict, particular violent actors have been overwhelmingly focused upon as its principal perpetrators. In this paper, I focus on the most recent cycle of urban violence, from the mid-1980s to the mid-2000s, and its focus on peripheral young men as protagonists of this form of violence. Using a number of Colombian testimonios and documentaries from this period, this paper will explore representations of young men in peripheral urban communities through a discussion of the resurgence of the civilisation and barbarism discourse and its imageries. Although the concept of machismo has been significant historically in constructing representations of masculinities in some areas of the Latin American region, this paper suggests that, in Colombia at least, it is not sufficient. Here, masculinities related to violence are aligned with a more global model of violent masculinity, based on a generally peripheral urban location rather than the nation states or geographical regions.

**Gaúchas and the heterogeneity of machismo: does machismo make analytical sense in the south of Brazil?**

*Jimmy Turner (University of Hull)*

This paper will draw on ethnographic research in the Southern Brazilian city of Florianópolis to analyse women's views and experiences of machismo. It focuses on middle-class women who have migrated from the neighbouring state of Rio Grande do Sul, a state which is stereotyped as being hyper-machista, and whose women (gaúchas) are frequently described as long-suffering and subordinate. I separate the gaúchas I researched into the 'generation of mothers' and the 'generation of daughters' to demonstrate how the view of what constitutes machismo, and therefore whether a man is classified as machista, is mediated through generation and experience. I question whether this renders 'machismo' analytically meaningless, or whether enough similarity remains for it to be a useful analytical tool. Beyond this I question whether machismo requires a subordiate marianismo-esque counterpart and whether such an assumption tends to be assumed of women in places heavily associated with machismo, as has been the case for gaúchas. The women I researched saw gaúchas instead as typified by a comparable toughness and rugged frontier mentality to the male gaúcho of myth, women who to them are more than a match for even the most machista of men. My question will then become whether using a clearly heterogeneous machismo which seems to lack a clear female counterpoint as a frame through which to understand gender in the South of Brazil makes any sense, and what this might mean for understandings of gender in Latin American more widely.

**Gender and political representations in Brasília, Brazil**

*Daniela Ramos (University of Brasília)*

The article presents some preliminary results of a doctorate thesis. It analyses to what extent and how social gender roles – both female and male – are related to political roles, generating distinctive ways of relating to the political field. Since the feminist literature argues that there is an association between gender roles and patterns of insertion on the political public sphere, the article explores how this association is manifested empirically in a specific social context through a qualitative case study in the city of Brasilia. Women's and men's representations on gender and politics have been captured through in-depth interviews. Based on these, the concepts of marianismo and machismo are discussed.

Even though Brazilian society has been transforming masculinities and

femininities, some important structural dimensions that shape gender identities are still in place. The sexual division of labor has not been significantly altered even if it is true that both women and men (the latter, on a slower pace) have changed their ways of using time regarding non-paid work. Also in terms of changes, both groups are ready to accept that women have achieved more prominent social roles, including in politics. Nevertheless, traditional gender practices and representations are strongly accepted. Women's participation in politics is viewed under the lens of female stereotypes, such as honesty, compassion, and kindness. In addition, religion is one of the greatest sources of gender representations and political references. Religion provides powerful gender narratives that are used by interviewees to talk about a phenomenon that remains largely naturalized.

# P23

# Indian imaginaries in Peru

**Convenors: James Scorer (University of Manchester); Charlotte Gleghorn (Royal Holloway, University of London); Paul McAleer (University of Hull)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: ATB G113**

**Panel abstract**

This panel analyses the influence of indigeneity on Peruvian cultural imaginaries and practices. Engaging with diverse theories of transculturation, it asks how the Indian dismantles, disrupts or underpins cultural products, forms and policies as part of a struggle over power structures.

**Inca imaginaries in colonial festivals of the Viceroyalty of Peru**

*Sara Gonzalez (Birkbeck, University of London)*

The dynasty of Inca kings is a constant motif in festival iconography of the Viceroyalty of Peru, a bit the same as the rulers of the House of Habsburg or of the Crown of Aragon in European Spanish territories. But in the Peruvian context, the monarchs are often performed by actors. Promoted in various ways by the

social groups of the viceregal system, the Incas are conferred symbolic values and political messages of different sign. An analysis of their apparel, attributes and entourage, and of their performative role in festive parades, gives valuable clues about class interaction and about the long struggle of the indigenous peoples of Peru for legal representation and self-determination. I will look as how the image of the Incas is reconstructed according to European concepts of single rule and 'legitimate' succession, as well as proximity to the Christian God; I will examine the use of old chronicles and illustrated codices in this process, and consider the differences between Cuzco (the old Inca capital, where the actual descendants of the Inca still lived and performed their ancestors) and Lima (the viceregal capital, where native non-Inca lords were compelled to demonstrate their status by identification with the Incas). I will look as well at the role of the reenacted monarchs in regions of the viceroyalty distant from the capitals, such as Potosí, la Paz or Chuquisaca. The paper will conclude with a brief panorama of the use of Incan symbolism during the age of liberation and independence of the Sourth American nations.

**Photography and foundational depictions of indigeneity in *El Perú Ilustrado* magazine (1887-1892)**

*Maria Chiara D'Argenio (King's College London)*

Considered the first Peruvian illustrated magazine, *El Perú Ilustrado* (1887-1892) supported the modernizing programme put in place by Peruvian ruling classes during the national reconstruction that was carried out after the Pacific War (1879-1883). The magazine's general aim was 'to be an agent of progress'. As the title itself suggests, visuality was a key aspect. *El Perú Ilustrado* offered a multifaceted iconography that aimed to show the development of the country and become a visual archive of its history.

Peruvian subjects were depicted within clearly divided genres. 'Portraits' and 'types' were used to reproduce the social and racial hierarchies of contemporary society. While urban citizens were represented as independent individuals, indigenous people were shown as signs of categories. Significantly, the depiction of 'Indians' from the Amazon was larger in number than that of 'Indians' from the Andes. Reflecting the elite's political agenda of conquering and colonizing the uncharted jungle, the visual and verbal discourses on both Indigenous groups ambivalently shifted from exoticism to the need to forcefully civilize the primitive.

Drawing on *El Perú Ilustrado's* photography-based engravings, litho-photographs and texts on indigenous subjects, I will discuss, firstly, how these images articulated contemporary discourses of primitivism, degeneration and civilization; secondly, how the magazine used the 'documentary' function of photography to argue the almost scientific objectivity of its position; thirdly, the extent to which this magazine set the basis for later visual representations of Peruvian Indigenous subjects, such as the Indigenista depictions from the early 20th century and beyond.

**Photography, ruins and Indians**

*James Scorer (University of Manchester)*

During the first half of the twentieth century, Peruvian photographers worked alongside historians and archaeologists as part of a widespread fascination with pre-Colombian ruins. For many Peruvian intellectuals, Inca ruins offered a unique and concrete set of motifs around which national and regional identities could be refashioned in the face of the rapid and destabilising transformations brought about by mechanisation, modernisation and land reform.

In this paper I will look at the role of photography within this project of mobilising ruins, focusing especially on the presence of Indians in images that include ruined sites. On the one hand, photography was used as a scientific tool that lent visual authority to written documentary research. In such images indigenous figures were scientific yardsticks for the photographic gaze: literal and metaphorical measuring tools, they lent an aura of authenticity to both image and ruin. On the other, however, expedition and society photographers documented ruins as the site for lunch breaks, outings, and party gatherings. As vestiges of the past, ruins in these photographs are no longer objects of scientific study or sacrosanct spaces of the Inca past. Instead, they become sites of habitation and engagement.

What role, therefore, do indigenous figures play in this photographic corpus? Are they ever transformed from objects of the past into active stakeholders in the photographic project of ongoing presence? And what does their inclusion in more quotidian, playful images of ruins do in terms of their political and cultural agency?

**Transculturation and indigeneity: a study of the symbols and narrative structures in Ciro Alegría's *Los perros hambrientos* and *El mundo es ancho y ajeno***

*Paul McAleer (University of Hull)*

Taking as a theoretical starting point Walter Mignolo's work on hybridity and the translanguaging of culture, this paper will argue that the meaning(s) of any text is dependent on the cultural perspective/knowledge through which an analysis is made. Its aim, therefore, is to examine the local/indigenous symbols and narrative structures that are inscribed within Alegría's two novels: Los perros hambrientos and El mundo es ancho y ajeno. In the first part, the paper will examine the symbols of transculturation in the novels, such as 'la serpiente' or 'San Isidro', that have acquired double meanings within the region (stemming from Western and Quechua mythology). In the second, it will analyse how the symbols and narrative structure of the novels re-articulate Quechuan/indigenous legends, concentrating mainly on the myth of genesis de-coded by the anthropologist, Rodolfo Kusch, from the manuscript created by Joan Santa Cruz Pachacuti yamqui Salcamayhua. In this respect, it will be argued that the reader must look beyond the codes of realism (the realist and indigenismo descriptions of Andean culture) and examine other aspects of the novels in order to locate the double-cultural codes that underpin them. As a conclusion, I shall explore the possibility that through such re-articulations of different codes the texts express a palimpsest of mentalities. As such, the paper challenges the notion of the subaltern and silenced indio by asserting that, in some examples, seemingly Western texts, like the novel, produced within the Andean region are very often constructed out of the local cultural paradigms that they are purported to have silenced or imagined.

**'Supercholo' and the indigenous sporting hero**

*David Wood (University of Sheffield)*

Sport in Peru has tended to be the domain of members of the white social elites and, since the 1920s, of Afro-Peruvians (notably in football, volleyball, boxing). Since the 1960s, however, there has been an increased presence of indigenous sporting figures in the national media, both in terms of men and women who excel in their chosen field and of fictional characters. Focusing on visual representations that have appeared in a variety of sources and media over recent decades, particular attention will be given to the place of Peruvian sporting figures in national competitions, and at international events such as the 2012 London

Olympics. The presence or absence on such occasions will be considered in the context of 'Supercholo', the comic superhero who has featured in the Peruvian media during several periods of recent years. This study will consider the ways in which these representations contribute to the position of the indigenous in the contemporary national imaginary.

**Indigenous filmmaking in Peru: utopia or reality?**

*Charlotte Gleghorn (Royal Holloway, University of London)*

The category of Indigenous film is widely contested, not least because it is often employed as a surrogate for a diverse array of formats and genres. Film festivals around the world utilise the term as a means to garner wider recognition for Native media, to assert difference in the face of processes of homogenisation, and to leverage funding to enable production. In Peru, this category poses particular challenges owing to the problematic usage of the signifier 'indigenous'. As has been widely documented (cf. de la Cadena 2000), to speak of indigeneity in Peru is a complex and fraught process which differs markedly from the neighbouring contexts of Bolivia and Ecuador.

The distinctiveness of the Peruvian scenario is not arresting the desire for an Indigenous media movement, however, outwardly voiced in recent events such as the Premio Anaconda in Lima (2011), and the CLACPI International Indigenous Film and Video Festival in Colombia (2012). During these events mediamakers argue for the importance of self-determination through the image, with films such as *Iskay yachay* (Sacha Videastas, 2005), *El perro del hortelano* (2009) and *La travesía del Chumpi* (Fernando Valdivia, 2011) demonstrating a variety of thematics and aesthetic strategies. In the context of the recent international attention garnered by Claudia Llosa's films, this paper considers how Peruvian video productions that feature in Indigenous film festivals challenge, or not, existing imaginaries of indigeneity in Peru. How may this category reimagine the cultural landscape of Peru, disrupting the dominance of lo andino in the nation's imaginary?

**Disputing Indian imaginaries: Andean pop stars in neoliberal Peru**

*James Butterworth (Royal Holloway, University of London)*

In this paper I consider how the singing stars that provide the faces of the commercial huayno music industry in Peru disrupt imaginaries of the Indian and of indigeneity. Although the figure of the Indian in Peruvian culture has

commonly been represented as retrograde, marginal, and incompatible with modernity, producers and consumers of commercial huayno have fashioned an alternative public sphere that contests such an imaginary. However, while the 'hyper-real' Indian has often been conceived of as socially and biologically inferior s/he has frequently been viewed as culturally rich – the guardian of pure, essential, and authentic culture. Again, commercial huayno mounts a serious challenge to such essentialism as it makes little reference to cultural authenticity or reified difference. Indeed, mestizo, criollo, and traditionalist groups are likely to believe that huayno practitioners exhibit commercial crassness and represent the bad taste of an indigenous and inferior take on modernity that is not in keeping with their understanding of 'authentic' Andean culture. Thus, I examine how contradictory imaginings of the Indian are sustained and made invisible from different subject positions within complex systems of power. More broadly, I am interested in how the distribution of agency in the construction and contestation of contemporary indigenous imaginaries is affected by globalisation and Peru's firm embrace of neoliberalism.

# P24

# Imagination as social practice in contemporary Cuba

**Convenors: Rebecca Ogden (University of Manchester); Patrick O'Shea (University of Manchester)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30**
**Location: UP 4.214**

**Panel abstract**

This panel explores the imagination as a social practice in contemporary Cuba.

**Imagination, encounter and exchange in contemporary Cuban tourism**

*Rebecca Ogden (University of Manchester)*

Cuba's economic crisis of the 1990s, following the Soviet bloc collapse and the ongoing US embargo, meant a radical rupture in the direction of its social

revolution and forced the strategic growth of the tourist industry in order to generate foreign exchange. Despite the conditions of poverty Cubans endured during the Special Period, the tourism sector was "highly conditioned and structured to meet a tourist's needs – physical, emotional and sexual" (Cabezas, 2006: 509). In Cuba's current touristic exchanges, lack of material resources is often compensated for by the appropriation of other seemingly abundant type of capital – exotic, human, emotional, social, affective – which are marketed as inherent features of the landscape and population. Beyond scholarship's previous focus on sex-for-money encounters (O' Connell Davidson, 1996; Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2004) this project aims to explore the complex politics of encounters that operates in contemporary tourism in Cuba, based on discourses of fantasy, sexuality, morality, the exotic, love and human solidarity.

**Cubaness as an imaginative construction in Leonardo Padura Fuentes' production**

*Diana Battaglia (University of Leeds)*

My paper will investigate the representation of Cubaness as an imagined construction in Leonardo Padura Fuentes' novels.

Once the creation of a new Cuban nation was declared in political terms, the revolution started the creation of the new nation in terms of common identity. Considering a nation as an imagined political community, I argue that, form 1960s, the government edified a new national imaginary, using cultural symbols to give a image of unity and communion to the Cuban population and create the cultural base for the realization of the national project.

Cultural perception and social imagination are central to the composition of Padura Fuentes' narrative. I will show how the author exposes the effects that the creation of this national imaginary had on his characters' life. I will explain how the manipulation of collective imagination led first to the creation of a collective utopia and then to a harsh disillusion when the reality failed in complying with the imagined model. Finally I will analyse how different characters that do not fit in the revolutionary imaginary model of Cubaness are represented by Padura Fuentes. I will focus my attention on some characters representing strong violations of the official image of Cubaness (such as exiles and dissidents) to study how different Cuban identities confront themselves with the revolutionary imaginary notions of identity and nation. The paper, thus, will analyse how Padura Fuentes critiques the stereotyped revolutionary image of Cubaness, presenting Cuban identity as a wider, hybrid and plural imaginative construction.

**Diasporic absence in contemporary Cuba**

*Patrick O'Shea (University of Manchester)*

Based on the on-going PhD project of the same title, this paper proposes to rethink the concept of Cuban diaspora by exploring the experience and narration of diasporic absence in contemporary Cuba. Fundamentally, the present research examines emigration and diaspora as central features of contemporary Cuban society but, crucially, understands these processes as lived simultaneously by both those who emigrate and those who do not. Through interviews conducted in Cuba, the narratives of those who have not emigrated serve to interrogate some assumptions that characterise the study of Cuba and attempt to account for the complexity of the Cuban cultural encounter with emigration, exile and diaspora. A generational approach is employed to better understand how the absence of family members, friends, colleagues and compatriots has been experienced over several generations of Cubans living on the island. The complex, intertwined, multiple and emotional processes of migration and transnational relationships narrated in the interview material reveal the cultural penetration of the diasporic condition in the Cuban imagination. Through these various diasporic imaginaries, negotiated and edified as narratives, a more nuanced understanding is permitted of the dialogical cultural practice of diaspora in contemporary Cuban society.

# P25

# Ethics, aesthetics and new art history in Latin America

**Convenor: Ignacio Aguiló (University of Manchester)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 14:00-15:30, 16:00-17:30**
**Location: UP 4.212**

**Panel abstract**

This panel aims to examine the intersections between ethics and aesthetics in Latin American visual arts from the 1950s until present day, and how these intersections relate to issues such as the politics of representation, coloniality of power and/or political economy of art.

**El hombre en harapos: ética y estética de la desposesión**

*Gonzalo Aguilar (Universidad de Buenos Aires)*

¿Qué cosas son las que se llevan los traperos y los hombres en harapos? ¿Tan poco valor tienen que las consideramos restos y desechos? ¿Tan despreciables que las deseñamos y no nos importa lo que después harán con ellas? ¿O hay algo allí, pese a las apariencias, que es valioso y vale la pena rescatar de la basura? A través de diferentes tipos de obras del campo de la literatura, el cine y las artes plásticas, el trabajo se propone recorrer la figura del hombre en harapos en las obras de Euclides da Cunha, Clarice Lispector, Flávio de Carvalho, Hélio Oiticica y Glauber Rocha.

**An ethics of alarm and beauty: Cildo Meireles, from politics to sensation**

*Karl Posso (University of Manchester)*

Cildo Meireles (b. 1948), one of Brazil's best known contemporary artists, is celebrated internationally for his pioneering work with installations. His witty indictments of Brazil's military regime and social inequalities during the 1970s and early 1980s have been the subject of considerable academic reflection, as has his ongoing commitment to making unsettling art 'seductive'. This paper will examine how Meireles draws on his earlier, nationally contingent and

politically explicit, oeuvre in order to harness or distil alarm as an artistic means of intruding equivocally but ethically on others. In particular, the paper will look at how alarm's relationship with beauty informs the artist's peculiar brand of phenomenologically oriented ethics.

**Ethical issues in Teresa Margolles' aesthetic of death**

*Julia Banwell (University of Sheffield)*

The Mexican artist Teresa Margolles (b. 1963) has devoted her career to exposing the effects of trauma on the individual and the social body, examining the relationship between violence and absence and confronting the viewer with uncomfortable realities via a focus on marginalised bodies. The interplay between a globally accessible visual language, the artist's comments on both specifically Mexican circumstances and traumatic events occurring elsewhere in the world, and her refusal of cultural stereotypes, locate her at an intersection between the international and the local. Underlying all of her work is an interest in remains and traces, and she has worked directly with human body parts and residues, and also with other materials that have been used as carriers to transport these materials between sites of collection and exhibition, and debris collected from sites where violent incidents have occurred (for example, the London riots during the summer of 2011). The material memories of the past lives of these bodies and objects are visually explored, with dead and living bodies standing as sites of memory, trauma and reflection.

However, her artistic project at times operates within an ethical grey area, and its potential to connect these traumatised bodies and spaces is complicated by the at times uneasy power relations implicit in her engagement with marginalised dead and living bodies. The performance of the bodies of others is key to her work, and this will be examined from an ethical perspective also taking into account issues around agency and spectatorship.

**Doris Salcedo and Derrida's ghost: ethical challenges and art history's language**

*Patricia Tierney*

Rejecting the language of memory and of Freud in particular, this study of two recent works by Doris Salcedo turns to various texts by the philosopher, Jacques Derrida. It explores how his concept of spectrality, its blurring of the distinction between past and present, fact and fiction, and the haunting of one by the other

may be used to provide an art historical framework and language that is sensitive to the political and ethical dimensions of these works but also to their aesthetic and affective power.

With regard to *Plegaria Muda* (2008-2010), the study suggests that although it can be read with reference to the Colombian army's massacres of civilian youth, what is at stake is not the past as such but the viewer's engagement with it and ethical responsibility towards it. Secondly, it considers *A Flor de Piel* (2011-2012) as a visual metaphor for mourning and the way in which the work takes up Derrida's insistence that to do justice on behalf of those who are dead, mourning cannot be an act in and of itself but must recognize that "they are always there, specters." The study concludes by considering the implications of spectral survival for art history's approach to context in general and, in particular, for art history's search for alternatives to the interpretative segregation of imposed on art from outside the western centres.

**Transgressive indigeneity: race and eroticism in Argentinian art photography**

*Ignacio Aguiló (University of Manchester)*

*Chaco* (2001), Guadalupe Miles's series of photographs of a Wichí community from Salta's Chaco region in north-west Argentina introduces a series of ruptures with previous forms of representation of indigenous people in Argentinian art photography. Through the analysis of the transgressive figures of the sensualised child and the effeminate man in Miles's photos from a perspective of race, this presentation argues that these photographs pervert and subvert the modes of reception, producing a disturbing effect in the spectator that exposes the arbitrary dimension of constructions of racial difference.

**Inform(al) Matters: subaltern practices and periodicity in dictatorial Chile and Argentina**

*Sophie Halart (UCL)*

The emergence of Happenings on the Argentine artistic scene of the 1960s and of performance art in the 1970s Chilean avant-garde illustrate the advent of practices positing the dematerialisation of the art object as a necessary condition to articulate a political critique of the military regimes in place at the time. Using the artist's body as raw material, zone of mediation and conceptual tool to perturb official discourses, these works articulated anaesthetics of precariousness that

became a recognisable feature of avant-garde movements in the region and one subsequently centralised under the banner of Conceptualism.
This paper bears testimony to the saliency of such practices and engages with the precariousness of the body as a valid strategy to articulate political and ethical modes of dissent in the Southern Cone. However, it also seeks to reveal how historiographic leanings toward periodicity contributed to overshadow the work of artists working on the margins of Conceptualism. Engaging with George Bataille's discourse on the Informe as "a term that serves to bring things down in the world", this paper examines the production of Chilean painter Roser Bru and Argentine sculptress Lydia Galego whose works consider the body not so much as a conceptual given but as a zone of shifting surfaces on the perpetual brink of collapse. As such, it argues that these artists' rejection of fixed forms puts in crisis not only established discourses on the avant-garde and the body but also historiographic attempts to unify Latin American artistic practices into linear and coherent narratives.

**Representing prostitutes in Mexico City: marginality in the photographs of Maya Goded**

*Dominika Gasiorowski (Queen Mary, University of London)*

Maya Goded is one of the most renowned contemporary Mexican photographers. The subject of this paper will be her album entitled *Good Girls* (2006), which contains images of prostitutes working in the oldest red-light-district of Mexico City. After briefly situating Goded in the context of Mexican photography and its relationship with representing marginality, I will focus on the ethical tensions involved in socially engaged visual production using the *Good Girls* as an example. I will analyse the role of photography in highlighting the marginal situation of its deprived subjects and forging a cultural space for otherwise unrepresented or underrepresented people, while taking into consideration the risks of fetishizing and commercialising the suffering of others. To that end, recent theoretical debates about ethical ambiguities in documentary photography will be considered. My close analysis of a selection of photographs from the album will exemplify different representations of women within the frame of their internal displacement. The images' potential for empowerment as well as exploitation will be considered. The main goal of this examination is not to determine the moral value of Goded's engagement with the people she photographs, but to focus on teasing out the ethical intricacies of representing and looking at images of subaltern subjects.

**"No men in uniform, no children, no dogs, no women": negotiating in/visibility of women artists from 1970s Mexico**

*Erin McCutcheon (Tulane University)*

"No men in uniform, no children, no dogs, no women" read the signs posted outside cantinas at Mexico's most prestigious art school, the Academy of San Carlos, in 1975. Although seemingly living during a dawning age of feminist activism, Mexican women found themselves last on the list as women artists. Historically these artists perilously negotiated between an active local feminist movement that dismissed their art as bourgeois, and an art world that rejected their feminist politics as irrelevant – a problem that remains present to this day. Current trends in feminist, contemporary and Latin American exhibitions and art historical scholarship do not account for the unique position of these women artists. Why does not only the international art world, but also the international feminist arts movement, continue to ignore these histories?
Through an examination of three separate retrospective exhibitions where some of these artists are included, I will venture a nuanced critique of this historic and concurrent inconsistency. When included, what identities are being ascribed to these artists? What effect do the mis/non/re/presentations perpetuated by these recent exhibitions have on collective future knowledge of their histories? What does this speak to regarding the decolonization of "marginal" histories of Latin America in general? This project is not merely an unearthing of these artists and their socio-political and cultural environment, but an examination of the complex problematics involved in negotiating ghettoisation/assimilation and the developing of a transnational feminist discourse.

# P26

# Racism and anti-racism in the Americas

**Convenor: Monica Moreno Figueroa (Newcastle University)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: ATB G108**

**Panel abstract**

This panel aims to bring together research on both racism and anti-racism in

the Americas, particularly in relation to Latin American peoples.The aim of the panel is then to advance a dialogue that will consolidate the construction of anti-racist strategies at a hemispheric and transnational level.

**Anti-racism and privilege in the Americas: UNESCOs International Coalition of Cities against Racism**

*Monica Moreno Figueroa (Newcastle University)*

This paper will offer an initial analysis of recent United Nations initiatives against racism the Americas, drawing from a UNESCO's 2012 report, which promotes the good practices that emerged from the International Coalition of Cities against Racism (ICCAR). The ICCAR, launched by UNESCO in 2004, aims to establish a network of cities committed to "develop and enhance policies related to the fight against racism, discrimination and xenophobia. This report is interesting in offering a starting point to examine the top-down international, national and local initiatives throughout the world to tackle racism. The paper will concentrate in surveying the experiences in the Americas and explore what kinds of approaches and understandings of what anti-racism is and can do are being putting forward. A key interest is in assessing what kinds of subjects are at the core of this anti-racist agenda and how it is addressing whiteness and racial privilege. Furthermore, how are these initiatives dealing with the specificities and ranges of racial projects in the Americas, where discourses of mestizaje, multiculturalism and post-racial politics are in contrasting interaction?

**Contesting Eugenics: the evaluation of race in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution**

*César Palacios González (University of Manchester)*

The aim of this paper is to present and contextualize one of the first American philosophical counter-arguments against racism in the context of the first eugenics movements. From late nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century eugenic supporters, movements and policies proliferated through Europe and America. The allegedly "scientific" research, and results, on the differences between races gave racism a "scientific" foundation that was largely embraced by conservative policy makers. In some places, like the United Sates, laws were tailor made in accordance with these "scientific" results; prohibiting interracial marriages, supporting sterilization and restricting formal education to certain racial groups. Mexico and Latin America were no strangers to the influence of

eugenics and therefore racism; nonetheless the political and intellectual situation in Mexico, particularly with the Mexican Revolution of 1910, filtered in a very peculiar way the ideas of the eugenics movements. José Vasconcelos argued against a strong version of eugenics that regarded that Caucasians were at the top of the scale, and claimed in favour of the emergence of a new race "The Cosmic Race". The intention behind the emergence of this new race had two goals: the first one was to make race a materialization of Mexican national identity and the second one was to prove that traditional eugenics and racism were clearly mistaken.

**Perspectives on contemporary anti-Semitism in Latin America: the case of Mexico and its context**

*Miriam Jerade Dana; Dr Olivia Gall (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM))*

This paper aims to explore Latin-American anti-Semitism through history and discourse. Focusing on the Mexican case and its specific exposure to the state's Mestizophile ideology and its refusal to acknowledge racism, we will bring forward some defining features of this kind of racism, anti-Semitism, invested with a notorious historical density (Wieviorka 2005). Anti-Semitism displays violence without being closely related to social class or a structuring logic. Twentieth-century anti-Semitism in Mexico is connected with local migratory policies vis-à-vis Jewish refugees fleeing the Nazi regime (Gleizer 2011). It has seemed to us that hate speech bridges ideological differences from extreme right nationalism in the 1930's and left-wing anti-Zionism in recent decades. Even though physical violence erupts only in few cases, anti-Semitism in Latin America has been used a discourse device to legitimize prejudices, even with state's support as is the case today in Venezuela.
From this perspective, our paper tries to answer some questions raised at this panel: What are the national and regional resistances that prevent to recognize this particular type of ethnico-racial discrimination? How are political strategies limited when it comes to fight racial injustice?

**Race and the Hispanic America essay: Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and José Martí**

*Oleski Miranda (University of Edinburgh)*

The necessity for finding answers to major problems present at the end of

nineteenth century Hispanic America resulted in the subject of race being used by essayists and intellectuals to explain the malfunctions of the region almost a century after emancipation. At the time, theories such as positivism, Darwinism and social organicism began to influence a substantial portion of Latin American thought. For many essayists, race was viewed as a means for providing answers to the socioeconomic problems of the region while also functioning to explain the conduct and attitudes of Hispanic America's racial mix. This essay explores different visions of the subject of race using works by two of the most important Hispanic American essayists of the nineteenth century. Argentinian Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Cuban José Martí, both recognized as canonical essayists, offered distinct interpretations of race. Sarmiento was the first to utilize race to explain historical and social circumstances on the continent in one of his later works, 'Conflicto y armonías de las razas' (1893). Sarmiento used historical and biological reasoning to justify the social and economic advances of the North of the continent in comparison with the less developed South. On the contrary, José Martí's short essay, 'Mi raza' (1893), demonstrates a balanced position against all forms of racism, indicating that it could represent an obstacle for the development of emancipated Latin American republics.

**The re-configuration of racism and its narratives**

*Gisela Carlos (Universidad Veracruzana)*

This debate focuses on how the concepts of whiteness and privilege are suffering reconfigurations owing to institutional discourses that might seem anti-racist or emancipatories. In order to do so, I will engage with task such as the historical concept of Mestizaje, its narratives of class, status and knowledge and subsequently its ideological implications as well; the Abysmal Thought of Boaventura de Sousa Santos where he sets the basis to understand the ways to manage certain practices such as racism: the consensus on one side, and the violence on the other side; and finally the concept of Humanity that is intrinsically related to Latin America – or the doubt about to be human being – worked by Gordon, Maldonado-Torres and Alejandro de Oto based on the Fanonian Philosophy from the Caribean thought. We will land on these three axes through some exemplifications of the Mexican context and its education. That would be the core of this dialoge.
Keywords: Whiteness, privilege, mestizaje, abysmal thought and humanity.

# P27

# Technoscience, knowledge(s) and politics in Latin America

**Convenors: Oscar Javier Maldonado (Lancaster University); Derly Yohanna Sanchez Vargas (Lancaster University)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: ATB G109**

**Panel abstract**

Technoscience, knowledge(s) and politics in Latin America

**Passing money on with cyborgs in Chile and UK**

*Felipe Raglianti (Lancaster University)*

This work is committed with the field call Science, Technology and Society, to think about the sociotechnical gesture of passing money on with ATMs. It presents a portfolio of pictures of ATMs from Santiago in Chile, and Lancaster in the United Kingdom, highlighting how these sites of financial manipulation entail specific interactions with screens and computers. The photographic register of these interactions posits ATM as cyborgs (Haraway 1991), fusing society and technology, culture and nature, human and machine, to read with this ontology some fragments of Latin American and European policies of the digital. In this sense, I discuss differences between ATMs, like crafting them in security booths or building's walls, to compare their public existence in relation to what matters as digital development. I propose then to extend policies for digital development to this phenomenon, since it diffuses certain individual distinctions, like male and female, to generate more specific forms of being in the world. With this movement, I make these policies particularly responsible of creating some of the gaps they intend to bridge, but also I recommend ways of imagining how brief textual changes might produce more inclusive forms of passing money on.

Donna Haraway, 1991, "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," en *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, editorial Routledge, pp.149-181.

**Assessment and intervention devices for Internally Displaced People: technoscientific co-productions and rights restitution in Colombia**

*Fredy Mora-Gámez (University of Leicester)*

First, a general frame of violent internal displacement as a social problem in Colombia during the last years is outlined. After, a description of the technical devices used by psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers among other professionals to assess and treat Internally Displaced People (IDP) is provided. In addition to this, some examples of co-productions and tensions between experts, technical devices and IDP are presented. Moreover, analytical and methodological routes framed by Actor-Network Theory are proposed as plausible means for reconstructing the Victims Assistance System as a sociotechnical complex in Colombian locality. Finally, the possibilities of addressing different political implications of the management of displaced population from Science and Technology Studies is discussed.

**"Sustainability that matters": certifications, enactments and multiplicity in the Colombian sustainable coffee production**

*Derly Yohanna Sanchez Vargas (Lancaster University)*

In this paper I attempt to present the different localities, enactments and materialities of objects, practices and people involved in the production of Colombian "sustainable special coffees". This presentation drawn the mattering of Sustainability, firstly enacted as a certification, in some specific locations such as the Coffee farm (as practices to produce sustainable coffees), a group of consumers, Non-profits organizations that promote sustainability by developing standards and certifications; the International Coffee Organization and the Colombian National Federation of Coffee growers which in alliance with CENICAFE (The National Centre for Coffee Researh) create and distribute knowledge and technology for achieving sustainability in the coffee production. This paper is a first exploration for analysing how those locations interfere and co-exist together and the network that makes possible transitions to sustainable production. Finally, this description is framed by the Science and Technologies Studies (STS) as a helpful contribution to deal with such complexities

**Development, epidemiology and disease geographies: cervical cancer enactments in Latin America**

*Oscar Javier Maldonado (Lancaster University)*

This paper makes a description of the uses of the epidemiological research and its representations in the production of cervical cancer as public health concern in the Global South, in particular in Latin America. I explore the role of national communities and international organizations in the production of data and its use in the production of the disease as an entity with a material existence, located and global at the same time. Moreover, I analyse the interference between technical and political discourse in the production of images of developing countries and Development, as well as, its consequences in the production of policies.

# P28

# Interdisciplinary perspectives on nineteenth-century Latin America: race and gender, slavery and independence

**Convenor: Camillia Cowling (University of Edinburgh)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: ATB G113**

**Panel abstract**

Interdisciplinary perspectives on major nineteenth-century Latin American themes: independence, slavery and abolition.

**Chair and discussant: Natalia Sobrevilla Perea**

**Os filhos do Pai Tomás: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Brazilian anti-slavery literature**

*Charlotte Hammond Matthews (University of Edinburgh)*

In the years immediately following its publication, Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel enjoyed huge popularity and influence, and received an arguably even warmer welcome in Europe. Uncle Tom's reception in Brazil, however, appears

to have been decidedly more muted, perhaps not surprisingly given the social conditions and prevailing attitudes towards slavery in 1850s Brazil, still 35 years from abolition.

No doubt as a result of this limited early engagement with the novel, very little scholarly attention has been paid to the influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on anti-slavery discourse in Brazil. In this paper I will outline some of the differing ways in which Brazilians responded both to the figure of Harriet Beecher Stowe and to the characters and events of her famous novel. In particular, I will discuss two of the most interesting pieces of fiction to overtly address the subject of slavery in Brazil during the 1850s, both of which, I suggest, reveal the clear influence of Uncle Tom.

It is certainly of interest, and significance, to note that both of these little-known texts were written by women. What makes a reading of them particularly interesting, though, is that whilst both authors appear to have taken inspiration from the acclaim and influence won by Beecher Stowe and her book, their own social and racial backgrounds fundamentally shaped their re-workings of Tom, resulting in two markedly different texts.

**Engendering abolitionism in the Atlantic world: women and anti-Slavery rhetoric in Brazil and Cuba**

*Camillia Cowling (University of Edinburgh)*

This paper examines abolitionist rhetoric and its links to the actions of enslaved women during gradual emancipation in the last two slaveholding territories of the Americas: Brazil and Cuba. A set of gendered rhetorical strategies, developed in earlier Atlantic abolitionist campaigns, was adopted and adapted by abolitionists in Brazil, Cuba and Spain (which in this period retained its colonial hold over Cuba). Organizations and individuals aimed at emotive responses from elite audiences and readerships, generating sympathy for slaves as fellow human beings. The most effective means of indicating the universality of humanity was by evoking the rights of motherhood, depicted as essential to womanhood independently of race or legal status. Meanwhile, as each country adopted "free womb" legislation in the 1870s, enslaved women positioned themselves at the forefront of legal struggles for freedom. The rhetoric of their legal and official petitions, "translated" through the pens of scribes and representatives, both drew on and helped to reformulate broader abolitionist gendered positionings.

**Women and Independence in Latin America: a new digital resource**

*Catherine Davies (University of Nottingham)*

A presentation of a new multimedia community-contributed community-driven online resource and associated outreach activities, funded by the AHRC at University of Nottingham in collaboration with the University of Edinburgh. The project aims to stimulate debate and research on women and Independence in Latin America by building on public interest in women's involvement in the Independence Wars, triggered by the Bicentenaries, and women's unprecedented presence in Latin America politics today.

# P30

# The extra-insular island: Cuba beyond its geographical frontiers

**Convenors: Stephen Fay (King's College London); Jorge Catala-Carrasco (Newcastle University)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00**
**Location: ATB G114**

**Panel abstract**

Cuba is often portrayed as a meeting point for international cultural currents; this panel proposes to reverse the perspective and bring together explorations of the historical and modern-day presence of the island in the world, to examine the influence of transatlantic Cuba.

**Cuba and the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)**

*Jorge Catala-Carrasco (Newcastle University)*

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) dragged a thousand Cuban volunteers to fight for the Republic against Franco. Despite the close historical links between Cuba and Spain, the large community of Spaniards living in Cuba and the appeal for what has been considered the last Romantic war in Europe, the ideals of the Second Spanish Republic represented a tantalisingly real scenario through which many Cubans could channel their hopes and anxieties.The manifesto signed

by Latin American intellectuals who attended the II Congreso Internacional de Escritores para la Defensa de la Cultura in Spain (1937), declared that "España es el futuro de […] Hispanoamérica. Trabajando por el triunfo de España trabaja el escritor nuestro por el triunfo de Hispano-América". This paper will look at not only the impact of the Spanish Civil War in Cuban writers who volunteered and participated in the conflict (Pablo de la Torriente Brau, Carlos Montenegro, Alejo Carpentier), but also at their contribution during the civil war.

**The Cuban canon abroad: the foreign travels of Fernando Ortiz, Alejo Carpentier and Jorge Mañach**

*Stephen Fay (King's College London)*

Ortiz, Carpentier and Mañach are amongst the most notable Cuban writers of the twentieth-century. Between them they observed, analysed and enunciated Cuban identity and culture from the percipient perspectives of unorthodox ethnography, avant-garde literature and socio-cultural satire; to them is attributed much of the conceptual vocabulary that is still unavoidable when discussing the maravilloso, decadente and contrapuntístico Cuban condition, or cubanía, as Ortiz preferred. Yet all three writers spent considerable amounts of time away from quotidian Cuba and immersed in other, even exotic, cultural and political milieux. This paper will read across the foreign correspondence and essayistic writings of Ortiz, Carpentier and Mañach whilst in New York, Paris and Madrid respectively, examining their reflections on home and on the 'unhomely' surroundings in which they found themselves. By doing so, the paper will attempt to trace lines of thought and deed between the writers' experiences in those far-off cities and the ambivalent borders all three charted around their island and its idiosyncrasies.

**Culture without Borders: cyber journals and Cuban culture**

*Luis Perez-Simon (University of Cambridge)*

As the various waves of Cuban emigrants have settled outside of the island, they have established communities outside of the traditional Florida enclave of the Miami-Dade County area. Europe, Mexico and the Western United States in particular have seen larger number of Cuban implants since the fall of the Soviet Bloc. With the onset of internet journalism, what before had been small-circulation and locally-focused newspapers have found and ever-growing audience in cyberspace. We will examine the editorial histories, cultural politics, and main actors of three of the most influential cultural magazines outside of

Cuba: the now defunct *Revista Encuentro* (Madrid, Spain), *La Habana Elegante [segunda época]* (Texas, US), and *Otro Lunes* (Madrid, Spain/Berlin, Germany). We hope to distil the essence and consequences of the intricate web of competing, complementing and ultimately coherent interests of these journals as they pertain to the establishment of a legitimate Cuban culture outside the island of Cuba.

### *Vox humana*: a novel

*José Manuel Prieto (Seton Hall University)*

The principal protagonist of *Vox humana* is song. In the Mississippi Delta in the 1890's, organ player Leon, on a quest to improve the "vox humana" register of his Estey organ, falls in love with Ana, a Creole woman who was a talented singer in her youth but has been immersed in a stubborn silence for nearly twenty years. Their meeting empowers song in both of their lives: Ana turns to music again and Leon is led towards a more intimate 'voz humana', a style without ostentation in which all melodic lines transmit true emotion to the listener.

*Vox humana* aims to recreate a unique historical moment in the history of singing, exploring in particular the sonorous synergy between New Orleans and Havana that produced remarkable piano players such as Louis Moreau Gottschalk, who premiered his famous opera "Les Nuit des Tropiques" in Cuba and helped introduce the Cuban contradanza (identified by some musicologist as the early roots of ragtime and the first jazz) to the United States.

The preeminence of singing among today's musical expressions and the impact of singing in modern life has never been dealt with in fiction. In presenting his novel, José Manuel will also discuss the challenges that writing the book presented, talking in particular about his research amongst the many important vocal art sources in the New York Public Library (amongst the PerfArts-Music, Popular Culture and Rare Book collections) and in the Hammerstein Archives of Recorded Sound.

# P31

# Social policies in Latin America: considerations on the post-neoliberal era

**Convenor: Beatriz Junqueira Lage Carbone (Goethe University Frankfurt)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: UP 4.214**

**Panel abstract**

This panel aims to discuss the current stage of social policies in Latin America. In particular, we encourage contributions that address empirically the Conditional Cash Transfer Programs as well as papers that build on the consolidation of social protection systems in the region.

*Discussant: Alvaro Comin*

**The politics of cash transfers in Chile and Ecuador**

*Romina Miorelli (University of Westminster)*

This paper will look at the institutional and socio-political configurations behind the design, implementation and reformulations of Cash Transfer (CT) programmes in Chile and Ecuador – Chile Solidario and Bono de Desarrollo Humano. It will analyse, from a discursive-institutionalist theoretical perspective (Panizza and Miorelli, 2012), how political struggles among actors in these configurations have shaped the programmes in terms of priorities and changes. For instance, it will look at how these struggles moulded decisions regarding the CTs emphasis on either short-term (income) or long-term (human capital) objectives or changes such as the recent incorporation of school performance conditions in Chile's CTs under the new Ingreso Etico Ciudadano. The paper will present research findings from fieldwork in Chile and Ecuador based on interviews to policy makers and implementers as well as to socio-political actors influencing decision-making processes in this policy area. Chile and Ecuador have been chosen in order to compare two South American countries with

significantly different characteristics, especially in terms of their socio-economic structures, economic development strategies, and, last but not least, their past and current politics.

Reference: Panizza, F. and R. Miorelli (2012) Taking Discourse Seriously: Discursive Institutionalism and Post-structuralist Discourse Theory. *Political Studies*. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2012.00967.x

**Political liberalisation and social policy in Brazil and Mexico: divergent paths in healthcare sector reforms**

*Ricardo Velazquez Leyer (University of Bath); Juan Pablo Ferrero (University of Bath)*

This paper seeks to discuss the complex relationship between political liberalisation and social policy reform. The study is guided by the following research question: what type of institutional arrangements lie behind the generation of universalistic systems of social protection, and what type of institutional arrangements favour the reproduction of existing inequalities? Brazil and Mexico offer interesting comparable reasons to research the former as these two countries have undertaken different models of healthcare reform alongside the implementation of similar processes of political liberalisation. In Brazil a universalistic system (Sistema Único de Saúde) was instituted in 1988, whereas in Mexico an additional insurance programme (Seguro Popular de Salud) was layered to the existing social insurance programmes in 2002. Our argument is that the answer to this puzzle lies in the understanding of the effects of the institutional arrangements that existed at the time of the reforms. Drawing on historical institutionalism, we argue that while the production of a critical juncture was central to forge a universal healthcare system in Brazil, in the case of Mexico, political conditions favoured the reproduction of the system's fragmented nature. Three key dimensions triggered and shaped the different paths followed in the two countries: the type of political liberalisation, the system of industrial relations and the level of institutional influence of the left. Results show that social policy reform can serve the purpose of the conservation of power structures but it can also crystallise progressive change.

**Stigmatization and special moneys: social implications of a CCT in Montes de María, Colombia**

*Maria Elisa Balen (University of Bristol)*

While women are not necessarily the main objective of CCTs, these programs tend to target women within households as the cash recipients. This has brought about criticisms on account of the treatment of women as instruments rather than subjects of policy(i.e. Molyneux, 2009), as well as the signalling of problematic trade-offs between program objectives and the extra-burden CCTs place on already time-poor women. The issue of female empowerment, thus, has become an important subject of contention within discussions of CCT impacts. Usually approached through household surveys and focus groups, results so far are not very conclusive and require a deeper understanding of how these transfers affect the different power relations that shape these women's choices.
Based on ethnographic data and extensive interviews in the Montes de María region in Colombia, this paper addresses some of the main problems identified by CCT beneficiary mothers: the long payment queues, dealing with commercial establishments, humiliation and stigmatization. A key aspect of the displacements, points of tension and contradictions emerging from the intersection of CCTs and existing communities seems to be the substance of cash subsidies as such: money. Following the money thread, I 1) argue why is it that this money is so important for the beneficiaries, and 2) propose to conceptualize CCTs as special moneys –this money is socially marked in ways that affect its users and influence the way it is circulated and spent.

**Is social spending supporting human development? Evidence from Oaxaca, Mexico**

*Ady P. Carrera-Hernandez (El Colegio Mexiquense, A. C.)*

In the last 15 years, the Mexican government has increased the amount of CTPs aimed at supporting the poorest social groups. Particular attention has been given to funding human development (HD) in rural areas with indigenous population. The aim of this paper is to show how the investment of government funds, such as the programme 'Oportunidades', has resulted in contrasting outcomes in similar communities. Based on fieldwork carried out in two indigenous municipalities from Oaxaca, Mexico, the paper provides empirical evidence about the factors that, beyond the technical design of transfers, shape the outcomes of human development funding. The communities analysed are, according to the United

Nations Development Programme, among the 20 with the highest increase in the Human Development Index within the country. The evidence suggests that no matter the amount of social spending, if the agency capacity of this kind of communities is not strengthened, the outcomes from those resources will not be effective neither sustainable. The study may contribute to the debate about the complexity of overcoming poverty in less developed countries.

**Needs-talk and Rights-talk: Insights into the "Bolsa Família" Program Public Debate in Brazil**

*Beatriz Junqueira Lage Carbone (Goethe University Frankfurt)*

The establishment of a minimum income has been a point of controversy in Brazilian politics and society since the last 20 years. On one hand, advocates for the implementation of such a policy have characterized it as a right inherent to every human being, this way, framing it in terms of human rights. On the other hand, it has been rationalized as a matter of rights of citizenship. This last perspective argues that providing people with standards enough to enable them to exercise their rights of citizenship is one of the main duties a State is compromised with.

The main point here is the ability of the preponderant discourses on needs to detach poverty from some of the sources of socio-economic and political inequality to which it is related. By stressing some sets of problems and setting aside others, each approach makes a choice for conflicting conceptions on: The relationship between state and society, the relations between global and local and what belongs to the public sphere and what concerns to the private realm in matters of needs.

In this paper, I present an overview of the debate on the "Bolsa Família" Program from 2004 to 2012, and briefly discuss the main reasoning present in it. Discussions concerning questions such as: "who is entitled to the program", "what should be provided, food or money", and "how to make the poor more productive" are informed by theories, and ideologies. What do they tell us about social consensus on poverty and inequality in Brazil?

# P32

# Populism and clientelism within political practices in Latin America

**Convenors: Maria Urbina (University of Nottingham); Maya Collombon (Institute of Political Sciences)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30, 11:00-12:30**
**Location: ATB G109**

**Panel abstract**

This panel proposes to revise both populism and clientelism focusing in the political practices in order to identify possible to find the empirical evidence which allow to identify populism on political practices in a comparative perspective

**Chair and discussant: Maya Collombon**

### Lázaro Cárdenas, governor of the state of Michoacán, 1928-1932: preparing a populist national government for 1934-1940?

*Olivia Gall (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM))*

Between 1928 and 1932 future Mexican President Cárdenas governed the State of Michoacán. By 1928 he was very close and loyal to former President and "Gran Jefe" -the man behind the presidency- Calles, who was a progressive revolutionary statesman, but was not considered to be a representative of "the socialism of the Mexican Revolution". Nevertheless, between 1920 and 1928, Cárdenas had been in close contact: with Francisco Múgica and with Adalberto Tejeda, both radical governors of Michoacán and Veracruz in the twenties, and with the problematic of the Mexican oil, owned by very powerful foreign companies and with their Mexican workers.
From the moment he took office in Michoacán until the last day of his governorship, in crucial spheres such as the agrarian, the educational, the organizational, the religious, etc., Cárdenas developed a social policy and a relationship between society and State that surprised more than one. On one hand his government was more "to the left" than the sonorense governments that Obregón and Calles had

represented between 1920 and 1928. But on the other hand his government also proved to be different from those of his "leftist" homologues and friends, Múgica and Tejeda, mainly in the sense that conciliation became one of its main features. The particular traits of Cradenás' government in Michoacán were new in the country's post-revolutionary politics. This paper will discuss to what extent can this government, with no doubt a regional rehearsal of his future Presidency, be considered as characteristic of a "populist government"?

**El Cardenismo: an institutionalized populist model for reconstructing post-revolutionary countries?**

*Eitan Ginzberg (Kibbutzim College of Education)*

Cardenas's mass politics was not an aim in itself. It was a political strategy for achieving other goals: social empowerment, economic modernization and political sovereignty; all under strict conditions of social peace, rule of law and democracy. The last thing President Cardenas wanted was to use force. This is the reason why he insisted on organizing the masses rigidly, even contrary to the syndicalist instincts of the workers and other sectors bound up in his new founded PRM (Partido de la Revolución Mexicana).

Despite the array of unmediated "clientele-like" relations Cardenas established with statesmen, politicians, military officers, intellectuals, writers, academics, lawyers, local leaders, priests and Christian rebels, explained by him as a necessity in a country of so many conflicting interests, Cardenas was a staunch advocate of political institutionalization. For him this was a sine qua non condition for acquiring legitimacy for his radical agrarianism, and his policies of oil industry nationalization, indigenism, advanced socialist education, and labor and party political corporatism.

In this sense, we suggest redefining or extending the concepts of populism and clientelism as "institutionalized populism" and "institutionalized clientelism", which accurately describe the Mexican case during Cardenas's era and after. This type of populism could be taken as a starting point for a study of other political styles of power accumulations on behalf of peaceful radical reform projects in both Latin America countries and other developing countries.

**From desarrollismo to ventajismo: AD and COPEI clientelism in Caracas' barrios (1958-late 70's)**

*Serge Ollivier (Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne/ MASCIPO)*

The Venezuelan « magical state » (Coronil, 1997) took a social turn with the advent of the Fourth Republic in 1958: the elite of the new democratic regime legitimated its takeover by distributive social policies toward new urban poor (Gonzalez, Lacruz 2008).
"Populist", the organization of social plans was linked to charismatic national leaders starting with Wolfang Larrazabal and his Plan de emergencia para los barrios in 1958; "clientelistic", the distribution of public materials was managed by militants of Punto Fijistas leading parties (AD and COPEI).
This paper aims to question, on the base of first hand sources, complementarities and blurred boundaries between state populism and local clientelism during the first two decades of the Venezuelan Fourth Republic. Electoral races then appeared preceded, and dominated, by clientelistic competition between the two ruling parties.
The understanding of populism as a constant and quite managed state of societal and political emergency (Hermet, 2001) helps here to analyze the central part of partisan networks in the management of social public policies. AD and COPEI were, therefore, the real "institutions" of social and developmental policies in the Caribbean petro-state.
This paper will be based on the analysis of fieldwork data collected in Caracas' slums (the barrios) and in ministerial archives. Thus, social policies of the Punto Fijo's regime are studied comparing governmental discourse and national legal framework with local practices in help-seeking urban communities of Caracas.

**Social capital, weak ties and patronage as alternative paths for poor communities to get access to collective goods**

*Antonio Prates (Federal University of Minas Gerais)*

This paper deals with the issue of the relationship between social capital and "weak ties" in the poor communities' context. I suggest that weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) can be defined as connections between the poor community and the institutional actors as local public agencies, politicians and altruistic NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations). These connections (weak ties) relating the community with the public local agencies may be of two kinds: the first one is the connection made by the civic associations coming from the

community. In this case, it is clear that there is a stock of social capital being used; the second one, are the connections (weak ties) articulated by "rent-seeking" leaderships or politicians, through patron-client ties, looking for winning, for example, elections. In this case we think that there is no social capital in action, but individual social capital that is being used for providing collective goods or public benefits to poor communities. In this sense, our hypothesis confronts the main stream assumption of social capital literature saying that patronage is always an amoral social arrangement at the service of the patron (Putnam, R., Nanetti, R. and Nanetti, L., 1993). On the contrary to this assumption we found that patronage may be seen as an alternative path to social capital for poor communities getting efficient results from larger society.

**Political practices within the neoliberal state: Clientelism in the Chilean Socialist Party**

*Maria Urbina (University of Nottingham)*

The Chilean Socialist Party (PSCh) is defined as complex institution characterising by its capacity to adapt to its contexts (Panebianco, 1988). PSCh political culture (Elkins, 1993) is characterized by the presence of internal factions headed by strong leaders Within factions, it is found clientelistic power relations between members and leaders. as a consequence of highly individualised power relations, mixed with authoritarian practices .Clientelism is described as the exclusive distribution of private goods (selective incentives) between members and leaders in order to assure leaders positions. Resulting from Neoliberalism the collective incentives are replaced by selective incentives between leaders and members with internal electoral purpose. Therefore, the individual link between leaders and members replaced collective linkages among party members. During the "Consertacion de Partidos por la Democracia" administration (1990-2010) clientelism took shape through the distribution of positions within the state bureaucratic apparatus. This paper wants to discuss whether practices are the result of Neoliberal transformations in political practices within the party.

**Populism and democratic consolidation: a comparative study between Bolivia and Ecuador, lessons to be learned**

*Mauricio Jaramillo*

During the twentieth century, both populism and democratic consolidation were highly studied issues in Latin America. The emergence of Latin American populism with Getulio Vargas and Juan Domingo Peron caught the attention of sociologists like Germani, Di Tella, and Weffort. Years later and with the so-called third wave of democratization, democratic consolidation became a key issue to be analyzed. Two of the most significant cases of recent democratic consolidation and populism are found in Bolivia and Ecuador. In the case of Ecuador, a new constitution that changed relations between the executive and the legislative branches was adopted. These series of reforms sought to combat the political instability that marked the Ecuadorian regime; this to the extent that, since 1996, no Ecuadorian president had been able to finish their term in office. Meanwhile, Bolivia was also the scene of a constitutional reform of consideration that sought, amongst others, to include the indigenous population within the nation state project. Although most of the population in Bolivia is in fact indigenous, never before had a president of that group been chosen. With this in mind, both the Ecuadorian and Bolivian projects reflect attempts to reconstitute the system all while supported in populism. Consequently, this paper aims to compare the way the governments of Evo Morales and Rafael Correa have appealed to constitutional populism in order to consolidate democracy. Hence, this document is divided into three parts: a) causes of populism, b) historical features and c) the effects of populism on democratic consolidation.

# P33

# Radical Americas I: Latin American Marxisms of the Cold War era

**Convenors: Geoff Goodwin (Institute for the Study of the Americas, UCL); William Booth (UCL)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: UP 4.213**

**Panel abstract**

This panel will open the Radical Americas narrative by exploring variants of twentieth-century Marxism which have a markedly Latin American aspect.

**Early visions of empowerment: the radical Latin American contestation of human development**

*Ana Estefanía Carballo (University of Westminster)*

Globally, but in Latin America in particular, the mushrooming of participatory practices of democracy and entrepreneurial projects of development has accompanied the consolidation of the Human Development (HD) paradigm, in shifting the locus of development to the individual. Welcomed as a quasi-revolutionary project that opened a long overdue space for the 'voiceless and the powerless', the HD discourse framed in the work of Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom (1990), has become the backbone of the mainstream development practices implemented in Latin America throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. Even when in the last decade many political projects attempt to challenge these ideas, the work of international agencies and some of the national governments in the region remains tied to the HD perspective. The promotion of the individual's political and economic empowerment within participatory practices of democracy has, however, an antecedent in the radical Latin American political projects of the 60s-70s. With a central focus on the role of the individual in achieving socio-economic emancipation, Liberation Theology (e.g. Gustavo Gutierrez and Leonardo Boff) and Critical Pedagogy (e.g. Paulo Freire) present several convergences with and challenges to HD and the work of Sen in particular. This paper theoretically critiques the latter's conception of human empowerment

from the perspective of those radical human-centred projects of liberation. By bringing together two sets of literature this paper will explore the limits of the potential of mainstream development practices of empowerment to effectively achieve Development as freedom for the individual, and thus, its emancipation.

**Fashioning the future via the past: Marxist debates about history and 1960's Latin American Radicalism**

*David Mayer*

The 'long 1960s' in Latin America have – under the pervasive impact of the Cuban Revolution – seen an unprecedented upswing in social mobilisations and generalised unrest. Critical and radical intellectuals played an important role in this commotion. In that, not only a general revival of Marxism was of paramount importance but more specifically an upsurge in intense Marxist debates about Latin American history: The question if Latin America in colonial times and in 19th century had been 'feudalist' or 'capitalist' and which 'mode of production' had predominated became a broad intellectual concern. These debates not only directly reflected in currents such as Dependency theory, they involved also high and passionately defended political stakes. Focussing on the socio-economic transformation debates in the long '1960s', especially in Argentina, this paper will draw attention first to the degree to which different political positions were negotiated respectively fought out by way of interpretations of the past; second, to the modalities of the transfer of ideas and interpretations, which reveal a high degree of mutual relatedness of left-wing and Marxist intellectual debates in the second half of the 20th century.

**Bolívar Echeverría: use value and ethos Baroque**

*Carlos Oliva Mendoza (UNAM)*

Bolivar Echeverría studied the capitalist modernity since the Marxist idea of two kind of value: use value and exchange value. Echeverría associated the first kind of value with a "natural form", where the work process has an equivalent with labour force and necessities. Contrary, exchange value develops the accumulation of capital and the abstract value inside the society. The conflict between both forms of value is, since Echeverría's perspective, unresolvable, and this produces four paradigmatic cultural positions: Romantic, Realistic, Classic and Baroque. Echeverría show the pertinence to focus, especially in Latin America, in the Baroque strategy. It is the one that in the history of the region

supports and highlights the value of use. Also, this strategy develops complex forms of resistance to the capitalist system.

**Radical urbanism in Buenos Aires shantytowns: from the Federación de Villas y Barrios de Emergencia to the Movimiento Villero Peronista (Buenos Aires, 1965-1976)**

*Adriana Laura Massidda (University of Cambridge)*

The Federación de Villas y Barrios de Emergencia (FVBE; Federation of Shantytowns and Emergency Neighbourhoods) was created in 1958 by shantytown residents of Greater Buenos Aires in order to resist state plans of eradication and to claim for urban improvements in their neighbourhoods. After an initial period of intense activity (1959-1966), the Federation faced some years crisis, mainly due to government neglect and repression (1966-1971). By 1970, however, the FVBE was still a key reference for shantytown residents to resist eradication. At the same time, although banned, Peronism still represented the demands of the popular classes, and became increasingly engaged with housing issues. Peronist residents had cooperated with the FVBE since its inception, even though it did not sustain a Peronist claim, and were ready to expand this struggle. In 1973 the Movimiento Villero Peronista (MVP; Peronist Shantytowns' Movement) was created, with ties to the Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth), but mainly as an independent association.
While in terms of representation of the shantytowns population it could be said that the MVP took up the role of the FVBE, in political terms the MVP was tied to a much larger movement, which gave it a distinct profile. This paper will explore the limits of the continuity between the FVBE and the MVP and will study the way in which radical struggles in the early 1970s converged in left-wing Peronism. The paper will expand ideas discussed in the Radical Americas Symposium (January 2013) related to the early years of the FVBE.

**Fast and slow-track revolutionary strategies in Chile during the Popular Unity period, 1970-73**

*Daniel Carter (University of Cambridge)*

This paper examines the competing strategies employed by elements within the Chilean Marxist Left to overcome historic class and race inequalities during the period of Popular Unity government 1970-73. Based on doctoral research concerning social change in the indigenous heartlands of the south during the

period of Agrarian Reform between 1962 and 1973, it contrasts the gradualist and constitutional approach epitomised by the Communist Party with the direct action tactics of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR).
Following the classic Marxist stages of history, the CP believed that wealth and mass support had first to be accumulated before fundamental changes in social structure could come about. The MIR, by contrast, modelled itself on the Leninist notion of a vanguard party. The idea that direct action by the few could achieve immediate revolutionary change seemed highly credible in the light of the recent Cuban revolution.
Social conflict in the impoverished and often lawless southern provinces, where terratenientes and displaced indigenous communities were involved in ongoing disputes over land, epitomised most starkly the continuities of power relations left unresolved by independence. These conflicts tested the Left's reformist and revolutionary strategies to the limit, ultimately leading to considerable disunity.
The contrast between the "slow-track" Popular Unity programme and the "fast-track" extra-parliamentary activities of the MIR and their sympathisers will be examined through reference to Agrarian Reform in the southern provinces, with a particular focus on the indigenous question.

**The praxis of the Movimento Sem Terra of Brazil: theoretical and practical issues since the Cold War period**

*Philip Roberts (University of Nottingham)*

The Movimento Sem Terra (MST, Landless Workers Movement) of Brazil was formed through the activity of the rural subaltern classes, guided by the Catholic doctrine of Liberation Theology. Since 1984, the MST has engaged with several currents within Marxist thought, including the works of Catholic friar Sergio Gorgen and critical geographer Bernardo Mancano Fernandes. More than any other Brazilian movement, the Movimento Sem Terra has developed its own educational institutions. At the Escola Nacional Florestan Fernandes in Sao Paulo, the MST has built a relationship with Marxist academics in order to educate it's militants. This has included Brazilian Marxists such as Emir Sader and Leo Konder, and also those from outside Latin America, of which Istvan Mezsaros has been particularly prominent.
Based on field research undertaken in 2012, this paper interrogates how the MST has changed from a Cold-War era movement guided by Liberation Theology to a modern social movement which is producing its own Marxist intellectuals and

militants, as well as educating members of political parties, unions and other movements.
Particular attention will be paid to the role of Gramscian thought in orienting MST militants in contemporary Brazil, as well as the role of MST militant Ademar Bogo in systematizing the experiences and practices of this movement within a Marxist framework. Consideration will also be given to the attempts to produce "organic intellectuals" in the Gramscian sense, as militants involved both in ideological orientation and organization of the production process.

# P34

# Radical Americas II: Latin American "socialisms" of the 21st century

**Convenor: Geoff Goodwin (Institute for the Study of the Americas, UCL)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30, 11:00-12:30**
**Location: UP 4.209**

**Panel abstract**

Building on the papers presented in Radical Americas I, this panel will investigate the theoretical and intellectual underpinnings of "21st century socialism" and examine the relationship between theory and practice in the nations integrated into ALBA.

### Framing '21st Century Socialism': David Harvey's co-revolutionary theory of social change and Bolivarian counter-globalization

*Thomas Muhr (University of Bristol)*

This paper integrates critical globalisation theory with David Harvey's 'co-revolutionary' theory of social change to develop a framework through which to analyse the construction of socialism via the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America – Peoples' Trade Agreement (ALBA-TCP). I will introduce the concept of (counter-hegemonic) global 'pluri-scalar war of position', to which three elements are of particular relevance: firstly, Robert Cox's constructivist neo-Gramscian international relations theory which considers the structure/agency

interplay in the transformation of historical structures; secondly, theories of place, space and scale, borrowed from human geography; and, thirdly, Harvey's internally dynamic and contradictory 'co-revolutionary' moments which are the crux of socialist/communist revolution as permanent process. Informed by inter-disciplinary case studies from diverse places within the emergent ALBA-TCP space, in countries such as Bolivia, Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Venezuela and the USA, Harvey's seven 'co-revolutionary moments' structure a systematic exploration of the multi-dimensional, pluri-scalar construction of socialism. This generates not only a holistic understanding of regional and global transformations, but also permits identifying social and structural forces at different scales to illuminate relationships between things, processes and systems and the conjunction of politics and practices at work.

**Rural radicalism in the Andes? A critical appraisal of Rafael Correa's "Agrarian Revolution"**

*Geoff Goodwin (Institute for the Study of the Americas, UCL)*

The chasm between the declarations and actions of the Rafael Correa government has been at its widest in relation to agrarian policies. Using Karl Polanyi's concepts of the "fictitious commodity" and "double movement" and drawing on research undertaken in Highland Ecuador between 2009 and 2011, this paper provides a critical examination of the Correa government's "Agrarian Revolution", questioning the radicalism of the programme and highlighting the basic continuities with the agrarian policies of past regimes.

**An ethnography of "21st Century Socialism": practical foundations of the radical**

*Alex Flynn (University of Cambridge)*

This paper explores the impacts of wider socio-economic transformation upon social movements linked to the alter-globalisation platform. While the notion of a Marxist social movement losing momentum amidst neoliberal economics and soaring levels of GDP may seem unremarkable, this paper recasts the iconic narrative of an ideological sell-by-date in two important ways: first, in how such movements' leadership epistemology has attempted to incorporate members' evolving diversity; and second, how members, driving change, are reinterpreting key tenets of social movement politics. The central argument of the paper is presented through an ethnographically centred analysis of how a particular

social movement, the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) of Brazil, is facing significant challenges to represent an increasingly diverse membership as a result of a strong emphasis on its collective 'landless' identity. The paper thus draws on MST members' voices and experiences to theorise dimensions of transformation that call the practical foundations of a "21st Century Socialism" into question.

**21st Century Socialism in Venezuela: challenging the reform and revolution dichotomy**

*Diana Raby (University of Liverpool)*

Marxist scholars and activists have generally adhered to the Leninist view that to create socialism the bourgeois state must be destroyed and replaced, not merely reformed. However in Venezuela the "Bolivarian revolution" has proceeded through a combination of elections, mass mobilisations and reforms in which both popular pressure and governmental policies have continuously assaulted, undermined and transformed the institutions of the "Fourth Republic", while attempting to create new, parallel institutions which displace or substitute for existing structures. There is a growing body of literature by Venezuelans and others which analyses and theorises these processes: authors such as Carlos Lanz, Victor Alvarez and Michael Lebowitz have made important contributions. This paper will summarise the debate and suggest new lines of enquiry.

**Human rights indicators in Ecuador: the idea of measuring progress toward justice between "national" Buen Vivir and "public" Sumakawsay**

*Johannes Waldmueller (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva)*

Based on four field trips (2008-2013) to Ecuador, this qualitative research contribution addresses the changing role of the national human rights indicators system during its implementation. While following UNHCHR methodology and advice, executive-related problems arise locally from diverging epistemologies of justice ("sumakawsay") under the given political and social-economical reality. The current Ecuadorian government draws, in a blurred way, on genuine indigenous perspectives ('buen vivir') in order to seek, at least officially, an alternative to the Western idea of development altogether, for which also human rights indicators stand in a paradigmatic way. Thus, two types of envisioning justice seem to clash; difficult to reconcile without understanding their respective ethical 'script' on a discursive as well as on an empirical level as a struggle for

biocentric hegemony. Numerous indigenous leaders and human rights defenders have been persecuted and arrested by the police and military under the charge of terrorism. Likewise, diverging sources of information and documentation regarding human rights issues are publicly delegitimized. Over the past years, also the human rights indicator project has been shifted in outlook. From a promising space for deepened socio-political information and thus participation and empowerment, it became more and more appropriated by a "cunning state" (S. Randeria) in its attempt to render the state more visible. At the same time as the Correa government seeks to maintain hegemony, and international bodies seek to fulfill their agenda, also the bottom-up movement following a different path towards justice develops own strategies to counter the national attempts.

**The ALBA: a Venezuelan project for Latin America & the Caribbean?**

*Stephanie Pearce (Queen Mary, University of London)*

The ALBA is often perceived as a unilateral project driven by Venezuela, with other members seen simply as passive recipients of Chávez's aid and oil largesse. This paper intends to counter that perspective by considering the role of Bolivia and Ecuador in building the regional framework as we see it today. When Bolivia and Ecuador joined the ALBA, following the elections of Evo Morales and Rafael Correa respectively, they brought with them unique perspectives on regional relations and creative solutions to encourage endogenous development, which were vital to the emergent framework. The paper will consider the countries' roles in constructing the 'imaginary' of ALBA, as well as its institutionalization through the establishment of the 'Tratado the Comercio de los Pueblos' (TCP, or 'Peoples Trade Treaty) and 'Sistema Unificado de Compensacion Regional Economico' (SUCRE, or 'Unified Regional System for Economic Compensation') respectively. To this end we will explore both the rhetoric surrounding these two alternative approaches to regional trade and their concrete achievements, in terms of reasserting the state as an economic actor, challenging market fundamentalism, and undermining US economic hegemony in the region.

# P35

# Overcoming neoliberal subjectivities in Latin America: from disengagement to new political practices, identities and collectivities

**Convenors: Susanne Hofmann (University of Leeds); Ainhoa Montoya (University of Manchester)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30**
**Location: ATB G209**

**Panel abstract**

This panel explores the emergence of new political subjectivities in contexts of intense neoliberalisation. We invite papers that discuss how neoliberal subjectivities and circumvention of state institutions have been replaced by new subjectivities and forms of political action.

## Habeas Corpus: transnational adoption, subjectivities and relations 'under erasure' and reconfigurations of the body politics in contemporary Guatemala

*Silvia Posocco (Birkbeck, University of London)*

Drawing on research on transnational adoption circuits, the paper offers an ethnographically informed reflection on the experiences of families whose children vanished during the Guatemalan conflict (1960-1996), and who are currently pursuing collective political strategies to mount Habeas Corpus appeals (recursos de Habeas Corpus) to hold the State to account for the disappearance of their relatives. It focuses on an analysis of political subjectivities and collective modes of political action in contemporary Guatemala, a context marked by aggressive neoliberalization and simultaneous and rapidly intensifying re-militarization.

Unable to locate the missing and failing to find any information on their abduction in the archives, for these families, the condition of being disappeared is marked by a sense of absence as duration and lack of resolution. Against this background, I suggest that the presence of the disappeared in social memory, social practice and

in the body politics can be conceptualized with reference to the Derridean notion of 'the trace', a construct which I put into conversation with the ethnographically resonant notion of 'huellas'. If the presence of the disappeared is their absence, this marks modes of subjectivity and social relations 'under erasure' which are currently the ground of articulation of political subjectivities and forms of political action in Guatemala. The paper considers how these dynamics may be reconfiguring the body politics, in a context where the re-militarization of communities in ways that mimic the political repression of counter-insurgency is increasingly part of daily life.

**Political versus entrepreneurial subjectivities among sex workers in Mexico: exploring formal and informal politics**

*Susanne Hofmann (University of Leeds)*

Since the 1990s we have seen a wave of sex worker organising across Latin America, with the formation of RedTraSex (La Red de Trabajadoras Sexuales de Latinoamérica y El Caribe) in 1997, uniting sex worker organisations from fifteen Central and South American States in the joint struggle for respect and sex worker rights. While some sex worker self-organisations in Latin America have gained public visibility and been able to create social and political networks through integration with existing trade unions, other groups of sex workers have resorted to 'informal politics' (Day 2008), informal political activities of resistance that draw on everyday practices of mutual care, support, and cooperation that are much less visible to the public and often not recognised as 'politics'. This paper will draw on examples of sex workers from the Tijuana and Mexico City, exploring the aims and strategies of formally politically organised groups of sex workers, and the 'informal politics' of sex workers who do not understand their activities as political, nor possess specific political identities, but rather understand themselves as self-entrepreneurs in an 'economy of makeshifts' (Brace 2002). I will contrast sex worker activism with other movements, in relation to which sex worker collectives face greater obstacles to mobilising material and human resources due to a lack of moral capital. I will explore how the stigmatisation of sex work acts as a barrier to organisation and to finding resonance with the wider public, significantly shaping sex workers' strategies of struggle.

**Worker's self-management in Argentina and Venezuela: state ideologies, policy responses and trajectories**

*Daniel Ozarow (Middlesex University Business School); Dr Anne Daguerre (Middlesex University)*

This article analyses the comparative citizen and policy responses to poverty and mass unemployment in two Latin American countries; Argentina and Venezuela, with a particular focus on workers' self-management under the respective Presidencies of Nestor Kirchner and Hugo Chavez. We assess the extent to which the state has taken an active role in steering anti-poverty responses to seemingly grassroots movements under the auspices of these two political projects: Twenty-First Century Socialism in Venezuela and the National Popular model in Argentina and examine their impact on worker subjectivities. Indeed, both Presidents have relied extensively on a rhetoric of empowerment and the theme of participatory democracy. The paper is divided into three sections. In the first, we identify the popular revolts against a decade of neoliberal reforms in the 1990s in both countries in terms and their significance for both the emergence of the self-management project and the state's policy responses to poverty and the challenge of social inclusion. In the second section the ways in which both governments have tried to control and co-opt workers self-management initiatives through the establishment of state cooperatives are examined, with a particular focus on the Plan Let's Get to Work, in 2004 in Argentina and occupational welfare programmes in Venezuela (Mision Che Guevara) in 2004-05. The concluding section evaluates the political and economic sustainability of these state initiatives as a credible alternative to neo-liberal policies in the region, given the mounting political opposition to both governments in the context of increased economic difficulties.

**Interculturalidad and higher education for indigenous peoples: exploring the possibilities of a freezing object in tropical lands**

*Mario Arturo Martinez Cortes (Freie Universität Berlin)*

In the first decade of the 21st Century we have witnessed a strong democratization appeal within the higher education systems of Latin America. The claim is especially conspicuous regarding the student body composition. Among the different groups excluded, particular attention has been paid to ethnic groups. Thus, nowadays there is a variety of policies and programs intended to include Indigenous Peoples into tertiary education.

Framed by the term Interculturalidad the policies targeted at Indigenous Peoples emphasize encounter and dialog between them and non-Indigenous cultural groups. This approach, though, has triggered heated debates, whereby these populations are characterized as either victims of a swindle by state or accomplices of it. Accordingly, critical voices implicitly conceive of Indigenous individuals and communities participating in these policies as subjects defenseless before neoliberalism. This research aims at questioning such a view and recognizing that in spite of acceptance of the state view of intercultural higher education Indigenous subjectivities develop political positionings that question the freezing, harmonious view of intercultural dialog. The analysis focused on Brazil and Mexico points out that the notion of "Indigenous Peoples' Knowledges", immersed in intercultural educational policies, entails participative voices that can be interpreted as new ways to actualize Modernity's promises unresolved by states and non-Indigenous societies; promises concerning cohabitation and population care. Indigenous Knowledges thus allow populations involved with interculturalidad to create simultaneity spaces, instead of succession spaces, whereby ethnic boundaries get relevant to conduct such actualization projects; by so doing, neoliberalism is challenged as the only one life-possibility.

# P36

# Constructing and contesting legitimacy: state formation in nineteenth century Mexico

**Convenor: Melissa Boyd (University of St Andrews)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30**
**Location: UP 4.213**

**Panel abstract**

This panel looks into the phenomenon of state formation in 19th century Mexico; through both the various 'legitimate' constitutional proposals and counterproposals that emerged as well as 'illegitimate' pronunciamientos, rebellions and insurgencies.

**Pronunciamientos, Constitutions and the Discourse of Rights 1821-1876**

*Rosie Doyle (School of Advanced Study, University of London)*

In liberal revolutionary Spain and Mexico, the pronunciamiento a form of "forceful negotiation" or political petitioning with armed backing, became the most commonly used, accepted and therefore legitimate means of effecting political change, a "necessary evil" which enabled the traditional corporate identities established over the Ancien Regime to blend with the new Liberal constitutional rules of the game. From the first pronunciamiento of Rafael Riego in 1820 pronunciamientos became the standard procedure for expressing political opposition. Pronunciamientos were considered legitimate due to the existence of the concept of the right to revolution or insurrection and the right to petition. Pronunciamientos were potentially a fast track to Liberal constitutional revolution or "controlled revolution" although the majority of those launched in the period served to petition to negotiate political change. Through the analysis of the discourses in pronunciamientos launched in Mexico between 1821 and 1876 this paper will look at the ways in which nineteenth century Mexican political actors used arguments relating to rights. It will discuss how the discourses about rights in pronunciamientos and political plans related to the constitutions of the period. It will analyse those political actors' understanding of political sovereignty, social contract and the rule of law, how this related to the construction of legitimacy for particular governments, laws and political actions and what that meant for nineteenth-century Mexican political culture.

**Assessing Crises of state formation in nineteenth century Mexico**

*Olusegun Afuape (Lagos State Polytechnic)*

Following the declaration of independence, known as "Grito de Dolores" by the radical Mexican Catholic priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla on 16 September, 1810, there emerged a surfeit of crises which culminated in the demise of Hidalgo, the father of Mexican independence. However, it was the Treaty of Cordoba in 1821 which eventually established Mexico as an independent nation under a constitutional monarch, Emperor Agustin de Iturbide. His reign was, however, short-lived with republican insurgents, Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna and Guadalupe Victoria creating the first Mexican republic. This notwithstanding, the wave of crises persisted with external military occupation, the Mexican-American war which claimed half of the Mexican national territories, the disillusionment created by a coterie of illegal regimes as well as the destabilising

role played by the pronunciados. All these, however, contributed to the evolution of modern Mexico. In light of these crises and spate of wars, this paper thus examines the historic effects of nineteenth century politicking on the present-day political attitudes, arguing that the crisis of legitimacy, lack of trust in the electoral process and the adoption of presidential system, among others have their roots in nineteenth century Mexico before reaching the conclusion that the Mexican celebration of independence on 16 September every year, and the declaration of independence a day before by the president and state governors in the manner Hidalgo did in 1810, is a testimony to the positive impact of nineteen century politics on modern Mexico.

Keywords: pronunciamiento, destabilisation, legitimacy, culture, pronunciados.

**From "el imperio de las bayonetas" to "un mal necessario": constructing and contesting legitimacy in the political discourse of the early national period**

*Melissa Boyd (University of St Andrews)*

Beginning in the decade immediately following independence, analysing the issues surrounding state formation, as well as the historical events which shaped them, developed into a constant concern of the Mexican intelligentsia. These actors participated in the proposal, amendment and implementation of constitutional projects through 'legitimate' means. However, during their political career, many of these men also challenged the status quo by participating in pronunciamientos, revolts and revolutions. The various justifications they provide can be found in their political discourse, where motivations were put forth and accusations levied against political enemies. This paper seeks to examine this political discourse and analyse the themes of legitimacy and illegitimacy that run through it, exposing an often ambivalent approach to the right or wrong of certain political actions in the struggle to construct a nation.

# P37

# Music, art and cultural heritage

**Convenors: Edlaine Gomes; Andréa Vieira (Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: UP 4.212**

**Panel abstract**

This panel seeks to bring together research addressing complex issues related to the contemporary debate about "identity" in Latin American countries. Thus discussions about art, music, migration, memory and heritage are contemplated.

**Singing the exodus: migration and Brazilian popular music**

*Jean Faustino (UFSCar)*

Based in this historical fact of national scenario transformation, we conducted a research to analyze this phenomenon and the consequent process of countryman integration in the urban environment through the songs of that time.
This analysis – that we have been performing in the sociology doctorate program in the Universidade Federal de São Carlos (UFSCar) - is concerned with a typical music genre of the Brazilian southwest region: "moda de viola" which integrates, together with other genre and beats, the "caipira music".
Due to the defining characteristic of narrating events in the countryman´s reality, now migrant, the "moda de viola" is a vantage point to analyze and comprehension of dilemmas and tensions in the integration process which reflections aided to define the national capitalism characteristics.

**Memory through art: anthropophagy as resistance**

*Bruna Della Torre de Carvalho Lima (University of São Paulo)*

Brazilian modernism took place in the early 20´s of the nineteenth century. Oswald de Andrade, Mário de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral were the first authors of many of the most audacious avant-guard experiences in Latin America and their art enlightens Brazil´s history ever since. Their poetries as well as their writings – such as the novel Macunaima the hero without character and the

Anthropophagic manifest – and Tarsila´s paintings – Abaporu, for example – were inspired by the indigenous concept of anthropophagy. Through this idea their effort was to think about Brazilian culture as a ritual anthropophagy. As every anthropologist in Brazil knows, the Indians did not eat each other because of their hunger, but because they believed that they would absorb the strength of the enemy if they ate him. So, to these artists, anthropophagy was a metaphor to a peripheral culture that eats and digests the foreign (and colonial) influences absorbing its strength, digesting it and making something new out of them.
In the end of 1960´s, the art of Mário, Oswald and Tarsila was retaken by the Tropicalist Movement, formed by artists like Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Helio Oiticica and José Celso Martinez Correa, as a form of resistance against the military dictatorship running in Brazil since 1964. Following this problematic, this paper aims to understand, through the presentation of the works of Oswald de Andrade, Mário de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral, the complex articulation of modernist art and the cultural and political history of the country.

**Cultural diversity and heritage of humanity: effect on Brazilian social and cultural policies**

*Edlaine Gomes; Andréa Vieira (Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro); José Vieira (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro)*

The “Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity”, 2002, indicates that cultural diversity “is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations”. This assertion came to consolidate decades of debates on human rights and political (social and cultural) international preservation of cultural events, memories and identities of minority groups. In Brazil, this led to strengthening social groups in favour from historically devalued recognition policy. It was not enough to consolidate actions for the promotion of heritage processes (material and immaterial), proclaiming itself as a cultural heritage of humanity resonates as a political discourse that seeks to legitimize it as main term of social and cultural policies implemented by countries signatories. This paper discusses the impact of this guideline in the debate on national identity and the production of documents, which aim to regulate and memories markedly with regard to actions aimed at preserving “the african-Brazilian culture”, considering the main government documents produced in Brazilian context as opposed to main claims produced in this field.

**Public heritage, tourism and national identities in Brazil**

*Leila Aguiar (Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)*

The creation of a Brazilian national heritage, starting with the establishment of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Service ("Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional"), in 1937, was part of a wider process of the construction of a Brazilian national identity. The work of the agency led to the conservation of urban sites which, particularly from the 1960s onwards, were converted into areas dedicated to the development of commercial tourism. In such areas, the transformation of natural, historical and local cultural characteristics into elements of the sale of tourism as a product is apparent, and there has been a convergence of the views expressed by conservationists and those expressed by the representatives of the tourism trade. The views expressed present tourism as the solution to many of the problems inherent to the conservation of individual buildings and sites which are considered to be local, national or world heritage. In order to analyze this process we shall examine documentation produced by SPHAN and UNESCO in the period between the years 1937 and 1988, including reports, inventories, correspondence, photos, and journals, legislation, regulations and international agreements and printed guides of heritage cities

# P38

# Social movements and political participation

**Convenor: Samuel Thomas**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30, 11:00-12:30**
**Location: ATB G113**

**Panel abstract**

This panel groups together a number of related papers which could not be included in original panels for reasons of space but which the organizers nevertheless wish to include in the conference.

**Social networks and cyber-activism in Latin America: a comparative approach (Colombia-Chile)**

*Rafael Diaz (Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia); Laura Carolina Rey Torres (Unversidad El Bosque)*

The aim of this paper is an approach to student social movements in Latin America, especially in Colombia and Chile, who would respond to budget-cutting reforms and transformation of the education system, proposed by the state, giving a capacity mobilization, political participation and transformation of social movements, where the use of the use of technology, especially web services, would be used as a tool for information and communication, which has been called Cyberactivism, which by the end of it 2010 and throughout 2011, when they were presented at the international media with a role of prominence.

**Schismogenic principles of a little green leaf**

*Samuel Thomas*

Since the turn of the millennium, the Southern Pacific Lowlands has emerged as the predominant region for coca cultivation in Colombia. In this paper I propose to examine the effects of this development in the particular context of the headwaters of the River Saija, home for the past few centuries to moreno [negro, libre, afro, negro-colombiano, afro-colombiano, afrodescendiente] and Eperãrã-Siapidãarã [cholo, indígena, indio] populations. In order to achieve this objective, I will illustrate the changing character of their everyday engagements over a historical period covering the latter decades of the previous century and the first decade of this. I will suggest that the transformations in their historical conditions of existence effected through their incorporation into broader political and economic regimes have led to a profound fracturing of this headwater society. Where the relationships established in the course of their earlier interactions were characterised by a heterogeneity of forms and the foment of an intrinsic, mutually-implicating complementarity, the privileging of raciocultural claims over and above the virtues of socio-historical context, manifest in their territorial segregation in the 1980s and 1990s, and their subsequent incorporation into the supra-local coca economy have proven conducive to the emergence of a local dynamic of progressive alienation.

# P39

# Transnational migration: the experiences of Brazil and Spain

**Convenor: Cynthia Campos (University of Essex)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00**
**Location: UP 4.211**

**Panel abstract**

This panel discusses Latin American migration to Europe and Asia in different dimensions. It takes into consideration not only economic aspects of understanding the subject, but also the social, political and religious reasons to explain a migrant's decision to remain or return to their homeland.

**Imigração brasileira em Portugal: retornar, transitar ou permanecer?**

*Adelia Silva (Universidade de Lisboa)*

A comunicação é resultado da dissertação de Mestrado em Políticas de Desenvolvimento de Recursos Humanos, tem como temática a imigração brasileira contemporânea, como objetivo compreender quais sãos os fatores que contribuem para que os imigrantes brasileiros optem por permanecer em Portugal diante das mudanças económicas e socias que a Europa em geral enfrenta.
Conforme Peixoto (2011), a crise aumentando a taxa de desemprego e isso pode ser percebida de uma forma particularmente mais intensa dentro das comunidades imigrantes. Paralelamente a estagnação europeia, acontece um fenômeno inverso, uma prosperidade e crescimento da economia brasileira, que apresenta crescimentos do PIB e diminuição na taxa média de desemprego.
Por se tratar de uma dinâmica muito recente não existem dados estatísticos fiáveis sobre o volume de retorno atual de Portugal para o Brasil. Podendo, muitas vezes, ser sútis e variados os efeitos. Dessa forma a pesquisa procurou compreender qual é a resposta dada por estes imigrantes a crise que afeta o país de acolhimento. Retornar, transitar ou permanecer?
Para o efeito, adota uma abordagem qualitativa e suporta-se em entrevistas em profundidade junto de 14 imigrados procurando analisar as suas trajectórias, as vivências e intenções de mobilidade geográfica identificando as interacções entre

os factores relevantes para a decisão de permanecer, retornar ou transitar para outro espaço social.
O estudo conclui que a abordagem económica não basta para compreender as decisões, que há outros fatores de natureza afectiva, social, política e religiosa que contribuem para melhor perceber estes movimentos migratórios em situação de crise.

**Rethinking identity in contemporary São Paulo**

*Megha Amrith (Centro de Estudos da Metropole)*

In this paper, I will consider different visions of São Paulo's contemporary identity in the light of newer waves of international migrants arriving in the city in recent years. It argues that although Brazil, and in particular São Paulo as Brazil's largest and most culturally diverse city, projects an image of itself as open, hospitable and cosmopolitan, more recent waves of migration since the 1980s have revealed the exclusions in these self-representations.
Drawing on different ethnographic moments and narratives, the paper demonstrates how, for example, these recent migrants are not a part of the official narrative of São Paulo's diversity, which is instead based on the city's historical experience of immigration; that there is a selectivity in the discourse about immigration which portrays some kinds of migrants as more 'desirable' than others; and that migrants experience exclusions on the basis of language, as well as on the basis of race, as an emergent discourse on racism and xenophobia reveals. The paper also investigates the limits of national and municipal policies to address the everyday needs of low-income migrants and refugees.
Through these examples, the paper considers the ways in which migration and mobility in the contemporary period are destabilising questions of identity and belonging in Brazil's most diverse city. It examines a crucial moment as the Brazilian government and civil society debate possible changes to the legislation concerning immigration and how this is being expressed in the urban space of São Paulo.

**Migration to London and return to Brazil: the impact of the exile upon Sao Paulo youth culture in the 1970s and 80s**

*Cynthia Campos (University of Essex)*

This paper focuses on the impact of returning exiled young Brazilians upon the cultural arena in Sao Paulo at the end of the 1970s and start of the 80s.

In 1968 the military government of Brazil closed channels of political debate and censored the media, causing many young people, mainly students, to take to the streets to demonstrate against the government. After 1969, many Brazilians, especially those who had engaged in violent political movements, were deported from the country. Some were sentenced to compulsory expatriation while others went into voluntary exile. Most migrated to European cities and some settled in London.

When they returned to Brazil at the end of 1970s, they had been heavily influenced by young people's movements in Europe, and had consequently changed their habits and behaviour. Life in London had made many rethink their violent, militant and radical practices, and caused them to engage in more peaceful democratic movements for political, economical and social changes in Brazil. This Diaspora of Brazilians to London also resulted in the establishment of what was called 'counterculture' on their return to Brazil at the start of 1980s, and affected musical movements such as Tropicalia. The Glastonbury festival influenced the 'Aguas Claras' festival in Sao Paulo in the 1970s. Furthermore, British bands hugely influenced the Sao Paulo Punk scene in the 1980s.

# P40

# Development, poverty and policy

**Convenor: Alexandre Pereira (King's College London)**

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: UP 4.210**

**Panel abstract**

While some Latin American countries are now emerging as significant players on the international economic stage, the region contains some of the most inequitable societies in the world. The panel will discuss serious problems which deserve priority on Latin America's social and political agenda.

**Disability and social protection in Latin America**

*Monica Pinilla Roncancio (University of Birmingham)*

Disabled people are considered the poorest of the poor, are excluded from

basic opportunities such as education, health and labour. The evolution of the social security and social protection systems in Latin America (LA) has been influenced by the macroeconomic and political context of the region. Before the neoliberal reforms during the eighties and nineties, the social insurance system was fragmented and only covered a small proportion of the population. After the neoliberal reforms, new strategies to reduce the risk of poverty were established in LA, those looked forward to prevent, mitigate or reduce poverty. To analyse how social protection policies cover disabled people and guarantee the access to social protection services of disabled people in LA, five countries with different structure and historical development of their social protection systems were selected (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica and Mexico) and a documentary analysis of 75 legal documents was done. A list of categories and codes were defined and three thematic networks were created (Disability, Social Protection and Equalization of Opportunities). The most important results are that although disability increases the risk of poverty in most of the countries, the strategies to reduce this risk are usually no-contributory pensions and a limited number of economic subsidies, which do not cover all disabled people and their families. The biggest benefits are still given in the contributory regime, which is associated with formal employment, which excludes disabled people.

**The interplay of international and domestic forces in the development of climate policy: the Mexican Case**

*Hilen Meirovich (Inter-American Development Bank)*

This paper examines the unexpected: why a developing country with no formal international commitment to act in the area of climate change actually acts in unpredicted way to the point of becoming the second country in the world to pass a climate change law that limits its capacity to emit greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. The starting point of this paper is the recognition that not all developing countries are the same. Some peculiarities of countries may affect their policy drive for change. By looking at the relationship between domestic policy making and the role of different 'clubs,' such as the G-20 and the OECD, jointly with the multilateral development banks, as sources of funding for climate actions this paper seeks to trace the process by which Mexico made significant progress. It suggest that Mexico's changes in the domestic political structure in the last decade, as well as its positioning within the international negotiations on climate created a unique interplay where Mexico is not a simple recipient of

resources under donors' conditions. Rather, it's a multi-level negotiation where Mexico uses its membership in selected groups as a bargaining position to get resources in the best conditions possible for its development in exchange for specific actions, and those actions have become viable in the post-PRI arena.

**Brazil's national policy on solid waste and waste pickers**

*Alexandre Pereira (King's College London)*

According to a survey from ABRELPE (2010), from 2009 to 2010, the amount of waste in Brazil increased at six times the population growth rate and about 60% of the 173.583 tonnes of waste officially collected per day was improperly disposed of in uncontrolled landfills and open dumps. A further major challenge in Brazil is the issue of informality. Freitas and Fonseca (2011) estimate that there are approximately 800,000 casual waste-pickers in the informal sector, of whom 60% are working in very low-efficiency circumstances.

The launch of the National Policy on Solid Waste in 2010 signalled Brazil's adoption of management strategies of other more developed economies, and opens a promising market for investments in the solid-waste management sector. Brazil is thus undergoing an important transition period of modernisation that deserves careful attention.

A key feature of this policy is the obligations to prioritise the use of cooperatives of waste pickers in the collection of recyclable waste. Solid waste in this country is closely linked to the social and employment status of waste-pickers, and the role of the informal sector.

The study will consider whether this policy will address the issues of lack of technology and growth of the informal market – matter that are very live within debates about issues of waste management in developing countries. The study will consider whether this legislation will be able to bring real benefits to the living and working conditions of waste pickers and integrate the role of the informal sector.

**Embraer S.A. and the inconsistent nexus with risk partners, suppliers and subcontracted companies**

*Lívia Moraes (UNICAMP)*

Embraer was created in a context of military dictatorship, as part of the international division of labor and the condition of Brazilian dependence. That time, the company was well crafted and the aircraft purchase was practically

made by the State.
The company has passed by a period of crisis, specifically when the military had been put out of politic power, in the 1980s. The company was privatized in 1994 under the implementation of neoliberal policies. The big news, later copied by Boeing and Airbus, was the kind of partnership risk. In it, they shared the financial risk with Embraer. They have advantages in funding and they are all based on developed countries.
The suppliers are mostly foreign. They do not participate in the development of the aircraft, as partners, but they have the resources and technical capability to provide raw materials, chemicals, parts, subsystems and services that meet the specifications of Embraer.
The subcontracted are most Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises providing aeronautical services. They resemble outsourced employees, as companies and individuals who receive the raw material and the design from Embraer, and sell the services per man-hour or per machine-hour. Many of them were created from the initiative of former fired company employees under the period of privatization. They are very tied to the demand of the company leader, so that wages and working conditions are very precarious.
In conclusion, there is an unequal relationship and hierarchy that plays within the business relationship with Embraer, the international labor division.

**Precariedad laboral en la frontera norte, modelo de subcontratación**

*Margarita Gomez Macias (Universidad Autónoma de Baja California)*

Job insecurity has been defined in terms of four important dimensions, the job instability, vulnerability, low income and poor accessibility of the affected population to the range of benefits and employment benefits.
Its essence is that a company with characteristics of low stability and smaller commercial wins a model that currently applies to cost reduction benefits called "outsourcing" being derived from the precariousness chain which leads to lower wages, temporary jobs without benefits minimum law in Mexican and Latin American countries with similar economic conditions in Mexico.
The year 2009 was particularly difficult for the Mexican economy, which ECLAC (CEPAL) said an annual report in which Mexico would be the hardest hit by the economic crisis of hits border trade and tourism.
The reasons for job insecurity are mainly socio-economic and political subordination and increasing dependence on the working class to the business strategies.

# P41

# Liberalism, slavery and race

**Convenor: Sarah Washbrook (University of Manchester)**

**Fri 12th Apr, 09:00-10:30**
**Location: ATB G207**

**Panel abstract**

This panel examines liberalism, slavery and race in Latin America in the 19th century focusing on the impact of post-Enlightenment ideas on economic policy, national identity and slave-holding.

### The break up of the colonial order and the origins of the liberal economic thought in the Republic of New Granada

*Germán Raúl Chaparro (Universidad Central)*

It is an attempting to analyze the influence that doctrines such as mercantilism, physiocracy and liberalism on the Colombian economists of the first half of the 19th century. The argument is that after the independence of New Granada from Spain in 1810, free trade was incorporated slowly in the thought of the Colombian statesmen, principally with respect to the function of the State. The liberal reforms of middle 19th century were an attempt of application of free trade.

### Independence for those who remained unfree: slavery in Venezuela, 1821-1854

*Sarah Washbrook (University of Manchester)*

Slavery figured prominently in Venezuela's independence struggles between 1810 and 1821. Yet, despite oft repeated discourses of freedom and equality, promises of emancipation by many of the protagonists, the end of the slave trade and a free birth law in 1821, the institution of slavery survived the end of Spanish rule. This paper examines the reconstitution of slavery in Venezuela following independence, focusing upon the experiences of slaves in the Andean region.

It aims to understand what changed and what stayed the same for those who remained slaves – and masters – after 1821, paying particular attention to gender and age. It also seeks to analyse the relationship between colonial ideas and laws regarding slavery and the liberal republican legal and theoretical framework that came afterwards.

**The African legacy: the power of race and climate on the formation of peoples and their impact on the formation of Brazilian society**

*Luis Fernando Tosta Barbato (Unicamp - University of Campinas)*

History has always been cruel to the tropical climate, accusing him of being less than temperate climate, because it was in the middle latitudes that generated those that have long dominated the writing of history and the processes of colonization: the Europeans. That same feeling, Africans and Indians also suffered with the History, being long viewed as inferior peoples, averse to progress and civilization, in the eyes of those who dominated the writing of History.

Our work aims to study the visions about Brazil in the nineteenth century, a country marked by the presence of both the climate and the races disqualified in the period, with reference to Africans, one of the main bases of the formation of the Brazilian population. In that sense, we try to assess how the introduction of tropical Africans in Brazil was seen and debated within the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by Europeans who passed through those lands and left their impressions, showing the effects of introducing people as a sort of "defect "source which mingled with European settlers, hailed as the bridge between a tropical Brazil doomed to failure and a successful European civilizational hope, based on the introduction of strong and stiff settlers of temperate lands.

It should also analyze in this work as in the case of Africans, the issue of race also helped to build the images on these people in Brazilian society, and how they would transform this society forever.

# P42

# Violence, inclusion and exclusion

**Thu 11th Apr, 13:30-15:00**
**Location: ATB G109**

**Panel abstract**

This session will discuss the different responses and challenges to violence in contemporary Latin America, particularly how violence can empower and/or exclude subjects and communities.

### La violencia neoliberal como parte de las políticas sociales del Estado Colombiano

*Francisco Rafael Ostau De Lafont De León (Universidad Libre)*

Bajo las premisas neoliberales, las únicas políticas posibles son aquellas que tienden a flexibilizar los mercados, particularmente el de trabajo; estimular la competencia y eliminar las regulaciones impuestas por el Estado. En otras palabras, destruir las reglas constituidas por la sociedad y legitimadas por ella, para regular las relaciones entre los diferentes actores sociales.
Las políticas de regulación de las relaciones laborales eliminan la protección del trabajador, conservando las normas de garantía mínimas y procurando la individualización de las relaciones laborales. Los procesos de regulación laboral y, en general de flexibilización, suponen la reapertura de la autonomía privada como elemento configurador del contrato de trabajo y de las relaciones en la empresa, para así ajustar la regulación a la realidad de un mercado de trabajo, en el que se ha ido produciendo la ruptura del modelo de trabajo anterior. La consecuencia de esto es que vuelve a recuperarse el discurso de la libertad contractual, con funciones directamente reguladoras de las condiciones de trabajo, en detrimento de la regulación colectiva y estatal, quebrándose de ese modo la homogeneidad del marco regulador de las relaciones laborales.

**Claiming rights for torture victims under global governance: the role of human rights organizations in post-dictatorship Chile**

*Veronica Elena Diaz Cerda (Universidad Autonoma De Barcelona)*

The arrest of Pinochet in London in 1998 for crimes of torture opened for the first time a enormous window of international opportunity to put the problem of torture survivors of the dictatorship on the public agenda. This article examines the consequences of that breakthrough event for International Law and International Relations, exploring the role of Chilean human rights organizations as advocates of the global governance regime against torture during 1990-2006. Based on extensive field research and drawing on the Spiral Model of Human Rights Change (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink, 1999), this article shows the weakness of domestic organizations to take advantage of the existent opportunities. It concludes that rhetorical action tactics have been ineffective to persuade three consecutive governments to advance on the rights of the forgotten victims of the military regime under democracy.

**Violence as a relational and multifaceted experience in the process of subject making among "victims" of human trafficking in the Central-West Region of Brazil**

*Runa Lazzarino (Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca)*

As part of a transnational and multi-sited research on the discursive practices of the human trafficking paradigm, this paper is based, in particular, on ethnographic fieldwork in Central-West Brazil and it seeks to explore the ambiguity permeating the constructions and experiences of violence amongst returnees of trafficking in persons (TIP). Violence is considered as a thick arena-concept through which different positionings and conceptions can be given voice, showing the dynamic plurivocality of its construction and its incidence in defining the subject position of the victim of TIP. Without disregarding a macro perspective locating social actors inside realities of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1998), structural violence (Farmer 1997), invisible violence (Žižek 2007) and social suffering (Das et alii. 1997), nonetheless subjectivity constitutes the key interpretative tool. It is indeed assumed the standpoint of the paradoxical process of subjection between subject making and subordination (Butler 1997), where the experience of violence is taken as both empowering and disempowering. Suffering associated to violence is considered relational and transformative: it is crucial in gaining community and social recognition and inclusion on the part of multi-positioned, desiring and

emotional subjectivites. The aim is to problematize common sense and official positions on the relatively recent status of “victim of violence”, exploring the (re)generative and empowering force of this last one. Never the less, the limits of post-trafficking subjects’ creativity and agency in search of social inclusion, through processes of sense-making and local worlds re-inhabiting, are reflected on.

# P43

# Violence, gender and exclusion

**Convenor: Marta Romero-Delgado**

**Thu 11th Apr, 15:30-17:00**
**Location: ATB G114**

**Panel abstract**

This panel analyses the links between violence, gender and exclusion in different countries of Latin America.

**Anthropological study of depression in Uruguay post-dictatorship**

*Bonnie Taub (University of California, Los Angeles)*

This paper will present data from anthropological interviews conducted with women of childbearing age in the poor sectors of Montevideo Uruguay, during the three years after the period of dictatorship ended in the late 1980's. Women with children under the age of five years old were studied regarding their experience of and the meaning they ascribed to suffering from psychological depression. Results indicate that the meaning of depressive affective symptomatology as measured by standardized scales and through in depth ethnographic interviews, was tied to their having lived under a repressive political regime, having been exposed to torture and violence, and to defense mechanisms developed as a result of not being able to trust their neighbors and friends over the course of years. Their emic (insider) interpretations of their affective states of depression were also linked to economic circumstances and to experiences of loss. Discussion of psychological services and therapeutic techniques developed in the southern cone city and means of cathartic interventions in the years since will also be addressed.

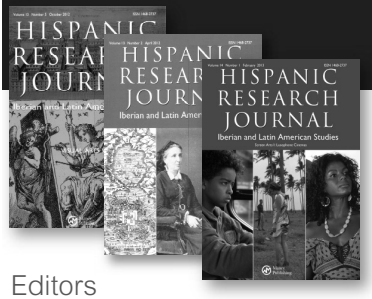
**Rethinking violence, gender and war: women in the Peruvian armed groups**

*Marta Romero-Delgado*

From 1980 to 2000, Peru experienced an internal war between the armed groups (Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path, PCP-SL, and Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, MRTA) and the Peruvian government. This conflict left nearly 70,000 casualties according Peruvian Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (CVR, 2003). Many women joined in these groups, especially in PCP-SL, and transgressing the gender role assigned to women, which shows women as peacemakers "by nature". An ideal reinforced by the Peruvian governments, media and academia.

This presentation emphasizes the social and political factors, which have influenced on the presence of women in wars. I analyze the meaning of the war for these women's lives. Particular attention is paid to the breakdown and reconstruction of the women's identity that were forced to perform. An evaluation of the women's experiences is also included.

# Hispanic Research Journal

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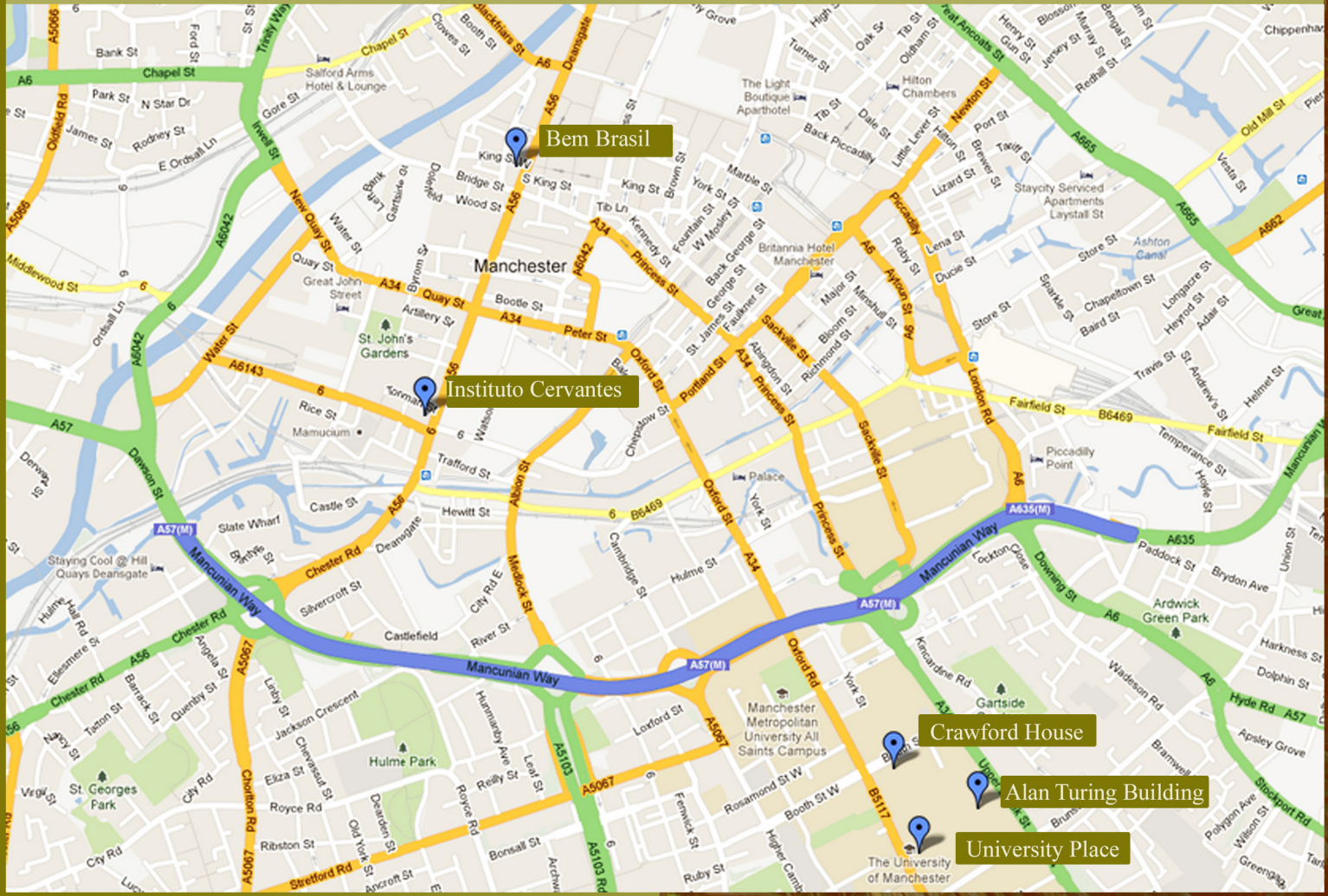
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