

## Communities, Ecologies, Economies & Nature

### RT1: Challenges for realising water-related SDGs in Latin America and the Caribbean: discussing contestations, risks, and inclusive development governance

Chair: Ricardo Fuentealba

Speakers: Eva Barros, Catalina García, Raquel dos Santos, Ricardo Fuentealba

### P1: Turbulent Transitions and the Shifting Politics of Environmental Governance in Latin America

Convener: Malayna Raftopoulos

Speakers:

Malayna Raftopoulos	Counter-Hegemonic Narratives and the Politics of Plurality: Problematising Global Environmental Governance from Latin America through the Case of Bolivia
Joanna Morley	Ecocide in the Amazon: The Contested Politics of Environmental Rights in Brazil
Alejandro Veiga-Exposito	Ideological Crisis in Venezuela: Capitalism as an Institutionalised Social Order
Maritza Cabezas	On booms and busts in Latin America
Ágnes Deák	Social enterprises in Latin America: new development pathways, capabilities and social inclusion

### P2: Unburnable Carbon and the Yasunization of Indigenous Territories: struggles and new paradigms towards energy transition in the Amazon rainforest

Convener: Lorenzo Pellegrini

Speakers:

Margherita Scazza	[title and abstract missing]
Lorenzo Pellegrini	Oil in the Soil, focus on the Amazon
Murat Arsel & Lorenzo Pellegrini	Extractive Imperative after the 'Left Turn'
Alexandra Bechtum	Transnational mining companies and territorial reconfiguration: Insights from Argentina
Maryse Helbert	The Space between Motherhood and Mother Earth: An Eco-Feminist Perspective of the Post-Neoliberal Counter-Reform in Bolivia

### P3: Broad Alliances in the struggles for the commons in South America

Convener: Deborah Delgado Pugley

Speakers:

Deborah Delgado Pugley	An integrative approach to address climate change: Amazonian Indigenous peoples in the UNFCCC Process
Anna Preiser	Environmental regulation as a fig-leave? Advances and limitations of environmental regulations in the Peruvian mining sector
Liliana Lozano	Indigenous-state interplay and outcomes in the making of the national-scale REDD+ scheme in Peru
Heike Pintor Pirzall	El papel de la cooperación alemana en el Proyecto Energía y Desarrollo Sustentable en América Latina
Paula Serafini & Gabriela Merlinsky	Art and resistance to extractivism: Languages for defending and reinventing the commons

### P4: Agrarian Extractivism in Latin America

Convener: Arturo Ezquerro Cañete

Chair: Cristobal Kay

Speakers:

Ben McKay	The political economy of Bolivia's agro-extractive frontier
Alberto Alonso-Fradejas	Agro-extractive capitalism for sustainable development
Oscar Aponte	A Road to Progress: State Formation, Colonization, and Roadbuilding in Putumayo, Colombia, 1904-1934.
Diana Carolina Murillo Martín	Tensiones por la delimitación de páramos en Colombia

### P5: Micropolitics in development. Understanding conflicts over "development" in Latin America

Chair: Elisabet Dueholm Rasch

Speakers:

Raquel Méndez Villamizar	Micropolitical resistances, reproductions and negotiations of gender relations in everyday life in the context of gold and oil extraction: Two case studies from Colombia
María Amalia Mellado	Experiencias desde el mundo mapuche lafkenche del centro sur de Chile



## History, Literature, Media & Culture

### RT2: Activism: new perspectives from the Hispanic-Anglosphere

Convener: Graciela Iglesias-Rogers

Speakers: Sophie Brockmann, José Shane Brownrigg-Gleeson, Juan Ignacio Neves, Graciela Iglesias-Rogers

### RT3: Latin American art: current paradigms in the field

Convener: Elize Mazadiego

Speakers: Sofía Hernández Chong Cuy, Fabiola Martinez Rodriguez, Anita Orzes, Elize Mazadiego

### P9: Identity / Subversion / Futurity: New Approaches to Queer Cultures in Latin America (double panel)

Convener: Geoffrey Maguire

Speakers:

Geoffrey Maguire	Post-Queer Flows: Las hijas del fuego and the Bodily Poetics of Narrative Pornography
Emily Baker	Uncontrollable Erections and Militant Insurrections in Las teorías salvajes by Pola Oloixarac
Andrea Aramburú Villavisencio	Curations of a nepantlera: Material Embodiments and Queer Encounters in Inés Estrada's Impatience (2016)
Philipp Seidel	#DeerBear – Alexandre Mury's Ephemeral Art in a Digital Context
Nicolas Wasser	Body, performance and the visual powers of the Brazilian LGBT+ music scene
Alejandra Peña Morales	"#SoyPuto" de Josecarlo Henríquez: de cómo la "disidencia sexual" recartografía las luchas LGBT+ en Chile

### P10: Re-historicising Latin American Cinema from a feminist perspective

Convener: Nina Fabico

Speakers:

Isabel Seguí	Contemporary Women's Nonfiction Filmmaking in Peru
Lorena Cervera Ferrer	Documentary and Militancy in Latin American Feminist Filmmaking Collectives of the 1970s and 1980s
María Fernanda Miño	Tastemakers and gatekeepers: patriarchal constructions of an Ecuadorian cinema canon
Courtney J Campbell	Remembering Olga: Militant Women, Memory, and the Brazilian Nation
Christine Mathias	Remembering Evita: Commemorations, Peronist Identities, and Female Leaders in Argentina

### P11: Democracia y revolución en América Latina, 1967-1990. La disputa conceptual e ideológica

Discussant: Mariana Perry

Speakers:

Jose Manuel Castro	Revolución y Contrarrevolución. El proyecto político del régimen de Pinochet, 1973-1980
Mariana Perry	El concepto de democracia en la renovación socialista chilena en el exilio
Alejandro San Francisco	Nueva democracia y transición democrática en el Chile de Pinochet, 1973-1981
Molly Avery	Transnational anticommunist networks and the 1980 US presidential election: the Latin American influence on Ronald Reagan's campaign platform

### P12: The Choppy Waters of Scientific Knowledge Circulation, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Chair: Patience Schell

Speakers:

Natalia Gándara	Testing the grounds: how gender, place, and education shaped the transnational debate about the effects of the Chilean earthquakes. 1820-1850s
Patience Schell	Maria Graham, Travel Narrative and a Naturalist's Authority
Marcia Stephenson	From Exotic Imports to Local Celebrities: Experimenting with Llamas in the Nineteenth-Century French Vosges Mountains
Paulo Drinot	The Military and Venereal Disease in Peru

**P13: (Un)liminal Amazonia: Physical and Imaginary Spaces in 21st Century Texts**

Convener: Eduardo Jorge de Oliveira

Speakers:

Eduardo Jorge de Oliveira	Post-Ethnographic Literature: The Turning Point of the Indigenous Question
Pauline Bachmann	Decentering the Anthropocene: Animals, Plants and Rivers
André Masseno	On representations of the Brazilian natural spatiality: between official discourses and visual counternarratives
Dayron Carrillo Morell	From Belem to Brasilia and backwards. (Un)liminal Lives on the Side of Brazilian Modernism

**P14: Quantifying Latin America: Contributions to the History of Statistics**

Conveners: Claudia Daniel, Andrés Estefane, Cecilia Lanata Briones

Speakers:

Claudia Daniel & Cecilia Lanata Briones	Notes on the social history of the Argentine consumer price index
Andrés Estefane	"A country without statistics is inconceivable and ours are very deficient": Crisis and Reorganization of the Chilean Statistical System (1876-1911)
Roberto Barbosa de Andrade Aragão	Fickle concepts: the use of statistics by the Brazilian society
Béatrice Touchelay	Censuses in Guadalupe before and after the political change of 1946
Fanny Malègue	State, Imperial Polities and Censuses in the French Caribbean (1763-1804)

**P15: Latin American Football**

Convener: Peter Watson Chair: David Wood

Speakers:

Mark Biram	Players' Perspectives on South American Women's Club Football
Penny Miles	Los Incondicionales: The Feminist Undertones of a Fanbase in Construction, the Case of Chilean Fans at the 2019 World Cup
David Wood, Verónica Moreira & Silvana Goellner	Avances y desafíos en el fútbol de mujeres en Argentina y Brasil
Xavier Bernoud	Female football, empowerment and identities in modern Argentina
Thomas Fischer & Nelson Chacón	Picturing Latin American football: The Campeonato Mundial de Fútbol en Uruguay, 1930

**P16: Approaches to the nation-building processes in Colombia and Chile. Conservative Thought, Intellectual Networks and Nationalist Discourses, 1840s-1940s**

Conveners: Alfred Hinrichsen &amp; Raul Burgos

Speakers:

Ignacio De Solminihac	Against a post-revolutionary Babel: Language in nineteenth-century Chilean and Colombian conservative thought
Stephanie Ashton-Sánchez	Local Encounters with the Nation: National Identity in Colombia, 1889-1930
Alfred Hinrichsen	Ethnocultural nationalism in Chile's model Republic, 1841-1861
Raul Burgos	Remembering the Makers of the Chilean Republic: Conservative Ideas on Diego Portales and Bernardo O'Higgins, 1930s-1940s

**P17: METHODOLOGIES in displacement: Writing through texts, (auto) ethnographic gestures, and affective traces**

Chair: Andrea Aramburú Villavisencio

Speakers:

Andrea Aramburú Villavisencio	Scene-thinking the Latin American Comics festival: An autoethnographic journey into Ídolo and Carboncito
Jessica A. Fernández de Lara Harada	Archives of Transgenerational Migratory Narration: Absence, History and Affective traces of (dis)placement of ethnic Japanese in Mexico, 1897-present
Erika Teichert	Photography and HIV in Contemporary Argentina: a Case for "Vulnerable" Academic Writing
Tatiana Vargas-Ortiz	Experiences of mobility as an Afro-Colombian subject in Independence times: oppression, resistance and survival at the fictional level

**P18: Mujeres y representaciones de la violencia política en el 'post-conflicto armado': propuestas, tensiones y reconfiguraciones**

Convener: Tania Romero Barrios      Discussant: Jelke Boesten

Speakers:

Camila Sastre Díaz

Arte y eficacia simbólica: el caso de las producciones artísticas sobre violencia sexual en el conflicto armado interno peruano

Ágata Cáceres Sztorc

Violencia de género y estereotipos sobre la participación femenina durante el conflicto armado interno en el Perú y su representación en la obra literaria de Rocío Silva Santisteban

Tania Romero Barrios

Continuum de violencias y subalternidades propositivas: una lectura de *La sangre de la aurora* de Claudia Salazar Jiménez**P19: Reanimating the Past. Latin American Media History, Practice and the Archive (double panel)**

Convener: Jessica Gordon-Burroughs

Speakers:

Carlos Adriano Jeronimo de Rosa

A poética do found footage como método meta-histórico para uma reinvenção das origens do cinema brasileiro

Jessica Gordon-Burroughs

Poli Marichal: In-Between Archives

Ignacio Albornoz Fariña

Chile's university film catalogue as "uneven archive" and visual repertoire

Victoria Adams

Transfiguring the archive: Re-mapping Rio de Janeiro's Past and Present through Digitised Archival Materials

Maite Conde

Creating a Landscape of Early Cinema in Brazil. Working with and through an Absent Archive

Justin Read

PROGRAMMED DEATH: Santa Muerte and the Techno-Image Archive

**P20: Historical imaginations of Central America: Literature, Nature, Body, Language**

Convener: Diego Azurdia

Speakers:

Alberto Castillo Ventura

In Search of the Gran Lengua: Miguel Ángel Asturias's archive of Latin American Literature

Diego Azurdia

Inscriptions on insurgent landscapes

Rocío Zamora Sauma

History on Trial: The Case of Ríos Montt's Trial in Guatemala (2013)

Paola Ravasio

Connectivity: On Studying Garifuna Language

**P21: Mapping and Seeing Transnational Spaces in Modern Latin America**

Conveners: Christine Mathias &amp; Sophie Brockmann

Elizabeth Chant

Magallanes, Magallanes!: Snow and Sovereignty in Alessandro Ciccarelli's *Fuerte Bulnes* (1848)

Sophie Brockmann

Contested Spaces: Visual Representations of Maya Archaeological Sites

Dorcias Janice Weber

Museus na web: uma observação sobre as ações educativas on line em museus latino americanos

**P22: Navigating (Dis)Connections: Contemporary Cultural Production of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean**

Convener: Dunja Fehimovic

Speakers:

Dunja Fehimovic

The Practice of Connectedness: Contemporary Filmmaking in Cuba and the Dominican Republic

Adriana Lopez-Labourdette

Heterotopias de la memoria. Espacio y memoria en las artes caribeñas contemporáneas

Odette Casamayor-Cisneros

The Power of the Unsaid: Black Gaze and the Performance of Afro-Diasporic Experiences in Contemporary Cuban Arts

**P23: Environment and imagination**

Speakers:

Bibiana Duarte Abadía, Michiel Baud &amp; Rutgerd Boelens

Utopias of hydro territorial planning in Colombia and Spain

Diana María Valencia Duarte

THE GREEN ALIENS: Decolonising Environmental Histories of Green Revolutions and Pathogens

Sebastián De La Rosa Carriazo

Cultivating tobacco in Montes de María, 1950-1990: between oppression and emancipation

Santiago Guzman Gamez

Aechmea Magdalena: the untold history of Arbeláez's patents and their industrialization attempts 1930-1945

**P24: Film, Violence and Human Rights**

Speakers:

Struan Gray	Echoes of Rebellion: The Voice of the '80s in Postdictatorship Chilean Film
Carlos-Germán van der Linde	How and What to Tell About the Five-Decades-Long Armed Conflict in Colombia. Narrating the War in the Colombian Movie <i>_Monos_(Monkies)</i> by Alejandro Landes (2019)
Esteban Ramírez Hincapié	Medios ciudadanos y su papel de la Confianza en el conflicto armado colombiano
Katherine Anson	The Right to the Market. Audiovisual Activism in Defense of Indigenous Urban Spaces in Quito, Ecuador
Oisín Kealy	Human Rights Film Festivals in South America

**P25: Art, Literature, Society and Politics (double panel)**

Speakers:

Regina Solis Miranda	Métele sazón, batería y ¿reguetón? Una reflexión sobre las negociaciones identitarias en el género
Magdalena De Gasperi	Communicating Modernism: Diego Rivera's Strategic Use of Modernist Magazines
Lara Maria Arrigoni Manesco	Uma arpilla de palavras: bordando a resistência na obra de Marcela Serrano
Dayron Carrillo Morell	El lago resiliente: paisajes reciclados y naturaleza liminal en la Ciudad de México
Luciane Cristina Scarato	Railways and Representations of Conviviality in Brazilian Literature, 19th- 20th centuries
Vera Lucia Wurst Giusti	'No solo un verdadero ángel del hogar, sino también una estrella en el cielo de la Patria': el papel de la mujer ilustrada en el ideal de nación de las veladas literarias de Juana Manuela Gorriti

**P26: Fiction and the Imagination of Latin America**

Speakers:

Ella Martin	Translating José María Arguedas into English: writing and translation 'bridging the gap'
Gabriela Antonia Paladin	La penalidad que discrimina. Su reflejo en la literatura Argentina
Victoria Carpenter	When a Habit Meets a Habit at the City Dump: Resilience of Habit in <i>Única mirando al mar</i> by Fernando Contreras Castro
Friedrich Ahnert	From an authoritarian past to a liberal future - Patriarchy, ideology, and personal conflict in the Peruvian novels of Mario Vargas Llosa
Claudia Hachenberger	Gioconda Belli's Waslala. <i>Memorial del Futuro</i> (1996) – Illuminating the Gap Between a Bleak Future Scenario Concerning Nicaragua's Hegemonic Order and the Alternative Community of Waslala

**P27: Poetry and the Imagination of Latin America**

Speakers:

Paul Merchant	A New Sea: the Pacific and the Poetic Worlds of Magda Portal and Vicente Huidobro
Maria Salete Borba	Da roça à mesa: reflexões sobre a sobrevivência a partir da poesia de Josely Vianna Baptista, dos desenhos de Francisco Faria e da exposição The Global table, da curadora Abigail Winograd
Laurence Byrne	Tras la poesía: Beau Geste Press and cross-cultural dialogue
Wanderley Corino Nunes Filho	Errância como forma pensativa em Orides Fontela

**P28: Film, Theatre, Society and Politics (double panel)**

Speakers:

Jessica Wax-Edwards	Controlling the narrative: political documentary and the election of Andrés Manuel López Obrador
Liliana Chávez Díaz	Transmedia subjects: Portraying Mexican women after Roma
Henry Tarco Carrera	Descolonizando el texto visual: bases para interpretar cuatro estéticas cinematográficas indigenistas ecuatorianas del siglo XXI
Camila González Ortiz	Portraits of the elites in contemporary Chilean theatre: La María's "Los Millonarios"
Susana Domingo Amestoy	Pablo Perelman's Compromised Aesthetics in Chilean Historical Cinema: "La lección de pintura"
Mariano Paz	Gangs of Buenos Aires: revisiting 1970s and 1980s true crime in Argentine cinema

**P29: Race and Society**

Speakers:

Carole Myers	A cultural study of rhinoplasty in Brazil and how it informs attitudes to race
Mark Meuwese	Dutch public memory of Dutch Brazil

Jose Lara	Race, Material Culture, and Identity in Eighteenth & Nineteenth-century British Travels to the Honduran Caribbean Coastline
Jason M. Yaremko	From Aztlan to the Antilles: Indigenous Diaspora and Nahua Convict Labour in the Spanish Caribbean in the Eighteenth Century

## Inequalities, Violence, Cities & Migration

### RT4: The darker side of fieldwork: Ethical, emotional and physical issues of conducting fieldwork in Latin America

Conveners: Ellen van Damme & Mo Hume

Speakers: Jelke Boesten, Barry Cannon, Ariana Markowitz, Dennis Rodgers

### P30: Seeing Latin American Cities through Political Infrastructures (double panel)

Conveners: Francesca Pilo & Abigail Friendly

Discussant: Christien Klaufus

Speakers:

Tatiana Acevedo-Guerrero	Light is like water: Flooding, blackouts, and the state in Barranquilla
Leandro Minuchin	From institutions to infrastructures: construction, prefiguration and urban politics in Rosario, Guayaquil and Caracas
Francesca Pilo	The political temporalities of electricity infrastructure in Rio de Janeiro's favelas
Abigail Friendly	Corridors, Planning, and Cities: Infrastructure Governance and Exclusion in São Paulo
Matteo Stiglich	City Unplanning: The political economy of privately-financed highways in Lima
Miriam Victoria Fernandez Lins	Infrastructural facilities as public spaces: opportunities for communities' integration

### P31: Aesthetic knowledges in the Latin American city: Transformations of space, body and soul

Convener & chair: Christien Klaufus

Discussant: Brigitte Adriaensen

Speakers:

Lieke Prins	Street art and street artists in Medellín
Wil Pansters	The Santa Muerte cult in Mexico and Guatemala
Lorena del Castillo	Gentrification and displacement by aesthetic dispossession in Lima

### P32: Aesthetics and urban order

Conveners: Rivke Jaffe & Martijn Oosterbaan

Speakers:

Martijn Oosterbaan & Rivke Jaffe	Criminal Contestations: Popular Aesthetics and Urban Order beyond the State
Sterre Gilsing	Sonopolitics in Rio de Janeiro's Favelas
Tracian Meikle	Memorial Murals and the Politics of Aesthetics in Kingston, Jamaica
Carolina Maurity Frossard	Cinematic Ordering: Viewing and Feeling Politics in Movie Theaters of Rio de Janeiro and Recife

### P33: Gender myths, women's rights and women's movements: new challenges for Latin America women (double panel)

Convener: Jasmine Gideon Birkbeck

Speakers:

Sarah Bradshaw	The myth of women's vulnerability and the rise of resilient women: Has anything changed?
Jelke Boesten	Rethinking the link between gender violence and political violence
Fiona Macaulay	Police-Led Initiatives on Combatting Gender-Based Violence in Brazil
Cathy McIlwaine	Thinking transnationally about gender-based violence: reflections from Brazilian migrants in London
Lorena Fuentes	[no title]
Alejandra Ramm	Reporting unlawful abortion: views from medical and midwifery students and faculty in Chile
Jasmine Gideon	The role of the private sector in limiting women's reproductive rights in Chile
Donny Meertens	The many meanings of justice for peasant women after conflict in Colombia

**P34: Ethics and methods for producing knowledge about conflict, peace, and justice in Latin America (double panel)**

Conveners: Sanne Weber (chair) &amp; Mijke de Waardt

Speakers:

Mijke de Waardt	Inside/outside? A reflection on co-production of knowledge
Sebastian De La Rosa Carriazo	Ethics in Oral history: Making, controlling and revising data contributions
Eva Willems	The co-production of (post-)conflict between survivors and 'well-meaning outsiders': Diffusion and contestation of transitional justice in (post-)conflict Peru
Tatiana Sanchez Parra	A methodological approach to silence as a site of meaning: Researching children born of war in Colombia
Sanne Weber	Researching experiences of survivors and perpetrators of conflict in Latin America
Noa Vaisman	Repetitions in the act of judicial accountability: justice, the event and the disappeared in Argentina

**P35: Latin American Marketplaces: Connecting Places of Connection**

Conveners: Patricia Schappo &amp; León Felipe Téllez Contreras

Speakers:

Patricia Schappo	Marketplaces and social justice: A comparative case study across geographical divides
Luis Emilio Martínez	Variaciones del comercio popular. Ambulantaje y mercados públicos en Cuenca, Ecuador
León Felipe Téllez Contreras	Popular Infrastructural Politics in Mexico City Traditional Public Markets
Angus McNelly	Political Imaginaries and Popular Marketplaces: What Moving a Market Tells Us About Local Politics in Bolivia

**P36: Challenges of the Venezuelan Migration in Latin America (double panel)**

Convener: Esteban Devis-Amaya

Speakers:

Mauricio Palma Gutiérrez	From open borders utopia to discriminatory control: Understanding the securitisation of migration from Venezuela
Esteban Devis-Amaya	Barriers to migration and integration: the Venezuelan migration within the Andes
Bronte Alexander	Taking up Space: Being Displaced and Disabled in Brazil
Silvia Facal	La experiencia migratoria de los venezolanos en Uruguay (2014-2019)
Pablo Biderbost & María Elisa Nuñez	Del Río de la Plata al Orinoco y viceversa. Patrones y flujos migratorios entre Argentina y Venezuela
Andrea Monserratt Cortés Saavedra	Researching the production and negotiation of otherness regarding migration in a school on the northern border of Chile
Maria Aparecida Neves da Silva	Analise de ações da implantação do ensino de PFOL português para falantes de outras línguas na rede pública de ensino de Brasília DF

**P37: Cultural, economic and political alternatives for handling prolonged crisis and conflict in Venezuela**

Convener &amp; discussant: Eva van Roekel

Chair: Marjo de Theije

Speakers:

Matt Wilde	The Petrocasa: A Barrio Household in Times of Crisis
Aaron Kappeler	From Oil Rent to Remittances: Labor Migration and the Political Economy of Venezuela's Global Resource Flows
Marjo de Theije & Eva van Roekel	Gold and the Alternative Economy of the Venezuelan Crisis
Tierra Simon	Adjusting Sails through the Caribbean Sea: Undocumented Male Migrants from Coro, Venezuela
Edwin Koopman	It's not Maduro: Why the Bolivarian Revolution Was Never Meant to Be Democratic

**P38: Militarization and Order-Making in Latin America: An Interdisciplinary and Cross-Country Assessment**

Conveners: Markus Hochmüller (chair) &amp; Carlos Solar

Discussant: Jenny Pearce

Speakers:

Markus Hochmüller & Carlos Solar	Captured Security? Assessing Military Corruption in Democratic Latin America
----------------------------------	--

Frank Müller & Julianne Weegels Illicities: Criminalized governance arrangements in urban environments  
 Julianne Weegels Controlling the streets: From community policing to para-police control in Nicaragua

**P39: Violence, Imprisonment and Security Politics**

Speakers:

Lirio Gutiérrez Rivera Urban spatial projects and violence: looking at the impact of crime on urbanization in Tegucigalpa, Honduras  
 Antonia McGrath "A structure we cannot escape": Violence and Youth on the Urban Margins of El Progreso, Honduras  
 Diana Sandoval Simán "La cárcel o la muerte": Gangs and the Politics of Security Policy in El Salvador, 2003-2018  
 Camila Pierobon Assassinato, tortura e prisão: práticas de estado e assinaturas do gênero na vida cotidiana

**P40: Violence and Migration**

Speakers:

Alejandra Díaz de León We are all "migrantes"! Identity and care as a consequence of hardening immigration policies in Mexico  
 Sonja Wolf The Violences of Displacement from the Northern Triangle of Central America  
 Massiel de la Caridad Torres Vulnerabilidades dentro del proceso migratorio regular: latinoamericanos con residencia temporal o permanente en México  
 Suárez  
 Gabriela Patricia Garcia Garcia Exclusion, encounters, and threatening Others: securitisation and (in)visibility of Colombian refugees in Ecuador

**P41: Citizenship and Inequalities (double panel)**

Speakers:

Aiko Ikemura Amaral & Pedro Mendes Loureiro Closing the gaps? Intersectional inequalities during the Workers' Party administrations in Brazil (2003-2013)  
 Sibylla Warrington Assembling acts of economic citizenship: Indigenous and low-income women's work in post-neoliberal Bolivia  
 David Navarrete Escobedo Desigualdades urbanas y prácticas culturales en ciudades turísticas patrimoniales del Sur Global  
 Boana Visser Indigenous experiences and (re)constructions of ethno-racial politics and inequality in Panama  
 Erynn Masi de Casanova In Search of the Ideal Worker: Representing Domestic Employment in Classified Advertisements  
 Rachel Randall Domestic Workers in the Digital Domain: Activism and Immaterial Labour

## Politics, Institutions & Identities

### RT5: America, South and North: New Insights from Comparative and Trans-regional Approaches

Convener: Bert Hoffmann (chair)

Speakers: Sonia Lehman-Frisch, Isabelle Vagnoux, Bert Hoffmann

### RT6: Venezuela: Pressures, Obstacles and Mechanisms toward a Transition

Convener: Benedicte Bull (chair)

Speakers: Leiv Marsteintredet, Francisco Alfaro Pareja, Benedicte Bull

### P42: The Incumbent's Advantage in Latin American

Convener: Javier Corrales

Discussant: Imke Harbers

Speakers:

Javier Corrales Incumbents, Expreidents, their Relatives, and Newcomers

Mariana Llanos Presidential Term Limit Refoms in Latin America

Yanina Welp Referendums and presidential term limit rules

Leiv Marsteintredet Do rules of succession matter for presidential survival? The Vice President in Latin America

### P43: Organisations for development? Existential challenges in health, education and civil society organisational settings in Chile

Convener: Daniel Díaz Vera

Speakers:

Johanna Aguilera Muñoz Integrated care and change management in Chile: main delivery of services challenges experienced by healthcare managers within the public network

Francisca Álvarez Figueroa Schools as citizens' incubators: perspectives of Citizenship education in Chile

Daniel Díaz Vera What is the Board of Directors for? Use and misuse of Corporate Governance practices in the NGO sector in Chile

### P44: Creating the Transnational: Latin American Exiles in Europe during the 1970s-1980s

Convener: Anna Grimaldi (chair)

Speakers:

Pablo Matias Bradbury Exile, Labour Internationalism, and Solidarity in the UK during Argentine State Terrorism

María Fernanda Lanfranco Women's rights as human rights? Chilean exiles and feminist solidarity in Great Britain

Ana Sonderéguer Bernárdez The Art of Solidarity: Italy's 1974 Biennale as a Space of Denunciation

Anna Isabella Grimaldi Brazil and the Transnational Human Rights Movement 1964-1985

### P45: Participación Ciudadana en Políticas Sociales en la región Andina

Convener: Soledad Valdivia Rivera (chair)

Speakers:

María Teresa Estefanía Sánchez Habilidades para vivir en democracia y participación ciudadana en la construcción del Proyecto Educativo Nacional del Perú al 2036

María Gabriela Palacio Depolitizando la pobreza? Transferencias monetarias focalizadas y participación ciudadana en Ecuador

Soledad Valdivia Rivera Redes políticas y participación ciudadana: las políticas de protección a la mujer en Bolivia

Gonzalo Paolillo & Dr. Flávio Eiró No Somos Todos Iguales - A Study on How Beneficiaries Experience Receiving the TUS Transfer on a Relational and Symbolic Level

### P46: Who is governing Latin American Cities? Exploring contemporary urban development processes from a comparative perspective

Convener: Tania Guerrero

Chair: Ann Varley

Speakers:

Álvaro Sánchez Urban policy responses in times of crisis: a comparative analysis of local actors and institutions in Valencia (Spain) and Mar del Plata (Argentina)

Tania Guerrero Using subsidised housing to control urban expansion, the case of urban containment policies in Mexico

Cristóbal Díaz Martínez      Housing crisis and recent housing policies in Santiago and Buenos Aires: new subsidies as an opportunity for the poor or the market?

**P47: Democracia local en América Latina (double panel)**

Convener: Tomás Dosek

Speakers:

Imke Harbers

Tomás Dosek

Pavlína Springerová & Barbora Valiskova

Carlos Vareta

Gerardo Scherlis

Jorge Aragón

Karel Kouba

Comparing States: Territorial Heterogeneity in Public Goods Provision

La persistencia de caudillos locales en América Latina: Comparando las prácticas políticas en Chile, Paraguay y Perú

Autonomías indígenas originarias campesinas en el contexto político en Bolivia

La integración partidaria en Argentina: Un análisis subnacional

Who nominates legislative candidates? The Dispute between National and Sub-national Political Actors for Control of Argentine National Congress

Estreno e implicancias de la no reelección inmediata de autoridades subnacionales en el Perú

The Paradox of Municipal Size for Local Democracy in Latin America

**P48: ¿De la dispersión a la acumulación? Consecuencias políticas de los conflictos socio-territoriales y de industrias extractivas en perspectiva comparada**

Convener: Maritza Paredes (chair)

Speakers:

Bettina Schorr

Gonzalo Delamaza

Riccarda Flemmer

Maritza Paredes

Transformaciones Institucionales Ambiguas: La Producción de Mecanismos de Participación y Coerción para la Gobernanza de las Industrias Extractivas

Consecuencias en busca de causas: el rol de la acumulación y la combinación en los conflictos extractivos

The Contested Meaning of Prior Consultation and FPIC. Indigenous Grassroots and the Politics of Translating Rights in Struggles over Resources in the Peruvian Amazon

Extractive regime beyond Isomorphic institutional change. Explaining progress and setbacks in environmental governance in Chile and Peru (1990-2018)

**P49: Addressing the Gaps in Policy Conversations & Thinking in Latin America**

Convener: Peter Ward

Chair: Ann Varley

Speakers:

Michiel Baud

Kristine Stiphany

Peter M Ward

Alfonso J Rojas Alvarez

Confianza: How solidarity networks are often overlooked

Incremental Housing's Educational Trajectory: Infrastructure, Knowledge, and Space in São Paulo, Brazil

Return of the Slum? Slumification of Consolidated Informal Settlements – A (Largely) Unseen Challenge?

Air quality and housing markets: the evolution of demand for clean air.

**P50: Shifting politics and policy in contemporary Latin America (double panel)**

Speakers:

Juan Pablo Ferrero

César Jiménez-Martínez

Hernán Ramírez

Karin Fischer

Jesús María Casal Hernández &

Alina Maria Ripplinger

Daire McGill

Lisdey Espinoza Pedraza

Magdalena Lisinska

Quality of Democracy in the Left Transitions from Neoliberal Rule. Lessons from Latin America and Southern Europe

Time Changes Things: Looking Back and Beyond at the June 2013 Protests in Brazil

Argentina y Brasil ante el dilema del ocaso de la agenda neoliberal

Institutions matter: a study of the right-wing state/society complex in Guatemala

Struggling against Authoritarianism and for Identity: Polarization and the Civil Society in Nicaragua and Venezuela

Minding the gap between Theory and Practice in Colombia's Peace Process

From Popular Representation to International Isolationism and Power Centralisation: Understanding AMLO's Mexico

Argentina's foreign policy direction after the 2019 presidential elections

**P51: Politics, leadership and state in Latin America**

Speakers:

Laura Tedesco & Rut Diamant

Flávio Eiró & Martijn Koster

Matthew Doyle

Adriana Rudling

El liderazgo político como clave del retroceso democrático

Understanding politics in present-day Brazil: Assessing candidates and imagining the state

The Politics of Religious Ritual in Urban Bolivia

How Bureaucracies Deal with Human Rights Violations in (Post-)Conflict Societies

Emilie Curryova Political Leadership and Democratization in Argentina, 1983-1999

**P52: Arts and citizenship in Latin America**

Speakers:

Katie Brown Pensamiento y libertad': Arts education for critical thinking in Venezuela  
 Denisa Krasna Decolonization in Chiapas: Zapatistas, Co-operatives, Autonomous Education, Artivism  
 Laura Ximena Triana Gallego Discusiones en torno a la agencia cultural y los procesos audiovisuales de las comunidades amerindias en Colombia  
 Omar Alejandro Bravo La escritura como recurso de lazo social y resistencia

**P53: International relations**

Speakers:

Rafael Castro-Alegría Should I stay or should I go? Colombia's Exit from the Union of South American Nations and Its Impact on the Disintegration of Regional Organizations  
 Quintijn Kat Rational-choice subordination and hegemony: The United States-Peru Trade Promotion Agreement negotiations  
 Anna Sands The impact of investor-state dispute settlement on environmental governance: the case of the Colombian páramos  
 Clara Franco Yanez Bridging the Legitimacy Gap: International Dimensions of Norm Contestation About Legal Abortion in Mexico

**P54: Social media, institutions and politics in Latin America**

Speakers:

Cordula Tibi Weber & Mariana Llanos High Courts and Social Media in Latin America  
 Alicja Fijałkowska Facebook and the 2019 presidential election in Argentina  
 Tricia Gray, Jason Gainous & Kevin Wagner Dictators' Digital Dilemma: The Drift toward Digital Authoritarianism  
 Cecilia Demarco Gastelumendi Las experiencias latinoamericanas de intervención política en la prensa obrera montevideana, 1883- 1911.

**P55: Identity (and) Politics in Latin America**

Speakers:

Pablo Isla Monsalve Re-ethnisation as strategy of identity visibility in the context of globalisation in Latin America  
 Diego Valdivieso-Sierpe State practices as catalysts of identity. Reshaping narratives of belonging and discrimination in the Archipelago of Chiloé.  
 Dana Brablec From nanas to presidentas: Leadership trajectories of Mapuche women within Indigenous associations in Santiago de Chile  
 Camila Emboava Lopes Indigenous Peoples' media initiatives: a resistance strategy in Brazil

**P56: Environmental justice and governance**

Speakers:

Angela Lindt Between Criminalization and Empowerment: Judicialization of Peru's Mining Conflicts  
 Giada Ferrucci Environmental Justice in Latin America: a comparative analysis of current challenges and future prospects  
 Nicholas Woodward The Land Belongs To Those Who Work It: ANUC, Land Occupations and Repertoires of Resistance in Montes de María  
 Eva Costa de Barros Blue and green water governance interactions in Brazil: the case of the São Francisco River Basin  
 Alex Flynn Henri Bergson, temporality and the Landless Workers' Movement

**P57: Gender, body and identity in contemporary Latin American politics and society**

Speakers:

Elisa Mendes Vasconcelos Does gender matter in the policy-making process? The stability of gender inequality in the distribution of the senior posts within the Federal Executive Service in Brazil (1996-2019)  
 Pilar d'Alò 'They won't burn us this time' - Witchcraft and political disruption in Rosario, Argentina  
 Francine Rossone de Paula Latino bodies 'out of place': disruptive potential or visibility through dislocation?  
 Gabriela del Salto El aborto medicamentoso en la gestión de embarazos no deseados: circulación de saberes profanos frente a la criminalización de la práctica en Ecuador

## Otros saberes & Alternative Methods

### RT7: Decolonizing Latin American Studies: thinking and acting in Europe

Convener & chair: Lucy Taylor

Sheneez Amara

*On the Usefulness of a Term: Can We “Decolonise” Europe-Based Latin American Studies?*

Francine Rossone de Paula

*Questioning the geographical boundaries to decolonizing knowledge and practices*

Lucy Taylor

*Bringing indigenous voices to Wales: disturbing the Welsh Patagonian story*

### P58: Voice and epistemologies (double panel)

Speakers:

Geraldine Lamadrid Guerrero Performance and theater making in Xalapa: an artistic practice based research to recognize cognitive processes for relief in political violence contexts

Erika Servin Micro Macro Foto Litografia

Geraldine Lublin Digital Memories and Trajectories in Southern Patagonia

Tathiane Mattos Batista Reverberando vozes

Ludmila Ribeiro, Ricardo Medeiros Memórias das fundações da ciéncia brasileira: protagonistas da informaçao em ciéncia e tecnologia vindas do Sul global

Pimenta, Marcel Garcia de Souza,

Paula Farias Martins da Hora & Carolina Santos da Cunha

Rachel Carvalho Educação ambiental crítica e organização comunitária: A importância da educação popular

Ashleigh McCann 'Dis-covering' Latin America in Anglophone Postcolonial Literary Criticism

Sheneez Amara Positioning ourselves in relation to the coloniality of the university

## Abstract booklet

### SLAS2020

# Mind the gap: Strengthening Connections in Latin American Studies

\*\*\*

## Roundtables

### RT1: Challenges for realising water-related SDGs in Latin America and the Caribbean: discussing contestations, risks, and inclusive development governance

Chair: Ricardo Fuentealba, University of Amsterdam, r.fuentealba@uva.nl

Water is a central socio-environmental challenge in Latin American and Caribbean communities, as it is crossed by structural and long-standing power imbalances demanding complex and multi-level processes for inclusive governance. Some of the 17 goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (the SDGs) can be used as a guide for assessing how such water issues are advancing or not. This pre-established roundtable arises from discussions in progress at the Governance and Inclusive Development (GID) Research Group and the Centre for Sustainable Development Studies (CSDS), both from the University of Amsterdam.

Featuring senior and young researchers, the roundtable will start with an introduction framed within water in the SDGs and its connection with inclusive governance. Then, evidence from four research projects will describe real life experiences on the challenges facing some SDGs achievement, particularly Clean Water and Sanitation (SDG 6), Sustainable Cities and Communities (SDG 11), and Life Beyond Water (SDG 14). A final presentation will wrap up the cases and delineate ways forward from inclusive and sustainable development perspectives. Each intervention will last 10 minutes max, having 45 minutes for discussion between the panellists and with the audience. This roundtable will give an overview of the advances and difficulties in water-challenges within the SDGs by comparing similarities and differences of distinct Latin American and Caribbean contexts.

Speakers:

- Eva Barros, University of Amsterdam, barros\_eva@yahoo.com.br
- Catalina García, University of Amsterdam, m.c.garciaчhaves@uva.nl
- Raquel dos Santos, IHE-Delft Institue for Water Education, r.dossantos@un-ihe.org
- Ricardo Fuentealba, University of Amsterdam, r.fuentealba@uva.nl

### RT2: Activism: new perspectives from the Hispanic-Anglosphere

Convener: Dr. Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, University of Winchester, g.iglesiasrogers@winchester.ac.uk

The practice of actively engaging and supporting a cause, especially through the use of vigorous campaigning to bring about political and/or social change, has attracted considerable academic attention. Studies on activism predominantly draw on examples from the mid-to late 20th century and, leaving aside exemptions (Juris & Khasnabish, 2013) tend to be locally-focused. For the most part, they are also keen to highlight strategies of confrontation and instances of counter-culture as a

reaction to the rise of a global society. In this roundtable we shall question the established approach and test new perspectives based on recent studies of the Hispanic-Anglosphere that point to the existence of transnational advocacy networks and affinity groups from the late 18th to early 20th centuries. The individuals operating in these groups, while rarely leaving the mainstream, also engaged in collective action to bring forward change in a wide variety of issues such as religious toleration, freedom of press and of trade, gender equality, the democratization of education and knowledge exchange and even proposals for what we might call today "heritage preservation". A number of case-studies will be outlined briefly by the speakers with a view to engage in dialogue among themselves and the audience.

Speakers:

- Dr. Sophie Brockmann, De Montford University, sophie.brockmann@dmu.ac.uk
- Dr. José Shane Brownrigg-Gleeson, University of Galway, josegleeson@gmail.com
- Juan Ignacio Neves, University of Oxford, nevesjuanignacio@gmail.com
- Dr. Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, University of Winchester, g.iglesiasrogers@winchester.ac.uk

**RT3: Latin American art: current paradigms in the field**

Convener: Elize Mazadiego, University of Amsterdam, e.mazadiego@uva.nl

This round table brings together current research on Latin American art, its exhibition histories and artistic production; and curatorial perspectives on presenting Latin American art at art institutions and biennales today by important scholars in the field. It aims to re-position the discussion on and study of Latin American art within wider studies of visual culture and global politics.

Responding to the theme of year's conference, this round table addresses the relevance of Latin American art and its study in relation to studies across social, political, economic and cultural fields, their points of intersection and the various ways of understanding and producing knowledge on Latin America. Furthermore, and observing the under-representation of Latin American art in Latin American studies we aim to generate discussion on the distinct traditions of making, theorising and exhibiting art and visual culture in, and from, Latin America.

The convenors of this round table coordinate the research group "Global cartographies of thought and memory: Art from the Global South" at AHM, University of Amsterdam. Therefore, the proposed roundtable is envisaged as part of a series of efforts to create and strengthen local and international networks on the study of Latin American art within Latin American studies and across SLAS and CEDLA.

Speakers:

- Sofía Hernández Chong Cuy *will talk about the histories and actualities of curating and exhibiting Latin American art as Director at the Witte de With gallery, Rotterdam since January 2018, the curator of contemporary art at Colección Patricia Phelps de Cisneros in Caracas and New York from 2011 to 2017; guest curator at the Bronx Museum of the Arts, New York 2016-17; artistic director and chief curator of the 9th Bienal do Mercosul in Brazil, 2013 and an agent of Documenta 13, Kassel 2012.*
- Fabiola Martínez Rodríguez *will share her work on Mexico's Inter-American Biennials (1958-1960) -- a study that seeks to understand the role of art in the hemisphere's cultural Cold War, enduring debates between figuration and abstraction, and canonical narratives of exhibition and collecting that can be traced back to the Cold War.*
- Anita Orzes' *talk will present biennials in Latin America and the Caribbean from 1951 and 1989, considering their global reception and whether they form a resistance or challenge to the global order.*

**RT4: The darker side of fieldwork: Ethical, emotional and physical issues of conducting fieldwork in Latin America**

Conveners: Ellen van Damme & Mo Hume, University of Leuven & University of Glasgow, ellen.vandamme@kuleuven.be & mo.hume@glasgow.ac.uk

When conducting fieldwork in Latin America, researchers are confronted with many (moral) issues that can seem incompatible with European or Western standardized ethics forms and regulations. We are expected to think about theoretical ethical issues before the start of our field research, but often the space to reflect upon how we would deal with practical ethical issues in situ is limited. While ethics processes rightly encourage us to think about how we safeguard the emotional and physical wellbeing of our research participants, less attention can be paid to measures to safeguard our own physical and emotional integrity. When this 'emotional labour' is done, it comes with risk and is often carried out by early career researchers and/or women. It is often perceived as a place where research went 'wrong'. In an attempt to open up an honest and frank discussion we propose a multidisciplinary roundtable that brings together researchers from different career stages, countries and disciplines to critically reflect upon the ethical, emotional and physical issues that are linked to conducting fieldwork in Latin America.

Speakers:

- Jelke Boesten, King's College London, jelke.boesten@kcl.ac.uk
- Barry Cannon, Maynooth University, barry.cannon@mu.ie
- Ariana Markowitz, University College London, ariana.markowitz.15@ucl.ac.uk
- Dennis Rodgers, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, dennis.rodgers@graduateinstitute.ch

**RT5: America, South and North: New Insights from Comparative and Trans-regional Approaches**

Convener: Bert Hoffmann, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies-Hamburg / Freie Universität Berlin, hoffmann@giga-hamburg.de

Latin American Studies increasingly looks beyond the Latin American and Caribbean region itself. This goes along two lines: putting the area's experiences into comparative perspective with other world regions; and looking at the transnational connections and entanglements of Latin America with actors and processes beyond the region. A key are, of course, is North America – to the point, that a number of European centers study "the Americas" in plural, grouping together North and South America as well as the Caribbean in a hemispheric approach.

This roundtable presents empirical research with a comparative or a transnational approach linking both regions. This will include a historical reflection on revolutionary elections, civil conflicts and democratization in the Americas between 1800-1910; a study on presidentialism and executive-legislative relations, focusing on the uses of impeachment and the new political instability, with cases from both South and North America; the barrio in US cities as a truly trans-American type of neighborhood, migration between the US and Latin America as a diplomatic and international relations issue; and re-thinking contemporary Cuban economy and society through a trans-national lens.

On the basis of these research endeavors, the roundtable invites to more broadly discuss the potential and value-added, but also the limits and potential pitfalls of studying Latin America & the Caribbean in the wider context of "the Americas".

Speakers:

- Sonia Lehman-Frisch, Université Paris Nanterre, sonia.lehman-frisch@parisnanterre.fr
- Isabelle Vagnoux, Aix-Marseille Université, isabelle.vagnoux@univ-amu.fr

- Bert Hoffmann, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies-Hamburg / Freie Universität Berlin, hoffmann@giga-hamburg.de

#### **RT6: Venezuela: Pressures, Obstacles and Mechanisms toward a Transition**

Convener: Benedicte Bull, Centre for Development and the Environment (SUM) - University of Oslo, benedicte.bull@sum.uio.no

This roundtable discusses ongoing and possible future transitions in Venezuela from a variety of theoretical and empirical angles. It is based on the work on a Special Issue of the European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (ERLACS)scheduled for January-June 2020. The panel seeks on the one hand to discuss recent empirical research on different aspects of the current crisis:the collapse of the rentier economy and economic informalization; human rights abuses and the paramilitarization of the state; the depening of authoritarianism and the transformation of ties with international actors. On the other hand, it will discuss different scenarios for a transition out of the crisis based on research on recent negotiation processes, and domestic and international strategies aimed at supporting or provoking transitions. The empirical research will be placed in historical and comparative perspective. The goal is to engage with existing theories of transition in a broad understanding in order to provide a better understanding of the pressures, obstacles and mechanisms toward a transition.

Speakers:

- Leiv Marsteintredet, Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen, leiv.marsteintredet@uib.no
- Francisco Alfaro Pareja, Universidad Católica Andrés Bello (UCAB), franciscoalfaropareja@gmail.com
- Benedicte Bull, Centre for Development and the Environment (SUM) - University of Oslo, benedicte.bull@sum.uio.no

#### **RT7: Decolonizing Latin American Studies: thinking and acting in Europe**

Convener & chair: Dr. Lucy Taylor, Aberystwyth University Wales, lft@aber.ac.uk

Most discussions and practices of decolonization are firmly located in indigenous territories and settler colonies located in Latin America, and rightly so. However, does Europe also offer potential as a location for decolonizing Latin America? What sort of decolonial work here could strengthen indigenous and black struggle in Las Américas? What sorts of limits or dangers does such work entail? Yet also, and in the face of both grave injustice and determined struggle, what can we do here in a practical sense to make a difference? After opening remarks on epistemological issues, pedagogy and research, an open discussion will be held reflecting on any aspect of academic activity: research; teaching; epistemology; administration; recruitment; publishing; impact; etc. The roundtable engages with the conference theme 'Mind the gap: Strengthening connections in Latin American Studies' by interrogating the political and ethical problems of decolonial praxis which condition our status as Latin Americanists in Europe, but also seeks to share practical initiatives which we might operationalize today.

Speakers:

- Sheneez Amara, Liverpool University, hssamara@student.liverpool.ac.uk, *On the Usefulness of a Term: Can We "Decolonise" Europe-Based Latin American Studies?*
- Francine Rossone de Paula, Queen's University Belfast, f.rossonedepaula@qub.ac.uk, *Questioning the geographical boundaries to decolonizing knowledge and practices*
- Dr. Lucy Taylor, Aberystwyth University Wales, lft@aber.ac.uk, *Bringing indigenous voices to Wales: disturbing the Welsh Patagonian story*

## Panels

### Communities, Ecologies, Economies & Nature

#### **P1: Turbulent Transitions and the Shifting Politics of Environmental Governance in Latin America**

Convener: Malyna Raftopoulos, Aalborg University, [raftopoulos@dps.aau.dk](mailto:raftopoulos@dps.aau.dk)

It is increasingly recognised that in order to achieve the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change there needs to be transformation of the global development trajectory which includes a greater emphasis on environmental protection and natural resource management. On a global level, Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) countries have become increasingly central to debates about global environmental issues because of its abundance of natural resources and wealth of biodiversity, whilst on a regional level, socio-environmental problems have led to questioning of current development models, democratic decision making and environmental rule of law as well as human-nature relations. As the political dynamic swings from left to right across the region and the world edges closer to a climate tipping point, how LAC countries address environmental concerns on a domestic and regional level remains central to evolving policy agendas. This panel will discuss how Latin America's shifting political map has impacted on environmental governance and the management of natural resources in the region.

Speakers:

#### **1. Counter-Hegemonic Narratives and the Politics of Plurality: Problematising Global Environmental Governance from Latin America through the Case of Bolivia**

*Malyna Raftopoulos, Aalborg University, [raftopoulos@dps.aau.dk](mailto:raftopoulos@dps.aau.dk)*

This paper seeks to problematise current frameworks of global environmental governance by examining how the neoliberal model continues to rely on the state to suppress plurinational justice. Firstly, it discusses the creation of counter-hegemonic discourses through the emergence of new centres of epistemic production. It shows how Latin American cultural critics appropriated the notion of 'hegemony' in the 1980s in order to articulate their countries' hybrid and heterogenous forms of socialisation and how notions of hybridity and heterogeneity were used to deconstruct monolithic narratives of modernity that did not fit Latin American socio-cultural realities. Secondly, it analyses the ways in which these narratives interact, or fail to interact, with state policies on a local, national and international level through the case study of Bolivia, examining the conflicting stances that are at play between private, state and intrastate actors within the current pattern of global sovereignty. The paper argues that one of main challenges confronting environmental governance will be to reformulate sovereignty as an epistemic and relational – as well as political and territorial – set of relationships.

#### **2. Ecocide in the Amazon: The Contested Politics of Environmental Rights in Brazil**

*Joanna Morley, University of Liverpool, [Joanna.Morley@liverpool.ac.uk](mailto:Joanna.Morley@liverpool.ac.uk)*

The recent wildfires in the Brazilian Amazon has reignited claims of ecocide and highlighted the continuing widespread destruction of the natural environment. Firstly, the article considers the challenges natural resource exploitation presents to the achievement of sustainable development in Latin America, examining the continued prioritisation of export-led growth within a context of weakening enforcement of environmental protections. Secondly, the article discusses Brazil's contested environmental politics and Bolsonaro retreat from global environmental agendas. Lastly, through a discussion on the recent push for the industrialisation of the Amazon and contested claims of sovereignty, the article

considers whether Bolsonaro's pursuit of extractivist imperialism and its subsequent ecological destruction and disruption of socio-ecological relationships constitutes ecocide.

**3. Ideological Crisis in Venezuela: Capitalism as an Institutionalised Social Order**

*Alejandro Veiga-Exposito, University of Warwick, alejandro.veiga-exposito@warwick.ac.uk*

Three dominant discourses seek to explain the current Venezuelan crisis: the Bolivarian governments' economic mismanagement; Maduro's betrayal of Chávez' socio-economic legacy; and the economic war. However, these economic approaches fail to analyse how the oil-rent has been appropriated by the state, why this caused the breakdown of the industrial sector, and how is crisis (un)perceived by subjects. This paper explores how Nancy Fraser's analysis of capitalism as an institutionalised social order underpinned by three spheres of contradiction allow us to show how Venezuela's exploitation of nature has increased the gap between production and social-reproduction. This paper will argue that it is when tensions become impossible to ignore in the production/social-reproduction sphere that there has to be a discursive definition imposing a limit for potential questionings of the social order's conditions of possibility. Following Slavoj Žižek's analysis of ideology within capitalism, we can see that it is at this point where crisis emerges as a signifier to re-structure the symbolic order: this is an impasse to be resolved, not the end of a social order.

**4. On booms and busts in Latin America**

*Maritza Cabezas, PGGM, cabezasmaritza@hotmail.com*

Dealing with booms and busts capital flow cycles is the rule in developing countries. However, Latin America has proven to be more vulnerable than most regions, experiencing deeper and more prolonged balance of payments crises with enormous costs for output, economic activity and society. Although the origin of balance of payments crises in the different Latin American countries is often idiosyncratic, the close trade ties and migration flows make the spillover effects within the region unavoidable. Regional financial institutions do not have enough firepower to address financing crises. Even multilateral institutions, with the International Monetary Fund at the lead, face an increasing resistance from civil society in their approach to crisis prevention and management in the region. At the same time, cross-border flows to Latin America are undergoing structural changes. Remittances have increased more than FDI flows. China has become a major lender to the region surpassing the World Bank. This raises questions about the sustainability of capital flows going forward. This paper explores the better and worse performers in preventing balance of payments crises across a sample of countries in Latin America, focusing on how they finance their current account. In an effort to understand what distinguishes the region from other developing regions, the comparison is also extended to other emerging economies.

**5. Social enterprises in Latin America: new development pathways, capabilities and social inclusion**

*Ágnes Deák, Corvinus University Budapest, agnesdeak@yahoo.com*

The Pink Tide era brought new socioeconomic models and the region experienced a prospering period during the first decade of the new millennium. Societies observed new positive trends such as community-based solutions, and alternative forms of development which are contested topics in current academic debates, especially their certain specific features in the Global South. In Latin America the Andean region has become a particularly interesting laboratory, where certain countries like Ecuador and Colombia represent different political and economic models in addressing their socio-economic problems over and after the Pink-tide era. In this context it is experienced a significant boost in the field of social enterprises, but the phenomenon has different background and ecosystem in the selected countries. In the research of this kind of business activity which overlap different sectors of the society I combine the study of macro and the micro level of development

processes to reveal the national level of the political and economic actions, changes and to understand the motivations, practices, solutions, initiatives of individuals and local communities. The lecture aims to reveal the evolution of different development strategies and adopts an interdisciplinary approach which comprises various disciplines such as political economy, development economics and capability approach.

**P2: Unburnable Carbon and the Yasunization of Indigenous Territories: struggles and new paradigms towards energy transition in the Amazon rainforest**

Convener: Lorenzo Pellegrini, International Institute of Social Studies, [pellegrini@iss.nl](mailto:pellegrini@iss.nl)

Fossil fuels consumption and land use changes driving tropical deforestation are the main direct sources of greenhouse emissions (IPCC, 2019). To limit global warming “well-below” an increase of 2°C within 2100 (COP21, Paris 2015) more than 80% of coal, 50% of gas and 30% of oil reserves must remain locked underground as “unburnable fossil carbon” (McGlade & Heckins, 2015). The Amazon ecosystems are paramount to climate change due to its fossil fuel reserves and the Amazon Biome furthermore plays a key role in the global climate system. In the Western Amazon, the Ecuadorian State launched an initiative to leave oil underground in 2007 within the Yasuní Biosphere Reserve. Taking stock of the failed initiative and the struggle that ensued about intangibility due to the urgency of leaving oil in the Amazon soil, this panel explores the concept of “unburnable carbon” and the sociocultural, environmental and political dilemmas tied to its implementation. The panel is devoted to a dialogue about the definition and criteria to identify unburnable fossil fuel reserves through interdisciplinary methodologies and case studies about socio-environmental impacts of fossil fuel production.

Speakers:

1. *Margherita Scazza, University of Edinburgh, [m.scazza@ed.ac.uk](mailto:m.scazza@ed.ac.uk)*

**2. Oil in the Soil, focus on the Amazon**

*Lorenzo Pellegrini, International Institute of Social Studies, [pellegrini@iss.nl](mailto:pellegrini@iss.nl)*

Supply side interventions limiting the extraction of fossil fuels and, as a consequence, abating greenhouse gas emissions have been tabled since 2012, but much of the focus has been on the implications for the share value of companies because of the climate-related unviability of their reserves. A discussion has only recently started to address the institutional mechanisms that might allow for the conservation of fossil fuels in situ. We put the proposal of leaving fossil fuels in the soil into the Amazonian context and discuss supply-side climate policies to rip collateral benefits of climate policies. In the case of the Amazon, these benefits include the conservation of biodiversity, avoided deforestation and protection of people in voluntary isolation. That is, we present climate policies that would allow for the conservation of fossil fuel reserves in the Amazon while achieving other socio-environmental objectives.

**3. Extractive Imperative after the 'Left Turn'**

*Murat Arsel & Lorenzo Pellegrini, International Institute of Social Studies, [arsel@iss.nl](mailto:arsel@iss.nl) & [pellegrini@iss.nl](mailto:pellegrini@iss.nl)*

Natural resource extraction is often seen simultaneously as a source of income, employment generation and financing for social policy and investment in infrastructure. More broadly, extraction itself is so central to development that it overrides any other concern; in other words, extractive activities seem to enjoy teleological primacy to the point that governments, and other social actors, embrace an ‘extractive imperative’. According to this imperative, extraction needs to continue and expand regardless of prevailing circumstances, with the state playing a leading role and capturing a large share of the ensuing revenues. The concept has originated from Latin America (Arsel, Hogenboom, & Pellegrini, 2016) while the region was swept by a series of leftwing electoral successes often referred to as the ‘left

turn' but can be used to analyze political economy dynamics common outside this context. This paper aims at exploring the extractive imperative in Latin America after the 'left turn' as well as discussing it globally and comparatively. Whereas its initial characterisation gave primacy to state action, the contemporary conjecture in which extractivism creates resistance as well as consent, especially in 'authoritarian' contexts such as Brazil, Turkey and Philippines, makes this a particularly productive moment to discuss the extractive imperative.

**4. Transnational mining companies and territorial reconfiguration: Insights from Argentina**

*Alexandra Bechtum, University of Kassel, abechtum@uni-kassel.de*

In the context of the rapid expansion of large-scale mining in Latin America, Argentina has become one of the principal destinations for foreign direct investment. The installation of large-scale mining projects generally takes place in rural areas and goes hand in hand with profound territorial reconfigurations. Likewise, transnational mining corporations increasingly establish themselves as global private authorities in mine-affected communities. This paper analyses how transnational mining companies exert private governance and reach into public domains traditionally associated exclusively with the state. In particular, I examine how mining corporations provide goods and services to mine-affected communities under the guise of local development programmes. I argue that the process of implementing such programmes is central to understanding the way mining corporations legitimise their extractive operations.

First of all, I elaborate on what is meant by private governance in the context of large-scale mining. Second, shedding light on two large-scale mines in Argentina, Veladero and Cerro Vanguardia, I analyse how mining companies implement local development programmes. Third, I compare how these programmes overlap with and reproduce social power relations and inequalities in mine-affected communities. This study contributes to understanding how political reconfigurations are produced by the territorial intervention of transnational mining companies.

**5. The Space between Motherhood and Mother Earth: An Eco-Feminist Perspective of the Post-Neoliberal Counter-Reform in Bolivia**

*Maryse Helbert, International Institute of Social Studies, helbert@iss.nl*

The president of Bolivia, Evo Morales, has decided to have a neo-extractive approach to extract lithium, that is an approach that differ from past practices. This different approach uses the government is used as a mediator and shield. The government is a mediator as it promises a larger role to better redistribute the resource wealth. It is a shield as it promises to protect the local communities.

This presentation uses a Marxist ecofeminist approach to show that neo-extractivism reproduces the old structural constraints (anthropocentric, androcentric and ethnocentric) of past practices of extractivism. It hardly questions the complex relationship between human and non-human nature. it hardly questions the power structures between the different forces involved in the extraction processes and practices. it does not address gender roles and the division between the public and the private sphere. Last, despite promises, it fails to inform and get the consent of the indigenous communities and rather emphasises the extractive imperative (Murat).

The structural conditions under which neo-extractivism occurs jeopardises the sustainability of the development path taken by Bolivia.

**P3: Broad Alliances in the struggles for the commons in South America**

Convener: Deborah Delgado Pugley, Catholic University of Peru, deborah.delgado@pucp.pe

In many political actions fighting for the preservation of life and (non-human) nature across Latin America, a chain of diverse alliances is built and, sometimes, matures over time. It can involve lawyers, peasants, activists, local politicians, lakes, artists, forests and stones. These alliances, somewhat surprisingly, show capacity to resist and overcome the pressure of powerful actors prepared to mobilize significant resources to outbid any social contestation or opposing coalition. We think that fundamental pluralistic principles, which differ from regular ways of approaching power relations among diverse actors, that include human and non-human, are a common trait in these alliances. How do they develop different political subjects and approaches to collective action? We will explore distinctive facets of these processes, tackling questions around different/multiple ontologies, ways of perceiving and depicting the world, making decisions, as well as exploring concrete strategies that allow weaving complex alliances. Therefore, we also challenge preconceived ways of thinking about radical politics, forcing epistemic ruptures and a real "dialogue of knowledges". The panel will focus on how alliances for the common strengthen resistance and alternatives in the face of the expansion of forms of extractivism, dispossession and domination in Latin American.

**1. An integrative approach to address climate change: Amazonian Indigenous peoples in the UNFCCC Process**

*Deborah Delgado Pugley, Catholic University of Peru, deborah.delgado@pucp.pe*

Indigenous peoples are part of multilevel processes that shape changes in public policy focused on global environmental change. This paper argues that by their environmental political activism, Amazonian indigenous peoples' organizations seek ultimately to achieve the recognition of an 'ecocentric agency' for decision making. This understood as cognitive frameworks conceiving the non-human nature, not as a realm in which humans are exclusive agents deciding on behalf of an inert environment, but where the environment is approached as a domain of agents that responds to, and thereby shapes, human decisions (Ojalehto 2019). How do their ontologies gain political space? What tensions and alliances are at work? Political procedures and ideas of development under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change do not fit yet to what is valued by indigenous peoples' organizations as pertinent ancestral knowledge to tackle the climate crisis, but substantial changes can be observed. A broad process of alliance making aloud for their inclusion as legitimate actors for climate action and new platforms are in place for indigenous knowledge on climate action.

**2. Environmental regulation as a fig-leave? Advances and limitations of environmental regulations in the Peruvian mining sector**

*Anna Preiser, University of Vienna, annapreiser@hotmail.com*

Peru's mining sector keeps on expanding, although investment worldwide dropped. This sector is considered as one of the main pillars of the economy and growth. It seems legitimate to adjust "rigid" environmental standards to foster investment and thus secure development – according to the dominant discourse. Environmental regulation in this sector has advanced considerably since the 1990ies. Yet, the number of socio-ecological conflicts has risen; the main critique being its negative environmental impact. This also reflects the fear of the population of the Valle de Tambo – an important agricultural region - who oppose the start of the mining project Tia Maria since 2009. Since July 2019, protests and roadblocks are lasting for weeks, thereby creating political pressure to withdraw the license to construct. The population defends its healthy environment and food security, also for future generations. They don't trust the Environmental Impact Assessment which approves the project's sustainability. I will analyze what motivated the development of environmental

regulation within this sector. Why does the population not trust and decisions made by public institutions? How do they resist? Why is the implementation of norms insufficient? What role do local, national and international actors play? What power relations and societal-nature relation underlie?

**3. Indigenous-state interplay and outcomes in the making of the national-scale REDD+ scheme in Peru**

*Liliana Lozano, KU Leuven, [liliana.elizabeth.loz@kuleuven.be](mailto:liliana.elizabeth.loz@kuleuven.be)*

This paper looks at the socio-political processes underlying the construction of REDD+ in Peru, and notably at its embryonic implementation at the national level. The institutional design and setup of Peru's national REDD+ scheme started roughly in 2008. Ten years later, the progressive development of the REDD+ architecture is leading to the creation of complex socio-institutional hybridities reflecting the growing entanglements between the governance of forests and land. This hybrid socio-ecological governance produces both challenges and opportunities in terms of horizontal and vertical interplays. Particularly in Peru, Amazonian indigenous peoples have played a relevant role in the making of the national REDD+ scheme, bringing a critical position to the debate and responding with actions of resistance. This paper looks at the governance elements of the national-level REDD+ to examine how multi-scalar indigenous groups interact with formal rules to align policy outcomes with indigenous needs and expectations. We analysed data gathered through interviews and participant observation both on central government stages and on indigenous areas of work. We argue that the process of tailoring the national REDD+ scheme have interesting socially innovative features leading to combine social and environmental benefits such as empowerment of indigenous agency.

**4. El papel de la cooperación alemana en el Proyecto Energía y Desarrollo Sustentable en América Latina**

*Heike Pintor Pizäll, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, [hcpintor@comillas.edu](mailto:hcpintor@comillas.edu);*

Dentro del marco de la cooperación Sur-Sur, Alemania participa hoy en nuevas modalidades de cooperación al desarrollo, como son la cooperación triangular o las alianzas público-privadas (APP), que se han convertido en instrumentos vitales para el desarrollo de infraestructuras en la región, que no serían viables sin el apoyo del sector privado. La Agencia Alemana de Cooperación (GIZ), la Organización Latinoamericana de Energía (Olade) y la Comisión Económica para América Latina (Cepal) trabajan en un ambicioso programa (Proyecto Energía y Desarrollo Sustentable en América Latina), que utilizaremos como base en el presente artículo con el objetivo de evaluar el papel de la APP, la importancia de la cooperación alemana como actor principal en la promoción de proyectos energéticos sostenibles y el impacto de estos en la integración del continente latinoamericano.

**5. Art and resistance to extractivism: Languages for defending and reinventing the commons**

*Paula Serafini & Gabriela Merlinsky, University of Leicester & University of Buenos Aires/CONICET,*

*[paula.serafini@le.ac.uk](mailto:paula.serafini@le.ac.uk)*

Across Latin America, communities are challenging the commodification of nature and the expropriation of territory due to their impact on the commons. These resistances open up debates around the supposed benefits of development: What are the long-term impacts of extractive activities? How do they alter forms of life?

The most interesting point of contemporary debate around the commons is concerned with practices that aim to construct an alternative kind of politics, one that is not only resisting, but that is capable of producing new ideas and processes that give place to better conditions for human and non-human life. Art is a tool capable of transforming collective subjectivities,

and as such, we propose that artistic practices of resistance to extractivism provide ways of thinking and generating alternative politics of the commons.

This paper analyses expressions of resistance to extractivism in Argentina that adopt artistic forms and languages in order to intervene public discourses and spaces. We investigate the ways in which the definition of the commons is produced through three different media: documentary film, visual arts, and creative interventions in the public space.

#### **P4: Agrarian Extractivism in Latin America**

Convener: Arturo Ezquerro Cañete, Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas and Saint Mary's University, [arturo\\_ezquerro@hotmail.co.uk](mailto:arturo_ezquerro@hotmail.co.uk)

Chair: Cristobal Kay, International Institute of Social Studies, [kay@iss.nl](mailto:kay@iss.nl)

The penetration of extractive capital into the countryside is transforming agriculture with important social, economic and ecological implications. Dominant forms of agricultural expansion which extract large volumes of raw materials with little to no processing, lack sectoral linkages and remain controlled by a market oligopoly, contribute to widespread environmental degradation and destruction, and deteriorate labour opportunities and/or conditions are not leading to any form of industrial development, nor contributing to inclusive rural development. It is a mode of extraction, appropriating the economic and ecological value from the regions in which it operates, while exploiting or excluding the rural poor as they become surplus to the needs of capital accumulation. As a concept, agrarian extractivism exposes the extractive character of this dominant model, challenging the use of 'industrialization' as a form of discursive legitimization used by governments and corporations alike. This panel aims to shed light on the nature and character of industrial capitalist agriculture in the contemporary period, calling for a critical engagement with the dominant model of agricultural development, and putting forth an emerging concept which may offer analytical and political utility in the debates regarding agrarian and environmental change and rural transformations.

##### **1. The political economy of Bolivia's agro-extractive frontier**

*Ben McKay, University of Calgary, [ben.mckay@ucalgary.ca](mailto:ben.mckay@ucalgary.ca)*

The expansion of Bolivia's agricultural frontier fueled by the development of a soy complex has become part of the state's three-pronged "neo" extractivist development model based on minerals, hydrocarbons, and soybeans. While Bolivia has a long history of mineral and natural gas extraction, the agricultural sector's highly mechanized and capital-intensive character are relatively new developments. Referred to here as "agrarian extractivism" this paper reveals the very extractive nature of soybean production in Bolivia. It is argued here that "agrarian extractivism" is a politically and analytically useful concept for understanding new dynamics and trajectories of agrarian change as it reveals the very extractive nature of capitalist agriculture, particularly in the context of contemporary land grabbing, flex crops, and the increasingly corporatized agro-food system.

##### **2. Agro-extractive capitalism for sustainable development**

*Alberto Alonso-Fradejas, Utrecht University, [a.alonsofradejas@uu.nl](mailto:a.alonsofradejas@uu.nl)*

Climate, environmental, energy, food and financial crises take center stage in 2008 and smolder for years to follow. And with the crises came a resurgence of natural resource extractivism in capital accumulation, poverty reduction, and climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies. In this context, global demand for primary commodities soars, and extractivism is framed as a vehicle of transition to environmentally and socially sound forms of goods and energy production. In this paper, I suggest that the rise of the flex crops and commodities complexes fuels a distinct model of resource extractivism in the early 21st century. My examination of this phenomenon in Guatemala offers several insights that may resonate elsewhere. Most especially, burgeoning flex (sugar)cane and (oil) palm complexes

from 2005 onward coalesce in a particular form of commercial resource extractivism for sustainable development purposes. I call this agro-extractive capitalism, because value is produced through the exploitation of (mostly) free labor, not simply through the appropriation of natural rents. An in-depth grasp of the broader socio-ecological dimensions and implications of mainstream initiatives of transition to sustainability and well-being, calls into question business-as-usual climate stewardship, development policies, and governance responses to such planetary challenges.

**3. A Road to Progress: State Formation, Colonization, and Roadbuilding in Putumayo, Colombia, 1904-1934.**

*Oscar Aponte, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, oaponte@gradcenter.cuny.edu*

On September 1, 1932, a group of Peruvian civilians assaulted Leticia, starting the Colombia-Peru conflict. The struggle to control Leticia was but another expression of the borderline dispute between Colombia and Peru for taking over the resources in the Amazon. Facing the lack of means of communication to the southern border, the Bogota-based government embarked on a project to expand the nation-state in a region that government officials considered empty or inhabited by “uncivilized” indigenous peoples. In this paper, I analyze the roadbuilding project that the Colombian government designed to connect the newly-established southern border of the country with Bogota. In the first part, I analyze the role of the Ministry of Public Works and the group of engineers hired to design and direct the building of the roads. In the second part, I focus on the reaction this project produced on the peasant communities colonizing the Colombian Amazon, who organized in town councils and argued for the building of these roads in their municipalities based on ideas of economic progress, national security, and the need to “civilize” the indigenous peoples that inhabited the Amazon.

**4. Tensiones por la delimitación de páramos en Colombia**

*Diana Carolina Murillo Martín, Universidad de Zaragoza, diana.murillom@gmail.com*

Los páramos son ecosistemas donde se dan una conjunción de realidades socioculturales y procesos biogeofísicos de gran importancia. Se distribuyen a lo largo de los Andes húmedos, siendo Colombia es el país con mayor área de estos ecosistemas a nivel mundial. Grandes áreas de los páramos colombianos han sido sitios poblados y usados para actividades agropecuarias y mineras. Sin embargo, el impulso a la minería de la década del 2000 por el aumento de inversión extranjera en la región latinoamericana y las políticas neoliberales en el país, hicieron que aumentaran las presiones extractivas hacia estos territorios. Ante esta amenaza, se ha decidido delimitarlos.

La decisión de delimitar los páramos ha despertado tensiones por el manejo del territorio. Por un lado, no se ha hecho un proceso participativo para definir la política, y por otro, hay preocupación alrededor del hecho de que las personas que habitan el páramo no puedan continuar desarrollando sus actividades tradicionales allí. En esta ponencia me interesa analizar las tensiones que ha generado esta política de conservación, vinculada con mi tesis doctoral en curso sobre la problemática.

**P5: Micropolitics in development. Understanding conflicts over “development” in Latin America**

Chair: Elisabet Dueholm Rasch, Wageningen University, elisabet.rasch@wur.nl

Discussant: Katy Jenkins, Northumbria University, katy.jenkins@northumbria.ac.uk

The papers in this panel use a micropolitical ecology perspective to explore how access to and control over (natural) resources are negotiated in cases where (inter)national companies, justified by mostly neoliberal narratives of development, have laid claims to community resources. Livelihood strategies and local power relations inform positioning toward such developments on the one hand,

and material conditions shape how neoliberal “development” projects transform local livelihood and power configurations on the other. In line with Horowitz’ (2008) call for an analysis of resource conflicts through the lens of “micropolitical ecology” in order to be able to understand the struggles through which access to resources is negotiated, the papers in this panel analyse local resource conflicts using a micropolitical ecology perspective. This entails recognizing resource conflicts within and between communities, and between communities and the state, as well as understanding them in their broader context. Such an approach recognizes that communities are not homogeneous and acknowledges their political realities. This allows for a focus on local actors’ daily struggles over livelihood strategies and claims to authority, without ignoring broader political, economic, and social forces. By way of such an analysis, this panel contributes to the theorization and further understanding of (struggles over) the meaning of development in Latin America.

**1. Micropolitical resistances, reproductions and negotiations of gender relations in everyday life in the context of gold and oil extraction: Two case studies from Colombia**

*Raquel Mendez Villamizar, Universidad Industrial Santander, rmendezv@uis.edu.co*

This paper studies how women and men resist, negotiate and reproduce hegemonic gender roles in extractive contexts from a micropolitical ecology perspective. It demonstrates how different factors - the symbols of subordination and heteronomy associated with feminine rural life; parameters imposed by social organizations, clerical institutions, the extractive and labor contracting companies; the lack of access to justice, health care and quality education - (re)produce subjective identities and gender. In addition, the paper shows how the narratives of “development” that extractive industries present in the two regions, also reproduce unequal power relations in the everyday life of gender relations. The two extractive contexts, produce different outcomes in terms of gender relations: economic autonomy for women emerges more broadly in the context of industrial mining and informal and illegal tunnel mining (known as galafardeo) than in the context of artisan goldmining or oil exploitation. In the area of oil exploitation we observe more strongly the public-private tension with the public and productive role ascribed to men and the private and reproductive role to women.

**2. Experiencias desde el mundo mapuche lafkenche del centro sur de Chile**

*María Amalia Mellado, Universidad Austral de Chile, melladomariaamalia@gmail.com*

La presente ponencia explora la relación entre las políticas públicas chilenas en relación a los modos y medios de vida (livelihoods) de comunidades mapuche lafkenche (gente del mar) y campesinas en el centro sur de Chile. Desde mediados del siglo pasado, estas políticas promovieron formas de desarrollo capitalistas que modificaron los modos de obtener el sustento cotidiano y generaron una importante degradación socio-ambiental. A partir de 1989, se produce una revitalización identitaria y proyectos de control territorial frente a la intensificación de proyectos extractivos. En este contexto, se promovió la creación y aplicación de la Ley N° 20.249. Esta normativa que crea los Espacios Costeros Marinos de Pueblos Originarios (ECMPO) ha involucrado variadas disputas entre los pueblos originarios costeros, el Estado nación y las empresas transnacionales. En la actualidad, las solicitudes de ECMPO son utilizadas, principalmente, para frenar la proliferación de solicitudes de áreas para la acuicultura de salmones. Sin embargo, entre la tramitación de la solicitud y su aprobación se generan múltiples estrategias entre diferentes actores situados en diversas escalas, desde lo local hasta lo transnacional, promoviendo asociaciones políticas, económicas y académicas. Este trabajo analiza algunas de estas estrategias desde una perspectiva de ecología micro política.

**3. Narrating La Carretera: Working Through the Politics and Landscapes of Road Development in Santa Cruz la Laguna**

*Gijs Cremers, Utrecht University, g.cremers@uva.nl*

The construction of a paved road in Santa Cruz la Laguna, Guatemala, is one of major infrastructural projects in the municipality in recent years. Through its potentialities of both development and failure thereof, the road becomes embedded in an array of inquiries and dialogues about who the road belongs to, who holds the power to govern it, and how it intersects with intangible and physical aspects of the local landscape. Through a focus on a local road and landscape, I explicate an intricate and reflexive mobilization of narratives, imaginaries, and audiences intermingling with transforming socio-political and environmental relations to produce symbolically laden tokens of response. I show that these interactions represent and contribute to an ongoing negotiation of micropolitics associated with roads and road construction, and interlinked narratives revolving around development, dreams, hopes, and anxieties. I reflect on the myriad of ways road development becomes entangled with landscape imaginaries and local power relations. And next to illustrating the politics and configurations of transforming socio-political and environmental relations, meanings given to the road in Santa Cruz la Laguna also underline tensions between divergent perspectives and responses to environmental impacts and prospects of communal development.

**4. Women's activist trajectories in Bolivia. Everyday resistance against extractivism**

*Floor van der Hout, Northumbria University, floor.hout@northumbria.ac.uk*

In Latin America, indigenous women are at the forefront of activism against large-scale extractivist projects that endanger their livelihoods and are opposed to local narratives and imaginations of development. Academic attention for indigenous women's struggles is increasing but little research has been done on women's activism related to natural resource extraction and how the women's activist trajectories are shaped by the micropolitics of local power configurations, material conditions and narratives of development. Through the analysis of two ethnographic case studies of indigenous women's resistance to extractivist projects in (1) TIPNIS (Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro Sécuré, Beni, Bolivia) and (2) Tariquía (Tarija, Bolivia), this paper aims at contributing to the understanding of how women's activist trajectories unfold from a micropolitical ecology perspective.

**P6: Socio-Environmental Crisis in Chocó, Colombia: the struggle for peace and biocultural rights**

Conveners: Mo Hume & Allan Gillies, University of Glasgow, [mo.hume@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:mo.hume@glasgow.ac.uk) & [allan.gillies@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:allan.gillies@glasgow.ac.uk)

Despite the 2016 Colombian peace accords, violence has escalated in Chocó. Armed actors fight for control of lucrative illicit economies in the region, leaving a trail of social and environmental destruction. Mechanised alluvial gold mining, for example, has brought extensive deforestation and pollution, destroying vital river channels and threatening the survival of rural Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities. Urban gangs linked to armed groups, meanwhile, deepen insecurity in marginalised barrios in the region's capital, Quibdó. In this panel, we examine Chocó's socio-environmental crisis. The panel will discuss the 2017 landmark Colombian Constitutional Court ruling T-622 that recognised the rights of nature and the biocultural rights of local communities. It will also explore efforts to confront the legacies of conflict with young people in Chocó, challenging dominant social imaginaries of violence. We consider how long-established local forms of collective action engage in the struggle for sustainable peace and biocultural rights.

**1. A river with rights? The Struggle for Biocultural Rights in Chocó, Colombia**

*Mo Hume, University of Glasgow, mo.hume@glasgow.ac.uk*

For the communities of the Río Atrato, 'the river is life'; holding social, economic and cultural importance. Mechanised alluvial gold mining – closely linked to the armed conflict – has caused socio-environmental devastation along the Atrato and threatened the survival of riverine communities. In 2016, the Colombian Constitutional Court responded to calls from

local communities to stop the destruction of the Atrato and protect their way of life. The court declared the Río Atrato as a bearer of rights and recognised the inextricable link between the river and its communities. Founded on the idea of a sustainable socio-environment, this new paradigm of rights in Colombia has been expressed as 'bio-cultural' rights: demanding the river's 'protection, conservation, maintenance and restoration' and the safeguarding of the rights of communities. In this paper, we draw on life histories and workshops with Chocoan communities to examine the struggle for biocultural rights in the region in the context of ongoing conflict.

**2. Rights of nature and biocultural rights. What representations of the Atrato territory in the ruling T-622 in Colombia?**

Sandrine Revet, Sciences Po-CNRS, sandrine.revet@sciencespo.fr

In 2016, the Colombian Constitutional Court granted the Atrato river the status of 'legal entity'. The ruling came in response to a legal action initiated by Consejos Comunitarios from the region, who called on the Court to address the humanitarian crisis experienced by local communities. Based on ethnographic fieldwork and analysis of the anthropological dimensions of this legal decision, the paper will focus on the representations of nature and territory produced by the Court's decision. By analysing the legal and mobilisation process that led to the T-622 ruling, the paper discusses how the concept of territory has been the basis for mobilisation in the region, particularly since the Collective Territories Act 70 of 1993. The paper will consider the extent to which the 2016 decision represents a new shift in how the relationship between territory and its inhabitants is conceived and formulated around the Atrato river and its basin.

**3. What is the Truth? Imagining alternative futures with Afrocolombian and indigenous youth in post-conflict Colombia**

*Edwar Alexis Calderon & Marlies Kustatscher, Universidad EAFIT & University of Edinburgh, eacalderoc@eafit.edu.co & marlies.kustatscher@ed.ac.uk*

This research focuses on Quibdó, the capital of Chocó. Mainly Afro-Colombian and indigenous populations face a complex legacy of intersectional inequalities and conflict. This paper presents work from previous and ongoing work of the project team with young people in the region. Young people have identified tensions within and between barrios, violence and armed gangs, and feelings of fear and distrust as ongoing issues. We present co-produced music-and arts-based approaches, which have been developed to bring together young people from three barrios, artists and researchers; facilitating workshops with other young people to critically deconstruct prejudice and tensions. Our methods include a series of rotating workshops and performances that involve creating musical instruments from recycled materials, co-producing music about alternative futures, territorial mapping and sculpturing. Our emerging findings highlight how this approach can enable young people to become critical co-constructors of their communities' histories and visualize alternative futures. They suggest that generating dialogue between youth groups is essential to breaking down neighbourhood barriers and deconstructing post-conflict tensions, and that participatory music and arts can be a useful tool for reconciliation and capacity building.

**4. Underground Multiculturalism: Bottom-Up State-Making in Colombia's Gold Mining Department of Chocó**

*Jesse Jonkman (PhD), Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, j.h.jonkman@vu.nl*

This presentation maps the contentious forms of political life that emerge when non-legal gold extraction and multicultural collective land tenure concert. Specifically, it shows how within the Colombian gold mining department of Chocó, Afro-descendant community councils have produced a unique modality of extractive governance that, while deriving its legitimacy from Black-Colombian legislation, enjoys as its regulatory ambition the

organization, taxation, and policing of small-scale mining activities that contradict official templates of multicultural and mining law. In exploring such underground ethno-cultural politics, the presentation seeks to highlight the limits of state-centric analyses of 'neoliberal multiculturalism' and, accordingly, to underscore the instrumental role that governed subjects play in the on-the-ground unfolding of state governance.

**P7: Still the Neo-extractivist State? Debating the Nature of States in Twenty-First Century Latin America**

Conveners: Maria Eugenia Giraudo & Nem Singh, University of York & Leiden University, maria-eugenia.giraudo@york.ac.uk & j.nem.singh@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

The commodity boom (2003-2013) has produced a swathe of research that sought to theorize the ways in which national states in Latin America have dealt with multiple crises: (1) the changes from neoliberalism to neo-developmentalism; (2) a call for post-neoliberal regimes to incorporate citizenship demands in response to the crisis of democracy; (3) the challenges of governing land-use change and environmental degradation accompanying an increase in natural resource exploitation; and (4) sector-specific interventions and industrial strategies in response to the crisis of development models. Additionally, some scholars have begun to discuss state governance in relation to China's role not only in inducing the commodity boom but also in simultaneously supporting rentierism and locking the region in a commodity-based growth pattern (Gallagher 2017; Nem Singh 2019; Rosales 2016, 2018). This panel responds to calls for stocktaking how we understand the relationship between natural resources and the state in Latin America. In so doing, we seek to understand how the old and new constraints around resource-based development are shaping political choices over growth strategies; we also aim to investigate the extent to which Latin American states are being locked in new forms of dependency despite the changes in the world economy.

**1. Pulp Friction in the La Plata Basin: Natural Resource Governance and Regionalism in South America**

*Karen Siegel, University of Glasgow, karen.siegel@glasgow.ac.uk*

This paper examines the relationship between the governance of transboundary natural resources and regionalism based on the puzzling case of the pulp mill conflict that escalated between Argentina and Uruguay during the 2000s when the outlook for regionalism was in many ways favorable. Conceptually, it is based on the New Regionalism Approach which regards regions as socially constructed through dynamic and multidimensional processes involving a wide range of actors and interactions on a variety of issues. The paper traces how the conflict evolved from a shared environmental concern to a national cause. Situating the analysis of the conflict in the wider context of regionalism and natural resource governance in South America drawing on Latin American studies and transboundary water governance leads to two key findings. First, natural resource governance is an important, but often overlooked arena of regionalization where significant regional interactions take place. Second, it is also highly contested and sustainability concerns are at the core of these contestations. Diverging priorities over natural resource governance between governments and civil society are an important obstacle to regional cohesion.

**2. Climate change adaptation in Central America: a review of the national policy efforts**

*Luis Diego Segura, Maastricht University and Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica, l.seguraramirez@maastrichtuniversity.nl*

Adaptation planning is being undertaken worldwide in order to address the effects of climate change. Comparative studies of climate policy help to document and share knowledge on the practices and experiences undertaken. This paper aims to review the state of adaptation planning in Central America. This research documents 34 adaptation policy documents, consisting of National Adaptation Strategies, National Climate Legislation, and National

Adaptation Action Plans. Comparative analysis reveals a region with a common progressive trend toward adaptation policies, with different speeds and qualities among countries. An increasing learning curve has allowed for the emergence of a second generation of adaptation policies with various improved features compared to initial efforts, including elements such as horizontal and vertical coordination, the inclusion of monitoring systems, indicators, and a diversity of implementation instruments. However, institutional challenges outside of the adaptation realm could hinder the progress made. Further research into the broader political and governance landscape is needed, especially in this developing context.

**3. The implications of IPCC's "Special Report on the Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate" (SROCC) for the Tropical Andes**

*Dirk Hoffmann, Bolivian Mountain Institute, dirk.hoffmann@bolivian-mountains.org*

Chapter 2 of the IPCC „Special Report on the Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate” (SROCC) is exclusively dedicated to High Mountain Areas, addressing (a) changes in the mountain cryosphere, and (b) risks and human responses within mountain social-ecological systems around the world.

In our presentation, we focus on the changes in the Tropical Andes' cryosphere (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia) and the implication they carry for people and ecosystems – in the past, present and future. Impacts will not only be felt in high mountain areas, but also by adjacent (and) downstream populations: Glacier shrinkage, changes in runoff and water availability, increased risk of mountain hazards, as well as associated impacts on economic activities, cultural values and livelihoods.

By analyzing how these aspects are taken up by national climate change related policy documents – such as country's NDCs, Adaptation Plans, Climate Change Laws or other legal dispositions – we highlight the main challenges for national and local climate change adaptation policy formulation and strategy development in the Tropical Andean countries resulting from the report's findings.

**4. Analysing the decision making process in the Brazilian energy sector: a behavioural economics approach**

*Anaide Luzia Ferrazzo, Leiden University, annaferrazzo@hotmail.com*

Neoclassic economists based on rational choice theory or expected utility theory have used the term *homo economicus* or "economic man" to represent humans as consistently rational and self-interested creatures which normally have the capability to make the right judgment in order to maximize their benefit or utility. Behavioural economics is a discipline within economics that uses insights of psychology and sociology to understand individuals' and institutions' decision making processes. In contrast to the traditional perspective, Behavioural Economy argues that people decide based on habits, preconception, simplified practical rules and personal experiences. It also points to the fact that Individuals make decisions quickly and have difficulty reconciling short and long term interests. Another claim of this strand of thinking is that people are strongly influenced by emotional factors and by the decisions of those with whom they interact. Due to increasing climate change evidences, the transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources is crucial. Brazil has great potential for generating renewable energy, however its institutions are facing obstacles to carry out this transition. Behavioural Economics can be an useful instrument to elucidate current police choices for the Brazilian energy sector. This knowledge may facilitate the energy transition process in Brazil.

**5. An Argentinean political economic tango: shuffling dancing partners in the energy sector**

*Fredy Sierra Fernandez, University of Amsterdam, fredysierra@consierra.nl*

The paper consists of an empiric case-study of the Argentinean energy sector (part of authors' dissertation). It focuses on the Argentinean state' commitment to regain control in

it and aim to become a net exporter again. In between the early 00's and 2015 successive governments have maintained a strategy to re-nationalize the state energy company YPF. Simultaneously the lead private operator was shuffled to develop the promising Vaca Muerta shale gas play. After pushing out the Spanish energy firm Repsol in 2012, the re-nationalized YPF struck a deal with the American energy firm Chevron in 2013. From that point onwards investments in Vaca Muerta picked up, other mayors entered also, and production schemes have accelerated.

Main research aims in the case-study deal with why and how the Argentinean governments realized this. The analysis was done with a political economic approach backtracking the recent political economic history. It uses analytic angles that focus on the interactions with the international financial system, the energy market and regional political alliances. Analytical results were enhanced with insights from semi-structured interviews held in Argentina.

#### **P8: Local processes: practices and infrastructure for small-scale (sustainable) production**

Speakers:

**1. Conceptualising 'Green Coca' using a Political (Agro)ecological Framework: Insights from southwestern Colombia, and Bolivia**

*David Andrés Alzate Rojas, Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, david.alzate117@gmail.com*  
"Coca is not cocaine" is a commonplace expression amongst traditional coca cultivators in the Andes, which refers to the use of its leaves for rituals and medicinal practices, as well as the production of foodstuff. These uses, especially the former, have been largely addressed in anthropological accounts. However, few elaborations have delved into the intricacies of the coca plant-humans nexus at the core of the cultivation processes. In this paper, I stress the pertinence of conceptualising 'green coca' as an agricultural category comprising the dynamics of the ecosystems in which plants grow, and the system of saberes and practices that farmers employ at different stages. Drawing upon insights from southwestern Colombia and examples in Bolivia, I argue that understanding these processes through a political (agro)ecological conceptualisation contributes to widening our understanding of green coca life-worlds. Firstly, the recovery of soil affected by glyphosate fumigation and other agrochemicals is fundamental to traditional cultivators' resistance to drugs policies, particularly in Colombia. Secondly, contrary to coca monocropping for cocaine production, green coca cultivation, together with other food crops, reinforces its importance within diversified communal farming systems.

**2. Social Transformations of Gold Garimpos in the Brazilian Amazon: Local Organization Towards Longed-For Formalization**

*Dr. Jorge Calvimontes, Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Gold Matters Project), jorge.calvimontes@gmail.com*

Gold extraction remains one of the most important economic activities in the Brazilian Amazon. Nevertheless, garimpos (small-scale mining sites) most often operate informally or illegally and are furthermore subject to law enforcement. Thus, conflicts between garimpeiros (miners), so-called donos do garimpo ("garimpo owners", who are landowners and/or investors), and State law enforcement agencies are permanent and ever-transforming. My presentation will discuss one of the most important social transformations in these regions, which is the emergence of cooperatives or associations that aim to achieve the longed-for formalization and legalization of garimpo activity. These organizations have different characteristics and levels of organization, according to the context of each research region. However, the formalization processes have faced legal, environmental, and social obstacles, often caused by the garimpeiros' lack of knowledge about mining regulations and restrictions, high mobility of people, lack of trust in the State, perceived unattractiveness of

formalization, and/or the slow bureaucracy required. Further aggravating the conflicts related to garimpo activity, the current political context of Brazil was palpable in these regions. The discourse and the actions of the State permeate the multi-level relationships between key-actors of the garimpo. As such, my presentation will take into account this complexity.

**3. Towards sustainable livelihoods: discussion of agroecology and satoyama from an anthropological perspective**

*Mariko Obari, University of Tsukuba, obarimariko8@gmail.com*

I am a Japanese doctoral student specialising in anthropology and agroecology. I am researching agroecological projects implemented by NGOs working with indigenous communities. I conducted fieldwork in the Mexican state of Chiapas, and in the Brazilian states of Acre and Mato Grosso, for the purpose of exploring “development models” that genuinely propose to support indigenous knowledge. As part of this exploration in agroecological culture, I came to realise that the Japanese concept of satoyama; sometimes regarded as a synonym for agroecology in Japanese, is commonly demonstrated in practices across Japan. In order to understand satoyama and agroecological projects further, I am now examining Japan’s agroforestry project in the Amazonian rainforest of Brazil. This agroforestry project has been supported by the Nikkei Japanese-descended community. I will present my work, and discuss the difficulties and advantages I face as a Japanese student when engaging with such an interdisciplinary and multicultural field of study. Despite the fact that my research topic is difficult to categorise, I argue that interdisciplinary and transnational approaches are beneficial for the study of agroecology. Combining Japanese and Latin American studies of agroecology could offer valuable insights into agroecology, that can be usefully applied to sustainable development debates worldwide.

**4. Drivers of forest conservation in the Brazilian Amazon’s deforestation arch: Processes, practices and perceptions through an interdisciplinary lens**

*Gabriela Russo Lopes, University of Amsterdam/CEDLA, g.russolopes@gmail.com*

The Amazon landscape is shaped by non-state actors through multiple land-uses. Much academic attention is drawn to the deforestation patterns led by these actors and which mechanisms can curb it. Yet, the contribution of non-state actors to forest conservation remains understudied and/or focused on indigenous peoples and local communities within protected areas. To foster conservation, it is essential to understand what elements matter for the adoption of varied forest-based land-uses. This is especially relevant within the deforestation arch, where land-clearing is often more profitable than conservation. The present research analyses why and how non-state actors conserve the forest outside protected areas in the Brazilian Amazon’s deforestation arch.

Preliminary findings suggest that non-state actors conserve for both material (e.g. sustainable techniques, income-diversification, market access) and immaterial (e.g. identity, background, pre-disposition) purposes. These factors shape the construction of conservation initiatives through a combination of a specific conservation framing that operates at different scales based on varying degrees of commoning governance structures. Two case-studies in old and new deforestation frontiers will be analysed according to the framing-rescaling-commoning nexus to explain the complexity and diversity of practices and perceptions within Amazonian forest conservation.

**5. The Productivity Path after securing formal Land: a micro-level Analysis of Productivity Dynamics and the Role of enhancing complementary state Policies for Land Title Beneficiaries in Colombia**

*Jorge A. Rincón Barajas, German Institute of Global and Area Studies / University of Göttingen, jorge.rincon@giga-hamburg.de*

Over a century, Colombia has allocated approximately 23 million hectares of land as the main instrument to reduce rural poverty, increase agricultural productivity, diminish land inequality and finally defuse an internal conflict. Nevertheless, there is a wide consensus on its lack of success. It might have even paradoxically increased land inequality due to land sales by unsuccessful beneficiaries. By using Generalized Propensity Score, a methodology that permits the evaluation of continuous treatments, this article is the first in Colombia to estimate the recipients' productivity path after securing formal land. It finds that productivity halves after 2.5 years on average, before increasing approximately 150 percent within the next thirty months. Moreover, it confirms the relevance of complementary policies: their presence almost eliminates this initial distress and guarantees long-term increasing productivity. These findings suggest that land itself is not risk-free, and it indeed fosters development only when properly accompanied.

## History, Literature, Media & Culture

### **P9: Identity / Subversion / Futurity: New Approaches to Queer Cultures in Latin America (double panel)**

Convener: Geoffrey Maguire, University of Cambridge, [gwm23@cam.ac.uk](mailto:gwm23@cam.ac.uk)

This panel will explore contemporary developments in queer theory within the shifting context of Latin American culture and politics. By engaging with a wide range of media, from film to the short story, the contributors will question the political aesthetics of the queer in Latin America and pay attention to how cultural production has, does, and might engage with societies' scripts of gender and sexuality through a rupture of the social hegemony that Jacques Rancière would call 'consensus'. We contribute to ongoing decolonial methodologies in contemporary queer studies by exploring the cracks in queer approaches that foreground 'identity' as a primary site of contestation and that allow for a reassessment of the potential for queer theory to retain its radical valence in Latin American cultural studies. By focusing on new approaches to queer theory, the papers in this panel show that the contemporary metamorphosis of queer studies into an inclusive, intersectional, optimistic strategy retains the dynamic power of the queer to challenge normative political structures, while at the same time recognising the diversity and provocative potential of cultural expression.

Speakers:

#### **1. Post-Queer Flows: Las hijas del fuego and the Bodily Poetics of Narrative Pornography**

*Geoffrey Maguire, University of Cambridge, [gwm23@cam.ac.uk](mailto:gwm23@cam.ac.uk)*

In Post-Queer Politics, David Ruffolo argues that queer studies 'has reached a political peak', in which it is 'almost exclusively interested in [...] exposing how subjects come into being through discursive interactions'. Ruffolo proposes a move beyond the discursive nature of 'being' in Foucauldian-Butlerian understandings of queer subjectivity, instead focusing on bodies rather than identities to 'create new flows that remain in contact with queer, yet uphold distinct differentiations' (2009: 6). This paper analyses the (post-)queer politics of Albertina Carri's *Las hijas del fuego* (2019) through this critical framework. It argues that the poetics of the film's voiceover decentres any exclusionary focus on subjectivity by locating queerness not in the performativity of identity but on the surfaces of bodies themselves. As such, this paper will interrogate the radical politics that materialise from understanding the body itself as the site of queerness rather than merely the discursive matrix through which queer subjectivities may emerge.

#### **2. Uncontrollable Erections and Militant Insurrections in Las teorías salvajes by Pola Oloixarac**

*Emily Baker, University College London, [emilybaker496@gmail.com](mailto:emilybaker496@gmail.com)*

Pola Oloixarac's first novel *Las teorías salvajes* (2008) caused a huge controversy within the cultural establishment in Argentina. In an interview she said: 'The book has sparked verbal violence and a sexist uproar precisely because it doesn't deal with the issues that are traditionally associated with "women's literature," but instead contains a sociological critique that is both intelligent and satirical, which are apparently traits solely reserved for men'. I demonstrate that Oloixarac's novel constitutes a 'queering' of the Argentine political landscape with regards to both the current moment and, in particular, 1970s revolutionary movements. With reference to the work of Judith Butler I posit that *Las teorías salvajes* constitutes a 'performative act' that critiques contemporary regimes of power as well as (leftist) hegemonic discourses about the militant struggles of the past. This reading recognises of the value of 'queering' as a form of political critique as well as an ontological/ethical horizon defined by its disruptive power and openness towards an unknown future 'to-come'.

**3. Curations of a nepantlera: Material Embodiments and Queer Encounters in Inés Estrada's Impatience (2016)**

*Andrea Aramburú Villaviscencio, University of Cambridge, aa2056@cam.ac.uk*

In *Unruly Visions*, Gayatri Gopinath invites us to think about the act of curation not as a simple intervention in how a set of works can be arranged, but as that which takes as a starting point the queer relationality that positioning one object alongside others brings into play. Curating, for Gopinath, is also caring for - it points to the being-in-common contained within encounters (amongst bodies, languages, temporalities). This paper examines *Impatience* (2016) by Mexican artist Inés Estrada and argues that it mobilizes an alternative, more caring, understanding of relationality. By examining Estrada's entangled aesthetics of material embodiments, I observe the comic's potentialities to map out queer curations, which foreground new modes of organization and subjectivation. In dialogue with the work of Gloria E. Anzaldúa, I suggest the collection is comprised of a series of images intertwining with an Anzaldúan mythology (the snake, the cenote, the shapeshifting) which hint at a material world in its becomings wherein the dynamics of the relational remain always in flux.

**4. #DeerBear – Alexandre Mury's Ephemeral Art in a Digital Context**

*Philipp Seidel, Institute for Latin American Studies / Freie Universität Berlin, philipp.seidel@fu-berlin.de*

Social media have changed our way of perceiving the world and performing in it. It has never been as easy as today to get in contact with "the world" without even leaving your house. This, of course, opens up completely new ways of interaction and especially for artists the digital world and its possibilities have become a decisive part of the way of producing, promoting and distributing their work. Brazilian artist Alexandre Mury is an outstanding example of how the digital revolution helped to literally create an artist in the periphery of the urban centres. He started by posting pictures online on the platform fotolog for his friends in 2002, but over the course of time and moving to Instagram, his content established him as artist with exhibitions offline as well. With Ivo Caralhactus and the serious #DeerBear, he has created a character who illustrates how his ephemeral online performances not only blur both media boundaries and boundaries between online and offline, but also subvert the hypermasculinity of hetero- and homonormativity. In this paper, I will analyze Mury's strategies of art production and distribution in a digital context by focusing on how he uses these strategies to queer his art, his online (re)presentation as an artist and his body in the interaction with his dear bear friend Ivo.

**5. Body, performance and the visual powers of the Brazilian LGBT+ music scene**

*Nicolas Wasser, Nucleus for Gender Studies Pagu / UNICAMP, nicolas.wasser@googlemail.com*

The contemporary Brazilian LGBT+ music scene is playing a central role in articulating sexual subjectivities that cross the binary of female vs. male corporalities and frontiers of social class, race and geographical spaces. As artistic interventions and broader networks of musicians, listeners and followers in social media that participate in the LGBT+ movement, this scene is being repeatedly attacked by conservative and right wing forces that strive to instrumentalize its artists as the agents of so-called “gender ideology”. In this paper, I am interested in focusing the question whether the notion of musical scene and queer musical scene is an adequate analytics for grasping the agencies of the Brazilian LGBT+ musical scene. If the thesis is coherent that it is articulating new sexual and political subjectivities, then how are they coming to be? What are the territories and moments of identification beyond the proper momentum of music and musical performance? The body as both performative and visual agent is central to this end. In comparing the visual circulation and somatic agencies of three LGBT+ artists on social media, I address different intersections of how desire, race and sexuality are being negotiated via the production of travesti, non-binary, trans as well as drag bodies from the urban peripheries.

**6. “#SoyPuto” de Josecarlo Henríquez: de cómo la “disidencia sexual” recartografía las luchas LGBT+ en Chile**

*Alejandra Peña Morales, Université Paris 8 Vincennes - Saint-Denis, alejandra.penamorales@gmail.com*

El retorno de la democracia en Chile a finales de los años 1980 vino acompañado por el surgimiento de un movimiento homosexual, hoy en plena mutación. Desde comienzos de los años 2000, una nueva generación de militantes queer revolucionarios cuestiona la lógica asimilacionista, familialista y patrimonial de las agrupaciones gay históricas, reconfigurando el paisaje político LGBT+ en un contexto de efervescencia social general. Mediante el estudio del caso del escritor, militante y trabajador sexual Josecarlo Henríquez, miembro fundador de la CUDS (Colectivo Universitario/Utópico de Disidencia Sexual), se tratará de ver cómo el concepto de “disidencia sexual” pone en tela de juicio la categoría “LGBT”. En efecto, desde una perspectiva queer y posfeminista, Henríquez cuestiona el discurso de organizaciones homosexuales tradicionales como el Movilh y el MUMS, proponiendo un acercamiento con las reivindicaciones de las mujeres, los estudiantes, los migrantes y los trabajadores sexuales. Comparando su ensayo autoficcional “#SoyPuto” con sus intervenciones en las redes sociales, se observará cómo su propuesta política, ética y estética redefine identificaciones, coaliciones y modos de existir en el espacio público chileno contemporáneo.

**P10: Re-historicising Latin American Cinema from a feminist perspective**

Convener: Nina Fabico, Instituto de Arte e Comunicação Social - Universidade Federal Fluminense, ninafabico@gmail.com

Research on Latin American Women's Filmmaking has been gathering momentum in recent years. However, scholarship in the field is still lagging behind the developments in other contexts, such as the Anglophone. This panel opens a window for the re-historisation of Latin American Cinema and does so through focusing on cinematic cultures that have not received enough attention: Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru. All countries without a film industry, in which a precarious mode of production has fostered the participation of women filmmakers, in above and below-the line roles. We aim to generate reflection on the necessity of re-historicising Latin American Cinema from a feminist perspective addressing the methodological approaches and theoretical perspectives that allow for the recovery and rigorous narrativisation of Latin American women's filmmaking practices, politics and poetics. We seek to problematise those Westernised perspectives in the field of Latin American film studies, such as auteurism and formalism, which are acritical towards the power relations inscribed in the filmmaking contexts and even of the theoretical and historiographic traditions on which they have settled.

**1. Contemporary Women's Nonfiction Filmmaking in Peru**

*Dr. Isabel Seguí, St Andrews Institute for Gender Studies / University of St Andrews, is47@st-andrews.ac.uk*

Women-led documentary projects in Peru have been in place since the 1970s. In the 21st century, Peruvian women documentary makers continue creating and sustaining the nonfiction film scene. Moreover, women's participation and leadership are rising due to easier access to technology, training, increase in exhibition spaces, and a broader context of feminist affirmation. Independent nonfiction film modes of production are creative emancipatory habitats commonly populated by women (Zimmermann, 1999; Turnin, 2015; Bossay and Peirano, 2017) who propose and endow a non-hierarchical film culture alternative to industrial/fiction film logics but also the traditionally male-dominated cinephilic paradigms. This presentation offers an approach to the Peruvian case through two of its contemporary protagonists: Diana Castro, creative producer of films and festivals, and Lorena Best, director, teacher and organizer.

**2. Documentary and Militancy in Latin American Feminist Filmmaking Collectives of the 1970s and 1980s**

*Lorena Cervera Ferrer, University College London, lorena.ferrer.17@ucl.ac.uk*

The 1970s was a flourishing decade for feminist movements. In Latin America, the rise of feminism was catalysed by an event that took place in Mexico City in 1975. The United Nations World Conference on Women was also crucial for the development of feminist filmmaking collectives. Through cinema, these collectives explored issues related to reproductive rights, domestic work, and violence against women, amongst others. However, their work has often been neglected from the historiographies of both national and Latin American cinema. This paper intends to reclaim the overlooked contribution of feminist filmmaking collectives to the Latin American documentary tradition. By looking at the practices and aesthetics employed in *Cosas de mujeres* (1978) by Cine Mujer México and *Carmen Carrascal* (1982) by Cine Mujer Colombia, I will argue that feminist documentaries forged a new understanding of political cinema in the region.

**3. Tastemakers and gatekeepers: patriarchal constructions of an Ecuadorian cinema canon**

*María Fernanda Miño, University of St Andrews, mminopuga@gmail.com*

Ecuadorian cinema is usually overlooked in film histories, placed on a third-tier category, with periods of little to no production. This disconnect can be rooted in opinions by an implied, often male cultural intelligentsia, through a validation system that favoured certain films. Instead of focusing on milestone works from local anthologies, this paper visualizes practices dismissed by critics, tastemakers and gatekeepers. The prevalence of narratives over documentary, features over shorts and video, and the aesthetically inclined over the popular and commercial, are explored in *El Tesoro de Atahualpa* (San Miguel 1924), *¡El cielo para la cunshi, carajo!* (Guayasamín 1975) and *Sensaciones* (Cordero 1991). Using Bourdieu's Field of Cultural Production (1993), relations between agents, institutions and films are analysed, through the often neglected labour of women filmmakers (Mónica Vásquez), scholars (Gabriela Alemán) and archivists (Wilma Granda). This paper also challenges the prevalence of films with international visibility as the preferred object of study when defining national cinemas.

**4. Remembering Olga: Militant Women, Memory, and the Brazilian Nation**

*Dr. Courtney J Campbell, University of Birmingham, c.j.campbell@bham.ac.uk*

This paper examines how Brazilians represent iconic, historical, militant women. The paper focuses on Olga Benário Prestes. Olga (fondly referred to by her first name in Brazil) was a Jewish, German, communist who received military training in the USSR before serving as Luis

Carlos Prestes' body guard on his return to Brazil from Moscow. She participated in planning the unsuccessful Brazilian Communist uprising in 1935. The failure of the uprising eventually led to her arrest and deportation to Nazi Germany, where, pregnant, she was sent to the Lichtenburg and Ravensbrück concentration camps, before being murdered at the Bernburg Euthanasia Center. Olga's life has been memorialized in textual biographies, in a successful Brazilian biopic film, in theater, and on stamps and medals. Yet the affectionate way in which Olga is remembered in Brazil stands in contrast to how militant women – including former president Dilma Rousseff, the assassinated councilwoman Marielle Franco, and black, gay, and/or trans women who march for their rights around the country - are treated in Brazil today. This paper, then, connects portrayals of Olga to current events in Brazil, emphasizing race, religion, sexuality, maternity, violence, representation, and historical memory.

##### **5. Remembering Evita: Commemorations, Peronist Identities, and Female Leaders in Argentina**

*Dr. Christine Mathias, Kings College London, christine.mathias@kcl.ac.uk*

In the 1940s, Argentine President Juan Perón and First Lady Eva Duarte inaugurated a new form of populist politics that transformed Argentina's political landscape. Although Eva died in 1952, and Juan was forced into exile in 1955, Peronism endured as both an identity and a way of doing politics. Peronist women's organizations developed clandestine and public rituals to honor Evita. They also expressed concern about the fate of her embalmed corpse, which went missing after the military coup in 1955 and was returned to Argentina in 1974. Celebrating Evita was a way for women to claim public space, assert their loyalty to Perón, express their values, and develop visions for the future. Memories of Evita also had a lasting influence on Peronist ideas about female leadership. Some prominent women tried to imitate her style, operating in her shadow. This paper will draw on periodicals, correspondence, and photographs to examine how Peronist women spoke about Evita from the 1960s through the 1990s. As they remembered, invoked, and reinvented their departed leader, local communities gradually redefined what it meant to be Peronist and what it meant to be a woman in politics.

#### **P11: Democracia y revolución en América Latina, 1967-1990. La disputa conceptual e ideológica**

Discussant: Mariana Perry

La segunda mitad del siglo XX en América Latina fue un período prolífico en proyectos políticos, muchas veces contrapuestos, orientados a dar respuesta a los problemas principales de la región. En el marco de la Guerra Fría, las definiciones políticas fueron adquiriendo características absolutas y excluyentes dificultando la convivencia democrática. En este escenario, el presente panel busca problematizar en torno a los conceptos claves de Democracia y Revolución entendiéndolos como espacios de batalla centrales en la búsqueda por controlar el rumbo político del proyecto nacional. Desde la lucha por el control semántico de estos conceptos fundamentales, los diversos actores políticos construyeron sendas argumentaciones teóricas para respaldar su legitimidad sobre el concepto por sobre otros grupos.

Speakers:

##### **1. Revolución y Contrarrevolución. El proyecto político del régimen de Pinochet, 1973-1980**

*Jose Manuel Castro, University College London & Universidad San Sebastián, josejmct@gmail.com*

Entre 1967 y 1990, distintos proyectos ideológicos buscaron responder mediante transformaciones estructurales y contrapuestas a la "crisis integral" diagnosticada en Chile desde mediados de siglo XX. Mientras los gobiernos de Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970) y Salvador Allende (1970-1973) promovieron revoluciones en el contexto de una democracia en crisis, el régimen de Pinochet lo hizo en el marco de una dictadura política. Desde las

herramientas que ofrece la nueva historia de las ideas políticas, esta ponencia estudiará las definiciones ideológicas del proyecto político del régimen de Pinochet desde el 11 de septiembre de 1973 hasta la promulgación de la Constitución Política de Chile en 1980. Entonces, a través de una posición crítica de las revoluciones socialcristiana y socialista, el proyecto contrarrevolucionario de Pinochet elaboró un nuevo diagnóstico de la realidad política, reaccionando al debate en torno a “lo político” de los largos años 60. De este modo, estudiaremos aquellos conceptos centrales en que se asentaba la legitimidad política chilena como Estado, democracia libertad y propiedad privada, examinando cómo el régimen de Pinochet definió sus posiciones en contraste con los proyectos revolucionarios previamente experimentados en Chile.

**2. El concepto de democracia en la renovación socialista chilena en el exilio**

*Mariana Perry, Universidad San Sebastián, marianaperryf@gmail.com*

El golpe de Estado en Chile en 1973 si bien puso el fin al gobierno de la Unidad Popular, significó también el inicio de variados procesos político-intelectuales, especialmente al interior del campo de acción de la izquierda. Un importante camino intelectual fue el recorrido por el sector de la izquierda que se asoció al proceso conocido como “renovación socialista” en el exilio y que tuvo como eje central una resignificación del concepto de democracia. El presente artículo busca arrojar luz sobre las reevaluaciones y desplazamientos teóricos y políticos contenidos en el concepto de democracia sostenido por la renovación socialista y las disputas que dicha resignificación generaron entre las distintas versiones de la izquierda chilena en el exilio entre 1973 y 1989. Dicho análisis realizado a partir de discursos públicos, memorias, publicaciones teóricas y bibliografía secundaria permitirá abordar – desde el enfoque de historia conceptual- el movimiento de reconfiguración política del socialismo chileno en dialogo con el escenario intelectual de Europa occidental.

**3. Nueva democracia y transición democrática en el Chile de Pinochet, 1973-1981**

*Alejandro San Francisco, Universidad San Sebastián, asanfran@gmail.com*

Después del 11 de septiembre de 1973, el régimen militar abandonó “la idea de restaurar la institucionalidad quebrantada” –anunciada por la Junta Militar el mismo día del golpe– y comenzó una nueva tarea: crear una nueva Constitución, que establecería una democracia moderna, eficiente y anticomunista, entre otras características que le llevarían a ser calificada como “democracia protegida”. Por otro lado, establecía una transición larga hacia la democracia, que evitara quiebres abruptos y que permitiera asentar las nuevas instituciones políticas, pero también las grandes transformaciones económicas del periodo. Ese periodo sería llamado de “transición”, de ocho años, durante los cuales goberaría el propio general Pinochet, pero el país avanzaría estableciendo nuevas instituciones, culminando con una consulta popular para definir la continuidad del régimen o nuevas elecciones plenamente democráticas. El paper procura explicar la concepción de democracia que tenía el régimen militar y su órgano constituyente y contrastarlo con otras visiones presentes entre 1973 y 1981, especialmente de la izquierda y de la Democracia Cristiana. Finalmente, analiza el concepto de transición a la democracia fijada por la Constitución y las opciones alternativas presentadas por la oposición, desde una Asamblea Constituyente y llamado inmediato a elecciones hasta el derrocamiento armado del régimen.

**4. Transnational anticommunist networks and the 1980 US presidential election: the Latin American influence on Ronald Reagan's campaign platform**

*Molly Avery, London School of Economics, m.avery@lse.ac.uk*

Jimmy Carter's inauguration in 1977 and the subsequent introduction of the human rights policy provoked outrage among those on the Latin American Extreme Right who had until then considered themselves loyal allies of the United States. In this context this paper argues

that the Carter administration represented a new and unprecedented divergence in US and extreme-right Latin Americans' views of how best to approach the ideological conflict that was the Cold War in Latin America. From the anticommunist dictatorships of the Southern Cone to individuals tied to far-right political parties and death squads in Central America, actors across the Extreme Right resolved to increase transnational collaboration and contest US foreign policy in the region, explicitly seeking to work with sympathetic voices on the New Right in the United States in order to influence domestic debate on foreign policy. Indeed, the period between Carter's inauguration and Reagan's election witnessed the construction of an unprecedented inter-American dialogue that promoted an alternative vision of US anticommunist leadership. It holds that this alternative vision – pushing for a proactive anticommunist and interventionist stance – directly influenced Reagan's campaign platform, demonstrating a South-North influence on the pivotal shift in US foreign policy that the Reagan represented.

**P12: The Choppy Waters of Scientific Knowledge Circulation, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

Chair: Patience Schell

These four papers analyse and re-discover case studies in the history of science which focus on the circulation and exchange of ideas, people, objects, animals and practices in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The metaphor of 'circulation', however, conjours visions of seamless movement linking scientific communities of practice throughout the Americas to the rest of the world. Yet circulation of knowledge could be anything but smooth. Thus, the papers on this panel focus on not just the reliable currents that speedily transported llamas to Europe or young Charles Darwin to South America, but also, staying with our nautical metaphor, on the reefs, channel currents, and shoals that threatened wrecks and necessitated re-routing. Reefs and shoals, such as power dynamics of gender, ethnicity and class, meant some witnesses had to fight for scientific authority and re-route to find successful strategies for scientific practice, while through that re-routing to new places, old meanings and understandings were lost and new ones created. These papers uncover strategies of different historical actors for navigating the choppy waters of the circulation of ideas, finding a more nuanced view of the movement of and creation of knowledge and the situated-ness of its meanings.

**1. Testing the grounds: how gender, place, and education shaped the transnational debate about the effects of the Chilean earthquakes. 1820-1850s**

*Natalia Gándara, University College London, natalia.gandara.16@ucl.ac.uk*

Earthquakes have excited the imagination and curiosity of naturalists for centuries. During the 1820s and 1830s Chile had two major earthquakes with devastating social and natural effects. The paper will focus on the scientific discussion over the effects of the Chilean earthquakes in land formation. In particular, I will analyse how social and transnational factors affected the reception of scientific works and reflect on the inequalities and hierarchies of knowledge. I will focus on the scientific reports written by Maria Graham (1824; 1834), Mariano de Rivero (1835) and Charles Darwin (1835-1838), addressing the debate that these accounts generated. The paper will explore two main ideas. First, it will address the way in which the Chilean coast was transformed into a testing ground that allowed naturalists to observe, explore and analyse geological processes. Secondly, it will argue how social features such as gender and place, and other factors like the scientist's connection to networks of knowledge, their education and specialisation, affected the validation of their scientific accounts. By addressing these factors, the paper will shed some light on the transnational networks of scientific knowledge and the processes of specialisation and institutionalisation of science in the mid- 19th century.

**2. Maria Graham, Travel Narrative and a Naturalist's Authority**

*Patience Schell, University of Aberdeen, p.schell@abdn.ac.uk*

This paper examines how Maria Graham (1785-1842) depicted natural history observations and practices in her *Journal of a Residence in Chile* 1822, and a *Voyage from Chile to Brazil* in 1823 and *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence there, 1821-23*, in conjunction with other published and unpublished writing, including her edited *Voyage Of The H.M.S. Blonde To The Sandwich Islands, In The Years 1824-1825*. Taking as its starting point Graham's participation in various fora of scientific discussion and debate, this paper seeks to understand the strategies she used to work around the limitations on women's participation in polite scientific circles and her defence, when she deemed necessary, of her narratives and scientific work. Using a range of strategies, including depicting male observers as less likely to pay attention to mundane details and depicting herself as a calm and astute observer, Graham protected her reputation and reputation zealously, while claiming authorial witness, authority and credibility.

**3. From Exotic Imports to Local Celebrities: Experimenting with Llamas in the Nineteenth-Century French Vosges Mountains**

*Marcia Stephenson, Purdue University, mstephen@purdue.edu*

During the 1850s and 60s, the French Acclimatization Society in Paris promoted the idea of obtaining Andean llamas and alpacas because it was hoped that the animals could be naturalized in rural, economically depressed regions of the country and provide a welcome new source of meat, fiber, and milk. One zoologist enthusiastically suggested that the famous chicken in every pot, which Henry IV envisioned French peasants enjoying on Sundays, might actually be a llama (Joly 1854). My paper will focus on a male llama brought to the Vosges mountains in 1858 and joined by two female llamas in 1860. Piecing together the llamas' journeys to France elucidates partial routes of knowledge diffusion, from the south to the north, as the animals were trafficked from Peru and Ecuador, and, at least in one case, accompanied by Indian caretakers. The llamas' histories reveal the changing scientific and cultural meanings the animals and their offspring acquired as they moved beyond their Andean origins into new transoceanic contexts. I argue that these shifting environments and perspectives also shaped European understandings of the camelids, demonstrating that knowledge of the animals was becoming increasingly global and local at the same time (cf. Raj 2010; Alberti 2011).

**4. The Military and Venereal Disease in Peru**

*Paulo Drinot, University College London, paulo.drinot@ucl.ac.uk*

In Peru as elsewhere, discussion about venereal disease could not avoid the question of the role of the military in its spread. As Lesley Hall has noted, "the pragmatics of maintaining military and naval forces in a condition of fighting fitness led military doctors to endeavor to control diseases that were extremely prevalent in the armed forces and which negatively affected efficiency" (Hall, "Sexual diseases since 1750", p. 481). Beyond the effect of venereal disease on the ability of the military to wage war, military doctors and the broader medical establishment were concerned about the role that enlisted men played in spreading syphilis and other venereal diseases to the rest of the population. But it was obvious too that soldiers had sexual needs that needed to be addressed. How best to balance this was a matter of debate. This paper explores this debate and the effect it had on antivenereal policy in Peru in the early twentieth century.

**P13: (Un)liminal Amazonia: Physical and Imaginary Spaces in 21st Century Texts**

Convener: Prof. dr. Eduardo Jorge de Oliveira, University of Zurich, eduardo.jorge@rom.uzh.ch

In the post-global world of the twenty-first century, the tension between the interests of global finance capital, national-developmental agendas that seek to expand agricultural production, extraction of primary sources and forestry industry and the increased threat to humanity through

climate change, the defense of biodiversity, indigenous and peasant land rights and autonomy, turn geographic spaces like the Amazon into a central place where these tensions materialize. From the perspective of aesthetics, critical theory and cultural history, this double panel aims to focus the cultural production of liminal space of aesthetic knowledge-production that interferes in the discourse on these tensions. Dwelling on seminal texts such as Euclides da Cunha's *À Margem da História* (1909), Alberto Rangel's *O inferno verde* (1908), and Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropofago* (1928) this panel seeks to discuss new and changing perspectives of the Amazon as a real and inhabited space where new concept of co-habitation on this planet can arise. Texts such as *The Falling Sky* (*La Chute du Ciel*, 2010; *A queda do céu*, 2015) by Davi Kopenawa and Bruce Albert and *Ideias para adiar o fim do mundo* (2019) by Ailton Krenak would help to question the very concept of the human who lives in opposition to nature in the of the Anthropocene.

Speakers:

**1. Post-Ethnographic Literature: The Turning Point of the Indigenous Question**

*Prof. dr. Eduardo Jorge de Oliveira, University of Zurich, eduardo.jorge@rom.uzh.ch*

The late 1920s and early 1930s were essential for the ethnographic-turn in Western thinking. The ethnographic missions to Amazonia such as the one Swiss anthropologist Alfred Métraux, could be measured by two theses presented in Paris in 1929, on the Tupi-Guarani (1927) and the religion of the Tupinambas (1928). His Phd Director, Marcel Mauss, gave him a series of documents from André Thevet, an important 16th Century traveler. Métraux analyzed the ritual of anthropophagy (1977: 114-147) in "L'anthropophagie rituelle des Tupinambas". At the same time, authors such as Raul Bopp and Oswald de Andrade formulated proposals about the anthropophagic value of the Tupinambas. With a manifesto and a magazine, they introduced the concept of "anthropophagy" to the avant-garde literary movement. When literature and ethnography come together, each field has its own speculation about "anthropophagy". Their common ground is that authors managed to create an image of the indigenous. More realistic or more violent, these texts are opposed to the romantic idealization in the nineteenth century. However, the hierarchical relationship between indigenous and intellectuals has never been interrupted, especially among writers and ethnographers.

**2. Decentering the Anthropocene: Animals, Plants and Rivers**

*Dr. Pauline Bachmann, University of Zurich, pauline.bachmann@uzh.ch*

"Descriptions of nature are virtually nonexistent in native Amazonian literature. What we call nature is, in native Amazonian stories, inseparable from history: a permanent state of transformation" (Lúcia Sá, *Intimate Frontiers. A literary Geography of the Amazon*, 2019, 128). This understanding of nature as transformation points to a conception of the surrounding world that points to a diversification of subjectivity as described in Viveiros de Castro's Amerindian Perspectivism (1996, 1998). This presentation will deal with literary texts that understand this transformation as a questioning of human superiority over nature and rather look into the relationship of plants, animals and supposedly inanimate nature with humans in the Amazonian territory. Particularly three volumes will be analyzed in order to examine the poetic perspectives on relationships of humans with other-than-human beings.

**3. On representations of the Brazilian natural spatiality: between official discourses and visual counternarratives**

*André Masseno, M.A., University of Zurich, andre.masseno@rom.uzh.ch*

This presentation aims to point out how some contemporary Brazilian art productions may operate as a kind of artistic counternarratives, dismanteling official processes of subjectivation centered on spreading prejudicial forms of representation of otherness – in this case, non-urban spatiality. Therefore, some visual productions put into question the

historical visuality forged by national apparatuses of power. The discourses of the letter are embedded into a colonial gaze and also based on continuously repeated stereotypes, that aim to construct a systematic representation of the local natural spatiality as a place for uninterrupted exploitation. Taking into consideration these ethical and political aspects, I propose to analyze the video-performances *De natureza passional* [On a passionate nature] (2014) and *Mentira repetida* [A repetitive lie] (2011) of Brazilian artist Rodrigo Braga, who offers critical reviews of visual narratives of power and exploitation of the natural spatiality. Centered on physical tasks, his video-performances are experiences towards a communal reencounter of the human being with a post-idyllic nature. I argue that these artworks resignify the relations between human and nature by proposing a visual counternarrative situated between an objectified and a “haptic visuality” (Laura U. Marks, 2000: 183).

**4. From Belem to Brasilia and backwards. (Un)liminal Lives on the Side of Brazilian Modernism**

*Dayron Carrillo Morell, M.A., University of Zurich, dcarrillo.morell@rom.uzh.ch*

Whereas the Anthropophagous Manifest (Oswald de Andrade, 1928) drew on Amazonian ritual cannibalism as a fragmentary trope towards the aesthetic productivity of cultural emancipation, Oscar Niemeyer's modernist archi-ritual of cannibalization prospected in Brasilia (1960) reassured Amazonia as a natural frontier of pre-architectonic disorder –a place of wilderness on the edge of modern civilization (Cunha, *À Margem da História*, 1909). However, by pushing spatial functionalism and urban monumentality to the limits, Brazil's nova capital became a borderline experience of place-making (Gorelik, «Sobre la imposibilidad de (pensar) Brasilia», 2013); one that completes an ambiguous territory of vernacular liminalities within the narrative of Brazilian Modernism. Dwelling on Michel Foucault's notion of complementing heterotopia (Of Other Spaces, 1967), this presentation aims to explore the critical approach to (un)liminal identities set by Tadeu Jungle's documentary film *Amazônia Niemeyer. Uma viagem pela estrada Belém-Brasília* (2007), a postmodern “viagem de (re)descuberta” that portrays social and individual life on the roadsides of this important artery, questioning the transitional alterity between a concrete-made city and its jungle pendant.

**P14: Quantifying Latin America: Contributions to the History of Statistics**

Conveners: Claudia Daniel, Andrés Estefane, Cecilia Lanata Briones

Quantification is a cultural and political practice that tamed the modern world by making it measurable and readable. In Latin America, this “quantifying spirit” fostered the early production and accumulation of statistics to define society, its groups and problems through numerical facts. This panel examines statistical measurement practices and notions developed in the region since the colonial past focusing on the long process by which statistics, especially economic and social numbers, became the foundational backbone of modern government studies on the socio-history of statistics in Latin America have been on the rise in the last two decades. Focusing on this region, how were different quantification tools constructed? How have these instruments changed through time? What were the impacts on society of these statistical practices? Taking a historical approach, this panel gathers papers that explore the crucial role played by public statistics and/or statistical tools to quantify Latin America examining, for example, the institutionalisation of statistical practices and how they allow interpreting social and economic phenomena. Authors approach these diverse objects of study from different disciplinary frameworks with the aim to bridge the gap between as well as enhance them.

Speakers:

**1. Notes on the social history of the Argentine consumer price index**

*Claudia Daniel & Cecilia Lanata Briones, Centro de Investigaciones Sociales (CIS-CONICET/IDES) & University of Warwick, claudiadaniel@gmail.com & cecilia.lanata-briones@warwick.ac.uk*

The Argentine consumer price index (CPI) was published in 1918 in the *Revista de Economía Argentina*. Its release was contemporary to that of the US, British, German and French indices. The index was published via the country's main statistical office in 1924. However, the CPI had a sombre period, as it ceased to be published between 1928 and 1933. In 1932, a decree argued for the need of a new CPI produced by the Departamento Nacional de Trabajo. Since then, the index was regularly published by the national statistical bureau despite the political and institutional instability and notwithstanding economic volatility. The questioning of official numbers has not been absent from the history of the CPI. However, the public debate that began in 2007 regarding the measurement of inflation is a unique event in itself, particularly for Argentina because price increases have been an important economic phenomenon specifically since the 1950s, when the CPI began to be an element used to judge government performance. This paper reconstructs the trajectory of the Argentine CPI particularly focusing on its origins and its recent history (2007-2015) when the official CPI was constantly questioned, to the point it completely lost its legitimacy.

**2. "A country without statistics is inconceivable and ours are very deficient": Crisis and Reorganization of the Chilean Statistical System (1876-1911)**

*Andrés Estefane, Center for the Study of Political History / Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, aestefan@gmail.com*

Toward the early 1870s the Chilean Statistics Office looked properly established. Founded by mid 1840's, after three decades it had achieved increasing levels of bureaucratic order and territorial anchoring; its annual publications, still imperfect, circulated regularly across Europe and the United States. However, in a relatively short time, the auspicious image of a South American nation that had managed to tame the secrets of the main administrative science of the nineteenth century started to crumble. The economic crisis of the late 1870s, the beginning of the Pacific War in 1879 and the accelerated territorial transformation that followed this conflict, radically altered the physiognomy of the administrative apparatus and the capacity of the State to produce statistics as usual. By analyzing the different institutional reactions to the crisis and the content of the projects proposed to overcome it, this presentation seeks to trace de multiple interests and forces that shaped the emergence of a new statistical system by the first decade of the 20th century, one that reflected the negotiations between the changes within the statistical field and the demands of a State formation that required a new type of governmental science.

**3. Fickle concepts: the use of statistics by the Brazilian society**

*Roberto Barbosa de Andrade Aragão, University of Amsterdam, r.aragao@uva.nl*

Statistics are frequently associated with stable concepts translated into objective numbers. This idea, however, can be challenged. Extending the research of the sociology of quantification literature, this article aims to show how the concepts that shape economic statistics, as we know them today, considerably changed over the last 100 years in Brazil. Additionally, the Brazilian case shows that the production of statistics had a collateral effect, it also changed the means and meaning of economic and social discussion allowing for broader understanding. Finally, the use of statistics enabled stronger and more certain claims about dynamics of these phenomena, despite of inherent problems derived from the measuring process itself. The analysis is based on an extensive research in online archives of a few Brazilian newspapers and secondary literature about the evolution of economic concepts used in economic indicators in other countries. Moreover, this article offers an alternative perspective of the Brazilian statistics which emphasizes the increasing intensity of

its use in the media as a consequence of their appropriation by the Brazilian society more generally.

#### **4. Censuses in Guadalupe before and after the political change of 1946**

*Béatrice Touchelay, Université de Lille, beatrice.touchelay@icloud.com*

In 1946 the status of the French old colonies in the Caribbean was changed: from Old Colonies attached to the mother country, they become departments, as The North of France for example. This communication aims to analyse the consequences of that political change on the production of the official statistics on Guadalupe and on the demographic knowledge of its inhabitants. Does the passage from Old colony to department increase this knowledge? Does the important distance between the former mother country and the French Caribbean islands influence the organisation of censuses? Is the organization of the control of the result similar? To answer to these questions, that communication is based on a comparison of the organization and results of three demographic censuses that frame 1946: the 1931, 1936 colonial censuses and the 1954 census. It aims to precise in what way the two colonial censuses have prepared the change of status and to examine the impact of the independence on the organization and on the result of the census of 1954. That communication studies the change of the public statistics produced by the mother country then by the Nation. Doing so, it questions the link between statistics-knowledge and domination.

#### **5. State, Imperial Polities and Censuses in the French Caribbean (1763-1804)**

*Fanny Malègue, EHESS & INED, fanny.malegue@ined.fr*

While attempts to enumerate the population raised many oppositions within the metropolitan borders of Ancien Régime France - the first extensive census of the French population being indeed levied under Napoleon's reign, censuses are conducted in the French overseas territories since the XVIIIth century. In the Caribbean, the census process was in fact one of the major levers used by the Crown to regain control over its colonial Empire right after the Seven Year's War, which had ended with the bitter loss of New France, the most important French settlement at the time. The census process is indeed deeply modified after 1763 and becomes more and more standardized and coercive, therefore allowing the State to penetrate the privacy of the plantation, to interfere in the domestic relationship between settlers and their slave and to get better control on the slaves owners and the settlers as their loyalty was called into question in the outcomes of the Seven Years' War. In the Caribbean, censuses did ironically never foster a revolt or an uprising. This paper therefore aims at understanding how did the people, both settlers and slaves, resisted these imperial polities by understanding how they opposed the census practice, by committing fraud for example, within the many French Caribbean colonies, were the grasp of royal power was more or less firm, from one island to another.

#### **P15: Latin American Football**

Convener: Peter Watson

Chair: David Wood, University of Sheffield, david.wood@sheffield.ac.uk

2019 saw France host the Women's Football World Cup, an event that saw the women's game gain more media exposure and coverage than tournaments have previously. Stars such as the USA's Megan Rapinoe and Brazil's Marta used this platform to push social and political messages, demanding greater coverage and support and criticizing institutional management and economic investment in the sport. The Latin American nations participating, however, largely struggled to have the same impact that their male counterparts are accustomed to having. This panel analyses the women's game in Latin America from a range of perspectives, investigating and reflecting on the visibility of women's football, the struggles for recognition, social pressures suffered and signs of

progress. It will analyse and discuss where the sport is following the 2019 World Cup from a social and cultural perspective, examining relationships between the sport and social movements. The panel will conclude with a presentation from the organizers of the 'Campo Nivelado network, which has held 4 events in Argentina, Colombia and Brazil on women's football in Latin America, in which they will discuss key debates held over these four events, advances in the field and ongoing research projects and collaborations.

Speakers:

**1. Players' Perspectives on South American Women's Club Football**

*Mark Biram, University of Bristol, mb17689@bristol.ac.uk*

The 2018 Women's World Cup once again evidenced the breakneck growth of the women's game at a global level. However this quadrennial spike in visibility can be easily placed in context by focussing on the day-to-day hardships of players at club level, particularly in the Global South, where opportunities to make a living from football are minimal for women. A reading of the current situation of women's club football on the continent from players' themselves adds significantly to a literature largely focussed upon the visibility of national team football. Using anonymous surveys which allow players to express freely their opinions of the institutional governance of football, this research considers the varying nuances across national settings using data collected from players based in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Whilst requiring further research preliminary findings suggest the professionalisation of women's football in each country depends upon the full cooperation of all clubs along with respective regional and national bodies/federation. The overall visibility of the club game, in cooperation with the media, also depends upon large-scale cooperation between the same actors.

**2. Los Incondicionales: The Feminist Undertones of a Fanbase in Construction, the Case of Chilean Fans at the 2019 World Cup**

*Penny Miles, University of Bath, p.l.miles@bath.ac.uk*

Given the lack of research on fan bases of the female game, this paper presents an exploratory study into the construction of the Chilean fan base at the 2019 Women's World Cup. Drawing on participant observation and interviews conducted during the World Cup, it explores the extent to which fans perceived such fandom to be rooted in feminist thought and action. From fans' socialisation into the game, to player and fan interaction, modified language in the stands, and the prominence of women in leadership roles in footballing cultural practices, this paper explores the feminist principles underlying much of this action. Many respondents reported that their presence was also an act of feminist solidarity, citing the inequity faced by team's players, and their own perceived need to support them. Such action was located within the wider feminist activist climate present in Latin America in recent years, but also in relation to how the struggle for gender equality in Latin American football has been heavily rooted in feminist discourse (Elsey, 2019). Tentative findings from this research point to the 'feminising' potential of female fandom of the women's game, building on Pope's notion of the 'civilising' presence of female fans at the men's game (2017). As such, this paper examines the transformative potential of women's football through its fan base.

**3. Avances y desafíos en el fútbol de mujeres en Argentina y Brasil**

*David Wood, Verónica Moreira & Silvana Goellner; University of Sheffield, Universidad de Buenos Aires & Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul; david.wood@sheffield.ac.uk, veromoreira@gmail.com & vilodre@gmail.com*

Como el resto de los países latinoamericanos, el fútbol en Argentina y Brasil ha sido un deporte protagonizado desde sus orígenes por los varones. De acuerdo a las investigaciones sobre las mujeres, ellas se acercaron tempranamente a este deporte, pero su historia ha

estado marcada por la discriminación, la exclusión y la invisibilidad. Desde hace pocos años, en el contexto del avance y la visibilidad de los movimientos de mujeres y las disidencias en el mundo y en la región, las deportistas han comenzado a organizarse, junto a otras protagonistas (periodistas, árbitras, dirigentes, hinchas), para denunciar las violencias sufridas y reclamar un conjunto de demandas tendientes a equiparar su posición en este deporte. La presente exposición es el resultado de las ideas compartidas en los encuentros organizados por la red de estudio sobre fútbol y mujeres “¿Campo Nivelado?” (proyecto auspiciado por el Arts and Humanities Research Council, UK), y tiene como objetivo estudiar los avances que las atletas han obtenido en los últimos años en un espacio que les ha sido históricamente negado, así como también proponer los desafíos que quedan pendientes con miras a seguir equiparando las condiciones de juego inter e intragéneros.

**4. Female football, empowerment and identities in modern Argentina**

*Xavier Bernoud, Université Libre de Bruxelles, xavier.bernoud@ulb.ac.be*

Because of its historical involvement in the international affirmation of the country, the football is, in the case of Argentina, a powerful identities landmark that cannot be dissociated from the political sphere. Yet, such a landmark is also defined around a paradox: ubiquitous cultural object, essential in the understanding of the social relationships, the football remains a sphere of women's exclusion, a space ruled by masculinized norms perpetuating the patriarchal dichotomy between “male” and “female” values.

Yet, for the past few years, the football pitch is turning in a new field of feminism contestation ; playing football despite the cultural, structural and institutional obstacles they face, female athletes are slowly conquering this highly masculinized territory, claiming the right to an equal public space access and self-determination of female body.

In a country where the football is a strong social mechanism, and where the feminist movement has grown stronger and stronger for the past decades, this paper aims to highlight the issues of football feminization, focusing on a specific feminist activism expressing through women's football.

**5. Picturing Latin American football: The Campeonato Mundial de Fútbol en Uruguay, 1930**

*Thomas Fischer & Nelson Chacón, Eichstätt Katholische Universität, th.fischer@ku.de*

**P16: Approaches to the nation-building processes in Colombia and Chile. Conservative Thought, Intellectual Networks and Nationalist Discourses, 1840s-1940s**

Conveners: Alfred Hinrichsen & Raul Burgos

This panel explores the nation-building process in Latin America between the 1840s and 1940s. It brings together research on the cases of Colombia and Chile to discuss the contributions of intellectuals, politicians, and social actors in the shaping of their national identities. Historiography has argued that both countries had dissimilar trajectories in their developments as nation-states, at least during the nineteenth century (Safford, 2013). However, this panel argues that, despite the differences, Colombian and Chilean actors formulated their ideas of nationhood by drawing on civic and ethnocultural elements, suggesting the relevance of both factors in the nation-building processes during this period. Thus, the panel examines state-driven processes that attempted to buttress a sense of civic nationalism, such as the commemoration of public funerals, and the circulation of national iconography and discourses. It also explores how intellectuals of different political sympathies attributed importance to cultural factors, such as language, in the articulation of their nationalist discourses. As a result, this panel hopes to provide a comparative perspective of the nation-building process in Colombia and Chile while promoting further discussion about this theme in Latin American studies more widely.

Speakers:

**1. Against a post-revolutionary Babel: Language in nineteenth-century Chilean and Colombian conservative thought**

*Ignacio De Solminihac, University of Cambridge & Universidad de los Andes, id330@cam.ac.uk*

In 1992, Malcolm Deas stated that in Colombia—particularly during the nineteenth-century and part of the twentieth—philology, grammar and folklore were chiefly a conservative endeavour. The Castilian tongue in its Latin Americanised version, Miguel Antonio Caro held, was an entrenched element in Colombian national culture, and therefore, anyone who wanted the nation to achieve prosperity could not ignore it. Language embodied the patria—evoking Schlegel—and as such, it needed to be protected; the same went for traditions and customs (Rufino José Cuervo argued similarly). Nevertheless, this was not a unique Colombian experience. Chilean conservative intellectuals at the time shared similar interests. For instance, both Ramón Sotomayor and Zorobabel Rodríguez worried about the potential linguistic and political consequences, that negligence over the language could stir up. Consequently, the latter published a *Diccionario de Chilenismos* (inspired partly by the work of Cuervo), and the former pushed for the creation of a Hispanic-American Dictionary—also citing Schlegel—to act as a linguistic authority in the region. Moreover, the purpose of this paper is to explore different ways in which language and grammar became a significant element of Chilean and Colombian conservative thought, during the second half of the nineteenth century.

**2. Local Encounters with the Nation: National Identity in Colombia, 1889-1930**

*Stephanie Ashton-Sánchez, University College London, ucrasas@ucl.ac.uk*

Historians have called Colombia a ‘nation in spite of itself’, a ‘fragmented land’ and a ‘divided society’. This paper will challenge the notion that Colombia is a fractured space by studying the process of nation building between 1880 and 1930 through a local lens. To this end, it will reconstruct the ways in which the inhabitant of two municipalities located in different regions of Colombia – Ciénaga (Magdalena) and Barrancabermeja (Santander) – encountered the nation through its symbols as they went about their daily lives. This study will examine local practices of exchange and communication, memorialisation, and the use of space to understand how national iconography and discourses circulated outside of Bogotá, the country’s capital. It will also analyse the ways in which symbols of the nation were locally appropriated or reconfigured to contest the national project that the elites constructed from Bogotá. This paper will contribute towards a better understanding of the interrelationship between the local and the national realms in the process of nation building. Moreover, it will illustrate how Colombia’s elite and non-elite groups shaped the nation during the understudied period that historians have labelled the ‘Conservative Hegemony’ (1880-1930).

**3. Ethnocultural nationalism in Chile’s model Republic, 1841–1861**

*Alfred Hinrichsen, University College London, alfred.hinrichsen.16@ucl.ac.uk*

Chile has been depicted by historiography as an exception in post-independence Spanish America. In a regional context of constant political strife and failing political institutions, Chile was praised for its functioning Republic based on its constitution established in 1833. This fostered a self-image of being “the honorable exception of peace and stability, of order and liberty” in the region, as was published by El Araucano in 1841. Scholarship has long stressed the Chilean case as an example of civic nationalism. Conversely, there has been a neglect of the ethnocultural elements used by intellectuals of the 1842 Generation, such as J.V. Lastarria and F. Bilbao, and the Argentine diaspora represented by D.F. Sarmiento, J.B. Alberdi and V.F. López. This study examines how these intellectuals articulated a nationalist discourse intertwining civic elements with considerations about the Chilean landscape, nature, culture and race/character to buttress the idea of Chilean exceptionality. This paper

contributes to the scholarship by giving a transnational approach to the Chilean nation-building process with the incorporation of the Argentine intellectual diaspora. It sheds light on the elements embedded in its nationalist discourse and the diversity of intellectuals who participated in its construction during the “conservative decades” between 1841-1861.

**4. Remembering the Makers of the Chilean Republic: Conservative Ideas on Diego Portales and Bernardo O’Higgins, 1930s-1940s**

*Raul Burgos, University College London & Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, raul.burgos.14@ucl.ac.uk*

This paper explores how conservative politicians and professionals attempted to reinforce their project of nation-building in Chile between the 1930s and 1940s. It argues that conservatives articulated a nationalist discourse in which they emphasised civic factors in the shaping of the Chilean identity. The paper focuses on conservatives’ involvement in the commemoration of the anniversary of the death of nineteenth-century statesmen Diego Portales (1793-1837) and Bernardo O’Higgins (1778-1842) in 1937 and 1942, respectively. In these decades, conservatives maintained that all citizens should learn from Portales and O’Higgins as they embodied the most important patriotic values. Moreover, they argued that Portales and O’Higgins’ political performance offered an example to be followed at the time. Conservatives asserted, on the one hand, that O’Higgins was the ‘first citizen’ of the republic that helped to its organisation and to strengthening the relationships between the Chilean nation with the rest of the Hispanic American nations; and, on the other, that Portales was the enabler of order and authority, ensuring the political stability of the republic. As a result, the paper suggests the relevance of looking at how conservatives portrayed Portales and O’Higgins as national symbols to support their ideas during the mid-twentieth century.

**P17: METHODOLOGIES in displacement: Writing through texts, (auto) ethnographic gestures, and affective traces**

Chair: Andrea Aramburú Villavisencio, University of Cambridge, aa2056@cam.ac.uk

This panel aims to both examine and challenge the methodologies we put into motion when working with Latin American texts, identities and life stories, through an engagement with the concept of displacement. Our approach moves between written and non-written records, mediation and interpretation, and dialogical relations to grasp the affective atmospheres underpinning our research methodologies. The papers in the panel work across various mediums (written, oral/aural, graphic and visual narratives) to address different configurations of the relational, and attempt to bring to life, in their writing, that which precedes, exceeds and escapes our interactions with our research subjects. We are especially interested in displacing our attention from the final form that a narrative might take to assess the multiple meanings that emerge in the process: we hope to take our gaze towards other protracted moments, routines and practices that create uneven attachments becoming meaningful over time. The method we propose consists of writing through auto-ethnographic gestures in a way that enables us to work on and through experiences that elicit cognitive and affective responses to the asymmetries of encounter and creation with others.

Speakers:

**1. Scene-thinking the Latin American Comics festival: An autoethnographic journey into Ídolo and Carboncito**

*Andrea Aramburú Villavisencio, University of Cambridge, aa2056@cam.ac.uk*

This paper takes scene thinking as a methodological framework to approach autobiographical Latin American comics. I want to probe how scenes come to matter in three different ways: (1) within the comics scene in Latin America, taken as a bracketed cultural space; (2) through the comics framed scenes at the text’s infrastructural panels level; and (3)

within my own scenic writing, which will attempt to think, spin and compose (1) and (2). I will look at two texts documenting the Latin American comic book festival. The first one is Marcela Trujillo's auto fictional graphic novel *Idolo (una historia casi real)* (2017), where she chronicles a comic book fair she attended in Lima, Peru. The second one is my own fieldwork notes from my attendance to Festival Carboncito, which will take place, also in Lima, in December 2019. My experience of Carboncito seeks to address matters of circulation and distribution regarding comics in the region. Taking an intertextual approach, I am interested in observing how the different affective atmospheres that unfold therein have a cross-temporal and cross-medium resonance that materializes, in turn, in the scenes captured by Trujillo in *Idolo*.

**2. Archives of Transgenerational Migratory Narration: Absence, History and Effective traces of (dis)placement of ethnic Japanese in Mexico, 1897-present**

*Jessica A. Fernández de Lara Harada, University of Cambridge, jaf83@cam.ac.uk*

This paper engages with the experiences of ethnic Japanese minorities during a crucial stage of modern nation-state formation that spans from the Mexican Revolution to the aftermath of the Second World War. There is an acute moment, from 1942 to 1952, when the Mexican state enforced their *sui generis* Concentration. Most of those who lived through it are deceased, while archival records are mediated by bureaucratic discourse and state jurisdiction. Their history has been dissolved from dominant accounts due to war, displacement, violence, forgetting and the passage of time, while their narrative pieces remain few and scattered. This compels me to draw on different sets of historical registers and modes of inscription to grasp its expression over time. I propose archiving microhistories of the Concentration as protracted layers of memory and experience on those still present. Through an autobiographical gesture that reveals shared histories with my participants, we work-on and -through this open quest of articulation. What emerges is an intergenerational collective oral history as a living testimony of displacement. I argue that recentering 'minor' issues as pivotal disruptions to the normative underpinnings of post-colonial nationalist discourses has the potential to expand our capacity to transform society.

**3. Photography and HIV in Contemporary Argentina: a Case for "Vulnerable" Academic Writing**

*Erika Teichert, University of Cambridge, ept27@cam.ac.uk*

This paper explores 'vulnerable writing' -a feminist methodology proposed by Tiffany Page (2017)- as a framework to engage with artistic practices that represent HIV today. I will look at one photographic exhibition held in Buenos Aires in 2010, *Lipodistrofia: las huellas del estigma*, which explores the collateral effects of some anti-retroviral medication. The pervasive 'end-of-the-world' metaphors that Susan Sontag had denounced at the height of the AIDS epidemic have largely given way to a moment of displaced invisibility. Artistic and other representations of HIV have fallen onto the margins of cultural circuits. The global narrative about people living with HIV is one that judges health to be the effective invisibility of the virus, arguably concealing the ambivalence inherent to living with HIV as a chronic condition. Conversely, the exhibition analysed reveals HIV as a vulnerable and ambiguous situation, and photography as a medium through which the body can attempt to negotiate this reality. Acknowledging the tensions between invisibility/visibility and health/vulnerability inherent to HIV, I explore 'vulnerable writing' as a methodology, which enables a self-reflexive gesture to position myself inside the representational battles that have long concerned AIDS/HIV activists, critically questioning who speaks for whom, why, and how.

**4. Experiences of mobility as an Afro-Colombian subject in Independence times: oppression, resistance and survival at the fictional level**

*Tatiana Vargas-Ortiz, University of Cambridge, atv25@cam.ac.uk*

This paper explores the uprooted and deterritorialised identity of former slaves as mobile subjects often intimated in 19th Century foundational Latin American novels. Dynamics of movement and circulation of enslaved populations persist in the absence of auto-biographical accounts of slavery. In Colombia, founding narratives of race and nation demonstrate a fixity of the condition of enslaved subjects even after the Wars of Independence and while Independence forces celebrated liberty and democracy. I will explore how a contemporary novel such as *Afuera Crece un Mundo* (2015) by Adelaida Fernández Ochoa proposes a fictional narrative of subjectivation that responds to narratives of oppression portrayed in foundational novels such as *María* (1867) by Jorge Isaacs. By creating a narrative in which the female protagonist goes from enslavement to a journey of resistance, I will argue that in *Afuera Crece un Mundo* mobility becomes a fictional device that allows the narrator to respond to the broader criollo narrative of Colombian Independence. The novel's engagement with mobility also addresses the history of negritudes and challenges the scope of slavery as a system by disputing the effectiveness and implementation of abolitionist laws such as the Manumission Law and the Free Womb Law, both enacted in 1821.

**P18: Mujeres y representaciones de la violencia política en el 'post-conflicto armado' : propuestas, tensiones y reconfiguraciones**

Convener: Tania Romero Barrios, Universidad París 8 / Laboratoire d'Études Romanes, [tania.romerobarrios@gmail.com](mailto:tania.romerobarrios@gmail.com)

Discussant: Jelke Boesten, King's College London, [jelke.boesten@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:jelke.boesten@kcl.ac.uk)

A dieciséis años de la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación en Perú, los roles de las mujeres y las consecuencias de la violencia política sobre ellas siguen siendo una deuda pendiente tanto en términos de análisis como de reparaciones y justicia. "Víctimas inocentes" (Manrique) o "verdugos sanguinarias" (Boutron), su tratamiento ha sido objeto de lecturas herméticas y las más veces reductoras de su capacidad de agencia. En este contexto, las producciones culturales, que han emergido en el periodo "post-conflicto" (Milton), se han convertido en agentes de memoria (Vich) alternativa. Mediante lecturas, estrategias discursivas y metodologías colaborativas, dichas representaciones plantean la construcción de narrativas inclusivas, complejas y se interrogan sobre la posibilidad de reparación simbólica.

Este panel busca problematizar la producción cultural reflexionando sobre tensiones y contradicciones que emergen de las representaciones teatrales, performativas y literarias de la violencia. Las autoras proponen nuevas lecturas a través de perspectivas interseccionales y subalternas. Nos preguntaremos entonces, ¿cómo convergen ética, estética y política en estas obras? ¿Cómo se negocian las tensiones entre las voces propias y ajenas, y sus espacios de enunciación? ¿Cuál es el poder de la perspectiva de género en la creación de nuevos imaginarios sociales en el "post-conflicto"?

Speakers:

**1. Arte y eficacia simbólica: el caso de las producciones artísticas sobre violencia sexual en el conflicto armado interno peruano**

*Camila Sastre Díaz, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, c.sastrediaz@gmail.com*

El objetivo de esta ponencia es problematizar las producciones artísticas que representan las violaciones sexuales ocurridas durante el conflicto armado interno peruano (1980-2000), particularmente los montajes teatrales *Kay Punku* –de Ana y Débora Correa- y *Manta y Vilca* –de la Asociación Cultural Trenzar-. Ambas obras de teatro ponen en escena las historias de violencia experimentadas por mujeres quechua-hablantes durante el conflicto armado. Analizo las pretensiones de reparación simbólica que las obras persiguen, según las propias creadoras y artistas. A partir de ello, me pregunto respecto a la eficacia simbólica que logran dichos montajes, poniéndolo en diálogo con las mujeres sobrevivientes representadas.

Planteo que los montajes teatrales entran en una serie de tensiones y desarrollan una condición ambigua, en tanto obra de teatro/performance-ritual, que ayudan a entender tanto sus posibilidades y sus límites. Metodológicamente, la ponencia es resultado del trabajo etnográfico que he desarrollado para mi investigación doctoral, con artistas, creadoras y mujeres sobrevivientes de violaciones sexuales, en las ciudades de Lima, Huancayo, Huancavelica y la comunidad andina de Manta.

**2. Violencia de género y estereotipos sobre la participación femenina durante el conflicto armado interno en el Perú y su representación en la obra literaria de Rocío Silva Santisteban**

*Ágata Cáceres Sztorc, Universidad Pedagógica de Cracovia, aga\_ca\_sz@hotmail.com*

Según el Informe de la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR: 2003), más del 50% de los miembros del comité central del PCP-SL Sendero Luminoso y el 40% de sus militantes eran mujeres. La adhesión y participación de las mujeres en el PCP-SL cobra una importancia insólita y, a la vez, sugiere una serie de interrogantes vinculadas a discursos sobre el rol de estas en diversos espacios. En el imaginario social peruano, contrariamente a la violencia masculina, la femenina es considerada como la expresión quasi deshumanizada de su naturaleza, construyendo un estereotipo de la mujer y su doble naturaleza. Asimismo, estas militantes son estereotipadas por los medios de comunicación como las más “frías y sanguinarias”. La literatura peruana se encarga de plasmar escenas y momentos históricos relevantes que formaron parte de las décadas de violencia en el Perú. En este sentido, subrayamos el trabajo de la escritora y poeta Rocío Silva Santisteban Reina de Manicomio como acto de denuncia sobre la situación de la mujer en el Perú, dentro del contexto de conflicto armado interno en el Perú.

**3. Continuum de violencias y subalternidades propositivas: una lectura de La sangre de la aurora de Claudia Salazar Jiménez**

*Tania Romero Barrios, Universidad París 8 / Laboratoire d'Études Romanes, tania.romerobarrios@gmail.com*

Esta ponencia se propone analizar la construcción del continuum de violencias (Bourgois; Kelly) en la novela *La sangre de la aurora* (2013) de Claudia Salazar Jiménez. Novela emblemática de la narrativa del “post-conflicto” armado escrita por mujeres, esta narra las historias de una campesina, una profesora que se enrola en Sendero Luminoso y una periodista. Sus trayectorias cristalizan la pluralidad de roles jugados por las mujeres durante el conflicto, y convergen en la experiencia de la violencia sexual en contexto de guerra. Tal como ha sido señalado en el Informe Final de la CVR, el cuerpo de las mujeres se convirtió en un locus central de dolor, supervivencia, pero también resistencia. Consideramos que un estudio de la violencia género en la novela desde una perspectiva interseccional (Krenshaw), en su continuum y mediante el concepto de subalternidad (Gramsci), permite plantear una lectura propositiva y alternativa basada en el diálogo con otros sistemas de opresión. Nos preguntaremos entonces en qué medida el cuerpo textual y el cuerpo sexual en la obra de Salazar permiten desafiar desde la estructura, escritura y diégesis, lo silenciado en los relatos hegemónicos de la violencia política.

**P19: Reanimating the Past. Latin American Media History, Practice and the Archive**

Convener: Jessica Gordon-Burroughs

In the last decade, the archive as both an institutional notion and heuristic system has propelled countless new work regarding the moving and still image, ranging from critiques of the canon and accepted genealogies, to the processes of re-signification set in motion by forms of appropriation. Drawing on a tradition of archival critique, these 2 panels explore the ways archival practices and politics enter into audio-visual criticism in Latin America. The panel asks what new domains of critical

enquiry, forms of experience, politics and practice and historiographic methodologies in Latin America emerge by examining relations between the image and the archive? The 2 panels here speak to the SLAS conference theme, "Mind the Gap: Strengthening Connections in Latin American Studies," by examining how the archive forges new temporal and affective connections in Latin American Media Studies and History. In the first panel speakers variously examine the appropriation and use of archival material within film and filmmaking practices, seeking to understand how materials from the past help to construct new cinematic practices and also understandings of history and politics in Latin America. In the second panel, papers explore the institutional and historiographic use of archival materials and some of the challenges of what Derrida calls an "archive fever" in Latin America.

Speakers:

**1. A poética do found footage como método meta-histórico para uma reinvenção das origens do cinema brasileiro**

*Carlos Adriano Jeronimo de Rosa, Independent Artist and Researcher, adriano.carlos.ca@gmail.com*

Esta comunicação pretende demonstrar que o found footage é, para o cinema brasileiro, uma prática artística (que ressignifica sua identidade) e uma metodologia crítica (que reinstaura sua história). Para desenvolver esta hipótese, a argumentação se baseia em: 1) minha experiência como realizador de filmes found footage sobre fragmentos perdidos ou esquecidos da memória nacional; 2) dois fatos da formação cultural e cinematográfica brasileira. Na frente 1, citarei exemplos de filmes como "Festejo muito pessoal" (2016; sobre o último artigo de Paulo Emílio Salles Gomes) e "Remanescências" (1997; sobre onze fotogramas inaugurais de nosso cinema). Na frente 2, um fato é a *Antropogafia* (1928) de Oswald de Andrade como contribuição original brasileira para a reapropriação de arquivo; o outro pressuposto é a interpretação de um episódio histórico de origem, baseado na primeira patente cinematográfica do Brasil. Um meta-historiador (informado por Hollis Frampton, Aby Warburg e Walter Benjamin) argumentaria que o primeiro filme brasileiro não foi filmado mas sim reapropriado. Caso único na cinematografia mundial, o cinema brasileiro teria nascido de um gesto de reapropriação de arquivo, como found footage.

**2. Poli Marichal: In-Between Archives**

*Jessica Gordon-Burroughs, University of Edinburgh, j.gordonburroughs@ed.ac.uk*

Even as Poli Marichal's work condenses the dream of a universal language of early surrealist film, her 1980's Super 8 filmic odes pivot on the multiple expressive codes of Puerto Rico's "broken" (Flores) colonial memory. Words in Spanish, English and French are written upon the film's emulsion with pens steeped in alcohol and Chinese ink. These short experimental films (usually lasting no more than a few minutes) are characterized by the 'placelessness' of interior dreamscapes, where abstract emotion takes on musical and chromatic form. Yet, the films' power simultaneously hinges on an intense locatedness centered on "Puerto Rico," a word-place-signifier almost invariably "chiseled" (Isou) upon even her most abstract films. The work of Marichal of this period is of difficult categorization. It might be placed in multiple overlapping canons ("American" 8mm, "Puerto Rican experimental film and video," "Latin American" women artists) at the same time that it falls outside any of these categories and the consecratory systems they imply, making it perhaps unsurprising that her work is yet to find itself within any national archival context. This paper proposes to explore (through the work and figure of Poli Marichal) where the archive and archival policies (in particular the politics of restoration) may help reshape received notions of national canons, but also determine what falls outside institutional and critical purview.

**3. Chile's university film catalogue as “uneven archive” and visual repertoire**

*Ignacio Albornoz Fariña, Université Paris VIII Vincennes-Saint-Denis, ignacio.n.albornoz@gmail.com*

In his most recent work, *El ojo mecánico. Cine político y comunidad en América Latina*, Carlos Ossa interrogates the role of Latin American cinema in the construction of the political iconography of the continent. This iconography, he argues, was sealed by the visual defeat of the idea of community, which, retrospectively, gave birth to an irregular archive crisscrossed by “ages, maps, and languages”. Drawing on Ossa’s concept of an “uneven archive”, the present paper will propose an archive-oriented and situated reading of the filmic catalogue produced by the cinema departments of Chile’s three main universities —the University of Chile, the Catholic University and the State’s Technical University— between 1957 and 1973. This university catalogue may be approached as a receptacle which the French film scholar and historian Antoine de Baecque calls “cinematographic forms of history”. Rediscovered in the last decades thanks to the digitalization of collections formerly thought to be lost and the publication of relevant academic material (Corro, 2008; Salinas & Stange, 2008), this cinematographic corpus will finally be discussed as nourishing the “visual repertoire” of the testimonial documentaries of the following decades, by offering a filmic answer to the apparently unsolvable dilemma of political identities in film.

**4. Transfiguring the archive: Re-mapping Rio de Janeiro’s Past and Present through Digitised Archival Materials**

*Victoria Adams, University of Cambridge, vja27@cam.ac.uk*

In Rio de Janeiro, narratives of the past are increasingly employed as a strategy to articulate disparate, competing visions of the city’s future. In this context, increasingly accessible and ubiquitous digitised archival materials have become key loci of debate about the city. In this paper, I draw upon ethnographic observation and qualitative interviews with the creators and users of a series of Rio-based memory projects to explore the processes by which digitised archival materials are selected, migrated to and employed in these projects. I then explore the multiple textures of city space and practices produced by multisensory user navigation of such materials and their circulation through the city. To this end, I explore how recourse to and reanimation of the pre-existing reproduces the lacunae resulting from racialised, exclusionary logics upon which Rio is built, even as these archival materials acquire new meaning and uses. Additionally, I adopt a relational approach to materiality to explore how the digitisation of archival materials affects the experiences and understandings of Rio generated by engagement with these projects. My analysis leads me to contend that affordance theory offers a more useful framework for making sense of the digitised archive than traditional disciplinary models.

**5. Creating a Landscape of Early Cinema in Brazil. Working with and through an Absent Archive**

*Maite Conde, University of Cambridge, mc534@cam.ac.uk*

As Ana M. López has observed “the early years of the silent cinema in Latin America, roughly 1896-1920, are the least discussed [...] in Latin American media history.” Such critical oblivion is far from surprising since most of the films produced in Latin America between 1896 and 1920 have disappeared, victims of the inevitable ravages of time and fires along with the official neglect of cultural preservation. In the case of Brazil, fires at the country’s principal archives in 1957, 1969, 1982 and 2016, together with a lack of funds for preservation, have had a drastic effect on cinematic remnants from this period. Only a small number of shorts and feature films produced before the 1920s have survived loss and much of what is available today exists only in fragments. Taking this absence film texts into account, this paper explores the challenges of studying early cinema in Brazil. It outlines historiographic approaches from the past that have sought to unearth an archive of early Brazilian cinema.

Then, undertaking an archaeological approach proposes a new methodology that, working with and through absences and fragments, seeks to produce a landscape of early Brazilian film culture that can help us to understand the place of early cinema in Brazil. In doing so, this paper re-examines the very notion of the cinematic archive in Latin America.

#### **6. PROGRAMMED DEATH: Santa Muerte and the Techno-Image Archive**

*Justin Read, Buffalo University, jread2@buffalo.edu*

Over the past decade the cult of Santa Muerte has grown in visibility, primarily in Anglo American media depictions of the US-Mexican border. Indeed, we might say that news reportage on Santa Muerte has accrued on YouTube as an archive of digital images. Generally speaking, these images of the cult tend to be sensationalistic: that of a “new religion” devoted to the image of a skeleton dressed as both the Virgen de Guadalupe and the Grim Reaper. Devotees, we are informed, have turned to Santa Muerte for protection from narcoviolence, human trafficking, and drug wars. In this presentation I will draw up on the theories of Vilém Flusser to consider the “post-historical archive” of Santa Muerte. In this “programmatic” time, the archive is not a remote location holding records of history that subjects may choose to access. To the contrary, the archive flows all around us in real-time, and shapes how we move politically, economically, and metaphysically in the world. In sum, techno-images of Santa Muerte constitute a kind of “programmed death cult” in which the digital archive “accesses” humans in order to govern them.

#### **P20: Historical imaginations of Central America: Literature, Nature, Body, Language**

Convener: Diego Azurdia, University of Cambridge, dra35@cam.ac.uk

Despite incipient critical interest in the region, Central America has long been relegated to the margins of Latin American studies as a sort of geographical and historical backwater. Heterogeneous, complexly multiethnic and culturally diverse (indigenous, mestizo, Black), Central America stands as a region where diaspora movements, mestizaje, and violence have become determining factors in the consolidation of a transregional historical imagination. This has opened the possibility and the need to produce alternative notions of history, sometimes imagined explicitly against the dominant historical grain. Either through narration, language, nature or the body, the refraction and rearticulation of history has consigned the rich reservoir of such historical imaginaries. Multilingualism, the inscription of landscape in literary representation, justice, and meta-historical discourses on the region have become a fertile ground for academic inquiry into the social and cultural practices through which the recast of History in the territory has taken place. This panel addresses these historical imaginations with special regards to Afro-Central America (late 19th to 20th centuries), ancient Mesoamerican cultures, and twentieth-century Guatemalan civil war history from a transdisciplinary perspective.

Speakers:

##### **1. In Search of the Gran Lengua: Miguel Ángel Asturias’s archive of Latin American Literature**

*Alberto Castillo Ventura, Harvard University, castilloventura@fas.harvard.edu*

This presentation explores the fascination of 20th-century Latin American intellectual elites with pre-Columbian Mesoamerican cultures. Focusing on the emblematic case of Guatemalan writer Miguel Ángel Asturias, I analyze the shifting rhetorical strategies through which this author produces a genealogical discourse on Latin American literary history. Stretching back to pre-Columbian times, the temporal regime through which Asturias unfolds his genealogy of Latin American literature culminates with the author’s self-proclamation as the Gran Lengua—that is, the ultimate interpreter of the primitive Mesoamerican world—in the 20th century. Drawing from archival sources, records of public appearances, and lesser known published works, I ask how Asturias’s eminently modernist, fictional understanding of the literary history of the American hemisphere in the longue durée offers a novel

understanding of the ways in which modern Latin American literature has appealed to the pre-Columbian Mesoamerican past in order to differentiate itself from the modern Western world. This symbolic articulation, however, ultimately discloses the mediating role of scientific and aesthetic discourses—such as modern ethnography and avant-garde art—in shaping the modern literary imagination of the 20th century in Latin America.

## **2. Inscriptions on insurgent landscapes**

Diego Azurdia, University of Cambridge, [dra35@cam.ac.uk](mailto:dra35@cam.ac.uk)

This paper explores the layered connection between landscape, nature, guerrilla movements, State sanctioned violence and cultural production during the Guatemalan Civil War (1960-1996). I delve into a body of works by writers who were also guerrilla members; namely Payeras' *Los Días de la Selva* and *El Mundo como flor y como invento* and Roque Dalton's *Parábola a partir de la vulcanología revisionista*. I argue that the experience of nature and landscape becomes a rite of passage through which individuality is expunged towards a communal mindset. On the other rather extreme side of the spectrum, the training of Kaibiles—the Guatemalan military's elite unit—was expected to survive the Petén Jungle, serving as a counterinsurgent counterpart. I aim to explore how the notions of sovereignty and the more telluric idea of land are appropriated both by official national discourse and by insurgent forces in vastly different ways, and yet adopting almost identical poetic language. Moreover, the idea of land and geography sifts into the military strategy itself through the *estrategia de tierra arrazada* or scorched earth strategy. The overarching idea of the paper is to read both insurgent and counterinsurgent practices and discourses as the continuation of the imperial, colonial, and subsequent nation-building tradition of the itinerant subject within a Latin American sublime landscape.

## **3. History on Trial: The Case of Ríos Montt's Trial in Guatemala (2013)**

*Rocío Zamora Sauma, Freie Universität Berlin, [zamorasauma@zedat.fu-berlin.de](mailto:zamorasauma@zedat.fu-berlin.de)*

Discussions concerning the relationships between history and memory, and between truth, identity, and testimony, have been central to different post-war world processes throughout the course of the twentieth century. In Central America, the trial of former dictator Ríos Montt and his intelligence director Rodríguez Sánchez for crimes against humanity and genocide constituted a milestone in the role of justice in performing representations of the recent counterinsurgency war and longue durée of Guatemalan colonial history. In this context, the subject of genocide offered a prism for the re-reading and reenacting of Guatemalan history through the encounter of different social actors in the courtroom (former dictator, politicians, witnesses, survivors, judges, lawyers, experts – i.e. social scientists, historians, forensic anthropologists, experts in military history, press, media and filmmakers, members of civil society). Taking into account the conflict of interpretations that are reenacted in the courtroom and in the social space during this trial, this paper deals with the question of how this trial performed Guatemalan national history through the narratives enacted by the bodies present in this scenario and by the reenactment outside the space of the court.

## **4. Connectivity: On Studying Garifuna Language**

*Paola Ravasio, Center for InterAmerican Studies Universität Bielefeld, [paola.ravasio@uni-bielefeld.de](mailto:paola.ravasio@uni-bielefeld.de)*

I am interested here in approaching Garifuna language as an object of study that shortens academic distances while creating disciplinary connections within and beyond contemporary Latin American Studies. Proclaimed a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2001, Garifuna language represents an important element of cultural identity linking territories, peoples, and histories within Central America, as well as with the broader Caribbean archipelago on the one hand, Africa by extension, and with the

USA as well. By referring to three publications – a (bilingual) transcription of oral poetry Chüluha Dan (Lewis et al 1977; Belize), a trilingual poetic anthology, Tumálali Nanigi (Cacho Caballero 1998; Honduras), and a “manifesto” Orinoco: Revitalización Cultural del Pueblo Garífuna de la Costa Caribe Nicaragüense (Obando et al 1999; Nicaragua) – I aim to trace an Afro-Central American story of routes and roots (Gilroy 1995) by focusing on the region’s multilingualism. I sustain that being a diasporic language, Garífuna can be scrutinized as a mobility system (Sheller/Urry 2006) transporting, withholding, and thus manifesting a historical imagination which destabilizes traditional academic work done on Latin America – specifically regarding Spanish-speaking Central America – connecting the region to the broader Black Atlantic.

### **P21: Mapping and Seeing Transnational Spaces in Modern Latin America**

Conveners: Christine Mathias & Sophie Brockmann, King's College London & De Montfort University, [christine.mathias@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:christine.mathias@kcl.ac.uk) & [sophie.brockmann@dmu.ac.uk](mailto:sophie.brockmann@dmu.ac.uk)

This panel examines visual representations of transnational spaces in modern Latin America by cartographers, archaeologists and artists. Papers in this panel examine how technologies of representation and different categories of spatial knowledge expressed national and international visions of modernity and sovereignty, and show how processes of mapping and depicting were put in the service of incorporating new territories into state geographical imaginations. Speakers examine Central America and Patagonia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, incorporating case studies on US-trained cartographers in Cold War Guatemala, maps of archaeological sites established by foreign researchers in Guatemala and Honduras, and a Chilean painting of maritime Patagonia.

Transnational spaces (broadly defined) have long been of interest to historians as sites of political strife and violence, but also sites of connections between cultures against a complex political and social background. Drawing on cultural history, art history, historical geography and history of science, papers demonstrate the capacity of visual representations to reveal or hide power relations and cross-cultural encounters in these spaces. By examining processes of mapping, charting and defining the borders of these spaces and the people and landscapes within them, we can gain new insights into the cultural and political history of Latin America.

#### **1. Magallanes, Magallanes!: Snow and Sovereignty in Alessandro Ciccarelli's Fuerte Bulnes (1848)**

*Elizabeth Chant, University College London, elizabeth.chant.17@ucl.ac.uk*

It has been reported that on his deathbed in 1842, famed Chilean liberator Bernardo O'Higgins' last words were “Magallanes, Magallanes!”, a final rallying cry encouraging the young nation to expand southwards. Chilean interest in Patagonia culminated in the foundation of Fuerte Bulnes on the Strait of Magellan in 1843, and the surrounding Territory of Magallanes was incorporated several years later. The Chilean authorities knew little about the geography and appearance of this important transnational space at the far south of the American continent that was now part of the nation. This paper will examine the politics of visuality in the far south of Chile in the mid-19th century using the first painting of this area created following Chilean occupation. Fuerte Bulnes, completed by renowned historical painter Alessandro Ciccarelli in 1848, depicts the tiny fort at the tip of the Brunswick Peninsula, exposed to an ominous yet notably placated nature. Reflecting on the evolution of vistas of landscapes in the Americas, particularly frozen and inclement ones, I shall explore how paintings such as Ciccarelli's can visually enhance our understanding of political and geographical tensions, creating an important dialogue with longstanding forms of visual representation such as cartography.

#### **2. Contested Spaces: Visual Representations of Maya Archaeological Sites**

*Dr. Sophie Brockmann, De Montfort University, sophie.brockmann@dmu.ac.uk*

This paper examines the role of visual representations in defining the meanings of archaeological sites in early 20th-century Central America (including Quiriguá in Guatemala and Copán and the Ulúa Valley in Honduras). Archaeological sites were spaces that were contested in their use and meaning by a variety of groups including local (often indigenous) residents, North and Central American scholars, and banana and coffee magnates. Visual representations by metropolitan or foreign actors helped define these spaces as 'scientific' and of 'national interest'. However, these often clashed with local residents' modes of seeing and using the same spaces, which included indigenous beliefs ascribed to the sites themselves, and agricultural practices. This paper uses maps, technical sketches and photographs of sites created by North and Central American archaeologists to highlight the contested nature of the sites, and to recover local and indigenous perspectives. While foreign archaeologists usually had the backing of a formal 'concession' granted in Guatemala City or Tegucigalpa, it was local communities and agricultural labourers whose knowledges made the mapping, naming and excavating of the sites possible. The visual culture of these contested and transnational spaces therefore contributes to our understanding of the social and economic dynamics of rural Central America.

**3. Museus na web: uma observação sobre as ações educativas on line em museus latino americanos**

*Dorcias Janice Weber, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul - UFRGS, dorcasjweber@gmail.com*

A virada do século 21 desvelou mudanças nas distintas culturas. O advento tecnológico despontou novas formas de acesso a informação, colocando em contato contextos antes limitados pela posição geográfica. As culturas e seus artefatos, tornaram-se acessíveis à outras culturas, possibilitando, maior comunicação intercultural. Os museus, instituição que guarda, pesquisa, expõe artefatos culturais, são elemento fundamental para as trocas culturais, potencializadas com o uso da internet. O número de museus com páginas da internet cresceu, e, com isso, surge a inquietação acerca dos processos educativos desenvolvidos nos museus com o uso de seus websites. Tendo em vista que os processos educativos podem ser potencializados com o uso da internet, buscou-se fazer uma observação em websites de museus de Artes Visuais ibero-americanos cadastrados junto ao Registro de Museus Ibero-Americanos (RMI), perfazendo um total de 614 museus. Para refletir dialogou-se com Canclini (1997), Henriques (2004), Santos (2014) e Moran (2015) entre outros. Por fim, observou-se que ainda se faz necessário potencializar o uso da internet no desenvolvimento de ações na web

**P22: Navigating (Dis)Connections: Contemporary Cultural Production of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean**

Convener: Dunja Fehimovic, Newcastle University, dunja.fehimovic@ncl.ac.uk

For writers such as Antonio Benítez-Rojo, the Caribbean can be understood as a 'repeating island', 'unfolding and bifurcating until it reaches all the seas and lands of the earth' (1996: 3). Indeed, Édouard Glissant suggested that the region's geography, history, and demographics make it a paradigm of relationality – a model of being defined by connectedness, in which 'each and every identity is extended through a relationship with the Other' (1997: 11). However, these same factors have been at the root of the region's multiple economic, political, intellectual, and social marginalization and fragmentation. Mimi Sheller has argued that contemporary patterns of consumption must be understood in relation to a 'double gesture' of 'colonisation and expulsion, incorporation and erasure' to which the Caribbean has and continues to be subject. This panel considers how contemporary cultural productions from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean harness and interfere in flows of 'people, commodities, texts, images, capital, and knowledge' (Sheller 2003: 7; 1) in order to resist such marginalization. Examining recent creative practices and productions, the

panelists explore how Caribbean writers, artists, and filmmakers navigate national cultural landscapes and international marketplaces to make connections on their own terms.

Speakers:

**1. The Practice of Connectedness: Contemporary Filmmaking in Cuba and the Dominican Republic**

*Dunja Fehimovic, Newcastle University, dunja.fehimovic@ncl.ac.uk*

Limited internal markets, geographical "isolation", the difficulty of accessing key technologies and facilities close to home, and emigration combine with the dominance of US productions and foreign-owned cinema complexes to shape the development of local filmmaking across the Caribbean. Using interviews with Cuban and Dominican film industry professionals, this paper offers a closer examination of the practices by which Caribbean films are made, circulated, promoted, and consumed in the 21st century. It draws attention to the role of digital technologies and media, specific production funds, local film schools, diasporic networks, as well as film festivals – those 'islands of intervention where the crosscurrents of global media meet on a Caribbean platform' (Frances, 2014). Given the need for international coproduction and the constant quest for new audiences and markets, this paper interrogates how the current circulation and promotion of Caribbean cinemas might repeat and disrupt patterns of commodification, consumption, and creation established in earlier, often exoticizing encounters between the Caribbean and cinema. In so doing, it places particular emphasis on the creative, problem-solving practice of Caribbean filmmakers working today, who survive by making connections.

**2. Heterotopias de la memoria. Espacio y memoria en las artes caribeñas contemporáneas**

*Adriana Lopez-Labourdette, Universität Bern, allabourdette@yahoo.com*

Maurice Halbwachs, en su libro *La memoria colectiva* (1950), afirmaba que todo acto de memoria está inscrito en un marco espacial. Medio externalizado en tanto lugar de la experiencia y de la remembranza, el espacio de memoria sirve de antídoto a ciertas olvidadizas memorias colectivas al tiempo que constituyen modos de afirmación de memorias borradas. Partiendo de esta noción y revisando algunos aportes de los estudios caribeños a las cuestiones de memoria y la esclavitud (Glissant, Chamoiseau, Trouillot y Rothberg) esta ponencia se propone reflexionar sobre la construcción de espacios heterotópicos de memoria y sus formas de activación y articulación en torno al trauma esclavista en el Caribe. Me centraré en la instalación 'Messages from the Atlantic Passage' de Sue Williamson (2017), en la novela *Historia de Yuké*, de Eduardo Lalo (2019), y en la "Mesa de orientación", de Lora Read, ubicada en el Memorial ACTÉ (2015).

**3. The Power of the Unsaid: Black Gaze and the Performance of Afro-Diasporic Experiences in Contemporary Cuban Arts**

*Odette Casamayor-Cisneros, University of Pennsylvania, odettecc@upenn.edu*

My paper examines the performance of Afro-Diasporic experiences and the effects of the Black Gaze in Contemporary Cuban art. I focus my inquiries in the use of self-representation in works by Black Cuban artists María Magdalena Campos-Pons (1959), Susana Pilar Delahante Matienzo (1984), Juan Roberto Diago (1970), René Peña (1955), Gertrudis Rivalta (1971), and Elio Rodríguez (1966), as a counter-hegemonic strategy that subvert the Eurocentric perspective predominant in Cuban culture and society. In their pieces, the faces –and particularly the gazes- of Black Cubans "haunt" the spectator with the unavoidable reality of a persistently denied or repressed Black agency. I also analyze the performance of Afro-Diasporic experiences as a way to express the "unspoken silence" that Stuart Hall considered essential to achieve an appropriate understanding of history. Living archive, the Black flesh informs of another Cuban history by transmitting Afro-Diasporic existential tales impossible to be found in traditional historical accounts.

**P23: Environment and imagination**

Speakers:

**1. Utopias of hydro territorial planning in Colombia and Spain**

*Bibiana Duarte Abadía, Michiel Baud & Rutgerd Boelens; University of Amsterdam / CEDLA & Wageningen University; b.a.duarteabadia@cedla.nl*

This paper examines how utopian hydro-territorial planning developed since the late 19th century in Colombia and Spain. Specifically, the paper contributes to understanding how hydro-territorial planning ideologies connect both countries and the notions of modernism and development embedded in their techno-positivist thinking. The Spanish regenerationist movement and important intellectual Colombian political thinkers tried to identify the conditions for organizational, legal and socio-technical ordering of water and territory. The analysis is based on a reading of Thomas More's classic work 'Utopia', presenting an imagined world in which nature and society are organized harmonically to reach maximum happiness. The paper explains how Modernist designs in territorial planning and water governance in both countries are comparable to Thomas More's utopia. It describes the regenerationist dream and the hydraulic utopia that was led by the intellectual Joaquín Costa, in the late 19th century. This same utopian process took shape in Colombia where the roots of Colombian economic political thought were formulated by recognized political intellectuals in the 19th century. Finally, the paper explains how these utopian thoughts materialized in the twentieth century through the missions of foreign experts in Colombia, and through the Franco regime in Spain. This process led to a hydro-territorial dystopia, which in both countries showed a violent face.

**2. THE GREEN ALIENS: Decolonising Environmental Histories of Green Revolutions and Pathogens**

*Diana María Valencia Duarte, University of Exeter, dv246@exeter.ac.uk*

Before the 1960s, Colombian peasant communities enjoyed food sovereignty and agroecological equilibrium, without pesticides or other chemical input. However, years of agrarian transformations later, an aggressive cause of food insecurity bloomed: pathogens. This arrival of unwanted aliens links to counter-reformist policies imposed upon these socioecosystems, such as the open market and new agrotechnology transferral. Green Revolution packages came with new seeds introduced by extensionists and farmers to manage market changes, yet the narrow gene pool of the seeds was problematic. This paper reflects on data from a range of primary sources, but mainly 'environmental memories' collected from three sites in Colombia. The examination of this material and its intrinsic decolonising narratives interrogates the institutional/scientific approach to History of developmentalist policies, monoculture transition and phytosanitary records, showing that this approach underestimated effects on dependency on imports, soil degradation, diminished agrodiversity, climatic vulnerability and peasant acculturation. Ultimately, these mass, uniform production policies directly impacted food security.

**3. Cultivating tobacco in Montes de María, 1950-1990: between oppression and emancipation**

*Sebastián De La Rosa Carriazo, KU Leuven, sebastian.delarosa@kuleuven.be*

The paper proposes a case study of subaltern history on tobacco cultivators in Montes de María, 1950-1990. Montes de María is a region in Northern Colombia featuring a special place in the country's history of campesina organisation and mobilisation since the 1950s. At the end of that decade, tobacco cultivators in the region participated in a land leasing experiment, part of State efforts to improve agricultural productivity and campesinos' living standards. A few years after, a campesino movement for agrarian reform had emerged nationally and radicalised regionally. Despite much talk, agrarian reform did not materialise

and political or economic reforms became increasingly improbable through the 1970s. Simultaneously, the economy of Montes de María went through a downcycle as tobacco production and exports weakened. This industry relied upon oppressive relations between latifundia owners, traders, and campesina and manufacturing labour. As this happened, tobacco cultivators in the region grappled what their trade meant and turned it around into an emancipatory tool. Without the national campesino movement around, they reorganized with a focus on economic security and their formal position before the State and other actors deradicalized, but their right to contest past and present was not given up.

**4. Aechmea Magdalena: the untold history of Arbeláez's patents and their industrialization attempts 1930-1945**

*Santiago Guzman Gamez, University College London, santiago.gamez.15@ucl.ac.uk*

National claims of science, made by historians, became powerful narratives concerned with making visible the silenced and overlooked scientists, laboratories, institutions, and relationships that contributed to the global history of science. Yet, due to the focus on circulation and movement of scientific ideas, aspects about locality escape these narratives. This paper addresses the relationship between locality and science, and how these local conditions of scientific practice influence and shaped the production of scientific knowledge. This paper talks about the research and production of vegetal fibres using bromeliaceae, specifically focus on the research carried out in Colombia by Enrique Perez Arbeláez on the aechmea magdalena. This story allows not only to address the central issues of centre/periphery knowledge circulation, but also to evidence how research programmes shaped by locality, and interaction with other knowledges, produced ground-breaking scientific research, without universal intentions, but rather focusing on solving local issues linked to the specific Colombian context of the 1930s and 1940s.

**P24: Film, Violence and Human Rights**

Speakers:

**1. Echoes of Rebellion: The Voice of the '80s in Postdictatorship Chilean Film**

*Struan Gray, Institute of Latin American Studies / University of London, struancgray@gmail.com*

The idea of transition as a linear movement from darkness to light, and less to more, has been central to the rhetoric of successive governments in postdictatorship Chile. Within the “transitional imaginary” the dictatorial past must be worked through, or overcome, so as to achieve social health and economic prosperity, which are often aligned with liberal democracy and free-market economics. This paper analyses two Chilean documentaries that resist linear transitional time by invoking a longing for the radical oppositional politics that emerged during the Pinochet dictatorship, in which Chilean students, workers and the urban poor mobilised against the regime. Utilising the concept of haunting as a theoretical lens, I first consider the film Pinochet's Children (2004) which draws attention to what has been lost since the return to democracy, and in doing so makes the absence of oppositional politics more acutely felt. Next I analyse The Chicago Conspiracy (2010), which highlights symmetries between the anti-dictatorship protests and the contemporary Chilean student movement. Ultimately I argue that the representation of temporal dislocation in film can nurture the imaginative conditions for rebellion in the present, against the legacies of the dictatorship, against the neoliberal state, and against the hegemony of capitalist realism.

**2. How and What to Tell About the Five-Decades-Long Armed Conflict in Colombia. Narrating the War in the Colombian Movie \_Monos\_(Monkies) by Alejandro Landes (2019)**

*Carlos-Germán van der Linde, De La Salle University, cvanderlinde@unisalle.edu.co*

Colombian has had 22 guerrillas movements and around 14 groups coming from the right-wing paramilitarism within its five-decade armed conflict; it also had the oldest, largest and longest-running guerrilla group in Latin America, namely FARC. This persistence and abundance of armed groups illustrate how deeply has been the armed conflict in Colombia's history. Colombian literature and cinematographic narratives have tried to reveal and explain the armed conflict since its beginning in the 1960s, however, I argue that the first generation of narratives had the intention of demonstrating which warlike movement was responsible for the pogroms. Current Colombian narrative has shifted, and now it greatly focuses on the victims rather than solely on the perpetrators of violence by depicting the trauma of the victims and the nation. However, the film *\_Monos\_* has a special place in the national cinema given that it is an intersection in these two narrative generations because its story goes further by showing victims and perpetrators as unmodifiable roles. In *\_Monos\_*, warriors will be victims and the kidnapped woman will be a murderer. *\_Monos\_* most of the time depicts the life of teenager's training as warriors which will be self-destructive.

**3. Medios ciudadanos y su papel de la Confianza en el conflicto armado colombiano**

*Esteban Ramírez Hincapié, University of Amsterdam / CEDLA, c.e.ramirez@cedla.nl*

Esta presentación es sobre un medio ciudadano, la Escuela Audiovisual de Belén de los Andaquíes (EAI), y su rol en la creación de relaciones de confianza en una población atravesada por el conflicto armado colombiano. La hipótesis principal que aquí se desarrolla es que los medios ciudadanos, al crear espacios físicos (y virtuales) que permiten a las personas contar sus historias y ser tenidos en cuenta al interior de su comunidad, posibilitan pensar y desarrollar proyectos de vida por fuera de los límites del conflicto armado. El desarrollo de estos proyectos de vida está ligado de manera íntima a las relaciones de confianza que surgen del medio. El medio ciudadano con el que desarrollo esta hipótesis, la EAI, ha trabajado por más de 13 años con niñas, niños y jóvenes en Belén de los Andaquíes (Caquetá, Colombia), haciendo películas de 1 a 3 minutos de duración, que luego se muestran en las calles del pueblo y se suben a YouTube.

**4. The Right to the Market. Audiovisual Activism in Defense of Indigenous Urban Spaces in Quito, Ecuador**

*Katherine Anson, Daemen College, kanson@daemen.edu*

This paper takes a look at the use of day-to-day indigenous working practices in Latin American spatial cultural activism against gentrification. A discursive analysis of the Ecuadorian communally made film documentary *San Roque: A House for All* (2015), made to counter the modernization of the San Roque marketplace, illustrates how the purposeful showcase of indigenous uses of space claims ownership over the city's downtown area. After tracing the history of the market, and analyzing the discourse of "urban rescue" used by urban plans to legitimize the erasure of the place, I describe how the making of traditional day-to-day indigenous working practices into an audio-visual artistic category allows the tenants to deconstruct the economic basis of neoliberalism. Drawing on sociological theories of work, I maintain that by putting together audiovisual sequences that highlight the markets' emotional ties, grassroots organizations counter the individualism, labor power exploitation, and private property that characterize neoliberalism. I conclude that through the representation of their own cultural working routines, grassroots organizations deconstruct the urbanization of capital.

**5. Human Rights Film Festivals in South America**

*Oisín Kealy, University of Glasgow, 0706759k@student.gla.ac.uk*

Paying special attention to place and practice, this PhD project aims to uncover the strategies by which three human rights film festivals in Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil make use of the discourse of human rights in idiosyncratic ways which speak to their particular regional

context. Key initial research questions include: how do local discourses around human rights in each country affect how they are articulated and interpreted within human rights film festivals? How, in turn, do the practices of these festivals contribute to or broaden these discourses around human rights? In what ways can these festivals be seen to talk back to notions of human rights as understood in the global north?

This presentation will give an account of the development of these initial research questions, as well as reflect on the ways in which these have shifted based on the findings of an exploratory pilot trip to each festival during June-September 2019. It will finally outline the planned methodological approach in anticipation of re-entering the field later in 2020.

#### **P25: Art, Literature, Society and Politics (double panel)**

Speakers:

##### **1. Métele sazón, batería y reguetón? Una reflexión sobre las negociaciones identitarias en el género**

*Regina Solis Miranda, University of Sheffield, rsolis1@sheffield.ac.uk*

El reguetón nació en las poblaciones urbano-marginales de Puerto Rico con reivindicaciones étnicas, generacionales, raciales y de clase. Luego de su crossover en el año 2004, ha sido sujeto de un proceso de “blanqueamiento” impulsado por la industria cultural y se ha distanciado de sus inicios subalternos. A través de la revisión de datos como entas, conciertos, y colaboraciones demostramos que el reguetón es actualmente uno de los productos de exportación latinoamericana de mayor consumo global. Posteriormente, mediante el análisis de letras de canciones icónicas del género, identificamos cuáles son las tendencias en cuanto a las negociaciones de las latinidades contenidas en las mismas. El reguetón es producto de hibridaciones y es un espacio de performatividad pan-latina. Su éxito comercial le ha posicionado como vehículo a través del cual la sociedad global se aproxima a la experiencia latinoamericana, mercantilizándola y reificándola. El análisis del reguetón como producto abre una discusión sobre la interacción y jerarquización de identidades en un sistema-mundo que sigue privilegiando la blanquitud.

##### **2. Communicating Modernism: Diego Rivera's Strategic Use of Modernist Magazines**

*Magdalena De Gasperi, Goethe-University Frankfurt, mdegasperi@t-online.de*

This paper examines how Diego Rivera, a leading figure in the Mexican Renaissance of the 1920s and 30s, communicated his unique Mexican modernism using modernist magazines, an important form of expression for the 1920s avant-garde in Latin America, as well as in North America and Europe. This multidisciplinary analysis draws from the discourses of global modernism, periodical studies, media studies, and art history to identify Rivera's three strategies of connectivity, creation, and messaging. Rivera's selection of different magazines to address different target groups and to tailor presentation of his work accordingly utilized multiple media platforms and draws parallels to uses of communication in our own postmillennial digital age. For artists of the Latin American vanguard such as Rivera, modernist magazines were as important a communication platform as they were for artists of the European or North American avant-garde – one of many similarities across the global modernist movement.

Keywords: Diego Rivera, Communication, Mexican modernism, Modernist magazines, Latin American vanguard

##### **3. Uma arpíllera de palavras: bordando a resistência na obra de Marcela Serrano**

*Lara Maria Arrigoni Manesco, Universidade de São Paulo, lara.manesco@gmail.com*

O romance *Antigua vida mía*, da autora chilena contemporânea Marcela Serrano encena por meio da tessitura as relações entre tecido, palavra e denúncia. Não podemos pensar na relação entre tais eixos no Chile sem remetermos às Arpílleras - movimento artístico e

político fulcral para o país no final do século XX. Essa técnica, surgida durante a ditadura de Pinochet, consiste na composição de desenhos e reivindicações políticas em retalhos de tecido, costurados com relevos e pequenas bonecas que representam as autoras da obra. Tinha como objetivo denunciar os abusos do sistema autoritário, sobretudo no que tangia aos desaparecimentos políticos. Em Antigua vida mía, a tecelagem também recupera essa dimensão da denúncia e da possibilidade de se contar a própria história, o desenho costurado pelas vozes entremeadas de Violeta Dasinski e sua grande amiga Josefa Ferrer vai construindo paulatinamente um mosaico de recordações, denúncias e reflexões sobre o estatuto da mulher no século XX e sobre a genealogia de mulheres que lhes legaram a voz para cantar e escrever as suas histórias. A narrativa também articula-se ao mito medieval de Filomela, em que a tecelagem figura como denúncia, retratando Violeta como uma herdeira das tecelãs míticas.

**4. El lago resiliente: paisajes reciclados y naturaleza liminal en la Ciudad de México**

*Dayron Carrillo Morell, University of Zurich, dcarrillo.morell@rom.uzh.ch*

La Cámara Lambdoma (2011) es una instalación sonora del artista mexicano Ariel Guzik, diseñada para la ambientación acústica del Museo Jardín del Agua en la Ciudad de México. Según el Laboratorio de Investigación en Resonancia y Expresión de la Naturaleza que encabeza Guzik, la pieza “busca crear en los espectadores un estado de introspección y, al mismo tiempo, de toma de conciencia de la fuerza y la amplitud del caudal de este valioso elemento que fluye, a manera de sangre, por las múltiples arterias” de la urbe (Miquel Adrià, *El agua, origen de la vida en la Tierra: Diego Rivera y el Sistema Lerma*, 2012: 51). Partiendo de la premisa de que todo sistema productivo genera elementos excrementicios que no se integran completamente al funcionamiento de esta maquinaria y que requieren una gestión particular para mantener el equilibrio y la dinámica interna de sus límites (Douglas, Purity and Danger, 1996; Culler, “Junk and Rubbish: A semiotic Approach”, 1985), esta presentación explora el Museo Jardín del Agua como un conglomerado espacial de desechos materiales e imaginarios residuales en torno al agua, cuyo reciclaje mediante la sublimación artística pone en solfa la promesa modernizadora del siglo XX en la Ciudad de México.

**5. Railways and Representations of Conviviality in Brazilian Literature, 19th- 20th centuries**

*Luciane Cristina Scarato, University of Cologne / Maria Sibylla Merian Centre, lcsscarato@cantab.net*

Stemming from the early railway system in Brazil, this presentation builds on Convivencia in Latin America. Scholarship traditionally looks at railroads to analyse economy, architecture, and labour. However, the extent to which railroads changed everyday interactions within the smallest contexts remains overlooked. To fill in this gap, it draws from novels, plays, and short stories written between the late-nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century. This time frame corresponds to the “railway boom” in Brazil and encompasses renowned authors such as Machado de Assis but also glossed over authors, as Júlia Lopes de Almeida. Literary sources such as these allow the analysis of the impact that trains had on the everyday that would, otherwise, remain unknown. This communication, thus, is an effort of bringing the railways and its surrounding characters, particularly the outcasts, to the forefront of Brazilian [hi]stories. The connection between railways and progress in Brazil is critical in this presentation, alongside women’s pivotal role in the convivial environments that the railway engendered. In doing so, it aims to demonstrate that the colonial discourse of civilization versus barbarism crystallised, adapted, and changed with the implementation of the railway system in such as unequal society as Brazil.

**6. ‘No solo un verdadero ángel del hogar, sino también una estrella en el cielo de la Patria’: el papel de la mujer ilustrada en el ideal de nación de las veladas literarias de Juana Manuela Gorriti**

*Vera Lucia Wurst Giusti, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, v.wurstgiusti@gmail.com*

En esta ponencia, se analiza la representación del Perú de las mujeres ilustradas que participan en las tertulias de Gorriti. Con este fin, se emplean las teorías de Josefina Ludmer y Graciela Batticuore para desconstruir las diversas estrategias retóricas reconocibles en los ensayos de las veladas que se centran en la ilustración de la mujer y su papel en la formación de la república, como “La instrucción de la mujer” de Mercedes Eléspuru y Lazo y “Trabajo para la mujer” de Teresa González de Fanning. En el estudio de estos ensayos, se reconocerán hilos comunes, como la resignificación del papel del ángel del hogar y la ampliación de sus funciones, la apelación al progreso nacional y la crítica a la Iglesia. Estas estrategias retóricas buscan subvertir el discurso hegemónico al servicio de los derechos femeninos; sin embargo, se puede también argüir que anclan a las mujeres a su rol tradicional y las limitan a largo plazo. Se analizan, asimismo, los ensayos en el contexto de las veladas de Gorriti, espacio fronterizo entre el ámbito público y privado, pues son consideradas un refugio romántico y doméstico, pero se abren a la misma vez al público externo a través de la prensa.

**P26: Fiction and the Imagination of Latin America**

Speakers:

**1. Translating José María Arguedas into English: writing and translation ‘bridging the gap’**

*Ella Martin, King’s College London, ella.martin@kcl.ac.uk*

This presentation will explore, in two parts, the notion of interconnectivity in the writing of Peruvian author, poet and anthropologist José María Arguedas. It will focus on his collection of songs *Canto Kechwa* (1939), published in parallel text, between Quechua and Spanish. Firstly, recognising Arguedas himself as – cultural and literary – translator ‘bridging the gap’ between cultures, languages and spaces, will allow for a study of his writing and translation not as distinguished by genre or discipline, but as a constantly interacting and interconnecting activity across his career. In this light, *Canto Kechwa* becomes an interdisciplinary text, making connections across Arguedas’ wider writing. Secondly, this research is founded on valuing the hermeneutic process of translation, translating Arguedas’ work into English. Discussion of examples from the collection of songs will reveal the translating process undergone by Arguedas himself, and then in the transferal to English. At the time of publication of the first edition in Peru of *Canto Kechwa*, what are the implications of publishing a parallel text? Of transcribing the oral Quechua song onto the page? And now, here, how does a translation into English come into dialogue with Arguedas’ own process?

**2. La penalidad que discrimina. Su reflejo en la literatura Argentina**

*Gabriela Antonia Paladin, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, gabriela\_paladin@yahoo.com.ar*

En el período objeto de nuestro estudio, que abarca desde 1853 hasta 1912, hemos comprobado que existe un acceso diferenciado a la justicia, pudiendo hablarse de un doble sistema de justicia. Uno para pobres y otro vinculado a los sectores acomodados desde el cual se digita y controla al otro. Es el primero el que sienta las bases del sistema penal, enfocado hacia la punición y represión de ciertas conductas, mientras que el otro aparece ligado con la permisividad y regulación de prácticas diversas, especialmente en materia económica y política. Ese divorcio entre la ley estatal y los usos y costumbres se evidencia en los habitantes de la campaňa, pues muchas de las conductas propias del ámbito rural son tipificadas como delitos y se les impone sanción en un proceso breve, verbal y actuado, como la punición de la vagancia en ámbitos donde el trabajo era escaso y estacional.

**3. When a Habit Meets a Habit at the City Dump: Resilience of Habit in *Única mirando al mar* by Fernando Contreras Castro**

*Victoria Carpenter, University of Bedfordshire, victoria.carpenter@beds.ac.uk*

Fernando Contreras Castro's novel *Única mirando al mar* (1993 and 2007) is a bitter, scathing critique of the way Costa Rica deals with – or ignores – its social and environmental problems. The novel is about the buzos - the population occupying the country's largest unregulated landfill, ironically named Río Azul, located on the outskirts of the country's capital San José. The novel was rewritten in 2007 to focus on the buzos' plight in face of the landfill closure on 31 July that year. By then, the disappearance of Río Azul was a fait accompli, so the story of the buzos trying to protect their home is particularly tinged with despair. The critiques of the novel focus on the buzos' resilience or ability to adapt to a new environment and thrive in what can only be described as inhuman conditions. The theme of resilience is strong and self-evident. However, rather than calling this 'resilience', I will propose the term 'adaptable persistence' and explore it from the posthegemonic perspective, focusing on how new habit is formed out of the combination of affective changes and enduring practices and rituals.

**4. From an authoritarian past to a liberal future - Patriarchy, ideology, and personal conflict in the Peruvian novels of Mario Vargas Llosa**

*Friedrich Ahnert, University of Nottingham, friedrich.ahnert@berlin.de*

My paper will deal with a three-divided approach toward the cultural analysis of Vargas Llosa's Peruvian novels. In two of his first novels of the 1960s, *La ciudad y los perros* and *Conversación en La Catedral*, patriarchal institutions, such as the military school in Ciudad, or patriarchal political tactics, such as the ones by national security director Don Cayo in *Conversación*, play a decisive part in shaping a highly authoritarian and militarist as well as socially frustrated outlook for the protagonists. In two of his following novels from the 80s and 90s, *Historia de Mayta* and *Lituma en los Andes*, left-wing or indigenous types of ideology replace the all-overwhelming concept of patriarchy to battle society's ills – in the first, in the form of political and armed struggle, in the second, in the form of religious worship. Finally, in Vargas Llosa's more recent novels, *El héroe discreto* and *Cinco esquinas*, a third concept is introduced to overcome the crisis-riddenness of modern society itself, the question of social and familiar allegiance, in particular, how the personal values of the protagonist can shape the familiar relations of his surroundings for society's advancement.

**5. Gioconda Belli's *Waslala*. *Memorial del Futuro* (1996) – Illuminating the Gap Between a Bleak Future Scenario Concerning Nicaragua's Hegemonic Order and the Alternative Community of Waslala**

*Claudia Hachenberger, FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg, claudia.hachenberger@fau.de*

A modern fictional utopia crafts a better, reasonably motivated community where socio-political institutions are (re-)organized based on the author's estrangement with the current hegemonic order. Therefore, it can be considered to encourage transformation and to counter political disillusion and crisis having the ability to demonstrate that present societal deficiencies are not irrefutable, but subject to change. My contribution aims to illuminate that the utopian imaginings in Gioconda Belli's 1996 novel *Waslala* do not take an unbiased position, but rather rise from political motivations and offer implicitly defined goals of how to think change and take action. With its critique, it primarily encompasses the political situation of Nicaragua, however, it might also propose transformation on a regional basis as the country's political, social, economic, and ecological situation can be compared to Latin American countries in general. I want to illustrate that, by reverberating the actual world in the fictional world, *Waslala* draws the reader's attention to the gap between dictatorship

and peace, between nature and civilization, between rich and poor, and between love and violence.

### **P27: Poetry and the Imagination of Latin America**

Speakers:

#### **1. A New Sea: the Pacific and the Poetic Worlds of Magda Portal and Vicente Huidobro**

*Paul Merchant, University of Bristol, paul.merchant@bristol.ac.uk*

Magda Portal's collection of poems *Una esperanza i el mar* (1927) has, like the work of her better-known Chilean contemporary Gabriela Mistral, been read as an early example of ecofeminist writing from South America (Finzer 2015). The intertwining of bodily and maritime imagery in Portal's poetry constitutes a radically ecological construction of subjectivity. This subjectivity stands in tension with the land-based politics of the APRA movement, with which Portal maintained a complex relationship. This paper focuses on the formal creativity of Portal's poetry – its experimentation with orthography, spacing and typography – to argue that any ecofeminism in the work is not reducible to nostalgic evocations of gender or place, but instead constantly concerned with the production of the new. The paper reads Portal's poems alongside those of another Chilean contemporary, Vicente Huidobro, finding unexpected connections in the ocean's role, for both poets, as the locus for the creation of a new world, in both poetic and political terms. Rather than seeing Portal's ecofeminism as a neglected, minor variant of the avant-garde poetry of early twentieth-century Peru and Chile, then, I argue for the recognition of a transnational ecological consciousness as a fundamental element of avant-garde poetics in the region.

#### **2. Da roça à mesa: reflexões sobre a sobrevivência a partir da poesia de Josely Vianna Baptista, dos desenhos de Francisco Faria e da exposição The Global table, da curadora Abigail Winograd**

*Maria Salete Borba, Universidade Estadual do Centro-Oeste, nena.borba@gmail.com*

O presente artigo tem por objetivo fazer uma leitura do poema "onde o céu encontra a terra", que faz parte do livro *Roça barroca* da poeta brasileira Josely Vianna Baptista (2011), da série homônima de desenhos do artista visual Francisco Faria (2005) e da exposição *A global table – an exhibition with old and contemporary art*, realizada nos museus Franz Hals e De Hallen, Haarlem de 23 de setembro de 2017 a 11 de março de 2018. Com essa leitura pretende-se trazer à tona uma das questões que atravessam estudos latino-americanos: a questão relacionada à sobrevivência que é um dos pontos que atravessam tempos e espaços distintos e continuam a reverberar no presente. Nesse sentido, algumas perguntas nos guiam: De qual sobrevivência se fala hoje? Por que ainda há a necessidade de se pensar a sobrevivência relacionada à comida? Partindo das considerações de Nancy a cerca da poesia e de seu caráter abrangente, que contempla não somente a linguagem, mas "tudo o que há de ele-vado e de tocante" (NANCY, 2013, p.419), esse artigo pretende dar destaque a esse tema que ainda nos é tão caro. A fundamentação teórica é pautada nos estudos de Walter Benjamin, Jean-Luc Nancy entre outros teóricos.

#### **3. Tras la poesía: Beau Geste Press and cross-cultural dialogue**

*Laurence Byrne, Curator – British Library, laurence.byrne@bl.uk*

In 1970 the Mexican artists Felipe Ehrenberg and Martha Hellion co-founded Beau Geste Press (BGP) in Devon, with the English art historian David Mayor. Stating that "our activities serve as a link-up, stressing contact between Britain and Latin America," the press became renowned as a locus of international collaboration, producing a number of innovative and influential artists' books during the early part of the decade. Of particular interest are the bilingual works led by Latin American artists Cecilia Vicuña, Ulises Carrión, Claudio Bertoni, and Ehrenberg, which represented a radical intervention in the Anglophone sphere of the

1970s avant-garde. Although this was not the first synergy between Latin American and British conceptual writing – one might think of the reception and influence of Brazilian concrete poetry a decade earlier – this paper seeks to argue the salience of the work of BGP in terms of transnational exchange, between Latin America and the UK. By exploring the legacy of the artists' books produced by BGP as sites of knowledge production and translation, this paper will reflect on what these artefacts can tell us about communal modes of production, self-sufficiency and the importance of cross-cultural dialogue.

**4. Errância como forma pensativa em Orides Fontela**

*Wanderley Corino Nunes Filho, Universidade de São Paulo (FFLCH-USP), wcorino@gmail.com*  
Quando se pensa na estética da arte recente, é quase que incontornável a avaliação da reprodutibilidade de procedimentos artísticos através da incorporação estilizada de técnicas e de imagens, bem como sua ampla difusão pela cultura de massa. Jean Baudrillard cunhou o termo “imagem hegemonic” para caracterizar tal fenômeno, chamando a atenção para o fato de que ela é plana, “sem enigma” e “sem mistério”. Em contraposição, a “imagem sobrevivente” é aquela que transgride a norma, propondo recusa ao mapa e à trajetória fácil e já percorrida. É nesse sentido que pretendemos avaliar se podemos considerar como obra de resistência os escritos de Orides Fontela, dada a presença de imagem que “nos força a pensar”, tal como propõe Gilles Deleuze. Para tal, analisaremos poemas cuja fatura se dá a partir da noção do acaso, que em sua obra aparece através do termo errância. É nossa intenção verificar como tal recurso aponta para uma forma pensativa na poética oridiana.

**P28: Film, Theatre, Society and Politics (double panel)**

Speakers:

**1. Controlling the narrative: political documentary and the election of Andrés Manuel López Obrador**

*Jessica Wax-Edwards, jessica.wax.edwards@gmail.com*

After two previous failed attempts, in 2018 Andrés Manuel López Obrador finally succeeded in his 13-year plight to win Mexico's presidential elections. Winning by a landslide, López Obrador ran on a platform that promised 'radical transformation'. Bucking the trend of right-wing parties monopolising executive power, his government seeks to tackle the deepset institutional corruption that has characterised previous administrations. Nonetheless López Obrador is one of the country's most divisive political figures.

As such he has inspired and participated in a number of documentary features that look to understand the politician and the controversy that surrounds him. Earlier documentaries have focused on the contentious 2006 elections, his first attempt at the presidency. Despite running again for the presidency in 2012, there were no accompanying documentary features produced on López Obrador until his third attempt in 2018. This paper will home in on these latter examples: Epigmenio Ibarra and Verónica Velasco's *Esto soy* (2018), narrated by López Obrador, and a negative representation seen in *Populismo en América Latina* (2018), an episodic docu-series which concentrates its final episode on López Obrador. Both examples were produced and screened ahead of his electoral win in 2018 and, as such, their significance in the supporting or denigrating his campaign/character will be examined.

**2. Transmedia subjects: Portraying Mexican women after Roma**

*Dr. Liliana Chávez Díaz, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (UAM), lilianachavez@azc.uam.mx*

Since the international success of the film *Roma*, some old debates regarding women rights within the misogynistic environment of the Mexican society were addressed by the public opinion. Beyond the media effect that the indigenous female protagonist has caused, however, the film updates reflections regarding traditional women representations in Latin

American literary and media culture, usually by male artists. This paper analyzes the female roles in the film as symbols of diverse modes of 'nomadic subjects', a feminist concept proposed by Rosi Braidotti to reflect on the relation between mobility and female identity formation. For instance, Yalitza Aparicio, who plays Leo, the protagonist role of an indigenous maid in the film, has become 'the face' of many causes (e.g. NGOs, aid campaigns). Aparicio has become the symbol of what her character represents in the film: an indigenous woman in a new urban setting who discovers love, freedom, and eventually, success through media popularity. I propose an approach to the Roma phenomenon as a transmedia narrative in which the fictional character and the real-life woman are intertwined. By analyzing some media interpretations of the film and self-representations of the protagonist through social media, this paper intends to show diverse processes of contemporary female identity formation and representation.

**3. Descolonizando el texto visual: bases para interpretar cuatro estéticas cinematográficas indigenistas ecuatorianas del siglo XXI**

*Henry Tarco Carrera, University of Alabama, hrtarcocarrera@crimson.ua.edu*

El propósito de este trabajo estriba en dilucidar los elementos de(s) coloniales que renuevan el cine indigenista ecuatoriano producidos a inicios del siglo veintiuno, tal como acontece en Ayawaska (2007) de Galo Urbina; Saraguro: historia con sangre Inka (2010) de José Paúl Moreira; El facilitador (2013) de Víctor Arregui; y Vengo volviendo (2015) de Gabriel Páez. Para este fin empleamos la teoría de(s) colonial desarrollada por la red Modernidad / Colonialidad/Decolonialidad conformada por intelectuales latinoamericanos tal como Enrique Dussel, Walter Mignolo y Ramón Grosfoguel. En síntesis, procuramos presentar las diferentes estrategias cinematográficas que recurren los directores indigenistas con el objetivo de mostrar imágenes de(s) colonizadas en el cine ecuatoriano, en donde el universo indígena se lo retrata empoderado.

**4. Portraits of the elites in contemporary Chilean theatre: La María's "Los Millonarios"**

*Camila González Ortiz, Out of the Wings Collective (London), camilaymay@gmail.com*

This paper analyses the play *Los Millonarios* (The Millionaires), by Chile-based company La María and premiered in Santiago in 2014. Since 1999, La María has devised a robust repertoire, placing them among the most important theatre companies to emerge during post-dictatorship Chile.

*Los Millonarios* offers a provocative view of the geopolitical conflict taking place in the region of La Araucanía in southern Chile. The plot is set in a fictional high-class lawyer's office in Santiago, where the partners decided just for fun, to take the case of a Mapuche boy accused of arson a couple of landowners in the southern Chile. The play intends to be a critic on the inability of Chile's democratic governments to resolve a conflict that has been dragging for centuries.

I argue that the play proposes an alternative comment to other plays that have also dealt with the conflict at the Araucanía but have usually set the plot within Mapuche communities and where the performers enact the material from a more testimonial approach. On the contrary, *Los millonarios* sets the plot in Santiago, within an elite and upper-class scenario, proposing that this conflict have been, indeed, historically rooted in racial antecedents, but also in class.

**5. Pablo Perelman's Compromised Aesthetics in Chilean Historical Cinema: "La lección de pintura"**

*Susana Domingo Amestoy, University of Massachusetts at Boston, susana.domingo@umb.edu*

How might the historical film as a genre succeed or fail in making history appear within cinema? This essay argues that this question is central to Pablo Perelman's "La lección de

pintura" (2011), a film adaptation of Adolfo Couve' short novel whose story is told against the backdrop of agrarian reform. Revisiting the traumatic events that culminated in Pinochet's coup in 1973, the film's narrative, along with its emotive soundtrack, creates a sweeping melodrama that elicits the empathy of its viewers. But while melodrama's focus on individuals and their families often falls short of historical analysis, Perelman's film nonetheless succeeds in producing a compelling account of the social-historical circumstances that would eventually polarize the nation. Drawing on Claudio Salinas and Hans Stange edited volume "La mirada obediente: Historia nacional en el cine chileno" (2017), along with Robert Rosenstone's theory of cinematic historicity and Jacques Rancière's notion of the aesthetics of politics, I read Perelman's film in relation to similarly historical films like Andrés Wood's "Machuca" (2004). In this way, this essay demonstrates that the originality of Perelman's vision lies in understanding how cinema's capacity to genuinely engage with the historical past rests on the commitment to the artwork's autonomy.

#### **6. Gangs of Buenos Aires: revisiting 1970s and 1980s true crime in Argentine cinema**

*Dr. Mariano Paz, University of Limerick, mariano.paz@ul.ie*

Revisiting the past, in particular the 1970s and 1980s, has recently become fashionable (once again) for Argentine filmmakers – even for directors that were among the founding figures of New Argentine Cinema (a movement that, inspired by Italian neorealism, sought to focus exclusively on the present and followed the conventions of social realism). Moreover, this past is now frequently approached from the modality of genre films (a procedure that, according to Jens Andermann, blurs the lines between industrial and independent cinema). This paper offers a comparative study of two such films: "El clan" (Pablo Trapero, 2015) and "El ángel" (Luis Ortega, 2018), which represent the past in the form of the crime caper and the thriller. Drawing on Claudia Hilb's reflections on the uses of memory and political violence in Argentina, I will argue that, although both films offer psychological portraits of criminals and sociopaths, they exemplify different functions, or instrumentalities, of historical cinema: critical on one hand, ideological on the other one. While *El clan* uses the story to underscore a context of wider political violence and corruption during the last years of the 1976-1983 dictatorship, *El ángel*, through a carefully aestheticised portrayal of the past, refrains from engaging with social critique.

#### **P29: Race and Society**

Speakers:

##### **1. A cultural study of rhinoplasty in Brazil and how it informs attitudes to race**

*Carole Myers, University of Manchester, carole.myers@manchester.ac.uk*

This paper examines attitudes to race in Brazil and how they reinforce inequalities examining perceptions of female beauty in relation to rhinoplasty. Over 50% of Brazilians declare themselves as non-white but ideal standards of beauty are often linked to whiteness or, more specifically, exclude darker skin and features typically associated with people of African heritage. Perhaps for that reason, Brazil has one of the highest rates of cosmetic surgery procedures worldwide. Brazil's high level of miscegenation can be confounded with a belief that there is racial equality. High levels of racial inequality are present across Brazilian society and reproduction of this inequality is examined here concerning how ideal standards of female beauty are negotiated through the lens of cosmetic rhinoplasty surgery. In relation to a person's nose, there is a commodified notion of beauty, which is commonly seen in women with Caucasian ancestry. This paper uses analysis of interviews carried out with surgeons and patients to explore the extent to which this whitened notion of 'a beautiful nose' is less accessible to women who are naturally far away from the ideal standard of beauty.

**2. Dutch public memory of Dutch Brazil**

*Mark Meuwese, University of Winnipeg, m.meuwese@uwinnipeg.ca*

This paper examines the recent public discussion in the Netherlands about the legacy of the seventeenth-century Dutch colony in Brazil. Until the last few years, Dutch Brazil was largely positively commemorated in museum exhibits. Emphasis was especially placed on the legacy of the nobleman Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen who served as governor-general of the colony from 1637 to 1644. During his tenure, several European artists and scientists visited the colony. The artistic and scientific contributions were often highlighted in Dutch museum exhibits. For example, a special exhibit about the painter Albert Eckhout was held at the Mauritshuis museum in The Hague in 2004. However, since 2017, young activists and a new generation of historians have challenged this positive image of Dutch Brazil by highlighting the role of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and African slavery in Dutch Brazil. As part of this criticism, the Mauritshuis museum removed a statue of Johan Maurits in 2017. Much of the recent criticism about the positive image of Johan Maurits and Dutch Brazil is part of a larger trend to incorporate the enslavement of Africans and their descendants more fully into the (colonial) history of the Netherlands.

**3. Race, Material Culture, and Identity in Eighteenth & Nineteenth-century British Travels to the Honduran Caribbean Coastline**

*Jose Lara, Bridgewater State University, j1lara@bridgew.edu*

This presentation examines the ways in which the Mosquito peoples of the Northeast of Honduras were able to establish their identity as well as a form of hegemony over the territory and other coastal groups during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I argue that, in addition to a series of collaborations and manipulations of British and Spanish conflicts, the Mosquitos utilized their "exceptional" status bequeathed to them by the British Crown to differentiate themselves from other indigenous groups on the Mosquito Shore and to complicate developing racial conventions of the era. I analyze a series of British travel narratives to demonstrate how the social-political structure of the Mosquito peoples, as well as relations of power, were constructed, strengthened, and perpetuated through a series of symbolic and ritualistic enactments and emblems of authority such as clothing, coins, canes, and military titles. Overall, this study attempts to explain how Mosquito culture and identity was vested since the eighteenth century and continues to be sustained until this day.

**4. From Aztlan to the Antilles: Indigenous Diaspora and Nahua Convict Labour in the Spanish Caribbean in the Eighteenth Century**

*Jason M. Yaremko, University of Winnipeg, j.yaremko@uwinnipeg.ca*

Thousands of Indigenous peoples were forcibly transported from North America to Spain's Caribbean colonies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – many, if not most, to Cuba – as Spain frantically reinforced strategic Cuba's defenses, especially after British occupation (1762-1763). Hundreds of these cases included indigenous convict labourers from central and southern Mexico. The role of these convicted indígenas from the Valley of Mexico is significant on several levels: they represent one more group in a range of continental indigenous peoples who journeyed to Cuba, voluntarily and involuntarily, over several centuries; Nahua, Otomis, and others from Mexico represent another dimension to the Mesoamerican presence in Cuba; Nahua labourers contributed to colonial Cuba's development; finally, Nahua convict labourers were not supposed to be in Cuba, sentenced to labour in Veracruz and elsewhere in New Spain, by decree and historiography. Colonial attitudes of obedezco pero no cumple, however, endured. This research adds another dimension to Nahua migration studies and migration studies generally, and also contributes to questions of connectivity in Latin American studies.

## Inequalities, Violence, Cities & Migration

### **P30: Seeing Latin American Cities through Political Infrastructures (double panel)**

Conveners: Francesca Pilo & Abigail Friendly, Utrecht University, f.pilo@uu.nl & a.r.friendly@uu.nl

Discussant: Christien Klaufus, University of Amsterdam / CEDLA, c.j.klaufus@cedla.nl

This panel investigates recent trends in governing infrastructures in Latin American cities. It builds on the idea that infrastructures are central socio-technical systems to understand how social and spatial inequalities are mitigated and reproduced, cities are governed, and political relations are reshaped. We aim to discuss challenges faced by these cities in governing infrastructural change, focusing on entanglements between governance actors, technical and material dispositifs and planning instruments, and recent political developments including electoral politics, environmental crisis, and urban security. How does a focus on these entanglements enable an understanding of the ways Latin American cities are governed, crises are managed, authority is negotiated, and political communities are created in uncertain times? We engage with the emergent political question of infrastructure within urban studies' 'infrastructural turn.' We also ask which insights can be gained by adopting 'infrastructural lenses' on recent political, environmental and socio-economic changes in Latin American cities, while considering the importance of seeing them through diverse infrastructures (networked and non-networked). This panel focuses on the importance of urban infrastructures to understand growing uncertainty, polarization and inequalities in Latin American cities and connects different disciplines in urban studies (planning, geography and anthropology) to engage such reflections.

Speakers:

#### **1. Light is like water: Flooding, blackouts, and the state in Barranquilla**

*Tatiana Acevedo-Guerrero, IHE Delft Institute for Water Education, t.acevedo@un-ihe.org*

Between 1996 and 2015, in the midst of Colombian armed conflict, 117 326 internally displaced people settled in southwest Barranquilla. This article describes the urbanization process carried out by these communities. It narrates how, due to underinvestment in drainage and electricity infrastructure, flash-flooding and black-outs became frequent in these barrios. Men from the community, known as marañeros (entanglers), built/repaired electricity networks. State regulations classified these neighborhoods as "subnormal", which meant that although they built their connections, they had to pay communal bills for the energy extracted from municipal transformers. Communities became indebted and during periods of infrastructural malfunction, marañeros were victims of electrocution. I suggest that a look at processes of malfunction enables a critical understanding of the state's active construction of marginality. Interconnected malfunction is a form of state engagement, as the presence of precarious infrastructure is a direct action. Instead of narratives featuring state absence/failure, the routines of southwest Barranquilla lay bare the ways in which malfunction is reproduced through institutional channels. Specific regulations created a place of malfunction/deficiencies in electricity connections and drainage portray/reinforce racialized and gendered identities based on unequal power relations.

#### **2. From institutions to infrastructures: construction, prefiguration and urban politics in Rosario, Guayaquil and Caracas**

*Leandro Minuchin, University of Manchester, leandro.minuchin@manchester.ac.uk*

As the reproduction of urban life demands ever-expanding logistical networks of extraction and distribution and metropolitan patterns of consumption and exchange transform natural cycles, the organising capacity of public institutions to establish the 'rules of the game' — the monopoly over the planning of bounded territorial domains — is replaced by infrastructural platforms that mediate our appearance and the circulation of matter in space. Codes,

interfaces, and makeshift material arrangements not only shape everyday practices and dictate the rhythms of accumulation: they also modify the means of manifesting dissent. Based on ethnographic work with community organisations in Guayaquil, social movements in Rosario and the work of architectural collectives in Caracas, the paper examines how the construction of popular infrastructures – from fragile textile workshops to productive housing units – is fostering an actualization of the repertoires of contention, altering both how people protest and how they become urban subjects. The essay argues that this expanded repertoire and the struggles over access and governance to popular infrastructures, illuminate the workings of a prefigurative urbanism, where the moment of construction anticipates – in the present – the possibility of alternative futures.

**3. The political temporalities of electricity infrastructure in Rio de Janeiro's favelas**

*Francesca Pilo, Utrecht University, f.pilo@uu.nl*

The aim of this article is to contribute to a better understanding of the conjunction between the politics of urban change and (utility) infrastructural developments in Rio de Janeiro's favelas over the past ten years (2009-2019). During this period, favelas have been passing through multiple public-private interventions linked to broader developments of the city (e.g. organization of international events, etc.), but have also decayed within an environment experiencing what different actors frame as a security and financial crisis. This article retraces the promise and decay of electricity infrastructural change, including the electricity regularization projects that sought to ban irregular connections and their progressive decline and contestation, within these broader urban and political changes. In particular, it shows how electricity management practices and interventions in favelas are particularly influenced by instable security policies (e.g. Pacifying Police Units and their decline) that reshape how infrastructures are used as a tool to govern urban inequalities. The article consequently argues that it is important of investigate urban infrastructural changes over time in order to reveal the changing political temporalities of urban infrastructure.

**4. Corridors, Planning, and Cities: Infrastructure Governance and Exclusion in São Paulo**

*Abigail Friendly, Utrecht University, a.r.friendly@uu.nl*

**5. City Unplanning: The political economy of privately-financed highways in Lima**

*Matteo Stiglich, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, mstiglich@pucp.edu.pe*

During the last three decades, the use of public-private partnerships (PPPs) to deliver urban infrastructure has increased considerably around the world. In this presentation I analyze how the availability of private finance that comes with the use of PPPs affects urban processes. To do so, I investigate the case of Lima, Peru, where between 2009 and 2014 three urban highway projects worth a total of USD 1.5bn were approved. I will show that, rather than being simply a solution for cash-strapped governments looking to invest in specific pieces of infrastructure, the introduction of private finance shapes what projects get built. Private finance, then, not only transforms the implementation stage of a two-step process: it has a deep impact on the planning phase itself by setting constraints on what can be done and to what ends. I call the specific mechanism by which private finance influences planning 'unplanning.' Here, the state is not simply retreating to let the private sector determine priorities. In other words, it is not abandoning planning, or simply not planning. Rather, it is being transformed in order to follow a proactive role in attracting investment, and to adapt planning to the needs of private capital.

**6. Infrastructural facilities as public spaces: opportunities for communities' integration**

*Miriam Victoria Fernandez Lins, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, miriam\_lins@yahoo.com.br*

A shift in the way infrastructures are understood can offer a great opportunity for improvement of urban life. If more integrated to other services and specially with the network of public spaces, existing and new infrastructural facilities can become important communities places. Inherent to cities, infrastructural facilities of systems as water supply, sewage and electricity can leave a large impact on surrounding communities by their presence. Still in many cities, the conventional site implantation of these structures are configured by walls and razor wire fences, many times in peripheral neighborhoods that already lack qualified public spaces. This paper explores the existing potential for water supply tanks to become a network of open public spaces capable of qualifying areas that are usually negated to communities. By observing the existing experiences of São Paulo's Sabesp's Parks and Medellin's Unidades de Vida Articulada, we bring evidence for the positive changes that this kind of project can mean for communities, pointing the importance of participatory processes for the success of transformative design practices. Distributed along the urban territory, these structures make possible to tackle inequality by becoming places of community identity, neighborhood integration, innovation, visibility to urban functionality and awareness for ecological resources.

**P31: Aesthetic knowledges in the Latin American city: Transformations of space, body and soul**

Convener & chair: Christien Klaufus, University of Amsterdam / CEDLA, c.j.klaufus@cedla.nl

Discussant: Brigitte Adriaensen, Open University, brigitte.adriaensen@ou.nl

Knowledges born in struggle allow oppressed groups not only to represent their world but also to do this in their own terms. According to Boaventura de Sousa Santos such acts and activities help to identify and valorize know-how that does not appear to be knowledge. The aesthetics of such forms of know-how are at the core of this panel. We aim to discuss 'lived' knowledge production in, and on Latin American cities addressing people's aesthetic practices as constitutional parts of urban life worlds and urban knowledge domains.

Four papers explore the aesthetics of resistance and social change in different contexts, from streetscapes and street art to bodily performances, to cults enacted to comfort the soul. The papers incite a discussion about representation, representativeness and the locus of aesthetic practices as parts of urban knowledge production, based on questions such as: How do urbanites enact their life worlds in aesthetic practices? How do aesthetic practices use and produce urban landscapes? How do cities foster aesthetic practices? What alternative knowledges do the enacted aesthetic practices generate?

With this intersecting scholarship in cultural and urban studies we aim to critically discuss the epistemologies of the aesthetics in and of the Latin American City.

Speakers:

**1. Street art and street artists in Medellín**

*Lieke Prins, University of Amsterdam / CEDLA, l.prins@cedla.nl*

**2. The Santa Muerte cult in Mexico and Guatemala**

*Prof. Wil Pansters, Utrecht University, w.g.pansters@uu.nl*

**3. Gentrification and displacement by aesthetic dispossession in Lima**

*Lorena del Castillo, University of Amsterdam / CEDLA, m.l.delcastillodurand@cedla.nl*

**P32: Aesthetics and urban order**

Conveners: Rivke Jaffe & Martijn Oosterbaan, University of Amsterdam & Utrecht University, r.k.jaffe@uva.nl & m.oosterbaan@uu.nl

What is the role of art and aesthetics in reproducing or contesting urban order in Latin American and Caribbean cities? Recent urban scholarship has engaged extensively with aesthetic theory to understand how power structures are normalized through the attunement of sensory perception toward a shared norm. Understanding not only why sociopolitical orders persist, but also how they come to be challenged, requires attending to the aesthetic crafting and the disruption of a shared sense experience. Urban scholars have tended to equate urban order with "city hall" and neoliberal urban governance, while locating disruption among activists and social movements in marginalized neighborhoods. In this panel, we suggest a less binary and less state-centric approach, extending this urban and cultural theory to understand these art-based, sensorial-political struggles in relation to multiple, distinct but not necessarily antagonistic urban orders. The papers focus on the political role of popular music, street dances and street art in shaping publics and legitimizing the political authority of criminal leaders, while emphasizing that the popular aesthetics that surrounds these leaders' rule is both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic, simultaneously supportive and disruptive of existing orders.

Speakers:

**1. Criminal Contestations: Popular Aesthetics and Urban Order beyond the State**

*Martijn Oosterbaan & Rivke Jaffe, Utrecht University & University of Amsterdam, m.oosterbaan@uu.nl & r.k.jaffe@uva.nl*

In this introduction to the panel, we connect ongoing discussions in anthropology, geography and cultural studies to explore the role of art and aesthetics in reproducing or contesting urban order in Latin American and Caribbean cities. In urban studies there has been significant debate around the idea of the "post-political city", in which a neoliberal urban order has become culturally, sensorially hegemonic and "truly political" forms of disruption have been evacuated. Such discussions tend to pit "the neoliberal state" against the occasional "insurgent mobilization" that occupies and resignifies urban space. Drawing on ethnographic research and analyses of popular aesthetics, we explore the existence of multiple urban orders, understanding art as a field of tension, as a site of continuous sensory struggle over order.

**2. Sonopolitics in Rio de Janeiro's Favelas**

*Sterre Gilsing, Utrecht University, s.e.gilsing@uu.nl*

What is the role of sound when we look at governmentality in favelas in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil? Sonopolitics prove to be a valuable point of analysis to learn about local ideas around legitimacy and authority of powerful actors like the state and drug gangs. In the favelas, inhabitants make use of their senses to understand the security situation in their neighborhoods. Not only do they construct knowledge around shootouts by becoming skilled in listening, but they also make sense of the sonically overwhelming bailes funk that happen in their streets. In this paper, I analyze the role of the funk parties inside and outside the favelas. I conceptualize the baile as an audicle - an aural spectacle - in order to theorize the work music and parties do in the construction of aesthetic communities. Here I especially pay attention to the sonic dimension of the parties; the volume, beat and samples that are heard in the music. I conclude that sonopolitics are central to the experience of the daily life of Rio's inhabitants because sound both breaks and constructs physical and social boundaries.

**3. Memorial Murals and the Politics of Aesthetics in Kingston, Jamaica**

*Tracian Meikle, University of Amsterdam, t.a.meikle@uva.nl*

The popular art form of memorial murals is present in many inner-city neighbourhoods in Kingston, Jamaica, where they serve as a form of commemoration for deceased community

members. The most notable murals are those of dons, informal community leaders who may have criminal ties; these murals function as an aesthetic form of legitimization. However, memorial murals commemorate a much wider group of individuals and so merit a broader exploration of what and whom memorial murals commemorate. What paradoxes and ambiguities does an ethnographically rooted analysis of this visual culture reveal, and might this allow for a more complex understanding of Jamaica's politics of difference? As a start in addressing these questions, I present several examples of memorial murals from inner-city communities in Kingston. I suggest that one of the primary characteristics of memorial murals is their multivalency, and I further argue this multivalency disrupts certain moral values that are typically presented as incompatible or antagonistic. With this exploration I seek to show how aesthetic practice can reveal the ways in which the criminal and illegal are rarely completely separate from the legal and traditional constructions of "the good".

#### **4. Cinematic Ordering: Viewing and Feeling Politics in Movie Theaters of Rio de Janeiro and Recife**

*Carolina Maurity Frossard, University of Amsterdam, c.maurityfrossard@uva.nl*

This paper explores the role of film in fostering shared political imaginaries and affects as reactions to disputed orders at the urban and national levels, in Brazil. It discusses cinematic depictions of Rio de Janeiro and Recife, focusing on how urban politics and tensions are (re)imagined within the narratives of specific popular films. In addition, drawing from the author's auto-ethnographic experiences of movie theaters in Rio and Recife, it also focuses on the political practice of viewing together, exploring the political affects this practice generates – these affective atmospheres can be understood as political responses to (representations of) disputed orders. It discusses two films and viewing experiences on and in Rio and Recife, respectively: *Elite Squad* (2007, José Padilha) and *Aquarius* (2016, Kléber Mendonça Filho).

#### **P33: Gender myths, women's rights and women's movements: new challenges for Latin America women (double panel)**

Convener: Jasmine Gideon, Birkbeck University of London, [j.gideon@bbk.ac.uk](mailto:j.gideon@bbk.ac.uk)

As the 21st century progresses there have been considerable advances in promoting women's rights and gender justice. Global actors such as the World Bank and the Gates Foundation advocate the need to empower women and overcome the obstacles that limit progress towards gender equality. Within Latin America country level legislative changes have positively addressed significant areas of concern for women including gender-based violence, reproductive rights and policies to support their insertion into the labour market. Women's movements have appeared to actively campaign for change – for example the widespread protests in Chile pushing for legalisation of abortion. Nevertheless, at the same time, much of the region is facing a 'backlash' against women's rights and policy implementation remains a challenge. This double panel brings together a collection of papers that seek to understand these processes – what are the constraints to bringing about change that really does lead to gender justice? How do these differ across the region and beyond?

Speakers:

##### **1. The myth of women's vulnerability and the rise of resilient women: Has anything changed?**

*Sarah Bradshaw, Middlesex University London, s.bradshaw@mdx.ac.uk*

While women are a non-homogenous group marked by intersectional characteristics, all women are often portrayed as always vulnerable, particularly in contexts of violence and conflict, climate change and 'disaster'. This justifies the focus on 'women' as the beneficiaries of policy initiatives to promote 'resilience'. While the benefits from such sustained policy targeting should by now have us questioning women's continued 'vulnerability', in the 'non-normal' contexts of conflict and extreme climatic events their vulnerability continues to be

presented as the norm, justifying a focus on strengthening their resilience. The paper takes a feminist lens to the landscape of feminised vulnerabilities in the context of the rise of resilience. It recognises women's vulnerability as constructed by patriarchal society as a problem to be addressed, with attendant policies seeming to bring gains to women, while the resultant vulnerabilities such policies actually create or intensify are naturalised, invisibilised and ignored. It argues that although women's intrinsic vulnerability is largely a myth, patriarchal bargains that shape social relations and concrete policy 'solutions' bring into being very real feminised vulnerabilities, problematising the notion of gendered resilience as the new solution to address an old problem.

**2. Rethinking the link between gender violence and political violence**

*Jelke Boesten, King's College London, jelke.boesten@kcl.ac.uk*

To what extent is post conflict gender-based violence a sequel of that conflict? New research with ex-soldiers, military wives and widows, teenage mothers living in the peripheries of post conflict Ayacucho, show a complex situation of fragmented families, abandoned children and histories of domestic violence, machismo, and post conflict trauma. In this paper I aim to unpack these complexities in order to better understand the persistence of gendered violence in Peru, as well as the tensions in postconflict society.

**3. Police-Led Initiatives on Combatting Gender-Based Violence in Brazil**

*Fiona Macaulay, University of Bradford, f.macaulay@brad.ac.uk*

Brazil has some of the highest levels of gender-based violence in Latin America and the incidence of femicide (the most measurable and severe form of GBV) is rising sharply in many regions. In the 1980s Brazil was also a pioneer of the now much-copied women's police stations, yet they have proven insufficient as a means of reducing GBV. So, what are the police actually doing now to tackle sexual and domestic violence against women? The comprehensive 'Maria da Penha' domestic violence law of 2006 required the criminal justice agencies to be much more pro-active in protecting victims and to intervene to prevent and inhibit further abuse. This legal requirement has resulted in a number of police-led initiatives which have been recognised as 'good practice' and which are now being replicated around Brazil through police and NGO networks. The paper examines the genesis and effectiveness of some of these new practices, such as the 'Maria da Penha patrols' designed to protecting victims with restraining orders and how this connects to efforts to better prevent, identify and investigate femicides, and city-wide attempts to create protection networks, given the limitations of the women's police stations.

**4. Thinking transnationally about gender-based violence: reflections from Brazilian migrants in London**

*Cathy McIlwaine, King's College London, cathy.mcilwaine@kcl.ac.uk*

Despite increasing recognition of the nature and specificities of gender-based violence among international migrants, especially from an intersectional perspective, much research focuses on the experiences of victims/survivors in situ in destination contexts. There is much less work on how such violence plays out transnationally across borders as migrants move and maintain links back home. This paper explores these dynamic transnational landscapes of gender-based violence among Brazilian women living in London drawing empirically on recent survey, interview and focus group research with over 200 migrants. It is conceptually rooted within the notion of a 'transnational continuum of urban VAWG' (McIlwaine and Evans, 2018) to focus specifically on the transnational dimensions of gender-based violence through the lens of international migration. It highlights how gender norms and gender-based violence persist and transform across borders but also how women migrants end-up facing new forms of structural and symbolic violence on the part of the British state and wider society, especially if their immigration status is insecure.

**5. [no title]**

*Lorena Fuentes, University of California Los Angeles, lorena@lady smith collective.com*

**6. Reporting unlawful abortion: views from medical and midwifery students and faculty in Chile**

*Alejandra Ramm, Universidad de Valparaíso, aleramm@gmail.com*

In 2017, Chile lifted its complete ban on abortion which decriminalized abortion to save a woman's life, a lethal foetal anomaly, and for pregnancies due to rape. Abortion criminalization relies on the reporting of women and providers involved in suspected unlawful abortions to the police. This reporting is mostly carried out by health professionals, in part because they are the ones most likely to become aware of an unlawful abortion, and also because they are the ones who also risk criminalization, if they do not report a suspected unlawful abortion. Several Latin American countries, including Chile have laws related to reporting and criminalization of abortion that conflict with laws around patient confidentiality, creating confusion among health professionals and biased patterns of reporting between public and private health care facilities. This paper assesses the attitudes of future health professionals and faculty, about criminalizing women and providers involved in abortion and the reporting of unlawful abortions, and whether reporting should differ in public or private institutions. It is based on a mixed-methods research, combining semi-structured interviews and a survey applied to seven universities located in Santiago, Chile.

**7. The role of the private sector in limiting women's reproductive rights in Chile**

*Jasmine Gideon, Birkbeck University of London, j.gideon@bbk.ac.uk*

While much analysis has focused on the role of the state in promoting or constraining women's rights, less attention has been given to the role of private actors. Yet in a context where the private sector is frequently promoted as a means of delivering on development outcomes it is essential that we look more critically at some of the ways in which private actors can promote or constrain women's rights. The case of Chile offers an ideal case study in which to explore these issues. In recent years important legal advances have been made in Chile in the promotion of women's reproductive rights yet in practice for many women accessing these rights remain highly challenging. Private actors in the health sector (for example the private health insurance companies, the ISAPRES, and some pharmaceutical chains) have used a variety of strategies in seeking to restrict women's access to their reproductive rights. We examine these strategies in more detail and consider what possibilities exist for tighter regulation of the private sector.

**8. The many meanings of justice for peasant women after conflict in Colombia**

*Donny Meertens, Universidad Javeriana, dmeertens@gmail.com*

In this paper I analyze the meanings of justice, particularly gender justice, for peasant women who return to the countryside after land restitution under the Victim's Law (a law that anteceded the 2016 Peace Accord in Colombia). After years of forced displacement and dispossession by violent actors, those women are supposed to return to "normal life" - a construct that ignores the persistence of all sorts of daily forms of injustice, rooted in the local political economy, the policies of rural development, and the predominance of patriarchal structures. This paper shows how public policy based on a transitional justice model falls short of providing a comprehensive framework for promoting gender justice. The paper, based on my book *Elusive Justice* (UWP Press 2019), connects the abstract idea of post-conflict transition to the local, complex, realities of gender injustice.

**P34: Ethics and methods for producing knowledge about conflict, peace, and justice in Latin America (double panel)**

Conveners: Sanne Weber & Mijke de Waardt, University of Birmingham & Tilburg University, s.weber@bham.ac.uk & mdewaardt@gmail.com

As a result of geopolitical divisions between people who produce academic knowledge and people and places that provide data, research on conflict, peace and justice is more often than not produced by researchers who do not actually live in or come from post-conflict areas. One can therefore ask if the 'expert knowledge' produced by such research actually represents the experiences and knowledge of survivors and researchers living in these post-conflict societies, or whether it at best reflects outsiders' understandings of conflict and how to deal with it. Furthermore, research with participants who have lived through traumatic events can end up having a retraumatising effect. Therefore, the design of appropriate methods and careful consideration of the ethics involved in such research are crucial to enable research to be collaborative, to do no harm, and instead enable processes of change that can actually impact the lives of conflict survivors. This panel discusses such considerations, including the dilemmas of conducting fieldwork in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, instances of research fatigue among survivors, and the challenges, benefits and different ways of collaborating with local participants and researchers.

Speakers:

**1. Inside/outside? A reflection on co-production of knowledge**

*Mijke de Waardt, Tilburg University, mdewaardt@gmail.com*

The recurring assumption, that transitional justice mechanisms are universally applicable and will bring deterrence of future violence, is not supported by research on the outcomes of transitional justice. This has instigated considerable debate about whether such norms resonate with ways in which affected populations address injustices. Researchers have therefore embraced localised approaches to transitional justice to explore its possibilities and limitations at particular places. However, because of geopolitical divisions between people who produce academic knowledge and people and places that provide data for such localised approaches, knowledge about conflict, peace and justice is in many instances not produced by researchers who live in or come from post-conflict areas. In our study on the impact of one transitional justice mechanism, i.e. reparations, we however opted for an approach that encourages co-production of such knowledge. This paper is a structured dialogue between two colleagues. It focusses on the question: What happens when two researchers from two different social locations start to examine together the local meanings of reparations and justice in a few communities in Guatemala? The paper reflects on the consequences for knowledge production of translation, (mistaken) assumptions, relationships of dependence, funding, expectations, and privilege, etc.

**2. Ethics in Oral history: Making, controlling and revising data contributions**

*Sebastian De La Rosa Carriazo, KU Leuven, sebastian.delarosa@kuleuven.be*

This presentation reflects upon three methodological and ethical choices made within my ongoing doctoral project, which seeks to trace the meanings of being campesino and social mobilisation under campesino banners in Montes de María (Colombia), 1960-2000. Campesinos in this territory engaged during this period in what can be construed as a reformation or redefinition of their political roles and identities. However, researchers and activists have failed to understand this process beyond the lenses of campesino class or campesino movement, apart from occasionally conflating it with the so-called Colombian civil conflict. In response, I argue for an oral historical approach exploring campesinos' social and political agency in terms of what their motivations were and whether their expectations were met. The project is thus dependent on contributors in the field providing personal, unique and subjective data in recordings which should prop a more democratic account of

their social change. I am committed to every contributor's control over the conditions in which they participate, including what can be done with their data contributions. Moreover, I have proposed that research findings are made known to and revised by all contributors before they are considered final.

**3. The co-production of (post-)conflict between survivors and 'well-meaning outsiders': Diffusion and contestation of transitional justice in (post-)conflict Peru**

*Eva Willems, Ghent University, eva.willems@ugent.be*

Transitional justice (TJ) is characterized by the involvement of local, national and international actors and their respective ideas on dealing with the past. The diffusion of TJ is often studied from a global-local perspective in which survivors are merely represented as the receivers of TJ policies. Nevertheless, on-the-ground frictions in TJ prove to have a versatile character that cannot easily be reduced to top-down versus bottom-up or local versus global dynamics. Survivors appropriate, reaffirm or contest TJ and its underlying ideas in function of specific aims and (political) struggles. It is this dynamic of diffusion of TJ by 'well-meaning outsiders' on the one hand, and its appropriation and contestation by survivors on the other, that shapes the (post-)conflict landscape. Transcending the local-global binary and emphasizing the entanglement of actors and ideas enables us to go against the presumption that 'ideas' and 'politics' (exclusively) belong to the global or international realm, and 'experience' and 'culture' to the local. Through this lens, the co-production of (post)conflict realities between survivors and 'well-meaning outsiders' becomes clear. This paper will apply this approach to processes of diffusion and contestation of TJ processes in rural (post-)conflict communities in Ayacucho, Peru.

**4. A methodological approach to silence as a site of meaning: Researching children born of war in Colombia**

*Tatiana Sanchez Parra, Universidad Javeriana, tatiana.sanchez@javeriana.edu.co*

Very often research starts with something that we saw or experienced, and then, it is throughout the ethnographic exercise that we encounter the many silences that are, in different levels, embedded in the research. The story of my research starts not with something that was seen or said but with silence. In Colombia, there are generations of people born as result of war-related sexual violence. Although they are recognised as victims of the armed conflict and in their communities they represent a trace to war, there is an almost absolute lack of attention to their situation. In this paper, I present how my research has been shaped by absence, emotions, ethical concerns, and an ethnographic conviction. How to do research with and about people whose existence seems to be surrounded by silence, invisibility, and concealment? This paper is a dialogue between the imagined geographical and social landscape of my research that I configured from a distance, with the lived landscape I experienced during fieldwork, my interpretation of it, and the methodological tools that help apprehend those historical and social sites.

**5. Researching experiences of survivors and perpetrators of conflict in Latin America**

*Sanne Weber, University of Birmingham, s.weber@bham.ac.uk*

Research on transitional justice has traditionally focused more on the victims of conflict than on the perpetrators, especially given the salience of victim-centred approaches to transitional justice research and practice. This can lead to research fatigue and over-researching of conflict survivors, who are expected to recount their experiences numerous times, while the benefit of this research for them is often less clear. Perpetrators, both members of armed forces and armed groups, have long received less attention and their experiences have for example generally been excluded from truth commission reports. This paper describes research experiences with survivors and ex-combatants of the conflicts in Guatemala and Colombia, illustrating that the above tendencies do not always hold true and

that research in post-conflict settings comes with sometimes unexpected challenges. This calls for a careful and context-specific selection of research methods and requires a high degree of flexibility to adapt methods in such a way that research is not only ethical but also can contribute to the goals of the research participants.

**6. Repetitions in the act of judicial accountability: justice, the event and the disappeared in Argentina**

Noa Vaisman, Aarhus University, [noa.vaisman@cas.au.dk](mailto:noa.vaisman@cas.au.dk)

For over a decade and a half numerable trials and mega-cases investigating crimes committed during the civil-military dictatorship in Argentina (1976-1983) have been taking place across the country. During this time many of the witnesses have given testimony, repeating and reliving the traumas suffered. Judges sitting for months and sometimes years listening to these and carrying out ocular visits in the remains of clandestine centres, slowly work towards a verdict, and once rulings are handed down many consider justice to have been meted out. But is this really the case? Or maybe a post-justice world is only a repetition, a variation on a world where the struggles for truth and memory are all consuming?

This paper is an attempt to think through the repetitions that bring justice into being. It explores the affective, political and ideological dimensions of the work of judges and lawyers in a number of recent trials as a way to inquire into the meaning of justice and the (possibly) inevitable practices that produce it.

**P35: Latin American Marketplaces: Connecting Places of Connection**

Conveners: Patricia Schappo & León Felipe Téllez Contreras, University of Sheffield & University of Leeds, [pshappo1@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:pshappo1@sheffield.ac.uk) & [gylftc@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:gylftc@leeds.ac.uk)

Marketplaces have been identified throughout the world as meeting grounds of transversal urban phenomena. In Latin America they were studied from different disciplinary backgrounds, and now a renewed interest is exploring their e.g. economic, social, cultural, and political roles. The complex nature of marketplaces involves the provision of: (affordable and healthy) food; spaces for conviviality where different groups meet and (sometimes) integrate; and work opportunities and upward mobility for low-income and vulnerable populations. Furthermore, marketplaces are contested (public) spaces where conflict and resistance emerge around notions of ownership, rights, obligations, and the collective good.

Inspired by recent initiatives beyond academia like Urbact Markets/EU, this panel aims at enabling a conversation on Latin American marketplaces through addressing questions like: What is their present state and value in Latin American cities? Which are the interests at play and what pressures markets face? How do marketplaces impact notions of citizenship, democracy, and collective well-being? What can we learn from them in terms of socioeconomic and political alternatives? And, can these alternatives be translated to other contexts?

Overall, this panel seeks to challenge regional divides that tend to look at marketplaces individually, while emphasising (or challenging) their relevance for social justice and the right to the city.

Speakers:

**1. Marketplaces and social justice: A comparative case study across geographical divides**

*Patricia Schappo, University of Sheffield, [pshappo1@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:pshappo1@sheffield.ac.uk)*

Marketplaces and street vending have distinct levels of importance for different global regions and urban populations. However, regardless of where, the most disadvantaged groups - as new-comers, ethnic groups or people with little formal education and financial resources - are the ones benefiting the most from markets' existence, reason why their presence in increasingly exclusionary cities is so relevant. Previous research indicates that

marketplaces have meaningful potential for inclusive urban development (e.g. Morales, 2009), what suggests that they can be elements mobilised by governments aiming more social justice at local scale. This article draws on findings of an ongoing qualitative study about marketplaces in Belo Horizonte (Brazil) and Birmingham (England). The research, inspired by postcolonial comparisons, investigates to what extent marketplaces can enhance cities conditions, in the direction of achieving greater urban equity (Fainstein, 2009) and social justice through income-generation opportunities and stronger social capital. In support of this, it examines how 'aware' municipalities are of markets' broader functions, and how this links to the ways in which their development is facilitated or hindered by local government plans; and importantly: how municipalities can invest in markets for cooperative socioeconomic opportunities.

**2. Variaciones del comercio popular. Ambulantaje y mercados públicos en Cuenca, Ecuador**

*Luis Emilio Martínez, Universidad de Cuenca, luisemilio78@gmail.com*

El objetivo de la presentación es exponer los avances de investigación sobre el comercio ambulante en los mercados públicos del Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de Cuenca (Ecuador). El comercio ambulante se ha convertido en un tema de relevancia en el debate público y de intervención gubernamental en las últimas décadas. Los estudios más convencionales han abordado el fenómeno como una variación de la informalidad o "economía informal". La presente investigación se aparta y discute esta perspectiva y emplea una mirada sociológica que entiende y explica este fenómeno como una práctica popular que se adapta a las políticas de modernización y regulación del espacio público. Movilizando los conceptos de interacción (Erving Goffman) y de desviación (Howard S. Becker) y diferentes tipos de datos (etnográficos, legales, estadísticos, espaciales) se analizan las formas de interacción entre ambulantes, comerciantes formales y policía en torno a los mercados públicos.

**3. Popular Infrastructural Politics in Mexico City Traditional Public Markets**

*León Felipe Téllez Contreras, University of Leeds, gylftc@leeds.ac.uk*

Following the contributions on popular politics (Cross, 1998; Davis, 1999; Auyero, 2000, 2007) and infrastructural politics (Simone, 2004; Fredericks, 2016), this paper examines the ideological and political tensions that define the practices of repair and maintenance that enable the reproduction of 329 traditional public markets in Mexico City. By analysing repair and maintenance practices I highlight how traders challenge and perpetuate, in contradictory ways, the political relationships and structures that allow them to fight against the markets' material deterioration and preserve old but valuable infrastructures. This work revolves around the questions of what type of infrastructures traders and markets' infrastructural politics produce in specific political environments, and how that impacts their role as public services and public spaces that enable the reproduction of urban life. Overall, I seek to bring to the fore the multifaceted political conflicts that underpin the democratisation of infrastructure's provision, maintenance, and transformation. While they relate to issues such as participation, transparency, and accountability, my recent ethnographic fieldwork in Mexico City markets also shows that they relate to forms of subsistence and political affiliation.

**4. Political Imaginaries and Popular Marketplaces: What Moving a Market Tells Us About Local Politics in Bolivia**

*Angus Mcnelly, Queen Mary University of London, a.mcnelly@qmul.ac.uk*

For mainstream economists, "the market" is a presupposed, natural part of society. Ethno-historians such as Marisol de la Cadena, Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson and Erick Langer have challenged this perspective and traced the emergence and development of marketplaces across the Andes. Anthropologists Verónica Gago, Cecilie Øgerdaard and Nico Tassi have

further debunked markets as natural, exploring how social functioning of marketplaces and new popular identities have emerged from these spaces recently. However, relatively little has been written on the politics of popular marketplaces. I seek to fill this lacuna by examining the struggles to move an informal (asentamiento) market, La Rotonda, in the marginalised neighbourhood of Plan 3000 in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. Here, the market vendors spent 14 years trying to build a new market and move their stalls to a new site. I argue that, in the face of limited help from the national government and a strong regional bourgeoisie, class struggle in Plan 3000 assumed the form of a localised struggle around the construction of a new marketplace which, for some vendors, came to encapsulate broader hopes for social transformation and economic development.

### **P36: Challenges of the Venezuelan Migration in Latin America (double panel)**

Convener: Esteban Devis-Amaya, Oxford Brookes University, [edevi-amaya@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:edevi-amaya@brookes.ac.uk)

The increasing flow of migrants from Venezuela has been labelled a humanitarian crisis by numerous international organisations, including the UNHCR and the IOM, with an estimated four million people emigrating from the country. Most have migrated within Latin America and the flow has generated a number of challenges for the governments of the receiving countries, the local societies, and the migrants themselves. This interdisciplinary panel looks at a variety of issues surrounding the topic from different academic subject areas. It addresses the general migrant experience, including migrant spaces, xenophobia, disability, vulnerability, and classism; as well as national level public policy issues, such as mobility exchanges, securitisation, regularisation, and access to nationality. The papers address issues both regionally and nationally, and countries covered include Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The panel aims to bring knowledge from different disciplines to provide innovative ways of analysing the challenges the migration is bringing to the region, and to the migrants themselves.

Speakers:

**1. From open borders utopia to discriminatory control: Understanding the securitisation of migration from Venezuela**

*Mauricio Palma Gutiérrez, University of Warwick, mauricio.palma@urosario.edu.co*

Mass migration from Venezuela is changing national security approaches in South America. Once known for having a mostly liberal international border-crossing regime, several countries of the region have progressively tightened entry requirements and controls, seeking to block the mobility of thousands of Venezuelans escaping social and economic turmoil. Yet, during the wake of the crisis, most of the region's governments adopted a welcoming policy based on apparent humanitarian grounds. A few years later, however, reception countries have begun to change their approaches towards migration. Reasons for these policy shifts are the deadlock of negotiations to stabilise Venezuelan politics, and numbers of migrants reaching more than a million in Colombia and hundreds of thousands in Peru, Ecuador and Chile. Today, domestic and regional security agendas are headed by mass migration from Venezuela. The process has been shaped by local and national political interests, backed by traditional media and social networking. The consequences for migrants are increased vulnerabilities and discrimination. Meanwhile, non-migrants are becoming participative observers of the emergence of a new regional border-crossing regime. The presentation aims to discuss how this securitisation process has risen while pointing out some of its policy implications in the long-run.

**2. Barriers to migration and integration: the Venezuelan migration within the Andes**

*Esteban Devis-Amaya, Oxford Brookes University, [edevi-amaya@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:edevi-amaya@brookes.ac.uk)*

Venezuelan migrants fleeing their country face a number of physical, social, and legal barriers to integration in the region. From crossing challenging geographical barriers, to encountering a range of ever-changing reactionary national policies, these individuals must overcome a variety of obstacles if they wish to integrate into local societies. These also include accessing visas and employment; encountering societal expectations and presumptions; and even experiencing burst of xenophobia. This paper focuses on these barriers and the impact they are having on the Venezuelan migrant communities. Following ethnographic methods, including interviews and participant observation, this paper discusses how both physical and legal barriers influence the migrants choice of settlement and can ease or make difficult their economic success, whilst social barriers, often based on local divisive social cleavages, impose significant hurdles for the integration of individuals. The paper looks into theories of desired migrants and pigmentocracy to evaluate the condition and status of the migrants, addresses the heterogeneity of the diaspora, and discusses their chances of success in terms of integration.

**3. Taking up Space: Being Displaced and Disabled in Brazil**

*Bronte Alexander, Griffith University, bronte.alexander@griffithuni.edu.au*

Cities in northern Brazil have become key entry points for Venezuelan migrants seeking refuge from the political and economic challenges at home. Close to the border, the city of Boa Vista has been particularly impacted by the influx of recent migrants. While waiting for asylum status, permanent residency or relocation to larger cities, migrants - some of whom have disabilities - inhabit and make use of various spaces across the city and in shelters. By conducting a spatial ethnography in Boa Vista, including interviews with key stakeholders, this research investigated the construction of disability in displacement settings and the unequal access to resources for disabled migrants. Exploring the relationship between disability and mobility allows us to understand that the socially disabling barriers faced by people with impairments determines their access to mobility, spatial practices and humanitarian services. It is critical to consider these issues given the current nature of forced migration in Latin America; the search for work, food and basic medicines, and the pressure on receiving cities already struggling with limited resources.

**4. La experiencia migratoria de los venezolanos en Uruguay (2014-2019)**

*Dra Silvia Facal, Universidad Católica del Uruguay, sfacals@gmail.com*

A partir de principio de 2014, fecha en la cual se disparó una ola de protestas a nivel de todo el país luego de asumir como presidente de Venezuela Nicolás Maduro y de producirse la muerte del bachiller Héctor Moreno de la Universidad de los Andes-Mérida, se viene produciendo un éxodo masivo de venezolanos. El último informe publicado en agosto de 2019, eleva a 4.296.777 la cifra de venezolanos residentes fuera del territorio nacional. Entre los principales destinos de este éxodo masivo destaca Uruguay, en el Cono Sur de América, por su flexible política migratoria. Este trabajo tiene como objetivo presentar los resultados de una investigación, que se viene realizando desde 2017, sobre la experiencia migratoria de los venezolanos en Uruguay. Para poder cumplir el objetivo establecido se ha optado por realizar una investigación de carácter mixta basada en fuentes secundarias de carácter estadístico y en el análisis de contenido aplicado a fuentes bibliográficas relacionadas con el tema y al marco conceptual y teórico en la cual se encuentra encuadrada, conjuntamente con la realización entrevistas en profundidad y grupos de discusión a sus protagonistas.

**5. Del Río de la Plata al Orinoco y viceversa. Patrones y flujos migratorios entre Argentina y Venezuela**

*Pablo Biderbost & María Elisa Nuñez, Universidad Pontificia Comillas & Fundación IES Abroad, pbiderbost@comillas.edu & maelisanunez@gmail.com*

Los venezolanos se han convertido recientemente en el primer colectivo inmigrante en Argentina. El objetivo de esta ponencia es insertar este flujo migratorio en el marco de los intercambios poblacionales que han tenido lugar entre ambos países. Primero se repasará en perspectiva histórica la legislación nacional e internacional que da cobertura a la actual presencia de venezolanos en Argentina. Después se comentarán cuáles son los patrones descriptores de la antigua inmigración de origen argentino que residió en Venezuela. En seguida se presentará cuál es el comportamiento reciente de la población venezolana en territorio argentino. Es importante destacar que tanto el segundo como el tercer acápite concluyen con una síntesis, a partir del push-pull model, de los factores explicativos en juego en cada caso en concreto (Portes y Borocz, 1989). Luego se analizará el discurso de los inmigrantes venezolanos radicados en el país rioplatense. En este inciso, se hará especial hincapié en el testimonio de los interrogados sobre cuestiones vinculadas a trayectorias migratorias y factores de atracción hacia la sociedad de acogida. Finalmente, se presentarán unas conclusiones tentativas.

**6. Researching the production and negotiation of otherness regarding migration in a school on the northern border of Chile**

*Andrea Monserratt Cortés Saavedra, University College London, andrea.saavedra.16@ucl.ac.uk*

The media and public policies have framed current South-South migration mostly as a social problem in Chile. The repetitive approach of migratory flows in public discourses and the growing population diversity located in certain cities, neighbourhoods and social spaces, as schools, produce new explicit and implicit forms of social differentiation that separate the 'us' as a national ethos from 'them', as otherness.

The paper is based on my ethnographic fieldwork with migrant children in a school located on the northern border of Chile. I will examine some of my research findings regarding the ways in which migrant children are positioned and racialized in the everyday encounters in the school. The fieldwork on which this paper is drawing it is part of my PhD research that describes and analyzes how the social positions of 'otherness' are being created, negotiated, narrated and challenged by migrant and non-migrant students, teachers and school staff. The Chilean school is a generative space to examine how otherness is experienced and how discourses on migration are embodied in social positions. As well, Chilean schools as spaces for the reproduction of social inequalities also become critical settings to understand how practices of inclusion and exclusion are developed.

**7. Analise de ações da implantação do ensino de PFOL português para falantes de outras línguas na rede pública de ensino de Brasília DF**

*Maria Aparecida Neves da Silva, Universidade de Brasília, cidinhateacher1@gmail.com*

Brasília tem recebido uma grande leva de imigrantes e refugiados oriundos de diversas partes do mundo. Em 2013 essas migrações intensificaram principalmente com a vinda de Haitianos e mais recentemente um grande número de Venezuelanos. Dentre todas as demandas apresentadas por esses povos ao chegar ao nosso país o aprendizado do idioma nacional fez-se primordial visto a necessidade em se comunicarem para suprir o básico em sobrevivência: sair de moradia, emprego etc. Apesar dessa problemática não há ainda no Brasil políticas públicas de acolhimento a essas pessoas. O ensino de português tem sido oferecido por entidades civis em parceria a professores voluntários. O projeto visa analisar possíveis ações governamentais para que haja essa oferta de PFOL mas redes públicas de ensino de Brasília. Para tal realiza pesquisa qualitativa com abalise documental e entrevistas semi-estruturadas com os principais agentes públicos e civis envolvidos no processo de ensino de PFOL.

**P37: Cultural, economic and political alternatives for handling prolonged crisis and conflict in Venezuela**

Convener & discussant: Eva van Roekel, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, [eva.van.roekel@vu.nl](mailto:eva.van.roekel@vu.nl)  
Chair: Marjo de Theije, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, [m.de.theije@vu.nl](mailto:m.de.theije@vu.nl)

Currently, Venezuelans develop a myriad of practices to cope with scarcity, insecurity and repression caused by the deep economic and political crisis creating instability in the entire region. Hundreds of thousands of Venezuelan caminantes wander across the continent or depart in small boats over the Caribbean Sea in search for a better life. Other Venezuelans stay in the country and engage in alternative economic activities and security practices in the urban regions or in the extraction of mineral resources in the forest. In these existing and emerging businesses and networks, crisis and conflict can be lucrative with new winners and losers. What other economic, social, political and cultural practices do Venezuelans (un)voluntarily turn to as a way of survival? In this panel we focus on diverse strategies and practices, from regional migration, temporary employment in borderlands, political resistance, informal economic activities and the use of family networks, and how they contribute to the survival of Venezuelan citizens.

Speakers:

**1. The Petrocasa: A Barrio Household in Times of Crisis**

*Dr. Matt Wilde, University of Leicester, matt.wilde@leicester.ac.uk*

Once considered a pioneer of new models of welfare provision and democratic participation, since the dramatic fall in world oil prices in 2014, Venezuela has found itself in the grip of a profound social, economic and political crisis. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the city of Valencia in 2017 and 2018, this paper examines how this multifaceted crisis has unfolded in the everyday life of an aspirational but stratified barrio household. It explores the mixed fortunes experienced by different members of this home – among them a self-made government politician, a street-level state bureaucrat, a street vendor and a shop assistant – and argues that their differing travails offer a valuable glimpse into the country's predicament as a whole. While those with access to circuits of petro-dollars are able to stay afloat amid the crisis, others find themselves reliant on precarious informal work and family patrons to survive. Such trends, I argue, reflect the deeper contradictions that underlie Venezuela's self-titled Bolivarian Revolution project and its struggle to overcome Venezuela's uncomfortable relationship with petroleum.

**2. From Oil Rent to Remittances: Labor Migration and the Political Economy of Venezuela's Global Resource Flows**

*Dr. Aaron Kappeler, University of Edinburgh, akappele@exseed.ed.ac.uk*

Since 2012, global oil prices have declined precipitously, depriving Venezuela of its major source of income. In a context of sky-high inflation, chronic food insecurity, and political instability, millions of citizens have been forced to survive on the money sent by those working abroad. This paper explores the dynamics of Venezuelan labor migration and remittance cultures in the midst of this crisis. Based on interviews with migrants in Colombia and Spain, the paper seeks to understand the livelihood strategies that emerge in this distinct historical conjuncture and the effects of these resource flows on a nation that was once itself a major recipient of migrants. Focusing the response of labor migrants to a variety of challenges, the paper explores the quality of infrastructure for immigrants, opportunities for work, and pathways for obtaining legal status in host countries as well as the specificities of national/regional sites that remittance flows. The remittance economy among the Venezuelan diaspora upend much of the conventional wisdom and optimism of development experts about the positive effects of global cash transfers and forms of social capital that undergird these payments.

**3. Gold and the Alternative Economy of the Venezuelan Crisis**

Dr. Marjo de Theije & Dr. Eva van Roekel, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, m.de.theije@vu.nl & e.van.roekel@vu.nl

The Roraima border between Brazil and Venezuela has been an important gateway for small-scale gold miners from both countries for decades. Since the economic crisis in Venezuela hit hard (2015 onward), the small Brazilian border village Pacaraima turned into a busy market place where thousands Venezuelans come to buy medicine, food and fuel on a daily base. The informal street commerce and daily offers of all sorts of service and commodities are not the only economic activity in this border region. Armed actors in the mining areas take "toll" in exchange for protection or raid travelers en route while crossing the border. Based on ongoing ethnographic fieldwork about gold and the Venezuelan crisis, in this paper we discuss how gold under the economic crisis has become a viable alternative economic activity that provides an important income source for state agents, impoverished Venezuelans, local (indigenous) populations and the old and new armed actors in this trans-border region. We seek to understand what role gold plays in the current survival strategies of different Venezuelans and how the production of gold and its trade are connected to other legal and illegal economies in a transnational order.

**4. Adjusting Sails through the Caribbean Sea: Undocumented Male Migrants from Coro, Venezuela**

*Tierra Simon, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, simontierra@gmail.com*

The crisis in Venezuela has created a direct impact on the intra-regional migration patterns of the Dutch Caribbean islands. Heightened levels of poverty, crime, hyperinflation, and poor governance have drastically increased the flight of Venezuelans. Aruba has received a relatively high number of Venezuelans counting up to 16.000 migrants. Considering its small size, the island has strengthened its cross-border regime in fear of a colossal influx leaving many migrants to live in the illegal and obscured realm of the society. However, seeing migration as an only solution, many Venezuelans continue to strive to provide for their families back home. Based on a three-month ethnographic research conducted on the island among undocumented male migrants from La Vela de Coro, this paper proposes new theoretical orientations that go beyond already identified social processes in migration studies. Drawing on the concept of the transnational social field, this paper offers insights on connecting themes such as historical neighbouring bonds in contemporary times of crisis; the simultaneous inclusion and exclusion of migrants in a growing field of uncertainty; new gender aspects in migration theory; and transnational migration strategies based on new technologies.

**5. It's not Maduro: Why the Bolivarian Revolution Was Never Meant to Be Democratic**

*Edwin Koopman, Independent journalist, edwin.koopman@planet.nl*

The regime in Venezuela manages to stay in power by politicizing state institutions, using legal gaps in the constitution, reinterpreting the law, or simply by violating the rule of law. The anti-democratic spirit of the revolution has become more visible since Nicolas Maduro came into power in 2013. But in essence his administration continues the political tradition of his predecessor Hugo Chávez. The founder of the Bolivarian Revolution set up a caudillo style regime based on a civic-military alliance. From the very start the revolution was there to stay; free and fair elections, handing over power, and freedom of expression have never been part of it. Whereas Chávez could still confine himself to relatively discrete undemocratic decrees to stay in power, the increasing economic crisis and declining popular support has forced President Maduro to apply blatant repression to do so. How do the political actors of the opposition operate within this increasingly authoritarian system? In this paper, I explore possible scenarios for the future of Venezuelan democracy – among

them political negotiations, military solutions and free elections – where a regime change in the short term should be considered remote.

**P38: Militarization and Order-Making in Latin America: An Interdisciplinary and Cross-Country Assessment**

Conveners: Markus Hochmüller & Carlos Solar, Free University Berlin & University of Oxford, [markus.hochmueller@fu-berlin.de](mailto:markus.hochmueller@fu-berlin.de) & [carlos.solar@area.ox.ac.uk](mailto:carlos.solar@area.ox.ac.uk)

Discussant: Jenny Pearce, London School of Economics, [j.pearce3@lse.ac.uk](mailto:j.pearce3@lse.ac.uk)

In Latin America, militarization has always been an intrinsic feature of domestic security. In most countries of the region, the boundaries between policing, public security, and war-making are blurred. In addition, the pursuit of private (at times also illicit) interests has corrupted the security apparatuses of the region and has led to dynamic and violent alliances of state and non-state armed actors that influence public policy and that undermine public security. Instead of protecting the safety of all its citizens, the state's security apparatus often caters to the interests of the few, providing its police and military services to business elites, transnational companies, or drug trafficking organizations. Under this current scenario, this panel addresses how security institutions and armed actors have militarized order-making in Latin America and how this shapes policymaking, security governance, and cohabitation in the region's societies. The panel brings together an interdisciplinary group of scholars from the fields of political science, economics, anthropology, and urban geography that provides original research on the military, militarized security, and public-private alliances of (violent) order-making in Mexico, Central America, and South America.

Speakers:

**1. Captured Security? Assessing Military Corruption in Democratic Latin America**

*Markus Hochmüller & Carlos Solar, Free University Berlin & University of Oxford, [markus.hochmueller@fu-berlin.de](mailto:markus.hochmueller@fu-berlin.de) & [carlos.solar@area.ox.ac.uk](mailto:carlos.solar@area.ox.ac.uk)*

Over the last decade, several major military corruption scandals have been uncovered in Latin America. While these scandals point to a region-wide and systemic phenomenon, corruption in the armed forces has been hitherto widely neglected by scholars researching civil-military relations and security sector reform in the region. This paper is the first systematic attempt to make sense of military corruption in Latin America. The paper concentrates on military corruption in the contemporary democratic era that was initiated by the “third wave of democratisation”. It does, however, take the institutional trajectories serious as this is key to explain the position of the military in their respective fields of power and the pathways leading to a broad variety of military corruption. The paper approaches both corruption inside the armed forces and corrupt behaviour of soldiers, officers and defence bureaucrats (such as ministers of defence) in politics and business, as well as the role of active and retired military men and women in the illicit economy. The paper first assesses data from all Spanish-speaking Latin American countries (except Cuba) plus Brazil from a comparative perspective. In a second step, the paper develops a fresh analytical and conceptual framework.

**2. Illicities: Criminalized governance arrangements in urban environments**

*Frank Müller & Julianne Weegels, University of Amsterdam, [f.i.mueller@uva.nl](mailto:f.i.mueller@uva.nl) & [j.h.j.weegels@cedla.nl](mailto:j.h.j.weegels@cedla.nl)*

In this presentation, we will deploy Charles Tilly's interpretation of the 'protection racket' as a lens to discuss city-making as criminalized governance. 'Protection rackets' are caring, yet legitimately exploitative and pastoral guises of control. These allow to read urban governance through the built environment in which governing actors' legitimacy is continually contested. We will draw from the multiple perspectives and case studies of the interdisciplinary research network 'Illicities'. The network addresses the intrinsic correlation

of state-making and organized crime, sharing an interest in better understanding the material conditions of (criminalized) urban governance. To this end, 'Illicities' comparatively studies the mutual effects of contested legitimacy within illicit urban political economies. With this ongoing project, we aim to contribute to debates on the nexus of organized crime and the monopoly of violence. By urbanizing Tilly's state-making-as-war-making analogy, we therefore think of 'city-making' as a materialized protection racket regime. Unpacking the logics and systems of criminalized governance arrangements from the perspective of urban materialities, then, allows rethinking how criminalized governance arrangements reproduce durable inequalities.

**3. Controlling the streets: From community policing to para-police control in Nicaragua**

*Julienne Weegels, University of Amsterdam / CEDLA, j.h.j.weegels@cedla.nl*

Since 18 April 2018, the force deployed by the Nicaraguan state against a surge of popular protest has left over 300 dead, over 900 imprisoned, and thousands beaten, tortured, and injured. This heavy-handed repression occurred upon the Sandinista party's effective loss of control over the streets for the first time in forty years. As protesters barricaded city streets and threw up roadblocks across the country, militarized riot police and armed party-aligned groups sought to repress them. While their extralegal articulation and overt disregard of life and the law shocked many, they were not entirely novel. Drawing on an analysis of the evolving practices of politicized policing and the emergence of para-police groups, I argue that this open articulation of state and non-state armed political forces points to the durable and expansive, yet well-hidden, hybrid nature of the Nicaraguan state. In particular, it is revelatory of a political economy of extralegal state practice that has long flown under the radar of scholarly attention, especially when it comes to Nicaragua's reputed regional "safety" and its citizen security model.

**P39: Violence, Imprisonment and Security Politics**

Speakers:

**1. Urban spatial projects and violence: looking at the impact of crime on urbanization in Tegucigalpa, Honduras**

*Lirio Gutiérrez Rivera, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, licgutierrezr@unal.edu.co*

How is violence in Latin American cities connected to state spatial projects? Focusing on the case of Tegucigalpa, Honduras, this paper looks at the local authorities' attempts to carry out recent urban spatial policies which aim at ordering and controlling urban space as well as making "the state legible" (Scott, 1998). My argument is that state absence, a root cause of urban violence, is connected to the difficulty of local state authorities to achieve state spatial projects. Based on the examination of urban spatial planning policies and the territorial control of gangs, known as maras, I show not only the difficulty of local authorities to achieve urban spatial projects and produce territory in some parts of Tegucigalpa, but also how gang territorial control contribute to making the state unable to 'see', thus control, the urban peripheries. Ultimately, this paper aims to show how crime and violence impact urbanization.

**2. "A structure we cannot escape": Violence and Youth on the Urban Margins of El Progreso, Honduras**

*Antonia McGrath, University of Amsterdam, antoniamcgrath@gmail.com*

In Honduras, rapid urbanization has led to the rise of shantytowns on the outskirts of cities where state presence has become "fractured" and violent (criminal) actors have stepped in to fill this void. This ethnographic research inductively explores how violence affects school-going youth on El Progreso's urban periphery, looking into the different forms of violence that young people experience, how these interact and interlink, and how youth navigate and

move between different spaces of violence(s). The research took place on the urban periphery of the city of El Progreso, Yoro, where interviews and observations were conducted over the course of 3 months at the city's largest public high school, and, by happenstance, time was spent around a local criminal organization, one member of which was also interviewed. Through a conceptual model of violence, attempting to operationalize Auyero and Berti's (2015) idea of "concatenations of violence," I dissect Honduras' violence and the experiences of the youth affected by it, positioning this within a larger structure based on "levels" of violence. Using this model, I explore how youth perceive, experience and navigate forms of violence and the spaces in which this violence occurs, leading to the conclusion that Honduras' violence is defined by its place in a structure that goes from the individual all the way to the international level.

**3. "La cárcel o la muerte": Gangs and the Politics of Security Policy in El Salvador, 2003-2018**

*Diana Sandoval Simán, Princeton University, dsiman@princeton.edu*

In the post-Civil War period, El Salvador became notorious for its public security crisis. Its steep homicide rates turned it into one of the most dangerous countries in Latin America. Local political figures cast the blame overwhelmingly on gangs. Over the past fifteen years, Salvadoran security policy followed various trends, particularly the discursive construction of gangs as public enemies, the application of enemy criminal law to gang members, the emphasis on repressive over preventive or rehabilitative measures, and the use of military forces for public security tasks. These remained constant across four different administrations and two political parties, despite ample evidence proving that such approaches tend to be ineffectual. In order to explain the persistence of those trends, this study builds on over a dozen interviews with Salvadoran public officials, NGO experts, and local scholars as well as on archival research of Legislative Assembly discussions about security-related decrees. The study posits that widespread public support for heavy-handed, repressive security measures directed against gang members drove public officials to continuously adopt punitive approaches to public security policy. By examining the politics of security policy in El Salvador, it sustains a broader argument about the political factors that may influence public security outcomes in Latin America.

**4. Assassinato, tortura e prisão: práticas de estado e assinaturas do gênero na vida cotidiana**

*Camila Pierobon, Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP), camilapierobon@gmail.com*

No ano de 2007, Layla foi torturada por policiais militares e presa por fazer pequenos trabalhos para o tráfico de drogas. Dentre as torturas, o fato dela ser lésbica fez com que a violência se desse de forma específica em seu corpo: recebeu socos e chutes no rosto até desfigurá-lo e, na prisão, teve forçadamente os cabelos raspados. Dez anos depois, em 2017, Jorginho também fazia pequenos trabalhos para o tráfico de drogas e foi assassinado por policiais militares. Antes de morrer, o jovem foi sequestrado e torturado pela polícia que exigia da família dez mil reais para não matá-lo. No momento da prisão de Layla e do assassinato de Jorginho ambos tinham acabado de completar 18 anos e moravam com a mãe e com a avó, respectivamente, na ocupação de moradia popular Nelson Mandela, centro da cidade do Rio de Janeiro. É o encontro desses dois eventos, sua circularidade e duração na vida cotidiana o que tratarei na apresentação, a partir dos efeitos concretos produzidos na subjetividade das mulheres moradoras da ocupação.

**P40: Violence and Migration**

Speakers:

**1. We are all "migrantes"! Identity and care as a consequence of hardening immigration policies in Mexico**

*Alejandra Díaz de León, London School of Economics, diazdeleon.cardenas@gmail.com*

The Central American migrant caravans of 2018 and the recent African migrant protests outside government offices in Mexico have shown that transit migrants are, for the first time, organizing to demand rights. What has changed in the last years that has allowed these movements to start? This research is based on ethnographic observation, interviews to migrants and stakeholders, and media analysis. I suggest that one of the consequences of the hardening of the border controls and deterrence practices in Mexico in the last years has been the creation of a nascent transit migrant identity that, in some instances, leads to care, solidarity, and budding activism. As the government makes migrating harder and more dangerous, migrants in transit adapt by forming new identities and solidarities. They start self-identifying as migrantes who share the same goals, the same struggle, and the same fears. They tentatively cooperate by sharing information about the road, and some resources. This generalised exchange strengthens the group identity and facilitates further cooperation between migrants from different nationalities and ethnicities. This suggests that the reinforcement of the borders of the nation-state can be leading to transnational solidarity that contests these divisions.

**2. The Violences of Displacement from the Northern Triangle of Central America**

*Sonja Wolf, CIDE, scwolf5@gmail.com*

Forced migration from the Northern Triangle of Central America seems to have been experiencing a notable increase in recent years. Individuals as well as families are being displaced from urban and semi-rural communities across the sub-region. The drivers of these dislocations are varied, but are tied –directly or indirectly– to violence perpetrated by members of street and criminal gangs and state agents. This paper analyses the results of qualitative research conducted at six Mexican migrant and refugee shelters with the objective of understanding how different forms of violence fuel contemporary forced migration from Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. The study is particularly concerned with exploring how, in the context of weak and ineffective state institutions, non-state actors have been able to establish alternative forms of governance. The research therefore asks in what ways the influence non-state actors exercise over local populations, through violence and corruption, contributes to the current uprooting of migrants and refugees.

**3. Vulnerabilidades dentro del proceso migratorio regular: latinoamericanos con residencia temporal o permanente en México**

*Massiel de la Caridad Torres Suárez, FLACSO México, massits92@gmail.com*

La relación entre el fenómeno migratorio y la vulnerabilidad, es hoy en día uno de los temas más polémicos y dinámicos de la realidad. Dicha relación está condicionada, entre otros factores, por las estructuras sociales que acompañan a los migrantes desde el momento en que inician su movilidad territorial. Las investigaciones que existen sobre la materia, se enfocan en diagnosticar vulnerabilidades en contextos migratorios irregulares; sin embargo, todo individuo, una vez que decide salir de su país de origen, se convierte de facto en vulnerable, sólo por el hecho de ser migrante. La vulnerabilidad migratoria, en escenarios regulares, se manifiesta a través de condiciones de susceptibilidad y subordinación de los sujetos migrantes, frente al poder del Estado. Dichas condiciones están determinadas por las características sociodemográficas y migratorias de cada sujeto, lo que encadena nuevas vulnerabilidades. En este trabajo, al ubicar a México como escenario de estudio de esta relación, se analizan las posibles vulnerabilidades dentro del proceso migratorio de los migrantes latinoamericanos que llegan a la nación mexicana, para residir temporal o permanentemente en la misma.

**4. Exclusion, encounters, and threatening Others: securitisation and (in)visibility of Colombian refugees in Ecuador**

*Gabriela Patricia Garcia Garcia, University of Aberdeen, r01gpg16@abdn.ac.uk*

During the post-neoliberal tide, Ecuador, the lead receiving country of asylum seekers in Latin America, underwent several constitutional, legal, and institutional changes to recognise human mobility rights. The constitution recognised universal citizenship as a principle and the right to seek asylum, non-criminalisation of migration, and equality between Ecuadorians and foreigners. However, since 2012, Ecuador's rights-based approach started a process of fragmentation. This resulted in the re-emergence of security narratives and ultimately a re-securitisation in which the asylum determination procedure tightened, and raids and deportations intensified. This paper explores the relationship between securitisation and (in)visibility of the refugee population by analysing the case of Colombian refugees in Ecuador (2012-2018), the main population in need of protection in the country for nearly 20 years. This work first argues that securitisation's discursive and non-discursive practices continuously render Colombians as a visible threatening Other to be excluded in the receiving society. Second, it contends that invisibility operates in the absence of regular status and the limited access and exercise of refugees' rights. Through discourse analysis, this paper examines speeches, laws, reports and elite interviews. In this way, this work furthers empirical and theoretical application of securitisation in a non-Western case from a South-South perspective.

**P41: Citizenship and Inequalities (double panel)**

Speakers:

**1. Closing the gaps? Intersectional inequalities during the Workers' Party administrations in Brazil (2003-2013)**

*Aiko Ikemura Amaral & Pedro Mendes Loureiro, King's College London, aiko.iamaral@gmail.com*

This paper explores how the shape and intensity of income inequality changed across race, class and gender dimensions in Brazil during the Workers' Party administrations (2003-2013). Using data from household surveys, we decompose the overall Gini index of labour-market income over groups defined by the individuals' class position, gender and race. We argue that four main processes decreased overall levels of inequality: lower unemployment, low-skilled labour formalisation, higher minimum wages, and greater demand for low-skilled workers in sectors producing wage-goods. We show how these processes decreased inequality in general, by raising lower incomes, but also closed income gaps against the dominant position of white men. Nevertheless, during this period non-white men, white women, and non-white women continued to have greater odds of being in more vulnerable class positions and, in each class position, to have lower income. Therefore, certain constitutive gender and racial relations were not transformed – rather, it was the particularly fragile initial position of these non-privileged groups that allowed them to enjoy these improvements. The conclusions underscore the multi-faceted and multi-determined nature of inequalities in Brazil, in which race, class and gender emerge as mutually enforcing, structuring factors – requiring, therefore, similarly broad strategies towards a more equal society.

**2. Assembling acts of economic citizenship: Indigenous and low-income women's work in post-neoliberal Bolivia**

*Sibylla Warrington, University of Cambridge, sw711@cam.ac.uk*

Bolivia could be considered a paradigmatic case through which to study 'acts of citizenship' by historically marginalised (indigenous) groups (Rojas, 2013; Isin & Nielsen, 2008). Existing scholarship on highland market vendors has emphasised women's collective organisation (e.g. Lazar, 2007). However, there has been limited attention to women's agency at work when opportunities for collective action are limited. Through a case study with lowland

Guaraní and other low-income women in peri-urban Santa Cruz, working in often casual roles, this paper aims to address this lacuna. Drawing on the concept of 'ordinary' citizenship as an 'assemblage of law, norms, and everyday life' (Staeheli et al., 2012, p. 635), this paper will ask whether marginalised women have been able to claim economic rights. It will be argued that despite important legislative changes post-2006, continuing uneven gendered-racialised-classed power in the context of a largely informal labour market functions to constrain citizenship acts for many women. Yet this does not mean that marginalised women lack agency, displayed through 'ambiguous' and symbolic acts (Darling, 2017). Attention to women's constrained agency at work reveals some of the complex power geometries in the Bolivian post-neoliberal state through which low-income and racialised women's economic citizenship continues to be truncated.

**3. Desigualdades urbanas y prácticas culturales en ciudades turísticas patrimoniales del Sur Global**

*David Navarrete Escobedo, Universidad de Guanajuato, davnnav25@hotmail.com*

La migración es parte de las dinámicas que actúan sobre la cultura de las ciudades del Sur Global. Las clases medias transnacionales del Norte Global son motivadas por la diversidad cultural de algunas ciudades latinoamericanas, sin embargo, como migrantes o turistas con mayor poder adquisitivo y prácticas culturales de élite excluyen a los habitantes originales y a los usuarios tradicionales en esos lugares. Este estudio explora el caso de San Miguel de Allende en México con 15 000 extranjeros expatriados. Metodológicamente, adopta un enfoque cualitativo y analiza la imagen cultural producida por políticas urbanas y culturales basadas en la migración de estilo de vida y en el turismo de lujo. Se consultaron los archivos históricos de políticas culturales (nominación de la UNESCO 2008), de políticas urbanas y económicas para demostrar cómo se construye una identidad cultural excluyente para mantener su atractivo para turistas y norteamericanos expatriados, principalmente jubilados. Se propone que las políticas urbanas y culturales conducidas por la transnacionalización actúan como un despojo de los derechos culturales y como una limitación del derecho a la ciudad.

**4. Indigenous experiences and (re)constructions of ethno-racial politics and inequality in Panama**

*Boana Visser, University of Kent, boanavisser@gmail.com*

With a complex history of Latin American and US influences, Panama has seen continual reconstructions of its racial and ethnic politics. Although the past two centuries were marked by the formation of a national cultural identity, in recent decades the state has increasingly promoted an image of a multicultural and racial democracy. Yet, this inaccurate representation and claims of ethnic equality mask a prevalence of unequal ethnic and racial relations. Particularly in the town of Bocas del Toro, where the flourishing tourism industry has provoked a recent influx of foreign residents, the indigenous Ngöbe find their place at the bottom of an ethno-racial hierarchy. To fully understand the intricacies and implications of the altering politics of race and ethnicity, it is essential to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences and positionalities of those who are most (negatively) affected by these politics. Informed by 16 months of ethnographic fieldwork among Ngöbe families in Bocas del Toro, this paper suggests ways in which indigenous lived experiences and positionalities shape and are shaped by the hierarchical ethnic and racial relations in the region.

**5. In Search of the Ideal Worker: Representing Domestic Employment in Classified Advertisements**

Erynn Masi de Casanova, University of Cincinnati, casanoen@ucmail.uc.edu

Who is the ideal domestic worker? I analyzed the content of more than 1,000 classified advertisements published in Ecuador in the last decade, and found that the ideal worker has a specific set of personal characteristics. Both employers and employment agencies place ads, whose content can tell us something about the jobs that are available and what employers say they want in a domestic worker. This research forms part of a broader study of paid domestic work in Ecuador. The three primary themes of the study are: social reproduction, informal employment arrangements, and social class. The content of the classified ads shows how these aspects of domestic work permeate the language around hiring and job descriptions. The ads presume that it is women who will do the work of social reproduction. The employment arrangements tend to be informal and exist outside of the requirements of labor laws. And the class relations that structure domestic work are often alluded to in the text of the classified advertisements. However, we also see changes in these ads over time, reflecting greater awareness of legal obligations and the rights of domestic workers.

## 6. Domestic Workers in the Digital Domain: Activism and Immaterial Labour

*Rachel Randall, University of Bristol, rachel.randall@bristol.ac.uk*

Drawing on Hardt and Negri's (2004) conceptions of 'immaterial' and 'affective labour', and of the 'multitude', this paper explores the strategies adopted by domestic workers and their allies to contest their marginalisation in digital and visual culture. It examines two projects that use Facebook as a resource and a platform to challenge domestic workers' exploitation and lack of social recognition: Daniela Ortiz's 97 empleadas domésticas (Peru, 2010) and Joyce Fernandes' Eu Empregada Doméstica (Brazil, 2016). Ortiz's exhibition foregrounds the fact that social media sites often reinforce regressive visual tropes by displaying photographs of upper-class limeño families that have been taken from Facebook: each features a domestic employee who appears in the background, or who has been partly cut out of the frame. Herself a former domestic worker, Fernandes set up the Eu Empregada Doméstica Facebook page in order to share the testimonies of Brazilian domestic workers and their relatives online. Her project has garnered media attention and been used to raise awareness of domestic workers' rights; nonetheless, it is beleaguered by similar ethical conundrums to those that plagued the wave of literary testimonios published across Latin America during the 1970s-80s.

## Politics, Institutions & Identities

### **P42: The Incumbent's Advantage in Latin American**

Convener: Javier Corrales, Amherst College, [jcorrales@amherst.edu](mailto:jcorrales@amherst.edu)

Discussant: Imke Harbers, University of Amsterdam, [i.harbers@uva.nl](mailto:i.harbers@uva.nl)

This panel presents the latest research on the incumbent's advantage in Latin America. It looks specifically at the politics of presidential survival in office. What allows presidents to survive (or not) in office, to win (or lose) reelection and referenda; to coexist with (or be challenged by) vicepresidents? What allows expresidentes and their relatives to make come backs? What allows presidents to change term limits?

Speakers:

#### **1. Incumbents, Expresidentes, their Relatives, and Newcomers**

*Javier Corrales, Amherst College, [jcorrales@amherst.edu](mailto:jcorrales@amherst.edu)*

In 2008 I published a paper discussing the prevalence of expresidentes and newcomers in Latin America's electoral menu. I called this trend Latin America's neocaudillismo. My

presentation offers the latest data on this trend, including data from Europe. Latin America remains the land of neocaudillos, and this is one reason that polarization and populism remain parts of the region's electoral menu.

**2. Presidential Term Limit Reforms in Latin America**

*Mariana Llanos, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, mariana.llanos@giga-hamburg.de.*

Since the 1980s, the presidential term limit rule has been discussed and contested in numerous instances through constitutional amendment or reinterpretation. This study analyses and compares systematically about fifty episodes of successful and unsuccessful reforms seeking to modify presidential term limits and term lengths. For each reform episode, we document the institutional steps and political developments characterizing the reform processes to answer the following questions: do reform paths change across time? How similar are, for instance, reform paths attempting at removing presidential term limits? Which institutions and actors are involved in the reforms? To what extent are the legal rules respected? How inclusive are the processes? We code, for example, who initiated the reform, what other rules were reformed besides term limits, whether public protests occurred during the process, the outcome of the reform, and the resulting type of rule. We then group the obtained sequences in clusters, compare the reform paths, and assess their impact on the political regime.

**3. Referendums and presidential term limit rules**

*Yanina Welp, Graduate Institute, welpita@gmail.com*

Mechanisms of direct democracy (MDDs) are defined as a set of procedures allowing citizens to influence political decisions directly through a vote beyond regular elections of representatives. Legal provisions to activate MDDs have spread in the Latin American region in the last decades. Not surprisingly, referendums have become an important tool for institutional and political struggles. This article investigates the attempts of activating referendums addressed to change or avoid a change of presidential term limit rules. It explores the conditions under which the referendum takes place or not as well as their results, considering the challenge of a referendum as part of the bargaining.

**4. Do rules of succession matter for presidential survival? The Vice President in Latin America**

*Leiv Marsteintredet, University of Bergen, leiv.marsteintredet@uib.no*

The rules of presidential succession have been controversial in many Latin American countries since independence. One reason for controversy involves the vice presidency. As the designated successor and the only person in government the president cannot remove, the vice president stands to gain from the president's demise, a fact that became clear under the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in Brazil. The office was therefore long seen as a magnet for conspiracies, and the vice president as a coup maker. Despite the vice presidency's bad reputation, the vice presidency's supposed negative effect on presidential survival has not been studied systematically. Using a database from all constitutions in Latin America since independence, this paper investigates whether rules of succession and in particular having a vice presidency matter for presidential survival. The paper examines whether some rules of succession have any effect at all on presidential survival, and second, whether rules of succession have any effect on how presidents end their term.

**P43: Organisations for development? Existent challenges in health, education and civil society organisational settings in Chile**

Convener: Daniel Díaz Vera, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, daniel.diaz@uc.cl

Organisations set institutional arrangements to address issues in a planned and stable manner. Healthcare, educational and non-governmental organisations are three examples of institutions seeking to contribute to functioning and development in their societies. As organisations, they organise approaches to health, educational or social challenges, inequalities and/or exclusions. Nevertheless, in Chile, a country that has implemented neoliberal and market logics for over four decades, little of the expected outcomes have been observed. This panel contribute to the study of the mentioned institutions, from a critical perspective. Thus, rather than using a technocratic vision, it is used an analysis centred in the organisational purpose to raise caveats and generate alternatives. Thus, these presentations describe the mentioned institutional settings in Chile; commenting on some of their challenges and limitations, taking into account complexities of the context and the problems that these expect to address. E.g., these organisations face internal and external systemic issues on participation and decision-making processes; disciplinary reductionism; legitimacy expectations; strong privatisation movements and the influence of legislative and normative frames; and rampant managerialism in most of the organisations. Hence, presentations of this panel aim to unveil challenges and reflect on the need to advance towards complex, situated and relevant development strategies.

Speakers:

**1. Integrated care and change management in Chile: main delivery of services challenges experienced by healthcare managers within the public network**

*Johanna Aguilera Muñoz, University of Manchester, johanna.aguileramunoz@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk*

Recognising which organisational elements may participate in change processes can contribute to distinguish scopes, limitations and crucial implementation impacts. In healthcare, managing change will imply to be aware of diverse specialised practices, different operative and administrative levels and several resources that might be embraced. Regarding the delivery of service endeavour, this is observed as a quite difficult activity essentially due to the structure and organisation healthcare complexity involved. Hence, this presentation aims to describe the main challenges that managers may address in order to achieve an effective delivery of services within the Chilean public healthcare network. A qualitative perspective was applied and semi-structured interviews were conducted by including care managers who perform in healthcare services institutions. Preliminary findings show that most of interviewees perceive change management as a significant source of knowledge; nevertheless, the benefits of its application are far from what they expect in terms of practicability. Some technical limitations and strict outcomes may not facilitate carrying out change management actions within the network. Thus, counting with mayor support for leading change management initiatives – including practical and conceptual features – is desired,

**2. Schools as citizens' incubators: perspectives of Citizenship education in Chile**

*Francisca Álvarez Figueroa, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, mf.alvarez.f@gmail.com*

Developing societies are challenged to overcome inequalities and achieve social inclusion. Research has shown that education focused on equality can contribute to a nation's development and social cohesion. Citizenship education (CE) can improve the students' critical thinking, participation, academic performance and school climate (SC), fostering engaged, participative citizens. In this context, school districts-(SD) are key organisations that can develop local strategies to foster CE. This study aims to analyse the forms of citizenship promoted by SD in Chile, comparing citizenship results with the students' cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes. This, through a mixed-methods approach that combines qualitative analysis of documents and multiple regression analysis of national datasets (Learning Outcomes (LO), Participation and Citizenship-(PCT), and SC). Preliminary findings suggest a

positive correlation between LO and PCT/SC results. SD with the lowest results are part of zones with cultural conflicts, demonstrating the need for comprehensive approaches to CE. Finally, this work expects to contribute to the discussion of academics and policymakers about the need to promote citizenship behaviours in the educational sector at the formal and informal level, and the crucial role that SD have in fostering engaged citizens that actively contribute to social cohesion and development.

**3. What is the Board of Directors for? Use and misuse of Corporate Governance practices in the NGO sector in Chile**

*Daniel Díaz Vera, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, daniel.diaz@uc.cl*

This paper explores Governance practices on Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Chile. Interviews, datasets, documents, and observations are used to inform a systemic analysis on the scenario in which these practices are unfolding. Findings suggest the relevance of an emerging philanthropic sector, mainly funded by private organisations setting the rules and becoming dominant in the social scene. This has created a tendency for these organisations to mimic private organisations in language and structure. Their leaders become CEO-like characters exercising high levels of power and influence. Moreover, the findings indicate that these organisations are presented as depoliticised and highly technocratic institutions informed by evidence-based practices. This very dynamic seems to be underpinning the use of Governance practices in the sector of social NGOs in Chile, a dynamic that resonates with the institutional Model of Corporate Governance. This model proposes that organisations seek to gain external approval and legitimacy, which ultimately increases their chances of success. Hence, to gain legitimacy organisations adopt values, rules, and practices of their environment. These findings are discussed from a critical perspective in terms of market triumphalism and the implications for NGOs which are seeking to generate and pursue more systemic social changes.

**P44: Creating the Transnational: Latin American Exiles in Europe during the 1970s-1980s**

Convener: Anna Grimaldi, King's College London, anna.grimaldi@kcl.ac.uk

This panel explores the activities of Latin American political exiles in Europe during the 1970s-1980s. The panel brings together research on Brazilian, Chilean, and Argentine exiles to question the creation of the transnational through dialogues on human rights. On the one hand, exiles sought to expose facets of their experience as nationals, by denouncing their governments' violation of civil, political and social and economic human rights. On the other, the act of exile created a space for new dialogues on rights of a universal and transnational nature: rights of the worker in the face of multinational company ownership; rights of indigenous minorities before internationally imposed development projects; and, in response to a global awakening, the formation of feminist human rights discourses.

In this way, South Cone Latin Americans used solidarity and exile as mechanisms through which to add their voices to new global debates. Exiles both took from and added to discussions in Europe, creating transnationality not only with their European advocates, but with other Latin Americans. This panel hopes to promote a discussion on the creation of the transnational as a product of exile more widely.

Speakers:

**1. Exile, Labour Internationalism, and Solidarity in the UK during Argentine State Terrorism**

*Pablo Matias Bradbury, University of Liverpool, matiasbradbury@hotmail.com*

The experience of Argentine exiles and solidarity in the UK has received little scholarly attention. This can be explained to some extent by the small number of Argentine refugees received in Britain and the relatively low-level impact of civil society groups on state repression in Argentina, especially in comparison to cases such as the Chile. Nevertheless, a

nation-wide Argentine solidarity movement did emerge, with a variety of local and national groups mobilising against the dictatorship of 1976-1983. It demonstrates how militant Argentine exiles and British solidarity activists sought to overcome British labour scepticism over Peronist dominance among Argentine workers by appealing to internationalism in the context of attacks on organised Argentine labour. Moreover, it shows how trade union solidarity began to adopt, and dovetail with, a universal rights-based discourse rooted in a more liberal tradition in order to challenge both Argentine state terrorism and the dictatorship's economic model. Finally, it notes how labour solidarity also experienced its own tensions, with two political traditions – anti-imperialism linked to the radical Latin American politics or the International Marxist Group and the British labour movement – diverging and thrown into crisis in the context of war over the islands in the South Atlantic.

**2. Women's rights as human rights? Chilean exiles and feminist solidarity in Great Britain**

*Maria Fernanda Lanfranco, University of York / Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, fernandalanfranco@gmail.com*

**3. The Art of Solidarity: Italy's 1974 Biennale as a Space of Denunciation**

*Ana Sonderéguer Bernárdez, Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3-IHEAL, asondereguer@gmail.com*

During the 1970s, leaders of the Italian socialist party, and members of the Latin-American exile movement and of the international community joined forces to form new solidarity networks. South-cone Latin American military regimes of the period moved and concerned the socialist Italian party, several leaders of which became involved in the fight against fascism and developing debates on the matter at the international level. The results of these efforts were diverse, ranging from peoples' tribunals to media campaigns, however one relatively unexplored manifestation of solidarity is the use of major art events. One such example is the 1974 Venice Biennial, which devoted itself to the fight against fascism and to the visibility and analysis of the ongoing situation and recent past of Chile. The event included different platforms to expose and debate authoritarian regimes, with the aim of expressing solidarity, but also of thinking about how the international community could stand up to fascism and defend human rights.

**4. Brazil and the Transnational Human Rights Movement 1964-1985**

*Anna Isabella Grimaldi, King's College London, anna.grimaldi@kcl.ac.uk*

From the late 1960s, Brazilian exiles in Europe played a vital role in denouncing Brazil's military regime, exposing truths about its human rights violations, and building a complex continent-wide network of solidarity actors. In doing so, they formed part of the transnational human rights movement, and contributed to exploratory debates on the future of the global human rights regime. This paper will argue that the engagement between Brazilian and European human rights activists of the period catalysed a particular and new language of human rights, one which employed a transnational framing and would eventually go on to contribute to what we now call 'Third Generation Human Rights'. By framing human rights in terms of global oppression and dependency theory, and by highlighting the rights of minorities and rights to autonomous development, Brazilian actors contributed to a shift in the dominant human rights regime of the time as it expanded beyond the concept of the nation state as provider of individual, civil, and political rights. The research is based primarily on the qualitative analysis of activist publications, events, and media appearances that took place as a result of Brazilian-European solidarity networks. It follows the presentation of ideas by Brazilian actors themselves, as well as the ways these were reproduced and disseminated amongst European audiences.

**P45: Participación Ciudadana en Políticas Sociales en la región Andina**Convener: Soledad Valdivia Rivera, Leiden University, [s.valdivia.rivera@hum.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:s.valdivia.rivera@hum.leidenuniv.nl)

Existe preocupación respecto al aumento en la desafección y la creciente brecha entre la política formal y la ciudadanía, analizando sus efectos negativos sobre la estabilidad y legitimidad de los sistemas democráticos (Pharr & Putnam, 2000; Torcal, 2012). Al mismo tiempo y como respuesta al activismo de movimientos sociales y a la política contenciosa tan presentes y característicos de América Latina (Foweraker, 1995, 2001), surge la necesidad de fomentar la participación ciudadana institucional para profundizar y fortalecer la práctica democrática. Lo anterior, entendiendo que una mayor participación ciudadana resulta en políticas más inclusivas y efectivas, siendo éstas instrumentos clave para la reducción de los altos niveles de polarización, desigualdad y exclusión en la región.

El panel trata cuatro casos de la región Andina. Los casos de Chile y Perú, donde la participación ciudadana se presenta como un objetivo que el Estado se propone alcanzar a través de la formación ciudadana en las políticas sociales de educación. Los casos de Ecuador y Bolivia identifican la participación ciudadana como práctica de facto en la formulación, monitoreo y/o implementación de políticas y programas sociales. El objetivo es conocer y aprender de estas experiencias en clave comparada y formular un acercamiento interdisciplinario para reconocer sinergias entre políticas sociales y sus diversos mecanismos de participación ciudadana.

Speakers:

- 1. Habilidades para vivir en democracia y participación ciudadana en la construcción del Proyecto Educativo Nacional del Perú al 2036**

*María Teresa Estefanía Sánchez, Consejo Nacional de Educación, [maestefania@cne.gob.pe](mailto:maestefania@cne.gob.pe)*

El Perú se encuentra en el proceso de consulta nacional para la actualización del Proyecto Educativo Nacional (PEN). El PEN busca ser el marco estratégico de las políticas vinculadas al desarrollo de la educación del país entre los años 2021 – 2036, y tiene como uno de sus principales propósitos la formación de ciudadanos (CNE, 2019). Este esfuerzo de planificación prospectiva implica pensar en escenarios posibles, teniendo como insumos las tendencias del ejercicio ciudadano en la escuela. Si bien la formación ciudadana no ocurre únicamente en el colegio (Álvarez, 2001 & Cajiao, 2001), este termina siendo un dispositivo social que toma posición política respecto a las habilidades para vivir en democracia y en los estudiantes como sujetos sociales. El presente trabajo articula los resultados del Perú en el Estudio Internacional de Cívica y Ciudadanía (ICCS 2016) (Schulz, et al. 2018) y en las evaluaciones de aprendizaje en ciudadanía del Ministerio de Educación en los años 2013-2018 (UMC, 2016, 2019), con la necesidad de formulación del PEN como un documento vivo de política pública, que independiente de su vinculación formal y su inserción en el Sistema Nacional de Planificación, sea implementado por las próximas gestiones ministeriales.

- 2. Depolitizando la pobreza? Transferencias monetarias focalizadas y participación ciudadana en Ecuador**

*María Gabriela Palacio, Leiden University, [m.g.palacio.ludena@hum.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:m.g.palacio.ludena@hum.leidenuniv.nl)*

Los programas de protección social focalizada, en particular transferencias monetarias, han ganado popularidad en la región, adscribiéndoseles un rol importante en la expansión de garantías sociales (Barrientos, 2016; Grugel & Riggiorro, 2018). Estos esquemas han priorizado el uso cada vez más rígido de micro datos y registros sociales para la selección de beneficiarios. Este cambio en el diseño de política social ha informado un proceso de participación ciudadana distinto y en creciente conflicto con una lógica de derechos y universalidad (Sepúlveda Carmona, 2014). Esta ponencia aborda la protección social focalizada en el caso de Ecuador desde una perspectiva crítica, cuestionando su rol en el reconocimiento y garantía de derechos sociales. Material etnográfico, así como análisis de documentos y archivos, exhiben los limitantes del programa de transferencias monetarias

focalizadas Bono de Desarrollo Humano en materia de ciudadanía social. Los esquemas de selección de beneficiarios, que incluyen el uso de micro datos de hogares, mapas de pobreza y registros sociales, que se utilizan en este programa abordan la pobreza como un problema técnico (Peck & Theodore, 2015), cuantificable y por tanto no político (Fischer, 2018); y, parecen frenar antes que estimular la participación ciudadana en el diseño, implementación y monitoreo del programa.

**3. Redes políticas y participación ciudadana: las políticas de protección a la mujer en Bolivia**

*Soledad Valdivia Rivera, Leiden University, s.valdivia.rivera@hum.leidenuniv.nl*

En América Latina, la participación ciudadana ha sido identificada como un elemento que determina el carácter de las políticas sociales (Huber y Stephens 2012; Pribble 2013; Niedzwieli 2014, 2015; Garay 2017). En la última década, el estado Boliviano ha presentado esfuerzos por institucionalizar formatos de participación y control social en el marco de la democracia representativa. Sin embargo, los mecanismos informales de acción colectiva son los que presentan los ejemplos más concretos de impacto ciudadano en la formulación e implementación de políticas públicas (Niedzwieli y Anria, 2019). Este trabajo analiza el caso específico de las políticas de protección de la mujer en Bolivia. Con el índice más alto de feminicidio en Suramérica, el país ha venido implementando políticas de protección y prevención, en medio de la presión social y el trabajo de organizaciones sociales de género. El estudio introduce el concepto de 'redes políticas' para caracterizar la dinámica de la participación ciudadana, e identifica la interconexión entre actores estratégicos de distinta índole, como clave para entender el grado de incidencia ciudadana en la política. Finalmente, el trabajo reflexiona sobre las ventajas y riesgos que este tipo de participación conlleva para la práctica democrática.

**4. No Somos Todos Iguales - A Study on How Beneficiaries Experience Receiving the TUS Transfer on a Relational and Symbolic Level**

*Gonzalo Paolillo & Dr. Flávio Eiró, Radboud University, gonchipaolillo@hotmail.com; f.eiro@maw.ru.nl*

This study presents further understanding on how the Tarjeta Uruguay Social (TUS) programme addresses its central goal of social inclusion. A study of this kind does not only contribute to the literature on Conditional Cash Transfer programmes (CCTs), but also in making the voices of the beneficiaries heard, which can be a valuable input for future design and implementation of social protection policies. By making use of a qualitative approach, I offer a perspective often overlooked in social policy heavily oriented by quantitative data. This study is based on interviews with TUS beneficiaries and direct observations in low-income neighbourhoods and irregular settlements located in the north-eastern region of Montevideo, Uruguay. My main argument is that the TUS programme can be seen as a tool that strengthens the contract between state and citizens by approaching vulnerable populations, improving their perception and rapport with the state. It also works towards the social inclusion of its beneficiaries by providing them with a stable source of income, reducing the uncertainty with which the future is perceived and strengthening the perception of their citizenship status and their rights in the process.

**P46: Who is governing Latin American Cities? Exploring contemporary urban development processes from a comparative perspective**

Convener: Tania Guerrero, University College London, tania.rios.16@ucl.ac.uk

Chair: Prof. Ann Varley, University College London, a.varley@ucl.ac.uk

In a region characterised by rapid urbanization, recurrent episodes of crisis, social inequality, and high levels of informality, local governments are finding it increasingly difficult to respond to pressing urban development issues across Latin America. Incomplete decentralisation and limited financial

autonomy also make it difficult for municipalities alone to provide suitable solutions. Meanwhile, urban growth continues to be shaped by non-state actors and a wide range of everyday practices in peripheral areas. In this context, it is essential to examine the actors and institutions shaping Latin American cities and to account for the complexity and wide range of informal, multi-scalar, public-private dynamics taking place within, across, and in parallel to the state. This panel seeks to understand how different political, economic and social actors navigate or not formal government structures and procedures in order to achieve specific urban outcomes. Each paper deals with different aspects of urban policies, focusing on the individual and collective agency of policymakers, political leaders, community organisations, and municipal bureaucracies in order to establish the extent to which local institutional cultures might favour or not the implementation of urban policies that aim to tackle some of the most pressing issues affecting many cities across the region.

Speakers:

**1. Urban policy responses in times of crisis: a comparative analysis of local actors and institutions in Valencia (Spain) and Mar del Plata (Argentina)**

*Dr. Álvaro Sánchez, University College London, alvaro.jimenez@almuni.ucl.ac.uk*

This paper examines how and to what extent different local actors might be able to influence the institutional environment in which urban policies and strategic agendas formulated in response to crisis are negotiated and decided upon. The political agency of different local actors as well as the diversity of institutional structures and formal-informal dynamics involved in policymaking processes are all essential to understand the complexity of the social and political environment in which urban policies emerge. The paper draws on insights from a North-South comparative study between Valencia (Spain) and Mar del Plata (Argentina) since democratic transition to the mid 2010s. The actors discussed range from charismatic leaders and powerful individuals to a mixture of business/professional associations, municipal officials, and social groups. A number of public-private interactions and forms of intervention, organisation and participation between these actors are examined in each city to evidence the consolidation of distinctive political landscapes and institutional cultures and to highlight that both European and Latin American cities share features and experiences that help us to bridge entrenched North-South analytical divides.

**2. Using subsidised housing to control urban expansion, the case of urban containment policies in Mexico**

*Tania Guerrero, University College London, tania.rios.16@ucl.ac.uk*

Attempts to control urban development in Latin America face implementation challenges that are commonly associated with the lack of financial or technical skills and less with questioning how appropriate are these planning technologies for the socio-political context of the region (Goodfellow 2013). This paper looks at urban development processes in Mexico City analysing the responses to a 'corrective' planning technology, the Urban Containment Perimeters (UCPs), which are part of a federal policy that conditions the allocation of housing subsidies to specific geographical locations. Although not conceived as planning instruments, UCPs seem to serve as an 'unintended' planning technology that controls development using a financial incentive. I analyse the implementation of the UCPs strategy against more traditional planning instruments that have proven ineffective to control urban development processes. Results show that UCPs are bypassing public resistance as they are 'invisible' to the general public, therefore having a larger chance of successful implementation. While this does not imply that local planning instruments are replaceable, UCPs do portray an urgent/rapid response to a rapidly changing environment. Perhaps a more adequate planning technology emerging from Latin America.

**3. Housing crisis and recent housing policies in Santiago and Buenos Aires: new subsidies as an opportunity for the poor or the market?**

*Cristóbal Díaz Martínez, University College London, cristobal.martinez.17@ucl.ac.uk*

Innovative policy mechanisms to address the housing deficit in Latin America have been proposed in numerous countries over the past decade. In response to rising prices of urban land and an increasing number of families residing in informal settlements, cities like Santiago and Buenos Aires have adopted similar policies. New property and rental housing subsidies have been introduced in both Chile and Argentina since 2014. Nevertheless, these subsidies appear to be insufficient in light of a heavily deregulated land market and the significant power of real estate developers. In addition, the housing market has been deregulated in favour of real estate developers in both cities, which has resulted in the reinforcement of housing segregation patterns. Mapping this phenomenon in both cities shows similarities attributable to a more aggressive type of neoliberal capital accumulation, expressed in the financialization of housing, and specific differences regarding the social groups involved and the type of state intervention. In this paper I look at the influence of private investors on the state decisions, and the resulting segregation structure which conditions families' housing strategies.

**P47: Democracia local en América Latina (double panel)**

Convener: Tomás Dosek, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, [tomdosek@gmail.com](mailto:tomdosek@gmail.com)

Speakers:

**1. Comparing States: Territorial Heterogeneity in Public Goods Provision**

*Imke Harbers, University of Amsterdam, i.harbers@uva.nl*

States often depart from the Weberian ideal. Yet we do not have adequate conceptual tools to characterize the forms this departure can take. To move beyond a binary of strong versus weak states, we develop a descriptive typology of states based on the territorial heterogeneity in the public goods that states provide in Latin America. Our typology consists of two dimensions: (1) the range of publicly provided goods and (2) the territorial uniformity of public provision. The dimensions delineate four types of territorial heterogeneity: uniform broad, differentiated, uniform narrow, and disjointed. Two types in particular illuminate deviations from the strong and weak poles: Differentiated states, which provide a broad but locally varying range of goods, and uniform narrow states, which provide a minimal set of goods throughout the territory. Distinguishing between these types extends what we know about empirical variation within states to allow us to compare across states.

**2. La persistencia de caudillos locales en América Latina: Comparando las prácticas políticas en Chile, Paraguay y Perú**

*Tomás Dosek, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, [tomdosek@gmail.com](mailto:tomdosek@gmail.com)*

El objetivo de este paper es explicar la continuidad en el poder e identificar las razones de éxito de caudillos (alcaldes) locales en seis municipios de Chile, Paraguay y Perú. Mientras que en los países federales los gobernadores subnacionales autoritarios pueden recurrir a cambios institucionales y manipulaciones del régimen político (acceso al poder) en ese nivel, en los países unitarios, donde los alcaldes estas capacidades no tienen, el análisis se enfoca en el ejercicio del poder y sus prácticas políticas informales. Pese a las diferencias contextuales de los tres países aquí analizados, las prácticas políticas informales utilizadas (que van desde la corrupción hasta el acoso de la oposición) son parecidas. La continuidad y el éxito de los caudillos se explican por factores locales, particularmente su capacidad de mantener la fidelidad de su base de apoyo y su capacidad de evitar errores propios o cálculos (electorales) equivocados. El paper muestra el argumento principal empíricamente con un análisis comparado de dos casos extremos de Augusto Miyashiro (Perú) y Vicky Barahona

(Chile). La investigación se basa en el trabajo de campo en los tres países basado en entrevistas en profundidad con actores claves.

**3. Autonomías indígenas originarias campesinas en el contexto político en Bolivia**

*Pavlína Springerová & Barbora Valísková, Univerzita Hradec Králové, pavlina.springerova@uhk.cz & barbora.valiskova@uhk.cz*

Esta ponencia explora el desarrollo de las autonomías indígenas en Bolivia en el contexto descentralizador de la política de gobierno de Evo Morales. Las autonomías indígenas representan el fundamento clave para la encarnación del Estado Plurinacional que ha sido introducido por la nueva Constitución del Estado en 2009. Como tal el objetivo de la introducción de la autonomía indígena en la nueva constitución era profundizar la práctica democrática mediante la mayor inclusión de los pueblos indígenas en los asuntos públicos en el nivel local en base de sus usos y costumbres. Concretamente, nos enfocaremos en la interacción de las estrategias de los actores principales del proceso autonómico, es decir del gobierno central por un lado y de los protagonistas locales por otro. En este sentido prestaremos nuestra atención a las estrategias discursivas de los actores cuales serán analizados mediante del concepto de enmarcación (Snow y Benford 2000) con el énfasis en su interacción en las llamadas guerras de los marcos discursivos. De esta manera analizaremos los marcos propuestos e interpretados por los actores políticos e indígenas con el fin de revelar qué significado tienen autonomías indígenas para la democracia en Bolivia en los ojos de los actores particulares.

**4. La integración partidaria en Argentina: Un análisis subnacional**

*Carlos Vareta, Universidad Nacional de San Martín, cvareta@unsam.edu.ar*

Los estudios acerca de la política partidaria argentina han resaltado la existencia de un proceso de progresiva desnacionalización o territorialización de la política partidaria. Reiteradamente se ha señalado que el mencionado proceso implicó un proceso de mayor fragmentación en algunas provincias (mayormente las centrales) y de concentración en otras (las periféricas). Este proceso se explicaría centralmente- aunque no exclusivamente- por los procesos descentralizadores del Estado. Las mismas expectativas teóricas justificarían hipotetizar que el mismo proceso ha afectado al interior a las provincias, ya que también han llevado a cabo procesos de descentralización política, administrativa y fiscal. De hecho, los trabajos de caso suelen señalar las diferencias intrarregionales del voto y el apoyo partidario en los territorios provinciales. Sin embargo, no se ha estudiado sistemáticamente el grado de integración de los sistemas partidarios provinciales ni su evolución. En este trabajo se analiza el grado de integración horizontal y vertical en cada una de las provincias argentinas y se exploran hipótesis explicativas de su comportamiento.

**5. Who nominates legislative candidates? The Dispute between National and Sub-national Political Actors for Control of Argentine National Congress**

*Gerardo Scherlis, Universidad de Buenos Aires, gscherlis@derecho.uba.ar*

The knowledge about who appoints candidates for legislative offices provides key information on intra-party power relations while it is also crucial to understand legislators' behaviour once elected. In the case of Argentina, an extensive literature assumes that sub-national political actors, mainly provincial governors, are the excluding actors in this field. The literature derives from this important implications for the functioning of the political system. However, this assumption has not been verified empirically. This research contributes to fill this gap by analysing the nomination of the viable candidates to national deputy between 2009 and 2019. The results question the common sense of the current literature, identifying a variety of actors, both national and sub-national ones, with enough capacity to nominate candidates, measuring their respective power of nomination and

exploring the conditions that strengthen the power of nomination in each case.

**6. Estreno e implicancias de la no reelección inmediata de autoridades subnacionales en el Perú**

*Jorge Aragón, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, jaragon@pucp.pe*

En las Elecciones Regionales y Municipales del 2018 en el Perú se aplicó por primera vez la prohibición de la reelección inmediata a alcaldes distritales y otros cargos ejecutivos subnacionales. Esta reforma electoral había sido aprobada sin mayor debate por el Congreso de la República en el 2015 como respuesta a los casos de corrupción de autoridades subnacionales. En este nuevo contexto, la posibilidad de postular a un cargo diferente al que se había desempeñado en el periodo 2015-2018 en las elecciones subnacionales del 2018, terminó operando como una salida para aquellos políticos interesados en desarrollar una trayectoria política continua en el ámbito subnacional. Dada esta situación, el principal objetivo de nuestro trabajo es analizar qué cambios ha generado la no reelección inmediata en la dinámica política subnacional; tanto para los políticos y sus organizaciones como para los electores. A partir de la lista de candidatos en las elecciones municipales y regionales del 2018, la relación de autoridades elegidas en el periodo anterior (2015-2018) y la suerte de quienes aspiraban a ser “reelectos” pero en un cargo diferente al que habían desempeñado en el periodo anterior, nuestra investigación busca contribuir a comprender mejor las principales implicancias de este significativo cambio de las reglas electorales para los ámbitos subnacionales en el Perú.

**7. The Paradox of Municipal Size for Local Democracy in Latin America**

*Karel Kouba, Univerzita Hradec Králové, karel.kouba@uhk.cz*

The presentation examines the relationship between the size of Latin American municipalities and two principal dimensions of local democracy – political competition and participation. Existing theories posit strong relationships of political scale with both dimensions, yet paradoxically in opposite and contradictory directions. While, for most literature, competition increases positively with size, participation is expected to correlate negatively. This points to paradoxical prescriptions regarding the optimal size of municipalities. The presentation therefore considers the scale of the local government as a crucial determinant of local democracy. It first proposes a theoretical framework for understanding participation and competition as key ingredients of Latin American local-level democracy and relates it to the theoretical debates on the scale of municipalities. The empirical part relies on a large original dataset covering all municipalities in 15 Latin American countries and including information of the main variables of interest for each municipality. These relationships are tested in individual countries as well as in a multilevel framework using hierarchical modelling. This allows considering both local-level determinants as well as controlling for national-level variables (e.g. compulsory voting, type of municipal electoral system or simultaneity of elections).

**P48: ¿De la dispersión a la acumulación? Consecuencias políticas de los conflictos socio-territoriales y de industrias extractivas en perspectiva comparada**

Convener: Maritza Paredes, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, maritza.paredes@pucp.pe

El auge del extractivismo y la economía basada en los recursos naturales produjo un período de acelerado crecimiento económico, pero al mismo tiempo acarreó profundas transformaciones en los territorios en América Latina, multiplicando los conflictos originados en dichos territorios. ¿Qué consecuencias políticas han tenido estos conflictos? La propuesta de este panel es reflexionar sobre la base de diferentes investigaciones que indagan cómo los conflictos están teniendo importantes consecuencias en diferentes dimensiones de la esfera política y de las instituciones. Con evidencia de países como Perú, Chile y Argentina y, sectores como minería e hidrocarburos se examinarán

consecuencias de los conflictos sobre diferentes niveles y ámbitos. Los niveles de las consecuencias pueden darse en el territorio mismo donde sucedió el conflicto –surgen nuevos actores, ocurren cambios normativos o en la institucionalidad local, emergen nuevas dinámicas políticas- o bien alcanzar otras escalas, como la política nacional o sectorial. Los ámbitos de consecuencias pueden ser la política representativa, la sociedad civil organizada, la política pública sectorial o diferentes combinaciones. Finalmente, se discutirá cómo las consecuencias están influidas por las estrategias y capacidades de los actores y también por las oportunidades políticas.

Speakers:

**1. Transformaciones Institucionales Ambiguas: La Producción de Mecanismos de Participación y Coerción para la Gobernanza de las Industrias Extractivas**

*Bettina Schorr, FU Berlin, bettina.schorr@fu-berlin.de*

El artículo sintetiza las transformaciones institucionales en cuanto a la participación de los actores locales en las decisiones relacionadas con las industrias extractivas en el Perú. Propone la idea que el superciclo de commodities (2004 – 2014) influyó en la generación de cambios institucionales en relación a la participación, como consecuencia de la aceleración de los conflictos relacionados a las industrias extractivas y un contexto internacional favorable a un discurso de desarrollo inclusivo que incorpore a todos los stakeholders (empresa, Estado y sociedad civil) en la toma de decisiones locales. Sin embargo, también plantea que estas transformaciones institucionales han sido ambiguas. Esto por que las políticas de participación han sido acompañadas crecientes reformas institucionales que criminalizan la protesta social y sirven para un mayor control de la movilización de los ciudadanos.

**2. Consecuencias en busca de causas: el rol de la acumulación y la combinación en los conflictos extractivos**

*Gonzalo Delamaza, Universidad de Los Lagos, gonzalo.delamaza@ulagos.cl*

El paper conceptualiza el rol de la “acumulación”, territorial y sectorial, de los conflictos extractivos y su “combinación” con factores externos, de mercado y de oportunidad política, para explicar algunas de sus principales consecuencias políticas. Se parte de la base que dichas consecuencias normalmente no se producen a partir de un solo conflicto, sino que requieren de la concurrencia de procesos mayores como las referidas acumulación y combinación. Para ello se realiza un análisis comparado del conflicto minero en Chile y Perú y se analizan con mayor profundidad algunos casos. Con ello se busca aislar algunos de los factores que podrían explicar el tipo de consecuencias que se producen. No parece posible establecer una relación de causalidad, por la multidimensionalidad de cada conflicto y la multicausalidad de los cambios políticos, pero por medio de la comparación sistemática es posible establecer el alcance y rol de los conceptos propuestos. Se someten a análisis dos factores que diferencian a los países elegidos: el grado de descentralización política y la fortaleza del sistema de partidos, así como otras variables mas coyunturales que contribuirían a la explicación.

**3. The Contested Meaning of Prior Consultation and FPIC. Indigenous Grassroots and the Politics of Translating Rights in Struggles over Resources in the Peruvian Amazon**

*Riccarda Flemmer, GIGA Hamburg, rflemmer@gmx.de*

Peru adopted a national Law of Prior Consultation in 2011 which is celebrated outside of the country. However, this legislation only resulted from the violent events of Bagua in 2009. Further, it is often forgotten that the interpretation of prior consultation – especially the question of whether indigenous communities can reject projects (Free, Prior and Informed Consent–FPIC) – has turned into a type of conflict itself. Based on legal analysis and material from ethnographic fieldwork (2013–2015), this article argues that local consultation processes bear all the weight of the (inter)national tug-of-war between the competing

interpretations of prior consultation and FPIC. The analysis shows that power asymmetries lead to processes being used to weaken critical indigenous positions and legitimise projects. Thus, the consultation right becomes an instrument against the population to be protected. Paradoxically, this means that indigenous organisations can only strengthen their negotiating position if they reject their right to consultation and block processes. In these cases, the formal obligation of the state to consult communities can be used to modify or even oppose projects.

**4. Extractive regime beyond Isomorphic institutional change. Explaining progress and setbacks in environmental governance in Chile and Peru (1990-2018)**

*Maritza Paredes, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, maritza.paredes@pucp.pe*

At the beginning of the 1990s, Chile and Peru created a National Commission of Environment (CONAMA and CONAM). Almost twenty years later, both countries created a Ministry of Environment (MMA and MINAM). The new environmental institutions of the two countries formally adopted international trends, but differed in their implementation a decade later. We argue that to have a full grasp of what's going on in environmental governance in these countries – and most probably in any country actually – the attention should be put in extractive regimes. A regime is characterized by a set of ideas, some governing arrangements and interests of stakeholders (May & Jochim, 2013). We argue that these regimes have been only slightly affected by isomorphic institutional change in the environmental subsystem. Why has it been so? To explain the limitations of isomorphic institutional change at the subsystem level and resilience in the extractive regime, as well as the nuances in implementation in both cases, we focus on the interplay between social mobilization and international pressures, bureaucratic tradition and business power.

**P49: Addressing the Gaps in Policy Conversations & Thinking in Latin America**

Convener: Peter Ward, University of Texas at Austin, peter.ward@austin.utexas.edu

Chair: Ann Varley, University College London, a.varley@ucl.ac.uk

Against a backdrop of several arenas specific areas of social policy that present often unseen or recently emerging challenges. Examples are health (obesity & mental health); migration (between Latin American countries); drugs (legalization); pension programs for the elderly. As well as being second or third "tier" policy arenas, the papers propose to open up a conversation about the need to anticipate new policy streams and to address unintended consequences of policy outcomes. Underpinning societal participation and implementation of the policies and good governance is societal confidence, and more importantly, trust, in governmental, nongovernmental institutions, as well as among the community social networks. Presenters and panel participants will be invited to think about the implementation of social programs can most appropriately leverage trust and confidence from the communities and stakeholders.

Speakers:

**1. Confianza: How solidarity networks are often overlooked**

*Michiel Baud, University of Amsterdam / CEDLA, j.m.baud@cedla.nl*

In this paper I hope to show that we should look at the importance of solidarity and trust relations on a daily level in Latin American society. I am aware that this goes against the mainstream view that Latin American societies show low levels of trust. Using the concept of confianza I will argue that this dark picture does not tell the complete story. Confianza creates networks of solidarity which lay the foundation for social activities and create local "communities". It is the contention of this paper that governments and non-government institutions should explicitly engage with these trust-based networks, associations and movements. The success or failure of institutional policies geared at social and political

change may well crucially depend on this structural engagement between institutions and these networks.

**2. Incremental Housing's Educational Trajectory: Infrastructure, Knowledge, and Space in São Paulo, Brazil**

*Kristine Stiphany, Texas Tech University, kstiphany@utexas.edu*

**3. Return of the Slum? Slumification of Consolidated Informal Settlements – A (Largely) Unseen Challenge?**

*Peter M Ward, University of Texas at Austin, peter.ward@austin.utexas.edu*

Today most scholars, policy makers, and residents themselves eschew the term "slum" and argue that it is high time to retire the term altogether (Mayne 2017). We agree, and yet we identify and explore counterfactual analyses of Latin American housing processes in which the conventional wisdom of successful housing consolidation appears to be severely constrained or stymied altogether. In the context of self-help ownership, low-income rental housing markets, and mass social interest housing estates which show high levels of abandonment and vacancies, this paper analyze why some types of housing remain heavily deteriorated, or having successfully consolidated, later enter a downward decline of deterioration into what might constitute the erstwhile term of "slums". Despite the apparent success of self-building consolidation since the 1960s and 1970s, we are now beginning to observe evidence of heavy distress to the physical fabric of dwellings and communities – de facto "slumification". This is due in part to the failure to rehabilitate deteriorated housing conditions after many years of intensive use. This paper will upon examples from the Latin American Housing Network ([www.lahn.utexas.org](http://www.lahn.utexas.org))

**4. Air quality and housing markets: the evolution of demand for clean air**

*Alfonso J Rojas Alvarez, LBJ School of Public Affairs, arojasa@utexas.edu*

The Early Alert System (SIATA) of Medellín just recently opened for the first time its air quality monitor data for 30 stations across several districts of the city, with statistics ranging from 2015 to 2018 for levels of PM2.5, PM10, NO, NO2, NOX, and SO2. Using the heterogeneity in these measurements, along with both household survey and census data, it is possible to explore the association between household valuation and air quality in the Colombian context. However, both household valuation and air quality are also correlated with economic activity, so a set of instruments are needed in order to isolate the relationship between a clean environment and stated prices of housing units. This paper uses a hedonic property model with physical structure, neighborhood, and environmental characteristics to explore these associations and the nature of housing location decision-making. Furthermore, several instruments are suggested to deal with the aforementioned spuriousness issue, as well as policy recommendations concerning the data needed to more adequately study the connection between air quality and housing decisions.

**P50: Shifting politics and policy in contemporary Latin America (double panel)**

Speakers:

**1. Quality of Democracy in the Left Transitions from Neoliberal Rule. Lessons from Latin America and Southern Europe**

*Juan Pablo Ferrero, University of Bath, jpf22@bath.ac.uk*

We seek to disentangle the process through which some democratic polities "escape" from neoliberal rule while others do not. We understand neoliberalism as the resulting equilibrium provoked by the restoration of class power that undermined the pro-labour policies of the post-war period. Thus, a state-wide attempt to tilt the balance to labour is what we define as a 'transition' –i.e. the political change from a 'neoliberal' equilibrium to an

out-of-type endpoint. Why do some democracies enter a route of political experimentation that challenges the status quo while others remain “trapped” in an orthodox neoliberal settlement? Our argument is that for a democratic polity to initiate a transition from neoliberal rule there needs to be: a crisis of neoliberal rule; a compelling alternative willing to contend for state power in national elections; and a reliable democratic settlement that allows the victory of the challenger –i.e. the alternative– over the neoliberal rulers. This model will be discussed by examining three cases: Argentina, Greece, and Mexico.

**2. Time Changes Things: Looking Back and Beyond at the June 2013 Protests in Brazil**

*César Jiménez-Martínez, Cardiff University, jimenezmartinezc@cardiff.ac.uk*

It has been seven years since the June 2013 protests, the biggest series of mobilisations that stormed Brazil in this century. Because of the nature of the protests, studies have predominantly examined them from the viewpoint of space, paying attention to the occupation of material and symbolic places, such as streets, squares and the media. I propose adopting a complementary perspective and look at them from the perspective of time. As Andrew Abbott (2001) observes, time allows us to separate general theories from case studies. Time also underscores ‘the banality of images’ (Mirzoeff, 2005), that is, the fact that, despite the immediate impact of mediated content –for instance, of images of police violence, or people occupying the national congress-, such mediated content had very little effect. Finally, time forces us to think critically at the role of academia. In the aftermath of the protests, these were praised as a democratic exercise. This romantic view has gradually been replaced by a particularly problematic one, which accuses them of being a right-wing conspiracy. A perspective from time is thus a useful way to escape from the narrowness of now and have more productive discussions about a pivotal episode for Brazilian history.

**3. Argentina y Brasil ante el dilema del ocaso de la agenda neoliberal**

*Hernán Ramírez, CNPq-Unisinos, Brasil, hramirez1967@yahoo.com*

La política no es hecha por fuerzas aisladas, sino por alianzas que negocian agendas. En Argentina y Brasil ha primado la lucha entre dos polos. Por un lado, una alianza de posiciones económicas ortodoxas con conservadoras y, por otro, posiciones heterodoxas unidas a sectores de centroizquierda. Las primeras tuvieron el apoyo del mercado y las segundas su rechazo, por lo que la agenda después de la redemocratización continuó bajo el signo de las reformas estructurales, que provocan efectos concentradores y atentan contra la equidad. Inicialmente la línea pro mercado fue impuesta de modo consensual, pero últimamente ello lo ha sido más por disciplinación, en especial cuando fuerzas ligadas a la heterodoxia llegaban circunstancialmente al gobierno, lo que ha llevado la región nuevamente a la inestabilidad, en un ciclo que aún no tiene salida firme en el horizonte. De este modo, la ponencia busca entender cómo se construyó esta correlación de fuerzas y la potencia que aun detentan cada uno de esos polos para conducir o desestabilizar la agenda política, la que parece estancada entre viejos paradigmas que ya no proporcionan las soluciones necesarias, pero sin que se avizore uno nuevo capaz de resolver tal tensión y devenir hegémónico.

**4. Institutions matter: a study of the right-wing state/society complex in Guatemala**

*Karin Fischer, Johannes Kepler University, karin.fischer@jku.at*

During the 1980s and 1990s large parts of the Right in Latin America accepted a need for democratic institutionality, as the elite’s confidence in the military as an effective or reliable partner diminished. Embracing neoliberalism and democratisation as “modern” was also advisable as the U.S. increasingly favoured democracy. Nonetheless, neoliberalism in Latin America has a strong coercive and authoritarian bias. Adherents know that it needs state efforts and strong institutions to encase a market economic order. Neoliberalism began to penetrate the five power clusters, i.e. economy, military, media, ideology and politics, which resulted in right-wing oriented state/society complexes over the years. Using Guatemala as a

case study, the paper shows how right-wing neoliberals established new institutions in civil society which enable and foster linkages across most of the power clusters. Private higher education institutions and think tanks were of particular importance in this respect. While higher education develops future state cadres, political leaders and the country's business elite, think tanks influence the media, politicians and a broader public. Through their intimate connections with the centers of power, these institutions became political weapons in times of insurgency and counterinsurgency.

**5. Struggling against Authoritarianism and for Identity: Polarization and the Civil Society in Nicaragua and Venezuela**

*Prof. Jesús María Casal Hernández & Alina Maria Ripplinger, Andrés Bello Catholic University (UCAB) & Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, g14016@mpil.de*

The comparative study of Nicaragua and Venezuela analyses the impact of politicization and polarization on coalitions of civil society organizations (CSOs) and their negotiation power. It is argued, first, that in both countries an ideational-identitarian legitimization of the government solidifies authoritative-autocratic structures of 'patriomonialismo' and 'caudillismo'. Second, the authors theorize governmental strategies targeted towards non-conformist social actors. Former include asymmetric discourses, narrative defamations, and the coercive exclusion of dissent voices who are used as bogeyman for the purpose of domestic politics. Finally, the main interest of the authors is to analyze the identity and authority of CSOs. Under conditions of politicization and polarization, organizations, who per usual possess non-partisan characteristics, tend to engage in coalitions and henceforth face a correlating dilemma: A fusion of interests possibly enables the formation of a politically powerful counterweight to the government and its hegemonic discourse but it also may diminish each organization's respective identity and authority. In sum, such processes can lead to the decline of identity and negotiation power. The authors therefore question how such loses can be minimized and if CSOs can maintain their identity and authority under conditions of politicization and polarization in order to effectively pressure for political reform.

**6. Minding the gap between Theory and Practice in Colombia's Peace Process**

*Daire McGill, CONPEACE – University of Oxford, daire.mcgill@pmb.ox.ac.uk*

With negotiations between the FARC-EP and Colombian government nearly culminated and the signing of a peace deal becoming plausible, Oxford's CONPEACE Programme began its work to study the implications of what promised to be a significant transformation of Colombia's security landscape. Since then, CONPEACE has brought together stakeholders from Colombia's government, Colombia's civil society, international organisations, and academia to bridge the centre-periphery divide and jointly identify a shared vision for sustainable peace. At the same time, CONPEACE has looked into structured comparisons of peace processes to understand how transitions reshuffle legal and illegal actors alike and restructure (in)formal institutions in the process. Evidently, this dual approach has the benefit of generating new knowledge of institutional processes while also having a discernible impact on political processes. At the same time, it also poses the challenge of promoting dialogue and deliberation among very different stakeholders. By bringing Colombian and European scholars together this dialogue aims to critically assess the benefits and challenges of such a dual approach between academia and practice. It will reflect on the work of CONPEACE over the past three years since its inception in 2016 and of other research programmes that similarly address both matters of theory and practice. This will serve to identify avenues of future policy-relevant research on transitions from war to peace.

**7. From Popular Representation to International Isolationism and Power Centralisation: Understanding AMLO's Mexico**

*Lisdey Espinoza Pedraza, University of Aberdeen, lis\_ep82@yahoo.co.uk*

One of the most striking features of his term so far is the fact that AMLO has displayed a serious disinterest in foreign affairs. AMLO has self-imposed an awkward international isolation and inward-looking strategy that has left Mexico in a fragile diplomatic position and has undermined Mexican strength to defend from Trump's threats and tantrums.

The two most worrying aspects of AMLO's administration so far are the hyper-centralisation that he has carried out to return all the threads of power to presidential hands; and his absolute control of the Congress.

AMLO's strategy is nothing new. It bears a striking resemblance to the PRI's heyday when the party kept a tight control. All this could mean a setback to Mexico's democracy. Like the PRI, MORENA is a pragmatic umbrella organisation. It is back to the future. MORENA could also take over much of the PRI's old patronage networks, and part of MORENA's ascent is based on the territorial grassroots work that the PRI dominated decades ago, let us hope that MORENA does not decide to also start mirroring the old authoritarian, undemocratic practices that allowed the PRI to remain in power for 71 years.

**8. Argentina's foreign policy direction after the 2019 presidential elections**

*Magdalena Lisinska, Jagiellonian University, m.lisinska@gmail.com*

In October 2019 Argentina is to hold national elections to choose a president and a vice president. While the 2015-2019 President M. Macri is running for the second term, he is facing a strong competition from the peronist bloc led by A. Fernández and a former president C. Kirchner. Undoubtedly, the outcome of 2019 elections will have a profound impact on the future of Argentina, not only regarding domestic issues, but also the country's foreign policy. From an analytical perspective, the choice between Macri and Fernández should be seen as a choice between continuation of current policies and a change aimed at re-defining Argentina's position in regional, hemispherical and global order. The paper presents and discusses the main objectives of Argentine foreign policy after the 2019 elections. The research will be based on qualitative analysis of official documents launched by the new presidency, official speeches, declarations of both the president and the members of his cabinet. The main goal of the paper is to establish whether and how the directions of Argentine diplomacy changed with the new president, and identify potential long-term trends in the country's foreign policy.

**P51: Politics, leadership and state in Latin America**

Speakers:

**1. El liderazgo político como clave del retroceso democrático**

*Laura Tedesco & Rut Diamint, Saint Louis University/Madrid Campus & Universidad Torcuato Di Tella Buenos Aires, ltedesco@slu.edu*

¿Esta la democracia en retroceso? ¿Es el liderazgo político una de las causas del retroceso? ¿Es el populismo tradicional la causa del retroceso democrático? Tanto en América Latina como en Europa, la democracia está cada vez más salpicada por tintes autoritarios. En este trabajo, analizamos el rol que los líderes políticos han tenido en este deterioro. Las crisis económicas han sido excusas para concentrar poder en el Ejecutivo. Mas tarde, la bonanza económica ha dado lugar a la expansión de programas sociales y subsidios que, en muchos casos, se ejecutaron acompañados por corrupción. En el medio de estos procesos, los presidentes y presidentas han acaparado la atención. El trabajo analiza los casos de Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay para, a través del análisis comparado, ofrecer ideas sobre el liderazgo político como variable explicativa del retroceso democrático.

**2. Understanding politics in present-day Brazil: Assessing candidates and imagining the state**

*Flávio Eiró & Martijn Koster, Radboud University, f.eiro@maw.ru.nl*

To contribute to a better understanding of Brazil's recent rearrangement of political forces, we analyze and compare the ways in which both residents and political candidates imagine politics and the state in Northeast Brazil. In this paper, we build on our long-term research in low-income neighborhoods in two cities in Pernambuco and Ceará. First, we analyze the different frames of reference the urban poor use for assessing their political candidates. We show how classic theorizations of poor people's politics in terms of reciprocity and economic rationality are not sufficient to understand the recent changes and the current setting. We add different frames of reference – disenchantment, cynicism, indifference, a conservative ethos, religious reflections – and show how these frames find expression in more or less amalgamated forms. Next to analyzing people's immediate and long-term expectations of politicians, we take into consideration their imaginations of the state. Second, we also look at politics "from the other side", based on fieldwork on political candidates and their campaigns during the 2018 elections. We analyze how these candidates and their staff navigate the new political setting, instrumentally mobilize votes and interpret the ways the urban poor engage with politics. We critically examine the tensions they experience in, on the one hand, attending to people's direct needs and, on the other, the performance of what they consider a truly noble politics.

**3. The Politics of Religious Ritual in Urban Bolivia**

*Matthew Doyle, University of Sussex, m.doyle66@hotmail.co.uk*

This paper discusses religious re-enchantment as a feature of the new politics of identity in contemporary Bolivia. It explores how Andean folk catholic rituals are used among a new urban middle class of rural origin to form alternative understandings of modernity and new political subjectivities. It draws on the author's existing 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork in rural and urban Bolivia and outlines a future field research project which will examine the role of ritual in the performative creation of political identity.

While folk catholic religious beliefs had previously been stigmatised in Bolivia by the educated urban middle classes, the rise of indigenist politics, constitutional reforms and the emergence of a new middle class have all contributed to their acceptance as part of a modern and progressive identity. Religious rituals which mediate relationships between the human and natural worlds now feature in mass cultural events organised by young people involved in progressive urban politics. This paper will consider why these individuals engage in these rituals, their function in shaping persons' sense of self as political agents and how this relates to the politics of identity and the re-enchantment of society in the wider Latin American region.

**4. How Bureaucracies Deal with Human Rights Violations in (Post-)Conflict Societies**

*Adriana Rudling, Queen's University Belfast / Universidad del Rosario, adriana.rudling@gmail.com*

Using a representative sample of conflict victims in the Department of Meta, Colombia (n = 600, between registered and non-registered victims), this paper asks what separates successful victims from less successful ones in their passage through the administrative reparations system. Literature suggests that, while the legalism that underlies implementation favours victims with greater access legal and political resources, the on-the-ground administrators of these programmes also matter (Buchely 2017; Quinche 2015). The necessary interplay between victims and administrators at various levels of the bureaucratic machine means that the latter may exploit regulatory gaps at their discretion with contradictory (and arbitrary) effects. Legal eligibility criteria established by the legislation and its regulatory decrees interact with hierarchies of innocence and vulnerability and other factors like socio-economic status and educational attainment to make victims and their

needs legible to implementing state agents (Vera 2017; Dávila 2018). As practitioners translate victims' needs into rights through application forms, they retrospectively shape the narrative of conflict. Relevant for scholars and policymakers, these results call into question the common (yet untested) idea that such programmes may be improved simply by ensuring victim participation. Instead, I suggest that 'successful' reparations emerge in the interaction between victims and administrators.

**5. Political Leadership and Democratization in Argentina, 1983-1999**

*Emilie Curryova, University of Oxford, emilie.curryova@sant.ox.ac.uk*

This presentation aims to analyse the political leadership of Presidents Raúl Alfonsín and Carlos Menem during the process of democratization in Argentina from the point of view of their ideas about democracy. Argentina's democratic transition in 1983 constituted a crucial turning point in the country's history of failed attempts at installing stable democratic regimes. Significantly, however, the country had a tradition of presidentialism that left important imprints on the political history and culture of the country. Hence, during the transition period Argentina entered a new phase of experience with democracy, democratic ideas, and political leadership. The Presidents under consideration were two distinct leaders with seemingly varied ideas about democracy and understanding of Argentine political traditions. This paper will explore Alfonsín's and Menem's conceptions of democracy, their particular ideas and beliefs, motivations, goals, actions and decision-making during the democratization period. Ultimately, the presentation is part of a broader project which has two main goals: to contribute to the understanding of Argentina's political culture and to the literature on democratic leadership in modern politics, by asking to what extent both leaders helped to break away or reinforce the country's caudillista and populist traditions? To this aim, the project engages with an interdisciplinary approach combining conceptual history and discourse analysis.

**P52: Arts and citizenship in Latin America**

Speakers:

**1. 'Pensamiento y libertad': Arts education for critical thinking in Venezuela**

*Katie Brown, University of Exeter, k.brown4@exeter.ac.uk*

This paper outlines the findings of the GCRF-funded project 'Pensamiento y libertad', carried out in partnership with researchers from the Centro de Investigaciones Populares in Caracas and the Escuela de Teatro Musical de Petare. The project is part of the wider 'Changing the Story' project, investigating the use of participatory arts with young people in (post)conflict zones. The paper first presents the key findings from a series of focus groups with young people (15-25) from various municipalities, in which they discuss their daily lives and feelings, their families and communities, and their experiences of conflict. The paper then discusses how these findings fed into a series of arts-based workshops for young people designed to boost critical thinking skills. The paper gives an evaluation of these workshops and considers lessons to take forward.

**2. Decolonization in Chiapas: Zapatistas, Co-operatives, Autonomous Education, Artivism**

*Denisa Krasna, Masaryk University, den.krasna@gmail.com*

Over 25 years have passed since the world first learned about the Zapatistas (EZLN)—Indigenous communities of Chiapas who organized themselves in response to culminating abuse by colonial powers. Despite largely keeping to themselves and not allowing strangers into their communities, the Zapatistas stressed the importance of transcultural cooperation in facing neoliberal globalization. The Zapatistas inspired many social justice movements across the world but their influence is most visible and widespread in Chiapas itself. Drawing on personal field research conducted in Chiapas from September through December 2019,

the paper will outline and analyze current education models in the region inspired by the EZLN that contest Eurocentric education by centring on community, tradition, land, and the concept of interconnectedness, as well as social movements that draw on co-operative principles of EZLN and offer alterNative economic models to capitalism (primarily shown on the example of the Cambalache project). Additionally, the paper will highlight the important role of artivism (art + artivism) in Chiapas.

**3. Discusiones en torno a la agencia cultural y los procesos audiovisuales de las comunidades amerindias en Colombia**

*Laura Ximena Triana Gallego, University of Amsterdam / CEDLA, l.x.trianagallego@cedla.nl*

El objetivo de esta presentación es visibilizar las discusiones teóricas vigentes relacionadas con la revitalización de las prácticas culturales amerindias en contextos políticos adversos en Colombia y de manera más amplia en Latinoamérica. Dicha discusión se sitúa en el marco del llamado “progresismo latinoamericano” donde los gobiernos continúan exotizando las formas de vida comunitaria pero conservan al mismo tiempo una agenda oculta de comercialización de los recursos naturales y culturales locales. Si bien esta tensión sigue representando un desafío para los tejidos comunitarios indígenas, también es el escenario donde las comunidades vienen construyendo acciones para maniobrar diversos conflictos que enfrentan colectivamente, dentro de las cuales se incluyen procesos de creación audiovisual. Al revisar los principales conceptos utilizados en mi investigación doctoral en diferentes contextos comparados, —una comunidad rural territorializada y una comunidad urbana desplazada por situaciones de conflicto—, surgen varias reflexiones: Por un lado, sobre el rol del estado y otras instituciones en los procesos de agencia cultural como también sobre la revitalización de epistemologías amerindias que se evocan a través de la oralidad y de la imagen desde experiencias locales situadas, con sus desafíos y límites.

**4. La escritura como recurso de lazo social y resistencia**

*Omar Alejandro Bravo, Universidad ICESI Colombia, oabravo@icesi.edu.co*

Las prisiones colombianas no escapan a la regla general que caracteriza a los sistemas penitenciarios latinoamericanos: hacinamiento, maltrato y violencia, siendo la población joven y excluida la víctima principal de estos dispositivos, ya descriptos por Goffman en una caracterización aún vigente. En la prisión de Villahermosa, Cali, se desarrolló una experiencia de intervención que, entre otros objetivos, se propuso crear una publicación, titulada *Desde adentro*, que pudiese servir como medio de expresión para la población privada de libertad, entendiendo que las formas de convivencia en la cárcel impiden o dificultan hablar de ciertos temas. De los tres números de esta publicación producidos, se considera aquí al último, que tuvo un carácter temático, vinculado al proceso de paz desarrollado en Colombia entre el gobierno y la guerrilla de las Farc. Se considera que los ensayos, dibujos y poemas contenidos en esta publicación constituyeron también una posibilidad de lazo social, donde los participantes encontraron una manera de escapar de los controles formales e informales que la institución establece para este tipo de manifestaciones, constituyéndose en una forma de resistencia contra esta violencia institucional.

**P53: International relations**

Speakers:

**1. Should I stay or should I go? Colombia's Exit from the Union of South American Nations and Its Impact on the Disintegration of Regional Organizations**

*Rafael Castro-Alegria, German Institute of Global and Area Studies, rafael.castro@giga-hamburg.de*

The research questions that guide the following paper are: How was the constitution of antagonistic political identities in the exit discourse of Colombia from the UNASUR? How was

the regional exit discourse related to the sedimented practices of Colombian political elites? How are the regional exit discourse and the antagonistic political identities it built connected to the disintegration of the UNASUR? In order to answer these questions I have divided the paper into four sections. In the first one, I provide a brief literature review of the explanations for the disintegration of the UNASUR and the exit of Colombia. This will be followed, second, by a theoretical framework mainly drawing on the work of the poststructuralist political theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. Third, I present a methodological for the operationalization of their political discourse theory. Fourth, the theoretical and methodological sections will be applied to explain the exit of Colombia from the UNASUR, its impact on the disintegration of the regional organization and the related emergence of a new regional setting: the Forum for the Progress of South America (PROSUR).

**2. Rational-choice subordination and hegemony: The United States-Peru Trade Promotion Agreement negotiations**

*Quintijn Kat, University College London, quintijnkat@gmail.com*

Free Trade Agreements (FTA) are often seen as a tool for US power and influence, solidifying US hegemony. Agency is usually assumed to lie with the US while weaker negotiating partners are presented as relatively passive, guided by “false consciousness”, and forced into making a choice between acceptance of US demands or outright rejection of the FTA. This paper, through process tracing, examines the negotiations between the US and Peru which concluded with the signing of the US-PTPA. It finds, contrary to dominant views, that throughout the negotiations agency and initiative lay particularly with the Peruvians, while the US took on a rather passive and even reluctant role. As such, it argues that Peru made a rational cost-benefit analysis of subordination to US hegemony in the FTA, found that a deal was in its interest, and willingly engaged in asymmetrical negotiations, making concessions to far-reaching and intrusive US demands. This opens avenues towards a reconsideration of the workings of US hegemony in Peru and the wider Latin-American region as not merely guided by active US leadership, but also by active and rational Latin American followership.

**3. The impact of investor-state dispute settlement on environmental governance: the case of the Colombian páramos**

*Anna Sands, University of Oxford, anna.sands@sant.ox.ac.uk*

This paper investigates how investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS), which allows foreign investors to sue the host state before international tribunals, may affect environmental governance. It does so through a study of the impact of investment arbitration cases against Colombia in relation to its prohibition of mining in the páramo ecosystem (e.g. Eco Oro). It is based on over 30 semi-structured interviews with officials, the third sector, and miners. This paper relates closely to connectivity, as brings together different disciplinary perspectives on ISDS. Whilst legal research on ISDS has often been based solely on theoretical arguments, this paper aims to test some of the theories against empirical data. One of such theories is the “regulatory chill hypothesis”, which states that ISDS may make the state reluctant to introduce new environmental or social measures, due to the fear that that would bring about legal challenges (e. g. Tienhaara, 2009; Neumayer, 2001). This paper argues that, whilst effects of ISDS on environmental governance can be perceived, the regulatory chill hypothesis does not adequately capture the divisions within the state institutions, the impact of the lack of communication between them and of the ideological differences amongst the people working for them.

**4. Bridging the Legitimacy Gap: International Dimensions of Norm Contestation About Legal Abortion in Mexico**

*Clara Franco Yanez, German Institute of Global and Area Studies / Uni Hamburg, clara.franco@giga-hamburg.de*

The debate about the legality of abortion in Mexico is analyzed in its international dimension, as an example of ongoing norm contestation in Human Rights, through two opposing narratives represented by each side of the abortion debate. Through expert interviews, the project analyzes the way in which advocates for and against legal abortion use narratives in attempting to fill the existing "legitimacy gaps" in the topic, as well as their interpretations of international human rights texts and their proposals of public policy. Few normative issues are as contested as that of abortion. There is no global or regional consensus on what its precise legal status should be. Defenders on both sides of the debate interpret and invoke international legal documents either to promote or oppose legal abortion. Three factors highlight the relevance of the case: recent constitutional reform giving substantial legal weight to international human rights treaties; Mexico's federal status where each state creates its own abortion legislation; and civil society's growing role in shaping public policies. A detailed understanding of how public policy makers and advocates interpret international texts and propose viable compromises and solutions will be provided; in a context of conflicting norms and opposing principles of justice.

#### **P54: Social media, institutions and politics in Latin America**

Speakers:

##### **1. High Courts and Social Media in Latin America**

*Cordula Tibi Weber & Mariana Llanos, German Institute of Global and Area Studies, cordula.tibi\_weber@giga-hamburg.de*

During the last two decades, constitutional and supreme courts in Latin America have adopted different mechanisms of public participation and transparency, among others, the use of social media. Some Latin American courts stand out worldwide for their active online presence. Notwithstanding the increasing importance of social networks for public relations of public institutions, single-case studies on their use prevail.

In this article we present the first comparative evaluation of the social media presence of 18 Latin American high courts. We show information on the type of regulation and organization of social media-relations by the courts. Then, we evaluate the intensity of the current use of the most relevant online platforms – Twitter, Facebook and YouTube – and explore the level of influence each court has developed in these networks.

As a result, the article presents a typology of courts regarding their use of social media taking into account the intensity of use and the level of influence of each court in the respective platforms. In doing so, this article provides the basis for a deeper understanding of the online presence of courts and its effects on judicial legitimacy.

##### **2. Facebook and the 2019 presidential election in Argentina**

*Alicja Fijałkowska, Univeristy of Warsaw, alicja.fijałkowska@uw.edu.pl*

With a rate of 93,1% of the population with access to the global net, Argentina is a leader of Internet penetration in Latin America, as well the second best connected country of the Western Hemisphere. In 2018 Facebook registered about 25 million Argentinian users, which means that more than half of the citizens are present on this social platform. Also, according to Statcounter, during the last 12 months Facebook generated almost 90% of the total social media traffic in this country, which makes it a very efficient tool of propaganda before the 2019 presidential election. The paper is a part of the study on the use of Facebook in political campaigns in Latin America, that has been conducted since 2015. Its main goal is to establish whether the popularity on Facebook reflects the real tendencies among voters, as well as to determine whether the beginning of the official campaign changes the activity on the Facebook sites of the candidates. A separate space is devoted to the efficiency of the

Facebook campaign in terms of dragging the attention of the users to the published content. For these purposes, both the quantitative and qualitative methods are applied.

**3. Dictators' Digital Dilemma: The Drift toward Digital Authoritarianism**

*Tricia Gray, Jason Gainous & Kevin Wagner, University of Louisville, tricia.gray@louisville.edu*  
The digital revolution via the Internet has altered the political landscape in myriad ways. Political research on information communication technologies (ICTs) focuses on how people can and do utilize ICTs for political purposes. These changes in how citizens gather information, organize and engage with political institutions can increase political knowledge, efficacy, participation and global democratic development. However, the 2018 Freedom on the Net Report (FOTN) emphasizes the growing trend toward digital authoritarianism around the world. This paper draws on our previous research on ICTs in Latin America (Gainous, Gray and Wagner 2017; Gray, Gainous and Wagner 2016; Gainous, Gray and Wagner 2016) to explore this puzzle. We will utilize individual-level data from the 2018 Latinobarómetro merged with country-level data from the 2018 FOTN Report to estimate a series of multilevel models that test citizen attitudes about political conditions and democracy in their respective countries worsen, and whether effect stronger in countries with Internet freedom. Based on our previous research, we expect that the free flow of information via Internet will have a significant effect on how people feel about their government, which could be consequential for political stability, and, therefore, regime responses to restrict or filter Internet access.

**4. Las experiencias latinoamericanas de intervención política en la prensa obrera montevideana, 1883- 1911**

*Cecilia Demarco Gastelumendi, UDELAR-FDER, cecilia.demarco@gmail.com*

Hacia fines del siglo XIX y comienzos del XX - de la mano de la ourrencia en Uruguay de un proceso sustitutivo de importaciones que tuvo como centro la ciudad de Montevideo- poblaron esta capital numerosísimos periódicos. Redactados en buena medida por obreros, expresaban sus experiencias -en el sentido thompsoniano del término- y sus expectativas de mejoramiento. Para esta instancia, nos proponemos dilucidar cómo estos periódicos redactados por las asociaciones de trabajadores se apropiaron de experiencias obreras de intervención política acontecidas en otros contextos latinoamericanos. Es decir, cómo fueron las experiencias de otras regiones del continente descritas

y como estas configuraron las propias, contribuyendo a sus definiciones - ideológico políticas. Nos preguntamos, entonces, cómo a través del discurso periodístico convirtieron el acontecer del movimiento obrero organizado en experiencia propia. Teóricamente, trabajaremos desde la Historia Social de vertiente thompsoniana, en la medida en que esta se ha concebido como un esfuerzo de pensar la formación de clase como, entre otros, un proceso de definición de un discurso propio. En el caso de la clase obrera, este fue transnacional. Tomaremos además herramientas de la Historia Conceptual para pensar la gestación y articulación del discurso político, en este caso, de clase.

**P55: Identity (and) Politics in Latin America**

Speakers:

**1. Re-ethnisation as strategy of identity visibility in the context of globalisation in Latin America**

*Pablo Isla Monsalve, Leiden University, p.a.isla.monsalve@hum.leidenuniv.nl*

Since the end of the 20th century, ethnicity in Latin America has become a central component of various social and political movements. These movements are fighting for recognition of their differentiated cultural identity as a basis for their participation and visibility. In this way, culture and identity have become closely interwoven elements, which

are difficult to distinguish today. The objectives of these movements problematize the traditional identity discourses that the nationalism in each country had legitimated and naturalized. In the last decade a new component of ethnic identity has been developed: the rescue and revival of extinct indigenous cultures that —through a new discursive elaboration— are part of the identity of new social groups. This is the case of de Diaguita community in Chile and Charrúa community in Uruguay. The presentation analyses in parallel both collectives, their discursive strategies, the role of ethnic identity, their reinterpretation of the official national history and the challenges of their emergence at the political and cultural level.

**2. State practices as catalysts of identity. Reshaping narratives of belonging and discrimination in the Archipelago of Chiloé**

*Diego Valdivieso-Sierpe, University of Manchester, diego.valdiviesosierpe@manchester.ac.uk*  
Drawing on the ethnographic data collected on a one year fieldwork in Chiloé (Chile) working with field-level officials implementing the Programa de Desarrollo Territorial Indígena (Indigenous Territorial Development Programme, PDTI) this paper explores how everyday state practices, based on a managerial and topographic approach, play a role in the generation of territorial identities.

Because the officials' practices are framed by an agricultural extension programme focused on indigenous farmers and based on the principles of neoliberal multiculturalism, their daily activities carry this project forward by mobilising state-validated categories of belonging that determine who is entitled to receive the benefits they distribute in the local context. Based in the aforementioned, this paper seeks to unveil how belonging markers based on ethnic or territorial criteria deepens and re-signifies existing ethno-racial differences, affecting how the local political arena, and the relationships taking place in that context, are assembled and experienced.

Therefore, I argue that everyday state practices (with little attention paid to both the identity and territorial categories of belonging already at play) impose borders and requirements that are triggering new and ambiguous narratives of belonging and discrimination, and fostering language changes that reconfigure existing differences.

**3. From nanas to presidentas: Leadership trajectories of Mapuche women within Indigenous associations in Santiago de Chile**

*Dana Brablec, University of Cambridge, dabrable@uc.cl*

This paper examines the role of female Mapuche leaders or presidentas to materialise collective cultural re-creation within Indigenous associations in Santiago de Chile. Since the recovery of democracy in the early 1990s, the Mapuche diaspora in Santiago has created and joined an increasing number of associations based upon their shared self-identification as Mapuche people. The role of presidentas has been instrumental in the creation and management of these associations. However, their role as urban leaders has not received significant attention. This situation stems from several reasons, including multifaceted discrimination as poor Indigenous women and domestic workers (nanas) by the prevailing urban society and socio-political structures before and during Pinochet's dictatorship that relegated women to the domestic arena. Based on ongoing work in collaboration with Mapuche women, the paper reveals that presidentas are leaving behind a role that relegated them to the domestic realm, serving as coordinators of the Mapuche associational activity in Santiago. Moreover, Mapuche women have not only acquired a crucial role in the management of internal associational affairs, but also in the interaction with the Chilean state. Through the spaces provided by associations, cultural recovery and implementation have become the leadership strongholds of presidentas in Santiago.

**4. Indigenous Peoples' media initiatives: a resistance strategy in Brazil**

*Camila Emboava Lopes, Umea University Sweden, camila.emboava.lopes@umu.se*

This paper offers a reflection about Indigenous peoples' media initiatives in contemporary Brazil. In a context where Indigenous Peoples face increasing violence and threats to their rights, digital media initiatives become valuable tools for various kinds of political mobilization. Indigenous collectives use digital media to voice their perspectives, look for alliances and support from other societies. However, the logics of digital media platforms can also reproduce old asymmetries. In this paper, we look at several digital media initiatives - namely Rádio Yandê, Mídia Índia, Rejuind and Ascuri - to reflect about how Indigenous collectives are building their presences and voices on the web. The used methods are content analysis, online observations and qualitative interviews with Indigenous media producers. The study is informed by earlier research about Indigenous owned media in different parts of the world, literature on digital media and social media. The aim of this paper is to call attention for the importance of Indigenous voices, which play a crucial role in a moment of political and environmental crisis in Brazil and in the world.

## **P56: Environmental justice and governance**

Speakers:

### **1. Between Criminalization and Empowerment: Judicialization of Peru's Mining Conflicts**

*Angela Lindt, University of Bern, angela.lindt@anthro.unibe.ch*

Social movements in Latin America make increasingly use of legal means to bring transnational corporations to court for human rights violations. This has resulted in the judicialization of many social conflicts. In this paper, I examine the case of a mining conflict in Peru and trace the effects of these judicialization processes.

In Peru, the strategy of turning to the law is not only applied by social movements, but also by corporations and by state authorities. These actors attempt to mobilize the law to criminalize social protests. Consequently, activists are faced with prosecution, whereas at the same time they try to mobilize the law as an instrument in their struggles. As both conflicting parties use the law, courtrooms in Peru have been transformed into central stages of the country's social conflicts. Social conflicts have become "lawfares".

Based on ethnographic research, I analyze how this judicialization affects activists and their strategies. I look at their perception and their expectations of the local system of justice. The paper takes up the legal anthropological debate as to whether law can be seen as an emancipatory tool or a so-called ""weapon of the weak"" or whether it is rather an instrument of elites to prevent social change.

### **2. Environmental Justice in Latin America: a comparative analysis of current challenges and future prospects**

*Giada Ferrucci, University of Western Ontario, gferrucc@uwo.ca*

In Latin America, the end of the violent conflicts and military dictatorships in the 1980s has opened new struggles in a relatively more democratic climate. Latin American countries have improved conditions for marginalized people and allow the participation of new social actors and organizations, such as social movements with environmental identities. Nevertheless, we are witnessing a renewed upswing in popular mobilization due to numerous social and environmental tensions in the region. In Latin America, popular mobilization remains indispensable for advancing the struggle for social change towards a new world of social justice and real democratic development.

The analysis of this paper will focus on popular environmental movements in Latin America, in particular in Honduras, Costa Rica and Brazil. Despite persecutions, murders and death

threats, popular environmental movements struggling for environmental justice and awareness continue to stand up and resist repression in Latin America. This paper will try to understand how Latin America's environmental popular movements cooperate to achieve social and environmental justice for and with communities in struggle. I analyze environmental justice in Latin America as a banner of popular mobilization for environmental movements to comprehend their role and how they support sustainable and democratic progress in the region.

**3. The Land Belongs To Those Who Work It: ANUC, Land Occupations and Repertoires of Resistance in Montes de María**

*Nicholas Woodward, Universidad Tecnológica de Bolívar, nwoodward@utb.edu.co*

The history of the northern Colombian subregion known as Montes de María has been marked by the struggle over land. In the second half of the 20th century, this struggle was led by a national organization of campesinos called the Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos, also known as ANUC. In the seventies, ANUC led massive land occupations in an effort to promote land redistribution. This paper provides a narrative of the rise and fall of ANUC, describes the actions and strategies involved in the land occupations, and links the history of the struggle over land with the recent effort to construct the historical memory of the conflict. Divided into three sections, the first traces the history of the struggle for land in Montes de María, the emergence and decline of ANUC, and the general history of land occupations in Montes de María. The second part links the study of the campesino movement with research on historical memory as a way to give voice to victims. The third offers a description of the actions, discourses and strategies involved in the occupation of land, and argues that a focus on the repertoires of the land occupation movement offers a path for examining historical memory research from the field of Performance Studies. The paper depicts ANUC and Colombian campesinos as key historical agents who developed and implemented innovative, highly organized, and largely nonviolent repertoires of resistance against the accumulation of lands by powerful landowners.

**4. Blue and green water governance interactions in Brazil: the case of the São Francisco River Basin**

*Eva Costa de Barros, University of Amsterdam, barros\_eva@yahoo.com.br*

Freshwater availability is normally estimated for naturally infiltrated water in the soil (green water resources) and for liquid water in rivers and aquifers (blue water resources). However there are few effective institutions and practices which integrate blue and green water resource management. In Brazil, institutions for the management of these freshwater resources have been established and have evolved over a hundred years. This article aims to show how water resources planning and management interactions have addressed green and blue water management, using the São Francisco River Basin (SFRB) as case study site. The strategies for dealing with water shortages in this region have often involved the construction of large water infrastructures to store greater volumes of water. Through this analysis, we provide tangible entry-points which reveal and trace how water infrastructure materials not only symbolize but also change social relations of power and increase inequality. We conclude that, traditionally, water policies have been poorly designed and mainly focus on blue water in the SFRB, which, ironically, is in short supply due to upstream diversion, reservoir construction and deforestation. Freshwater availability has also been aggravated by over-abstraction of groundwater, climate variability, and climate change.

**5. Henri Bergson, temporality and the Landless Workers' Movement**

*Alex Flynn, Durham University, a.flynn@ucl.ac.uk*

In this paper, I call attention to the utopian dimensions of social movement struggles and how members are increasingly seeking to exit from what I term, after Raymond Williams, a

subjunctive grammar of transformation. Analysing a Marxist social movement in Brazil, the Landless Workers' Movement (MST), and placing my ethnography in dialogue with the conceptual philosophical framework of Henri Bergson, I argue that such movements have a special relationship with utopia, inscribing a contradiction that is characteristic to the mode of willed transformation: the very impossibility of distant objectives becomes the justification for striving ever harder in perpetual struggle; for the MST, programmes of movement massification and the maintenance of a unified front are the inevitable and necessary conditions to create a new society. This teleological impetus is normative and regulatory in character and is resolutely premised on a linear understanding of time. Recognising that the occupation of land is central to MST practice, I question how change might occur through a disaggregation of space and time; how the unexpected and unforeseen might arise despite mechanisms designed to engender continuity; how in each moment, there is the latent potential to inscribe – in a creative gesture – a future as yet uninscribed of meaning and being.

### **P57: Gender, body and identity in contemporary Latin American politics and society**

Speakers:

**1. Does gender matter in the policy-making process? The stability of gender inequality in the distribution of the senior posts within the Federal Executive Service in Brazil (1996-2019)**

*Elisa Mendes Vasconcelos, University of Manchester, elisa.mendes.vasconcelos@gmail.com*

This proposed abstract seeks to investigate the relationship between the representation of women in the senior positions of the Federal Executive Service in Brazil and the attitudes taken towards policies focused on the female population. Those posts influence and implement public policy directives provided by the president, ministers and political parties. I seek to answer the following question: Do the women who occupy senior posts of the Federal Executive Service in Brazil act in favour of policies that benefit the female population? Preliminarily analysis of data from 1996 to 2019 suggests that the percentage of women in such posts don't vary much from one presidential term to another. What impact does the fact that the policymakers are predominantly men since 1996 can have in terms of policy-making? My research design will include i) in-depth interviews in two ministries, one from the social affairs and another from economic affairs; and ii) government data-analysis, to capture demographic aspects of the distribution of the seats between men and women in the last two decades. It is hoped that this research will contribute to achieving evidence on the impact of women's representation in senior government positions in Brazil in terms of policymaking.

**2. 'They won't burn us this time' - Witchcraft and political disruption in Rosario, Argentina**

*Pilar d'Alò, University of Amsterdam, pilar.dalo@gmail.com*

The paper explores the political subjectivity of a network of feminist witches of Rosario, Argentina. The topic was explored through a case-study empirical research that focused on the political discourses and practices of these witches, and on how the tensions of their discourses and practices with neoliberal subjectivity, gender essentialism, and the public/private dichotomy are solved in order to create an alternative possibility. It was found that witches merge a decolonial, popular feminist discourse with ethics derived with the spiritual traditions of Andean spirituality, the Goddess movement, and Tantra; and that they advance a proposal of resistance and disruption by focusing on deconstruction and re-articulation of the subject. This is done by engaging with an eclectic mix of esoteric practices approached by a Jungian, psycho-behavioural and embodied process that focuses on rituals:

the encounter of enactments, affects, and beliefs. It was also found that this proposal of disruption is brought into being by addressing the collective and individual subject in 'the circles', spaces of intimacy in which participants transform and from which they begin engaging differently with relationships and spaces they inhabit.

**3. Latino bodies 'out of place': disruptive potential or visibility through dislocation?**

*Francine Rossone de Paula, Queen's University Belfast, f.rossonedepaula@qub.ac.uk*

The materiality of (living, dead and surviving) bodies has been highlighted as a productive element of resistance against gender violence in Latin America. While acknowledging the potential of feminist solidarities in the region to disrupt and open up the political space to other worlds, this article aims at furthering the debate by also considering the precariousness of these bodies' geopolitical positions. The fact that certain bodies are exposed and/or continuously treated as exceeding dominant political structures may be read through their inherent potential for disruption and politicization. However, their exposure and visibility are themselves symptoms of their 'dislocation' from dominant representations / expectations of 'space'. In other words, these bodies exceed the "map" and they are seen particularly because they are conceived as 'out of place'. Recognition through dislocation often imposes its own text inhibiting any other texts written in/expressed through these bodies to be read/heard. Drawing on the literature on feminist geopolitics and decolonial feminism, this paper aims at exploring obstacles and subjective boundaries imposed on latino bodies by geopolitical representations, asking after the conditions for gendered geographies of visibility, recognition and elimination.

**4. El aborto medicamentoso en la gestión de embarazos no deseados: circulación de saberes profanos frente a la criminalización de la práctica en Ecuador**

*Gabriela del Salto, Paris Nanterre-CRESPPA, gabidelsalto@gmail.com*

Desde una aproximación etnográfica en curso, me interesa compartir algunos elementos de las trayectorias biográficas de fecundidad, contracepción y aborto de las mujeres y cuerpos gestantes, para identificar el lugar del aborto medicamentoso en la gestión de embarazos no deseados, su accesibilidad y si constituyen una alternativa frente al aborto inseguro tomando en cuenta el contexto de restricción legal de la práctica en Ecuador. En ese sentido, la utilización del medicamento misoprostol en las experiencias abortivas configuran el terreno de mi investigación, donde intento entender cómo el carácter ""metonímico"" de la molécula que confiere posibilidades de utilización fuera del control médico, incide en las prácticas de aborto auto inducido y en el régimen biopolítico alrededor del cuerpo y la sexualidad de las mujeres. En este sentido, nos interpela la re-apropiación de un saber-hacer científico biomédico y los efectos políticos de este saber profano sobre el cuerpo, la salud y el ejercicio de los derechos sexuales y reproductivos. Nos interesa así mismo, desde una perspectiva interseccional de género, clase y raza problematizar la posibilidad de agencia y de autonomía reproductiva en las prácticas de aborto auto-inducidas con pastillas como estrategias que desafíen el mandato de la maternidad.

## **Otros saberes & Alternative Methods**

### **P58: Voice and epistemologies (double panel)**

Speakers:

**1. Performance and theater making in Xalapa: an artistic practice based research to recognize cognitive processes for relief in political violence contexts**

*Geraldine Lamadrid Guerrero, University of Amsterdam / CEDLA, g.lamadridguerrero@cedla.nl*

After several years of artistic work in Xalapa, Veracruz, Mexico, i ask my self, to which extent performance making has been a tool for artists to remain emotionally and physically safe as citizens within the political violence context in which we have been submerged during the last decade. Performance and theater making has been a protective mask that allows to discuss topics that have been censored and persecuted if expressed through the newspapers or other media involving journalism and activism. It has also been helpful to get into forbidden places marked by oblivion and physical aggression. In this paper i want to highlight what i recognize as a cognitive process for relief from an art based research approach. My hypothesis is that by creating temporary artistic communities, though working directly in violently marked places of the city, artists find a way through the harsh environment of real life where fiction appears as a mental, emotional and physical relief. Fact and fiction interweave in the process of site-specific projects giving the chance for a symbolic outcome that becomes part of present memory construction where the interplay of objective and subjective experience generates a new experience zone: the relief zone. This will be explained through theoretical arguments and artistic practice based research examples.

## **2. Micro Macro Foto Litografia**

*Erika Servin, Newcastle University, erika.servin@ncl.ac.uk*

This work is a collaboration between printmaking artist Erika Servin and biomedical scientist Enrique Escobedo-Cousin. Erika's work explores cultures and subcultures of contemporary Mexico, aiming to create visual and symbolic references to them. Enrique's develops novel implantable micro-devices targeted to clinical use in the diagnosis and control of neuro-degenerative disorders. On a purely technical level, this project explores the conceptual approaches to their respective photo-lithography and etching techniques, showcasing added value from interdisciplinary, including exchange, cross-fertilisation and synergy. The macro-prints collection, produced using methods and materials common in art printing, features images of medical devices at various stages of manufacture, which are designed to study the human skeletal muscle. In contrast, the micro-print collection exhibits a series of societal themes of Mexican popular culture, produced using gold, silver on glass technique which is conventional to semiconductor device fabrication but novel to art-printing.

## **3. Digital Memories and Trajectories in Southern Patagonia**

*Geraldine Lublin, Swansea University, g.lublin@swansea.ac.uk*

This paper will discuss an interdisciplinary project aimed at co-designing a mobile platform with two Tehuelche communities in Argentine Southern Patagonia. Given that their lack of access to family memorabilia is only one aspect of their wider dispossession and dismemberment since the late 1870s, heritage recovery is particularly important for these communities. The digital platform allows selection of records from a dedicated repository to compile digital family albums on individuals' own devices, restoring a sense of ownership and making it easier for them to map their ancestry. Rather than an end-goal in itself, the reclaiming and (digital) repossession of images of their ancestors is seen as one step in the reassertion of the wider rights of these communities. At the same time, reasserting indigenous rights to records currently in the public domain also raises important research questions around the ownership of what is now digital community heritage.

## **4. Reverberando vozes**

*Tathiane Mattos Batista, ISCTE-CRIA, tathimattos@gmail.com*

A proposta desta comunicação será um ato político-poético no qual as palavras de escritoras afro-latino-americana serão proclamadas em alto e bom som. Numa recusa de continuarmos

engolindo as nossas palavras, escamoteando os nossos saberes, os gritos calados se tornarão tonais de vozes múltiplas. Proclamaremos os nossos lugares de fala. Seja ele na artes ou nas ciências, somos nós, “herdeiras desse patrimônio ancestral, temos em mãos o compromisso de conferir visibilidade às histórias de glória e criatividade que carregamos. Esse turning point nas nossas narrativas relaciona-se com a principal pauta do feminismo negro: o ato de restituir humanidades negadas”, como nos chama a atenção a professora Giovana Xavier (UFRJ). Logo, Reverberando vozes será um puzzle de saberes que clama a transformação do silêncio em linguagem.

**5. Memórias das fundações da ciência brasileira: protagonistas da informação em ciência e tecnologia vindas do Sul global**

*Ludmila Ribeiro, Ricardo Medeiros Pimenta, Marcel Garcia de Souza, Paula Farias Martins da Hora & Carolina Santos da Cunha, Instituto Brasileiro de Informação em Ciência e Tecnologia (IBICT), ludmilabrito@ibict.br*

No contexto global, a ciência tem sido reconhecida como discurso oficial que busca compreender, explicar e inquirir das realidades naturais às sociais, sem deixar de transformá-las e apresentar novos desafios à sociedade. Comunicar ciência e agir por tal processo parece ser objeto de constantes pesquisas nas últimas décadas. Ainda assim, é mister realizar e incentivar uma hermenêutica sobre como seus processos históricos e tecnopolíticos performam o monopólio tecnoinformacional do Norte global sobre o Sul. Este trabalho aponta para os agentes que viabilizaram esse discurso científico por meio da Ciência da Informação. No Brasil, lançar um olhar sobre os protagonistas que burilaram seu campo científico pela comunicação, acesso e informação é debruçar-se sobre assimetrias históricas: as que concernem ao próprio desenvolvimento da política em ciência, tecnologia e em informação especializada, além das que se dirigem às perspectivas da presença feminina no mesmo protagonismo.

Valendo-se da abordagem da “história oral”, este trabalho apresenta uma investigação que tem por objetivo a popularização da Ciência da Informação no Brasil, a fim de visibilizar as personagens que edificaram esse campo, entendendo a própria gênese da Ciência da Informação no país em um “dever de memória” imperativo para estudos vindouros do Sul global.

**6. Educação ambiental crítica e organização comunitária: A importância da educação popular**

*Rachel Carvalho, Universidade de Coimbra, rachelcarv@gmail.com*

A educação popular consiste numa referência para a educação ambiental crítica, principalmente às que são vivenciadas por comunidades impactadas por questões ambientais, provenientes de disputas geradoras de injustiças ambientais. Por meio da educação popular as práticas educativas são pensadas e construídas de forma participativa, considerando todos os saberes, tanto dos educandos tratados como sujeitos, quanto dos educadores. Neste caso, a participação consiste numa condição para o exercício da cidadania, entendida como fundamental no combate às injustiças ambientais. Como contribuir na organização comunitária para a ação política? Quais processos de ensino-aprendizagem podem ser utilizados? Com quais metodologias a educação popular pode contribuir? A partir destas indagações, analisaremos a importância da Educação Popular no que se refere à participação comunitária na gestão ambiental pública no Brasil. Apresentaremos perspectivas da educação popular baseadas em Paulo Freire; na sequência, sua articulação com a educação ambiental crítica, e por último, a proposta política pedagógica de educação ambiental da Associação Raízes, executora do Projeto NEA/BC.

**7. 'Dis-covering' Latin America in Anglophone Postcolonial Literary Criticism**

*Ashleigh McCann, School of Cultural Studies and Humanities at Leeds Becket University, a.mccann6923@student.leedsbecket.ac.uk*

Postcolonialism is currently one of the most widely taught and frequently applied critical theories in university English Literature Departments; often focusing on the repercussions of an initial clash of cultures in which cultural determiners are more clearly defined, postcolonialism has often neglected to account for the colonisation of the Americas. Anglophone postcolonial criticism has thus largely evolved as a reflection of the consequences of British colonialism of African/South Asian countries. Ashleigh's paper explores the (post)colonial conditions of 19th century Latin American fictions to evaluate the potential pitfalls/benefits of cross-engagement between postcolonial and Latin American literary studies. Exploring the frameworks of 'transculturation' and 'hybridity', this paper calls for greater engagement from anglophone postcolonial thinkers in addressing the paucity of interest and communication with Latin American literary studies. Whilst the paper advocates for anglophone literary scholars to acknowledge nineteenth century Latin American literature as 'postcolonial', the paper also addresses the tensions that arise from such analysis. Ashleigh addresses the hierarchisation of knowledge systems based on geographical origin as opposed to critical acumen, demonstrating the need for literary critics to decolonise their approach to knowledge production and postcolonial literary analysis.

#### **8. Positioning ourselves in relation to the coloniality of the university**

*Sheneez Amara, University of Liverpool, hssamara@liv.ac.uk*

I contextualise the coloniality of Western/Westernised academic knowledge production – the coloniality which compels the critiques that my co-panelists present. When we consider the objectification of "indigenous knowledges" from Latin America or the palpable exclusion of Latin American authors from reading lists and theorisations in postcolonial literary criticism, questions surrounding language- and race-based power dynamics become pertinent. The two papers to be presented in this panel attempt to expose and contest telling "epistemic exclusions" of voices from the Latin American region that raise questions surrounding Eurocentric normative understandings of what is considered "valid" knowledge and who is considered to be "capable" of knowing. They also approach the methodological implications of Eurocentric knowledge production processes. This brings about practical questions surrounding how we choose to approach academic research. What do we research and why? Which methods do we choose and why? Which authors do we read? Which authors do we exclude? What do these decisions reveal about our political motivations and stances in relation to the coloniality of our academic institutions and the methods and theories they promote and produce? I present critical reflections in response to the above questions in order to set the wider scene for Karina and Ashleigh's interventions.

\*\*\*

