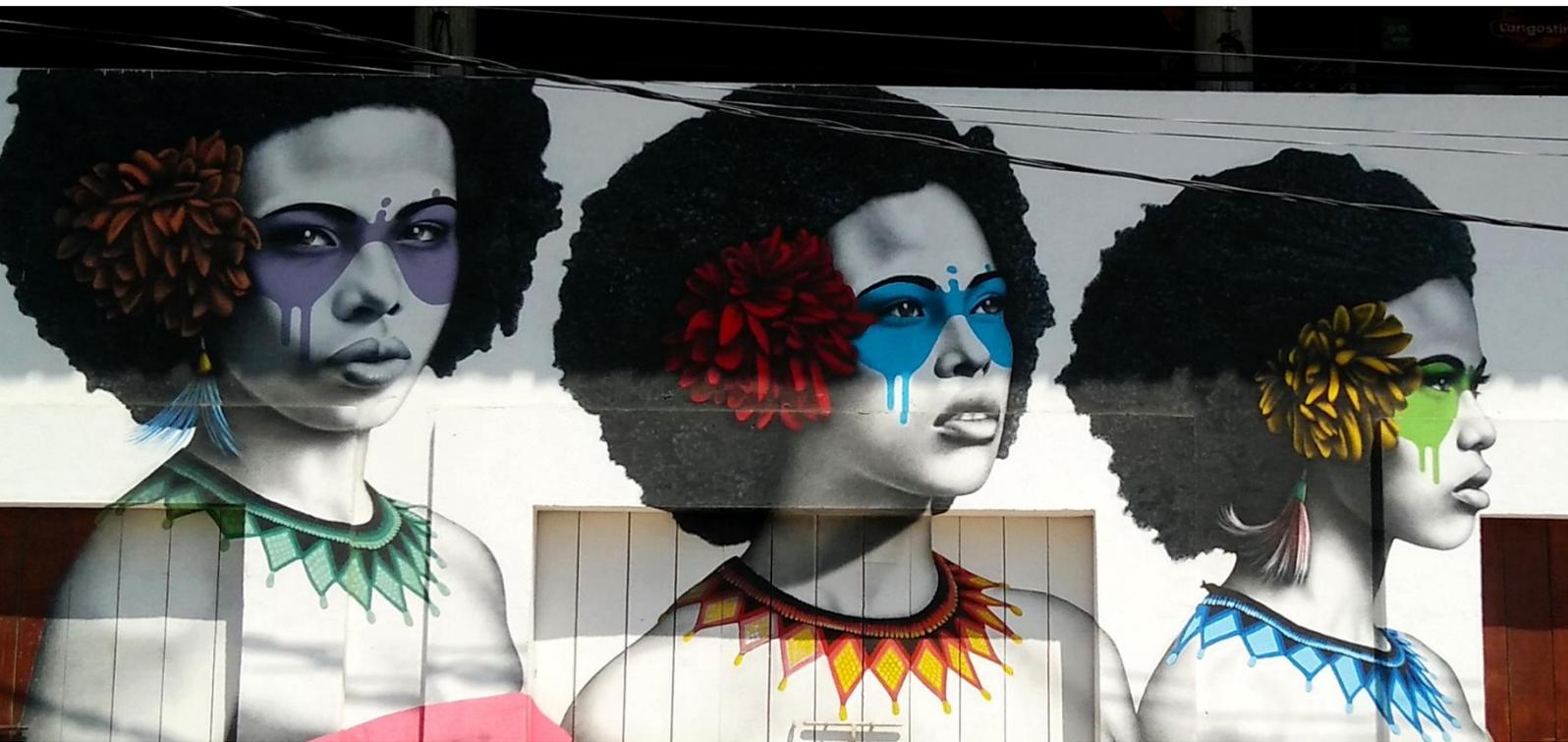


Book of Abstracts

SLAS2024, 1-3 July
University of Amsterdam, CEDLA



“In/Justice in Latin America and the Caribbean”

Please note the abstracts appear grouped in panels in the order of the panel list.

Pre-organized panels and roundtables also include a panel abstract.

Presentations will generally take place in the language of the abstract.

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Literature, Film, Arts & History

LFAH 1. Monsters, ghosts and violence

Chair: Ana María Villaveces Galofre (University of Cambridge)

1. Phantom Limbs: Affect, Haptics, and “partes de mucha gente” in Mariana Enríquez’s *Nuestra parte de noche*
Ana María Villaveces Galofre, University of Cambridge, UK

If we cannot find our dead, how can we feel our ghosts? In Mariana Enríquez’s *Nuestra parte de noche* tarnished, lost traces and remains of brutality highlight the horror of violent death and disappearance. Simultaneously, ghostly, howling echoes of people long lost and their obscured pain reverberate through the pages. The author’s insistence on viscerally narrating putrid wounds and hewn limbs characterises her search to reinvigorate stagnant tropes, to remind us of the corporeal cruelty partially hidden behind the ghostly and underline the importance of asking ourselves the above question. And yet, this all begs the question: when we talk about feeling, are we talking about haptics or about affect? In this talk I will delve into the association between textures and emotions, specifically in regards to what this association can lead to in a horror novel where human remains and wounds are the main textural component presented to us, however mediated. In *Nuestra parte de noche*, I propose, Enríquez cleaves together the material violence of jagged detritus and the ghostly undertones of disappearance, mobilising the horrifying possibilities of (re)presenting human remains to generate an affective response to the ghosts that, so many years after dictatorship, are still lurking and straining to touch us.

2. Los rostros del mal: apariencia e interioridad en la nueva novela de horror latinoamericana
Andrés Emil González, Brown University

Para las novelas del actual florecimiento de literatura de horror en Latinoamérica, la posibilidad de representar la incoherencia e injusticia de la violencia contemporánea ha requerido una reformulación de la figura del monstruo. A lo largo de la historia del horror como género, la monstruosidad como convención narrativa ha solido basarse en el establecimiento de la ruptura, la liminalidad y la diferencia. Así describe el filósofo Noël Carroll el vampiro, por ejemplo, notando su estado liminal entre la vida y la muerte, y su ruptura de las expectativas humanas sobre las leyes del mundo natural. Este proyecto examina ejemplos de la literatura contemporánea de horror en Latinoamérica en donde esta visión tradicional de la monstruosidad y la representación del mal es reemplazada por una muy distinta. En lugar de la ruptura y la diferencia, se enfatiza la continuidad y similitud, en lugar de la liminalidad, se manifiesta un horror derivado de la certidumbre que lo que se concebía como dos estados diferentes no son más que uno solo. Para investigar en qué consiste este cambio se analizan dos novelas: *Mandíbula* (2018) de Mónica Ojeda y *Páradais* (2021) de Fernanda Melchor. Estas dos novelas comparten personajes cuya capacidad para la violencia no se oculta tras una fachada sino que se liga a sus personalidades displicentes y su fealdad. Hasta sus nombres, Clara y Franco respectivamente, evocan armonía entre superficie y fondo. Las repercusiones tanto políticas como genéricas de estos experimentos con el terror literario merecen un análisis más extenso.

3. Second Generation anti-slave Iberians and the moral problem of the transatlantic slave trade
Fergal Purcell, Independent scholar

In the latter half of the sixteenth century several Iberian theologians published works on the ethics of business directed at Spanish and Portuguese merchants in Iberia and Latin America. Concerned with the spiritual salvation of their readers, these publications advised their readers on the different aspects of business. Injustices of the transatlantic slave trade brought misery to countless millions in Africa and the Americas. Troubled by reports of illicit enslavements from colleagues in Africa, Spanish and

Portuguese theologians addressed this issue in their works in terms of moral theology. These theologians objected to the trade on moral grounds and advised their readers to be cautious of involving themselves in a trade which was widely known to be corrupt. While still accepting that slavery and the transatlantic slave trade was in theory legal, these theologians objected to the practices of the slave trade. The theologians condemned the practices as illegal and immoral, and advised their readers to be careful in any transactions involving enslaved Africans. These Second Generation anti-slavery Iberians differed from the earlier First Generation. The First Generation objected to the arguments used to justify Spanish conquest of the Indies and the subsequent exploitation of Amerindians and Africans. These Second Generation theologians reacted to illicit enslavements with practice advise. Several concluded that the slave trade was beyond repair and should be condemned outright. These Iberians were forerunners of the Abolitionist movement yet to come.

4. Unwanted Kids, Unwanted Critters: Exploring Disgust and Alienation in “Guerra de los basureros” by Guadalupe Nettel and “Macario” by Juan Rulfo
Camila Vergara, Independent Scholar (speaker) & Lauren Huntzinger, Independent scholar (co-author)

Amphibians, arachnids, and insects’ positions within the cultural imagination often elicit disgust, becoming ‘pests’ once in the home, and forcing most to avoid them. Following Ahmed (2023), we posit children as “affect aliens”, who can lack this typical response. Examining some of these alternative affective reactions in Mexican literature complexifies our understanding of the human/pest relationship in this cultural context. In Guadalupe Nettel’s “Guerra de los basureros” and Juan Rulfo’s “Macario”, neglected child protagonists are shown to have a certain proximity to the undesirable critters that occupy their home. Either members of the unconventional family unit or the protagonists themselves identify similarities between pest and child. The various and conflicting roles of the critters populating the short stories challenge culturally anticipated interspecies tensions: the similarly rejected children find solace in the pests’ presence, at the same time as pest and child disrupt the family home. We argue that the youth and alienation of the protagonists allows them to bypass cultural norms, challenging taboos that govern how we relate to pests while revealing the rituals and agencies of the animals they encounter. The reader thus reimagines the relationship between critter and human, raising questions on multispecies interconnectedness like those posed by Donna Haraway, Timothy Morton, and others. Reading these stories with an eye towards relationships between pests and children exposes power relations operating within the private family space: as they encounter the invading animal, the *amas de casa*, maids, and children maintain class- and gender-specific structures of the Mexican home.

5. The (Im)possibility of Recognising Invisible Danger: Parallels between Domestic and Slow Violence in Verónica Gerber Bicecci’s *La compañía*
Lauren Huntzinger, Independent scholar

In *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*, Rob Nixon explores a need ‘to engage a different kind of violence, a violence that is neither spectacular nor instantaneous, but rather incremental and accretive’ (2). Slow violence is introduced as a process that happens so gradually, one does not notice its presence, and is subsequently not considered with the same urgency as catastrophe or other forms of explosive or immediate events. By drawing inspiration from the idea of this gradual, almost invisible violence, this paper explores Verónica Gerber Bicecci’s *La compañía* to examine violence within the domestic setting and its similarities to environmental degradation. *La compañía*, a rewrite of Amparo Dávila’s *El huésped*, explores domestic violence through the presence of an unwanted houseguest in a Mexican town destroyed by an oil company, allowing us to unpack the parallels and complexities present in the two forms of danger. Through a critical analysis of *La compañía*, I will examine themes of power dynamics, emotional distress, dehumanisation and the

persistent presence of self-doubt that appear in both forms of violence. By juxtaposing the subtle nature of slow violence with the often overlooked and unnoticed traces of domestic abuse portrayed in Bicecci's work, this paper will investigate these overlaps and prompt a critical inquiry into the (im)possibilities of recognising invisible dangers.

LFAH 2. Space, injustices and radical literatures

Chair: Ana Cardozo de Souza (Leiden University)

1. Bildung frustrada y melancolía en las novelas rockeras *Antipop* de Patricio Jara y *La armada invencible* de Antonio Ortuño

Francesco Di Bernardo, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla

Como apunta Torres (2020), la presencia de la música rock en la novela latinoamericana está usualmente asociada a las formas de la bildungsroman. Aunque si bien, siguiendo la conceptualización de Latinez (2014), la novela de aprendizaje canónicamente incorpora elementos de los discursos vinculados al ideal del desarrollo y de la modernidad del estado-nación, la bildungsroman rockera que se genera en los años sesenta por efecto de incorporación e hibridación de esta cultura musical en las sociedades latinoamericanas se centra en el desarrollo de una identidad que desafía el orden nacionalista y paternalista de la ideología de la modernización en América Latina (Zolov 2004, 44). La presente ponencia afirma que, por el contrario, con la globalización neoliberal, y las precariedades socioeconómicas asociadas a esta, así como por el aparente eclipse del rock de la escena musical contemporánea, la tematización del rock en la novela actual está vinculada a lo que Esty define como "bildung frustrada" (2011) y al duelo frente a la imposibilidad de completar la bildung en un contexto de precariedad personal y socioeconómica. En la presente ponencia, por lo tanto, se discute la reformulación de los tropos de la bildungsroman en las novelas *Antipop* de Patricio Jara y *La armada invencible* de Antonio Ortuño, analizando cómo las revividas ambiciones rockeras juveniles de sus protagonistas adultos se configuran como una forma de escapismo ante la precaria realidad latinoamericana y como una forma anacrónica de rebeldía, finalmente frustrada, frente a las convenciones sociales de la globalización neoliberal.

2. Injustice in João do Rio's Sci-Fi (1905-1915)

Ana Cardozo de Souza, Leiden University

The Brazilian journalist and writer João do Rio (1881-1921), born Paulo Barreto, lived an intense life which was reflected in his prolific literary work. During his career, he experimented with several literary genres (crônica, novels and theatrical pieces, for example) and received the recognition of his public and peers. In this presentation, I would like to focus on a less-explored part of his oeuvre: his sci-fi texts, published between 1905 and 1915, in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The science fiction genre itself has received less attention from scholars in Brazil, even though it plays an important role in Latin America. Being a black gay man, Do Rio himself experienced injustice and questioned laws and official policies implemented during the First Republic (1889-1930) that would negatively impact the lives of the majority of the population, poor and non-white. I argue that his literary pieces that I classify as Sci-Fi, usually placed in a distant or uncertain future, are actually used by him to discuss the current events that he witnessed and commented on. Injustices, punishments, and erasures of cultural practices and popular beliefs are part of those texts, as well as technological novelties and (pseudo)scientific theories. In this paper presentation, I discuss his point of view and the context surrounding the production of those pieces and try to discern what his Sci-Fi work can say about that period of Brazilian history.

3. Geological Collectivities in Contemporary Mexican Literature

Liesbeth François, University of Cambridge, UK

This paper looks at the way in which collective voices are created through what I call “geological procedures” in two contemporary Mexican narratives that are situated in post-apocalyptic contexts. These two works, *La compañía* (2019) by Verónica Gerber Bicecci and *Tejer la oscuridad* by Emiliano Monge (2020) combine literature with visual discourses such as photography, computer-generated drawings and cartography in order to thematise the way in which inscription into the landscape – from the minimal act of leaving footprints and traces to large-scale extractivism – sheds light on both the cohesive and disjunctive forces at work in human and more-than-human collectives. Following Kathryn Yusoff’s idea that geology functions as “regime for producing subjects and regulating subjective lives – a place where the properties of belonging are negotiated” (2019: 13), I explore the idea that both books reflect on the unequal distribution of agency and visibility enacted through the reification and commodification of geological materials. The present contribution argues that they deploy strategies of ‘desedimentation’ (Rivera Garza) and a tendency towards ‘unspecificity’ (Andermann) – which refer both to anti-affirmative, anti-appropriative and post-anthropocentric aesthetic practices – in order to shape a collective sphere of resonance that distances itself from more discursively oriented accounts of political subjectivation (Rancière). These “geological procedures”, then, explore the potential for art to question exclusions from a public sphere of debate that has been understood as distorted by an incomplete democratization process in Mexico (Meyer), while also calling into question its anthropocentric focus.

4. From *Sabor a mí* to *Un nuevo sol*: Radical LatinX writing in Britain

Laurence Byrne, British Library, UK

This paper will seek to uncover the history of radical Latin American writing in Britain and discuss the ways in which Latinx authors have played with form, genre and hybridity in their work. Employing bilingualism, rooted in both local and transnational politics, and often with an outsider sensibility, the authors featured in the recent anthology *Un nuevo sol* (2019) stand at the vanguard of contemporary literature in the UK. Yet there is also a rich lineage of innovative writing and publishing by Latin Americans in Britain, in particular the work of those associated with Beau Geste Press (BGP), an influential and richly inventive artists’ collective founded in Devon in the early 1970s by Mexican exiles Martha Hellion and Felipe Ehrenberg. This paper aims to draw fruitful connections between the radical, exilic, and often oppositional practice of the artists connected with BPG, especially the work of Cecilia Vicuña (*Sabor a mí*) and Ulises Carrión (*Arguments, Tras la Poesía*), and the new generation of UK rooted writers featured in *Un nuevo sol*.

5. Space, Place, and Social Conflict in Rosario Castellanos' Neo-Indigenista Novels

Natalia Hernández Somarriba, University of St Andrews, Scotland

The focus of this paper will be on Rosario Castellanos' neo-indigenista novels *Balún Canán* (1957) and *Oficio de Tinieblas* (1962), both set in the 1930s Chiapas, México. With the aid of geocriticism, and feminist and intersectional geography, I consider stories of origin of place in the novel’s plot; transgressions and fluctuations of character’s personal identities depending on place; and the relevance of local and private spatial scales in characters’ personal identities. Castellanos’ novels have been understood to belong to the neo-indigenista stage of indigenista literary tradition, which included a renewal in narrative techniques and themes comprising a fusion of cultures, and broader and more complex narrative representations of Indigenous characters. Her narratives have been read as feminist, social, historical, focusing on personal identity, language, and the body. Yet there has been little consideration on how space and place play active roles in the texts, and shed light on how the colonial horizon is embedded in the postcolonial condition. Thus, minding space and place in postcolonial

cultural products, is not only key in unveiling how public spaces and discourse in Latin American societies works to cover mestizos' economic and political intentions. But it is also an important factor when thinking about how identities of place and personal identities mirror each other, and what consequences spatial limitations accepted since colonial times have in the present. Therefore, looking into what is at stake in Castellanos' novels, which is land, can provide a richer understanding of subtler aspects and diverse levels of social conflicts in interrelational settings.

LFAH 3. Literature, resistance and social change

Chair: María Paz Oliver (Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Chile)

1. La vanguardia después de Bolaño: El círculo de los escritores asesinos (Diego Trelles Paz, 2006) y Poeta chileno (Alejandro Zambra, 2020)
Rodrigo López Martínez, Maynooth University

El impacto paradigmático de la obra de Bolaño ha rediseñado y revivido la idea de la vanguardia en Latinoamérica. La publicación de *Los detectives salvajes* en 1998 no solo suscitó nuevos debates respecto de la historia de los movimientos vanguardistas latinoamericanos, sino que además estableció al círculo del Realismo Visceral como un modelo que ha sido replicado por otros autores recientes. Esta ponencia examina la huella ficcionalizada de Bolaño en *El círculo de los escritores asesinos* (2006), de Diego Trelles Paz, y *Poeta chileno* (2020), de Alejandro Zambra. Estas novelas tematizan las repercusiones de *Los detectives salvajes* en el campo literario latinoamericano y traducen el ethos poético del Realismo Visceral en estrategias y dilemas narrativos. El círculo de los escritores asesinos y *Poeta chileno* hacen del retrato de grupos de vanguardia un modo de reflexionar cómo escribir, pero sobre todo cómo ser escritores después de Bolaño. Tal como Ulises Lima y Arturo Belano buscaban producir una vida poética más que una obra escrita, Trelles Paz y Zambra ficcionalizan círculos poéticos para quienes la literatura moviliza cuestiones como la amistad, el amor, el sexo y la muerte. En última instancia, estas novelas retratan la creación de comunidad y afectos como la intervención específica de la vanguardia en el escenario sociopolítico de nuestros tiempos.

2. Cruel Optimism in Suburban Change: Politics of Affect in Clarice Lispector's *A cidade sitiada*
Lingchen Huang, Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages, University of Oxford

Set in 1920s Brazil, Clarice Lispector's 1949 novel, *A Cidade Sitiada*, portrays the suburban change taking place in São Geraldo, a town on the edge of a large city. This paper focuses on the novel at the micropolitical level and discusses how the author represents environment and mood, and the individual's location in an assemblage of material conditions such as the process of modernization and the involvement in the ephemeral social grouping. Drawing on Lauren Berlant's cruel optimism and Brian Massumi's affect theory, I analyze the politics of affect manifested in the circulation of collective optimism, the production of shared promises and desires, the individual's homogenised gesture of affirming the institutional context, as well as the developing infrastructure that reveals the peripheral modernity of the Brazilian suburb. I will argue that the subject is caught in a never-ending process of emerging out of the preindividual and becoming conscious, which can be seen in the temporary crystallizations of the environment. Through the juxtaposition between the individual's material entanglement in the evolving geographical space and their condition of being interlocked in the contingent collective ambience, Lispector theorizes the materiality of affect that resists the discrimination between social relations and the meshwork of nonhuman objects.

3. Prácticas lentas: la (in)movilidad cotidiana en *La voz de la casa. Ejercicios para vivir el confinamiento* (2021) de Rosabetty Muñoz
María Paz Oliver, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Chile

Caracterizado por su invisibilidad y ritmo cíclico, lo cotidiano suele ser un objeto elusivo de estudio. Desde el punto de vista de la movilidad, las prácticas cotidianas suponen una puesta en diálogo entre sujeto y espacio que dinámicamente crea un paisaje afectivo e íntimo de la vida diaria. En el caso de las narrativas sobre la pandemia, la experiencia del encierro supone entender la movilidad cotidiana en tensión con una idea de inmovilidad que reconfigura ese paisaje desde la lentitud y la espera. *La voz de la casa. Ejercicios para vivir el confinamiento* (2021), de la poeta chilena Rosabetty Muñoz, es un texto que problematiza esta dimensión de la inmovilidad a través de una serie de propuestas de ejercicios para redirigir la mirada sobre la cotidianidad del hogar. Como extensión espacial del yo, la casa es una figura de contención y resistencia para una nueva normalidad que subrayó el sentido precario de la vida. A lo largo de estas ideas para sobrellevar las cuarentenas, Rosabetty Muñoz invita a descubrir en la experiencia lenta de la espera y el encierro el sustrato extraordinario de lo cotidiano. En este ejercicio de invertir la mirada frente a lo invisible, por un lado, se analizará la tensión entre el azar y las reglas como una perspectiva creativa para explorar el carácter vibrante de la materialidad del hogar; y, por otro, los modos en que el texto potencia una desarticulación de los usos y prácticas de los objetos domésticos para así redefinir lo cotidiano.

4. Gothicising trauma: Political resistance in Mariana Enriquez
Rafael Mendes, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland

Mariana Enriquez's literary production presents echoes of the Argentinian Dirty War. In her short stories, ghosts of desaparecidos return claiming justice, adolescents are under the spell of spirits, and bodies are repeatedly (un)buried. This paper addresses how traditional Gothic tropes reflect the trauma of the Argentinian dictatorship (1976-1983). Despite a growing body of literature on Enriquez's work, scholars have not placed her fiction as part of the ongoing struggle for memory and justice. Since the 2000s, organisations like HIJOS amplified the "ownership" of trauma, enabling individuals who were not direct victims of violence to share their experiences. This paper argues that the Argentinian author is a representative of *literatura de los hijos* and points out that trauma is not depicted as victimhood but as a site of agency and political resistance. A comparative close reading of a representative selection of Enriquez's work is carried out to answer the research question. By drawing on trauma and literary studies, this paper aims to contribute to the field of Latin American studies.

5. Madres casi perras: análisis comparativo de *La perra* de Pilar Quintana y *Casi perra* de Leila Sucari
Vera Lucía Wurst, Freie Universität Berlin, Institute for Latin American Studies

Esta ponencia se basa en teorías de animal y gender studies para explorar temas como la maternidad, la ambivalencia, el deseo y la animalidad en las novelas *La perra* de Pilar Quintana (Colombia, 2019) y *Casi perra* (Argentina, 2023) de Leila Sucari. En ambas obras, las protagonistas canalizan su deseo frustrado de ser madres a través del vínculo con un perro. En *La perra*, el amor maternal de la protagonista hacia su mascota evoluciona en un ominoso deseo de control. Mientras que en *Casi perra*, la protagonista deja atrás el ideal heteronormativo de familia y, progresivamente, su humanidad a medida que se va mimetizando con los perros de su entorno. A través de la comparación de estas novelas, se puede reconocer, entonces, un crescendo de lo que Gabriel Giorgi llama contigüidad animal, que pasa desde la identificación hasta la metamorfosis. Giorgi propone una relación de contigüidad, continuidad y ambivalencia entre lo humano y lo animal. Gilles Deleuze y Félix Guattari, por su parte, se refieren al "devenir animal" como un descentramiento del sujeto para asumir una posición 'entre' el animal y el humano. Asimismo, Donna Haraway denomina "making kin" a la toma de conciencia y aceptación de los vínculos imperfectos entre la naturaleza, los

animales y los seres humanos. Este artículo se basa en estas y otras teorías para analizar el vínculo entre los animales humanos y no humanos dentro de un continuum de lo viviente, repensar las formas de ver la animalidad y, con ella, la maternidad.

LFAH 4. Media representations, discourse and ideology

Chair: Elaine Rocha (The University of the West Indies, Campus Cave Hill, Barbados)

1. Visions of Maradona: Race, Class, and Gender in Recent Argentina from Global North's Eyes
Mauro Greco, CONICET

On November 25th, 2020, Argentine football superstar Diego Maradona passed away. Or that is the official version: since then, Argentine people have not stopped to see him in worldwide stadiums, from Buenos Aires province's La Plata, to Wembley and Dundee. Maradona, despite his death, appears as a stubborn ghost who does not allow his alive fellows to let him go. This presentation, part of a wider project where I propose to systematise the separate ways in which Argentine and international critic engaged with Maradona's passing regarding the cleavages of race, class, and gender, proposes to analyse certain cultural discourses around those apparitions, as a symbol of what Maradona means for recent Argentine history, but also for Latin-America and the Global South as a whole. In this paper, I focus on the Argentine media landscape's reception of his death. I analyse three specific national media (*Página/12*, *Infobae* and *eldiario.ar*) to scrutinise how certain both male and female writers and intellectuals depict Maradona, write about his football prowess and personal affairs, and praise and remember him. My work hypothesis is that the perception of Maradona as a class consciousness holder because of his poor origins and upbringing in the Fiorito shantytown is an example of conceptual nostalgia, while actually both his professional career and personal life are better graspable through the category of group consciousness. To deepen this theoretical disquisition, I draw upon the contributions of Hungarian philosopher Georg Lukács and English Cultural Critic Mark Fisher.

2. Situated Journalistic Work Amidst Peru's Recent Authoritarian Shift
Tania Lucia Ramirez Farias, University of Pittsburgh, United States of America

Peru illustrates an authoritarian turn that keeps many people marginalized, in particular, popular and racialized classes. In the wake of a cycle of protests (2022- 2023) demanding anticipated general elections and the enactment of a new constitution, mainstream media depicted protestors as vandalic, and even as terrorists. My research will focus on how independent and local media are countervailing those narratives by focusing on situated journalistic work in the region most affected by state repression. This journalism wields immense potential as an instrument for activists. It can shed light on the underlying political dimensions of their claims, documenting and condemning the racialized and repressive actions carried out against citizens. Moreover, it plays a crucial role in debunking official narratives that seek to justify police brutality. The specific realm of journalism is forged through dynamic interactions between journalists and activists. In this landscape, journalists must navigate the intricate terrain of gaining the trust of individuals participating in street movements, who have experienced firsthand the often adversarial nature of the media. To accomplish this, they employ diverse strategies aimed at establishing a rapport with activists. These encompass a range of approaches, from demonstrating empathy for the fundamental right to protest and showing their affiliation to local or independent media outlets to validating their prior involvement in covering similar social movements. Additionally, they engage in negotiations regarding the nature of the photographs they capture, all aimed at mitigating potential repercussions faced by movement leaders under the scrutiny of state surveillance.

3. Índio! The portrayal of Brazilian indigenous leaders in the national media during the 20th century *Elaine Rocha, The University of the West Indies, Campus Cave Hill, Barbados*

Brazil has an ambiguous relationship with indigenous peoples; on one hand it celebrates the original peoples as a symbol of Brazilian identity, portrayed in literature, the visual arts, music, etc., on the other hand, the image of indigenous leaders would be used as symbol of ridicule, portrayed as criminals, or simply diminishing their importance and misrepresenting their political agenda. This paper examines representations and misrepresentations of indigenous leaders in national media and its impact on public opinion about indigenous rights. Starting from the opposing views about indigenous policies in early 20th century, together with the uses of images of índios in commercial propaganda and cartoons; to the rise of indigenous political leaders as popular characters on television programs and the type of coverage they faced during the last quarter of that century, highlighting the cases of Paulinho Paiakan, Mário Juruna and Raoni Metuktire, who also achieved international fame. This type of racial profiling is particularly prejudicial for political leaders fighting for justice, as well as for indigenous nations in general, who face discrimination and need public sympathy for their political agenda in their struggle for rights and recognition.

4. The Spectacle of Propaganda: Allan Fisher's photography and the US Information Agency campaigns in Brazil, 1947-1955
Daniel Mandur Thomaz, King's College London, UK

In this paper I will interrogate the photographic travelogs commissioned by the US Information Agency (USIA) to American photographer Allan Fisher. They document the itinerant screening of US propaganda newsreels using mobile units to transport cinematographers to schools, factories, and remote villages in Brazil in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Fisher's photos capture public reactions to these screenings and offer an aesthetically ambitious insight into the reception of these propaganda-spectacles. As these photos were not produced to be part of propaganda campaigns, but rather to document them, they shed new light on the funding and execution of these operations. Ultimately, they also highlight Fisher's agency in framing and representing these communities as the other of US modernity and its imperial ambitions in Latin America. US photographer Allan Fisher was hired by the Office for Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), and later by the USIA, to document US propaganda operations in Brazil between 1943 and 1955. He also served as US consul in São Paulo, Brazil, in the 1960s. His photos, correspondence and other relevant documents are currently in boxes in the household of his heirs and have not been yet explored by Cultural Cold War scholars. I was given access to this material, and I am currently curating this collection of photos for a collaborative project with colleagues from the School of Social Sciences of Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV CPDOC), Brazil.

5. Behind consensus: Power dynamics in media framing of road infrastructure development in Porto Alegre, Brazil
Paula Flores Bellé, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This paper explores power dynamics in news media constructs about the implementation of road infrastructure, focusing on the construction of a bridge in Porto Alegre, Brazil, between 2014 and 2020. The study draws from Media Studies, namely Agenda-setting and Framing Theory, in combination with Critical Discourse Analysis and the concepts of depoliticisation and manipulation to understand the discursive power of written news in relation to big road infrastructure implementation in Latin American cities. The analysis reveals three dominant themes in media narratives: the bridge as a solution, the bridge as a problem, and problems hindering its construction. The first theme emphasises the benefits of the bridge, downplaying potential negative impacts and alternative perspectives. The second theme highlights problems caused by the bridge, including traffic disruptions and negative effects on local communities, however always portrayed as minor problems. The third theme focuses

on issues obstructing the construction process, using manipulative strategies to attribute blame and highlight obstacles. These discursive strategies contribute to a consensus about the bridge, benefiting politicians and the automotive industry. They depoliticise the decision-making process, overlook the concerns of impacted (and often displaced) communities and environmental interests, and promote a neoliberal agenda. However, acts of resistance by marginalised communities challenge this hegemony and reveal conflicting perspectives. In conclusion, the dominant media discourses prioritise consensus, economic growth, and the automotive industry while neglecting the rights and desires of neighbouring communities and environmental concerns. These discourses perpetuate social inequalities and shape the priorities for automobile infrastructure development in cities like Porto Alegre.

LFAH 5. Identity, diaspora and nationalism

Chair: Christina Karageorgou-Bastea (Vanderbilt University, USA)

1. Heroísmo, nación, y la reescritura de la historia de Lempira

José Lara, Bridgewater State University, The United States of America

En esta presentación examino la representación de Lempira, un cacique del siglo XVI que lideró la resistencia contra los españoles que intentaron conquistar el occidente de Honduras a principios del siglo XVI, en las novelas históricas *Memoria de las sombras* (2005) de Marta Susana Prieto y *Lempira* (2016) de Carmilla Wyler. También explico cómo las autoras de estos textos contemporáneos recurrieron a los archivos, la tradición oral indígena y los mitos para llenar algunos de los vacíos y silencios que se encuentran en la historia oficial y la literatura canónica latinoamericana. Por último, expongo cómo estas obras literarias encajan en los proyectos nacionalistas de búsqueda y veneración de héroes nacionales que comenzaron en Honduras a finales del siglo XIX pero que continúan hasta nuestros días, especialmente en tiempos de crisis. En general, esta presentación demuestra cómo en sus novelas históricas, tanto Prieto como Wyler subrayaron las cualidades heroicas y las proezas militares de Lempira para elevarlo a la categoría de héroe nacional y destacar la importancia del pueblo lenca dentro de la historia y la cultura hondureña.

2. José Carlos Mariátegui: Eurocentrism, Indigeneity, and the World Republic of Letters

Juan E De Castro, Eugene Lang College, The New School

This paper analyzes how Mariátegui sees the relationships among the literatures of Peru, Latin America, Europe, and the world by looking at three topics present in his writings. The first one is the relationship between Peruvian literature and European Literature as presented in both “Nacionalismo y vanguardismo” (1925) and 7 ensayos. The second topic is the selection of authors included in his first published book, *La escena contemporánea* (1925) and in the posthumous collections *El alma matinal*, *Signos y obras*, and *El artista y la época*, and what its implications are for his views on “world literature.” The third is Mariátegui’s contribution to the so-called “intellectual meridian debate” (1929), in which intellectuals from throughout the region responded to Guillermo de Torre’s proposal for the region to embrace Madrid as the literary center of the Hispanic world. One can distinguish Mariátegui’s views from earlier and later versions of world literature. Unlike Marx and Engels, who, in *The Communist Manifesto* saw “universal interdependence of nations” as leading to an enriched and unified “world literature,” Mariátegui describes a contrapuntal relationship between global and local literature; unlike Pascale Casanova, who believed it was possible to evaluate the quality of a work or, to the contrary, “dismiss a work as an anachronism” (90), Mariátegui politicizes the notion of Meridian and reaffirms the agency of writers from Latin America and the Global South. This paper looks at Mariátegui’s ideas as both a precursor and foil to current notions of world literature.

3. *Arqueología del daño: reparación epistémica, afectiva y ecológica en la obra diaspórica de Myriam Moscona*
Christina Karageorgou-Bastea, Vanderbilt University, USA

En *Tela de sevoya* (2012), *Ansina* (2015) y *León de Lidia* (2022), tres obras que giran alrededor de su linaje sefardí-búlgaro, Myriam Moscona (México 1955-) teje historias de exilio. A través de narraciones que abarcan movimientos migratorios de grupos étnicos entre geografías distantes y nacionalidades nuevas, la escritora mexicana despliega las redes del daño. Pero a la vez, es a causa de esos trayectos, documentados por desfallecientes testimonios de antaño, o por otros, personales, materiales, simbólicos, que Moscona logra la continuidad donde el exilio produjo fractura. El judeo-español reavivado, las evocaciones oníricas, los viajes, los encuentros con otros, son algunas de las vías de acceso a la memoria que la autora usa para unir pasado y actualidad. La cultura oral en *Tela de sevoya*, la historicidad del judeo-español actualizada en *Ansina* y, finalmente, la arqueología del sentir y del sentido, en *León de Lidia*, son partes de una investigación que desentierra el dolor, a la vez que toma las exigencias de justicia, les da voz, las convierte en acción irreductible. Es esta intervención la que abre la posibilidad para que el ser diaspórico acceda a la reparación del daño. Tras la enmienda del tiempo fracturado por el exilio, un abanico de resarcimientos —cognitivos, afectivos, geopolíticos, ecológicos— se vuelven posibles. En mi ponencia, rastreo los mecanismos de reparación que Moscona echa a andar en sus dos novelas y su libro de poesía para enmendar la injusticia histórica de la diáspora.

4. *Present Labor, Absented Bodies: Shifting Labor-Landscapes in the Dutch Caribbean Imaginary*
Kaillee Coleman, Stone Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University, New Orleans, USA

This paper addresses an understudied, and yet deeply essential, element of Latin American Studies—the interconnectedness of various Caribbean diasporas within a much larger Transatlantic, specifically Black Atlantic, social space. Taking as case study an in-flux socio-spatial region named here as the ‘Dutch Caribbean’—and using as evidence a series of artworks produced by Dutch artists—this paper builds out an argument rooted in the logics of colonial anxiety. While by no means definitive or static, the term ‘Dutch Caribbean’ is employed here in reference to an area in the Caribbean which has been intervened upon by—and in turn intervened on—Dutch colonial networks, globally. Building off a lineage of scholarship regarding the shifting function of visualized labor in Dutch artworks, this paper centers an analysis of why the labor conducted by enslaved bodies in the here-named ‘Dutch Caribbean’—itself central to the Dutch colonial project—was intentionally absented from artworks created in that specific space-time. Furthermore, this paper asks how we, as contemporary scholars, might imagine and build a legible corpus of ‘Dutch Caribbean’ analysis without relying on a pre-established vocabulary of colonial hegemony. By centering a narrative of absented bodies and dislocated, non-visible labor, and in utilizing plantation imagery from the ‘Dutch Caribbean’ as a starting point, this paper does not seek to answer, and in turn close, the questions here presented; rather, it’s meter of success will be measured by what possibilities and further questions emerge in its wake.

5. *Symbolic and economic values of the Latin American art: the cases of "Abaporu" and "A Lua" of Tarsila do Amaral*
Cristielen Marques, PhD student at the Latin America Integration Postgraduate Program, University of São Paulo & Art History Program, Faculty of Arts, University of Lisbon

This communication focuses on two emblematic works of art in the history of Brazilian and Latin American modern art, *Abaporu* and *A Lua* (The Moon), created by one of its most recognized female artists locally, regionally, and internationally, Tarsila do Amaral. The study takes these two paintings journey to understand the operations for the artist legitimation in the art system and for the respective works of art in artistic and market dimensions, and related construction of symbolic and economic

value in a transregional space of art. By tracing back a certain cultural biography of things, the investigation covers the journey of the two paintings, *Abaporu* and *A Lua*, from the hands of the artist to its current destinations, the Museum of Latin American Art in Buenos Aires, MALBA, and the Museum of Modern Art in New York, MoMA, respectively. Through publications, researchers' studies, exhibition catalogues and news in the media, in addition to mapping the series of transactions and exhibitions, the analysis delves into the moment of the last sale of the works that turns them from "private collection's art" into an "art for museum", under different categories among regional and universal, Latin American art and/or global art. Therefore, there is a complexity in the dialogue that is established in the exchange of Latin American artists with the homogenizing systems conceived in different terms and contexts; it is an operation that contains components that are both resistant and conciliatory.

LFAH 6. Cinematic narratives of injustice

Chair: Emiel Martens (University of Amsterdam & Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands)

1. (In)justice in Representing Tropical Caribbean Paradise: The Portrayal of Jamaica in Hollywood Popular Cinema

Emiel Martens, University of Amsterdam & Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands

In this paper I will discuss the Hollywood films representing Jamaica from the early twentieth century until the present and demonstrate the 'tropicalizing' stereotypes of the island's landscapes and peoples throughout the annals of American popular cinema. As Diane Accaria-Zavala (2000, 227) has noted, "throughout the decades of mainstream cinema production on the silver screen comes alight (...) images of Caribbeaners immersed in the stereotypically tropical: heated sex, (...) always fighting, thieving, copulating, or dancing, tapping feet or drums." At the same time, the many white Euro-American characters travelling to the region – indeed, in many films set in the Caribbean it seems that the region is mainly occupied by white people – typically find themselves intoxicated by (but eventually always managing) the beauties and dangers of the places and people they encounter. In other words, in American popular cinema Caribbeaners constantly find themselves in subordinate roles (submissive or rebellious, but always exotic), while Americans visiting the island and the region continuously end up in leading roles. Using the approach of tropicalization (studies), I will argue that Jamaicans largely appear on the silver screen in five stereotypes, namely as Ciphers, Servants, Temptresses, Mystics, and Renegades. In contrast, American characters almost exclusively turn up on the island as Adventurers, Landowners, Detectives, Maidens and, since the 1970s, Tourists. These stereotypes have been reproduced and repeated in many Hollywood films since the early days of cinema, and still haunt the American film industry today.

2. Neoliberal hydro-logics and water injustice in the Mexican observational documentary

Lya Morales Hernández, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, México

While the past decade has seen a significant increase of nonfiction films that document the unprecedented scope of environmental transformations and climate emergencies across Latin America, the sharp decline of renewable sources of freshwater and the extreme consumption of water by energy and extractive regimes—referred by Deckard as a crisis of "cheap water" (2019)—has led to a distinctive upsurge of documentary films that engage the impacts of drought, water enclosure, polluted waters, and climate-related coastal flooding upon peripheralized territories that are often occluded from public sight. Focusing on two recent Mexican cinematic approaches to the contemporary water crisis, Laura Herrero Garvín's *El Remolino* (2016) and Eugenio Polgovsky's *Resurrección* (2016), this paper examines the ways in which these observational documentaries render visible the extractive logics underlying the uneven distribution of water-related risks that have led poor and indigenous

communities vulnerable to the increased severity of storm-surge flooding and the cumulative exposure to toxified streams. As this paper explores, although prevailing nonfictional registers of environmental collapse tend to follow the conventions of the expository or argumentative mode of documentary filmmaking, the employment of an observational filmic approach and slow cinema techniques in both documentaries proves particularly fruitful to slowly capture the manufactured socio-ecological vulnerability of these marginalized communities and attune viewers to the sacrificial logic that clusters around ecosystems damaged, poisoned or otherwise rendered uninhabitable by the world-destroying schemes of neoliberal extractivism, casting doubt on the narratives of frictionless transformation that project security and economic development where dispossession and expulsion occur.

3. Genocide and the Plague of Fantasies in *La Llorona* (dir. Jayro Bustamante, 2019) and *Sueño en otro idioma* (dir. Ernesto Contreras, 2017)
Geoffrey Kantaris, University of Cambridge, UK

This paper explores the relationship between crime and fantasy in two Latin American films that deal with the themes of physical and cultural (linguistic) genocide in Guatemala and Mexico. Developing Slavoj Žižek's concept of the plague of fantasies, it analyses how the films mobilize elements of horror, myth, and folklore to create narratives that register the phantasmatic echo of these crimes in the human psyche, both individual and collective. The paper focuses on the well known mythical figure of "La Llorona", a ghostly woman who haunts the house of a former dictator accused of genocide in Guatemala, and the language of Zikril, a (fictional) indigenous tongue that is about to disappear in Mexico, along with the secret love story of its last two speakers. The paper argues that these films offer speculative forms of justice and reparation that attempt to traverse the fantasies that structure the darkest core of the human subject.

4. Social Injustice as Cinematic Affect: Religion and Sexuality in two Central American films
Liz Harvey-Kattou, University of Westminster, UK

This paper considers two Central American films which, it argues, use the affective power of social injustice to evoke a response from the spectator: *Temblores/Tremors* by Guatemalan director Jayro Bustamante (2019), and Costa Rican Nathalie Álvarez's *Clara Sola* (2021). Both purposely juxtapose the rigid constraints of heteropatriarchal beliefs rooted in religion with other worlds inhabited by the protagonists in their quest for personal freedoms. In the case of *Temblores*, this is seen through the protagonist's entry into the gay community of Guatemala City, while in *Clara Sola* it is exhibited through Clara's exploration of her own body and sexuality. Both central characters in these films are constrained by religion which is used against them by their families, and this paper will explore how they portray social injustice and discrimination in order to create an affective bond between spectator and protagonist as they stand up against normative society. It will argue that the notion of a queer time and space as coined by Jack Halberstam and the oppositional gaze as theorised by bell hooks are both at play here, with affective techniques central to the carving out of emancipatory spaces for the protagonists. The paper will first expand on the use of religion to dole out punishments against the protagonists, before analysing how the oppositional gaze and queer time and space are set up in terms of rebellion through the use of narrative, lighting, sound, and recourse to a cosmovision rooted in the pre-Columbine world.

5. In construction/ In ruins: Colonial ecologies in two contemporary Dominican and Puerto Rican films
Dunja Fehimovic, Newcastle University

This paper considers how the injustices produced at the intersection of coloniality and ecology are exposed in two contemporary films from the insular Hispanic Caribbean: *El sitio de los sitios* (Natalia

Cabral & Oriol Estrada 2016, Dominican Republic), and *La pecera* (Glorimar Marrero 2022, Puerto Rico). Through close analysis of their representations of abandoned or unfinished spaces associated with (neo)colonial formations, this paper examines the material and psychological effects of coloniality, and sheds light on 'ruins' and 'ruination' as remnants and active processes (Stoler 2013) affecting both human and non-human nature. At the same time, its comparative approach allows an examination of the films' observational and allegorical modes, which manipulate identification and distance in order to reflect the differing intensity, immediacy, and nature of each context's colonial entanglements. The paper thus builds on Malcolm Ferdinand's (2021) claim that the Caribbean world functions as a corrective to the blind spots of both environmentalist and decolonial discourses, by proposing that these contemporary films from the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico illuminate the complex intersections of the 'double fracture of modernity': the colonial divide on one hand, and the divide between human and non-human nature, on the other. Furthermore, it argues that their representations of ruins function via 'storiation' (Pugh & Chandler 2021) to reject modernist demands that all be revealed, ordered, and instrumentalised, and instead produce a sense of entanglement that makes sensible the injustices produced in and by colonial ecologies.

LFAH 7. Agency, colonialism and memories

Chair: Nicolle Alzamora (University of Manchester)

1. Decolonial Thought and the Spectre of Modernity. Notes for a Critique
Julian Harruch, University of Warwick, United Kingdom

This paper concerns the thesis, popularised by the the modernity/coloniality network and today widely accepted in Latin American decolonial thought, that 'coloniality' is constitutive of modernity – meaning, as its proponents like to put it, that a non-Eurocentric modernity is a contradiction in terms. The paper contends that this thesis rests on an essentialist, homogenising, highly oversimplified conception of modernity. The paper argues instead for a contextualist conception of modernity, that is, modernity understood as a rhetorical or politico-ideological tool – what I shall call the language or 'toolkit' of modernity. After briefly surveying the critique of modernity advanced by some of the most prominent authors of the MC network, I will turn to recent historiographical accounts of the independence revolutions in Latin America and the Caribbean and of the region's republican history. My purpose will be to draw an (admittedly very general) sketch showing that, while it is true that the language of modernity has been used to justify different reactionary power claims, it has also been mobilised by multiple actors, including popular and anti-colonial movements in the subcontinent, in pursuit of democratic, anti-imperial, and egalitarian agendas. In sum, the paper argues that decolonial thought, in its predominant variant, targets a spectre: a monolithically colonial modernity, disavowing in the process a set of theoretical and ideological devices – very importantly universalism, but also other categories such as objectivity, truth, democracy or republicanism – without which the struggle against colonial legacies and Western hegemony ends up severely weakened.

2. Problematizando la historia: Perspectivas indígenas sobre el poblamiento galés en la Patagonia
Geraldine Lublin, Swansea University, Wales, UK

En esta presentación expondremos los avances del proyecto titulado "Problematizando la historia: Perspectivas indígenas sobre el poblamiento galés en la Patagonia", en el cual nos propusimos abordar las inequidades y asimetrías existentes en el relato histórico sobre la colonización galesa en la región e impulsar y difundir perspectivas indígenas sobre el tema a través de una colaboración con el Grupo de Estudios sobre Memorias Alterizadas y Subordinadas (GEMAS) de Argentina y la Biblioteca Nacional de Gales. La convocatoria invitó a personas, comunidades y organizaciones mapuche, tehuelche y mapuche tehuelche a presentar propuestas artístico-culturales que debatieran y/o visibilizaran

narrativas diferentes a la historia oficial sobre la región. En el marco de las estructuras forjadas por lo que denominamos “colonialismo de pioneros” (“settler colonialism” en inglés), las relaciones mantenidas entre los pueblos originarios, los inmigrantes galeses y el Estado suelen ser contadas en lo que hoy es la provincia de Chubut desde una perspectiva armoniosa que apela al “encuentro de culturas”. A contrapelo de esos relatos hegemónicos, este proyecto busca complejizar y problematizar por medio de expresiones indígenas creativas la historia del poblamiento en la Patagonia, recuperando trayectorias, experiencias de vida, testimonios transmitidos y memorias que han sido silenciados, invisibilizados, negados o desplazados hacia los márgenes.

3. The Irish Diaspora, Settler Colonialism and Campaigns Against Indigenous Groups in Argentina, 1870-1885.

Niall Whelehan, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow

This paper investigates Irish emigrant engagement in Argentine state-building and campaigns to subjugate and remove indigenous groups in Argentina in the 1870s and 1880s. By the early 1880s, a number of first and second-generation Irish immigrants had consolidated vast landed estates in rural Argentina through the acquisition of lands made available for purchase following the violent campaign to remove the indigenous inhabitants, known as the ‘Conquest of the Desert’ and led by future Argentine president Julio Roca. In the 1880s, for example, the second-generation Irish landowner Eduardo Casey made a fortune in land speculation and acquired estates that were large enough to employ hundreds of people, incorporate train stations and hold livestock that numbered in the hundreds of thousands. At the same time, during the ‘Conquest of the Desert’, thousands of indigenous children were placed ‘under state supervision’ in Argentina, which often meant their distribution among elite families as domestic servants, which included wealthy Irish immigrants. This paper aims to provide new perspectives on controversies about Irish participation in colonial projects. The roles of Irish landowners and elite figures in Argentine state-building and their links to colonial violence have been neglected in the existing scholarship. Investigating their history both challenges and enriches existing interpretations of Irish diaspora history, which overwhelmingly focus on English-speaking destinations.

4. Building memory bridges: multidirectionality in Panamanian memories of the US 1989 Invasion.

Nicolle Alzamora, University of Manchester

In this presentation, I will explore how works of literature that deal with memories of the US invasion of Panama aim to build bridges with other contexts of US military intervention in the Middle East as a tool of solidarity and to reclaim a space for their memories in the public memory sphere. In December 1989, the US deployed over 26,000 soldiers in Panama in an operation designed to overthrow and capture Panamanian dictator and previous CIA Informant Manuel Antonio Noriega. The invasion ended a 21-year dictatorship and resulted in a still-contested number of deaths as well as the displacement of at least 15,000 people. Panamanian authors have used points of convergence of the invasion of Panama with the Gulf War and the US invasion of Afghanistan to build memory bridges. I will analyse short stories written by David Robinson and Arturo Wong Sagel about the invasion using Michael Rothberg’s work on multidirectional memory, which explores the potential for the interaction of historical memories as a way ‘to create new forms of solidarity and new visions of justice’. These authors have established a dialogue with other contexts of military intervention as a way to express solidarity and resist the minimisation and erasure of the memories of the Panama invasion. The analysis of Panamanian literature’s multidirectional approach to memories of violence will highlight strategies used in Latin America’s cultural memory to represent injustice and violence as wider global issues.

LFAH 8. Ownership, heritage and archives

Chair: Diego Cagüañas (University of Amsterdam)

1. LACARinfo: Building and expanding a digital platform for Latin American and Caribbean Studies

Ulrike Muehlschlegel, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin

LACARinfo is a project that aims to meet the specific needs of the scientific community dedicated to Latin American, Caribbean and Latin Studies-related topics. It expands the range of information services of the library of the Ibero-American Institute of Berlin (IAI), which houses the largest European collection of publications on Latin America, the Caribbean and the Iberian Peninsula. LACARinfo will consist of several catalogues and search options, digital and remote access services, specific digital collections, and LACARred, an international digital network of researchers associated with the project's regions and themes. The network will allow quick visualisation of research subjects and link to electronic repositories or publication lists. LACARinfo is developed in close contact and constant exchange with the scientific communities. The project team holds workshops with researchers of all career stages as well as with Area Studies librarians and information specialists. The paper will present the context in which LACARinfo emerged, the difficulties and opportunities in building the digital platform and the multiple services LACARinfo offers to researchers associated with Latin America and the Caribbean.

2. Prólogos al futuro pasado: la Biblioteca Ayacucho y el continente imaginado

Diego Cagüañas, University of Amsterdam

Esta ponencia propone un ejercicio de interpretación crítico-historiográfica alrededor de la Biblioteca Ayacucho (BA de acá en adelante). Su principal objetivo es la reconstrucción y análisis de una red intelectual de cooperación e integración transfronteriza que lleva casi medio siglo operando bajo una cierta imaginación de América Latina como continente integrado por un pasado y un destino comunes. En 2024 se conmemorará el quincuagésimo aniversario de la fundación de la BA, una empresa editorial del Estado venezolano creada el 10 de septiembre de 1974. La principal figura detrás de la BA es la de Ángel Rama, cuyo propósito fue crear un “instrumento de integración cultural”, el cual se encarnaría en un corpus documental cuya aspiración es reunir y difundir las expresiones más emblemáticas y definitorias de la cultura latinoamericana. El resultado es el mayor repositorio de textos clásicos de América Latina producido en el siglo XX. La principal estrategia textual por medio de la cual la BA construye un cuerpo unificado de pensamiento son los prólogos eruditos que encabezan cada uno de sus volúmenes. A través del análisis de este aparato de prólogos, esta ponencia explora la “ley de archivo” que ha guiado la conformación, circulación y difusión de la BA como corpus canónico del pensamiento y la cultura latinoamericanos, a través del análisis de las “estructuras temporales” que hacen posible la articulación del pasado precolombino y las distintas utopías de los siglos XIX y XX en una historia única y unificada, que archivaría lo más representativo del espíritu latinoamericano.

3. Placing Maya monuments: archaeology and the making of Guatemalan heritage, 1922-1946

Sophie Brockmann, University College London

In the early twentieth century, scholars increasingly claimed to excavate Guatemalan archaeological sites within the rapidly professionalising discipline of “Maya archaeology”. As a result, excavated sites and artefacts came to be at the centre of different claims to ownership and heritage. The violence, expropriation, and looting that has been a feature of archaeology at the level of indigenous communities on the one hand, and Latin American nation-states on the other, competed with triumphant narratives of the inheritance of the Guatemalan nation which would serve to aid the country’s “development” and, through tourism and cultural institutions, cement Guatemala’s place on the world stage. The

Guatemalan National Museum, which was re-established several times during this period, was at the centre of many of these debates by establishing archaeological heritage protection laws and testing their enforceability. The laws did not simply pit “locals” and “foreigners” against each other, but opened up fundamental debates about the significance of Maya culture, and the responsibility and capability of Guatemalan institutions to conserve and safeguard them. Domestic and foreign tourism promoters, archaeologists, government officials and indigenista intellectuals diverged in their opinions about the meaning of Maya sites on a national or transnational scale, but formed unlikely alliances in the pursuit of the conservation of sites. This paper, using previously unpublished archival material from Guatemala and the US, argues that the encounter with rural archaeological sites, their environments and resident communities, was an important part of these debates and exerted lasting influence on the idea of Guatemalan “heritage”.

4. Emancipatory Projects and the Quest for Justice. Documentary collections from the Academic Centre for the Memory of Our América (CAMENA)
Cornelia Gräbner, Lancaster University, UK

The archival holdings of the Mexico City-based CAMENA contain documents collected and donated by individuals and groups who intertwined their lives with their historical moments in the Americas, through their commitment to emancipatory projects and struggles for justice. These projects include struggles that we today consider emblematic of 20th and 21st century Latin America: among them, the land reform in early 1950s Guatemala; organisation amongst political prisoners in Argentina; armed struggles in El Salvador, Bolivia and Guatemala; the denunciation of enforced disappearance in 1970s Mexico; and investigative, ‘slow’ journalism to create an informed and critical public. In this paper I will explore the interplay of ‘emancipation’ and the ‘quest for justice’ through documents from three collections, one compiled by a former member of the Salvadorean guerrilla group Resistencia Nacional, one compiled by Ernesto Capuano, a former minister of Jacobo Arbenz and a life-long political activist, and one compiled by Sergio Méndez Árcce, Archbishop of Cuernavaca and life-long defender of justice and emancipation. The documents will be interpreted through a conceptual reflection on the interplay between the key concepts of ‘emancipation’ and ‘justice’, and in the context of the different strategies, tactics and forms of organisation that the three individuals chose. As such, it shows how the diverse collections held in the CAMENA document the many facets of political movements and offer an invaluable source for a relational reading of them.

5. Transimperial Eyes: an interdisciplinary analysis of colonial narratives about the Dutch expedition to Southern Chile (1643)
Aurora Sambolín Santiago, Universidad Austral de Chile (speaker); Hugo Romero-Toledo, Universidad Autónoma de Chile & Matthias Gloël, Universidad Católica de Temuco (co-authors)

The review of historical archives that allow us to know the observations and experiences of those who recorded little explored territories in the past, especially in the context of the colonization of the European empires deployed over vast areas in the seventeenth century is crucial for heritage studies. The following article analyzes how the Dutch expedition to southern Chile during the 17th century (1642-1643) was narrated, both in Dutch and in its translations into German, English, and Spanish, considering the interests of empires and the discursive differences that translational variations reveal. This transdisciplinary analysis, combining historiography, translation studies, and historical geography, consists of a critical reading of the original narration and a comparative reading of the aforementioned translations, and within them ethnographic representations made about the Mapuche-Huilliche people and the city of Valdivia and changes introduced by different translations are identified. These changes are then related to imperial contexts and discourses that shape these translations. In terms of our findings, we note that, in general, Chilean translations tend to exaggerate the representations of indigenous people as barbaric, inferior, and uncivilized. These representations

are present in the European versions, but the shifts that we identified indicate an intensification of this discourse.

LFAH 9. New Global Histories, Guarani-Language Texts, and a Forgotten Indigenous Intellectual from the Río de la Plata, 17th to 19th Centuries

Session organizer & chair: Shawn Austin (University of Arkansas, USA)

The study of Guarani peoples is at an inflexion point. Scholars from France, Germany, Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay have laid a foundation to revolutionize the field by publishing or identifying an increasingly large corpus of Guarani language sources. Just in the past 10 years, these scholars have identified dozens of heretofore unexamined or unknown sources in the Guarani language, making it clear that the Guarani corpus is one of the richest Native-language corpuses in Iberoamerica. Besides the corpus, these scholars have also pioneered an understanding of the language, training a new generation of scholars. This work is transforming our understanding of historical Guarani communities, culture, and society. Moreover, some scholars are building bridges between Guarani-speakers and historical sources to enrich Indigenous, national, and regional communities. This panel brings together Guarani experts from across these disciplines to contemplate the ways that interdisciplinary partnerships and methodologies can improve our narratives and analyses and to consider the limitations and potentials of these approaches for Indigenous communities today.

1. The Guarani Cabildo and Consensus: Itatí Pueblo's Guarani-Language Election Registers
Shawn Austin, University of Arkansas (speaker) & Capucine Boidin, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle (co-author)

The Archivo General de la Provincia de Corrientes contains the most extensive and richest sets of cabildo (town council) records for any of the historical Guarani mission towns in South America, with one part of the series running almost continuously from 1678 to 1766. This unusual set of sources mainly consists of annual election registers produced by Itatí, a Franciscan-sponsored mission town founded in 1615 near the Spanish city of Corrientes on the Paraná River in the colonial Province of Paraguay. Significantly, twelve of these entries were recorded in the Guarani language. This paper, a result of a collaboration between Shawn Austin and Capucine Boidin, applies linguistic methods to argue that this Guarani cabildo was guided by a consensus model. These finding sheds new light on Guarani governance in colonial reducciones across Franciscan, Jesuit, and secular jurisdictions.

2. Some remarks on Yapuguay's language and discourse strategies.
Leonardo Cerno, Universidad Nacional de Misiones/CONICET

Nicolas Yapuguay's "Sermones y Exemplos" is an already untranslated and almost unstudied Guarani book printed in the jesuit town of Santa Maria Mayor in 1727. The recent process of translation of about ten of its sermons gave rise to questions regarding language usages and discourse strategies performed by the cacique in his text, as well as on the role of Pablo Restivo, the "hidden" missionary mentoring Yapuguay's work. What belongs to the Indigenous traditional rethorics and waht to missionary standardized variety created about a Century before? What can tell us the lexical variants used by the Indigenous author and the synonymic options suggested in the text about the vitality of the Christianized Guarani collected in the contemporary Grammars and Vocabularies by jesuits? Using a linguistic-philological approach we analyze these sermons trying to identify a set of key points for the current research regarding the communicative and religiose dimension of christianity in the Guarani missions.

3. Guarani, the New “New Philology,” the “Indigenous Critique,” and Pan-Local/Global Thought
Brian Owensby, University of Virginia, USA

Expansion of the Guarani corpus opens new possibilities for scholars working in the disciplinary borderlands of anthropology, history, linguistics, and political and social theory. Decades ago, the term “New Philology” described the effort to study Indigenous societies of the Americas through Native language sources. Together with ethnohistorical methods, the New Philology framed novel questions and helped to broaden, deepen, and complement topics rooted in European-language documents. At the same time, historical linguists demonstrated that Indigenous languages are best characterized as mutable and mobile across time and space, with nuances of significance that add to and upend understandings based solely on European-language sources. More recently, historians have shown an increasing sensitivity to language generally, European as well as Indigenous. In this paper, I will argue that the growing Guaraní corpus (and by extension other Indigenous corpora)—the New “New Philology”—represents an opportunity to think in novel ways about the spatial and temporal boundaries of Indigenous History, colonial Latin American history, early-modern history more broadly, and a global history of ideas. Specifically, I contend that historical linguistic work on Indigenous and European languages (such as the LANGAS group is doing) alongside the idea of an “Indigenous Critique” (as proposed by Graeber and Wengrow), suggests a novel pan-local methodology that brings European and Indigenous actors, and their ideas, into a shared epistemological frame and opens out to a critical global vision of legal, economic, social, and political thought and practice.

4. Approaching Archival Material: tracing the history of Catholic religious orders through different archives
Barbara Haenen, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands

The paper outlined here is based on a PhD dissertation currently undergoing final edits. It discusses how archival material can be used to analyze the history of Catholic religious orders in the Amazon. In the early nineteenth century, following the independence period, most of the religious orders of the Catholic Church were expelled from Latin America. This branch of the Catholic Church was often considered particularly incompatible with the nation-state, by national governments. By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, however, many of these orders returned to the continent, and developed their presence. Two religious orders- the Augustinian and Capuchin orders-established a presence along the developing borders between Colombia and Peru in the Amazon, between the 1870s and 1930s. The process which led to their arrival to the Amazon is presented very differently in differing archival sources. This paper will discuss how to use archival material to understand the history of these orders. It is based on research carried out in archives in Colombia, Ecuador, Spain and the Vatican. It outlines how documents from different archives present differing narratives, how an archive can form a particular context which impacts the material it contains, and how this impacts research findings. The question of how archival material is created, stored and presented also relates to the broader topic of how history is written, and by who.

LFAH 10. Cultural heritage and nationhood: Narratives of the nation in heritage sites of the Southern Cone

Session organizer & chair: Brigid Lynch (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam)

Cultural heritage sites are key to the construction and narration of imaginaries of nationhood, citizenship and belonging, in Latin America and beyond. Within these public leisure attractions, whether state-funded or financed by the private sector, stories of the nation and of national identity are told through spatial, material and digital cultural forms. From the foundational national museums of

the post-independence era in Latin America, to more recently established spaces of memory and human rights of the early twenty-first century, cultural heritage sites use a range of museological strategies to curate diverse narratives of national history and geography. Here, discourses of nationhood are continually remade and repurposed, often reflecting official civic initiatives of celebration and commemoration or the achievements of specific political administrations. Furthermore, where these sites fall into disrepair, through lack of public funding or a lack of commercial success, their transformation or ruination often reflects a historicist reconsideration and rejection of past stories of nationhood. This panel will examine several key sites of cultural heritage in the Southern Cone of Latin America, such as the Museo Histórico Nacional in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the now-defunct Mundo Mágico theme park in Santiago de Chile, and several aviation-themed exhibits in heritage sites across Buenos Aires during the Kirchner era of government in Argentina. In considering these spaces and exhibits, the panel will explore how these heritage attractions give voice to distinct popular narratives of national identity and belonging.

1. Re-making the museum: Argentina's Museo Histórico Nacional in the 21st Century
Catriona McAllister, University of Reading

Argentina's Museo Histórico Nacional was founded during the flurry of nation-building activities that characterised the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Argentina and many other Latin American countries. The museum has undergone several rounds of significant changes in the 21st century, including updating the historical narrative and museology. This paper is based on fieldwork conducted in the museum in 2017 and 2023. It will explore some of the current challenges the museum faces, particularly the highs and lows of attempts to create a more inclusive focus in the presentation of the collection. More broadly, it will reflect on the role of a national history museum in the present day and the tensions inherent in modernising an institution founded (in a very particular historical moment) for explicitly patriotic purposes.

2. Everyday Wonderlands: A Cultural History of the Theme Park in Argentina
Brigid Lynch, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam

Characterised by the cultural aesthetics of kitsch, fantasy and hyperreality, theme parks offer visitors the opportunity to experience discrete individual worlds in an enclosed and secure environment. In contrast to paradigmatic North American theme parks such as Disneyland, in Argentina these leisure sites have historically been conceived and constructed under the auspices of the state: either as part of broader civic initiatives of celebration and commemoration, as in the case of anniversaries of national independence, or as spatial articulations of the focus and achievements of specific political administrations. This paper will explore the history of the theme park in Argentina, beginning with its origins in the first Peronist administration (1946-1955). It will also discuss depictions of national identity in exhibits from Argentine aviation history in two theme parks, La República de los Niños and Tecnópolis, and in the immersive Museo Malvinas e Islas del Atlántico Sur. In considering these spaces and exhibits, and how they employ the aesthetic strategies of miniaturisation, and hapticity, the presentation will explore how theming and immersion in these Argentine cultural heritage attractions give voice to distinct popular narratives of citizenship and belonging.

3. Zoographies of Nation-building
Maria Victoria Cogorno, University of Cambridge

The study of Latin American literature from the perspective of animality is a developing field within South-American literary studies. The study of how animals, animal behaviour and animal nature are presented in literary works invites an analysis of State sovereignty, social hierarchies, and racial typologies. The success of short stories featuring animal characters in Argentina around the Centenario

celebrations suggests a cultural interest in the interaction between animals and humans at a time when National identity was a key issue on the agenda, amidst several waves of European immigration and the repercussions of the violent 'conquest' of the North and South. The aim of this presentation is to share a close reading analysis of the animal characters in Leopoldo Lugones' celebrated *Las Fuerzas Extrañas* in the context of a developing State apparatus that was concerned with eugenics, border control, and the attraction and assimilation of the 'right kind' of immigrant. From this perspective, the monkeys, horses, and crying plants in Lugones' stories bring our attention to the unassailable elements of society, and their tragic fates remind us how animal pedagogies can easily slip into racial pedagogies – in literature, politics or, in Lugones' case, in pseudo-scientific cosmogonies.

4. "La Gran Maqueta de Chile en Miniatura": miniatures and rubble of an ideal nation
Emiliana Cereceda, University College London

Mundo Mágico was an amusement park created in 1983 in the northwest of Santiago, with public funding from Chile under dictatorship. "La Gran Maqueta de Chile en Miniatura" [The Big scale model of Miniature Chile], its main attraction, consisted of a 1:25 scale representation of the country based on the regions the military regime had imposed a few years earlier. Two decades later, the amusement park closed definitively due to economic problems. The land was abandoned; some miniatures were moved, and others remained there. In the present, the Municipality of the commune continues to own this ruinous space, where human, vegetal and object agents coexist. Drawing on ethnographic and archival material, I address the transtemporal experience of Mundo Mágico, focusing on two stages: the creation of "La Gran Maqueta", and its present in ruins. First, I analyze the content of the scale model as the product of a selective and inventive process that attempted to unite the territory into what the nation aspired to be soon. The resource of miniaturization generated controlled variables, shed light on specific fragments and erased the rest, dynamics that dialogue with the regime's actions: hiding information through a precarious make-up of reality. Finally, I examine the present of a land in ruins that, far from evoking a past splendour (as is the case of heritage ruins), constitutes an ambivalent space, transformed and plundered, of dry vegetation and scattered garbage, where the remains of an "ideal" Chile rest in a conflictive way.

LFAH 11. Indigeneity, ontology and visual cultures

Chair: Iván Brea (University of Cambridge, United Kingdom)

1. Spiritual Indigeneity: Screening Catholic *Indigenismo in Tepeyac* (1917)
Iván Brea, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

Existing scholarship within Mexican film studies has focused on the Golden Age, with not much attention has focused on the silent film era. The film *Tepeyac* (1917) demonstrates the transformation of representations of both religion and indigeneity to a new medium. Consequently, my argument is that *Tepeyac* represents the first use of cinema as a mechanism of indigenismo, "the national veneration of indigenous pasts combined with the dispossession of indigenous lands and contemporary cultures", which its beginnings can be traced to the arguments of Bartolomé de las Casas in the Valladolid debate in which he argued that indigenous peoples were not only fit to be part of Spanish and Catholic dominion but that they must be brought to the faith, but only through persuasion (Saldaña-Portillo). I argue that this is primarily accomplished via the film's emphasis on the indigenista's position of Catholic clergy such as Bernardino de Sahagún and his fellow Franciscan friars, an early proto-indigenismo that too can be found within the lives and works of de las Casas and Sor Juana. Moreover, *Tepeyac* promotes a vision of Mexico that introduces the ideas of indigenismo and mestizaje in conjunction with the Catholic faith as one that is able to mediate in ways that neither the state nor the individual are able to do. Ultimately, the focus on the Virgin of Guadalupe serves an important aspect

of the film as it serves as the ultimate female mediator between Spanish and indigenous cultures via the Catholic Church.

2. Dichotomous approach to Latin American cinema - Analysis of the inequality faced by the indigenous groups

Katarzyna Stepień, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland

With 58 million indigenous people (ECLAC/FILAC, 2020) which represents respectably around 10% of the Latin American population, contemporary cinema does not offer a fair and valid representation. Most TV shows and movies created nowadays barely comment on any other than those with European ancestors. In my presentation, I will comment on the dichotomy between the representation of Latin Americans from different ethnic groups in contemporary visual arts. Despite the economic factor being the biggest issue for the inequality suffered by the indigenous, in my presentation, I will focus on the issue of representation within the public sphere and how misrepresentation, known from late 20th century movies (Kanibal Holocaust, Fitzgerraldo, etc.), clashes with the reality of the indigenous in nowadays circumstances. I will analyse why “indigenous peoples have been portrayed as inferior or uncivilised subjects” (Rodriguez 3) and how it relates to the financial pressures faced by the filmmakers due to producing an end product that would be “eligible for financial, post-production and distribution support” (Rodriguez 5). Moreover, I will comment on how, as acknowledged by Hacking, human beings have a natural inclination to describe and manipulate reality: not as homo faber, but rather as a homo depictor (Hacking 1983, 132–38), and how this quality can be said to impact the current attitude towards the indigenous. To sum up I will analyse how indigenous misrepresentation or how one should rather say an un-representation influences the socioeconomic and cultural inequalities faced by the native Americans.

3. Visual Cultures of Iconoclasm: Radical Anticlericalism and Catholic Resistance in Post-Revolutionary Mexico

Lucy O’Sullivan, University of Birmingham, UK

Acts of iconoclastic violence often generate more images than they destroy. Attacks against sacred objects formed an important part of revolutionary anticlericalism in Mexico during the 1920s and 30s and were visually documented for propaganda purposes in photographs and film footage. The introduction of nationwide anticlerical policies in Mexico in the mid-1920s and the existence of regional “defanaticisation” campaigns throughout the 1930s sparked Catholic resistance, most notably in the form of the violent Cristero War (1926-29) and the subsequent “Segunda Cristiada” (1932-1938). This paper will explore the generative nature of iconoclastic violence in this historical context comparatively examining how images of mutilated icons were mobilised by both radical anticlerical and counterrevolutionary Catholic propagandists to forge competing identity narratives along political and devotional lines. Drawing from archival materials such as pamphlets, reports, postcards and film footage, it will examine how the relationship between anthropomorphic icons and real human bodies is constructed in these images and to what end. It will also use these sources as a starting point for considering how modern visual technologies such as film and photography shaped the way that iconoclastic violence was performed and experienced in Mexico in the early twentieth century.

4. Temed al lobo (neoliberal) con piel de oveja (perspectivista): las in/justicias del “giro ontológico”

Joaquín J. A. Molina M., Universität Bonn, Germany & Leonie Männich, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany

Proponemos una mirada crítica sobre la corriente teórica del “giro ontológico”, especialmente prominente en los estudios latinoamericanos recientes. Adscribimos al renovado interés por los debates

filosófico-teóricos dentro de la antropología que ha suscitado esta tendencia. No obstante, quisiéramos arrojar luz sobre algunas contradicciones que ha asumido (y pontificado) acríticamente. La posición que pretendemos esbozar se fundamenta en tres argumentos. El primero consiste en develar el concepto de “ontología”, cuyo sentido filosófico originario difiere del revisitado por Deleuze, Guattari, Descola y Latour, principalmente, quienes lo aplican a partir de una posición metafísico-individualista derivada de la filosofía del ser de Heidegger. Nos parece importante señalar que esta perspectiva dista diametralmente de la concepción comunitaria que las comunidades indígenas practican. Segundo, queremos poner en discusión que esta corriente representa una consecuencia teórica del neoliberalismo, que opera profundizando las “desigualdades epistémicas” que busca derribar, aplicando los mecanismos del método científico occidental del cual dicen ser críticos, ejerciendo un acto de determinismo externo. Finalmente, criticamos la idea de la “diferencia/alteridad” que proponen. Pretendemos mostrar que infantiliza a las comunidades indígenas presentándolas como unidades prístinas, atomizadas y depuradas del todo social. Esto, ya que el foco de interés está puesto en la descripción de concretos individuales enajenados de la compleja red ideológica preeminente, para concentrarse más bien en su “esencia cultural”, cuya fisonomía es delineada en base a la diferencia radical con “el otro”. Desde un punto de vista feminista-anticolonial y materialista dialéctico, estas prácticas son indefendibles, porque eternizan políticas de diferencia y exclusión.

Politics, Political History & Economy

POL 1. Presidentialist politics in the 21st century

Chair: Asbel Bohigues (University of Valencia)

1. All the president's men? How strong presidents also erode democratic attitudes
Asbel Bohigues, University of Valencia, Spain

This paper aims to contribute to the literature on the consequences of presidentialism on political attitudes, in providing empirical evidence that support for the president may affect attitudes toward political institutions and the political system in Latin America. Previous research has shown how the government-opposition divide affects evaluations of democracy and tolerant attitudes. In this paper we go one step further and consider citizen's respect for institutions and support for the political system, which both speak to the basic structures of power in a given country. We rely on the AmericasBarometer data in the years 2006-2018/9 for 18 Latin American countries. The results show that support for the president, as measured by presidential approval, covariates with respect for political institutions and support for the political system positively, meaning that these are conditional on who the president is: detractors are more prone to withdraw such respect and support. Furthermore, the results also show that this positive covariation is reinforced when presidents are stronger. These preliminary results point to the fact that not only strong presidentialism, or delegative presidents, may erode democratic institutions in Latin America, but also erode democratic attitudes, especially among opponents.

2. The systemic pulse of the new anti-system politics in contemporary Brazil: an anatomy of “bolsonarismo”
Pedro Lima, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

The paper focuses on “bolsonarismo” as a category of political analysis and as a set of phenomena linked to the political-electoral rise of the antidemocratic movement led by Jair Bolsonaro. It starts from the diagnosis that the emergence of a socially and politically relevant electoral far-right in the Brazilian political scenario over the last decade has been unilaterally understood by the literature. Contrary to

what is deduced from the extensive collection of books and articles recently produced on the subject, “bolsonarismo” is not strictly popular or elitist, archaic or modern, systemic or anti-systemic, local or global. Our main hypothesis holds that the complexity and intrinsic contradictions of “bolsonarismo” derive from this peculiar composition that combines seemingly opposing elements. This compels the observer to pay attention to the multiple registers of social struggle and political-institutional struggle, social mobilization and electoral behavior, the long-term history of national political history, and the specific post-June 2013 conjuncture. “Bolsonarismo” cannot be understood without inscribing it, moreover, in the framework of reactions (social and institutional) to the transformations caused by “lulismo” in the country. It also cannot be understood without contextualizing it within the broader framework of global dissatisfaction with the limits of representative democracy. It is an antidemocratic reaction to advances painfully achieved by Brazilian democracy – a reaction that combines the languages of an old local authoritarian tradition and a contemporary malaise with the global crisis of liberal democracy.

3. Corrective Effect of Ministerial Terminations on Presidential Approval

Bastián González-Bustamante, Leiden University, The Netherlands

How do ministerial terminations affect presidential approval? Presidents face unexpected challenges related to stochastic events such as scandals, policy failures or economic crises. I argue that the termination of ministers who have received calls for their resignation presents an opportunity for the president to send signals to the electorate in the expectation of a corrective effect on popularity through a blame-shifting dynamic. The central argument is that this dynamic only occurs in coalition governments where political responsibility may be more easily attributed to the coalition’s different parties and factions, weakening personalisation centred on the president and facilitating blame-shifting and the corrective effect. The expectation of a corrective effect on approval is tested using instrumental variables (IV) regressions applied to novel data on ministerial terminations and resignation calls in 124 governments in 12 presidential democracies. The data were gathered by combining data mining, machine learning techniques and survey marginal time series based on the dyad ratios algorithm for approval. The main findings support the expectation that individual terminations of tainted ministers generate a corrective effect of about 10 points on presidential approval in coalition governments.

POL 2. Reflections on the Legacies of the Southern Cone Dictatorships - 1

Session organizer & chair: Marieke Riethof (University of Liverpool, United Kingdom)

This panel brings together papers that reflect on the anniversaries in 2023, 2024, and 2026 of the military coups in Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. The interdisciplinary papers explore the debates about, commemorations, and legacies of the Chilean dictatorship in a comparative perspective, including the experiences of exile and resistance. How are Latin American societies and diasporas grappling with the complex legacy of authoritarianism half a century later? The papers address this question through a focus on sites of memory, transitional justice, human rights, and exile communities using cultural studies and historical approaches.

1. The Entangled Military Coup in Santiago: A Layered Reading of *La cordillera de los sueños* (2020)

Sara Helin-Long, University College Cork, Ireland

The 2020 documentary film by Patricio Guzmán *La cordillera de los sueños* contends with post-dictatorship traces of terror and lingering injustices within the cityscape of Santiago, Chile. In physical contrast, the Andes mountain range surrounds the city; therefore, Guzmán considers it both a ‘witness’ to past atrocities and a ‘gateway’ into the past. The Cordillera acts as both a physical and personal

barrier for Guzmán in reckoning with the dictatorship's effects on Santiago (and Chile). I reflect on the film's proposal that the day of the coup is entangled within the fabric of the cityscape through an analysis of the relationship between the cityscape and the natural landscape of the Cordillera. I argue that at their meeting points in the film, the construction of memories of the coup, Guzmán's exile, and Chile today are negotiated at once. In the analysis, I utilize Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Anthropocene Time* (2018) to consider the interaction between the cultural-historical importance of the Cordillera and its geological existence across time. This text is also crucial in navigating the Cordillera's significance to the cityscape of Santiago. I contend that evaluating the interaction between the physical and cultural layers of the cordillera through an Anthropogenic lens allows for a valuable conversation about how we might contend with post-dictatorship memory, particularly in the wake of the current political struggles in Chile. In *La cordillera de los sueños*, the legacies of the dictatorship are woven into the physical, cultural, and sensory imaginations of Santiago.

2. Look Back in Anger? Diasporic Responses to 50-year anniversary of Chilean Military Coup
Carole Concha bell, King's College London, UK

This September 11th, 2023 marked the 50th anniversary since the military coup in Chile that abruptly ended Chile's Socialist project and heralded the start of a dictatorship that would last for 17 years, displacing hundreds of thousands of Chileans. Once in exile, Chileans, along with their supporters in host countries, formed a powerful network of resistance to the dictatorship and solidarity for anti-Pinochet grassroots movements in Chile. This paper evaluates how the 50-year anniversary was observed among diasporic communities in the main host countries such as the UK, Sweden, Switzerland, Canada, and the USA. In particular:

- How and where was the 50th anniversary marked?
- How was the legacy of the coup interpreted?
- What methods were employed in acts of remembrance?
- The role of second-generation exiles in the 50th year commemorations

The paper posits that Chilean exile did not end with the transition to democracy that began in 1988 after Pinochet lost the referendum. Instead, over three decades later, the diaspora has become an important site for Chilean post-dictatorship cultural memory expression

3. Memorialisation and memory sites in the context of the 50th anniversary of the Chilean coup
Marieke Riethof, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom

The anniversary of the military coup in Chile in 2023 was not only an occasion to commemorate military repression and human rights violations but also saw the growing number of official and grassroots memory sites associated with the dictatorship. Chile has sixty-five officially recognised memory sites out of 1132 secret detention centres (Informe Valech I, 2004), including well-known sites in Santiago such as Villa Grimaldi and Londres 38. In the run-up to September 2023, nine sites were designated historical monuments, including Vanda Sexy (associated with sexual violence and transnational repression) and the Pisagua concentration camp in Northern Chile (associated with the Caravan of Death). Alongside these initiatives, less visible but equally significant grassroots memory sites have received a new impetus, although their status is often uncertain. In all these cases, human rights activism and the involvement of victims has been crucial in the struggle for recognition of these sites. Based on visits to official and grassroots memory sites in 2023, this paper identifies several other common themes, such as gender and sexual violence, Indigenous rights, and transnational repression through Operation Condor. The paper argues that these memory sites emphasise the historical connections roots and present-day relevance of the repression under the Pinochet dictatorship, placing this experience in a wider global context to engage new audiences.

4. Writing Exile(s) from the Periphery: Hijos del Exilio and Transnational Memory between Europe and the Southern Cone
Cara Levey, University College Cork, Ireland

Fifty years after the coups that led to the forced displacement of many of the Southern Cone, the experience of the second generation of exiles has come under increasing scrutiny, a stark reminder about the profound intergenerational reverberations of exile. As this paper elucidates, for those who were born and/or brought up in exile — there is no neat division between country of origin and country of exile; their lives reveal multiple journeys and questionable ‘returns’. This is particularly the case for the hijos who never returned to the Southern Cone, a group that Norandi calls the no retornados. This paper foregrounds analysis of the child-exile in work that is also by two hijas del exilio: French-Argentine Laura Alcoba and Dutch-Uruguayan Carolina Trujillo, two writers whose biographies abound comparisons.¹ While Alcoba’s mother fled into exile in 1976, the young Alcoba would remain with her grandparents in La Plata, visiting her father in prison on a fortnightly basis before joining her mother in Paris at the age of 10 in 1979. Born in 1970, Carolina Trujillo’s biography reveals a similar trajectory to Alcoba as her family fled for the Netherlands in 1976. Both authors could be considered exiliadas hijas, as well as the children of exiles. Although this suggests slippage between the first and second generations, there is a clear difference between those who were adults when they went into exile and the hijos — undergoing ‘an exile that comprises the country of childhood’ (Arfuch 2018, 688), — coming of age after dictatorships ended.

POL. 2 Reflections on the Legacies of the Southern Cone Dictatorships - 2

Session organizer & chair: Marieke Riethof (University of Liverpool, United Kingdom)

This panel brings together papers that reflect on the anniversaries in 2023, 2024, and 2026 of the military coups in Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. The interdisciplinary papers explore the debates about, commemorations, and legacies of the Chilean dictatorship in a comparative perspective, including the experiences of exile and resistance. How are Latin American societies and diasporas grappling with the complex legacy of authoritarianism half a century later? The papers address this question through a focus on sites of memory, transitional justice, human rights, and exile communities using cultural studies and historical approaches.

5. Your Return Was My Exile: A Critical Discourse Approach to the Art of Resistance
Veronica Marquez Moreno, The University of Edinburgh

Arpilleras are a type of tapestry which has a long tradition of denouncing the human rights violations happening during Chile’s civil-military dictatorship (1973-1990). This political art has been the voice of many women narrating stories, empowering, disrupting the status quo, and recovering historical memory. This presentation analyses 9 Arpilleras from the perspective of the exiled daughters, who stitched their memories of banishment and return. Hence, we seek to answer how exiled daughters represent their life in foreign countries (such as in Europe, Canada, and Argentina) and on their return to their original country, Chile. Through the evaluations of inscribed and evoked in the multimodality configuration, we find this integrated into the tapestry with its narrated label, the stitchwork description. The evaluative meanings are accessed by using the model of APPRAISAL (Martin & White, 2005; Oteíza and Pinuer, 2020) and the proposed social semiotic analysis of (Kress y van Leeuwen, 2006; Oteíza y Pablo Chiuminatto, 2021). The result takes us to the past of being exiled which is still present with nostalgic, melancholic, empowering, and some happiness, impressively represented by portrayed objects (Chmiel, 2023) which is the notion of geological writing (Riviera, 2023). Arpilleras reveals those invisible voices, re-discovering memories from lives during the civil-military dictatorship which nowadays makes it essential to understand due to the havoc of denialism.

6. Why Chile's Voice Echoed Louder: Tracing Diaspora Mobilisation Amidst the Dictatorships of the Southern Cone

Juliette Saetre, European University Institute

This study delves into the phenomena of diaspora mobilisation against the backdrop of the 1970s Southern Cone dictatorships to understand why the Chilean exile community achieved a louder resonance on the global stage compared to its Argentine and Brazilian counterparts. Despite contending with similarly violent regimes, the Chilean cause became a focal point of international solidarity—a distinction that has so far only been explained through country-specific analyses. This paper transcends these confines by offering a comparative, cross-national analysis of the transnational advocacy efforts of Argentinean, Brazilian, and Chilean emigrants within a unified theoretical framework. I propose the unparalleled mobilization of the Chilean diaspora can be attributed to a confluence of three distinct yet interrelated factors, each less evident in the Argentine and Brazilian cases: (a) the specific nature of migration and reception, as evidenced by a higher rate of refugee status recognition among Chileans; (b) the creation of extensive transnational activist networks, a result of the Chilean diaspora's geographic distribution; and (c) the articulation of a cohesive and compelling frame that could effectively galvanise local and international support. The findings are derived from a novel dataset that maps and measures mobilisation efforts through calls for action posters collected from archival research, complemented by data on historical migration flows. By adopting a cross-national locus of analysis, this paper deepens our understanding of the conditions that enable certain emigrant communities to emerge as influential actors in global politics, a topic of particular relevance as transnational politics continue to gain prominence.

7. Constructing Reconciliation: A critical review of governmental tools for truth and reconciliation in the Chilean transition to democracy

José Luis Proboste Setz, Queen's University at Kingston, ON, Canada

Chilean society underwent one of the most violent dictatorships under Augusto Pinochet between 1973 and 1989 after a coup ended Salvador Allende's democratically elected socialist government. Chileans have understood this period as a breaking point in their History, focusing since the early 1990s on binding back the fabric of society. This paper will address the problem of Reconciliation in the context of the Human Rights Violations that occurred in Chile between 1973 and 1989 under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Specifically, this paper will address the efforts put together by different socio-political organizations (both governmental and non-governmental) to recover, construct, and divulge Truth and Reconciliation in Chilean society. The basis of this paper is found within two key documents that were launched as a governmental initiative under the shape of "Truth and Reconciliation Reports," the "Informe de la Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación" 1991 (known as the Rettig Report) and the "Informe Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión, Política y Tortura" 2004 (known as Valech Report). My work will offer a glimpse of the hardship and difficulties that people overcame to find out, in the means of possible, the most accurate account of the atrocities perpetrated by state agents against those who opposed the dictatorship.

8. Subversive Memories: Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the 1973 Coup d'état in Chilean Contemporary Theatre and Performance

Camila González Ortiz, University of Reading, UK

This presentation will offer an overview and general analysis of the theatre and performance events that were devised and took premiered as part of the 50th anniversary of 1973's civic-military coup d'état in Chile. Throughout 2023 there has been an eruption of productions ranging from repositions of Chilean contemporary classics such Ariel Dorfman's *The Death and the Maiden*, to productions of new

writing by emerging practitioners - members of the so-called post-transition generation. The presentation will mainly focus on the work by this generation, who has been the protagonist of what I have previously defined as the citizens' turn within contemporary Chilean theatre. Highly influenced by the emerge of citizen-based movements during the first decades of the millennium (hence the name), their criticism of the dictatorial and transitional periods not only focuses on the search for truth and justices regarding human rights violations but also on the radical neoliberal policies implemented at the time and their impact on the country still going issues of inequality and incomplete democratic system. To address these topics, the presentation will refer to the play *María Isabel* (2023) by Juan Pablo Troncoso about the feminist struggles of women political prisoners in concentration camps during the dictatorship, the 2023's reposition of *The Death and the Maiden* adapted and staged by members of the post-transition generation, and the site-specific performance of Guillermo Calderón's *Villa* at the facilities of the Olympic Stadium (former detention centre) in September 2023.

POL 3. Assessing the Boric government in Chile: from Refoundation to Reformism?

Session organizer & chair: Patricio Silva (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

The victory of Gabriel Boric in the December 2021 presidential elections produced a truly earthquake in the Chilean political landscape. Representing the radical left, Boric has promised a total 'refoundation' of Chilean society. This entails a total remaking of the social, political, economic, and constitutional pillars upon which Chile had functioned since democratic restoration in 1990. Gabriel Boric's rise to power in March 2022 has produced a renewed interest in current Chilean politics among Chilean and foreign scholars. Some have turned to studying Boric's meteoric political career: in a lapse of only ten short years, he went from student leader to the youngest President the country has ever seen. Others have started to explore the political and ideological nature of the leaders of the young radical Chilean left, which has become the new ruling elite. Boric and his generation have come to be a point of comparison with the traditional Chilean left and other left-wing governments in the region over the last few years. The Panel will explore the main features of Boric's new government, in terms of both his administration's aims and its performance during its first year and half in power. The idea is to evaluate the likelihood that the Boric government could achieve its original aim of 'refounding' the country or will he rather be forced to abandon it and to restrict his efforts to only introduce some modest reforms in some areas of public policy.

1. Boric and the generational left

Carlos Peña, Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago-Chile

This paper explores the generational traits of the political forces that support the new Boric government. Boric's generation, born around 1985, has a dynamic timeframe and direction that is radically different to what came before. This is the generation of social networks and is the most educated in Chilean history, growing up in the middle of a socialization crisis. The generational left that came to power with a heterogeneous political discourse based on different sensibilities. These sensibilities flourished during the Constitutional Convention (2021–2022), when they almost seemed to compete among themselves instead of trying to fulfil a common aim. However, these are key to the self-image and identity of the young generation in power and explain why it has been difficult for Boric and his closest collaborators to adapt the government's initial transformative project after defeat in the plebiscite on September 4th, 2022.

2. Social Reforms under the Boric Administration: Assessing a Frustrated Project

Rossana Castiglioni, Universidad Diego Portales, Chile

One of the most important compromises during the presidential campaign of Gabriel Boric was to introduce an agenda of structural social policy reforms, particularly in health care and pensions. Public support for social reforms was strong, and most political actors agreed that it was necessary to adopt transformations. However, the new government's promises were either unfulfilled or watered down. Why was the Boric administration unable to achieve its initial goals, and what were the main challenges it had to deal with? This paper argues that the government's inability to form broad coalitions, shifts in public opinion and the political context, and the actions of powerful non-governmental actors inhibited policy change.

3. Boric and the Judicial Branch: Taking the Rule of Law seriously in the era of democratic backsliding

Javier Couso, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

In a context in which adherence to the what the late Guillermo O'Donnell once labelled the "institutions of horizontal accountability" among Latin American heads of State is generally low (from the outright authoritarian regimes of Venezuela, Nicaragua and El Salvador, to the populist administrations of Mexico and Argentina), Boric's administration represents an instance of a Latin American leftist government which has proven to be generally respectful of constitutionalism and the Rule of Law. Given the ubiquitous prevalence of disrespect to the latter by both left-wing and right-wing governments in the region, Boric's stance in the matter represents a feature of his administration worth analyzing. Thus, in the paper I deal with this aspect of his presidential period, giving particular attention to his relationship with the judicial branch.

4. The long-term consequences of the turbulent honeymoon for the Boric administration

Patricio Navia, Universidad Diego Portales

The presidency of Gabriel Boric had a short honeymoon. Six months into the term, the government suffered a major defeat when 62% of Chileans voted against the constitutional draft supported by the administration. After that defeat, the government could no longer advance its ambitious reform agenda. In this paper, using public opinion polls, I analyze the reasons that led the Boric administration to ignore the warning signs that anticipated the failure of the constitution writing process. I argue that the unwillingness of the Boric administration to induce the constitutional convention to draft a more moderate text cemented the way for the crushing electoral setback in the plebiscite. Precisely because the success of the Boric government largely depended on the new constitution being approved, the failure to spend political capital in inducing a more moderate constitutional text doomed the future of the Boric presidency.

5. Boric and the 'Two Souls' of his ruling coalition

Patricio Silva, Leiden University, The Netherlands

This paper analyses the tense relationship existing between the radical left (constituted by the Frente Amplio coalition) and the moderate left (represented by the Socialist party and the Party for Democracy). Boric's political ascent was mostly based on his ongoing contempt for the moderate social democratic left. However, during the December 2021 presidential elections, Boric searched for support among the moderate left, which ultimately led to him winning the election. In addition, Boric was forced to incorporate experienced figures from the centre-left into his cabinet including the minister of Interior, Finance, and Foreign Affairs, among others). This paper describes the tense and complex cohabitation at the interior of the Boric government between the centre-left and the radical left forces and how Boric has attempted to satisfy the demands and the programmatic ambitions of both competing members within his ruling coalition.

POL 4. Social Media and the Polarising Role of Latin American Right-Wing Populisms

Session organizers: Gabriel Bayarri (School of Advanced Study, University of London) and Ainhoa Montoya (School of Advanced Study, University of London).

Chair: Juan Pablo Ferrero (University of Bath).

Discussant: Ana Cristina Suzina (Loughborough University London)

The rise of right-wing populist leaders, such as Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, Nayib Bukele in El Salvador and Javier Milei in Argentina, has marked a transformative shift in Latin American politics in the last few years. This panel aims to explore how right-wing populist leaders, movements and parties have harnessed new forms of communication to gain widespread support. A central theme will be the role of social media in this transformation, emphasising their critical importance in understanding political polarisation and the construction of right-wing populist narratives.

The panel will provide a platform to discuss in depth how Latin American right-wing populisms shape their discourses with both national and regional nuances as well as global influences. Given the under-researched nature of Latin American right-wing populisms in comparison to its Anglo-European counterparts, this panel will provide vital insights into a critical global issue.

Overall, the panel seeks to examine how social media communication can contribute to intensifying political polarisation, radicalisation and violence. We will discuss the proliferation of right-wing populist discourses and communication tactics and their role in increasing polarisation and fostering violent political cultures. While the focus of the panel is on Latin America, it also includes scholars that will offer their views on processes of radicalisation in Europe, encouraging dialogue on the commonalities, differences, and connections that characterise this global phenomenon.

1. *Comunicación grotesca, violencia y polarización política: la ultraderecha en América Latina*
Concepción Fernández Villanueva, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, España

La comunicación grotesca, no argumentativa, basada en imágenes o palabras exageradas, estereotipadas y burlescas, está muy próxima y, en ocasiones, disfraza la violencia. Se puede considerar como violencia simbólica que, lejos de divertir, desprecia y denigra. La denigración subrepticia o explícita cumple la función de polarizar, extremar las diferencias entre los agentes políticos y sociales y con ello, acentuar la distancia cognitiva y más aún la distancia afectiva entre el endogrupo y el exogrupo. La comunicación grotesca violenta se pone de manifiesto en los grupos de extrema derecha creando imágenes de los contrarios de sus ideologías y sus pretensiones y, especialmente, en las imágenes de los líderes oponentes. El trabajo se plantea analizar la representaciones burlescas y grotescas de los grupos de extrema derecha de una serie de países latinoamericanos, de forma comparada, en sus recientes campañas electorales. El material de análisis será principalmente los slogans y principales mensajes simbólicos, así como los memes y la representación de imagen de los líderes ultraderechistas y sus contrincantes electorales.

2. *The Normalization of Post-Fascism: The New Right's Influence on Contemporary Political Discourse*
Julián Castro-Rea, University of Alberta, Canada

The New Right (NR, born in 1968 in France as Nouvelle Droite) is an ideological corpus that, while inspired on fascist thought, repackages right-wing ideologies by cleansing them from the components that became unsavory after WWII (antisemitism, racial supremacism, extreme nationalism, glorification of violence, etc.) The new ideological framework incorporated or borrowed fresh concepts to encapsulate its key ideas; such as metapolitics, agonism, globalism, gender ideology, pluriverse, etc. While for a long time these terms remained obscure, confined to the small circle of NR followers, today they are commonly used in political conversation in academia, the media, online and by mainstream politicians. This paper will track the usage of key NR concepts online and the context where they are

employed. We will demonstrate that these terms act as a gateway for the normalization of the NR worldview, frequently blended with conspiracy theories that push this ideology further to the right. We will pursue a qualitative content analysis to identify tropes in the discourse of specific academics, media personalities and politicians and compare them with key themes found in NR theory. A particular focus on Argentine presidential candidate Javier Milei will be developed. We will analyze the frequency of identified words with similar contexts. This way, we will identify and connect key NR concepts to the rhetoric used by Milei and other right-wing actors. We will also measure the NR normalization through a quantitative method, to determine the extent to which the NR is prevailing in the cultural battle for ideas.

3. Latin American Political Leaders as Influencers: Right-Wing Populisms and Their Polarising Discourses in Social Media

Gabriel Bayarri & Ainhoa Montoya, School of Advanced Study, University of London, England

This presentation examines the discourses of the main right-wing populist influencers (politicians and media leaders) in different Latin American countries – Brazil, Guatemala, Argentina, and El Salvador – during electoral competition for their countries' presidency. It is based on both online and offline research in order to understand how their discourses mobilise elements that promote political polarisation and incite violence. Between September 2022 and February 2024, in the weeks leading up to and following each presidential election, we collected textual and visual data from Twitter and Instagram public accounts employing open-source software. We also conducted ethnographic fieldwork during the weeks preceding the elections to capture offline discourses and the affective milieu of each electoral campaign as a means to contextualise the social media data. Overall, the research shows the central role that political influencers play in the legitimation of violence against political opponents and other social groups. Though representing very different countries with diverging histories, the candidates, all males, have performed a politics of spectacle featuring authoritarian, chauvinistic and paternalistic traits and practices that has mobilized large portions of the electorate.

4. When Memes Celebrate Political Activism: Cooperative Audiences vs State Media System in Cuba after Castro

Rainer Rubira García, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Spain

Alternative media content sharing strategies, specifically of memes, constitute one of the main distinctive elements, if not the most important of Cuban political activism nowadays. Cooperative circulation of cultural contents through digital devices is one of the expressions of the social appropriation of technologies in Cuba's emerging network society. The latter means variables that Hallin and Mancini's Model couldn't consider 20 years ago but that should be taken into account nowadays. Many popular contents as TV series, soap operas, music and other audiovisual products censored by the Cuban government are somehow the base of memetic communication that allows people to discuss political narratives bypassing state-owned media using "choteo" or mocking as strategy. This practice has been so far spontaneous, self-sustained, reticular, relatively low cost and flexible, facing the handicap of limited Internet connectivity among citizens in the country. We discuss how cooperation is essential to this digital activism in a limited mass media landscape, where activism is not centered around politics only, but rather on a cultural experience.

5. Hating 'caviar': Understanding opposition to progressiveness in a sample of tweets about Peruvian politics
Werner Jungbluth, York University, Canada

In 2021 Peruvians elected Pedro Castillo, a rural schoolteacher with Leftist affiliations as President. This revived a national version of the 'red scare' among the country's elite and urban middle classes that ultimately strained the relationship between Presidency and Congress, leading to his ousting. Throughout this context and going back to the post-Fujimori years, the label 'caviar' has become widely used as loosely describing a version of the champagne socialist. I perform computational-assisted text analysis of 6,000 tweets to identify how do X (formerly Twitter) users define the persona of the 'caviar', what sentiments are attached to it, its associations with the Internal Armed Conflict (1980-2000), and its place as a means for discursive demonization along the Left-Right axis in the context of a weakly polarized party system. While Feldman and Moraga Núñez (2023) have valid reasons to use newspapers to analyze this "politico-cultural category" I believe that the latent topics in the often-cacophonous discussion in social media can effectively complement analyses of mainstream media. I contextualize this analysis with a discussion of the framings and characteristics of the Peruvian opposition to leftism in the post-Cold War era (Handlin, 2017) and discuss the implications of the findings for populist ideations and the diverging exclusionary results of the 'us' versus 'them' boundaries in contemporary Peru.

POL 5. Militarism, (anti)communism and histories of diplomacy - 1

Chair: Perla Polanco Leal (The University of Manchester)

1. "Empenhado na luta contra o comunismo": Brazilian arms and the military crisis in the Greater Caribbean Basin (1944-1950)
Rodrigo Veliz, Institute for Latin American Studies, Freie Universität Berlin

The paper examines Brazil's role in arming Leonidas Trujillo's Dominican Republic during the postwar years. It argues that along with the UK, Brazil took an early anti-communist stance in the post-war period and positioned itself by supporting authoritarian actors in their fight against left-wing democratic governments. The paper analyses Brazil's role in terms of its interests with other Southern Cone countries, and examines how exactly it conceived and participated in the Great Caribbean political scenario characterised by tensions between authoritarian and democratic actors. Contrary to what historiography suggests, Brazil was at different times in the twentieth century active in the Caribbean, beyond its well-known role in the early 1970s. The article is based on diplomatic archives from Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, Mexico, the United States and Britain.

2. Global Disparities: Examining the Influence of 19th-Century British Economic Interests in Latin America's Development.
Perla Polanco Leal, The University of Manchester

This work focuses on the enduring inequalities faced by Latin America within the global economy. By examining the legacies of 19th-century British economic interests and its influence in the region, this research asks the question: How did 19th-century British economic interests contribute to shaping the enduring extractive dynamics and exploitative labour patterns in Latin America? Drawing on archival research from the special collections of the Senate House Library and the British Library, this paper explores British economic motivations, and how economic pursuits extended beyond the borders of its colonies, shaping economic dynamics and priorities in newly independent Latin American countries. The allure of natural resources, once under the control of the Spanish and Portuguese empires, acted as a compelling catalyst for forging economic connections with Latin American nations. The paper

scrutinizes the economic links, values, and dynamics that played a crucial role in shaping early national development priorities, including the perpetuation of extractive practices and exploitative labour patterns. By emphasizing the link between 19th-century economic interests and the present-day political and economic configuration of the region, the study contributes to the exploration of enduring inequalities. In alignment with the conference theme of addressing persistent inequalities, the paper delves into aspects of International Political Economy (IPE) that underscore the significance of considering indirect imperial influences to expand our understanding of the region's historical development.

3. Producción y circulación de una editorial comunista transnacional. El caso de Sudam, 1929-1935

Mariana Massó, CONICET - Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina.

En 1929 el Secretariado Sudamericano de la Internacional Comunista (SSA) fundó Sudam, la primera editorial comunista sudamericana. La actividad editorial ocupaba un lugar clave dentro de los objetivos políticos del organismo, ya que los partidos comunistas se encontraban en un momento de intensa reorganización política y orgánica. Sudam integró el espacio de la Comintern conocido como Editorial Europa y América, por lo que fueron decisivos sus vínculos con Francia y España. Debido a las dificultades materiales y al agudo proceso represivo que se instauró en la región en los años 1930, el SSA desplegó estrategias para darle continuidad al proyecto. Además de trasladar su sede de Buenos Aires a Montevideo; publicó bajo otros sellos editoriales, aceitó redes personales y se apoyó en los recursos materiales de los partidos comunistas sudamericanos. El objetivo principal de esta ponencia es analizar los mecanismos empleados por Sudam para la producción y circulación de sus catálogos, y su impacto en el comunismo regional. A modo de hipótesis sostenemos que la práctica editorial de la Internacional, basada en las redes personales y partidarias, le permitió al SSA tener un margen de independencia y pragmatismo para continuar con el trabajo de edición en la coyuntura represiva. La producción/circulación de ciertos autores y textos definieron las bibliotecas comunistas de la época y fueron utilizados como insumos para la formación de los militantes en los cursos y escuelas partidarias. Por ello, cumplieron un rol trascendental para la intervención política y en la homogenización teórica del comunismo sudamericano.

4. Global Militarism and Canada's Investment in the Caribbean

Tamanisha J. John, York University, Canada

At the end of the 1990s, there existed a belief that a growing Canadian military involvement in the Caribbean region was unlikely if it was not associated with Canada's interest in Latin America (Klepak 1996). This view had such a large impact that today there is a dearth of information on Canada's military involvement in the Caribbean region. Lacking systematic investigation, two myths have perpetuated: first that Canada has no stake or interest in Caribbean security, insofar as those interests cannot be tied to Canada's interests in Latin America; and second, that all expressions of Canada's involvement in Caribbean security are simply extensions of US security interests in the region. Looking at Canada as part of the Anglosphere, this paper analyzes Canada's ongoing commitment in the Caribbean to preserving and expanding the political, social, economic, and ecological system that benefits Anglospheric capitalist accumulation and security objectives. Today, Jamaica is the host site for the Canadian Armed Forces Operation Support Hub in Latin America and the Caribbean (OSH-LAC), as Canada aims to position its long-term security partner as a regional sub-policeman of the region. OSH-LACs proximity to states like Haiti, a frequent site of Canadian intervention, should worry those concerned with Canada's increased global militarism and imperialism in the Caribbean.

POL 5. Militarism, (anti)communism and histories of diplomacy - 2

Chair: Jean Baptiste Thomas (Ecole polytechnique-Paris/Université de Poitiers, France)

5. Producción cultural e ideología en el Perú, 1960-1980

Emilia Curatola-Fernandez, Institute of the Americas - University College London

Esta ponencia explora una etapa del movimiento obrero peruano, durante las décadas de 1960 hasta 1980, desde una aproximación a su producción cultural, tomando como objeto de estudio una agrupación de intelectuales, poetas y artistas obreros llamada Grupo Intelectual Primero de Mayo que estuvo activa en el país por más de treinta años (1956-1980). A lo largo de la presentación me interesa analizar cómo el grupo dio forma a cierta imagen de la clase trabajadora peruana, es decir, a sus experiencias y luchas, pero también a sus deseos y aspiraciones en el momento de mayor ensanchamiento y radicalización de este movimiento. De esta forma, me interesa explorar de qué manera la actividad cultural, y la producción poética y gráfica del colectivo estuvo marcada por los procesos económicos, políticos e ideológicos de esos años – período caracterizado por el impacto de la Guerra Fría y de la Revolución Cubana (1959) en América Latina.

6. Del patriotismo “sano” a la causa Malvinas. El Partido Socialista argentino y la cuestión nacional

José Benclowicz, CONICET - Universidad Nacional de Río Negro, Argentina

Desde principios del siglo XX, el Partido Socialista (PS) argentino se perfiló como la principal fuerza socialdemócrata a nivel latinoamericano. Como ocurrió con la mayor parte de los partidos de la II Internacional, su lucha contra las desigualdades sociales pronto empalmó con la idea un patriotismo “sano” opuesto al de la burguesía, que era cuestionado por militarista y mistificador. Ahora bien, hacia los años 30, en un contexto en el que el PS alcanzaba la mayor representación parlamentaria de su historia –al tiempo que se registraba un firme avance de las derechas–, Alfredo Palacios, el legendario primer diputado socialista de América Latina, fogueaba en el Congreso la que terminaría por convertirse en la causa nacional argentina por excelencia: Malvinas. Lejos de tratarse de una iniciativa individual, esta ponencia muestra que la acción de Palacios expresó un reforzamiento de las identificaciones patrióticas más allá de las definiciones partidarias previas, que coincidió con cierto retroceso de las reivindicaciones clasistas como eje de intervención. En esta línea, examino la evolución de la cuestión nacional en el PS prestando particular atención a los desplazamientos que se perfilaron en la década de 1930 y reviso las recepciones de los debates de la socialdemocracia mundial sobre este punto. El trabajo, que abreva en fuentes parlamentarias, de los socialistas argentinos y de la Internacional, entre otras, se sitúa en el cruce de dos temas tratados separadamente hasta el momento: la cuestión nacional en el socialismo y los prolegómenos de la causa Malvinas

7. El clasismo olvidado: el sindicato del caucho de Córdoba (Argentina, 1973-1976), a medio siglo de la vuelta del peronismo al poder

Jean Baptiste Thomas, Ecole polytechnique-Paris/Université de Poitiers, France

Esta comunicación propone reflexionar sobre el alcance de uno de los actores olvidados del sindicalismo combativo en la Argentina de los años 1970. Córdoba, polo universitario e industrial de central importancia, es el teatro del “Cordobazo” que a partir de mayo de 1969 incorpora el país al ciclo del “Global 68” y abre un período de fuerte conflictividad, que sólo terminará con el golpe de marzo de 1976. Se han estudiado distintas expresiones del sindicalismo “clasista” cordobés de la época, en particular en el sector automotriz (Fiat y Renault, en particular, ver James Brennan y Daniel James, para los estudios más clásicos). A pesar del importante desarrollo reciente de la historiografía sobre el “setentismo” en la Argentina, una de estas expresiones quedó completamente olvidada de los trabajos más importantes, a pesar de su paradójica centralidad. El Sindicato de Trabajadores del Caucho y Afines

(Sitracaaf) agrupó, por fuera del sindicato oficial peronista, al conjunto de los obreros del caucho cordobés, de vital importancia para las automotrices y sus subsidiarias. Entre 1973 y 1976, alrededor de una práctica de democracia horizontal y de acción directa, formó parte del conjunto de las luchas la ciudad y se convirtió en uno de los pilares del movimiento obrero combativo. En base a entrevistas con sobrevivientes e historia oral, trabajo archivístico en la prensa comercial y militante, esta comunicación presentará algunas de las pistas en las cuales estoy trabajando en el marco de mi “Habilitation à diriger des recherches” y próximo libro.

8. Del “Plan Marshall” latinoamericano a la “Justicia Verde” por la Amazonía: Los encuadres discursivos de la justicia social y la deuda externa

Guillermo Ramos Flamerich, Sorbonne Nouvelle University, France

La justicia social ha sido una reivindicación fundamental en el discurso político latinoamericano del siglo XX. Así continúa siéndolo en las primeras décadas del XXI. Su exigencia no ha sido indiferente a multiplicidad de dirigentes. El presente trabajo quiere abordar este reclamo discursivo de la justicia social para América Latina a partir de su relación con los “países poderosos” en dos momentos diferentes. El primero, es el de la “Justicia Social Internacional” impulsada por el líder demócrata cristiano y expresidente venezolano Rafael Caldera, en consonancia con los postulados de la Doctrina Social de la Iglesia Católica. En la misma se exige la obligación de los países ricos de promover el bienestar de los países en vías de desarrollo y, en el contexto de los años ochenta en la región, asumir la crisis de la deuda externa como un “problema de alta política internacional”, a ser resuelto mediante mecanismos extraordinarios como un “Plan Marshall” latinoamericano. El segundo, más de tres décadas después, estimulado desde los gobiernos de la nueva izquierda latinoamericana. En el discurso de presidentes como Lula da Silva (Brasil), o Gustavo Petro (Colombia), se persiste en la justicia social y la necesidad de un nuevo orden internacional, esta vez a partir del debate mundial sobre el cambio climático. Desde el canje de deuda externa por acciones para preservar el Amazonas, hasta las críticas al “neocolonialismo verde”. Las líneas discursivas reivindicativas, a pesar de las diversidades ideológicas y las discusiones del momento, han mantenido continuidades que este trabajo busca presentar.

POL 6. Functional and dysfunctional institutionalism

Chair: Pablo Pizarro (University of Barcelona, Spain)

1. Social Cohesion and Reform Capacity

Kaj Thomsson, Maastricht University

Socio-economic development hinges on a government's ability to effectively respond to sudden societal challenges and economic contractions – in particular in developing economies subjected to frequent, severe downturns. Previous research has shown that a government's ability to respond to such challenges depend on more than the availability of suitable policies; it also hinges crucially on both formal and informal political institutions. Existing research, in particular in economics, emphasizes the role of formal institutions for the capacity of countries to respond to urgent challenges, but often overlooks the role of informal institutions and cultural attributes - even though the (economic) importance of interpersonal and institutional trust is well-established. This paper develops a novel conceptual framework that is used to explore the role of social cohesion during economic crises. Emphasis is placed on understanding individuals' demand for, and acceptance of, policy (response) and behavioral adaptation during economic crises. Our hypothesis posits that individuals' preferences over policy features – e.g. the level of process formalization and regulation - are shaped by their levels of trust in others, their expectations of opportunistic behavior, and their trust in government competence. Economic recovery, therefore, is not solely determined by the suitability of policy content

but also by societal characteristics and (views on) implementation costs, policy timing, and social compliance. To empirically explore these predictions, an ongoing survey experiment in eight Latin American countries examines the interplay between social and political trust, individual policy preferences, and second-order beliefs about societal preferences – with results expected in the spring of 2024.

2. La definición de estilos de institucionalización de la cooperación internacional desde los gobiernos subnacionales. Los casos de Bogotá, Medellín y Cartagena (Colombia)
Denisse Grandas, Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano, Colombia

Los gobiernos subnacionales han empezado a jugar un rol fundamental en la cooperación internacional, bajo el propósito de aumentar su presencia internacional y responder a los desafíos del desarrollo. La tendencia muestra cómo desde algunas ciudades de América Latina, se han impulsado estructuras organizacionales mediante la conformación de oficinas, legislaciones, reglas, políticas, recursos financieros y humanos, que se convierten en el medio para institucionalizar y establecer relaciones internacionales. Se considera que estas estructuras reducen la desconfianza entre los cooperantes, promueven continuidad en la interacción entre sí, y por ende generan sensación de estabilidad y certidumbre en sus respectivas relaciones y acciones conjuntas. De ahí la importancia de analizar la tendencia en los procesos de institucionalización en la cooperación descentralizada desde la visión neoinstitucionalista y su vertiente sociológica y con ello, explicar la similaridad organizacional y los efectos y consecuencias del isomorfismo. Bajo este contexto, la ponencia tiene como objetivo examinar los factores explicativos de los procesos de institucionalización de la cooperación descentralizada a partir de la definición de variables y subvariables y su aplicación en 4 casos de estudio en Colombia. El planteamiento principal considera que, en los campos organizacionales de la cooperación internacional, es posible evidenciar una homogeneidad de prácticas y acuerdos y una reproducción de estructuras y reglas generando un isomorfismo institucional en el que se establecen reglas, normas y procedimientos que no solo responden a las estructuras institucionales y a los preceptos internacionales de la cooperación internacional sino, además, a las dinámicas propias de la administración pública al interior de los países.

3. Judges' Independence under constraints: A strategic approach to the Chilean case
Pablo Pizarro, University of Barcelona, Spain

How do lower court judges protect their independence? This paper addresses an understudied topic in judicial politics: judicial independence (JI) of lower-court judges. Its contribution relies on (1) conceptualizing “judges’ independence” and the variables that shape it, distinguishing it from the independence of the judiciary, and (2) building an analytical framework that contributes to understanding how norms, practices, culture, and strategies, all together, impact judicial outcomes, independence and accountability (Pozas-Loyo & Ríos-Figueroa, 2022). To do so, it will address the Chilean case, characterized by its hierarchical and authoritarian judiciary (Hilbink, 2007), with critical episodes regarding judges’ JI in international courts (Urrutia Labreaux vs. Chile, 2020) and recent discussions on two constitutional drafts with significant reforms to the judicial government. To achieve his contributions, it proposes the basis for a game-theory model to analyze actors with conflicting interests and interdependent choices, such as Chilean judges of different hierarchies (Dyevre, 2010), incorporating constraints like tenure, stability, ideology, promotion, and disciplinary sanctions (Epstein, 2016), drawing from past successful applications of this methodology in Latin American judicial politics (Helmke & Staton, 2011; Rodríguez-Raga, 2011), and with the expectation that will be suitable to analyze lower-court judges constraints in civil-law career-based judiciaries around the world.

4. Attitudinal retaliation against demand-driven non-programmatic distribution: the case of Chile
Richard Wilkinson, Royal Holloway, University of London

Intrinsically democratic citizens tend to be critical of vote-buying in Latin America. In fact, their stigmatisation of the practice is thought to shape parties' use of this strategy. Are these democrats also more likely to disapprove of local cultures of request-making involving demands for non-programmatic benefits? We examine this question in the Chilean context, where some mayors meet face-to-face with citizens to discuss, inter alia, employment-related requests. Existing research suggests that these meetings could provide fertile ground for the generation or reinforcement of clientelistic dynamics, especially since meeting rates across Chilean municipalities appear to correlate with turnout in local elections. We test whether employment-related per capita meeting rates are associated with lower trust in municipalities and decreased satisfaction with mayors' performance amongst the most democratically minded. Following the manual annotation of meeting records, we compute per capita municipal rates for employment-related requests and link these to individual-level data from the 2019 LAPOP survey. We then estimate the effect of municipal meeting rates on individual-level trust in local government and mayoral satisfaction using multilevel regression models. The models provide no evidence to suggest that the most democratic stigmatise higher rates of employment-related meetings. Yet, higher meeting rates correlate with more positive assessments of local government across all respondents, with especially favourable views among the more politically marginalised. This study contributes to the growing literature on perceptions of subtypes of non-programmatic politics and its preliminary findings point to a possible lack of accountability for demand-driven non-programmatic distribution.

POL 7. The anatomy of an uprising: Repercussions of street protests in South America

Chair: Luisa González (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

1. Radios y Cacerolas: Feminist Approaches to Online Activism During the 2021 Colombian National Strike
Luisa González, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This presentation elaborates on a feminist perspective of digital activism during the 2021 Colombian National Strike through the work of two collectives led by women (colectivas), in which I participated while in the diaspora. One first colectiva is Radio Lila, formed mostly by Black female youngsters from the Aguablanca District in Cali. Through a series of sound capsules and live radios, they narrated what was happening in their locality, which was one of the most brutally oppressed during the strike. The second colectiva is Cacerola Collective, created by a group of creativxs colombianxs living in cities of the Global North. Despite most of us did not know each other, through the internet we formed a virtual community to mourn the deaths and horrors of the strike, same as to support it by creating content for Instagram. The work of these colectivas makes visible ways in which online activists set actions to tackle patriarchy within the protest, and that of the "estado opresor/violador" (Las tesis). Same as how they contested local and global powers and their censorship of the online realm. This research adds to the literature on digital activism perspectives of care and community building, needed for the sustainability of what Rosana Reguillo calls "insurrecciones 2.0."

2. Between Broken Mediations and Dismissive Governments: The Logic of Violent Protests in South America, 2017-2020
Diego Sazo, London School of Economics, United Kingdom

Scholars have extensively debated the causes of recent anti-government protests in Global South democracies. However, little attention has been given to explaining why and how some of these

protests became more violent than others. This research argues that the interaction between the government response and the socio-political mediation shapes the intensity of violence during mobilizations. Consequently, I aim to show that higher levels of violence in protests are more likely to occur when mobilizations are unable to be channeled through intermediary bodies and encounter dismissive government behavior. By using extensive historical research and ethnographic fieldwork, I conduct a process-tracing controlled comparison of mass protests in Argentina, Chile and Colombia between 2017 and 2019. I confirm that differences in government responses and the role of intermediary actors help explain why violent demonstrations played out in starkly dissimilar ways among these countries. In cases where authorities confronted dissent in the absence of strong mediation bodies, as in Chile and Colombia, rioting and looting escalated. Conversely, when governmental officials opted for a conciliatory reaction and engaged with solid broker counterparts, as in Argentina, they contributed to prevent spikes in violence. Comparative quantitative data is presented to illustrate these divergent outcomes. Unlike Global North scholarship that often overemphasize the role of state repression in the making of violence, these findings contribute by showing how government responses, in general, and the brokerage of dissent, in particular, can explain the varied patterns of violence among anti-government protests.

3. Political elite and social movements: changes and continuities on the Chilean political elite after the uprising of 2019

Victoria Leon-Porath, Queen Mary University of London

The uprising in Chile (2019) was the largest protests in the country during this century. The response of the government to it was to create the Constitutional Convention, mandated to propose a new Constitution. Even when the protests were anti-establishment, the response of the government was to design a new temporary political institution, and consequently, more elections. The question here is whether the uprising generated a change in institutional politics beyond the Convention, especially on the circulation of political elite. To answer this, I focus on the Chamber of Deputies as a permanent institution, comparing its composition before and after the uprising, and adding the Convention to the comparison. Based on the literature and public information, I generate a database including descriptive, political, and elite-related variables. The results show some changes in political variables, especially about affiliation and roles within the party: there is an increase of independent Deputies and Deputies with no formal role in a political party. Additionally, there is an increase of female representatives. However, some traditional characteristics of the political elite remain similar, such as having a university degree, relatives in politics, or membership to certain civil society organisations. The results point to some circulation on the Chilean political elite, connected to the anti-establishment feeling of the protests and a general rejection towards parties. But other than that, the characteristics of the political elite remain unaffected by the uprising. These findings open the door to investigations about the recruitment process of political parties after massive mobilisations

4. Migrant Remittances and Support of Uncivil Contentious Action in Latin America

Ana Isabel Lopez Garcia, Maastricht University

Focusing on Latin American democracies, we theorise and provide evidence that migrant remittances legitimise uncivil protests as tools for demanding political accountability and government responsiveness in origin countries. Although remittances lower the economic grievances of individuals, recipients experience corruption and crime to a greater extent than nonrecipients do. We argue that recipients' corruption- and crime- related grievances translate into greater support of citizens acting outside of the formal mechanisms or institutions sanctioned by the state. An analysis of AmericasBarometer data confirms that relative to nonrecipients, remittance recipients are more supportive of citizens engaging in unlawful and violent protests, and that recipients' support of uncivil contentious action is mediated by heightened corruption and crime experiences. In contrast to research

indicating that international emigration lowers political contestation and social tensions in origin countries, evidence suggests that in the Latin American context the receipt of remittances create new grievances that potentially heighten tensions and feed into violence.

POL 8. Reinventing old tides: Political developments in Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia

Chair: Philipp Altmann (Universidad Central del Ecuador)

1. Resilience and Reckoning: The MAS-IPSP's Journey from Ousted to Elected in Bolivia (2019-2020)

Martin Barakov, York University, Canada

This paper examines the coup d'état in Bolivia in 2019 that led to the removal of the Movimiento al Socialismo - Instrumento Político por la Soberanía de los Pueblos (MAS-IPSP) party from power and their remarkable return in 2020. It delves into the implications of these events for the consolidation of democracy, with a unique focus on the tragic massacres that occurred in late 2019. The paper also highlights the origins of the MAS-IPSP vis-à-vis indigenous resurgence, plurinational self-determination, an anti-imperialist foreign policy, and progressive economic measures taken since first coming to power in 2005. It revolves around how the party's formation and early years contributed to its subsequent prominence and its role in shaping and consolidating Bolivian democracy. Furthermore, it discusses the MAS-IPSP's resilience and its ability to mobilize public support after being ousted. The 2020 general elections marked a pivotal moment when the party regained political control, promising justice for the events that took place. This paper analyzes the factors that contributed to the MAS-IPSP's victory alongside challenges for ensuring reconciliation for those affected by the cessation of democratic governance in Bolivia in 2019. It offers insights into the role of the MAS-IPSP in Bolivia's political landscape, its impact on the country's democratic persistence in recent years, and the importance of seriously addressing the tragic events that occurred during this period of unelected governance.

2. Between oppression and oblivion – the resurgence of the indigenous movement in Ecuador
Philipp Altmann, Universidad Central del Ecuador

For a long time, it seemed as if the indigenous movement in Ecuador had become a 'becalmed movement' - satisfied with one part of its demands, notable the socio-economic part, and frustrated with the other part, plurinationality, interculturality, *sumak kawsay*. Since the early 2000s, it could no longer lead mobilizations as it had done in the 1990s. With Rafael Correa's (2007-2017) government, it had been reduced to local conflicts and lost its capacity to propose original ideas. This prolonged crisis explains why October 2019 and June 2022 -two nationwide mobilizations led by the movement-surprised everyone. This presentation will revise the main reasons for the movement's crisis, a complex of discursive, socio-economic, political, and repressive reasons. Correa successfully integrated the movement's main demands – but without integrating indigenous people in the implementation. Territorial autonomy, intercultural bilingual education, and others were turned against the movement. The public spending undertaken by Correa reduced poverty considerably, reducing grievances. He could effectively divide the movement and play one organization against the other. And finally, social activism was persecuted on different levels during this time. In 2019, the initial openness of President Lenin Moreno turned into neoliberal reforms that once again increased poverty. At the same time, new political opportunities opened that allowed for mobilization. This was repeated with Guillermo Lasso in 2022. This presentation will revise the strategies and demands of both recent uprisings and the movement's resurgence.

3. The Politicization of the Ordinary and the Extraordinary: The 2022 Colombian Election
Santiago Vargas, University of Cambridge, Department of Sociology

It has become practically impossible to find politicians running for office that do frame their election as one of the most, if not the most, important in their country's history. This is what I suggest calling the politicization of the extraordinary. And the 2022 election in Colombia represents an exceptional case of study in this regard. The only thing that diverging political actors seemed to agree on was the extraordinariness of the election if, and only if, Gustavo Petro was to come out as victorious, as he did. For the most part, this has been claimed on the grounds that he is said to be the country's first ever left-wing president, an exceptional representative of the people and an anti-establishment figure. But such claims were essentially deceptive. However, his election was, by all means, extraordinary: Petro was the first president to ever have been a guerrillero, a past particularly hard to advertise in the Colombian public sphere. To win he had to portray his past as not representing a civil anomaly. It had to be normalized; to be made ordinary. Long story short, this paper argues that Petro won the presidency, on the one hand, by portraying the ordinary as extraordinary—thus positioning himself as the first-left wing president, as an exceptional representative of “the people” and as an anti-establishment figure—and, on the other hand, by advertising the extraordinary as ordinary—thus purifying his “polluted” past and retrieving his “civility”.

POL 9. Politics, art & architecture

Chair: Clara Garavelli (University of Leicester, UK)

1. Making money, handling money, unravelling money: paper materiality, trickery and the Argentine consumer in Fabián Bielinsky's *Nueve reinas* (2000)
Juan Luis Bradley, University of Bristol, UK

In Argentina, a country struck by recurring inflationary spirals, the national currency is often considered defective, prompting recourse to the US dollar as an alternative (Luzzi 2013). However, this situation has spurred the creative envisioning of other solutions, such as the Red Global de Trueque barter tokens, and, more recently, cryptocurrencies. I discuss the potential role of Argentine money's frequently paper-based, tangible materiality, particularly from the neoliberal 1990s onwards, in fostering both a consumer subjectivity and an awareness of the ambivalence and tension within this attachment. Paper is often associated with insubstantiality, yet its fragile fibre mesh structure indicates an alternative image of ongoing interweaving and unravelling. I find signs of this image in *Nueve reinas*, Fabián Bielinsky's 2000 swindler blockbuster, released towards the end of the hyper-consumerist Menem administration. While existing readings draw on the implications of the play of simulations in this film, I explore the oft-neglected material properties of the objects supporting these simulating acts (Copertari 2005). For example, fraudster-protagonist Marcos' engagement with money involves manipulating not merely peso banknotes but forged stamps, paper towels, and a cheque. Drawing on provocations from object-oriented approaches, together with an analysis of papermaking characteristics and the materiality of the filmic medium itself, I propose that the many paper money objects in *Nueve reinas* stress their agency in articulating the film's characters' tension-riddled integration into the consumerist subjectivities fomented partly by Domingo Cavallo's Convertibility Plan. Conversely, these objects also encourage performances of trickery, which both reproduce and question these subjectivities.

2. Susana Thénon's *distancias*: Poetics, Politics, and Aesthetics After Argentina's Dictatorship
Georgina Fooks, University of Oxford

Susana Thénon (Buenos Aires, 1935-1991) was a singular voice within Argentine literature, most acclaimed for her poetry, which blended high culture and the classics with profanity and sharp political commentary. After her third collection, published in 1967, she did not publish another collection for 17 years. This hiatus from poetry publishing intersects with her decision to pursue photography in 1971, but it also coincides with a period of political instability in Argentina which culminated in the military dictatorship from 1976 to 1983. She returned to poetry in 1984 with the publication of the collection *distancias*, which she dedicated to three women: her friend, the critic Ana María Barrenechea; her translator, Renata Treitel; and the modern dancer Iris Scaccheri, who was credited with providing 'the definitive vision to revise and complete this work, the duration of which tended dangerously towards the interminable.' Dance had a crucial role in Thénon's return to poetry, and in this talk, I will explore the potential motivations for Thénon's hiatus – both aesthetic and political – as well as the key role of dance in providing Thénon with new tools for poetic expression. I will then move onto a consideration of how the aesthetic shift in *distancias* – marked by an experimental use of syntax, typography, and spacing on the page – represents how Thénon encountered a poetic form that allowed her to explore both aesthetic and political concerns, related to Argentina's immediate political context as well as more existential questions.

3. The Art of Cohn-Duprat: Laughter as a Form of Resistance
Clara Garavelli, University of Leicester, UK

The audiovisual productions directed by Argentinians Mariano Cohn and Gastón Duprat tend to use humour to challenge traditional cultural practices. Whereas their rebellious spirit comes a great deal from their background in videoart, their feature-length films are prone to rely on a more established satirical comedy genre. As will be discussed, the passage from one medium to another, however, does not change their experimental approach to the moving image. Yet, the impact of their productions has shifted to reach wider/mainstream audiences, arguably popularizing intellectualised art forms. This paper aims to explore the different levels of intertextuality present in a series of Cohn-Duprat films – mainly in *El artista* (2008), *El hombre de al lado* (2009), *El ciudadano ilustre* (2016), *Mi obra maestra* (2018), and *Competencia oficial* (2021). In doing so, it analyses whether their satirical take on the art world and high-brow culture frames a social critique that would ultimately serve to demystify and subvert common artistic practices or not.

4. Representación nacional y modernismo arquitectónico en el Perú: la búsqueda de raíces nacionales en la década del 60
Mercedes Reátegui, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Esta ponencia examina de qué maneras el modernismo arquitectónico peruano de la década del 60 incorporó aspectos estéticos de los pasados precolombinos e incaicos en su práctica. Aunque de menor intensidad que otras experiencias latinoamericanas, la búsqueda de raíces nacionales del modernismo arquitectónico peruano apareció de manera concreta en determinados edificios privados y públicos, en el diseño de interiores de edificios modernistas y en la forma de un ideal estético en publicaciones especializadas de arquitectura como "El Arquitecto Peruano". La ponencia explora de qué maneras dicha tendencia responde al encuentro entre los ideales del reformismo arquitectónico de mitad de siglo XX con un paradigma desarrollista mediado por la creciente influencia norteamericana en el marco de la Guerra Fría. Se trata de un momento que demandó nuevas formas de representación y producción arquitectónicas alineadas con la idea de modernización nacional, las cuales intentaron converger el monumentalismo modernista internacional con la representación de la grandeza telúrica de los pasados precolombinos e incaicos. La ponencia examina la circulación global de ideas acerca del patrimonio

histórico en el campo de la arquitectura modernista y cómo aquellas ideas fueron interpretadas e imaginadas por determinados arquitectos locales. Asimismo, presentará como las ideas estéticas invocadas por la búsqueda de raíces tuvieron una vida propia por fuera de la arquitectura en la política nacional, como lo demuestra la trayectoria del político-arquitecto Fernando Belaúnde Terry.

5. Concienciación social en las canciones de Juan Luis Guerra

Olga Godoy, Georgia Southwestern State University

La gran diversidad de temas tratados en las canciones del cantautor Juan Luis Guerra ofrecen un reflejo interesante tanto de la sociedad en la República Dominicana en particular, como de otros países en general, permitiendo así que más gente se identifique con su mensaje y que este llegue más lejos. Esta ponencia se enfoca en el análisis de algunos de los temas de sus canciones que, al exponer los problemas de la sociedad, consiguen concienciar a la audiencia de temas tan relevantes como la injusticia, la desigualdad, la corrupción, la historia, las tradiciones, la cultura, la identidad, la raza, la emigración y la economía; así como en la importancia, transmisión y recepción de su obra. Por medio de las canciones su obra llega a una gran audiencia que aprecia el contenido social y el sentimiento que transmiten. El hecho de que sean canciones facilita la propagación de su mensaje por los medios de comunicación, ya sea por la radio, la televisión, vídeo, internet, grabaciones o conciertos, aunque el éxito se debe a las geniales creaciones del autor. Su obra se expone con sencillez y consigue entretener, educar y transmitir la conciencia social. Contiene la combinación ideal del arte popular y culto, siendo apreciada por todo tipo de audiencia e impactando y concientizando a varias generaciones que siguen transmitiendo sus mensajes al cantar “Visa para un sueño,” “Ojalá que llueva café” o “El costo de la vida” entre otras de las grandes composiciones de Juan Luis Guerra.

POL 10. The Latin American Left in Historical Perspective

Session organizer & chair: Lucas Poy (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Discussant: Paulo Drinot (University College London)

For over a century, the Latin American left has played a central role in shaping the socio-political landscape of the region. From the early 20th-century socialist movements to the revolutionary armed guerrillas of the 1960s and 70s, from urban working-class movements to indigenous organizations, from industrialist currents to environmentalist activism, the tapestry of the Latin American left is rich and complex. Understanding Latin America without a thorough examination of its leftist traditions is nearly impossible. Beyond being topics of interest for activists and a broader public, the past and present of the Latin American left have also been crucial themes for scholars from diverse fields and backgrounds. Historians and other social scientists have established vibrant traditions of scholarship in a field that continues to thrive. In line with the overarching theme of the conference, ‘In/Justice in Latin America and the Caribbean,’ this panel delves into the role of the Latin American left in historical struggles against injustice and inequality, while also assessing its current position in an era marked by political tension and polarization. The panel brings together contributions from different experts in the field, with a focus on theoretical and historiographical reflections, comparative approaches, and case studies.

1. Nicaragua Must Survive: Sandinista Revolutionary Diplomacy in the Global Cold War

Eline van Ommen, University of Leeds

This paper focuses on the revolutionary diplomacy of the left-wing Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua. The FSLN's diplomacy captured the imaginations of people around the globe and transformed Nicaraguan history at the tail end of the Cold War. To build a successful revolution in Nicaragua, the FSLN's unique revolutionary diplomacy went far beyond elite politics, as

they connected with thousands of musicians, politicians, teachers, activists, priests, feminists, and journalists. Many supporters of the FSLN flocked to the country to experience the revolution firsthand. Drawing on extensive archival research and interviews in Nicaragua, Cuba, the Netherlands, the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom, this presentation reveals the role that Western Europe played in Nicaragua's revolutionary diplomacy. Blending grassroots organizing and formal foreign policy, pragmatic guerrillas, creative diplomats, and ambitious activists from Europe and the Americas were able to create an international environment in which the Sandinista Revolution could survive despite the odds. The paper argues that the FSLN's diplomacy was remarkably effective, propelling Nicaragua into the global limelight and allowing the revolutionaries to successfully challenge the United States' role in Central America.

2. The Height, Depth and Width of the Left in Latin America: A Historical Perspective

Paulo Drinot, University College London

Understandings of the Left in Latin America, and the Left's own self-representations, tend to privilege temporal markers of differentiation: the 'new' versus the 'old'. Analysts often attach to these temporal markers of differentiation a valorative marker of differentiation. i.e. a good versus a bad left. In this paper I suggest that scalar markers of differentiation provide a more fruitful, and 'operationable' (i.e. usable and potentially useful), way to think about the historical development of the Left in Latin America (and arguably elsewhere). Since the late nineteenth century, I argue, the Left has grown and shrunk, has deepened and become shallower, has widened and narrowed. Understanding the economic, social, political and cultural dynamics, at the national, regional and transnational levels shaping these scalar changes, I suggest, can help shed light on both the Left in Latin America in historical perspective and, possibly, on the Left today.

3. Peasant Indigenous Women Making Left-Wing Politics

Mercedes Crisóstomo, PhD graduated from University College London, United Kingdom

This paper examines how peasant indigenous women contributed to building and shaping left-wing movements and parties during the twentieth century in Latin America. By focusing on the experience of the Peruvian Left, specifically on its rural female militants and supporters, and employing historical and anthropological methods, this paper challenges the notion that the Peruvian Left was primarily formed by middle-class and urban militants. Instead, it argues that peasant indigenous women played a vital role in shaping the left and had crucial positions in the left's historical struggles against injustice and inequality. The paper shows that they belonged to a political generation that advocated for the radicalisation of the left political agenda, introducing new methods and strategies to mobilise people for revolution. In a context shaped by communist and anti-communist politics, peasant indigenous women were more often active participants and protagonists rather than passive victims and observers. They not only served as members of unions, engaging in contested politics, but also played vital roles in political cells, parties, and movements, where they promoted and disseminated their political ideologies and aspirations for justice. Their stories and trajectories, along with those of male and female leftists from various social backgrounds, showcase the multi-class nature of the Latin American Left. Overall, this paper contributes a fresh perspective to studies on the Latin American Left by positioning women, especially peasant indigenous women, as crucial actors and members of the left.

4. Pink Tides, Red Roots and Rose-Tinted Spectacles: Socialism, Democracy and Eurocentrism

William A. Booth, UCL

This paper sets the governments of the so-called successive 'Pink Tides' in historical perspective, identifying both specific local and wider regional features. It then examines the construction, among political scientists, commentators and journalists, of a putative (and usually absent) 'European'-style

social democratic alternative for Latin America. This paper argues that while there are certainly historical instances of social democracy in Latin America, the construct - 'Social Democracy' - is both ahistorical and normative. Within a Latin American context, the paper concludes that an idealised 'European'-style 'Social Democracy' not only stands outside regional left traditions, but is actively used by local and international actors to police the (leftward) margins of acceptable political conduct.

5. Antifascismo trasatlántico y justicia epistémica: alrededor del uso político del pasado cultural americano en las revistas *Dyn* y *Las Moradas*
Carlos Castro-Sajami, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

Esta presentación está basada en concebir desde la noción de justicia epistémica el uso y abuso del conocimiento sobre el origen cultural americano en la década de 1940. Durante estos años, las teorías sobre el origen cultural americano demarcaron un espacio de debate con proyección política que comprometió tanto a académicos europeos ligados a ideologías nacionalistas de extrema derecha como a artistas e intelectuales trasatlánticos antifascistas. Me aproximaré a dicho contexto analizando la discusión trazada frente al uso político del pasado con fines nacionalistas a partir de dos posturas antifascistas halladas en las propuestas editoriales de dos artistas: el austriaco Wolfgang Paalen en la revista *Dyn* (1942-1944), y el peruano Emilio Westphalen en la revista *Las Moradas* (1947-1949). Con esta revisión, demostraré que los contra-argumentos antifascistas de ambos creadores articularon conocimientos arqueológicos, antropológicos y etnográficos, y propuestas artísticas modernas para componer una respuesta de innovación cultural basada en la apropiación del pasado americano y, con ello, el establecimiento de una justicia epistémica capaz de superar el uso fascista de la historia y la cultura con fines políticos. Una fórmula estética dispuesta organizadamente en las páginas de ambas revistas como si de una mesa de montaje se tratara.

POL 11. International Histories of 19th and 20th Century Colombia

Session organizer & chair: Charlotte Eaton (London School of Economics and Political Science, UK)

Often described as the most misunderstood country in the region, Colombia seemingly does not fit with traditional accounts of Latin American history. Many historians have therefore argued that the country should be considered on its own terms. The resultant Colombian 'exceptionalism' has been described both positively in terms of its strong electoral tradition, relative political stability and enduring democracy; and negatively with reference to its chronically weak state, pronounced regionalism and continual violent partisan conflict. However, a common feature in these analyses is the tendency to analyse post-independence Colombian history largely through a national lens, giving the overwhelming impression that it has been cut off not only from its continental neighbours but also the rest of the world.

This panel therefore brings together UK-based scholars whose work aims to situate Colombian history in a larger, international and global context. Collectively the papers will explore how Colombians in the 19th and 20th centuries were not only aware of and responding to global events, processes and ideas, but they were actively engaging in and helping to shape these phenomena. Applying international (broadly defined) lenses to post-independence Colombian history can thus reveal the stories of these diverse actors as well as provide fresh perspectives on social, political and economic developments in both Colombia and the world during the 19th and 20th centuries.

1. Colombian Transnational Solidarity in the Spanish Civil War
Charlotte Eaton, LSE, UK

The 1930s Spanish-speaking press identified three countries as the only international supporters of the Republic forces during the Spanish civil war: Russia, Mexico and Colombia. Much has been written

about the first two, but less is known about the Colombian case. Given that the Colombian government, unlike its Russian and Mexican counterparts, never actually sent official aid to Republican Spain, how could it be described as one of the Republic's main allies? This paper will explore the role that grassroots organisations in the country – both Spanish and Colombian – played in organising solidarity campaigns and establishing aid committees to both manifest their support for the Spanish Republic and convert this into tangible actions in favour of the Republicans. Using press sources, propaganda publications and the archive of the Spanish Legation in Bogotá, I show how these groups conceived of their aid and solidarity initiatives in local, national and global terms. Through their activity, pro-Republicans in Colombia believed that they were contributing to universal causes that they defined as pro-democracy or anti-fascism. However, aside from the very few who took up arms in Spain, this action was mostly targeted against opposition forces at home. Further, sectors of society explicitly included from public debate, such as women and indigenous communities, viewed their activism in support of the Spanish Republic as an extension of their strive for recognition in Colombia. I therefore use the Spanish conflict as a lens through which to explore engagement with transnational events and Colombian politics at a grassroots level.

2. Plebeian Consumption and Global Commodities in Nineteenth-Century Colombia

Ana Maria Otero-Cleves, University of York, York, UK

This paper examines how Colombia's popular sectors became the largest consumers of foreign commodities between the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century (1850–1910). It argues that the consumption of foreign goods was not solely, nor primarily, an upper-class phenomenon and that the tastes and demands of the country's popular sectors changed nineteenth-century patterns of production abroad. The paper aims to demonstrate that far from being indigenous, the material culture of broad sections of the country's population was inextricably intertwined with global trends by the end of the nineteenth century. It shows that the appropriation of imported commodities by Colombian popular sectors was in great part due to foreign manufacturers' willingness to alter or redesign their products to satisfy their demands. Thus, by following the preferences of the popular sectors for English textiles, American machetes, and French patent medicines, among many other foreign commodities, it will demonstrate how, in their capacity as free citizens, Colombian consumers became active agents in the construction of the nation's marketplace as well as dynamic participants in the global circulation of modern commodities.

3. Colombia as a landmark of democracy: the transnational agenda of mid-nineteenth-century Colombian liberalism

Jorge Andrés Varela-Yepes, University College London

This paper examines an overlooked element of Colombian liberalism of the mid-nineteenth century: how it aimed to become a model of democratization for other Spanish-American countries and how it was discussed in the region. I start by defining the tenets of Colombian mid-nineteenth-century liberalism and the charter that best represented its political agenda, the Constitution of 1853. This code broadened democratic participation by introducing policies such as universal male suffrage and direct presidential elections. Hence, it embodied what they conceived as a "democratic republic." I move on to analyse how Colombian liberals conveyed the need to apply these reforms to other Spanish-American countries. I do so by examining the political thought of authors such as José María Samper and, more particularly, their understanding of the colonial history shared by the entire region and the nature of the independence revolutionary processes. As a result, I argue, Colombian liberals considered that their reformist and democratic agenda was a model for the region to dismantle what they believed were the legacies of the colonial order. Finally, I analyse how those ideas were received by intellectuals from other Spanish American Countries, from places as diverse as Perú, Argentina, Chile, and

Guatemala. In sum, I argue that Colombian mid-nineteenth-century liberalism attempted to position the country as a landmark of democracy, and actively promoted their agenda in the region.

4. Colombia, a supplier of natural resources? Nineteenth-century ecological networks between Colombia and Europe. The case of Colombian orchids.

Camilo Uribe Botta, University of Warwick

In 1860, the Sociedad de Naturalistas Neogranadinos was founded in Bogotá. Modeled after European societies, this organization aimed to forge connections between the Colombian scientific community and the European scientific world, presenting the country as a supplier of natural resources. Despite its brief existence, this scientific enterprise stood as a testament to the enduring scientific interest in Colombian flora and fauna, both within the nation and throughout Europe. This paper analyses Colombia's integration into the scientific networks of plant collectors in 19th-century Europe, primarily in Paris and London. The study explores how Colombians portrayed their country's nature to the European scientific community and examines the reciprocal engagement between Colombian naturalists and their European counterparts. Many of these interactions were intertwined with commercial interests, illustrating the synergy between science and commerce. As an illustrative case, this paper delves into the commerce of Colombian orchids during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Orchids, particularly Colombian varieties, had a special place among the flowers sought after in Victorian Britain. The success of Colombian orchids in this market was intricately tied to the collaborative efforts between science and commerce, as well as the cooperation between non-elite Colombian actors and European naturalists.

5. Fútbol: más que un deporte. Historia cultural del balompié colombiano y su consolidación como un imaginario de identidad nacional (1948-1962)

Juan Diego Acevedo Álvarez, Universidad de Antioquia

El fútbol a nivel orbital es un fenómeno sociocultural e histórico que ha llegado al punto de distinguir y reconocer naciones de manera identitaria e incluso ha sido utilizado como un artefacto cultural como es apreciable en algunos países europeos y latinoamericanos. En Colombia el balompié luego de su popularización y profesionalización en 1948 logró ser un dispositivo cultural que configuró imaginarios colectivos de identidad local, regional y nacional hasta el punto de representar, reconocer e identificar a los colombianos en ámbitos internacionales por medio de los equipos locales y la selección nacional de fútbol, como sucedió en 1962 con la participación por parte del equipo colombiano en la Copa del Mundo disputada en Chile, evento muy significativo que conmovió la fibra del nacionalismo y captó la atención de los colombianos mediante una campaña a través de los medios de comunicación y de los espacios de sociabilidad. La presente investigación histórica está enfocada en estudiar el fenómeno del fútbol en Colombia, durante su proceso de popularización, profesionalización e incidencia en los diferentes imaginarios de identidad nacional entre 1948 y 1962. Esto es con el objetivo de analizar la importancia de este deporte en el devenir político, social y cultural del país, examinar la fundación y el funcionamiento de las instituciones que promovieron y rigieron el fútbol en Colombia y describir cómo ha sido un agente que identificó a la nación en el ámbito internacional y configuró imaginarios de identidad.

POL 12. Latin America and the Global History of Democracy, 1810-1930

Session organizer & chair: Juan Neves-Sarriegui (University of Oxford)

The period between 1810 and 1930 has been identified as 'the first long wave of democracy' worldwide. Latin America, however, has tended to be excluded from this 'long wave', with some exceptions. Scholars have acknowledged that some countries in the region were experiencing with democracy

during the first decades of the twentieth century, but the dominant narrative still identifies the ‘first wave’ almost exclusively with a few European countries and the United States. This panel proposes a decentred view of democratic developments arguing that Latin America was part of such ‘first long wave of democracy’. We aim to highlight how democracy became one of the key concepts invoked in public debate for the resolution of political and social conflicts, exploring four important aspects of a wider story. Firstly, we will examine how ‘democracy’ was defined in the region in response to the local circumstances of highly heterogeneous societies, including racial diversity and gender. Secondly, we will look into the evolution of a free press, against the background of colonial absolutism. Thirdly, we will study the formation and development of parliamentary cultures from the early years of independence. Finally, we will examine the extent to which democracy in the region was part of a broader transnational, interconnected story. Our aim is to suggest ways of incorporating Latin America into a global history of democracy that is attentive to the particularities of individual regions and countries. This panel proposal forms part of the project ‘Latin America and the Global History of Democracy, 1810-1930’, supported by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung.

1. Florentino González y la promoción de la república democrática en Sudamérica

Laura Cucchi, LAI, Freie Universität Berlin/ LAC, University of Oxford

Este trabajo explora algunos aspectos de la difusión y adaptación crítica del federalismo y republicanismo norteamericano en la Sudamérica del siglo XIX, poniendo el foco en la trayectoria de Florentino González, un publicista y político colombiano que tuvo un rol muy importante en ese proceso. Tras exilios previos en Lima y Santiago de Chile, llegó invitado a la Argentina en 1868 para organizar la primera cátedra de Derecho Constitucional de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Durante esa estada, que finalizó con su muerte en 1875, tradujo *Considerations upon the Nature and Tendency of Free Institutions* (1848) de Frederick Grimke y *On Civil Liberty and Self-Government* (2 vols. 1853) de Francis Lieber. También incorporó de manera creativa muchos de los postulados de estos dos autores al manual con que dictó sus clases en la Universidad, el cual sirvió por mucho tiempo de compendio para la enseñanza de historia constitucional en la región. La ponencia examina críticamente los estudios introductorios con que González acompañó sus traducciones, así como la lectura de esas obras norteamericanas que ofreció en su material de enseñanza con el objetivo de establecer en Sudamérica lo que llamaba repúblicas democráticas.

2. Jeremy Bentham and the Circulation of Constitutional Ideas in Early Spanish American Newspapers, 1808-1824

Juan Neves-Sarriegui, University of Oxford

Among his personal papers in Montevideo, the man of letters Dámaso Larrañaga conserved a translated, handwritten copy of Jeremy Bentham’s ‘Proposed Law for the establishment of Liberty of the Press in Venezuela’. Larrañaga’s manuscript is revealing of the transhemispheric circulation of ideas during the Hispanic revolutions. Originally penned in 1810, the text was published in Spanish in January 1811 by the London-based periodical *El Español*. This was a polemical newspaper, distributed widely among the port cities and main capitals of the Hispanic world, and copies of the ‘Proposed Law’ were soon reprinted in other outlets such as the *Gazeta de Caracas* and *La Bagatela* of Bogotá. Bentham wrote the ‘Proposed Law’ at the behest of Francisco de Miranda, who had taken a copy in his voyage to Venezuela in 1810. As that exchange was taking place, South American texts on the freedom of the press circulated through *El Español* in Cadiz and other European centres. Following newspaper debates about representative government and the freedom of the press, this presentation will look at Jeremy Bentham’s democratic thought, his interest in Spanish America, and the role of revolutionaries such as Dámaso Larrañaga and Francisco de Miranda. This exercise shows that periodical papers were crucial in the creation of a Hispanic Atlantic sphere of political debate.

3. The origins and developments of a parliamentary culture in Colombia, 1821-1885

Eduardo Posada-Carbo, University of Oxford, United Kingdom

Between 1821 and 1885, the Colombian Congress met every year following the calendar set up by the country's constitution, with very few exceptions. Their members were regularly elected, again most of the time according to the calendar stipulated by the constitution. Almost from the start, there were rules of conduct adopted by Congress for its members, regarding the ways debates should be conducted, the behaviour of the galleries and even the dressing code for congressmen. This paper will look at what type of parliamentary culture had developed in Colombia by 1885 from its origins. It will examine in particular the various aspects that historians of parliaments elsewhere have identified as components of a parliamentary culture, including issues of deliberation, representation, sovereignty, negotiation, and civility.

Violence, War & Crime

VIC 1. War in Colombia and its political impacts

Session organizer & chair: Abbey Steele, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

This panel brings papers that explore the impact of Colombia's civil war on identity, resistance, democratic participation, and perceptions of conflict. Álvarez-Vanegas explores how former combatants of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP) experienced counterinsurgency and what adaptation strategies they employed in their everyday life to resist it. Ritholtz asks how brutal violence influences social transformation, and argues that it creates abjection that socializes community members against LGBT victims. Tappe and coauthors ask how the killing of social leaders in Colombia affects vote choice and find that areas with high numbers of activist killings have fewer female candidates running in and winning local elections. Pantoja-Barríos asks how Colombians participate in both conventional and unconventional politics in war-affected communities. He argues that forms of state presence help explain the relative prevalence of individuals' choices about how to participate in local politics, with implications for the quality of democracy at the subnational level. Finally, Masullo and Steele ask how civilians perceive the likelihood of violent conflict persistence or renewal during transitions from war to peace and show that focus groups, compared to individual surveys, elicit perceptions of conflict that more closely match emerging threats. Together, these papers rely on extensive fieldwork and original data collection to provide new insights into how war has shaped civilian and combatant identities, perceptions, and behaviors. The panel also comprises scholars from various career stages.

1. Exploring interdependence between local conventional and unconventional participation in Colombia

Sebastian Pantoja-Barríos, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Subnational studies of regime type generally rely on the assumption that conventional participation is the only relevant mean of citizens' political engagement. Nevertheless, unconventional activities, which includes all sorts of protest behaviours that do not deliberately involve physical force, are also legitimized ways to shape governmental decisions and address demands. I propose to study both kinds of participation and their interactions in the Colombian context, where elections are generally fair and transparent and turnout has consistently increased. However, state responsiveness across territories have been affected by an ongoing civil war. From several interviews and field observation carried out between March and October of 2023, I found that in territories with weak extraction capacities, it is

more likely to find citizens who prefer unconventional activities over casting votes. In such places, there are greater needs and demands for public goods provision, but a lower trust in elected authorities and elections. Simultaneously, in places where the state's formal order is strong, it is more likely to find citizens who prefer conventional activities over protests. State forces ensure better conditions for electoral participation, and discourage or directly suppress the protests because they are associated with strategies of non-state armed groups. I tested and validated these mechanisms with a quantitative analysis that combines a panel dataset on local state institutions across 92 municipalities with quarterly data on tax capacity and police presence between 2012 and 2017, and a large-scale household panel survey collected in 2013 and 2015 in rural areas of the same municipalities.

2. Wartime Brutality and the Transformation of Social Identities in Colombia

Samuel Ritholtz, University of Oxford

In this paper, I ask 'what do brutal forms of violence do that other established forms of violence cannot?' Analyzing key interviews and testimonies of perpetrators and community witnesses to anti-LGBT violence, which acknowledge how brutal violence changed the social environment of a given territory, I argue that brutality serves a mechanism for social transformation. In conceptualizing brutality as a social mechanism, I relate acts of brutality with broader dynamics of anti-LGBT violence during the Colombian civil war through a process that I recognize as abjection. I argue that witnesses to brutal anti-LGBT violence experience a personal abjection that comes from their horror at seeing or learning of a brutalized body. When that anti-LGBT violence can be legitimized through a moral framing of LGBT populations as subversive threats to the community, the witnesses experience a social abjection that extends the horror and disgust to the LGBT person themselves. In this social transformative process, the brutal violence committed against the LGBT person changes their identity, as well as the identity of the witness. The LGBT person becomes the amoral, the abject, and the witness becomes part of the 'moral' majority. I thus argue that brutality has a transformative impact on the community where it occurs because of how it facilitates a process of abjection that socializes civilians against the targeted social minorities, changing identities of all parties to the process.

3. "How on earth do you fight back an aerial bombardment?" Understanding Counterinsurgency at Work Through Life Histories

Eduardo Álvarez-Vanegas, University of York, United Kingdom

How did former combatants of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP) experience counterinsurgency, and what adaptation strategies did they employ in their everyday life to fight it back? To answer this question, I introduce the concept of counterinsurgency at work as a dynamic that simultaneously prompted the FARC-EP military retreat and a set of adaptation strategies that worked out in the quotidian. I rely on the life-history interviews I conducted with FARC-EP ex-combatants and retired military personnel, and secondary sources. I draw on the literature on counterinsurgency to identify the mechanisms that impacted the FARC-EP in different ways and the adaptation strategies this organization developed in their daily operations. Theoretically, I build on recent approaches to counterinsurgency that offer a nuanced understanding of how multiple mechanisms interact with each other, within the armed groups' internal orders and with their broader contexts. I also build on scholarship that has advanced our understanding of how organizations adapt in the quotidian in response to external pressure. In doing so, I adopt a multi-dimensional and relational understanding of counterinsurgency to explore the mechanisms the Colombian state simultaneously deployed against the FARC-EP during the 2000s. As a result, I depart from orthodox definitions, linear and macro approaches to counterinsurgency. Instead, I contribute to current scholarship debates on counterinsurgency from the lived experiences and meanings of individuals who conducted and fought in the Colombian armed conflict.

4. Activists Killings and Gendered Risk Preferences at the Ballot Box: Evidence from Colombia
Juliana Tappe Ortiz, University of Bergen, Norway

Why do political preferences of citizens vary so widely in post-conflict societies? In this article we focus on a prevalent but poorly understood factor: the killing of social activists. Social activists play a key role in conflict-affected communities where trust in formal political institutions has been compromised by conflict actors. Social activists raise and connect and mobilize people, they collect and synthesize people's attitudes on local grievances and promote policy preferences towards opinion leaders. We propose a theory of gendered risk preferences which predicts that the murder of social activist leaders—a common but under-researched type of political violence—makes voters seek more conservative masculine traits in political candidates. Our theory implies that female political candidates are less likely to be elected since voters seek security that they expect from conservative and hawkish, and on average male, political candidates. Empirically, we focus on the case of Colombia where violence against local social activists has increased massively over the past years. Using a stacked difference-in-difference design, we show that areas with high numbers of activist killings have fewer female candidates running and getting elected in local elections, *ceteris paribus*. Our article adds important insights to the literature on the legacies of violence by focusing on local leaders and focusing on gender preferences among candidates.

VIC 2. La Colombia del pos-acuerdo de paz: viejas violencias, nuevas actrices rurales y urbanas en busca de justicia

Session organizer & chair: Donny Meertens (Javeriana University Colombia)

Desde la firma del Acuerdo de Paz entre el Gobierno y la guerrilla de las FARC-EP, en diciembre de 2016, se han configurado nuevos espacios, tanto de violencia ejercida por viejos y nuevos grupos armados, como de agencia de nuevas actrices en espacios donde antes eran invisibles. En este panel revisamos cinco escenarios: primero, el de la reintegración de las antiguas combatientes que tuvieron que enfrentarse a los imaginarios dominantes en la prensa y la sociedad que las presentaban como víctimas o “monstruos”. Luego damos una mirada a la restitución de tierras a mujeres desplazadas por la violencia, para conocer el impulso a su agencia como nuevas propietarias. En tercer lugar, analizamos los caminos que han trazado las mujeres indígenas korebaju en el Amazonas para enfrentar las violencias de género en un contexto de nuevos actores violentos. En cuarto lugar, pasamos al escenario urbano para conocer la agencia de las y los jóvenes estudiantes en su lucha para desvelar y buscar justicia en un tema durante mucho tiempo absolutamente tabú: el acoso sexual en el ámbito universitario. Finalmente regresamos a las regiones para ver cómo mujeres y hombres que habitan las llamadas “zonas rojas”, en especial la Comunidad de Paz de San José de Apartadó, se defienden activamente del estigma de rebeldes impuesto por las Fuerzas Armadas.

1. La restitución de tierras en Colombia: Justicia para las mujeres campesinas?
Donny Meertens, Universidad Javeriana Bogotá Colombia

La restitución de tierras a la población campesina desplazada por actos de violencia, se formalizó en 2011 (5 años antes del Acuerdo de Paz entre Gobierno y la entonces guerrilla de las Farc!) como parte de la Ley de Víctimas. Hoy en día se sigue ejecutando, a paso lento y a pesar del recrudecimiento de la violencia en muchas zonas rurales. El proceso de restitución de tierras ha pretendido ser además una acción democratizadora y transformadora de inequidades de género en el acceso a tierras, a la producción y a la participación ciudadana. Se diseñaron unas medidas afirmativas para mujeres solas, “jefas de hogar” en cuanto a titulación, protección, y participación tanto en producción como en organizaciones sociales y espacios institucionales. Ahora, al cabo de varios años, podríamos hablar de “justicia” para aquellas mujeres campesinas que fueron restituidas? Han ganado confianza y agencia

como orgullosas propietarias de sus tierras? O han perdido su autonomía ante la presión –ahora “legal” – de las grandes empresas acaparradoras de tierras? Exploramos las respuestas en un estudio de caso de un grupo de mujeres en una emblemática zona de violencia: los Montes de María - ahora “revisited” - en la Costa Caribeña de Colombia.

2. De la victimización a la acción directa: respuestas de estudiantes y egresadas de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia a las violencias sexuales.

Marta Zambrano, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colombia

A partir de 19 entrevistas en profundidad y 6 talleres de cartografía centrados en las voces, experiencias y percepciones de estudiantes y egresadas de dos facultades, Minas en Medellín y Artes en Bogotá, esta ponencia examina los agenciamientos de las estudiantes afectadas por las violencias sexuales y de género en su paso por la Universidad Nacional. Se enfoca en las respuestas personales y colectivas de estudiantes que han enfrentado estas violencias: se detiene en los procesos de sanación de las heridas emocionales y psíquica, las solidaridades y las acciones directas colectivas como el escrache que cuestionan el orden de género, la división entre lo privado y lo público y ponen sobre el tapete el problema de la justicia para la reparación de las violencias sexuales y de género.

3. El desarme, la desmovilización y la reintegración de combatientes femeninas

Stacey Leigh Hunt, Auburn University, USA

El Acuerdo de Paz entre el gobierno colombiano y las FARC-EP es reconocido por su enfoque de género. Estableció una Subcomisión de Género para incluir la voz de las mujeres y la perspectiva de género. Sin embargo, expertas coinciden en que las mujeres (ex)combatientes son mayormente vistas o como víctimas o como “monstruous abjects” (Ahall 2015): mujeres quienes por su participación en el conflicto armado desafían a las normas de feminidad tradicional. Como consecuencia, son castigadas y estigmatizadas públicamente como monstruos quienes abandonan a sus hijos, matan a hombres y se deleitan con actos salvajes. Este artículo indaga sobre las consecuencias del enfoque de género por las guerrilleras y las experiencias de las mujeres (ex)combatientes durante el proceso de desarme, desmovilización y reintegración (DDR) planteado por el Acuerdo. ¿El enfoque de género abrió espacios sociales, políticos o institucionales para las exguerrilleras que les facilitaron la DDR? ¿Lograron trascender la tendencia de entender a las guerrilleras como o víctimas o monstruos para reconocer su experiencia plena como combatientes? ¿Como se acercaron distintos medios de comunicación e instituciones nacionales e internacionales al tema de las mujeres (ex)combatientes? ¿Cómo ha cambiado la percepción y el trato de las mujeres (ex)combatientes con el transcurso del tiempo? Este trabajo analiza los esfuerzos de la Subcomisión de Género, la Comisión de Verdad, los Informes de Seguimiento del Acuerdo de Paz y la cobertura del proceso en la prensa (Semana) 2015-2022 para entender mejor los éxitos y los impedimentos de la DDR para las mujeres excombatientes.

4. Zonas Rojas in San José de Apartadó, Colombia: Political Labeling, Gender, and the Consequences of Territorial Stigmatization

Suzanne Wilson, Gustavus Adolphus College

Social scientists have long studied collective targeting of certain groups. Adapting Loïc Wacquant’s concept of territorial stigmatization, this paper explores the role that the label, zonas rojas (“red zones”), given to certain geographic areas played in the targeting of men and women during the Colombian conflict in the 1990s and early 2000s, and the current, post-Peace Accord era (2016-present). Wacquant developed his concept of territorial stigmatization to describe the spatial labeling of certain neighborhoods, based on their racial and social class composition, in post-industrial cities. Expanding on Wacquant’s work, the paper studies the role of political labeling and gender in a case of territorial

stigmatization other than an urban one in a well-off country. Drawing on archival and secondary sources, this paper analyzes the military's use of counterinsurgency doctrines to spatially label and stigmatize men and women living in zonas rojas as "communist" or "subversive" in the Colombian municipio, San José de Apartadó, Colombia. It focuses on the consequences (including killings, massacres, and rapes of residents by the military and paramilitary groups) of the territorial stigmatization of zonas rojas as well as the role of gender. Last, this paper shows the community's agency, including that of its women, in organizing itself as a peace community in the past and presently during the post-Peace Accord period. Residents have strengthened the community's internal structures and organization and sought out resources domestically and internationally to help protect themselves from the deadly consequences of the zona roja label.

5. Resisting depoliticisation: Alternative humanitarian advocacy from the experiences of women and feminists in Colombia

Gabriela Villacis Izquierdo, International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University Rotterdam

Humanitarian action has become more complex as it encompasses a plurality of actions, actors, resources, and dynamics. Such plurality demands alternative and innovative approaches that overcome the traditional paradigm under which humanitarian action has operated. This chapter focuses on the contributions of feminisms as a political endeavour with an emphasis on the potential of collective action and humanitarian advocacy. To advance the discussion, Colombia is presented as a case study, due to the rich tradition of social mobilisation and advocacy and where humanitarian crises, armed conflict, and peacebuilding initiatives converge. The aim is to further understand how a situated feminist agenda can shape humanitarian advocacy and authentically problematise aspects like power, politics, ethics, and the role of crisis-affected populations.

6. Colombia hacia el pacto por la paz y la justicia social en los territorios étnicos

Yennesit Palacios Valencia, Universidad de Valladolid, España

Colombia se ha centrado en la justicia transicional sin saber cuándo terminará el conflicto armado. En efecto, como aún no ha concluido, el caso colombiano es particularmente complejo y desafiante, pues se entrecruzan la violencia derivada del conflicto, el surgimiento de bandas criminales emergentes conexas a él y la discriminación étnico/racial estructural derivada del propio conflicto. Se calcula que alrededor de unas seis millones de personas han sido desplazadas de sus territorios como resultado del conflicto armado y las principales víctimas han sido poblaciones campesinas y comunidades afrocolombianas e indígenas. En este panorama, Colombia intenta avanzar hacia la "paz total", consigna implícita en el Gobierno actual que le apuesta a la paz con justicia social para que la dignidad se haga costumbre. Sin embargo, esta presentación sustentará que la situación se origina en un país donde, afrocolombianos y pueblos indígenas enfrentan, paralelamente, condiciones sumamente adversas y una historia de marginación económica, política y social, por lo que la paz, en suma, no puede ser alcanzada sin una política sólida de justicia social, con enfoque étnico diferencial que sustente, de fondo, un cambio de paradigma. Se estima, no obstante, que el caso de Colombia puede ser un ejemplo de laboratorio para la paz, pero enfrenta muchos desafíos. Entre ellos, la protección y reparación de colectivos étnicos, muchos de los cuales han sido desplazados y necesitan retornar y convivir en sus territorios ancestrales, sin ser nuevamente expulsados. Urgen entonces, medidas de no repetición reales y efectivas.

VIC 3. Actor oriented approaches for exploring transitional justice: Lived experiences with judicial and non-judicial TJ mechanisms - 1

Session organizer & chair: Kim Baudewijns (VU Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Over the past decades, the field of transitional justice has evolved from a field that is mainly concerned with punitive justice to all kinds of mechanisms that should bring about social justice in (post) conflict countries (think of holistic interpretations of reparations, truth and reconciliation commissions with recommendations for structural reforms, etc.). In the study of the effects that these mechanisms (should) have, the voices of those affected by conflict have become increasingly important. Including, survivors, ex-combatants, and the so called “grey zone”. After all, these measures are meant to transform a society, so that “it never happens again”. In this panel we will present case-studies from different countries (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Guatemala) in Latin America to explore how survivors, ex-combatants have engaged in various judicial and non-judicial transitional justice mechanisms (Part 1). These cases provide important insights into what meaningful participation does, or does not look like for those involved. We will also unpack the ways in which research on these topics can involve those impacted by conflict (Part 2). We will discuss the benefits, pitfalls and ethical challenges of using participatory and creative methods to study their transitional justice experiences.

1. Victim-survivors’ lived experiences and lived temporalities in their interactions with transitional justice processes during the Chilean transition towards democracy
Marit de Haan, Ghent University, Belgium

Victim-survivors of the Chilean military dictatorship (1973-1990) have mobilized, organized and expressed themselves in different ways, both during the dictatorship and during the transition towards democracy. However, their perspectives have often been overlooked in academic literature, and their voices excluded from the shaping of the (formal) Chilean transitional justice process. This presentation brings the results of a recently finalized PhD research on the victim-survivors of the Chilean military dictatorship, and their experiences with Chilean transitional justice processes. Zooming in on these experiences demonstrates that the various transitional justice mechanisms that have been implemented in Chile, have often been the result of the continuous pressure from victim-survivors and their organizations. Instead of “participation” in transitional justice, a focus on “interaction with transitional justice” is therefore required. This presentation constructs victim-survivors as (inter)active agents of change in the area of transitional justice, and zooms in on their involvement in memorialization, truth and justice practices in particular. In addition, I will explain why a full understanding of victim-survivors’ lived experiences with transitional justice also requires looking into the topic of time and temporality. While foregrounding victim-survivors’ lived temporalities, I will discuss how Chilean transitional justice practices grounded in a limited understanding of time and temporality have produced exclusionary effects. Moreover, I will shed light on the clash between victim-survivors’ lived temporalities and dominant notions of “moving on” and “leaving the past behind” and demonstrate how victim-survivors challenge and contest such notions.

2. Beyond victimhood: Creative feminist approaches to understanding conflict-related reproductive violence in Colombia
Tatiana Sanchez Parra, University of Edinburgh

Conflict-related reproductive violence has not gained a distinct place in research agendas that seek to understand the ways in which war affects women’s lives. I argue that researching the intersections of armed and political violence with women’s reproductive lives requires challenging harm-centred languages, questions, and formats. Drawing on feminist ethnographic research and art-based methods with Afro-Colombian women who endured conflict-related reproductive violence, in this paper I address forced motherhood that resulted from sexual violence perpetrated by members of armed

groups in Colombia. Instead of focusing on finding oral testimonies about legal notions of harm, in this process I combined storytelling, drawings, and embroidery with life histories and psychosocial support to explore narratives around pleasure, intimacy, care, and love. Engaging with creative and diverse languages allowed for nuanced conversations about women's complex experiences, from becoming pregnant (not only) as a result of conflict-related sexual violence, to their pregnancies, giving birth, and raising their children—often in militarised contexts of economic hardship. This paper joins growing interdisciplinary research that urges us to broaden our understanding of gendered victimhood beyond conflict-related sexual violence, as well as to decentre our research attention from people's stories of suffering and pain.

3. A Militant Commission? Trajectories of (dis)engagement from Sao Paulo State Truth Commission "Rubens Paiva"

Alvaro Almeida, State University of Londrina (Brazil) / Phillips Marburg University (Germany) - Center For Conflict Studies

As a result of a historic struggle, and in the face of controversial legal restrictions on the participation of survivors and relatives of the dead and disappeared of the military dictatorship in the work of the National Truth Commission (CNV), almost a hundred (sub-)truth commissions have spread throughout the country. One of the most active and significant of these initiatives was the Rubens Paiva State Truth Commission. Conceived and coordinated by victims of the military regime and historical activists for memory, truth and justice, it managed to produce extensive documentation on the crimes of the dictatorship. Mobilizing human rights as indivisible, interrelated and interdependent, and observing their violations; according to the logic of the apparatus of repression and its effective functioning in Brazilian history, it expanded the scope of its investigations beyond the narrow and simplistic approach to human rights violations adopted by its national partner. This approach to human rights violations generated a demand for the inclusion of issues, crimes and investigative procedures that were not foreseen in the original design of the National Truth Commission - such as the systematic holding of public hearings, the inclusion of sexual and gender-based violence and crimes against children, as well as indigenous genocide and racism. The presentation will discuss the nature of the interaction between the CNV and the Rubens Paiva Commission, its scope, and its results to date.

4. After the loss of land and livelihoods: how survivors perceive and navigate reparations initiatives in Río Negro, post-conflict Guatemala

Kim Baudewijns, VU Amsterdam, The Netherlands

After large-scale violence, such as the internal armed conflict in Guatemala between 1960 and 1996, societies need to engage in a process shifting from violence to peace and stability. During mass atrocities, victims often lose their livelihoods, if not more. Transitional Justice scholarship is based on the consensus that there should be a form of justice, to repair the harm done, in which it is deemed essential that victim's or survivor's have a central and meaningful role in shaping the form of justice and repair. In reality, we see that various actors (i.e., courts, governments, ngo's) take up the responsibility to materialise (formal or informal) transitional justice measures, such as reparations for survivors. Up until now, it is still unclear what the effects are of these simultaneously organised forms of reparations on victims' lives, implemented by various justice actors, and how the combination of these formal and informal mechanisms influence survivors' understandings of possibilities to repair harm. In this presentation I will explore further how survivors of Río Negro perceive and navigate the various reparations initiatives to repair the loss of their land and livelihoods. In the case of Río Negro, a whole community was violently forced to abandon their agricultural lands, including the access to the Río Negro river, to make space for the building of the Chixoy hydroelectric dam by the government, amidst a raging civil war in Guatemala.

5. Río Negro Massacres v. Guatemala: Studying survivors' experiences with awarded reparations
Mijke de Waardt, NSCR & VU Amsterdam

Victims have often been the justification of setting up (international) trials, truth commissions and national reparations programs, and more recently, victims have been allowed to participate in legal proceedings or political decision making. Therefore, the voices of survivors are said to have become increasingly important in these mechanisms, as well as in studies of their (supposed) effects. This paper is part of a larger study that focusses on these effects according to survivors. More specifically, the project aims at understanding whether, and if so how, reparations awarded through international justice procedures contribute to a sense of justice among survivors. We included four different cases at four different international courts. This paper focuses on how we investigated the experiences of survivors with the reparations ordered by the IACtHR in the Case of the Río Negro Massacres v. Guatemala (2012). Many reparation regimes exclude, often large, groups of victims, thereby prioritising certain forms of victims. This causes reparations needs to remain underrepresented. This paper highlights how we attempted to mitigate epistemic injustice in our research project. We delineate how we not only queried the experiences of those victims who were entitled to reparations as a result of the IACtHR case, but also examined the consequences of withholding reparation to those who feel entitled to it. Next, the paper outlines the qualitative narrative approach we used to incorporate survivors' subjective experiences with the court's reparations proceedings and outcomes.

VIC 3. Actor oriented approaches for exploring transitional justice: Lived experiences with judicial and non-judicial TJ mechanisms - 2

Session organizer & chair: Kim Baudewijns (VU Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Over the past decades, the field of transitional justice has evolved from a field that is mainly concerned with punitive justice to all kinds of mechanisms that should bring about social justice in (post) conflict countries (think of holistic interpretations of reparations, truth and reconciliation commissions with recommendations for structural reforms, etc.). In the study of the effects that these mechanisms (should) have, the voices of those affected by conflict have become increasingly important. Including, survivors, ex-combatants, and the so called "grey zone". After all, these measures are meant to transform a society, so that "it never happens again". In this panel we will present case-studies from different countries (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Guatemala) in Latin America to explore how survivors, ex-combatants have engaged in various judicial and non-judicial transitional justice mechanisms (Part 1). These cases provide important insights into what meaningful participation does, or does not look like for those involved. We will also unpack the ways in which research on these topics can involve those impacted by conflict (Part 2). We will discuss the benefits, pitfalls and ethical challenges of using participatory and creative methods to study their transitional justice experiences.

6. Civil Narratives on Victim Participation and Victim Dignification in Colombia
Sandra Rios Oyola, University College Roosevelt, The Netherlands

The existing body of research on Transitional Justice (TJ) emphasizes victim participation as crucial for the meaningful impact of TJ policies. However, a comprehensive examination of the conceptual and methodological aspects of victim participation and its implementation is necessary. This paper specifically delves into the purported benefit of victim participation – restoring victims' dignity – and scrutinizes its relationship in the Colombian context. Conventional wisdom suggests that when victims actively participate in implementing transitional justice, it can restore their autonomy, equality, and the right to live without humiliation. I contend that this normative principle selectively justifies certain forms of victim participation in TJ policies while excluding others. Employing a cultural sociology approach to civil sphere theory, I argue that cultural codes shaping the link between victims'

dignification and participation perpetuate weak narratives of citizenship prevalent during the Colombian conflict. Transforming these narratives is a crucial challenge in the post-peace-agreement period.

Focusing specifically on Colombia, the paper explores the impact of the 2016 peace agreement between the FARC and the Colombian government, introducing new TJ measures. Drawing on qualitative research conducted between 2019 and 2021, including interviews with over 50 stakeholders – civil servants implementing TJ measures, victims' leaders, and scholars – the study contributes valuable insights into the intricate dynamics of victim participation within the Colombian context.

7. Exploring the potential of visual arts in transitional justice research and interventions
Saskia van Drunen, Independent

In recent years, visual arts have received increasing attention from transitional justice practitioners and scholars, for their potential to engage with affected populations and individuals in more meaningful ways. Different creative methods such as mapping and drawing exercises, but also photography and comics have been used in this context, both as participatory research tools, and for outreach purposes. The production of visual materials such as illustrated leaflets, infographics and comics to share research findings and project outcomes also reflects a global trend towards the visualization of content. Visual arts can be particularly valuable when seeking to address political violence, social trauma and historical memory. However, whether they fulfill this potential and what is needed to do so, is not straightforward and requires more thinking and reflection. Thus, as Redwood and Wedderburn (2019: 6) point out, while there is always the 'hope that art and visual culture contribute to a reimagining of the world', in practice, 'a society's cultural and artistic output can just as easily be incorporated into programmes that reinforce existing norms and hierarchies.' In this paper, I will explore the different aspects that come into play when using visual arts in transitional justice research and interventions. Through a number of examples from Latin America where visual arts (especially, illustrations, comics and animation) have been used to reflect upon experiences of political violence and conflict, I will explore how visual arts can enrich transitional justice research and interventions and what are possible challenges and pitfalls.

8. When Justice is Unjust: Exploring the expressive function of Colombia's Special Sanctions (Sanciones Propias)
Beatriz Eugenia Mayans Hermida, NSCR & VU Amsterdam

A recent empirical study exploring the perceptions of different Colombian stakeholders about transitional justice, the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (SJP), and its sanctioning regime found that an important contextual factor informing the interviewees' opinions is the view that ordinary (criminal) justice in Colombia is unjust and partial (Mayans-Hermida et al., 2023). Interestingly, this contextual factor shaped, in part, the stakeholders' views both in favour and against the SJP, its special sanctions, and the perceived (un)justice of transitional justice. The study also found that the special sanctions have a symbolic, expressive function for some interviewees, i.e., "they show with acts and not with words offenders' willingness to contribute." Against the backdrop where justice is generally perceived as unjust, this paper further empirically assesses the expressive function of the special sanctions, the messages they send, and thus their potentialities and limitations in achieving their expressive goals. The findings reveal that the sanctions may send different and even contradictory messages advancing or undermining their goals, depending on their design and implementation. While for some stakeholders, transitional justice may represent the continuation of unjust justice, for others, it is an opportunity to have some sort of justice and to change the dominant retributive conception of justice.

9. Through their eyes: benefits and challenges of visual and creative research in post-conflict Colombia

Sanne Weber, Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Research on peace and conflict is frequently conducted by researchers who do not come from or live in these contexts. This may lead to misrepresentations of the experiences of those affected by conflict due to a lack of in-depth knowledge about the specific cultural and historical background, or even to the retraumatization of participants by asking insensitive questions or opening old wounds. Participatory and creative research methods can be a way to avoid those risks, by giving participants more control over the research and making both the research experience and its results more meaningful for them. This paper discusses three experiences of using participatory, visual and creative research methods with different groups of conflict-affected persons in Colombia: former displaced persons and ex-combatants on the Caribbean Coast and young people growing up in the violent Pacific region. It describes the benefits of creative and participatory approaches to research, but also the challenges they entail, both logistically and ethically. The paper specifically sheds light on how creative research methods can help to collaborate with groups that are less used to research participation, such as young people and rural women. The paper thus provides suggestions for how research can help to combat epistemic injustices, and contribute to social justice.

VIC 4. Dealing with state violence and its afterlives

Chair: Julienne Weegels (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam)

1. Where is social change taking us? An analysis of the crisis and social death in Cuba

Jorge Gonzalez Arocha, Dialektika (Sello Editorial), Serbia

In recent years, Cuba has faced the worst crisis in its most recent history. The crisis, caused primarily by domestic policies, the set of US restrictive measures on the island, and the pandemic, has had obvious effects on the Cuban social fabric. In contrast to the prevailing approaches that deal with this topic largely from an economic stance, this paper offers an exploration from a critical philosophical perspective, which, at the same time, has been ignored or ultimately silenced amid the predominant pragmatism and epistemic violence. The analysis focuses on the notions of "crisis" and "social death" while adopting a cross-cultural philosophical perspective. The concept of social death is particularly relevant, as it has been used in the literature to examine antagonistic situations that challenge human dignity. Despite not being a priority against the backdrop of rampant inflation and political difficulties, it is argued that philosophical reflection on the agency of the Cuban subject constitutes an indispensable step towards reconciliation and the resolution of the current polarization climate. Finally, the paper suggests that a critical philosophical approach can provide a valuable conceptual framework that contributes to the construction of novel and complex solutions for the Cuban problem.

2. Counter-archives of state violence: tracing the perpetrator during the Chilean regime (1973 – 1990)

Daniela Larrain-Salas, Birkbeck College, University of London

This paper is based on my current research that analyses the figure of the perpetrator through legal archives during the Chilean dictatorship (1973-1990). Specifically, I will examine how the records produced by human rights organisations during the Chilean regime created a polysemic figure of the perpetrator that, rather than referring only to subjects, implied multiple relations regarding political violence according to the evidence compiled by the staff. Throughout the Chilean dictatorship, human rights organisations created records to register political repression through manifold angles and, thus, file legal complaints to challenge the narrative of both the regime and the judiciary that concealed the

crimes (Bernasconi, 2019; Bernasconi, Lira & Ruiz, 2019). Drawing on Michael De Certeau (1975), I argue that by assembling and creating relations between pieces of evidence, these organisations produced counter-archives that sought to write a history of violence that disrupted the public discourse of the regime. To illustrate the above, I will focus on the first years of the legal case for the disappearance of the Communist Party member Reinalda Pereira Plaza in 1976 and the records produced by the human rights organisation Vicaría de la Solidaridad. While the evidence created by the regime and legal interpretations by the judge denied political violence, the continuous production of documentation by the Vicaría de la Solidaridad sought to interrupt the previous discourse, highlighting several dimensions of state violence and judiciary complicity.

3. Athletics club at the end of the world: Demanding justice for state terrorism in Buenos Aires' hinterlands

Florence Evans, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This paper asks what recent conceptualisations of hinterland might offer to studies of the political dynamics which forge post-conflict geographies, and how spatial dynamics structure how communities demand justice. It is thus responsive to revived interest in geographies as political forces which forge the social and cultural forms through which societies demand justice (Herzog 2023:233). I combine reflection on what Neel (2018) terms 'near-hinterlands', near-urban spaces dismantled politically and socially for increased infrastructural demands of the global economy, with archival and field research conducted in 2023. Underneath a motor-highway bridge in Buenos Aires' San Telmo district, which connects the 25 de Mayo highway to the city's surrounding conurbanos, are the excavated remains of El Atlético—once a clandestine centre of detention and torture used during Argentina's last civil-military dictatorship (1976-1983). This paper asks what the site's occupation by activists offers to understandings of hinterlands as structuring methods through which social and legal justice could be realised. It focuses on the political dynamics of memorialization practices on the site for victims of enforced disappearance, beginning with the building's demolition (1996) during the construction of the motor-highway. El Atlético is revealed to be as much a resistance to the manufacturing of hinterlands as a struggle against the erasure of dictatorial memory. This paper argues that geographic forces which render pasts invisible, and which are overlooked for their productions of historic amnesias about past atrocities, remains urgent for the present, given political fascism's recent threat of return to the region.

4. Countering Repression with Poetry: Ethnographic Reflections on Nicaraguan Exiles' Resistance Practices in Western Europe with Critical Poetic Inquiry

Samira Marty, Binghamton University, Institute for Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention

In Nicaragua, poetry has become a contested terrain since the nation erupted in mass protests and violent government responses in April 2018. Nicaraguan poetry draws on a particular historical and symbolic dimension. After the Sandinista's successful revolution in 1979, the FSLN implemented a widely successful literacy campaign for Nicaragua's mostly illiterate rural population. In this curriculum, the Sandinistas promoted poetry as a popular culture for the masses. This fostered a sense of collective consciousness. Forty years later, in 2018, Nicaragua's rebellious youth, which came of age under the re-elected FSLN regime, have repurposed poetry as a medium to express their lived experiences of repression and violence ever since they took to the streets to protest the FSLN. Since 2018, more than 200,000 Nicaraguans left the country as a result of the state repression. Many of these exiles address their everyday experiences, memories of violence, and longing with poetry. This paper combines Critical Poetic Inquiry, a methodological approach that considers poetry as qualitative data to unveil trauma, witness accounts, and silenced issues. Based on recent ethnographic encounters with Nicaraguan exiles in Western Europe, including poetry writing workshops and focus group interviews, poetry is understood as a social and political critique. This contributes to a better understanding of

poet-exiles situatedness on power nexuses and pursues a broader conversation of how poetry can be understood not only as a literary object but as a pertinent social and political phenomenon to explore.

VIC 5. Santa Muerte in Mexico: Studying devotional practices between insecurity, theology, and iconography

Session organizer & chair: Wil Pansters (Utrecht University)

Discussant: Christien Klaufus (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam)

Since the beginning of the 21st century Santa Muerte devotion in Mexico (and beyond) has attracted growing attention from scholars and the mainstream media. This panel builds on past academic work, but above all focuses on the cult's remarkable social, religious, and cultural dynamic and creativity, and on the complex relationships between Santa Muerte devotion, insecurity, and violence. The panel investigates the shifting devotional and iconographic practices by posing several pertinent research questions. How can the evolution and meanings of the multifaceted relationships between Santa Muerte and other popular saints be understood? How do specific local and regional social and cultural formations shape Santa Muerte devotion? How do personalized iconographic constructions of Santa Muerte play out in a context of the saint's increased public visibility and mediated representation? How do Santa Muerte tattoos negotiate between forms of intimate bodily experience and public communication? What does recent research tell us about Santa Muerte devotional practices and experiences within the world of organized crime in Mexico? What do the results of this research tell us about the contemporary Mexican society and culture? This panel consists of a diverse and interdisciplinary team of researchers that brings different thematic and conceptual perspectives to the table thereby moving forward the current debate about one of Latin America's most significant and fascinating popular religious expressions.

1. The "cuates" of Santa Muerte

Regnar Kristensen, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Since Doña Queta Romero erected her famous street altar to Santa Muerte in Mexico City's Tepitpo neighborhood in 2001 and thereby made the devotion publicly known, other saints have started to accompany her at the altar. Just as at many other Santa Muerte altars, doña Queta's own skeleton effigies (in the street and her private rooms) now share their vitrinas with (popular) Catholic saints. Her skeleton figures have also been dressed up as saints from Cuban Santería, there are traces of Palo Monte, and more recently the Devil and pre-Columbian figures of death have joined them. When did these figures become part of doña Queta's altar, and why were they invited? How can the relationships among them be understood? I propose conceptualizing the relationships between Santa Muerte and the accompanying saints with the notion of "cuates". When Oyá, the Virgen de Guadalupe, Sant Jude, Pancho Villa, the Devil, Miclantecuhtli, and others stand next to Santa Muerte they can be seen as "cuates": sometimes as in the original náhuatl meaning of the word as fraternal twins (not identical, but closely related), other times as in the modern popular meaning of the word as a friend with whom you joke and spend time with. In both cases they borrow from each other, spend time, celebrate, and "eat" together, while maintaining their distinctive identities. They are together but do not become mixed up.

2. Santa Muerte: ritual and liturgical plasticity

Antonio Higuera-Bonfil, Universidad de Quintana Roo, Mexico

The devotion to Santa Muerte is characterized by its plasticity. Although there are advanced attempts to institutionalize the cult of this entity, there is currently no common ritual and liturgical practice in the different centers of religious worship. Plasticity allows the incorporation of different religious

traditions in this devotion, which is why it is common to find various ritual practices: Santería, Christianity, Satanism, veneration of pre-Hispanic gods, devotion to popular saints such as Jesús Malverde or San Simón, among others. Starting from the fact that religious practices are an expression of local culture, an ethnographic approach to different cult traditions is proposed, carried out in various contexts, including altars in Oaxaca, Quintana Roo, New York and the State of Mexico

3. Close to Death. The Intimacy of Images in Devotion to La Santa Muerte

Myriam Lamrani, Harvard University, Panteion University of Social and Political Science

Much like the veneration of other saints in Mexico, devotion to La Santa Muerte centers on the creation and use of images. What sets her apart is the sustained media attention she receives. Indeed, from devotional effigies to mediated portrayals, La Santa Muerte's visual presence spans intimate devotion and national identity. Drawing from my ethnographic fieldwork in Oaxaca, Mexico, I explore a few selected images to analyze how individuals connect with this iconography, often oscillating between claiming a deep affinity with the saint and distancing themselves from prevailing public opinions. These images become the sites of intimate, emotionally charged relationships that reflect the multifaceted influence of the saint's representations in a context marked by violence. Within this broader framework, La Santa Muerte's images enhance our understanding of the complex dynamics in contemporary Mexican culture. For, in Mexico, approaching this sanctified death figure is not only a profound act of devotion but also a position carrying significant political implications.

4. Santa Muerte and drug trafficking violence: "The Holy Death Claims Death"

Karina Garcia-Reyes, University of the West of England (UWE)

The cult to Santa Muerte [Holy Death] in Mexico is usually studied as a religious practice linked to the Catholic faith and the disputes about her being unrecognised by the church establishment. In addition, in the mainstream imagination the cult is often portrayed as connected to crime, violence, and drug trafficking, in most cases without much evidence. Scholars also sustain that while the majority of devotees may live in precarious conditions are not connected to the world of organised crime. This paper wants to contribute to Santa Muerte scholarship that the cult was in fact appropriated and incorporated into at least one organised crime group in the North of Mexico. Drawing on unique first-hand testimonies of former drug traffickers, this paper discusses the experiences and macabre practices of Santa Muerte devotion by the Zetas criminal organization. The paper will examine how the interviewees were invited or forced to be part of sadistic rituals which involved torture, animal, and human sacrifices in exchange for Santa Muerte protection. In their experience the Santa Muerte cult featured similarities to what are commonly known as Satanic cults. In the current context of increasing violence and disappearances in Mexico it is crucial to understand the role the violence involved in Santa Muerte devotional practices plays in sustaining violence.

VIC 6. Punishment, politics, and their undercurrents: articulations of state power, punitivism, and social conflict in Latin America - 1

Session co-organizers & chairs: Pedro Mendes Loureiro (University of Cambridge) & Julienne Weegels (CEDLA-University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Over the past decades a 'punitive turn' has swept Latin America. If the recent 'authoritarian turn' in many countries has brought this into sharp relief, punitivism has nevertheless expanded across and within political movements of different stripes, from the transition to neoliberalism in the 1980s to the 'Pink Tide' governments of the 2000s and 2010s. Recognising the region-wide punitive turn is variegated over time and space – e.g. from the authoritarian incarceration drive in El Salvador to the long-standing, cross-party policy of mass incarceration in Brazil – these panels interrogate articulations

of state power, punitivism, and social conflict from a variety of approaches. Focussing on the carceral system and adjacent processes, we ask: What do expansions of state security apparatuses generate for authoritarian and non-authoritarian projects, and how is this legitimated? Conversely, how might we understand authoritarianism and social conflict through the lived realities of those incarcerated or at risk? What tensions and negotiations are produced between governments of different political leanings and the realities of crime, contestation, punishment, and dissent? How does legality and illegality intermesh in economic, political, and social forms to reproduce and regulate social conflict? How is the carceral project and its effects represented and contested in cultural output? And what goes unquestioned both in punitive projects and in the resistance to them? Presenting case studies from Central and South America, we take these questions as points of departure for an interdisciplinary discussion around the connection between state power, carceral control, and social conflict in the region.

1. The social reintegration processes of women who have spent time in prison in El Salvador
Ellen Van Damme, Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

Incarceration rates in El Salvador have been increasing drastically over the past couple of years, especially since the government implemented the state of exception in March 2022. While the overall number of men in prison is far greater than that of women, the incarceration rate of women has been growing much quicker than that of men. However, social reintegration programs designed specifically for women are lacking. The main goal of this study is to offer a model for the social reintegration of women coming out of prison, that is based on international scientific literature on the topic, available public policies, and empirical research in the country. As such, in July 2023, 10 semi-structured interviews were conducted with women former detainees. Moreover, several formal and informal interviews have been conducted with stakeholders in the field. The results suggest that a holistic approach for the social reintegration of women is necessary, taking into account the myriad of needs, including trauma therapy. Therefore, a program has been developed based upon the Good Lives Model, including a case-based reasoning index.

2. “Vivir encerrados”: un acercamiento al proceso de confinamiento en una comunidad urbano-marginada en San Salvador, El Salvador
Mario Araya, Universidad de Costa Rica, Costa Rica

En San Salvador, posterior a los acuerdos de paz en 1992, la inseguridad y la violencia se instauraron como una de las principales problemáticas, al punto de señalar discursivamente que era una situación “peor que cuando la guerra” (Moodie, 2017). Adicionalmente, desde inicios de los 2000 predominaron políticas de seguridad orientadas a la construcción de las pandillas como enemigo público y su señalamiento como principal problema del país. Estas políticas se abocaron a la criminalización de las personas jóvenes provenientes de comunidades marginalizadas con presencia pandilleril. Lo anterior implicó prácticas de persecución, detención arbitraria, cateo, arresto, abuso y encarcelamiento masivo de esta población por su procedencia y apariencia física (Aguilar, 2019). Así los habitantes de estas comunidades tuvieron que lidiar no solo con la violencia que implica la presencia de pandillas en su territorio, sino también con la violencia ejercida por la Policía Nacional Civil y las Fuerzas Armadas en el supuesto afán de guerra contra estas grupalidades (SPASS, 2017). A partir de un trabajo de campo realizado de enero a octubre del 2023 con los habitantes de una comunidad marginada denominada La Colmena, ubicada en un municipio de San Salvador, se analiza el proceso de constitución de esta como un lugar de encierro. Bajo la pretensión de seguridad la comunidad erigió las propias barreas físicas (muros, mallas y portones) que terminó confinándola junto con una de las pandillas más poderosas del país y se volvió objeto de múltiples intervenciones por parte de los cuerpos de seguridad del Estado

3. Fluid boundaries and false dichotomies: Young peoples' navigations between organised criminality and violence prevention in urban Honduras

Antonia McGrath, CEDLA-University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Since a military coup in 2009, violence in Honduras has become a topic of scholarly interest (Levy 2020). The generation of youth who have grown up since this defining political event as well as stolen elections in 2017 and the ensuing protests, have been referred to as the "generation of the coup" (Frank-Vitale and Martínez d'Aubuisson 2020). They are the first generation to have lived all or most of their lives in a country with one of the world's highest homicide rates (Appleby et al. 2023). Much of Honduras' violence has been blamed on youth street gangs, known as maras. While these gangs initiated in barrios when there was no formal protection given the lack of state presence, this control over territory gradually evolved into control over markets for drug trafficking and extortion (Horne Carter 2022), leading to the marginalisation and criminalization of specific communities. Militarization and policing in these areas has so far failed to return the monopoly over violence to the state, but the rhetoric that widely associates youth with violence justifies ongoing securitisation. This fuels a vicious cycle, with youth at the centre. For this reason, this study takes youth experiences as the central focus of the research. Based on a one-year ethnographic study in two areas of Honduras, one on urban margins of a Honduran city and one in a community with a maximum security prison, this research explores how young people in these contexts understand, experience and navigate between the criminal(ised) groups and organizations, and organisations involved in violence prevention.

4. Digitized agency: The transition of the hyperghetto to the digi ghetto from the perspective of incarcerated persons in Chile

Konstantin Mierau, University of Groningen, The Netherlands

This paper theorizes the emerging use of digimodern media in the prison system based on 50+ interviews conducted among incarcerated persons in Chile. To do so it proposes the notion of the 'digi ghetto' as an elaboration of Wacquant's concept of the 'hyperghetto', positing it as a framework for understanding future dynamics in Latin-American prisons and their associated marginalized neighborhoods. This paper argues that understanding the emerging repertoire of self-representations by social actors living with and within the Latin-American prison system requires an empirically-founded understanding of the transition of the hyperghetto into the age of digital media. Based on an analysis of the extensive corpus of interviews in five Chilean prisons, we will discuss how incarcerated communities are engaging with hegemonic representation in media discourse, by way of a.o. self-representation on youtube and instagram, through memes, co-creation, and discussion boards. We argue that the described practices give a new dimension to resistance from within the prison. This resonates with scholarship on social movements in the digital age, which has demonstrated the power of digimodern media as a key medium in organising social resistance (Castells 2015: 23). Yar suggests that it is the very form of digimodern media that may invoke new forms of illegality and integration of global illegality (Yar 2012). Referencing the interviews, we will show the emerging agency of incarcerated persons and communities in shaping the increasingly interconnected globalizing cultural repertoire on incarceration.

5. Prison run: Understanding carceral power, expansion and contestation in Central America

Julienne Weegels, CEDLA-University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

In this paper, I explore emerging infrastructures of carceral expansion in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras. I do so on the one hand by considering how these projects articulate with the authoritarian/political projects that birthed them, which seem to anchor their governance techniques in the power to incarcerate (and decarcerate) at will, instrumentalizing historical discourses of criminalization to punish whom they consider their opponents. On the other hand, based on recent

fieldwork, I zoom in on the ways in which these projects are contested on the ground. What kinds of justice-seeking initiatives are emerging? How do they, in turn, articulate their work vis-à-vis the criminalizing discourses and practices confronting them? What kinds of alternatives do they envision? In order to cover both issues, I elicit a set of ethnographic vignettes with former/politically incarcerated people, drawing out tentative connections between authoritarian/political projects of carceral expansion and their contestation.

VIC 6. Punishment, politics, and their undercurrents: articulations of state power, punitivism, and social conflict in Latin America - 2

Session co-organizers & chairs: Pedro Mendes Loureiro (University of Cambridge) & Julienne Weegels (CEDLA-University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

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6. Latin America's Prison Dilemma: Using the Crime-Terror Nexus to analyze Ecuador, Haiti, and El Salvador crises
Etienne Rosas, Princeton University, School of Public and International Affairs

In March 2022, El Salvador’s President Nayib Bukele declared a state of emergency and launched a full-scale crackdown of the country’s widespread gangs. This led to the incarceration of at least 75,000, among them thousands of innocents, but Bukele is more popular than ever. Meanwhile in 2024, in Ecuador, President Daniel Noboa carried out a more limited crackdown on two of the country’s most powerful gangs and faced a fierce backlash that plunged the country into a severe governance crisis. In Haiti, armed gang members freed thousands of prisoners and have launched a coordinated attack on government officials and facilities, killing dozens and forcing the exile of Prime Minister Ariel Henry. Unfortunately, governance destabilization emanating from prisons continues to be a common phenomenon across Latin America. While many on the American right praise Bukele’s iron fist method against gangs, this approach is not new, and its long-term benefits are more elusive. This paper explores the following: 1) what may be causing these flare-ups in prison gang activity, including any related global factors, 2) why results are varied across the region, and 3) what we can expect moving forward based on other past cases. Using a theoretical framework that analyzes radical and criminal violent non-state actors’ influence in relation to their sociopolitical environment (Rosas 2020), this paper

assesses the sustainability and implications of each of these governments' strategies to curtail gang influence and determines the implications for Latin America's prison crisis.

7. Shifting dynamics between (street) gangs and organised crime groups: a look into Honduras' complex criminal landscape

Emilia Ziosi, University of Oxford

This paper analyses the relationship between (street) gangs and organized crime in Honduras, with the aim of offering a more nuanced depiction of the complexity of the criminal landscape of the country and of its shifting dynamics. The criminal landscape in Honduras is profoundly complex, whereby gangs, narcotraffickers, drug gangs and other criminal groups compete over geographical and economic territory. In doing so, they try to find ways to coexist or exterminate rivalry groups. In recent years, the relationship between gangs and narcotraffickers in the country has increased the question about the links between these two groups, without finding an evidence-based answer that goes beyond speculations. Of the few explorations of the connections between gangs and narcotraffickers that do exist, most take a very strong stance on the existence or absence of such relationships, often leading to a polarized image of the issue. By implementing a gendered perspective to the largely male-dominated study of gangs in the country, the present study relies on a content analysis of gang and narcotrafficking-related coverage by two Honduran newspapers (El País and El Pulso), and is informed by fieldwork (interviews, focus groups and observations) carried out in Honduras between 2018 and 2020, and by numerous interviews carried out with experts on the topic and gang members from 2018 to 2021.

8. Policing the Crisis, Argentine Style

Hugo Goeur, The Graduate Center (CUNY), USA

In a span of a few decades, Argentina witnessed a dramatic surge in its incarceration rate, turning the country into an emblematic case of "mass incarceration" in Latin America. The roots of this shift, which led incarceration rates to soar from 63/100,000 to 224/100,000 between 1993 and 2019, can be traced back to the two presidential mandates of neoliberal Peronist Carlos Menem (1989-1999). Indeed, the menemista decade not only put an end the preceding trend of decreasing incarceration rates – 30% in the decade that followed the 1983 return of democracy – but it dramatically reversed it: between 1992 and 1999, the number of incarcerated people increasing by close to 62%. Drawing on the foundational work of Stuart Hall and colleagues in their groundbreaking *Policing the Crisis*, this paper makes the case that Menem's "punitive turn" can best be understood as an attempt to build a new political project in a context of crisis of hegemony. The article will thus trace and analyze the construction, consolidation, and eventual collapse of Menemista hegemony. From this perspective, it will contextualize the shift towards *mano dura* discourse and policies that took place during Menem's second mandate and relate it to the rise of the piquetero movement and the Partido Justicialista's historical defeat in the 1997 legislative elections. The article will conclude by assessing the long term consequences of, to borrow from Stuart Hall's famous expression, Argentina's "drift into a law and order society" ([1980] 2021).

9. Conflicting Conceptions of Justice: The Place of Impunidad in Anti-Punitive Thinking from Argentina

Oliver Wilson-Nunn, Robinson College, University of Cambridge

Amid the rise and general consolidation of penal/punitive populism in public discourse and policy over the last thirty years in Argentina (Sozzo 2009; 2016), anti-punitive thought and activism have also gained considerable public visibility. In this paper, I analyse the discourse of recent anti-punitive writings – by lawyers, journalists, and (formerly) incarcerated artists – to suggest that one of the key

features of the public debate about state punishment in Argentina is the unstable meaning of *impunidad*. While proponents of both increased and decreased state punitivity mobilise the term, I explore the different ways in which, building on lawyer and activist María del Carmen Verdú (1999), there is dissensus as to whether *impunidad* is primarily 'jurídica' or 'política'. When anti-punitive thinkers resignify *impunidad* as primarily political rather than juridical, they carry out a series of conceptual translations: from individual to institutional redress; from the conditionality to the universality of human rights; and from a focus on current-day decisions to the continuing legacies of dictatorial governance. In identifying these shared trends, I develop an integrated socio-cultural dialogue between otherwise heterogeneous discussions of gendered violence (e.g. Tenenbaum, 2021), police violence (e.g. Verdú, 1999), and the lived experience of imprisonment (the journals *Los Monstruos Tienen Miedo*, *La Resistencia*, and *De la cárcel a la calle*).

10. Infrastructures of Unfreedom: Exponential Prison Construction and the Sustainability of Punitive Developmentalism in Brazil

Pedro Mendes Loureiro (speaker) & Graham Denyer Willis (co-author), University of Cambridge

This paper examines the collision between three forces in motion to make a provocation: Brazil is a protagonist in the global making of infrastructures of unfreedom. First, the country is amidst a historically discontinuous shift that is seeing an exponential prison construction project materialise across the country with striking uniformity. Second, countering abiding volatility, infrastructure has become a darling pet project for international investors, development banks and pension and hedge funds, who seek to extract sustained profit from the bedrock provision of services by states. Third, rising climate temperatures and global concern create novel impetus for foreign investment to finance and build new solutions. Looking to the literature on infrastructure as 'lively' and 'social', we counter with an approach informed by political economy and ethnography at how this collision must return us to a material understanding of infrastructure. Doing so reveals an apparently sibling relationship between sustainability and incarceration, environmental devastation and prison re-construction, and international climate finance and debt funded prisons.

VIC 7. Violence, Justice & Policing

Chair: Stefano Corzo (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

1. The Nexus of Power and Shadow: Meritocracy, Governance, and Drug Cartels' Influence in Mexico

Ghaleb Krame (speaker) & María Magdalena García Rodríguez (co-author), Rabdan Academy, United Arab Emirates

In "The Nexus of Power and Shadow," we explore the erosion of meritocracy in Mexican democratic institutions and its role in fostering conditions favorable to drug cartel ascendancy. This paper argues that the decline in merit-based governance has led to increased corruption, poverty, unemployment, and cartel influence. A striking paradox emerges: drug cartels often exhibit more meritocratic promotion systems than the Mexican bureaucracy, undermining state legitimacy. Using qualitative and quantitative research, the study examines the consequences of this meritocratic erosion. It reveals how cartels exploit governance voids, offering services and employment, thereby gaining social and political influence. The paper also highlights the role of non-governmental organizations in monitoring reforms through auditable and accountable Key Performance Indicators (KPIs). These KPIs are designed to evaluate the effectiveness, transparency, and accountability of public administration reforms. Concluding with policy recommendations, the paper advocates reinstating meritocratic principles in Mexican public institutions. The proposed KPIs, overseen by NGOs, aim to address the foundational causes of cartel proliferation. This study contributes to the discourse on combating narco-state

influences and advancing social justice in Mexico and Latin America, emphasizing the need for a return to merit-based governance.

2. "Es lo que te enseñaban los carteles"

Tom King, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

In this paper, I explore how the power and meaning of organised drug-related violence is navigated, internalised, and questioned by marginalised young men in the north of Mexico. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork with former street gang members and narcomenudistas in Monterrey, I use a necropolitical framework to analyse their narratives of the cartel-controlled neighbourhood drug market. The notion of necropolitics has been extensively theorized in the context of Mexico's "narcoviolence". However, there is far less empirical work examining how these frameworks of power are handled "from below". By doing so, I show how the values of criminal organisations and their employment of homicide can inform and manipulate gendered actions, ideas of friendship, and the morality of killing itself. Yet, these narratives also reveal processes of thought and change, as repeated experiences of death and murder become forms of learning and places of reflection for the young men. Within this context, I argue that while their agency can lead to violence and death, it also appears vulnerable and ambivalent – one struggling with a search for worth through actions causing extreme trauma and loss, and one often unsettled by its complex awareness of embodying both victim and perpetrator. Ultimately, the words of these young men indicate how the handling of necropolitical power from below can be far more disturbed and nuanced than theoretical representations enable us to understand.

3. Seguridad somos todos: An ethnographic exploration to community policing and its impact on police legitimacy in Peru

Stefano Corzo, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

For the past two decades, the Peruvian National Police (PNP) have pushed forward various efforts towards their modernization and professionalization. One such initiative has been the adoption of community-oriented policing (COP) as a possible solution for (in)security problems, as well as a mechanism for bolstering institutional legitimacy. This article provides an ethnographic account of the inner workings and territorialized practices and narratives built around community policing in two police stations in a middle-class district of Lima and how these processes inform the construction of police legitimacy at a local level. Empirically, this study is based on digital and in-station ethnography, participatory observations, and qualitative interviews with community-policing officers and members of local security grass-roots organizations. The findings reveal that local community policing practices are defined by the interaction between normative elements surrounding COP within the organizational structure of the PNP as well as the personal aptitudes of the officers in charge of implementing it. In terms of police legitimacy, external legitimacy is positively influenced by the non-enforcement contacts agents perform while, at the same time, being the product of a specific conceptualization of citizenship by the police. Internal legitimacy is alternatively dependent on the hierarchical support for COP in a specific unit and station. The article concludes with a discussion about the implications Peruvian community policing has on focalized instances of shared governance, participatory security and community oversight for similar experiences in Latin America.

4. Casting light on Maroon history in search of Suriname-style Restorative Justice for urban youth

Sabine M. de Vries (speaker) & Paul Mutsaers (co-author) Radboud University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands & Anton de Kom University of Suriname, Suriname

Restorative justice scholars habitually turn to native communities across the globe in their quest for early forms of restorative justice (*avant-la-lettre*), taking inspiration from that living history to suggest

reforms or abolishing of contemporary justice systems. Remarkably, Maroons are often missing from this historiography, which is odd considering their age-old struggle against punitive colonial justice systems and their development of restoration-oriented justice systems instead. Today, Restorative Justice still resonates in Suriname through the 'krutu' (village meeting) of the Maroons. During the 'krutu' a tailor-made solution is sought together with the suspect or offender and the victim, under guidance of the tribe elders and possibly other villagers. In urban areas, such gatherings do not occur, but still conflict resolution mechanisms are present among urban youth at the grassroots level. Our ethnographic work since 2019 has led to preliminary data on this topic. In our presentation, we focus on restorative youth justice and ask in the tradition of legal anthropology what law-like social practices and rules are present in Paramaribo's city life that channel youth's behavior and help them solving conflicts in a restorative way. By combining history with ethnography and comparing village and urban lifestyles, we seek to move beyond the current legal framework, with the aim to identify and ultimately formalize the youth's own conflict resolution and reconciliation methods and make steps towards Suriname-style Restorative Justice.

VIC 8. Violence and care in struggles over territory

Session organizer & chair: Sonja Marzi (Radboud University, The Netherlands / LSE, UK)

While internal armed conflicts have officially been ended in Latin America, violence continues to be present throughout the continent in different forms. People that engage in the defence of their territories, oftentimes face violence related to neoliberal extractivist projects, (illicit) armed groups, corrupted judicial systems. These violences can take many different forms, from direct violence to stigmatization, and the perpetrators are often connected through complicated webs that have their origins in violent pasts of colonialization, racism, and genocide. In this session we bring together papers that provide examples of how people and communities in Latin America resist violence in the struggles over their territories and the role that care plays herein. We understand violence in all of its different forms, as multiple and layered (Rezwana and Pain 2023). This includes structural, slow and fast violence such as the dispossession of land for neoliberal purposes, crime, insecurity, state violence, and violence as intersecting processes of racism and capitalism. However, when focusing on the resistance to these violences we aim to highlight aspects and understandings of care within and as resistance in the defence of territory. We thus ask in this panel:

- How is violence in struggles over territory experienced and lived in Latin America?
- How can we understand 'care' as a form of resistance towards violence?
- In which care practices do people engage in the midst of violence?
- How is care as a form of resistance against violence lived, practised and experienced differently in rural and urban territories?

1. Staying safe. Care, protection, protocols, and the defense of territory in Guatemala

Elisabet Rasch, Wageningen University, The Netherlands

Numerous (indigenous) communities in Guatemala are involved the defense of territory, in resisting extractivist projects. In so doing, they not only face (foreign) companies, but are also caught in a web of armed and non-armed actors that all contest the same territory and its natural resources. Resistance towards megaprojects is in addition considered a threat to internal security; people involved in the defense of territory therefore face criminalization, amongst other forms of violence. In this paper I explore how territory defenders in Guatemala try to stay safe in the midst of violence. The constant presence of multiple forms of violence and the fear thereof is ingrained in every facet of everyday life and not only impacts the defense of territory, but also the (emotional) wellbeing of territory defenders. After discussing how violence and feeling unsafe shape different dimensions of everyday life, such as family relations, (mental) health, and household finances, I go on to explore how territory defenders

try to stay safe, inside and outside their communities, and the role of care, protection and formal protocols herein. In so doing, I argue that taking care and staying safe can be considered as acts of resistance, and that to be able to understand and engage with the defense of territory in violent contexts, it is crucial to consider this less visible, everyday dimension of resistance.

2. The city is as well ours – women’s everyday activism and care to (re)build their territory in Medellín.

Sonja Marzi, Radboud University, NL / London School of Economics, UK

In this paper I explore how displaced and conflict-affected women create forms of private and public activism in their everyday lives to self-build, auto-construct and defend their territories and urban neighbourhoods in Medellín, Colombia. They do so while living in environments characterised by armed groups and gang violence making the process of re-building their urban futures and resisting established power structures dangerous for them and their families. Drawing on data from a feminist action research project in Medellín, and using creative audio-visual methodologies over several years, I argue that rather than being passive victims of different past and present violences, the women of this study draw on networks of solidarity developing interweaving individual and collective activism based on principles of care to rebuild their territory and as expression of hope for better urban futures. Care and hope are especially expressed within their own household by becoming more feminist and independent and resisting patriarchal gender norms, up to becoming resourceful women community leaders leading feminist discourses to resist violence and by (re-)building their neighbourhoods brick by brick collectively. It is these kinds of women’s urban activism that is incorporated in their everyday lives and which include forms of care for their territory that shape much of urban space in the peripheries of Medellín.

3. From victims of gendered urban violence to protagonists of empathetic transformation in Maré, Rio de Janeiro

Cathy McIlwaine, King’s College London, UK

This paper examines how women residents of the favelas of Maré in Rio de Janeiro experience and deal with endemic gendered urban violence. Drawing on collaborative research conducted since 2016 that comprises a range of methodological approaches from surveys to interviews, to cuerpo-territorio body mapping and artistic engagements, the paper reflects on how gendered urban violence is experienced across multiple territories, from women’s bodies to the communities of the favelas and beyond to the city spaces of Rio de Janeiro. In developing an embodied counter-mapping approach that embraces body-nature-territory relationships, the discussion reveals women’s experiences of violence and resistance as embodied, intersectional and spatialised, rooted in ancestral and transgenerational knowledge and self-care. While women are key casualties of gendered urban violence and trauma, they are also protagonists who forge dignity through a range of mechanisms. These include re-territorialising favelas as places of solidarity and care as they build ‘emotional and political communities’ (McIlwaine et al., 2023). They also re-signify themselves as key actors in transforming their own lives and those of their friends, families and neighbours. Self-care and care for others are integral to this process of resignification that I refer to as empathetic transformation which moves beyond the individual level towards wider structural change that must take the views and priorities of these women into account (McIlwaine et al., 2024).

4. Care, relationality, and embodiment in women territory defenders' resistance to extractive violence in Bolivia

Floor van der Hout, Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

In Bolivia, campesina and Indigenous women are at the forefront of resistance against extractivist projects that threaten their territories. In this paper, I explore the role of care and embodiment in women's anti-extractive resistance in two territorios en resistencia: TIPNIS and Tariquía, where I accompanied women territory defenders in 2019-2020. I build on decolonial feminist proposals from Abya Yala that foreground relationality and embodiment in women territory defenders' experiences of extractivism-related violence and resistance, taking inspiration from cuerpo-territorio [body-territory] and acuerpar [weaving together bodies] (Cabnal 2010; 2017). I argue that through everyday embodied practices of care with/in the territory-land, the defensoras weave together different spaces, people, and subjectivities, forming resistant networks that enable and sustain anti-extractive action. The women's everyday affective and caring practices can also be seen as acts of resistance in themselves as they prefigure ways of being, seeing and knowing that foreground relationality and interdependency and, as such, challenge the ontological basis of colonial extractivism. Community and family relations, solidarity between defensoras and the women's relations to the territory-land form the core of these anti-extractive webs. However, embodied experiences of extractive violence can lead to the unravelling of the webs of resistance in the context of Bolivia's prevailing power inequalities, growing authoritarianism, and deepening divisions. Through these embodied processes of weaving and unravelling, women's body-territories simultaneously become sites of domination and resistance.

VIC 9. Temporalities of social and cultural change and shifting horizons of justice in Latin America - 1

Session co-organizers: Martyn Wemyss (Goldsmiths University, London) & Jonathan Alderman (University of St Andrews). Chair: Martyn Wemyss

This panel thinks through aspects of social change and shifting political, cultural and judicial horizons through an attention to temporality. Taking temporality variously as an object of analysis and as a mode of attending to forms of cultural, social and judicial transformation, this panel asks how differently positioned actors mobilise notions and tropes of time; distinct temporal registers and ideas of epochal shifts to ground and inspire critique and transformation in the present as well as visions of the future. Thinking with temporal citation, repetition, disjuncture and circularity in the anthropocene, this panel asks how an attention to time and temporality can enrich contemporary accounts of social, cultural, legal and political change. Thinking with and against notions of deep and mythic, messianic and modernist time, accelerating and recurring time, the everyday and the eternal, this panel gives critical attention to temporality as an aspect of both social transformation and stasis.

1. Living on a prayer: Salvadoran Catholic framings of religion, politics and social justice
Larisa Carranza, Goldsmiths College, University of London

Based on recent ethnographic research, this paper explores how Salvadoran Catholic communities engaged with religion, politics and temporality to shape discourses related to social justice and critiques of the state. The aim of this paper is threefold: firstly, to highlight the historical and continued ways in which these communities formed horizontal networks which blur religious and political spheres in order to address social injustice and inequality. These formations range from early 20th century collective action to wartime era organizing such as Christian Base Communities, revolutionary movements and international solidarity networks. Secondly, I examine how these historical legacies, alongside cyclical experiences of state violence, has continued to play a role in contemporary discourses of social justice and local, regional and global engagement of memory and theological practice.

Ethnographic accounts, rememberings and events showcase the ways in which Salvadoran communities engaged with the past, both from biblical and Salvadoran wartime contexts, to understand contemporary socioeconomic and political processes and ways to envision the future through religious and political practice. Lastly, this paper addresses how ethnographic research and historical context is vital towards recognizing how Salvadorans and Latin Americans are producing activism and knowledge which questions anthropological frameworks of religion and politics. I argue, in the context of my ethnographic research, that temporality can be conceptualized as a constantly shifting tide in which the past, present and future intersect in a myriad of ways which shapes how contemporary Salvadoran communities engage with social justice.

2. Incommensurable Temporalities of indigeneity

Jonathan Alderman, University of St Andrews

The indigenous autonomies legislated for in Bolivia's 2009 constitution were simultaneously forward and backward-looking. Each of the municipalities and indigenous territories embarking on the path towards becoming an 'autonomia indigena originario campesino' had to write and approve a statute setting out how they would henceforth govern themselves. In order to be considered eligible they had to evidence a pre-colonial history. In the municipality of Charazani, the home to the Kallawaya indigenous nation, the heterogeneous history of the municipality became contentious in the process of writing the statute as different communities asserted themselves as indigenous (Kallawaya) and downplayed the indigeneity of others. The indigeneity of the largest community in the municipality was contested by representatives of other communities (that considered themselves to have greater legitimacy to call themselves Kallawaya), because they had been supposedly transferred to the area by the Incas only around 600 years ago. Different sectors of the municipality emphasised different temporalities as a way of asserting their own right to direct the governance of the indigenous autonomy. This paper draws on Ranciere's concept of disagreement to discuss how the incommensurable temporalities cited in this intra-ethnic conflict, become tied to discussions of what it means to be Kallawaya at all, in which different groups identify as Kallawaya but do not mean quite the same thing when using the term. The multi-temporalities of intra-indigenous identity are discussed as an aspect of the indigenous autonomies which appear to have been under-appreciated when they were conceived of constitutionally.

3. The Casta Must be Eliminated: Argentina's New Far Right and Its Uses of the Past in Comparative Perspective

Anna Grimaldi, University of Leeds, UK

The global rise of the right in mainstream political institutions and civil society organisations has had a distinct impact in Southern Latin America. For many, old fears have returned, tied to collective memories and historical narratives of genocide, state violence, military dictatorships, authoritarianism, violent neoliberal reforms and inequality, and the persecution of progressive ideas and values. But how do those on the far right itself engage with this past? Drawing from critical theory, sociology and historical approaches, this presentation examines the case of La Libertad Avanza in Argentina. Through an analysis of the party and its figureheads' tweets, we identify the ways in which the past is called upon to challenge mainstream collective memories of what 'really' happened, to share lessons learned, or to demand the protection of traditions, customs, and heritage that are perceived to be under threat. Recent debates in the field of sociology have highlighted how memory plays a vital role in mobilising individuals around a cause, in legitimising the aims of a particular party, movement, or policy, and undoubtedly in shaping the ways in which we envision our future. How parties reactivate political movements and social struggles of the past is therefore of primary importance to understanding the aims and functions of different far-right movements today.

4. The policy ecology of the Andean social agenda: regional integration and indigenous temporalities

Nathan Huanacune, University of Cambridge, Center of Latin American Studies

During the early 2000s, a 'wave' of left-wing parties took power in most countries of Latin America, leading to the 'segmented expansion' of social policies (Arza et al. 2022). In this context, the emergence (and subsequent collapse) of an Andean social agenda within the Andean Community (CAN) has gone unnoticed. Since the 1990s, this organisation was the site of an important debate regarding the nature of social policy in the context of the crisis of neoliberal development. Following the process of constitutional reform in Ecuador (2008) and Bolivia (2009), the debates within the CAN were increasingly informed by indigenous thought. This led to the idea of an 'Andean citizenship' distinct from national citizenship and based on the exercise of regional political rights and the 'right to communication'. This idea was based on an understanding of Andean identity as the articulation of heterogeneous temporal horizons: the indigenous past (the Qhapaq Ñan), regional independence (the 'nation of republics'), and dependency (the idea of Indoamerica). Thus, this case shows how the plural temporalities introduced by indigenous thought served as the basis for the envisioning of alternative forms of regional citizenship and social policy expansion. I use the framework of 'policy ecologies' (Lea 2020) to contrast mainstream theories of social policy and welfare state development with accounts that recognize how political visions rooted in distinct temporalities shape social policy debates in the Andes.

5. Temporalities of Justice and the social life of judicial decisions: the case of trials of crimes against humanity in Argentina

Noa Vaisman, Aarhus University, Denmark

How are notions of time and temporality entangled in the production of justice? This question has been a constant in my ongoing project exploring judicial adjudications of crimes against humanity in Argentina. For close to two decades the crimes committed during the last civic-military dictatorship (1976-1983) have been investigated in the Argentine Federal Courts. They have resulted in 336 rulings and 1200 persons who have been found guilty of diverse crimes, including torture, assassination and forced disappearance. While this impressive judicial landscape is shaped by a strong need to contend with the past and its legacies the different temporalities it must contend with do not always sit well together. Here I explore three temporal forms and examine their various entanglements: first, the temporality of the process itself, a long and arduous path of investigation and the meting out of justice in various instances of the judicial system. Second, the temporal form of impunity (and accountability) and its impact on both individual victims and Argentine society more broadly. Third, the temporality of lived time, that of the victims but also of the perpetrators, all of whom have grown older or have died in the process of justice making. Examining the trials through the lens of these three temporal forms may shed light on the notion of justice and more specifically on the social life of judicial decisions.

VIC 9. Temporalities of social and cultural change and shifting horizons of justice in Latin America - 2

Session co-organizers: Martyn Wemyss (Goldsmiths University, London) & Jonathan Alderman (University of St Andrews). Chair: Jonathan Alderman

This panel thinks through aspects of social change and shifting political, cultural and judicial horizons through an attention to temporality. Taking temporality variously as an object of analysis and as a mode of attending to forms of cultural, social and judicial transformation, this panel asks how differently positioned actors mobilise notions and tropes of time; distinct temporal registers and ideas of epochal shifts to ground and inspire critique and transformation in the present as well as visions of the future. Thinking with temporal citation, repetition, disjuncture and circularity in the anthropocene, this panel

asks how an attention to time and temporality can enrich contemporary accounts of social, cultural, legal and political change. Thinking with and against notions of deep and mythic, messianic and modernist time, accelerating and recurring time, the everyday and the eternal, this panel gives critical attention to temporality as an aspect of both social transformation and stasis.

6. Both directions at once: temporality, Aymara historiography and neoliberal eschatology
Martyn Wemyss, Goldsmiths University, London

This paper takes as its point of departure two statements from Aymara interlocutors about political pasts and futures; one asserts that the European invaders brought the 'Neoliberal Republican system' to Bolivia in the 16th century. The other, referring to the New Political Constitution of the State of 2009, asserts a temporal break between the republican and plurinational states, arguing that the neoliberal republican system has been left behind. The paper reads these interventions as discourses which engage and imply a philosophy of history. The first implies a theory of Neoliberalism as an always-already present possibility awaiting activation within the original colonial formation, prompting us to rethink any teleological account of neoliberalism as a successive or 'late' form of developing capitalism, and forcing us to think of neoliberalism rather as a latent presence prefigured in colonialism and through the historical and ongoing formation of subjects, pushing us to rethink political time as geometric rather than processual. The second engages the philosophy of the event, and implies a qualitative rather than quantitative break in relation to political time, offering a theory of how subjects are formed in the light (or darkness) of political technologies such as constitutions. The paper draws together these situated indigenous critiques of liberal teleology with the theory of time implied by the concept of Pachkuti to construct an argument around the role of law in the making and unmaking of (post)colonial worlds, and to rethink analyses of neoliberalism through this prism.

7. The Reconquest of the Apus, and other Andean Temporalities: The Phenomenon of Internal Migration in Peru during the 20th century
Carlos Piccone-Camere, Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP)

This paper explores the multifaceted phenomenon of internal migration in Peru during the 20th century through the lens of Andean temporalities. Focusing on the concept of "reconquest of the Apus," which signifies the return to ancestral highland territories, the study delves into the complex motivations and implications of rural-to-urban migration. Drawing from historical, sociological, and anthropological perspectives, it examines the factors driving this migration, including economic opportunities, political changes, and cultural dynamics. Additionally, the paper considers the impact of internal migration on both sending and receiving communities, shedding light on the transformative effects on identity, social structures, and cultural practices. By elucidating the intricate interplay of time, space, and migration, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the historical and contemporary forces shaping Peru's diverse social landscape.

8. Congenital Syphilis prevention in Colombia: Multiple Trajectories and Temporalities
Ana Estrada-Jaramillo, University of Exeter, United Kingdom

Disease prevention, particularly Congenital Syphilis (CS) prevention, usually supposes a specific type of linear trajectory (teleological), goal-oriented activities and processes that aim for a specific type of control (the reduction of CS). The implementation of the Clinical Practice Guidelines (CPG) in Colombia for the prevention of CS implicates specific standards and expectations, as well as the coordination of activities. Instead, I argue that there is not only one temporality. Multiple practices enact multiple ontologies, and those also implicate multiple temporalities. Bringing data from research on Congenital Syphilis (CS) prevention in two regions of Colombia during Covid 19 pandemic, I argue that diverse trajectories and temporalities are enacted while providing care for pregnant women and recent

mothers. Multiple trajectories and temporalities are enacted while implementing the Clinical Practice Guidelines for the prevention of CS, and while pregnant women and recent mothers engage with diverse care assemblages: biomedicine, traditional medicine and traditional midwives, curanderismo, religion and online resources during their pregnancies, while giving birth and during the first months of their babies. Through online methodologies such as document analysis, interviews, Online Asynchronous Focus Groups (OAFG) and diaries with healthcare workers, administrators, pregnant women – recent mothers (Indigenous, Afro-descendants, Internally displaced and International Migrants), I unveil how multiple ontologies, diverse care assemblages and healing practices clash, cooperate and coordinate during prenatal care and while giving birth, configuring CS sometimes as neglected and further complicating CS prevention.

9. Making Injustices

Narmala Halstead, University College London

A friendly exchange with a co-customer in a city bank in Guyana somehow progressed to conversations on politics and problems. These people are so oppressed, I hear. I am startled and prompted to say ask if this is not a disservice to those being so described. As we chatted, she agreed that ordinary people from this ethnic group going about their everyday lives would not welcome this description. She then signalled a political narrative which needed no introduction in its past manifestation of politicised inter-ethnic divisions. This happenstance encounter in the bank returned my attention to a new-type circulation of hate-speech by certain political agitators amidst significant socio-political changes in the “fastest growing petrostate”. While my friendly conversationalist was speaking of blacks, the second largest majority in the country, such claims can encircle Indians, Amerindians and others, once someone ‘suits’ the cause of needing justice. The localised co-optation of victimhood claims parodies external political dilemmas of hate speech and violence. Such performances for injustice are part of a larger setting where the state, newly-oil rich, also draws in the external. Incomers include Europeans, Americans, Brazilians, Chinese as well as numerous Venezuelan refugees. The constructions of victims needing such representations also ignore active complaints practices in everyday settings where people are ready speak for themselves, with such speech-acts progressing to Twitter and other social media. However, political agitators are not targeting ‘ordinary people’, but those in power, so that making injustices is a needed political cause, as unable to deliver justice.

Urban issues, Planning & Urban development

URB 1. Approaches towards Dying and Death in Latin America

Session organizer & chair: Christien Klaufus (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Death has been a recurring topic in Latin America studies for its prominence in studies of social inequality, violence and conflict, and as a cultural lens onto spiritual beliefs, healthcare and the well-known Day of the Dead celebrations. Yet death studies as a comprehensive field of study are still in their infancy within Latin America scholarship. This panel aims to showcase various approaches towards dying and death in a Latin American context to offer a more comprehensive view of end-of-life care, mortuary practices and death spaces across the region. In this panel we aim to understand the contingent temporalities and spatialities of dying and death. We question the politics of end-of-life and deathcare as well as the ontologies of the afterlife. The papers in this panel specifically unravel the changing landscape of dying by looking at palliative care activism; the role of religious associations in safeguarding migrants’ mortuary practices; and the ambiguous position of transnational migrants in local deathscapes.

1. Morir en comunidad: la "Corea recordada" y el rol de las asociaciones religiosas en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Celeste Castiglione, CONICET - Universidad Nacional de José C. Paz, Argentina

La comunidad coreana atravesó desde su llegada, hace más de 60 años, distintas instancias de organización para acompañar el momento de la muerte en donde la comunidad religiosa tuvo un rol protagónico. El fallecimiento de un connacional en el contexto migratorio posee fases de complejidad que se relacionan, en un primer lugar, con el motivo y el lugar en la sociedad de destino. A esa situación se suman los discursos médicos, policiales, burocráticos e institucionales que se condensan en ese evento. La segunda variable, que se articula con la anterior, se relaciona con el tiempo que esa comunidad posee en el territorio y el capital cultural, económico y social, que ha podido reunir a lo largo de los años, con el objetivo de reunir los saberes simbólicos y materiales que disminuyan las dificultades y habiliten los medios para facilitar el proceso (vigilia del difunto, misa exequial, rito de sepelio y duelo). Consideramos que los símbolos y rituales, se constituyen como instancias del orden de lo religioso, pero también de apropiaciones civiles de consolidación de identidades nacionales. Asimismo, la iglesia como espacio performático le suma la legitimidad del poder de la salvación y el papel pedagógico que asume para las generaciones futuras. A fin de profundizar en los matices que las prácticas mortuorias poseen para las iglesias y de lo funerario como objeto privilegiado de las representaciones colectivas, se llevaron a cabo entrevistas en profundidad desde 2017 hasta el presente, incluyendo el impacto de la Crisis del COVID-19.

2. Sensationism and solidarity: The role of digital support systems in remote death and repatriation to Cuenca, Ecuador

Christien Klaufus, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

When Ecuadorian migrants die abroad - during the journey or when living in the country of destination - state support to help locate the body, establish the cause of death, and repatriate the body is often lacking or deficient. In the early twentieth century, deathcare for the poor in Latin America was often provided by asociaciones de ayuda mútua, solidarity communities. Nowadays, mourners tend to solicit community support on social media, using local (tabloid) press offices to broadcast their story of emotional and financial loss, meanwhile soliciting money for the repatriation on platforms such as GoFundMe. This paper addresses the paradoxical mix of sensationalist exposure and silenced taboos that characterizes these solidary requests. Notwithstanding an overall sense of shame that next-of-kin experience, due to the broken migration dream and its enormous financial consequences, and regardless of their psychological-emotional struggle with loss and grief they sacrifice their privacy in order to bring the bodily remains "back home" and offer the deceased a dignified final destination. Based on fieldwork in Cuenca, Ecuador in 2023, my analysis of dozens of sensationalist mediatized stories delves into the politics of deathcare as well as into new forms of solidarity and resilience.

3. Societal shifts in dying and end of life care: Potentiality and commitment in Palliative Care Activism in Brazil

Natashe Lemos Dekker, University of Amsterdam

In this paper I address the changing cultural landscape of dying and end-of-life care in Brazil. Palliative care has been developing rapidly in Brazil as a new paradigm of end-of-life care, which is being spearheaded by health care professionals who have organized themselves as 'PaliAtivistas' — a subject position that combines activism and a professional commitment to changing how care is provided for chronically ill and dying patients. Based on ongoing ethnographic research in palliative care centers in Brazil, I show that these professionals strive to establish a form of continuous care for those who do not qualify for curative treatment in the biomedical system. I demonstrate the work they put into achieving this envisioned societal change, to develop care infrastructures, to acquire resources and public

attention, and to put palliative care on the political agenda at local and national levels, tying into a momentum of political change in Brazil. I elaborate in particular on the potentiality, future orientations, and creative approaches that enable palliative care advocates to overcome societal resistance to change and to propel the gradual integration of palliative care into the culture of death and dying in Brazil.

4. Comparing the Search for the Disappeared: Chile and Colombia

Shauna Gillooly, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, Chile

This article compares the search for the disappeared in Chile and Colombia. These countries have adopted distinct approaches in addressing the issue of forced disappearances. In Chile, the search for the disappeared has been characterized by a less-than comprehensive and transparent process. In fact, only 50 years after the dictatorship was an official search for the disappeared declared in the country. On the other hand, despite an ongoing and protracted struggle, the Colombian search for the disappeared has been marked by supposedly more institutional support in the country. But in both contexts, human rights organizations and civil society have been central in pushing the search for the disappeared forward, almost always led by the family members of those left behind. This article analyzes the similarities and differences between these two processes, examining the role of transitional justice mechanisms, civil society, and governmental initiatives and institutional support in addressing the search for the disappeared.

URB 2. The Emancipatory Possibilities of Infrastructure: designs for justice in Latin America

Session co-organizers & chairs: Jessica Hope (University of St Andrews, Scotland) & Murat Arsel (The International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Infrastructure remains one of geography's most exciting debates, providing an entry point to understanding the making of social worlds (for example with a focus on citizenship (Lemanski, 2020), politics (Amin, 2014), cities (McFarlane & Rutherford, 2008; Silver, 2015; Apostolopoulou, 2021) and development (Arsel et al. 2021). More recently these debates have been extended to question how infrastructure remakes socio-environmental worlds, through political ecology (Enns & Bersaglio, 2020; Hope, 2023, 2022) and environmental geography (Hope & Arsel, 2023; Barua, 2021). As well as revealing the ways that infrastructure co-constitutes power, norms and knowledges, researchers have drawn our attention to moments where infrastructure sparks experimentation (Alderman and Goodwin, 2022) and offers possibilities for emancipation and transformation (Graham & Marvin, 2002; Enns & Bersaglio, 2020; Hope, 2023; Werner, 2023). In this time of climate change, this dynamic of infrastructure offers us a moment of possibility, as one route to redesigning, re-making, and re-organising our worlds. In this session, we discuss papers that focus critical thinking on advancing our understanding of emancipatory infrastructures in Latin America, setting out the theoretical frameworks, methods and partnerships needed to identify, strengthen and build the infrastructures needed for transformation in response to climate change.

1. Paving the way to extractivism? Roads, environmental conflicts and emancipatory infrastructures in the Ecuadorian Amazon

Murat Arsel, The International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University Rotterdam

With the 'turn to the left' in Latin America starting in early 2000s, two contradictory dynamics came to dominate the region's development politics and policy making. On the one hand, there emerged a putatively radical post-neoliberal agenda, which not only questioned the primacy of economic growth but also sought to guarantee the reproduction of ecological as well cultural dynamics characterising the Amazon. On the other, an 'extractive imperative' was put in place where natural resource extraction

not only intensified but also expanded into new territories and resources. While the former has failed to produce substantive changes (beyond the popularization of the concept of 'buen vivir'), the latter has engendered waves of conflicts between the state and marginalised (indigenous) communities. By arguing that infrastructure projects were instrumental both to states' promises of emancipatory development and the deepening of extractive economic processes, this paper critically interrogates the dominant narrative of environmental conflicts in the Amazon, which often reduces them to a clash between extractivist states and conservationist communities. It does so by discussing the case of alluvial gold mining within the territories of indigenous communities of Tena in the Ecuadorian Amazon.

2. Peripheral cycling networks and mobility justice in the Valley of Mexico: heterogeneous territories and contested scales of infrastructural emancipation

Thomas van Laake, University of Manchester, UK

Though imbued with promise of future sustainable and inclusive mobilities, the promotion of cycling is not inherently emancipatory (Davidson, 2021). Critical studies of cycling infrastructures have highlighted their unequal 'topographies of provision' (Cox, 2020, p. 17), which fail to serve low income populations, advance along the frontier of gentrification, or prioritise the flow of commuters over care journeys. In Mexico City, infrastructural improvements for cycling have followed a similar pattern, privileging the wealthy metropolitan core over marginalized peripheral areas where cycling rates have historically been highest (Becerril & Suárez-Meaney, 2014; Sosa López, 2021). Seeking to address equity concerns, the municipal government of Claudia Sheinbaum (2018-2024) has sought to develop 'peripheral networks' and 'regional connections', including metropolitan links. In scaling up and expanding infrastructural provision for cycling, however, planners confront the distinct socio-material formations of the urban periphery. Drawing on qualitative research on cycling infrastructure policy in the vast and unequal metropolitan region of Mexico City, this paper develops a geographical analysis of the scales, spaces, and emancipatory potentials of mobility transitions. Through the lens of state-led cycling promotion efforts in the metropolitan periphery, the potential for just urban transformations through infrastructural reconfiguration is brought into question. As strategies of cycling infrastructure provision circulate globally and are expanded locally, cases in the Valley of Mexico suggest that attention to the interfacing of infrastructure's heterogeneous socio-materialities with political economies of urbanisation will be critical to conceptualising and achieving pathways to inclusive and sustainable mobility futures.

3. From urban repair to reparative urbanism: exploring the emancipatory possibilities of infrastructure in Mexico City

Alejandro De Coss, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, UK

This presentation explores whether and how processes of infrastructure repair can become emancipatory. It does so by thinking with practices and processes of repair in the Mexico City water supply network, and in particular those carried out by workers at SACMEX, the public utility in charge of water supply and sanitation in the city. Drawing on ethnographic research within SACMEX, and in conversation with contemporary literature that theorises the role of repair in sustaining socio-environmental relations, configurations and processes, the presentation argues that, in the interstices created by broken down infrastructures, repair practices can prefigure logics of more just and sustainable socio-environmental futures. Departing from this point, the presentation explores how these situated and practices and socio-material fixes can be used to rethink infrastructures, proposing a conceptual and political move that goes from repair to reparation, where the latter is used to think about the infrastructural politics and processes that can address centuries of colonial/capitalist exploitation, extraction and disinvestment. Problematising SACMEX's public nature, the presentation delves into the question of how state power is produced through infrastructure, and asks what forms of socio-environmental organisation would emancipatory infrastructures entail.

4. Framing Emancipatory Infrastructures for Sustainability

Jessica Hope, University of St Andrews

This paper advances a theoretical framework for researching emancipatory infrastructures for environmental sustainability, combining urban geographical treatments of infrastructure (Apostolopoulou, 2021; Silver, 2021; Lemanski, 2020; Amin, 2014; Larkin, 2013; Harvey & Knox, 2012) with work on post-extractive, pluriversal territorial politics (Escobar, 2020; Oslender, 2016; Svampa, 2015; Blaser, 2009). With an empirical focus on road building across rural Amazonia, this paper asks whether and how we can investigate transport infrastructures as emancipatory, with attention to dynamics of capitalism, knowledge production and environmental resistance.

5. Homescapes, water, and potentiality: Everyday domestic infrastructures in San Andrés, Colombia

Tatiana Acevedo-Guerrero, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

Urban studies have called for theorization that takes seriously the actually existing contexts and practices shaping southern cities. They have shown how low-income residents transform, appropriate and co-construct infrastructure and inhabit the southern city through alternative markets and spaces in which housing is precarious but affordable. These processes of urbanization are dynamic and transformative. Similarly, political ecology has focused on the global south, attending to the interdependences between the ecological and the urban in the production of uneven geographies. Building on a range of experiences, in Latin America these studies have informed theory on how 'urban environments are shaped, politicized and contested'. These groups of literature tackle historical difference in cities and highlight the 'intimate textures' of everyday life, analyzing social and material routines at the city and neighborhood levels. The everyday is understood as a site of change against different forms of domination, exclusion, marginalization, and vulnerability. This question of change, has, in turn, become increasingly central to debates on how cities will adapt to the challenges raised by increasing inequality and a changing climate. Making calls for 'just' futures urban studies put infrastructure at the heart of possible processes of change. By focusing on the case of San Andrés, a city in the Colombian Caribbean, this paper casts a spotlight on the domestic scale as a critical, yet overlooked, vantage point for understanding urban infrastructure and everyday socio-ecological relations. The homescape is not only a produced place in which interdependent social, material and ecological processes unfold, but is also a dynamic place of potentiality.

URB 3. In/Justice in Sports in Latin America

Session organizer: Matthew Brown (University of Bristol, UK)

This panel welcomes researchers from a range of disciplines (ethnography to media studies, history to socio-legal studies, and beyond) to discuss questions relating to in/justice in sports in Latin America. The conveners encourage papers on any sports (from football to capoeira, swimming to tejo) and any aspects of in/justice (from racial discrimination in media coverage to corruption in international governance, from record-keeping and foul play through to gendered norms and practices).

1. Swimming against the current. The case of Lilian Harrison, endurance swimmer: Uruguay-Argentina (1923) and France-England (1924-25)

Matthew Brown, University of Bristol

In this paper we present the findings of our research on the 1920s endurance swimmer Lilian Harrison. We articulate the factors that enabled her to become a competitive swimmer (educational, economic,

social, domestic, political) and the obstacles that she overcame. We then analyse the media coverage of her successes and disappointments as a transnational sportstar in a growing age of press interest in some women's sports.

2. Brazilian Journalism and the 2023 FIFA Women's World Cup

Júlia Belas Trindade, University of Bristol

The 2023 FIFA Women's World Cup broke records for the women's game worldwide. Many Brazilians followed the international tournament through the eyes of journalists from the official broadcasters, TV Globo and Cazé TV, as well as TVs, newspapers, radios, independent news websites, and social media content creators. Brazil had one of the largest teams of journalists covering the World Cup, most of whom were women. However, the social media aspect of this World Cup saw different relationships between journalists and players and between the journalists themselves. In this paper, I will present some of my observations of the relationship between journalism and the women's game, from my own observations working as a journalist and researcher during the tournament in Australia. This paper is part of my methodology and analyses the Brazilian sports media, its processes and biases when dealing with the women's game. It is part of my PhD research, where I aim to understand how players of different backgrounds perceive the media portrait of their histories and careers. These observations are fundamental for us to understand who is telling these stories, what are their motivations and how does this relationship happen on a day-to-day basis during a major event.

3. "¡Nuestra raza está de fiesta!": Football, Race and Uruguayan Identity at the 1928 Olympic Football Tournament

Will Huddleston, University of Cambridge

This paper explores the intersection of football, race, and national identity at a pivotal moment in Uruguayan history. In the first decades of the 20th century, profound social, political, demographic, and economic changes altered the way Uruguayans thought about their nation. In particular, the previous assumptions around Uruguay's ethnic composition – that it was “populated by the white race, totally of European origin” (Andrews, 2010: 3) – were challenged, as the historically marginalised afro-Uruguayan community made increasingly bold calls for the expansion of social and political rights, and recognition of their contribution to the nation-at-large. One vital arena for these claims was football, where black Uruguayans excelled in an era of unprecedented success for the national team. An ideal case-study to examine football's role in reconfiguring Uruguayan ethnic identity is found in the vibrant afro-Uruguayan publishing industry which had offered dissenting voices against exclusion since the 1870s. One such voice was *La Vanguardia*, a biweekly newspaper intended as an “órgano defensor de los intereses de la raza negra”. Although it survived only one year, the pamphlet's print-run coincided with a landmark moment of Uruguayidad: the victory in the 1928 Olympic Football Tournament in Amsterdam. *La Vanguardia*'s extensive coverage of the competition – especially the afro-Uruguayan players Juan Píriz and José Leandro Andrade – represents a unique opportunity to analyse the strategies by which black Uruguayans negotiated belonging to an often-hostile national community, as well as the capacity of sporting media to construct and recreate a range of personal and social identities.

4. Participant Ethnographic Research with Women Footballers in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro

Emma Frazer, University of Bristol

Research has emerged in the last five years from Ayelén Pujol, David Wood, Aira Bonfim, Brenda Elsey and Joshua Nadel, amongst others, demonstrating how across Latin America, women's football was discouraged, restricted and even prohibited at state level, with the explicit aim of preventing women from playing, while the men's game was encouraged, flourished, and even became representative of the national identity. The inequalities are still very much felt today with women having to overcome

gendered expectations to play, facing stigma, and receiving far less structural support, not to mention financial remuneration. So why do women continue to play football? What impact does football have on their lives? And how does playing football empower them off the pitch? I just spent eight months conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro to explore these questions in the heart of two so-called great footballing nations, who each saw their women's team get eliminated at the group stages of the 2023 World Cup. I played football with thirteen different women's teams, conducted two dozen interviews and had more than 200 players complete my questionnaire, using the methodological framework of Grounded Theory to code my data and generate theory. Through being able to speak Spanish and Portuguese, and, crucially, by playing football with the women, I was able to achieve a special level of access and familiarity with players. In turn, I hope to communicate their experiences to a wider audience in a way that rings true to the players themselves.

URB 4. Rethinking urban participation in Latin American cities - 1

Session organizer & chair: Sam Halvorsen (Queen Mary University London)

In times of disenchantment with democracy and declining liberal freedoms around the world, political participation has become particularly significant. Since the third wave of democratization, Latin American cities, especially in the Southern Cone, have been innovative in furthering democracy (Baiocchi, 2005; Goldfrank, 2011), either by building participatory institutions or through social protest (Pearce, 2010). Yet Latin American cities are highly unequal, characterized by exclusion and marginality, casting a shadow over the legitimacy of contemporary democracy. This session aims to re-assess the value of participation for unequal democracies by considering case studies from Latin American cities. We welcome papers that respond to these or related questions:

- (a) How does urban inequality shape participation?
- (b) What innovations are driving institutional participation in contemporary Latin American cities?
- (c) To what extent do Latin American cities present similar characteristics of political participation?

1. Forced Displacement, Protests, and Participation: Reflections from Bogotá

Karen Schouw Iversen, Queen Mary University of London, United Kingdom

Over the past 30 years, Latin American cities have seen a proliferation of participatory initiatives and spaces (Lupien, 2015; Alvarez et al., 2017; Koch and Sánchez Steiner, 2017). These initiatives often exhibit an ambiguous relationship with protests; while some argue that they constitute an attempt at 'social movement absorption,' (Paschel, 2016, p. 155), curtailing protests and more 'unruly' action, others have detailed how civil society organisations in the region engage simultaneously in formal participatory spaces and 'confrontational collective action' (Alvarez, 2017). This paper examines this ambiguous relationship with reference to participatory spaces set up for internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Bogotá. In Bogotá, IDPs displaced within the context of Colombia's civil war have been invited to take part in participatory councils since 1998 (Osorio Pérez, 2007). Interestingly, this formal participation has taken place alongside a strong history of public protests by the displaced, including the occupation of public spaces and buildings (Olarte Olarte and Wall, 2012). Drawing on fieldwork in the city between 2017-2018, this paper theorises the political ambiguities of invited participatory spaces for IDPs, arguing for the need to explore the connections between participation happening within these spaces, and 'confrontational collective action' taking place in the streets. In doing so, it highlights the latent potential for political change that these spaces embody.

2. Workplaces as spaces of political participation. Agroecological initiatives by social and popular economy movements in Argentina
Emilia Arpini, University of Glasgow

The presentation is based on my doctoral research, which analyses the creation of workplaces by social and popular economy movements in Argentina that recover abandoned and unused urban public lands, with varying degrees of state involvement at the local and national level. In these workplaces, participants employ agroecological methods to grow food and native plants, making these initiatives appealing case studies to understand the intersection between socio-environmental oriented activism and new labour movements beyond the conventional, formal economy sector. Drawing on interviews and participant observations carried out at two workplaces in Buenos Aires and Entre Ríos, driven by participants from the Popular Economy Workers' Union (UTEP) and the Land Workers' Union (UTT), I analyse the motives that influence participants' entry into and commitment to the initiatives. I suggest an understanding these spaces as places of political participation, considering how participants assign meanings to their labour practices. Overall, I propose a situated way of studying social and popular economy initiatives, highlighting their political features, in contrast to macro-perspectives in the literature that tend to understand them globally, either idealising the sector and negatively categorising cases that do not adjust to preconceived ideals, or concentrating on their negative features in contrast to the conventional capitalist sector.

3. Uneven participation in the City of Buenos Aires
Sam Halvorsen, Queen Mary University London (speaker), Rocío Annunziata, CONICET-UNSAM-UBA, Argentina & Sebastián Mauro, CONICET-UBA, Argentina (co-authors)

How do socio-territorial inequalities affect the repertoires and motivations of political participation? Based on a qualitative fieldwork conducted in the poorest and the richest neighborhoods of Buenos Aires, we identified two patterns. In the poorest neighborhood, participation is linked to contentious repertoires and collective organizations, aiming to achieve basic goods such as a new hospital. In contrast, participation in the richest neighborhood is predominantly institutionalized, collective organizations are uncommon, and it is motivated by the search for urban space improvement. We conclude that participatory patterns in strong unequal cities tend to reproduce rather than attenuate the uneven exercise of citizenship.

4. Shaping Urbanisms: collective action and artistic practices in urban emerging contexts
Camilo Escobar-Pazos, King's College London, UK

Contradictions and disparities enclose Latin American urban spaces. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify new strategies for contesting, social struggle, and survival of those who remain in inequality and without the right to the city (Reguillo & Godoy, 2005, p. 17). Amidst such vicissitudes, contemporary artistic and cultural practices have played a crucial role in mobilising and redistributing resources amongst the diverse social actors they summon in the public spaces. In Colombia, since the proclamation of the 1991 Political Constitution, artists and social movements have inserted in urban fields different from the artistic. This paper examines how the articulation of such practices in projects such as 'Cultus' (Ludmilla Ferrari) and 'Echando Láviz' (Manuel Santana) have shaped and amplified the public dimension of spaces, not only tangibly but in the relationships that communities establish with themselves. Such projects, I argue, generate alternative spatialities. Micro-spatial transformations that do not constitute derivations or abstract representations of the social order but, on the contrary, are integral to the spatialised social order. Moreover, this paper discusses the empowerment of emergent subjects in different territories, the attainment of cultural rights, the collective appropriation of spaces in the city, and other forms of articulation constructed to defend their causes.

5. Participation, models of representation and territorial inequalities in decentralization processes in Montevideo

Martin Freigedo, Universidad de la República, Uruguay

How do territorial inequalities impact on electoral processes which follow different political representation objectives? This article compares two decentralization electoral instruments of citizen participation in the city of Montevideo: the election of Neighborhood Councils (composed by nonpartisan citizens elected by their fellow neighbors) and the election of Municipal Governments (with candidates presented through political parties). From a theoretical point of view, the article contributes to the understanding of how territorial inequalities affect participation and representation at the local level. Our hypothesis is that different socioeconomic levels among territories have a greater effect in terms of participation in elections in which political parties are involved than in neighborhood elections.

URB 4. Rethinking urban participation in Latin American cities - 2

Session organizer & chair: Sam Halvorsen (Queen Mary University London)

In times of disenchantment with democracy and declining liberal freedoms around the world, political participation has become particularly significant. Since the third wave of democratization, Latin American cities, especially in the Southern Cone, have been innovative in furthering democracy (Baiocchi, 2005; Goldfrank, 2011), either by building participatory institutions or through social protest (Pearce, 2010). Yet Latin American cities are highly unequal, characterized by exclusion and marginality, casting a shadow over the legitimacy of contemporary democracy. This session aims to re-assess the value of participation for unequal democracies by considering case studies from Latin American cities. We welcome papers that respond to these or related questions:

- (a) How does urban inequality shape participation?
- (b) What innovations are driving institutional participation in contemporary Latin American cities?
- (c) To what extent do Latin American cities present similar characteristics of political participation?

6. Territorial Assemblies and radical democratic politics in the Chilean Student Movement: (re) politicisation within a neoliberal post-authoritarian society

Ivette Hernandez Santibanez, University of Manchester, UK

What characterises (re) politicisation within radical democratic politics within post-authoritarian neoliberal democratic societies? This question is addressed by analysing the experience of territorial assemblies as 'convergence spaces' in the 2011 Chilean student movement. Convergence spaces are associated with the constructive process of collective identity in the Chilean student movement. In 2011, this identity politics engaged with the production of territorial assemblies as bottom-up experiences of radical democratic politics, engaging with politics of active alliance and solidarity, which, too, reasserted the Chilean student movement's demand for free education in spatial rather than temporal terms. This spatiality of politics connects therefore with the possibility of expanding the horizons of the movement's collective action through reimagining a collective vision with others and with a rhizomatic growth of radical democratic politics. Over the last decade, this rhizomatic egalitarian politics has shed light on understanding both the transformation of the character of politics in a society regarded as the first laboratory of neoliberalism and the potentiality of the demand for education to be a right, not a privilege, to become a question of resonance to mark out the possibility of rupturing the hegemony of neoliberalism in Chile as a policy, governmentality and ideology.

7. Levelling mapeamento critico: Counter-mapping as an everyday practice in Latin America
Helton Levy, London Metropolitan University

Counter-mapping has been broadly conceived as the reassessment of geographical and social settings or parameters as a means to promote social and environmental justice (Ellen, 2020; Sletto et al., 2020). In Latin America, counter-mapping has proved pivotal for shedding light on re-interpreting geographical data on the grounds of persisting inequality (Vieten & Valentine, 2016; Levy, 2018; Boatca, 2022). On the environmental front, counter-maps have allowed re-evaluation of areas according to the exploitation of natural resources (Kidd, 2019). Counter-mapping has also served peripheral urban populations and indigenous demarcations (Molett, 2013). To address urban racial or gender boundaries associated with violated rights or to protest unacceptable levels of violence (Huezo & Oslender, 2022; Garzón-Galvis & Manning, 2023), practitioners have found multiple methods and occasions that have created momentum. This paper presents research conducted to harmonise existing literature on successful counter-mapping initiatives in the region. By prioritising the role of media and technological literacy in these cases, this research gathers best practices that have given practitioners the conditions to promote awareness and institutional oversight and improve the sharing of methods that point to counter-mapping as an everyday practice. The idea is that by making a range of cases, skills, and data more accessible, one eases the understanding of counter-mapping as a simplified way of mobilising societal organisation, social movements, and individuals.

8. Citizen Mobilisation in Guatemala: Contrasting Dynamics of Protests in 2015 and 2023
Ana Lucía Pelaez Echeverría, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

Since Guatemala's "return to democracy" in 1985, the nation's political landscape has witnessed numerous upheavals, with citizens often playing the role of passive spectators. However, two pivotal events in 2010 marked a turning point in the citizen-government relationship. The first was the 2015 demonstrations that unfolded in the capital and urban areas, culminating in the resignation of President Otto Pérez Molina and Vice President Roxana Baldetti. The second is the ongoing 2023 protests led by indigenous authorities, demanding the resignation of government officials implicated in electoral improprieties. This presentation explores the primary distinctions between the 2015 and 2023 protests and extract insights into the dynamics of contemporary social movements in Guatemala. Through a comparative analysis, we explore how the protests reflect evolving citizen-government interactions and what lessons they offer for understanding the complexities of these movements. By scrutinizing these variations, we can discern how perceptions of deprivation and psychological ossification processes have influenced the efficacy of spontaneous social movements. Furthermore, the study delves into the consequences of these dynamics, particularly the fragmentation of social groups, which has been identified as a detrimental factor affecting the success of these movements. Ultimately, this presentation contributes to a deeper understanding of the intricate interplay between citizens and the government in Guatemala's contemporary political landscape.

9. Getting a seat at the table as women: the politics of grassroots peace building in rural Montes de María, Colombia
France Hubert, Université libre de Bruxelles

The Final Peace Agreement signed between the Colombian Government and the FARC-EP has been vastly acclaimed for its transversal gender perspective, a measure propelled by civil society feminist and women's organisations. It promotes women's participation in the implementation phase of the Agreement and some of its measures encourage women empowerment and leadership (Álvarez-Vanegas and Marín Carvajal, 2019). It includes another innovative idea: "territorial peace" which encourages citizens, including the most marginalised ones, to contribute to shaping a new social contract (Vélez Torres et al., 2022). The renegotiation of socio-political roles may become more open in

“post-conflict” times, making the transition period an opportune time for structural change (Porter, 2016). However, women willing to reach the participative spaces in marginalised territories are likely to face extra barriers for being women (Zulver, 2021). Gendered hierarchies in peasant society and the male bias of rural public policies hinder their civil rights and their reparations (Meertens, 2018). Based on a field research conducted in January and February 2022 in the Montes de María region, I propose to discuss the politics of grassroots peace building and to analyse how peasant women struggle and organise in order to participate in peace and development initiatives. I argue that their presence and ideas often have to be strategically negotiated due to their hostile environment. The strategies they deploy to counter those obstacles show how marginalised women use creativity and ingenuity in order to have a bearing on grassroots peace movements.

URB 5. Urban Enclaves and Ideologies

Session organizer: Isabelle Mollinger (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Chair: Jolien van Veen. Discussant: Graham Denyer Willis (University of Cambridge)

Latin American cities are defined by social segregation and fragmentation, translating into the development of urban enclaves. While literature on Latin America mostly focuses on urban enclaves as privately securitized, ‘elite’ gated communities, this notion can also be extended beyond the so-called fortified condominiums to cities’ most marginalized parts, often protected by groups that violently impose rules and order. In both types of urban spaces, the rules of engagement are based on certain ideologies and beliefs that dictate what is right or wrong, what is safe and what is not, and who is in- or outside of the protected sphere. This panel explores how these ordering ideologies are constructed and contested, but also how different groups of citizens coexist within different belief systems. With contributions varying in focus from religion, to resilience, to migration in cases across Latin America, we aim to further knowledge on the dynamics of separation and inclusion in the segregated city and expand the understanding of processes of urban enclavization.

1. Between Punishment, Protection and Redemption: Security and Religion in the Suburbs of Rio de Janeiro

Jolien van Veen, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

This paper focusses on the everyday experiences of security provision in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Media accounts by popular newspapers often frame neighborhoods in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro as dangerous, unsafe places controlled by illegal networks of drug traffickers and paramilitaries. Security is supposedly restored through repressive police interventions aimed at arresting and killing the suspected criminals. As such, security provision is primarily considered a responsibility of the Brazilian state. Previous research in the field of security and urban governance, however, has shown that security provision is much more pluralized and that religious actors are also involved in security networks in different ways. Through this paper, I aim to illustrate how religious actors operate in so-called insecure neighborhoods and how they position themselves vis-à-vis repressive police interventions and illegal networks. I do so by analyzing the material, spiritual, and psychological assistance offered to residents by an Evangelical church and an Afro-Brazilian center. I base my claims on data collected during 10 months of ethnographic fieldwork in a group of neighborhoods in the north of Rio de Janeiro. It follows from this research that to understand the complexities of security provision in urban peripheries we need to take religious communities and their everyday practices into account. Contrary to what has been argued by others, religious communities do not simply serve as “sanctuaries” for people seeking to remove themselves from violence but are also actively involved in (re)shaping ideas of punishment, protection and redemption.

2. Dream-gated-scapes. Securitarian anxieties and social aspirations in Guatemala City

Paolo Grassi, University of Milano Bicocca, Italy

Ethnographic research in Latin America has often focused on the securitarian anxieties of urban elites and the resulting forms of self-segregation. With my paper, I would instead like to show how, at least in Guatemala City, the desire for self-segregation has spread across the board, marking the aspirations of rich and poor alike. This reflection, without certainly denying the structural, political, symbolic and social violence that affects the most marginalized groups in the largest Central American city, but rather re-considering it, wants in some way to try to account for the agency exercised by them nonetheless. Through an ethnography conducted between 2010 and 2013 using participatory methodologies, I will show how the securitarian anxiety claimed from below makes explicit a refusal against violence and a claim that makes use of the only publicly recognized architectural grammar in the city: the hegemonic one, aimed at privatizing, girdling and controlling public space.

3. Generations of migration. Bordering, ordering and differential inclusion in Moravia, Medellin

Isabelle Mollinger, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This paper discusses differential inclusion of new-comer migrants in Moravia, an inner-urban self-help enclave in Medellín. Moravia has historically been formed by different groups of migrants. The pioneers were Colombians from the rural and coastal areas of the country, internally displaced by violence during the armed conflict and seeking refuge and a livelihood in the city. Many ended up at what was then the principal land fill of Medellín, which functioned as a resource for the settlers until its closure in 1984. Moravia evolved into an informal neighborhood with a strong social fabric and a well-organized group of community leaders that have forged ties with strategic agents to improve and consolidate the neighborhood to what it is today. Moravia is still an attractive place for new-comer migrants – now increasingly from Venezuela. Its location in the center of Medellín and its proximity to different means of public transport make it easy to reach; its illicit land-market and informal economy provide opportunities for those who arrive undocumented and with little resources. Whereas Venezuelan refugees were first welcomed as a *pueblo hermano*, tensions between new-comers and long-time inhabitants are now rising because of the pressure that the pandemic and the devastations of the 2021 protests have put on the already precarious socio-economic circumstances in the neighborhood. How do Venezuelan migrants negotiate the rules of engagement within Moravia's social fabric and which competing ideologies can be identified within this network of different generations of migration?

4. Resisting through remembering the past: a conceptual work on collective memory and urban resilience in Medellín, Colombia

Sebastian Ritschard, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

This paper explores the possible conceptual connections between collective memory and urban resilience against violence in Medellín, Colombia. During the last decade, collective memory and the truth about the violent past have become common in the efforts for peacebuilding in Colombia. Many communities and institutions have participated in the process of generating new narratives about the past to close wounds and build a peaceful future. Memory, in this sense, is not simply a narrative shared by a community, but an essential part of identity that mobilizes moral and political projects that have an impact in the spaces of a city. These have been more prominent in the *comunas* of Medellín that have dealt with strong periods of violence, in which practices of memory such as graffiti, theater, and cultural events have become a form to resist the violent order and symbols established by armed actors. These practices can be comprehended under the scope of urban resilience as an example of the capacity that neighborhoods with a history of chronic violence have to cope, adapt, or transform the conditions and rules applied to their spaces. My intention in this paper is to conceptualize collective memory as a

possible practice of urban resilience and track its role in transforming the security and governance of the city of Medellín in the last decades. The reflections presented in this paper will be used as the conceptual base for proposing the methodologies required for future fieldwork activities.

URB 6. Urban peripheries in Latin America: Transformations, continuities and heterogeneities

Session organizer & chair: Matthew Aaron Richmond (Newcastle University, United Kingdom)

'Urban periphery' is a foundational category in Latin American social science. It is also a dynamic one that has been reworked over time. From detailed empirical studies in the 1950s, to debates around dependency and marginality in the 1960s, to the emergence of a distinctly urban theory in the 1970s, Latin American scholars explored what drove and characterised the mid-twentieth century proliferation of low-income peripheral neighbourhoods. In different ways, they understood this process as not solely an urban phenomenon, but as reflecting broader social, political and economic conditions and transformations. More recently, scholars have examined the transformations of peripheries in relation to diverse processes. Many have identified increasing social and spatial heterogeneity, with an expansion of public policies, infrastructure and social housing, and fragmentation, with the growth of exclusive residential and commercial spaces. However, others point out that traditional centre-periphery patterns of urban inequality persist in Latin American cities and that peripheries continue to be collectively marginalised in relation to central areas. As such, the label 'periphery' has been increasingly mobilised by social and cultural movements to contest persistent socio-spatial inequalities and injustices. This session will explore what has changed and what has not in Latin America's urban peripheries. Contributions will address: (1) historic and recent transformations in urban peripheries; (2) the changing ways scholars have understood peripheries over time; (3) the heterogeneity, and limits thereof, in peripheries today; (4) key contemporary processes across areas such as housing and infrastructure, public policies, civil society, security, and culture.

1. Sociospatial fragmentation and housing dispossession in the city of Mossoró, Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil

José Almada (speaker) & Pedro Antonio Marques Firmino, Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil & Luciana Mendes Barbosa, Lancaster University, UK (co-authors)

This article investigates the empirical dimension of "habitat" in Mossoró, Rio Grande do Norte/Brazil, middle-sized city in the Northeast Brazil, historically neglected by urban studies, focusing on housing production, consumption, and dispossession in peripheral areas of the city. The aim is to investigate logics underlying the process of sociospatial fragmentation and dispossession by examining the co-constitution of logics of land access and social housing production by state, the market, and city dwellers, and their intersection with forms of production, financialization and regulation of urban materialities. The analysis focuses on four peripheral areas of Mossoró: the Odete Rosado housing complex produced by the Minha Casa Minha Vida federal housing program; the Terra Prometida occupation, whose buildings were built on public land belonging to the Municipality of Mossoró; the Wilson Rosado occupation, built on land owned by the São Francisco Hydroelectric Company (CHESF); and the Belo Monte occupation, established on land belonging to the Federal Rural University of the Semi-Árido (UFERSA). This study adopts the analytical perspective of absolute, relative and relational space proposed by Harvey (1993) which seeks to understand the aspects of the fragmentary socio-spatial logic present in these areas of the city, through the spatial practices of the inhabitants based on the different contents and forms in which segregation manifests itself in Mossoró. To do so, we rely on ethnographic fieldwork undertaken between January and July 2023, document analysis and spatial analysis.

2. Socio-spatial inequality in the everyday life of ten peripherized girls
Manuela Ferreira Torres, University of Groningen, the Netherlands (speaker) & Ana Paula Baltazar dos Santos, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil (co-author)

This paper discusses socio-spatial inequality drawing from ethnographic multi-method interviews with ten girls that consider themselves adolescents (12 to 17 years old) in a favela in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. We explore their discourses in dialogue with marxist and feminist authors i.e. Virginia Fontes' understanding of the inclusion, not exclusion, of everyone within the capitalist mode of production. We stress the violence of this inclusion by exploitation of poor women, responsible for reproductive work. Building upon Helena Silvestre's questioning of Marx and Engels, locating alienation, mystification and fetishisation at the factory, by means of the work, we too bring forth girls' everyday socio-spatial praxis. As noted by Silvia Federici (2022), reproductive work is an unpaid domestic obligation attributed to women. The naturalization of this exploitation and of domestic violence, reinforced by capitalist forms of racism and sexism, is further discussed by Veronica Gago, who argued women contract debt and take up 'productive' jobs while keeping their 'reproductive' work, raising families. The combination affects their living environments, and caretaking responsibilities are passed on to daughters, interviewed, or other women. This paper explores how the interviewed girls are affected by and also affect their socio-spatial group, reproducing socio-spatial alienation and inequality.

3. Beyond El Barrio: Doing ethnography of geographic fragmentation in Latin America's urban peripheries
Elena Butti, Geneva Graduate Institute (IHEID), Switzerland

Ethnographic scholarship on the urban space has traditionally centered on the study of single city neighbourhoods, as evidenced by key works in urban ethnography, from White's *Street Corner Society* (1943) to Goffman's *On the Run* (2014). This narrow geographical focus, however, falls short in capturing the experiences of urban residents in the Global South, often marked by mobility and geographic fragmentation. This is particularly true in Latin America, where population movements like South-South migration, internal and intra-urban displacement have increased significantly in recent years, largely affecting the poorer sectors of the population. Consequently, the lived experience of the poorest residents of modern Latin American cities is highly fragmented, with individuals frequently moving between peripheral neighborhoods within the same city, across cities, and even across countries. Centering on a single neighbourhood may thus not be the most appropriate way to study the life experiences of these mobile residents. In this paper, I discuss two alternative approaches which I employed in my ethnographic research in the urban peripheries of Medellín, Colombia:

- 1) a life-trajectory approach, involving following a small number of individuals and visiting with them all the urban peripheries they have lived;
- 2) a dual-neighbourhood approach, involving simultaneously studying two peripheral neighbourhoods at different stages of their urban development

I explore the benefits and limits of these alternative approaches, emphasizing how they can contribute to showcasing the heterogeneity of the urban periphery, as well as support the conduct of safer research in contexts where spending extended periods in a single neighborhood may not be advisable.

4. Alliances for Co-production: Actors triggering peripheral urbanisation in Quito
Riccardo Porreca (speaker) & Michael Janoschka (co-author), Institute for Regional Science, Karlsruhe Institute of Technology, Germany

The co-production of peripheral urban habitat in Latin America is a wide-spread strategy facing an absent state and socio-spatial marginalisation. Local agreements between different urban actors trigger processes of peripheral urbanisation; however, the exact expressions are often unclear, and real impacts on urban transformation processes are overlooked. This paper offers an insightful analysis of the

variegated system of co-producers in a territory with ancestral roots in Quito. Based on desk research and extended field analysis, a nuanced discussion of alliances between citizens and traditional, as well as or non-conventional urban actors partaking in processes of co-production will be developed. Additionally, we aim at shedding light to the pivotal role they have for co-producing governance structures as well as urban habitat. In this vein, our methodological tools allow for (i) reshaping multifactorial frameworks of relationships, (ii) classifying relations by means of a novel analytical matrix, and (iii) drawing attention to the alliances that trigger the broadest impact, categorised by their potential regarding the co-production of peripheral urban habitat. Consequently, our research sheds light to the pivotal role of partnerships within the co-production of peripheral urbanisation, and it offers analysis of potential scenarios of novel collaborations developing cross-sectoral participative policies.

5. Food governance in Brazilian peripheries: infrastructures, discourses and networks shaping grassroots responses to the COVID-19 pandemic
Mara Nogueira, Birkbeck, University of London (speaker) & Aiko Amaral, King's College London, United Kingdom (co-author)

In the autoconstructed urban peripheries of Brazil, collective life is sustained through a combination of public and private, social and material infrastructures. In these areas, food distribution and access have historically relied on different modulations of “people as infrastructure”, involving small improvised shops, informal labour, and religious and social networks, that facilitate access to food. This paper highlights how differences across and within peripheral neighbourhoods help understand variations in food environments, collective responses to food insecurity and inequalities in food access amongst residents. We pay particular attention to bottom-up initiatives emerging in the urban peripheries of São Paulo and Belo Horizonte, which build on existing social infrastructures. The paper draws from qualitative data (food diaries, interviews and focus groups) collected over 8 months during the COVID-19 pandemic (2020-2021) and later field visits. We compare the experiences of three informal settlements across the two cities with different access to public infrastructures, levels of consolidation, location, and modes of social organising. In doing so, we demonstrate how social infrastructures emerging as a response to pandemic disruption are situated within different geographies of power and governance that affect discourses, networks, and what goals this sets them to follow in practice.

URB 7. Reconfiguring belonging: Food, work and migration

Chair: Vikki de Jong (KU Leuven, Belgium)

1. “La lucha diaria” – The lived experience of food insecurity by households in Havana, Cuba.
Vikki de Jong, KU Leuven, Belgium

Most studies looking into the relationship between food insecurity and political contestation focus on the outburst of violent ‘food riots’. The relationship, however, is not simply causal: political contestation sparked by food insecurity is often related to pre-existing grievances that are not about food and, furthermore, contestation does not necessarily turn violent. Theoretical and empirical contributions are needed to enhance our understanding of the relationship. Using a case study research design, this paper contributes to this aim by scrutinizing the lived experience of food insecurity, informed and shaped by cultural and social relations, (perceived) inequalities and injustices, as well as political structures, in Havana, Cuba. An ethnographic approach was adopted, resulting in 450 hours of participant observation and 20 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Cuban households of different socioeconomic positions. The data show that the lived experience of food insecurity generates political and social consequences beyond household scale. First, it exposes how in Havana the internalized political nature of food is increasingly feeding into feelings of political helplessness. Second, it shows

how perceptions and experiences of food insecurity are affecting Cuban identity and altering social relations in Cuban society. Thirdly, it reveals how inequality in food accessibility in Cuba is creating a two-tiered hybrid online-offline society, in which affluent Cubans predominantly use online platforms for their food provisioning, and Cubans with little resources move in physical spaces to purchase and access food. This paper suggests that these political-societal changes, informed by the lived experiences of food insecurity, influence pathways to political contestation.

2. *Internacionalizando el Nichismo: Space Reclamation and the Racial Politics of Taste in Venezuelan Diasporic Digital Culture.*

Francisco Llinas Casas, University of Edinburgh, UK

The influx of Venezuelan migrants into the US has grown significantly since the approval of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Venezuelans in 2021. Increasingly, Venezuelan migrants are being relocated to “Sanctuary Cities” such as New York. However, with humanitarian shelters at capacity, migrants are often found sleeping on the streets of New York, demanding better accommodation and their TPS to be granted. Social media representations of these newly-arrived Venezuelans have caught the attention of the Venezuelan community worldwide, generating online debates about their “distasteful” culture and “antisocial” behaviour. While the available literature on the Venezuelan migration crisis addresses migrants’ experience of violence and xenophobia (Irons, 2022; Prado et al., 2021), little attention has been paid to internal divisions in the Venezuelan community and the associated processes of identity construction and space reclamation. Drawing on Aguiló’s (2020) examination of Amerindian kitsch, and Taylor’s (2003) work on performance, this article analyses digital representations of Venezuelans in New York City, paying particular attention to the phenomenon of Venezuelan motorcycle riders and the rise to prominence of social media user “Leito Oficial.” I argue that these representations rearticulate poor Venezuelans’ relationship with global culture, striving to insert meaning into the migrant’s presence in the capitalist space of the metropolis. Finally, considering middle-class Venezuelans’ antagonistic attitude towards such representations, I will draw connections between Venezuelan digital culture, the socio-political shifts underpinning the Bolivarian Revolution, and the racial politics of taste in Latin America.

3. *Baseball and Belonging: Sports, Caribbean Migrations, and Feeling at Home in the Netherlands, 1960-present*

Jan Bant, Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Sport plays a pivotal role in migration processes. It is one of the most important cultural practices that migrants bring with them to their new homes. Sociologists and anthropologists in particular have shown that playing a sport from ‘back home’ and engaging in the sport’s culture are useful ‘diasporic resources’ that help cultivate a sense of belonging. However, little historical research has been done on the relationship between sport, belonging, and Caribbean migrations in the Netherlands. Using both oral history sources and newspaper articles, this paper fills this gap by studying the role of baseball in the forging of a sense of belonging for Dutch Caribbean diaspora in the Netherlands. Baseball is arguably the most popular sport in the Americas and features prominently in the international Caribbean diaspora, in the Netherlands and elsewhere. Specifically, this presentation will look at two baseball clubs outside of large metropolitan areas in the Netherlands and addresses the question ‘How did baseball contribute to identity formation and the forging of a sense of belonging of Caribbean migrants in the Netherlands?’ Looking outside of these urban regions to more ‘marginal’ regions, where there is less support from an established migrant community, can help us better understand the various roles sports clubs have played for Caribbean communities in the Netherlands.

4. Rural Workers in the Belizean Borderlands: Shaping Two Centuries of International Diplomacy between the U.K. and Guatemala
Sarah Foss, Oklahoma State University

In 2016, Belizean Defence Force officers shot and killed thirteen-year-old Guatemalan Julio Alvarado, who had illicitly and arguably unintentionally crossed into Belize and was helping his father plant pumpkin seeds in what turned out to be a Belizean national park. Occurring near the poorly marked international border, this incident was sadly the latest casualty in the centuries-long territorial conflict between Guatemala and Belize, an unresolved issue with its roots in the colonial era. Nonelite rural workers—farmers, fishermen, chicleros, and loggers—regularly crossed this international border in pursuit of better opportunities. Though most did not pay with their lives, arrests and persecution were commonplace, often triggering renewed diplomatic conflict just as the Alvarado case did in 2016. This paper explores several instances of what the U.K. and Guatemala considered to be illicit border crossings in the 19th and 20th century Belizean borderlands and argues that the actions of these non-elite people shaped international diplomacy through their quotidian actions of seeking to make a living. While Guatemala maintained that British control over Belize—which lasted until Belizean independence in 1981—was unjust, Belizeans argued that the Guatemalan claim was aggressive colonialism, thus pointing to intersecting notions of in/justice and coloniality. At the same time, the non-elite workers this paper centers often migrated because of injustice they had suffered, such as environmental injustice through dispossession or pollution, the injustice of state counterinsurgency methods, and the injustice of enslavement and understood movement-as-justice.

URB 8. Citizenship, public space and land struggles

Chair: Abigail Friendly (Utrecht University)

1. Achieving land regularization through collective property: The experience of Termo Territorial Coletivo in Rio de Janeiro
Abigail Friendly (speaker) & Ana Paula Pimentel Walker (co-author), Utrecht University, The Netherlands

Land regularization is a global challenge, and has been recognized as key to guaranteeing access to land and affordable housing. In Brazil, land regularization is a particular challenge given the scale of informal urban areas. While Brazil's 1988 Constitution includes tools allowing for land regularization, these are increasingly recognized as ineffective in making progress towards access to land. Acknowledging this challenge, several communities in Rio de Janeiro began implementing a model based on collective property. Drawing on global experiences with Community Land Trusts (CLT), this became known in Brazil as Termo Territorial Coletivo (TTC). Beyond Brazil, CLTs emerged in the 1960s in the United States to help secure affordable housing, and since then expanded around the world. In this paper, we explore the experience of applying alternatives to individual ownership in Brazil through collective property, and specifically, the case of TTC. We draw on the experience of Grupo Esperança in the western periphery of Rio, a community implementing the TTC model. The case is unique as it is an example of self-built housing constructed through Brazil's federal Minha Casa Minha Vida-Entidades (MCMV-E) housing program, with the houses finalized in 2015. However, on completion of the MCMV-E project, the lack of sufficient documentation led community members to seek alternative arrangements through collective property to secure their permanence, drawing on their considerable efforts of housing autogestão. Exploring the case of TTC in detail, the article has considerable relevance for broader debates on access to land and land regularization in informal communities globally.

2. A Comparative Study on Citizenship and Public Lands: Cases of Mexico and Turkey
Özge Yüksekaya, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands & Koç University, Turkey

This research approaches urban political economy from a perspective on public lands in two metropolitan cities in the Global South: Mexico City Metropolitan Area (Zona Metropolitana del Valle de México) in Mexico and İstanbul in Turkey. It aims to understand to what extent urban public lands are used for 'the public' for housing in the neoliberal era and how this use mitigates or intensifies inequalities among citizens. In many countries in Latin America, Middle East, Africa and Asia, public lands were widely and informally used for housing by rural-to-urban migrants. This process, forborne by the states and used as a social policy mechanism, provided a certain level of security from the market for most of the 20th century. Under neoliberalism, however, public lands have largely been removed from the access of the citizens through privatizations. As a result, citizenship, which was supposed to progress over time and bring equality to members, considerably retrenched and inequalities were widened. Yet, Mexican and Turkish trajectories demonstrate that in addition to these processes, in some instances, citizens can still access public land in new forms, potentially there is an extension of the social rights and new configurations in inequalities. By using public lands as a prism, this research aims to shed light on the transformation of cities and citizenship, and inequalities among citizens in terms of the level and type of access to public lands.

3. Tepiteños and lack of cooperation during the pandemic: "corona crimes" or acts of resistance?
Chiara Raieli, University of Perugia, Italy

The COVID-19 pandemic has transformed the image of many urban landscapes and, according to some scholars, produced the "end" or "death of public space", as governments around the world have adopted new laws limiting social interactions and movements to contain the spread of the disease. This paper focuses on Tepito, a marginalised neighbourhood in Mexico City, and most of its findings are drawn from the ethnographic fieldwork carried out in summer 2022. Particularly, it analyses street vendors' reactions to pandemic restrictions in the barrio where one of the largest informal markets in Latin America is located. Since human mobility remained higher than in other areas of the capital city, Tepito's residents have been often charged with "corona crimes". However, as recent studies have shown, the (im)possibility to respect government measures also depended on socio-economic conditions and reflected spatial inequalities in the city. In light of the importance of public space in poor neighbourhoods, restrictions undoubtedly impacted these areas hardest and stay-at-home could be framed as a kind of privilege. Especially for the street traders working within the Tepito market, mobility was crucial for ensuring their daily needs in the absence of government financial support. Therefore, this paper discusses how they resisted and adapted to the pandemic situation in order to protect their informal way of life. Resorting to their individual and collective skills, street vendors used both creativity and entrepreneurialism to survive. Moreover, informality and illegality, as well as clientelism and corruption practices, played a significant role in their strategies.

4. 'San Cristóbal Eats From Tourism': The Rise of Mexican Mass Tourism to a Chiapas City
Edurne Sosa El Fakih, The University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England

Tourism is Mexico's second largest service industry and makes up a significant amount of the country's revenue. San Cristóbal, a "Magic Town" of the Chiapas Highlands, was until relatively recently best known as a destination for ethnic tourism by international visitors from Europe and the United States interested in 'living Mayas'. However, a rise on domestic, national tourism has shifted the city's style towards a gentrified, commercialized, leisure business, overwriting the earlier ethnic and indigenous touristic character of the city. San Cristóbal has gone from marketing indigenous peoples for European and North American visitors, to accommodating the demands and expectation of national tourists. Domestic tourism has become central in San Cristóbal, existing through specific imaginaries created

and experienced via consumer culture. Mexican tourists' imaginaries of Chiapas, along with their feelings, assumptions, and needs, have influenced the tourism industry in a wide range of commercialized outlets, such specialty coffee shops or boutique hotels. Making interventions in the rise and massification of national Mexican tourism in San Cristóbal, this paper seeks to understand the nonindigenous Mexican tourists' imaginaries that, unlike the idealizing international tourists, reproduce an image of the indigenous people of Chiapas as an internal Other, exoticized through patronizing and stereotyping actions and speech, while appropriating their legacy expressed through natural sites and richness of 'culture'. Based on four weeks of participant-observation fieldwork in San Cristóbal, this paper demonstrates anthropologically how tourism in San Cristóbal is being remade through careful processes that alter the imaginaries of tourists and locals alike.

Gender studies & Feminisms

GEN 1. Race, gender relations and resistance through history

Chair: Clare Burgess (University of Oxford)

1. Motherhood and resistance of black women on rural properties in Brazil, 18th and 19th centuries

Robson Costa, Centre for History of the University of Lisbon

Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, hundreds of enslaved Black women lived under a rigid and all-controlling system as they lived and labored for one of the richest and most important religious orders in the Atlantic world: the Benedictine Congregation. Headquartered in Portugal, the Order had extended its domains to Brazil, in the early colonial period, building its power under an original and efficient institutional paternalism. The basis of this system was the endogenous reproduction of the enslaved population, who lived on dozens of farms and mills in Brazil. This paper explores the Corporation's measures toward and its control strategies over enslaved women, but it also to highlight the tactics enslaved women used to survive and resist in the face of such a powerful institution. Based on Christian and paternalistic precepts, the Order promulgated decisions both to stimulate the enslaved population's biological growth and to control the sexuality and alleged "deviant" behavior of the enslaved community. Enslaved women who followed the Congregation's established precepts (marriage and numerous children) were "awarded" with lighter workloads, better food, and, in some cases, freedom. At the same time, monks harshly criticized concubinage, polygamy, batuques (drumming), "orgies", curandeirismo (healing), and other practices that contradicted Christian morals. We argue that the enslaved women who conformed to Benedictine precepts appropriated the religious discourse of "good treatment" and Christian morality to improve their lives and the lives of their families. We thus consider their actions as an example of gendered resistance.

2. La Lucha por Luchar: Ending the ban on women's lucha libre wrestling in Mexico City, 1970s-1980s

Marjolein Van Bavel, Radboud University, the Netherlands / University of Antwerp, Belgium

Drawing on Mexican press sources and oral history interviews with Mexican women wrestlers, this paper examines the end of the exclusion of women from lucha libre wrestling in Mexico City. While luchadoras had been banned from the Mexican capital's wrestling rings since the early 1950s, they established their base in the city and travelled to perform nationwide, forging successful careers both in Mexico and internationally. The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the emergence of a movement that led to the end of the ban in the mid-1980s, which involved efforts by Mexican luchadoras to convince the authorities that women's wrestling was a respectable sportive spectacle. Examining the struggle to

end women's exclusion from the wrestling scene in Mexico City provides essential insights into how sporting spectacles intersect with the gendered socio-political ideologies that are expressed within sports environments, legal frameworks, the political ambitions of authority figures and administrations, mass culture, and broader society. It also sheds light on the multiple and changing socio-cultural beliefs about Mexican women's proper social and bodily roles in the 1980s in a broader context of socio-political transformation.

3. Emotions and institutional change: The impact of the secular marriage law on romantic relationships in Chile (1884-1924)
Daniela Belmar, University College of London

This presentation will provide a historical overview of the evolution of emotions in romantic relationships in Chile following the enactment of the secular marriage law, between 1884 and 1924. During this period, I suggest that a civic vision began to consolidate, considering that the State plays a fundamental role in people's lives. In 1884, the Chilean government passed the secular marriage law, a milestone that shifted control of marriage matters from the Catholic Church to the State. My hypothesis proposes that this institutional change not only influenced the modification of social representations about existing romantic relationships but also played a role in shaping the logic with which people explained their love relationships before the justice system. This, in turn, affected the mechanisms through which they constructed rationality to imagine, experience, and dispute their love affairs, both before the justice system and in society in general. In short, changes in the ways in which people experienced their romantic bonds can be identified through the documentation produced by the judicial system in matters of love. This paper will be based on a wide range of judicial research, including marriage, divorce, alimony, bigamy, and abduction cases. To analyse these cases, I will employ the concept of "affective orientations" developed by Sara Ahmed. Through this approach, I aim to understand the elements towards which the men and women investigated here oriented their explanations of their emotions.

4. Cohabitation, Prostitution and Procuring: Sex work as gendered labour in early modern Seville and Mexico City
Clare Burgess, University of Oxford

Prostitution took many forms in the early modern world, ranging from legal, licensed brothels run by the municipal council to illicit sex work practised in alleys or private rooms. This paper examines the practice of sex work in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Seville and Mexico City, situating it in the wider history of labour and comparing it more closely with other gendered forms of work such as domestic and reproductive labour. I will consider the labour hierarchy of prostitution, ranging from legal prostitutes in the municipal brothel to illicit sex workers working on street corners, and argue that many cases of cohabitation prosecuted by the authorities of both cities were in reality a form of sex work. By considering the gendered labour of sex work and the complementary work done by procurers and relatives of sex workers, this paper endeavours to position sex work within labour history, and to compare the labour system, conditions, and dangers for two of the most important cities in the Spanish Empire.

5. "Bad Christians": Transcribing morality and race in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615)
Fabian Horrocks, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

This paper seeks to outline how Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (1534-1616) created a visual discourse of race through his illustrations of an Andean colonial society. We delineate the visual and written descriptions made by Guaman Poma in his *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615) and

highlight their association with morality, goodness and race. Using the chronicle, contemporary scholarship (Adorno, 1980; 2000; 2007) and placing this corpus in conversation with race theory (Lamana, 2019; Wade, 2015), we draw on the representative power of the illustrations; racial indicators, and how these visually connect to notions of morality. Guaman Poma describes a complex web of racial and social relations and intersections in this society: he criticises the Spanish clergy for their violence towards the Indigenous populations, but also Indigenous women for their sexual promiscuity. Guaman Poma also praises Catholic servitude which is shown in illustrations of Black and Indigenous figures, whilst lamenting the forced loss of Quechua customs. These ideas are complemented by Guaman Poma's use of language to show the relationship between religion and racial identity, particularly in the context of a multilingual and multiracial society. We consider our approach to not only build a more holistic understanding of Guaman Poma's perceptions of race and morality - and how these concepts intermesh - but also to be centred on deconstructing European epistemologies (Cusicanqui, 2012; Rambukwella, 2019) that have shaped post-colonial research in a way that simplifies socio-racial complexities that existed in the Andes during the colonial period.

GEN 2. Denying and empowering women's agency in the face of violence and inequality

Chair: Joana Perrone (University of Oxford)

1. The Love Story of Gender Violence

Joana Perrone, University of Oxford

The paper looks at the media narratives involved in reporting femicide in contemporary Brazil. Through a mixed-methods analysis of thousands of cases in Brazilian media between 2019-2021, the paper discusses how the integration of femicide into the Brazilian legal framework is permeated with age-old ideas about gender and violence. It suggests ways in which the law and discourse interact in perpetuating gender violence and oppressions whilst simultaneously proposing ideas on how to promote better policies in the region.

2. Breaking the Cycle of Women's Paid Domestic Work in Brazil: A Study of Mothers and Daughters

Anna Maria Del Fiorentino, University of Cambridge

Widening access to higher education in Brazil has long been a political concern. In the early 2000s, the education system underwent a significant transformation, introducing affirmative action policies, socio-racial quotas in public universities, expanding the public university network, and student loan programs. These changes marked the emergence of a generation of first-time university students, particularly among state-school and non-white students. Remarkably, in 2018, non-white students became the majority in public universities for the first time, reflecting Brazil's demographics. This paper is grounded in my master's research, focusing on the life stories of Brazilian mothers engaged in paid domestic work and their daughters, the first generation to obtain higher education degrees in the 21st century. The study explores the social mobility experiences of these first-generation university students from the perspective of family dynamics between mothers and daughters. Employing the post-memory framework, the research explores how daughters inherit experiences of trauma associated with acute poverty and precarious labour from their mothers, leading to an intergenerational cycle of limited material resources and poor mental health. The concept of intertwined memories is introduced to demonstrate how the transmission of memories between mothers and daughters fosters a relationship of mutual support. Mothers provide both material and emotional support for their daughters' pursuit of higher education, enabling them to escape precarious employment. This, combined with public policies aimed at widening access to higher

education, has led to social mobility experiences for the daughters, transforming trauma into empowerment.

3. Realities and Vulnerabilities in Social Re-Integration of Sex Trafficking Survivors in Mexico. Theorising from Testimony: A Field Study
Irina Zudina, Bielefeld University, Germany

Sex trafficking is more than a momentum of victimised experience, reaching beyond victim narratives and testimonies on exploitation. The long-term effects on survivors and their social relations makes rehabilitation a complicated, non-linear experience and comprises different lived realms and struggles. Current literature highlights the blank space in qualitative anthropological insights into human trafficking. While data exists on reasons and dynamics of trafficking, the topic of post-trafficking reintegration and rehabilitation of sex trafficking survivors in Mexico remains an in-transparent and broadly underrepresented realm in research. This paper is a reflexive-narrative study of social re-integration realities. Oral testimonies weave into an anthropological account on vulnerabilities and struggles throughout the process of returning to society and family after rehabilitative institutionalisation. First, the project's findings will briefly correspond to existing notions on vulnerabilities given by CNDH, Mex. and UNODC. Second, taking into account vulnerability as a basic human condition, the project shows how violence folds into everyday ordinaries, arguing towards a non-linear understanding of sex trafficking. By understanding rehabilitation vulnerabilities in sex trafficking survivors beyond structural categories and revictimization, but as sets of human condition, given their specific essence of violence, I will argue towards vulnerability as an inter-human relational issue, worth to be considered by theory, public policies, and social work. Reading the testimonies closely, how do we understand violence, suffering and vulnerability as "echoes" in the social relations of trafficking-survivors? What role does reciprocity and care play in the rehabilitation-process?

4. Turning suffering into side effects: Responses to HPV vaccination in Colombia
Maurizia Mezza (speaker) & Stuart Blume (co-author), University of Amsterdam

In this paper, we discuss inequalities in responses to post-vaccination negative experiences, drawing on an ethnographic study carried out in a small town, El Carmen de Bolivar, on Colombia's Caribbean coast from February through May 2019. In 2014, hundreds of girls in the town reported a range of mysterious symptoms following mass vaccination against the Human Papilloma Virus (HPV). Denying the girls' insistence that their symptoms were due to the vaccine, the official diagnosis was Mass Psychogenic Illness. Comparing these events with studies of controversial responses to other vaccines, we suggest that the pathway from post-vaccination symptoms to 'side effects' is cognitively and socially complex. In particular, it is context-dependent. Drawing on research in medical anthropology, sociology and STS, we argue that the official diagnosis was influenced by the subjects' marginal status; by a projection of the region's violent past onto individual inhabitants; by health professionals' commitment to a restricted notion of evidence (devaluing patients' own accounts); and by an institutional inability or unwillingness to stand against 'global consensus', which deems HPV safe.

5. Cultural tourism and the reduction of social inequalities in the city of El Alto, Bolivia.
Anna Lavooi, Universidad Mayor de San Andres, La Paz, Bolivia

Indigenous women in the city of El Alto, Bolivia, experience discrimination based on the intersection of various social identities as their gender, their ethnicity, their dress, and their place of residence. This paper is based on my doctoral research on the extent to which cultural tourism can contribute to the reduction of gender inequality in articulation with other dimensions of inequality (ethnicity and place of residence). My research focusses on three groups of indigenous women from El Alto working in the tourism industry in positions that do not reflect occupations traditionally assigned to them (economic

stratification) (Cholitas Escaladoras, Cholitas Luchadoras and in a lesser extend female guides). A first relevant result is that the female guides consider that city tours in El Alto have the potential to contribute to reversing the negative stereotypes of their place of residence. Secondly, the Cholitas Luchadoras intent to demonstrate contemporary culture and/ or the 'modern chola' to the tourist. I thus argue that they do not seek recognition for an essential culture, but for the ability to rebuild this culture. Third, the Cholitas Escaladoras and the Cholitas Luchadoras use their position to spread a message: they, as Cholitas or mujeres de pollera, are able (and desire) to work in other occupations than the ones traditionally assigned to them. Tourism can thus be a form of resistance against economic stratification.

GEN 3. Multi-sided violence and reproductive injustices in Latin America

Session organizer & chair: Saskia Zielińska (King's College London & University of Sheffield)

Reproductive injustice remains a key site of contestation in Latin America. The region has the second highest regional teenage fertility rates in the world and is the only region globally where child pregnancy rates are increasing. Furthermore, many Latin American countries still have heavy restrictions relating to abortion access, negatively affecting maternal mortality rates and restricting reproductive rights.

This panel argues that it is impossible to understand the dynamics of the persistent reproductive inequalities and struggles of contemporary Latin America, without understanding how multiple forms of violence – such as sexual and gender-based, structural, symbolic, and cultural – work together to produce and reproduce these inequalities. As Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004) argue, violence is a 'slippery' concept; it is difficult to define, and different forms of violence reinforce and reproduce each other. Taking an interdisciplinary perspective, this panel therefore examines the links between multiple forms of intersecting violence and reproductive injustice in Latin America. The panel begins by considering the continuum of violence between the internal conflict of the 1980s and 1990s and post-conflict moment in Peru, and how this violence manifests in the high levels of adolescent pregnancy in Peru today, specifically looking at the case study of Ayacucho. In the second paper, the specific concept of cultural violence will be examined in relation to the reproduction of adolescent pregnancy in Cuba, Colombia, and Mexico. The closing paper will also provide some reflections on how multi-sided violence is being resisted by contemporary feminist movements, notably in Peru.

1. Feminist activist responses to reproductive injustices in Peru

Phoebe Martin, King's College London

Contemporary feminist campaigns in Peru address multisided reproductive injustices. Activists are pushing for access to free and safe abortion, while at the same time calling on the state to deliver justice for the victims of the forced sterilisations that took place during the 1990s. Both struggles reflect the patriarchal, racist, and neoliberal political landscape in Peru, that since the 1990s has been shaped by fujimorismo. During the 1990s the Fujimori administration's National Family Programme expanded access to reproductive healthcare, but it also ordered the sterilization of hundreds of thousands of people - almost all poor, indigenous women - without informed consent. Contemporary fujimorismo on the other hand is explicitly anti-abortion, and anti-'gender ideology'. In this paper I examine how activists have used performance protest to challenge reproductive injustice in Peru. I use two case studies, one of a protest for abortion rights, and one by the collective Somos 2074 y Muchas Más, which campaigns for justice for sterilisation victims. This paper argues that examining the relationship between fujimorismo and reproductive rights in the 1990s and today demonstrates how, despite their different manifestations, their reproductive politics continue to be a way of controlling reproduction, particularly that of racially and economically marginalised populations. As these feminist protests show, there cannot be reproductive justice today without addressing past violations.

2. The Continuum of Violence and Teenage Pregnancy in Post-conflict Peru

Saskia Zielińska, King's College London and University of Sheffield & Jelke Boesten, King's College London

During the 1980s and 1990s, Peru experienced a period of violent internal conflict as the state forces clashed with the Maoist-inspired guerrilla movement Sendero Luminoso. During this time, widespread sexual violence and reproductive abuses were committed, principally by state forces, and particularly against poor and indigenous women. Ayacucho, an Andean town in the Peruvian highlands was at the epicentre of the internal conflict, the legacies of which can still be felt to this day. This paper will examine the continuation of violence between the conflict and post-conflict moments, demonstrating how specific patterns and modalities of interpersonal violence, reminiscent of the violence exerted by both state and guerrilla forces, have spilled over into post-conflict Ayacucho, and into the intimate sphere. It will demonstrate how the wartime legacies of violence are reproduced inter-generationally, so that younger generations who were not yet born during the times of conflict still experience the effects of conflict-related inter-generational trauma. To do this, the paper will focus on a specific form of social injustice, teenage pregnancy, which itself can be understood as a manifestation of structural inequalities. Based on field research conducted in Ayacucho in 2020, this paper first makes a connection between the high rates of teenage pregnancy in contemporary Ayacucho, and multi-sided violence (interpersonal – gender-based, sexual, and physical – institutional, structural, and symbolic). The paper later demonstrates how the forms of contemporary violence that fuel high rates of teenage pregnancy have their roots in the armed conflict.

3. Adolescent parenthood and cultural violence: perspectives from Cuba, Mexico and Colombia

Rebecca Ogden, University of Sheffield

A steady increase in teenage pregnancy in many Latin American countries has placed a spotlight on the region for development agencies and policymakers. Yet the picture of teenage pregnancy as regional epidemic obscures complex sociopolitical and cultural dynamics at play at a national and local level. In Cuba, the ratio of babies born to teenage parents is much higher in Granma, an area that is culturally, as well as geographically, peripheral. In Mexico and Colombia, crosscutting sociocultural factors of 'race', class and mobility significantly determine the lived experience of teenage parenthood. Recent research makes clear that, in spite of the availability of resources and information, adolescent reproductive behaviours are highly determined by a number of interrelated cultural and social factors. This paper considers the usefulness of 'culture' as a conceptual frame to research normative knowledge and values surrounding teen sexuality, reproductive health and parenthood in these regional, national and local contexts. In particular it engages with Gultang's framework of cultural violence in order to counter common notions of agency, self-responsibilisation and choice in policy approaches.

4. 'Unmothering' from the margins: childhood disability, structural violence, and the politicisation of motherhood

Rosamund Greiner, University College London

In this paper I bring together Runswick-Cole and Ryan's notion of 'unmothering disabled children' (2019) with theorisations of political motherhood from Latin America (Mateo Medina, 2013; Quintela and Biroli, 2022) in order to explore how mothers of children with disabilities reconceptualise the maternal role as a political one in response to structural violence. Children with complex disabilities often require more intensive and different kinds of care than children without impairments. Familist welfare policies concentrate care for people with disabilities within the family unit (Gesser, Zirbel and

Luiz, 2022), and the gendered division of reproductive labour means that, in practice, mothers perform the majority of this work. Research on mother-carers of children with disabilities frequently relies on individualising conceptualisations of motherhood and the notion of a 'good mother' (Knight, 2013). Placing such emphasis on the mother risks obscuring the structural barriers that mother-carers and their children face. Children with CZS experience structural violence in the form of ableism, familism, and the neo-liberal health system that together limit the exercise of their right to health and wellbeing, education, and a dignified life. In my ethnographic fieldwork with mothers raising children with Congenital Zika Syndrome in Barranquilla, Colombia, I identified a political stance towards the maternal role among my interlocutors. Drawing on critical disability studies and theorisations of political motherhood in Latin America, I explore how structural violence against their children causes a rupture between the imagined maternal role and the reality, forcing mothers to reconceptualise their role from a political perspective.

GEN 4. Ordinary Lives of Extraordinary Women in Latin America, 18th-20th centuries

Session organizer & chair: Courtney J. Campbell (University of Birmingham)

This panel is about the lives and actions of individual women who challenged gender, social, and racial injustices in Latin America from the late eighteenth through twentieth centuries. Our papers use a micro historical approach to illuminate broader conversations about racial discrimination, politics, suffrage, antifascism, and gender. These papers range from race making in the case of Bernabela, an enslaved Black woman in 18th-century Argentina, to the radical persistence of Olga Benario Prestes' attempts to foment revolution and raise a child, the often-forgotten actions of Peronist women leaders, and the ostracization of Costa Rican poet Eunice Odio from the artistic world and from historical memory due to her political views. While these women participated in emancipation, social movements, literary circles, and armed conflicts in Latin America, their lives and their place in broader historical movements has not been adequately studied. As historians Sarah Radcliffe and Sallie Westwood state: "Men appear in the histories of battles, governments and as monarchs, whereas women appear as icons of national domesticity, morals, and 'private' sociality." This panel joins various works that challenge this narrative by recognizing women as protagonists in confronting racial, political, social, and gender injustices. In this way, by studying the ordinary lives of extraordinary women, our papers join other scholars who focus on how women contributed to racial equality and social justice in Latin America.

1. Olga Benário Prestes: Microhistory of a Militant Activist Mother
Courtney J. Campbell, University of Birmingham

This paper focuses on Olga Benário Prestes, a German Jewish Communist woman who travelled to Brazil as the bodyguard of Luis Carlos Prestes, who would later become her husband and the leader of the Brazilian Communist Party. After a failed communist uprising in Brazil, Olga was deported to Nazi Germany, pregnant. She gave birth to her daughter, Anita, in a German women's prison. The child was released to Luis Carlos' mother, Leocádia, before Olga's transfer to Ravensbrück Concentration Camp and murder in the Bernburg Euthanasia Centre. This paper homes in on Olga's life from pregnancy to death. It questions what we can learn from such an extraordinary figure by examining the ordinary (pregnancy, childbirth, lactation, caring for a baby) alongside the extraordinary (her militant activism, her support of a Brazilian communist revolt, her time in prison, and her murder). What can we learn about exile, transnational activism, motherhood, and life during World War II more broadly by examining the life of Olga Benário Prestes?

2. A Black Woman's Rise to Whiteness: Race Making in 18th century Argentina

Erika Denise Edwards, University of Texas at El Paso

In 1781, a year after Bernabela, an enslaved woman, was sold to don José Lino de León, a priest, a sexual relationship between the two produced a child, who died shortly after birth in Buenos Aires. A mystery remains about the condition of the relationship, which shifted from coercion to consent. Unwilling to hide his feelings, don José Lino encouraged Bernabela, a white-presenting Black woman, to illegally dress like an elite white woman and, although still a slave, demand that other slaves call her “La Señora” or Lady of the House, causing a scandal of epic proportions. Fed up with the Church’s inability to end this scandal, the King of Spain stripped don José Lino of his priestly duties and banished him to La Plata, Bolivia. Based on this microhistory, my paper argues Black women are fundamental contributors to the race making process. It delves into how a Black woman challenged social and racial hierarchies. In doing so, it unpacks the interconnections of racial inequalities. Moreover, it debunks the entrenched mainstream narrative of whiteness in contemporary Argentina, by examining the complexities of slavery, rejecting that Black women were victims, and revealing that strict notions of social and racial hierarchy were threatened by white-presenting Black women. Using colonial Argentina as a case study, the project centers on various laws that targeted Bernabela’s behavior, and court testimonies that detail Bernabela’s and don José Lino de León’s affair, which spanned seven years, from 1794-1801.

3. The Great Latin American Women Project: Creative and arts-based approaches to engaged research

Lauren Rea, University of Sheffield

The Great Latin American Women Project (www.grandesmujeres.lat) is an open access, transmedia initiative which promotes gender equality amongst primary school children across the region. The project is the result of a collaboration with the Creative Industries, through the partnership established with the Billiken children’s media brand in Argentina, and convenes an international, interdisciplinary team of academics, writers, animators, illustrators, web designers, graphic designers, musicians, and primary school teachers. The initiative currently encompasses an illustrated children’s book, 21 short, animated films and over 400 downloadable classroom-ready resources which place Latin American women, in all their diversity, at the heart of the curriculum. The project offers strategies for teachers seeking to adopt more inclusive approaches which take account of the differences in attitudes towards gender equality across the region, as well as the variations in digital inequalities. Ongoing project work includes the establishment of a teacher network in Guatemala to co-produce training materials for teachers and the pilot of an educational video game in conjunction with Universidad Nacional de La Rioja in Argentina. This paper will consider the interplay between Cultural History and practice-based research in the development of the project’s co-production methodologies, as well as the challenges and opportunities encountered in engaged research.

4. In conversation and confrontation. National tensions in the Ecuadorian delegation to the 1975 World Conference on Women in Mexico

Andrea Espinoza Carvajal, University of Exeter

This paper aims to discuss the national tensions around the Ecuadorian delegation to the World Conference on Women, held between 19 June and 2 July 1975 in Mexico City. It aims to identify and analyse the delegation’s agenda, the meaning given to this international trip by the Ecuadorian media, and the immediate aftermath of the conference participation. In 1975, Ecuador was living in a military dictatorship and a group of women –an elite group– decided to ask for permission to organise a delegation to participate in the event. This effort demonstrates a growing interest in increasing participation in political life. However, in the national interest, the delegation competed for attention

(space in newspaper pages) with the “Miss Ecuador” competition, which had significant space in the most prominent newspapers. The discussion of the event showed institutionalised misogyny as criticism emerged in the media and focused on the performance of a masculinised idea of diplomacy rather than an opportunity to discuss women’s agendas. This work analyses publications from *Diario El Universo*, *El Comercio* and *El Telegrafo* during the conference. The discussion untangles the elements that interact with women’s building a national presence aiming to be integrated into spaces of power, making international connections, and representing the nation.

GEN 5. Feminist currents and countercurrents: In defense of women's rights

Chair: Jennifer Piscopo (Royal Holloway University of London)

1. The role of women's organizations in mobilizing resources for the Argentinian women's movement

Dagmara Szczepańska, The Maria Grzegorzewska University, Warsaw, Poland

The activity and visibility of the Argentinian women's movement increased significantly since the emergence of the *Ni Una Menos* collective in 2015. Since then, the Argentinian society voiced its concerns through mass protests about different issues concerning gender discrimination, including femicide, sexual education, reproductive rights, economic rights and more. Importantly, the Argentinian women’s movement is an example of a successful social movement, as it led to the legalization of abortion in 2020. Moreover, the inclusivity of the movement could be observed, for example, in its incorporation of an intersectional approach to gender discrimination and a horizontal organizational structure. In the present paper, I propose an analysis of factors contributing to the Argentinian women’s movement’s success by referring to resource mobilization theory. Specifically, the research question formed in this project was how women’s organizations mobilized different types of resources (moral, cultural, socio-organizational, human, and material) to support the women’s movement. Moreover, I also focused on the way specific resources were mobilized (self-production, aggregation, co-optation/appropriation, and patronage), also considering the type of organization in question (autonomous, associative, and directed). To answer these questions, I draw on results from ethnographic research conducted between 2015 and 2020 – ethnographic observations, 21 semi-structured interviews with leaders of 9 different women’s organizations, 9 interviews with local informants, and an analysis of manifestos and statistical data about the situation of women in Argentina. By emphasising the role of women’s organizations, the present findings offer a new perspective on the process of achieving social movements’ goals.

2. Gender backlash and "new conservatism" in Brazil

Larissa Beckman, University of Minnesota

What did the last government mean for women's rights in Brazil, and is the rhetoric of ex-President Jair Bolsonaro a threat to these rights? What are the repercussions of his rhetoric on the country's political and social landscape? The "new conservatism" phenomenon holds more significance than Bolsonaro alone. It appropriates agendas in motion before his rise to power and continues even after his departure from the presidential office in early 2023. Bolsonaro's platform attributed the Brazilian crisis to the "destruction of traditional values" while endorsing anti-"gender ideology" (anti-feminist and anti-queer) discourses and advocating for authoritarianism. Amidst this backdrop, the question arises: does this rhetoric merely signify a cultural shift, or does it have tangible implications for women's rights? Positioned within the framework of backlash and institutional resilience scholarship, this paper delves into whether there is an institutional gender backlash taking shape in Brazil. It scrutinizes women's interests in sexual and reproductive rights, gender-based violence, economic [in]equality, and female political participation by comparing the governments of the PT and Bolsonaro. Employing the

strategies outlined by Zaremberg, Tabush, and Friedman (2021) to detect gender backlash in governments, this paper explores how Bolsonaro's election and the ascension of extreme right-wing conservatism have impacted policies. In a broader context of comparative political science, the study seeks to unearth the lessons Brazil can both impart and acquire regarding the resilience of social rights in the era of new conservatism.

3. Pro gender-equality or pro family: the case of work-family policy expansion in Chile
Shiao Wang, Tsinghua University

Social policies have long been recognized as effective tools for addressing social injustice. In post-dictatorship Chile, the persistence of authoritarian enclaves and the resilience of neoliberalism have posed challenges to their expansion. Additionally, the influence of the conservative Catholic tradition has historically confined the state to a passive role in addressing family matters. Nevertheless, since the early 2000s, significant progress has been made in adopting or expanding work-family policies with broad political support. These policies encompass provisions for childcare, early education, and parental leave. This article aims to illuminate the intriguing case of Chilean work-family policy changes by examining the framing strategy employed by feminist policy entrepreneurs. Unlike the Nordic countries, where feminist movements actively promoted work-family policies, in the Chilean case, feminist advocacies diverged into radical-wing and ecologist-wing. Two opposite branches hold differing perspectives on women rights. The ecologist feminists, embracing a pro-family stance, successfully collaborated with the Christian Democrats. They effectively reframed the problem definition from a narrowly focused, pro-women welfare perspective to a broader, universal social investment approach. This strategy convinced fiscal-cost-sensitive opponents in Chile's economist-centered policy-making process. This contribution adds depth to discussions on gendered social policy expansion, particularly examining the childcare service program implemented during the socialist Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) and the adoption of parental leave during the right-wing Sebastian Piñera (2010-2014). The analysis draws on a diverse range of data sources collected during a field trip to Chile, including interviews with key stakeholders, newspaper reports, and legislative proceedings.

4. A Feminist Economics for Latin America? Mapping the Region's Adoption of Universal Care Systems
Jennifer Piscopo, Royal Holloway University of London

Latin America leads the world in electing women to office yet persistent gender gaps remain in other policy areas. Women's greater share of unpaid care work undercuts gender equality progress, as the gendered division of labor limits women's time to pursue higher education, formal employment, and political leadership. Recently, however, national and local governments have adopted novel universal care systems (*sistemas de cuidado*). Universal care systems shift the work of eldercare, childcare, care for people with disabilities, and even household chores to the state. While framed as advancing human rights and sustainability, universal care systems employ the principles of feminist economics (namely, they assign a dollar value to unpaid care work) and accelerate gender equality. How did such transformative policies diffuse so rapidly across the region? This paper constitutes the first effort to map the region's adoption of universal care system, offering a comprehensive overview complemented by case studies that analyze national initiatives in Argentina and Chile and local initiatives in Bogotá and Mexico City. I argue that the similarities across universal care system's framing and design reflects the decades-long efforts of feminist policy networks around care. Policy networks connect women actors in the state and in the legislature to each other and to their colleagues in other countries. Universal care systems' adoption and implementation emerges not merely from shifting international norms, but from women's entrance into government and public administration and their work to leverage these norms, attain policy influence, and move outcomes.

5. Unravelling Men-Women Relations and (Under)representations in Medellín's Street Art Culture

Lieke Prins, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This paper presents the main research findings of my PhD project on men-women relations and (under)representations within Medellín's street art culture. Set in a time of political turmoil, structural gender inequality and insecurity, and the growing street art movement, the study unravels the social dynamics of the men-dominated street art culture. It demonstrates the social inequality between men-women street artists, their different imaginaries and experiences, the everyday machismos present in street art culture, and the consequences of underrepresentation. To understand the popular culture, I continuously followed artists in their painting processes, social activities, and daily lives, conducted interviews – and, became a street artist myself. I was invited by the feminist collective Pirañas Crew to paint alongside them, allowing me to learn techniques of mural making, and to conduct in-depth ethnographic fieldwork. Street art practices have been understood as a means to resist, participate in democracy, express social imaginaries, and claim right-to-the-city, yet, women are confronted with a multitude of obstacles in mural making and therefore have unequal access to partake in the production of public space and resist injustices. I argue that the barriers women street artists confront and the dynamics of the street art culture cause the endurance of underrepresentation and deny them expression in public space. These explicit and implicit layers of unequal men-women relations within street art culture are connected to and representative of the structural social inequality between men and women in society as a whole.

GEN 6. Challenging Inequalities around Motherhood and SRHR in Contemporary Latin America

Session organizer & chair: Jasmine Gideon (Birkbeck, University of London)

Discussant: Jadwiga Pieper Mooney (University of Arizona)

In this panel we invite panels that explore the contemporary struggles and successes in the fight for 'gender justice' in Latin America. In particular we focus on the on-going fight to secure sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) across the region and consider how this has played out in different country contexts. Arguably one of the most significant challenges to gender justice over the past few years has been the growing influence of diverse religious actors as well as the so-called 'backlash' that has impacted not only the fight for SRHR but also the framing of 'families' with particular implications for health and social policies.

1. Disrupting abortion borders: The feminist political geography of Mexico-US pill activism

Cordelia Freeman, University of Exeter, UK

The cross-border movement of the abortion pills misoprostol and mifepristone has gained increased media attention in the wake of the reversal of *Roe v. Wade* in the United States. The media's use of sensationalised and xenophobic tropes reinforces myths that self-managed medication abortions are clandestine, unsafe, and regressive. This paper refutes these narratives through ethnographic research in Mexico and a feminist decolonial lens to show the decades of abortion pill mobilisation and feminist accompaniment practices in the Americas that have made abortions with pills highly safe and effective. We draw on and contribute to feminist political geography and abortion geography literatures with our concept of 'desborder': the disruption of conceptual and spatial boundaries that brings into focus the revolutionary possibilities of self-managed abortion and abortion pill movement. We use the concept of desborder as a framework to challenge the false stereotypes around self-managed abortions that specifically perpetuate xenophobic tropes about Mexico.

2. Desafiando “la” familia: maternidad en parejas del mismo sexo en Chile

Alejandra Ramm, Universidad de Valparaíso, Chile

Esta ponencia analiza la maternidad en parejas del mismo sexo y cómo esta tensiona los roles de género convencionales y el patriarcado. Para esto estudia tanto las experiencias de maternidad, como el contexto sociohistórico en que estas parejas se insertan, con especial atención a las políticas públicas y al actual giro conservador. Recientemente han ocurrido avances legales respecto de las parejas del mismo sexo en Chile, incluyendo su reconocimiento como progenitores. En paralelo, las técnicas de reproducción asistida han permitido que estas parejas repliquen el modelo heterosexual de tener hijos “biológicos” en común. En contraste, las políticas públicas mantienen un sesgo maternalista y ha surgido una reacción conservadora que tiene al centro de su discurso el modelo de “la” familia (heterosexual y patriarcal). La evidencia proviene de un trabajo de campo en desarrollo mediante entrevistas a personas lesbianas, gais y bisexuales, que conviven con alguien de su mismo sexo y que tienen hijos/as en común o de relaciones previas.

3. El papel de la maternidad en la práctica de atención obstétrica

Ruth Iguiniz-Romero, Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia, Peru

La violencia y el abuso durante la atención de parto y el cuidado obstétrico en establecimientos de salud ha cobrado significativa importancia en el marco de los derechos sexuales y reproductivos y la lucha contra la violencia de género. Esta ponencia discute el papel que tienen los discursos e imaginarios de la maternidad como aspecto central de la identidad femenina, en las intervenciones y prácticas de atención obstétrica de los profesionales de salud y las políticas de salud reproductiva y prevención de mortalidad materna en el Perú. A través del análisis de entrevistas con profesionales de salud, se ponen en discusión cómo las ideas de maternidad, los derechos individuales y de la mujeres se encuentra al centro las conexiones y contradicciones existentes entre los argumentos que justifican prácticas concretas de violencia obstétrica y violación de derechos de las mujeres en establecimientos de salud, los marcos regulatorios y políticas nacionales de género y salud reproductiva, y las políticas e indicadores de desarrollo impulsados por organismos internacionales en las últimas décadas.

4. Exploring the role of religion in health care delivery in Latin America

Jasmine Gideon, Birkbeck, University of London, UK

Taking a ‘gender lens’, this paper explores role of religion and religious actors in health and particularly in the framing and delivery of health care services in Latin America. The paper asks how the shapes people’s encounters with health systems. In particular the paper considers how the global shift to universal health care has potentially opened up new spaces for religious actors in the field of health care provision and arguably limits the services on offer to health care users, particularly around sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR). Employing a macro-meso-micro framework the paper considers how shifts at the macro level around health care financing have resulted in institutional changes at the meso level, for example around the governance and regulation of health care provision, which in turn may translate into limited access to specific health care services, notably SRHR, at the micro level. The paper asks how these processes are gendered and how this has impacted on the SRHR of populations across the region with a specific focus on SRHR services including abortion provision and comprehensive sexuality education which in many contexts has sought to reinforce the importance of heterosexual nuclear families.

GEN 7. Beyond victims: Women, patriarchy and resistance

Chair: Amalia Campos-Delgado (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

1. Death to Mexican Patriarchy: Santa Muerte as Fierce Female Folk Saint

Andrew Chesnut, Virginia Commonwealth University

My paper investigates the multifaceted nature of Santa Muerte, a folk saint embedded in Mexican popular religiosity. Santa Muerte has garnered a massive following over the past two decades, transcending traditional religious boundaries. I seek to explore Santa Muerte's role as a fierce feminine folk saint, focusing on the intersection of gender, devotion, and social significance within the context of Mexican popular culture. Objective: My study aims to examine the following aspects of Santa Muerte's identity and significance: Gender Representation: Explore the ways in which Santa Muerte embodies both feminine and fierce characteristics and how these attributes intersect with cultural gender norms. Devotion and Rituals: Examine the diverse practices and rituals associated with Santa Muerte, including offerings, prayers, and the establishment of shrines, to understand the nature of devotees' spiritual connections. Social and Cultural Context: Analyze the social, political, and economic factors that have contributed to the rise of Santa Muerte's popularity, as well as its role in addressing societal challenges such as violence, crime, and marginalization. Methodology: My research employs a multidisciplinary approach, combining ethnographic fieldwork, archival analysis, and interviews with devotees and devotional leaders. Significance: Understanding Santa Muerte as a fierce feminine folk saint can provide insights into the rapidly shifting religious landscape in Mexico and beyond, offering a nuanced perspective on the intersections of spirituality, gender, and society. Moreover, my paper will contribute to discussions surrounding syncretism, popular religiosity, and the adaptability of religious practices in contemporary Latin American contexts.

2. Achieving the Olimpia Law: A Success of Evidence-Based Advocacy by a Women's Movement in Mexico

Laura Gutierrez Zarate, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Digital violence against women in Mexico is a growing concern, notably unaddressed by the government. Women's movements are crucial in pressuring institutions to shape legislation against this violence. Studies have recognized that movements employ diverse tactics to achieve legislative outcomes, including using evidence to support their claims. Despite the importance of knowledge gathered from movements in informing legislators, using evidence to influence legislation, especially its development at the local level and across legislators of various genders and political affiliations, remains significantly understudied. By employing the concept of Evidence-Based Advocacy (EBA), this study explores the tactics used by a women's movement to advocate for the 'Olimpia Law,' which criminalizes digital violence, across all Mexican states. To highlight the importance of EBA, the study introduces a '3I's framework' – Inquire, Insert, and Inspire – delineating three key categories that movements employ to shape legislation. 'Inquire' involves researching digital violence and local political dynamics, 'Insert' focuses on direct engagement with legislators, and 'Inspire' targets shaping media narratives and public opinion. The qualitative research, from 2017 to 2021, combines in-depth interviews and documentary evidence. Findings illustrate how the movement navigated the legislative process employing EBA tactics to influence female and male legislators with different political affiliations, leading to the nationwide enactment of the Olimpia Law. Success factors included deep knowledge of the legislature processes, adapting strategies to align with legislative preferences, and humanizing the issue for wider public resonance. This study reveals EBA as a key tool for women's movements to shape policy against gender-based violence.

3. *Comida ruina: Foodways and Gastronomical resistance in Mexico's migrant detention*
Amalia Campos-Delgado, Leiden University, The Netherlands

For more than two decades, Mexico has applied a ferocious migration control regime to stop migration in transit to the US' southern border. In practice, the regime implemented in Mexico is part of the process Nancy Hiemstra (2019) calls "the elastisation of US southern border". Mexico's ferocious enforcement means not only that migration authorities detains thousands of migrants every year (185,319 migrants in 2021 alone), but also that, Mexico has "one of the world's largest immigration detention infrastructure" (Global Detention Project 2021). In this paper, inspired by scholarly research on food practices in carceral spaces (Cerbini 2022; Ugelvik 2011; Vanhouche 2022) and drawing on the narratives of irregularised migrants, I examine how migrants experience, perceive and contest foodways in Mexico's migrant detention. On the one hand, I question the food practices imposed and encouraged as a mechanism for disciplining detainees' bodies, on the other, I shed light to migrants' gastronomical resistance, i.e., practices that aim to disrupt/interrupt the use of state food as a form of nutritional punishment. The testimonies examined here show the dehumanisation and criminalisation in Mexico's migration management, while highlighting migrants' reluctance to accept and normalise these forms of punishment.

4. *Youth voices on Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE). A study on school based CSE implementation through young people's perspectives in Chile*
Carolina Trivelli, University of Verona, Italy

This research explores young people's perceptions regarding their experience in school based Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) programs in Chile, addressing the gap regarding implementation challenges as seen by youth. It identifies key elements operating as opportunities or obstacles to the adoption of CSE using a critical pedagogy approach, as well as exploring young people's views on reproductive justice and gender equality. Situated in the field of international development and education, it adopts a case study design through qualitative-based methods using photovoice and focus groups as the main data gathering instruments. Results show a disconnection between the ambitious programs and what and how they are taught in schools, pointing to the centrality of critical and feminist pedagogy for CSE effectiveness. Students also perceive insufficient teacher training which reflects on biases and lack of connection with their concerns, along with adultcentrism and heteronormativity. Youth demand CSE to be grounded in critical thinking with engaging and participatory teaching and learning methods. A democratic analytical framework, that focuses not just on individual learning but also on the social experiences and on the functioning of the school as a plural institution, can help find a possible role of critical pedagogy in shaping CSE programs that can overcome the limitations experienced by students. By amplifying youth voices, this research contributes to the theoretical debate about the pedagogical underpinnings of CSE, as well as informing policy and program design related to Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR), gender equality, and social justice.

5. *The Politics of Female Beauty in Brazil: an intersectional study of Rhinoplasty of the Nariz Negroide*
Carole Myers, University of Manchester

This paper discusses the phenomenon of the consumption rhinoplasty of the "nariz negroide". In the early 2000s, the consumption of rhinoplasty increased with the ascension of classe C, a new Brazilian middle class, many of whom were women from non-white backgrounds. The emergence of this new group represents an opportunity to explore the contradictions and complexities of the country's class and racial dynamics. This paper examines new spaces of consumption, allowing us to reflect the wider politics of beauty as it interplays with the lived experiences of this new group of consumers.

Furthermore, this emerging market has challenged a pervasive raciological discourse (Paul Gilroy, 2000) and practice in a cosmetic surgery industry that mobilises the influential and resilient discourse of *mestiçagem* that has traditionally occluded specific racial identities on the basis of a “colour blind” Brazilian conviviality. Previous studies have suggested that this market reflects a “consumer citizen” (Alexander Edmonds, 2010), alternatively, a “cosmetic citizen” (Alvaro Jarrín, 2017) has been proposed, suggesting that a largely passive body of economically marginal non-white Brazilians are subject to a state-imposed set of aesthetic and racial hierarchies implemented through cosmetic surgery. This paper questions these competing visions and highlights the heterogeneous experiences, motivations and identifications of the women involved. These consumers have displaced raciologised notions of beauty, instead self-fashioning a “morena nose” rooted in a complex negotiation between Brazilian languages of conviviality and multiculturalism.

Race, Ethnicity & Indigeneity

RAC 1. Indigenous Citizenship: practices, agendas and implications in Latin America - 1

Session organizer & chair: Sarah A. Radcliffe (University of Cambridge, UK)

How do Indigenous groups understand their relationship to citizenship practices, discourses, and routines? This interdisciplinary panel reflects theoretically informed and empirical research on/in Latin America to examine the formal and substantive dimensions of Indigenous citizenship. Indigenous citizenship is frequently conditional, racialized and defined in tense relation with western and liberal notions of social membership. Against these injustices, Indigenous movements and actors challenge exclusion and articulate alternative practices, spaces and visions of and for citizenship. From local to transnational scales, Indigenous organizations and individuals seek to remake the social, power and territorial relations that determine the lived, juridical and institutional facets of citizenship in struggles to overcome discrimination, marginalization and 'second-class' citizenship. Structural conditions of racism, colonial-modern states and neoliberalism profoundly shape everyday practices and visions for change, yet Indigenous agency informs modes of citizenship by and for Indigenous peoples. The panel encompasses reflections on diverse formations of Indigenous citizenship in Bolivia, Chile, Mexico, and Ecuador, from Amazonia to Oaxaca, and from urban centres to rural settlements. Latin American processes are examined from the perspective of political science, anthropology, cultural studies, geography, and development studies. The papers seek to better understand Indigenous citizenship in relation to overlapping legal provisions, gender relations, political interventions, exclusionary geographies, political economic forces, multiracial societies, everyday struggles, and visions for change.

1. Rethinking (differentiated) citizenship alongside Indigenous peoples in Abya Yala

Sarah A. Radcliffe, University of Cambridge, UK

Drawing on current research in Andean Ecuador and Amazonian Peru, the paper provides an overview of key framings of Indigenous citizenship in Abya Yala. It identifies the grounds for rethinking citizenship in light of Indigenous experiences. Since the 1990s, themes of rights, state-citizen relations and judicial process have been tied closely to the multicultural reforms introduced by states in response to Indigenous mobilizations and international leverage. Multicultural reforms address multiple dimensions of citizenship yet, as is well documented, been found insufficient in the face of exclusionary racial, political economic processes and hegemonic preconceptions. Structural racism, dispossession, and curtailed socio-cultural-epistemological rights continue to deflect the interpretation and material consequences of ‘paper’ rights. The current conjuncture raises urgent questions about Indigenous peoples’ political realities when citizenship can no longer be considered solely a function of nation-states. Indigenous leaders and scholars by contrast accumulate detailed and grounded knowledge of plural *de facto* citizenships, which bear only limited correspondence to laws and constitutions.

Indigenous praxis generates alternative modes of rights and responsibilities, ranging from declarations of territorial autonomy to multiracial alliances. Drawing on critical political geographies and decolonizing praxis, the paper argues for rethinking differentiated citizenships alongside Indigenous peoples to understand the geographies, practices and actors that shape their experiences and inspire alternatives.

2. A Story of Re-Occupation: An Intercultural City-zenship Project in Ecuadorian Amazonia
Natalia Buitron, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

This paper explores the creation of an Intercultural Indigenous City (CCIPNA) by an Amazonian interethnic collective of Indigenous nationalities in Ecuador's Pastaza region. This citizenship project began in 2017 when self-appointed Indigenous governors and councillors occupied and proposed purchasing an abandoned estate called Hacienda Te Zulay. This land was formerly owned by a British and then Brazilian company and used for tea cultivation. The Indigenous occupiers have endured significant legal battles and confrontations with authorities, police, and even official Indigenous organisations who disputed their occupation and marginalized them as migrants. Through preliminary ethnographic and archival research, I will examine the discursive practices the collective uses to defend a form of citizenship that challenges a long history of dispossession and integrates the complexity of contemporary Amazonian lives. The citizens do not see themselves as migrants, but rather as refugees of colonization, claiming citizenship that transcends existing categories and confinement of collective rights to forest territories. I will focus specifically on the meanings and usages of "plurinational" for the collective and the narratives of women with deep forest ties who assert a legitimate right to the city, seeking access to markets and better education for their children.

3. Indigenous citizenship: quotidian struggles in a time of discontent
Lucia Rojas Rodriguez, University of Cambridge, UK

This paper discusses questions of indigenous citizenship that stem from the everyday experiences of understanding, finding, and waiting for state services in a small city in the Ecuadorian Andes. Moving away from formal aspects of indigenous citizenship, we address how ordinary people make sense of their rights as indigenous Ecuadorians in a space in which inequalities and racism continue to shape the everyday citizen-state interactions. Frequently indigenous-led over recent decades, Cotacachi municipality is often portrayed as an archetype of intercultural development and participatory political culture, having produced a novel concept of *sumak kawsay* (living well), that preceded the 2008 constitution. However, Cotacachi's history shows the strength of structural limitations, which heavily restrain *sumak kawsay* in practice, resulting in the reproduction of ethnic discrimination, geographical boundaries, and the superficial use of *kichwa* words grounded in Western concepts. In Cotacachi, disenchantment with the discourse of intercultural citizenship was heightened in the post-Correa era. In parallel, indigenous individuals, collectives and organisations continued to struggle for local and programmatic changes, including access to adequate births and anti-mining legislation. In this context, issues of everyday citizenship such as access to basic services and respect in public institutions continue to arise. Especially after recent indigenous mobilisations, the solutions of indigenous professionals in public service and vacuous intercultural legislation appear insufficient. The paper draws on five months of ethnographic fieldwork in Cotacachi.

4. Indigenous Citizenship in a Hydrocarbon State: Reflections from the Bolivian Chaco
Penelope Anthias, Durham University, UK

This paper reflects on the complex and ambivalent intersection of two key dimensions of recent citizenship struggles in Bolivia: Indigenous peoples' struggles to decolonise citizenship through claims for collective rights, territorial recognition, and self-governance within a plurinational state; and the

intimate but contested relationship between hydrocarbons and citizenship under the Movement Towards Socialism government. Drawing on a decade and a half of collaborative ethnographic research, this paper explores how differently situated Guaraní citizens in the gas-rich lands of the Chaco navigate unfulfilled visions of territorial autonomy and plurinationalism alongside the promise of conditional inclusion in various modalities of hydrocarbon citizenship. I discuss these dilemmas as they unfold both in the politics of Indigenous territorial claims and in struggles for Indigenous representation in local state institutions. In doing so, I explore the subsoil as a key terrain on which competing notions of Indigenous citizenship are forged, contested and worked out - albeit without disrupting an ongoing trajectory of Indigenous territorial and ecological dispossession.

5. Understanding plurinationalism from below: Reading key national events between 2019 and 2022 in Ecuador

Malvika Gupta, University of Oxford

This paper unpacks the political theory of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement, CONAIE, which is constituted by diverse indigenous nationalities, and known as the strongest and most organised in Latin America. In 2008, the Ecuadorian state undertook constitutional reforms in response to indigenous movement's demands for plurinationalism, interculturality and the rights of nature. This complex whole of unique political ideas challenges the liberal understanding of multiculturalism and a framework of solely individual and human rights as subjects. Based on extended militant research amidst the movement, I read key national political events with the objective of unpacking the political philosophy underlying these ideas. I argue there are divergences between the state's understanding of the above-mentioned political ideas and that of the indigenous movement. I discuss the indigenous movement's political praxis which affords different kinds of political subjects and forms of citizenship. Finally, I contend that although political ideas from social movements may find their way into state policy discourses, if not considered ontologically, they run the risk of co-optation.

RAC 1. Indigenous Citizenship: practices, agendas and implications in Latin America - 2

Session organizer & chair: Sarah A. Radcliffe (University of Cambridge, UK)

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6. Ciudadanías y autonomías confrontadas. Los dilemas del pluralismo jurídico en México
Victor Leonel Juan Martínez, Centro de investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, México

La ciudadanía como membresía para ejercer derechos, toma particularidades a partir de la fuente constitucional de que deviene, particularmente en ámbitos locales. En el caso mexicano se identifican tres formas que asume la ciudadanía, derivadas del reconocimiento constitucional a los territorios: 1. La ciudadanía liberal, que es la predominante, derivada del régimen federal que asume el Estado mexicano que establece al Municipio Libre como su célula básica de organización político-administrativa, (artículo 115); 2. La ciudadanía agraria, resultado del establecimiento de la propiedad colectiva del territorio (Ejidos y Bienes Comunes, artículo 27); 3. La ciudadanía indígena/comunitaria, que parte del reconocimiento a pueblos y comunidades indígenas (artículo 2). Como consecuencia un mismo sujeto social –individual o colectivo– ejerce múltiples ciudadanía; a la par que se ocasionan contradicciones y tensiones entre los derechos inherentes a cada membresía, sin que el marco jurídico tenga canales para su resolución; y, en las más de las ocasiones, esas lagunas normativas son utilizadas para socavar derechos de las comunidades indígenas. El trabajo aborda estas múltiples ciudadanía, cómo se han construido para la defensa de derechos de libre determinación, desarrollo y territorios desde las comunidades indígenas y revisa tres ejes: de la movilización indígena; de los cambios normativos y de las resoluciones jurisdiccionales, para advertir los problemas que ha de enfrentar el incipiente pluralismo jurídico que se instaura en México, a partir de la revisión de casos concretos de disputa entre derechos.

7. Land, Law, and Indigenous Lifeways: The Inter-American Court of Human Rights Landmark Ruling in *Lhaka Honhat v. Argentina*
Bernardo Carvalho de Mello, Newcastle University, United Kingdom

The Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR) has been instrumental in addressing complex human rights issues in Latin America, particularly those involving indigenous communities. This paper examines the IACtHR's influential role in promoting justice and redressing injustice, using the landmark case *Lhaka Honhat (Our Land) Association v. Argentina* (2020) as a focal point. The decision in *Lhaka Honhat v. Argentina* represents a significant juncture in the legal recognition of indigenous rights, land entitlements, environmental protection, and intersectional discrimination. The case underscores the struggle of the indigenous communities in Argentina's Chaco region to safeguard their ancestral lands and cultural heritage against encroachment and environmental degradation. This paper analyzes the Court's comprehensive approach to indigenous rights, emphasizing its innovative application of international legal standards to ensure collective property rights and environmental justice. It further explores how the IACtHR addressed intersectional discrimination by recognizing the unique vulnerabilities faced by indigenous peoples, intersecting with issues of poverty, marginalization, and ecological sensitivity. The Court's decision is evaluated for its positive implications in strengthening legal frameworks that protect marginalized communities and promote sustainable development. The paper concludes that the IACtHR's ruling in *Lhaka Honhat v. Argentina* not only sets a precedent for indigenous land rights but also contributes to the evolving jurisprudence on environmental discrimination and intersectionality, offering pathways for legal redress and reaffirming the Court's commitment to upholding human rights in Latin America and how it can be seen as a tool for social justice in the region.

8. Reimagining Citizenship. Unveiling the Political Dimensions of Carnaval Dignidad in Santiago, Chile

Tamara Hernández, Utrecht University

This paper examines urban indigenous citizenship within the context of Carnaval Dignidad, an event organized by migrant communities in Santiago, Chile. After a year of ethnographic research, I uncover a unique form of protest embedded within the carnival, which challenges the local norm of celebration. The carnival playfully integrates aspects of various indigenous groups, with dance troupes and the organizing committee comprising both self-identified indigenous and non-indigenous individuals. This fusion of identities underscores the intriguing coexistence and productive blending of migrant and indigenous categories, surpassing disputes over authenticity. Furthermore, the carnival demonstrates a strong political commitment to the struggle to improve the living conditions of migrant communities in the country, and aligning itself with the intercultural political aspirations of indigenous groups in Chile and Latin America, showcasing a transnational dimension. The paper delves into the narrative and symbolic meanings encapsulated in the carnival, revealing a cosmology with a clear political stance emphasizing citizenship in a broad sense. Notably, individuals without formal citizenship status utilize the concept of citizenship as a means of fostering coexistence and dismantling racist notions.

9. Chile, September 2022: Indigenous citizenship, rejection of the draft Constitution and coloniality of power

Anne Lavanchy, HETS Geneva, Switzerland (speaker), Anahy Gajardo, University of Neuchâtel and Center for Social Research (CERES), Geneva School of Social Work & Céline Heini, HETS Geneva (co-authors)

On 4 September 2022, 62 percent of the Chilean electorate rejected the draft of the new Constitution, which was to replace the 1982 Constitution drawn up during the dictatorship. One main reason for this rejection centred on the affirmation of the 'plurinationality' of the state and the granting of collective rights to indigenous peoples. This paper will offer a critical reading of this rejection, based on ethnographic data collected in a rural municipality in the province of Arauco. In this area, rejection reached a rate of 81 percent, while almost 30 percent of the population declare themselves to be Mapuche Lafkenche (2017). We will show the diversity and complexity of the positions expressed by indigenous citizens with regard to the issue of plurinationality, in a Chilean region described as 'in conflict' where structural violence is expressed by the daily presence of the armed forces, as well as by threats from land recovery groups that mobilise the figure of the yanakona (Mapuche traitor). In particular, we will be asking how an autonomous and self-determined indigenous citizenship can be constructed in a context where the coloniality of power continues to shape the relationship to politics of the most marginalised.

RAC 2. Racist structures and anti-racist struggles in Latin America

Chair: Carolina Santarossa Correa (Ibero-amerikanisches Institut, Berlin)

1. Trânsitos amefricanos: a trajetória internacional de Lélia Gonzalez

Carolina Santarossa Correa, Ibero-amerikanisches Institut, Berlin

Lélia Gonzalez foi uma das mais importantes intelectuais brasileiras do século XX. Filósofa, antropóloga, professora, militante negra e feminista, sua obra e ações políticas foram pioneiras em articular as relações entre gênero, raça e classe no Brasil. Mulher preta e de origem pobre, ela ocupava em 1994, ano de sua morte, a prestigiada direção do Departamento de Sociologia e Política da PUC-Rio. Todavia, as décadas seguintes foram marcadas pelo silêncio da academia sobre suas contribuições intelectuais e pela dificuldade de acessar sua obra. Apesar dos maiores esforços nos últimos anos em

resgatar e investigar o pensamento e biografia de Gonzalez, uma particularidade relevante ainda permanece pouco estudada: sua intensa trajetória internacional, com numerosas passagens pelas Américas, África e Europa. Em 1986, ela se apresenta em campanha eleitoral como “primeira mulher negra a sair do país para divulgar a verdadeira situação da mulher negra brasileira”. Lélia transitou, entre outros, por círculos vinculados à agenda da ONU para a Década Mundial da Mulher, às articulações pelo fim do apartheid, ao movimento pan-africanista e à acadêmicos estrangeiros dedicados aos estudos raciais e sobre a mulher. Esta pesquisa, impulsionada pela reflexão sobre a colonialidade e o racismo operantes nas dinâmicas de circulação de saberes, reconstrói e mapeia as redes intelectuais de Lélia Gonzalez pelo mundo, investigando como a experiência internacional influenciou sua obra, construída em diálogo com pensadores da diáspora e militantes estrangeiros ligados às vanguardas dos movimentos feminista, antirracista e anticolonial.

2. Intersecting the Role of Black/Afro-hair Care Entrepreneurship in the Development Agenda of the Anti-racist Movement in Colombia

Karen Domínguez Mendoza, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

The use of bodily aesthetics has been recognised as an effective tool for antiracist movements led by the Afrodiasporic community globally. In Colombia, Black women's organisations have harnessed the power of Afro hair as a symbol of liberation to mobilise their resources and create ethnic-driven enterprises that resist and confront racialised economic violence, as well as current notions and practices of development. This research aims to explore the role of Black/Afro hair entrepreneurship in shaping the development agenda of antiracist movements in the country. Using an intersectional approach, the study critically investigates Afro hair-care entrepreneurship as a viable economic alternative for Black women amidst racial capitalism. It seeks to provide "intersectional counterframes" that account for the interplay of race, gender, and class in shaping the narratives and practices of development within the antiracist struggle of Black movements in Colombia. A qualitative research design based on a sub-national case study is applied, with ethnography, interviews, and focus groups as research techniques. Fieldwork takes place in different Colombian cities along the Pacific and Caribbean coast regions, areas with the largest afro-descendant population.

3. Identidad Marron as a Political Effect: From Juridical Recognition of Racism to Redefined Anti-Brown Racism

Ana Vivaldi, University of British Columbia, Canada - University of Manchester, UK

Identidad marron is an identification that recently emerged in Argentina not bounded by culture or genetic composition but emerging from the experience of racism and awareness of an ancestry that may be known or erased. It is a 'glitch' identity (outside ethnic categories), that challenges exclusion and subordination faced by bodies with indigenous phenotypes—those of the working class residing in shanty towns, and rural areas. We explore the affective construction of the marrón social location in two of its recent effects. One is a landmark recognition of racism in an Argentine court case involving police violence against non-white youth, where the jury acknowledged the murder was 'aggravated by racial hatred' against a marrón person, a legal term never applied before. This recognition signifies a public recognition of racial categorizations, and underlines the efficacy of intervening in the public sphere with a politics of “brownness”, one that demonstrates the imminence of daily racism. The verdict was not only a juridical innovation but an acknowledgment of Argentina's racism shaping group boundaries and class compositions. We finish by focusing on an opposite effect of the irruption of marrón identities, the appropriation of the category by sympathizers of the right who use the term as a new racist terminology, a variation over negro de mierda (shit* black) on the social media sphere during the presidential election campaigns.

4. Does Corruption (Re)produce Racial Inequality? Observational Evidence on the Relationship Between Skin Colour and Bribery in Latin America
Franco Serra, Goldsmiths, University of London

Does bureaucratic corruption reproduce and perpetuate racial inequality in Latin America? In particular, how does skin colour, a key predictor of racial marginalisation, factor into bribery targeting? In this study, I empirically examine the relationship between citizens' phenotype and individual corruption experiences using innovative survey data from nine Latin American countries with large and visible indigenous and Afro descendant population for the period 2012-2017. The results show that respondents with darker skin tones are more likely to be targeted to pay bribes compared with those with a lighter shade at the region level. Additionally, the interaction between wealth and phenotype may not necessarily serve as the most accurate predictor of exposure to corruption victimisation. Among other notable findings, this study provides robust evidence that darkest-skinned people from indigenous countries are targeted at higher rates for corruption practices in comparison with their counterparts in Afro descendant nations. Consequently, I argue that the heterogeneity of the findings reflects the interplay of distinctive corruption dynamics and discrimination patterns that may or may not be shared by countries.

5. Emergency urbanism and housing life precarization in the violent administration of favelas removal in the City of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Luciana Mendes Barbosa, Lancaster University

Between 2009 and 2015 approximately 21,000 families living in hilltops and flooding prone areas were removed from favelas of the city of Rio de Janeiro under the argument of "preserving lives" (Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro, 2015), leaving open how the process of favelas' clearance in areas deemed as high-risk areas has occurred. To understand how removals have been administratively addressed to prevent disaster risk and to what extent this practice has contributed to perpetuating favelas' precarity, this paper aims to show how state practices – informed by racialized and gendered categories of vulnerability and risk – aimed at maximizing life have paradoxically contributed to maximizing favela dwellers vulnerability. The resulted precarisation, I argue, consists of a form of violence in itself. Here, violence is understood as one that does not only emerge from a direct state action against favela dwellers but also from gradual unfolding of the state-led precarisation on favela dwellers. Nevertheless, to analyse the violent re-enactment of life precarisation posed by the removal of favelas, or its expectancy, I rely on favela dwellers' routine encounters with the state in indirect and immediate ways, through its officials, norms, procedures, discourses, and practices of favela's removals.

RAC 3. Class mobility, colour and urbanization in Argentina and Peru

Chair: Walter L. Koppmann (Lateinamerika-Institut, Freie Universität Berlin & Instituto Ravignani, Universidad de Buenos Aires – CONICET)

1. The middle classes, the state, and the market: lessons from two qualitative surveys in Argentina
Mathieu Clément, Bordeaux School of Economics, University of Bordeaux, France

This article aims to explore the political positioning of Argentina's middle class, examine its aspirations, expectations, and priorities (i.e., the "demand" side of public policy and private-sector strategies), and identify how stakeholders and institutions integrate these demands into the design of public policies and market strategies (i.e., the "supply" side). To do so, we adopt an original approach combining two qualitative surveys: a qualitative survey of 40 households reflecting the diversity of Argentina's middle class and a qualitative survey of 12 representatives of public and private institutions involved in sectors that are crucial in relation to middle-class aspirations. Our empirical investigations provide interesting

insights. First, although the Argentinean middle class is socioeconomically and politically fragmented, we highlight shared aspirations in relation to consumption, education, health, housing and security. Such commonalities could contribute to forming a collective identity within the middle class, or at the very least mitigate its fragmentation. Second, despite slight nuances in the comments recorded, middle-class respondents are unanimous in condemning corruption, criticizing the failings of public services, and feeling abandoned by redistribution policies. Third, on the supply side of public policy, our institutional interviews highlight the absence of large-scale public policies specifically targeted at the middle classes, supporting the feeling of abandonment among members of the middle class. For the private sector, however, the middle class appears to be strategic, as the market is seen as a key element in the symbolic construction of class identity.

2. Río de la Plata riverside transformation and gentrification processes: Risks for old informal waterfront settlements

Maria Mercedes Di Virgilio, Universidad de Buenos Aires | CONICET, Argentina

The paper describes the transformation processes of the Río de La Plata waterfront and their links with the gentrification processes triggered in the area by the construction of the Puerto Madero neighborhood. Also, within the framework of broader gentrification processes, it describes a recent phenomenon that had never before been observed in the city: the redevelopment of old informal settlements (villas) on the riverside. In this context, it is worth asking about the consequences of these initiatives in interaction with the context of transformations. The question becomes relevant insofar as, historically, in the case of Buenos Aires, the dispossession of the informal settlements population has been a foundational mechanism of gentrification. The process began in the context of the last civil-military dictatorship. The difference between initial and current processes lies in the mobilized dispossession mechanisms. In the context of the dictatorship, eradicating the informal settlements was one of the elements that gave rise to the conditions for the development of the gentrification process - for example, in the neighborhood of Palermo, the first of Buenos Aires' neighborhoods to be gentrified. Within this framework, the paper seeks to frame the current transformations of the Río de La Plata waterfront in a long-standing process to identify the particularities of the new renewal policies.

3. Lima: A paradigmatic case of incremental housing. The history of housing policies in Lima, Peru

Nick Nowara, TU Dortmund University, Germany

Lima consists largely of incrementally built housing and serves as the basis for historical and contemporary academic discussions on housing. The works of John Turner and José Matos Mar are just two examples that highlight the importance of the Peruvian case, as much of their work is based on Peru and Lima in particular. The predominance of incremental housing in Lima can be traced back to more than a century of events and policies, so that today up to 80 per cent of Lima's housing stock is built incrementally. Although the term is not mentioned in any policy document, incremental housing is unmistakably present in Peruvian politics and is helping to solve the housing shortage. This is most evident in the *barriadas* that symbolise the practice, where houses are built incrementally, sometimes over decades. The *barriadas* are not only the main reason for the rapid growth of the Peruvian capital in the past, but also have a decisive influence on the expansion of the city today. Based on a structured literature analysis, I argue that: First, Lima is a paradigmatic case of incremental housing. Second, incremental housing has become one, if not the main, policy approach of the current and recent governments to solve the housing shortage. Third, it is crucial to understand the practice, since incremental housing forms a significant part of Lima and will continue to shape the city's future. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of incremental housing is essential to enable active political governance.

4. The Colour of Social Mobility: The Cultural and Racial Imprints of Ascending Trajectories to the Peruvian Dominant Class
Mauricio Rentería, The University of Manchester

This study focuses on the racial imprints of ascending trajectories to the dominant class. Drawing from 42 interviews with upwardly mobile and established interviewees, this research analyses the classed and racialised dimensions of upwardly mobile individuals' incorporation into environments dominated by the values and customs of the dominant sectors of Lima society. This study shows that upwardly mobile respondents' behaviour and lifestyle transformations encompass a change in how they are racially positioned in everyday interactions. Specifically, 'Mestizos' ascending trajectories neutralise, in most contexts, the possibility of being racially positioned as 'Cholos'. This classed and racialised process is understood as decolouring: a form of 'Whitening' implying a detachment from a spoiled racial identity while not retaining a non-White stable racial identification. This racialised form of mobility has two main implications. On the one hand, it entails that upwardly mobile 'Mestizos' can hardly get through a deeply racialised symbolic and social boundary separating individuals regarded as 'White' and brought up from privileged backgrounds. On the other hand, it shows that 'Mestizos' leave a denigrated classed and racialised positioning – i.e., being considered as 'a mere Cholo' or 'someone's Cholo' – at the price of continually experiencing class and racial ambiguity and being vulnerable to the possibility of being subjected to discrimination.

5. Yiddishkayt, Boliches y Mate. Social Struggle and Transnational Urban Experiences of Jewish Migrant Workers in Early-Twentieth-Century Buenos Aires (1905-1930)
Walter L. Koppmann, Lateinamerika-Institut, Freie Universität Berlin & Instituto Ravignani, Universidad de Buenos Aires - CONICET

On the eve of World War I, Jews in Buenos Aires, Argentina were the third largest group of immigrants, behind Italians and Spaniards. Although their national composition varied, Yiddishkayt functioned as a common cultural background. The massive diasporic displacement around the planet, altogether with the Jewish settlement in New World cities, shaped different transnational urban experiences that connected faraway places, traditions, and social practices in the context of capitalist modernization. Indistinctly called the "Russians", Jews in Argentina represented a social minority in numerical terms. All the same, their political relevance was salient as the public opinion stigmatized them as a dangerous and subversive social group, associated with terrorism, violence, and women trafficking. Despite these prejudices, Jewish workers also played a role in the emergency of the Argentine labour movement, not only taking part in social struggles, but also building up a strong tie with left political cultures (anarchists, socialists, and lately, revolutionary syndicalists, and communists). Some of the questions that guided our research are: what was the impact of developing urbanization among the Argentinean Jewry in the early-twentieth century? What was the role of left political cultures in shaping these new identities? Through the study of Yiddish workers' primary sources, this paper seeks to discuss a new way of thinking about class, ethnic, politic, and gender relations in Latin-American cities through a focus on Jewish migrant workers.

RAC 4. Indigenous urbanization in Latin America: Challenges and agency - 1

Session organizer & chair: Dana Brablec (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

1. Indigenous Women's Alliance in the City: agency and political participation through audiovisual creation

Laura Ximena Triana, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

In this article, I examine the formation of the Indigenous Women's Alliance in the City (IWAC) and its audiovisual creations. This group of women from other regions of the country migrate to Bogota because of the armed conflict or the search for better opportunities. From an audiovisual training initiative in 2015, women find a scenario to express various situations of discrimination, inequality, and social and political exclusion. Likewise, this creative process activates individual confidence and collective articulation to achieve greater possibilities of political incidence and thus improve their quality of life. From a transdisciplinary perspective, combined with applying ethnographic and audiovisual methods, I analyse three audiovisual productions and the narratives of their own experiences. In this way, I highlight the connections between audiovisual language and Amerindian orality that have allowed them to transform adverse situations and create self-representations.

2. From nanas to presidentas: Leadership Trajectories of Mapuche Women within Indigenous Associations in Santiago de Chile

Dana Brablec, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This paper delves into the transformative impact of mobility on Indigenous organizational dynamics, with a particular focus on the Mapuche diaspora in Santiago de Chile. Building on ethnographic data emerging from the narratives of Mapuche women, who have served or continue to serve as both domestic workers (nanas) and Indigenous community-based leaders (presidentas), the paper explores the reshaping of socio-spatial relationships related to indigeneity, gender, and urban emplacement. Examining the nuanced relational engagements of female Mapuche leaders within the white-mestizo city, the paper emphasizes their navigation of diverse social roles, particularly within ethnic associations. These associations play a crucial function in directing the re-creation of Indigenous identity in Santiago, challenging traditional patriarchal leadership norms that have historically marginalized Mapuche women in the urban organizational landscape. Informed by the scholarship of female academics in decolonial gender studies, critical indigenous studies, and critical Latinx indigeneities, this paper introduces a critical urban indigeneities framework that interweaves Indigenous organizational occurrences with discussions of gender, race, class, and urbanization. The study proposes the (re)emergence of novel forms of socio-political relational interactions that anticipate pluriversal futures for Mapuche presidentas, transcending the historical patriarchal constraints imposed on their leadership roles within the urban organizational scene.

3. Patriarchal Norms and Colonial Legacies: Racing Urban Informality in Ecuador

Maria Gabriela Palacio, Leiden University, The Netherlands

Informality is often framed as a supply problem with economic interventions to enhance labour productivity, e.g., investments in human capital, providing access to finance, or formalising employment through increased social protection coverage and integration into taxation systems. However, the labour market does not operate in a vacuum, and it is influenced by patriarchal norms and colonial legacies, which determine what work is and how it is valued. While in previous work, I have focussed on informality and gender to raise awareness about the processes that create and perpetuate difference (Palacio, 2017), the study of the resilience of informality in the Latin American region can benefit from considering the intersection of gender, race and class. This paper focuses on the Ecuadorian case, where Indigenous and Afro-descendant populations, are often absorbed into

precarious urban informal employment due to ongoing postcolonial processes of oppression and racialised segregation. This exposes them to further marginalisation and precarity in the city. However, social protection policies addressing this issue are often inadequate, leaving these populations at a crossroads between punishment and protection. Some may receive temporary and individualist cash transfers aimed at impoverished mothers, only visible through a nationalist and patriarchal lens. In contrast, others remain excluded due to their marginality, high mobility (migrant populations), and difficulty in being recorded as "poor" in social registries (Palacio 2021). This exposes the ongoing exclusions of the postcolonial state, which fragments social citizenship and obscures the racialisation of urban informality.

RAC 4. Indigenous urbanization in Latin America: Challenges and agency - 2

Session organizer & chair: Dana Brablec (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

4. The Urban in the Rural: Exploring the Utility of the Divide between Village and City in Bolivia
Andrew Canessa, University of Essex, United Kingdom

When I first arrived in the Aymara-speaking Bolivian highland village of Wila Kjarka in 1989, there was no road or electricity and if you wanted to send a message to the next village, someone had to walk. There were many people who had not left the highland valley in decades. Today there is a road and electricity and, perhaps more important, every adult has access to a mobile telephone; not only can they call their friends and relatives in the next village but their friends and relatives in the capital city as well as in far flung places such as Sao Paolo, Buenos Aires and Spain. The road, too, has brought the city closer with radically changing consumption patterns with many making the trip to La Paz on a regular basis. If in 1989 there was a profound difference between urban and rural today it is difficult to sustain that distinction. Whereas there have been many studies of rural to urban migration in Bolivia and across the Andes, there have been comparably few on the effects of the circulation of people, ideas, and goods back to rural communities. In this paper I argue that if in the past it made sense to see indigeneity as rooted in a rural existence, today, as a majority of indigenous people are urban anyway, we need to think of urban indigeneity as the norm, even in communities geographically far from cities.

5. Relación de legitimidad entre el gobierno local y las hortaliceras mapuches de Temuco
Nicole Pereira Ríos, Leiden University, The Netherlands

La legitimidad, de acuerdo a diversas aproximaciones teóricas, consta de una dualidad entre lo intrínsecamente político y emocional y lo racional e imparcial. Además de circunscribirse al principio de dominación que permite el ejercicio efectivo del poder. Este paper se enfoca en el caso de las hortaliceras mapuches de Temuco, quienes ofrecen sus productos en las principales calles de la ciudad desde su fundación en 1881, y su relación histórica con la Municipalidad de Temuco. A mi entender, este caso ilustra de buena manera una de las aristas fundamentales del conflicto entre el Estado Chileno y el Pueblo Mapuche relativa a las discrepancias en cuanto a la legitimidad que cada una de las partes otorga a los argumentos de su adversario. Esta situación abre el dilema institucional entre el respeto a la tradición agrícola del Pueblo Mapuche y la virtud de la legalidad que las considera comercio informal. Por un lado, las hortaliceras aportan un carácter carismático e identitario a la ciudad, donde cuentan con el apoyo de la población que compra sus productos. Por otro recae una presión sobre la calidad del desempeño de la administración municipal en cuanto al cumplimiento de las normas y el orden público. Abordar esta problemática desde la perspectiva de la legitimidad, puede ayudar a identificar puntos críticos que permitan avanzar en la construcción de consensos que destraben el conflicto en sus distintos niveles.

6. “Desde Abajo” (From the Ground-Up): Mapuche Intelligence and Place-making in the city
Sarah Chocano Barboza, University of Toronto, Canada

Migration patterns from rural to urban areas often result in the strategic silencing of one’s native language and culture to protect oneself and family from marginalization. In Chile, colonial imaginaries that see cities as “the locus of civilization” (Waldman Mitnick, 2004; Casagrande, 2021) have resulted in its capital’s socio-spatial segregation, affecting how migrating Indigenous populations relate to urban space. The Mapuche— Chile’s largest Indigenous group—have strategically silenced their Indigenous ancestry after migrating to the capital city. Consequently, Mapuche urban collectives have mobilized for and continue to be involved in the maintenance of intercultural day-care centres. Thus, this paper examines how Antü Mahuida, an intercultural day-care in Santiago de Chile, exemplifies Mapuche families’ engagement with place-making practices that advance their own needs as urban Indigenous citizens. The paper follows ethnographic methodologies to understand how the Mapuche fight for urban intercultural day-cares reaffirms urban space as sites that are part of Indigenous struggles. The analysis combines Henri Lefebvre’s (1996) geographical work on the ‘right to the city’, James Holston’s (2009) anthropological study of insurgent citizenship, and Sara Ahmed’s (2004) take on affective politics to understand the motivation behind urban Mapuche families’ mobilization for intercultural educational services in Chile. The paper asks: how do Mapuche affective ties to space shape Chilean urban landscapes? In doing so, I contribute to geographical understandings of place and space by conversing with Mapuche epistemologies that see space as constituted by non-linear understandings of time and by more-than-human entities.

7. The Grey: Concrete, temporalities, and self among Mapuche persons in Santiago, Chile
Santiago Irribarra Palet, University of Manchester, UK

Based on twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork with Mapuche indigenous communities in Santiago, Chile, this paper is focused on how the city’s materiality modulates Mapuche persons’ relations to land and their notions of past, present, and future self. Concrete looms large in the personal and collective histories of Mapuche interlocutors as a harsh, omnipresent, grey infrastructure that they consider oppressive and hostile to life in general, breaking bodies and blocking them from accessing the vital energy of the earth underneath. These perceptions are partly tied to historical patterns of migration and (re)settlement in the city as well as their conceptions of what a good and moral life should entail, particularly with regard to one’s relationship with land and the spirits of the land. In this paper I further argue that Mapuche relations with the urban material environment are changing and new meanings are coming into bloom, as interlocutors take charge of using concrete as a tool for better future lives and perhaps begin to conceive of it as an earth-like channel that enables, rather than blocks, spiritual energy and connection.

RAC 5. Race and Indigeneity in Digital Entertainment and Activism - 1

Session organizer & chair: Victoria Adams (University of Bristol, UK)

Over the past two decades, digital media and technologies have become ubiquitous across Latin America. While access to these technologies remains unequal, their prevalence has transformed the terms on which people carry out quotidian activities, communicate and fashion identities. In response to how research on their usage has tended to foreground tactical and activist approaches to digital media, this panel engages in an expansive exploration of the creative, critical and often irreverent ways that a range of communities from across Latin America employ digital media to articulate difference, pursue social functions and engage in leisure. At the same time, the panel adopts an intersectional approach to consider the paradoxes and limitations of such everyday uses of digital technology, as well as the ways in which, to draw on the work of David Nemer (2022: 4), they are an extension of struggles

many already face. In so doing, the panel engages with how racist biases and other forms of oppression are reproduced and countered through digital cultures, how racialised identities are staged online and how histories of prejudice are embedded in digital media. The panel attends to the 2024 SLAS conference theme, 'In/Justice in Latin America and the Caribbean', by attending to the ambiguous and polyvalent role that technology plays in people's lives across Latin America.

1. Digital Indigenous Youth Cultures: The Case of Andean Fusion Group Rimay's Online Fans Club

Ignacio Aguiló, The University of Manchester

While Latin American Indigenous communities' interactions with digital technology have been extensively studied, there's a significant gap in our understanding of how young Indigenous individuals utilise social media for leisure and entertainment. This gap inadvertently perpetuates a homogenised perception of Indigenous peoples and their relations with the digital world, primarily framed as political. This paper explores social interactions on Facebook and Instagram among young Andean fans of the Otavalo fusion group Rimay, focusing on how these interactions contribute to the expression of a distinct youth identity through the sharing and commenting on online content related to the band. This study argues that these online activities serve as an example of how social media platforms allow Andean youth to challenge societal expectations imposed by mainstream society and the adults within their communities. In doing so, they embrace alternative forms of Indigeneity, engaging in novel self-expression and interaction with the broader world, reshaping and redefining Andean identities in the age of digital connectivity.

2. Reformulating Cultural and Digital Inclusion in Brazil through Pontos de Cultura: 2004 to 2024

Victoria Adams, University of Bristol

In the early 2000s, Brazil pioneered efforts to encourage cultural production and digital inclusion in geographically diverse and marginalised communities. The recognition of pre-existing cultural organisations throughout the country as Pontos de Cultura [Cultural Points] that were eligible to receive funding for activities and multimedia equipment was central to this endeavour. This paper explores the impact of these efforts to democratise access to culture and digital media twenty years later. Collaborating with those involved in the Pontos de Cultura past and present, this study asks how the programme has affected the activities and engagement with mediums such as digital media of the pre-existing NGOs, cultural centres and artistic collectives involved in it, as well as the lessons and attitudes towards government that those involved in the programme have taken from it. Through analysis of these questions, this paper explores what the experiences of the Pontos de Cultura tell us about the ability of governmental and culturally orientated interventions to alter longstanding socio-cultural inequality. It also probes the sustainability and afterlives of government-led programmes as the willingness of political administrations to fund cultural initiatives oscillates.

3. Beyond the 'black box': Indigenous digital art and visual representation with generative AI models

Thea Pitman, University of Leeds & Andreas Rauh, Dublin City University

Recent popularisation of generative AI models has been accompanied by media discourse which has praised its potential for democratisation of textual and visual production. Nonetheless, it is increasingly clear that such tools are actually functioning as bias engines, working in ways that enhance stereotyping. However, commercial models such as those mentioned above do not allow public access to their code, thus hiding the complexities and processes of the generation of text/images within a virtual 'black box'. The only thing that 'we' can do is try to deduce how the code works in relation to the representation of, for example, particular racialised groups, by working backwards from the results.

This paper explores the potential for structural injustices in the representation of Indigeneity in AI-generated visual representation using data from the 2023 project Artificial Intelligence, Art and Indigeneity (AIAI). This data includes a set of images (created with Midjourney) as well as feedback from focus groups with the project's seventeen Indigenous participants. A key conclusion from the AIAI project is that while participants identified considerable disconnect in terms of self-representation between ideation, text prompting and final image, the process itself was praised for its potential to increase participants' sense of agency in visual self-representation. These conclusions are being investigated further in the 2024 ESRC Digital Good Network-funded project INDIGENIA: Generative AI for Indigenous Futures and 'Digital Good Living', designed to explore Indigenous digital inclusion in this field and the potential for its good use from an Indigenous perspective.

4. The Spatialisation of Race in Brazilian Video Game Cultures

Edward King, University of Bristol

Various actors in the world of video games in Brazil are challenging the existence of structural racism within the industry. Indie games have been developed with Black and Indigenous protagonists; eSports training schools and competitions have been set up in favelas; non-white game streamers have risen to prominence, gathering huge followings and influence; and activist organisations have used video games to raise awareness. The aim of this paper is to analyse the contribution of video games to debates about race in Brazil and the specific forms that racism takes in the digital age. Drawing on research carried out as part of the AHRC-funded project 'Challenging Algorithmic Racism Through Digital Cultures in Brazil,' I will examine how video games intervene into the spatialisation of race (the construction of space to reinforce racial discrimination). My paper will explore two main examples: the 2019 indie game *Árida*, which revisits a foundational moment of racialized state violence in Brazil through the story of the Canudos rebellion; and the game *Third World: The Bottom Dimension*, a collaboration between artist Gabriel Massan and the Serpentine Gallery, described as 'an exploration of post-colonial queer Black-Brazilian experiences'. While the structural limitations of the former indicate parallels between algorithmic social control and the construction of the sertão as the constitutive outside of national space, the latter employs 3D modelling and in-game photography to mobilise video games' capacity to 'disorient' (Aubrey Anable 2018) players and enable new configurations of racialized belonging and virtual space.

RAC 5. Race and Indigeneity in Digital Entertainment and Activism - 2

Session organizer & chair: Victoria Adams (University of Bristol, UK)

Over the past two decades, digital media and technologies have become ubiquitous across Latin America. While access to these technologies remains unequal, their prevalence has transformed the terms on which people carry out quotidian activities, communicate and fashion identities. In response to how research on their usage has tended to foreground tactical and activist approaches to digital media, this panel engages in an expansive exploration of the creative, critical and often irreverent ways that a range of communities from across Latin America employ digital media to articulate difference, pursue social functions and engage in leisure. At the same time, the panel adopts an intersectional approach to consider the paradoxes and limitations of such everyday uses of digital technology, as well as the ways in which, to draw on the work of David Nemer (2022: 4), they are an extension of struggles many already face. In so doing, the panel engages with how racist biases and other forms of oppression are reproduced and countered through digital cultures, how racialised identities are staged online and how histories of prejudice are embedded in digital media. The panel attends to the 2024 SLAS conference theme, 'In/Justice in Latin America and the Caribbean', by attending to the ambiguous and polyvalent role that technology plays in people's lives across Latin America.

5. Constructing Indigenous Publics: Indigenous Enactments and New Media Audiences among Mapuche and Kichwa Youth
Joe R. Quick, University of Manchester

For indigenous communicators who are engaged in projects of social activism, cultural revitalisation or entrepreneurialism, it is not enough to simply be an indigenous person. To attract an audience and build a public of receptive and dedicated consumers, indigenous communicators must enact indigeneity in ways that are both recognisable and valued by their intended audiences. In the past, those audiences were often non-indigenous, and scholars have documented how indigenous spokespeople, politicians, filmmakers, musicians, and others who address such non-indigenous audiences must cater to their audiences' expectations in order to be heard. In the era of digital media, it is increasingly common for indigenous communicators to orient their communications at large and diverse indigenous audiences rather than targeted non-indigenous audiences, catalysing the emergence of new modes of enacting indigeneity. This paper draws on digital and in-person ethnography among young Mapuche communicators from Argentina and young Kichwa communicators from Ecuador to explore these new modes of enacting indigeneity online, paying particular attention to how such enactments contribute to the construction of new kinds of indigenous publics through new media platforms. The diversity of such enactments and their publics is illustrated by examples of Mapuche social-cultural activists, Kichwa social media influencers, and musicians from both backgrounds. Yet, despite their diversity, these new enactments and their publics share traits that manifest the salience of indigeneity in the digital world, and link them to older domains of indigenous communication.

6. The role of audiovisual production in reconfiguring everyday productions of space; 2 case studies from the Baixada Fluminense, Brazil
Mary Freedman, Queen's University Belfast

In doctoral research with a practice-based component, located in Rio de Janeiro, I examine how audiovisual production across all mediums provides an articulation between the imaginary of the city and the everyday experience of it, influencing the ongoing production of urban space. Focusing on productions by women, I inquire into the imaginary of peripheral areas and their inhabitants, and the use of audiovisual production/s by these inhabitants to re-imagine their 'place' in the city, both their own neighbourhoods and their right to access different spaces across the wider urban environment. In this paper I examine how women's movement across space is addressed in two very different productions originating in the Baixada Fluminense. Catu Rizo's collaborative fictional film *Com O Terceiro Olho na Terra da Profanação* (2016) reimagines the way in which three adolescent girls can move through spaces in and around the town of Niteroi as they explore their own shifting identities. Canal Plá', in their 2017 reportage series *Trajetos*, document individual Fluminense residents' 'affective relationships' with public transport. In exploring these productions, including extracts from my practice-based work, I suggest that (audiovisual) depictions of movement across space have an inherent capacity to reveal both geographical modulations in the right to the city and the intersectional nature of these shifts, focusing specifically on gender and race. I argue that these works constitute audiovisual interventions in the imaginary that affect how people relate to specific spaces, addressing some of the ways this can manifest in different viewers.

7. Indigenous Music Videos on Social Media: Addressing Issues of Contemporaneity, Entertainment, and Racism in Otavalo, Ecuador
Jérémie Voirol, University of Manchester, GB/Université de Lausanne, Switzerland

Music videos constitute cultural products that are widely consumed by Indigenous people in the Otavalo region, in the Ecuadorian Andes. Most of the Otavalo Indigenous bands have spread their

music through music videos on social media (such as YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram) for more than one decade. In this talk, I examine if and how racism and ethnic discrimination are addressed in these music videos made by Otavalo producers aimed primarily at a local Indigenous audience. This leads me to firstly focus on hip-hop bands, which tend to adopt a politically committed discourse in their songs, often addressing different kinds of discrimination. Secondly, I ask why racism is not more frequently addressed by bands of other genres. To answer these questions, I examine the different images of Indigeneity conveyed in music videos of different musical styles. While hip-hop artists are keen to build their self-presentation on the figure of the 'subversive Indian', the other bands from Otavalo often elaborate, in their music videos, an original image of Indigeneity, which moves away as much from the figure of the 'subversive Indian' as from that of the 'permitted Indian'. Drawing on the entertaining dimension of music videos, this image looks for a space for Indigenous people in the contemporary technologized world. Finally, my analysis reveals digital media as an important tool for Indigenous people to creatively perform, affirm, and control racial/ethnic difference.

RAC 6. Plurinationalism in Latin America: challenges, limitations and potential for emancipation

Session organizer & chair: Soledad Valdivia (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

Plurinationalism is the political project emerging from indigenous struggles in Latin America, originating as a demand in Bolivia and Ecuador at the beginning of the '80s. Since then, it has made its way to constitutional innovation in these countries, redefining them as Plurinational States (Ecuador in 2008 and Bolivia in 2009). There is a considerable body of literature on the state of indigenous rights and its recognition in other countries, but it is less clear why there have not been formal successors to the Andean Plurinational states. More recently, Chile has recently observed an attempt to inscribe plurinationalism in a new constitution, without success. In Guatemala, a stronger and more articulated social and political movement has emerged, pushing for plurinational constitutional reform. The more than ten years of the formal plurinational states of Bolivia and Ecuador offer the experience and lessons, while more recent desires to install plurinationalism speak of its continuous appeal and potential as an emancipatory alternative. The purpose of this panel is to bring these cases in dialogue with one another, to gain a deeper understanding of the challenges encountered in the path towards plurinationalism, as well as its potential and limitations as a political project. The panel invites the participants to engage with the wider meanings and implications of the Plurinational State, particularly in regard to central notions as interculturalidad and Buen Vivir/Vivir Bien, that imply the transformation of the political economic structures that underlie the Nation-State and a different relation with nature.

1. The construction of the plurinational project in comparative perspective: the cases of Bolivia and Ecuador

Soledad Valdivia, Leiden University, The Netherlands

Scholars have extensively and very critically documented the challenges encountered in the implementation of the Plurinational State, after the constitutional reforms in Ecuador (2008) and Bolivia (2009). These cases have been dealt in comparative terms in regard to the constituent processes, constitutional plurinationalism and the implementation of the Plurinational State. Yet the comparative analysis has paid less attention to the previous stages of the construction of plurinationalism, since it was first coined at the beginning of the 80s. This paper traces the development of the plurinational political project from its origins until its constitutional enshrinement. It pays particular attention to the often neglected instances of contact and dialogue between the indigenous actors of both countries, as well as the regional institutional and intellectual discussions that helped shaped the meaning of plurinationalism. The analysis helps understand the similarities observed in the pathway to the Plurinational States. At the same time, it identifies and accounts for the slight different ways in which

plurinationalism was understood and inserted in the constitutions. The analysis shows that Bolivian constitutional plurinationalism was more far reaching than the Ecuadorian case, explaining the greater level of criticism it has received. It argues that the process of construction of the plurinational project, including the regional exchange between different actors, is key in understanding why and how plurinationalism was constitutionally enshrined. This, in turn, may inform the analysis and understanding of other countries' experiences and experiments with plurinationalism.

2. Plurinacionalismo en el proceso constituyente de 2022 en Chile

Pablo Isla Monsalve, Leiden University, The Netherlands

El estallido social iniciado en octubre de 2019, representa una crisis estructural del modelo económico y político-constitucional del Chile posdictadura. Si bien este modelo sufrió sucesivas reformas y ajustes desde 1990, representa un sistema diseñado por la dictadura militar, por lo que carece de legitimidad política y se identifica como el obstáculo para la modernización y democratización en la lógica del Estado de bienestar. En noviembre de 2019, un acuerdo entre partidos intentó resolver esta crisis a través de una reforma constitucional. Desde el inicio de las protestas de 2019 y durante la instauración de la Convención Constitucional, el componente indígena adquirió especial visibilidad: banderas de pueblos indígenas en las manifestaciones; críticas a la historiografía oficial que omitía la presencia de las comunidades indígenas; cuotas de representación indígena en la Convención Constituyente; una académica y activista mapuche como primera presidenta de la convención; entre otros. Durante la labor constituyente la identidad étnica, la representación y reconocimiento de los pueblos indígenas y la plurinacionalidad fueron centrales. El proyecto de Constitución fue rechazado en referéndum por el 61,89% de la población en septiembre de 2022. A partir del debate sobre el constitucionalismo plurinacional latinoamericano, esta presentación identifica los factores que explican el rechazo específico al Estado plurinacional y la consagración constitucional de los derechos indígenas en el proyecto elaborado por la Convención Constitucional de 2022. ¿Cómo conciliar el entusiasmo inicial por la plurinacionalidad con el alto rechazo expresado en los resultados del referéndum, que finalmente condujo al fracaso de la renovación constitucional?

3. Guatemala: pueblos indígenas, defensa de la democracia y Estado Plurinacional.

Ricardo Saenz de Tejada, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, Guatemala

Entre 2016 y 2023 Guatemala vivió una ofensiva autoritaria liderada por una coalición de redes de corrupción que les permitió hacerse del control de las instituciones del Estado. Todos los poderes públicos (ejecutivo, legislativo y judicial) y los órganos de control fueron cooptadas por estas redes. El control del sistema de justicia les permitió usar la criminalización para perseguir, encarcelar o exiliar a opositores. Decenas de activistas han tenido que salir del país mientras que otros han sido encarcelados. La estrategia de la coalición gobernante era utilizar las elecciones de 2023 para legitimar su continuidad en el poder. Para ello, excluyeron candidatos opositores, e intentaron con maniobras legales evitar el reconocimiento y la toma de posesión de los candidatos ganadores. Frente a este asalto a la democracia, las autoridades de los pueblos indígenas encabezadas por los 48 cantones de Totonicapán, el Parlamento del Pueblo Xinka y la Municipalidad Indígena de Sololá, lideraron un paro nacional al que se sumaron miles de ciudadanos que contribuyeron a evitar un golpe de estado judicial. El paro de octubre de 2023 modificó el centro de gravedad del liderazgo social, tanto en términos geográficos como políticos, y abrió el paso al protagonismo de las autoridades ancestrales de los pueblos indígenas. Esto, en el marco de una prolongada discusión y debate público sobre el reconocimiento y ejercicio pleno de los derechos individuales y colectivos de los pueblos indígenas. La ponencia se propone abordar analíticamente estos procesos, considerando el debate latinoamericano sobre la plurinacionalidad y el ejercicio de formas de autogobierno en los pueblos indígenas de Guatemala.

4. Shades of Green. Mapuche women, diversidades, and feminist activism in Mapuche territories
Lucas Savino, Huron University College

This presentation begins by mapping out the ways in which Mapuche leaders, their organizations and communities have secured ways to make their territories viable as spaces of self-determination. One aspect of this process of Mapuche political revitalization that has become more visible in the past decade is the increasing role of a new generation of women who have articulated explicit women-centered demands into their communities and organizations. Now in positions of leadership, these Mapuche women have started to change the terms of engagement of what is meant to rebuild community with the overarching goal of self-determination. The paper addresses the ways in which Mapuche women may have changed the parameters of Indigenous activism in two communities: kintrikew and puel pvjv. It identifies the impact that such changes are having in what Mapuche activists call kvme feleal (“living well”) in their communities and how they relate to the politics of Mapuche self-determination.

5. Reimagining literacies for self-determination and social justice in Mexico
Lorena Sanchez Tyson, University of Hertfordshire

This paper investigates the role and significance of literacy among Indigenous language speakers participating in an adult education program in Mexico. Based on 35 semi-structured interviews conducted across three states and with speakers of Maya, Tenek, Ch'ol, Mazatec and Nahuatl, this multi-sited ethnographic research explores the multifaceted meanings, values, and applications of literacies within 15 different Indigenous communities. These insights are rooted in the participants' lived experiences, providing an in-depth understanding of their relationship with literacies as embedded in social practices and shaped by distinct ethnolinguistic and cultural histories. Through a thematic analysis and critical engagement with participant perspectives, the findings of the paper reveal a series of framings or 'reimaginings' about the role and meaning of literacy, including as a defense, a necessity, access to full knowledge, a means to express oneself, and a platform for 'convivencia' or mutual learning. Importantly, literacy emerges as a vital instrument for (re)asserting rights and contributing to the broader project of Indigenous self-determination, thereby becoming a critical facet of addressing societal in/justices within the Latin American region.

RAC 7. Indigeneity on the Move: Migration, Displacement, Marginality and Erasure in Middle America

Session organizer & chair: Julia McClure (University of Glasgow)

This panel targets conference themes via papers on Indigenous, mixed heritage and Afro-Latin American experiences of spatial aspects of removal, migration and racialised violence over ecological, political, spiritual and digital landscapes in Middle America. Participants will consider the socio-political and ethnic conceptions of belonging, marginalisation, territoriality, mobility and the performance of presence in the region to challenge assumptions about place-identity formulations and identify significant concerns these communities have confronted and continue to face. The panel creates cross-disciplinary discourse because of its panellists' diverse research methods, with each invested in critical engagement with Indigenous communities and their diasporic presences today, including: Lacandon (inc. Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Chol speakers), Garinagu, and Nahua peoples. Community voices and ethnolinguistic analysis deepen each paper, with presenters identifying key terminologies rooted in the historical construction and negotiation of cultural attachments to places in conversation with colonialism and neo-colonialism over time. Papers stretch from the start of colonialism to the present day, exploring the importance of history in contemporary articulations of Human Rights and recent activism demonstrating defiance to acts of displacement, replacement and erasure. Case studies include

eco-cultural expressions that shaped colonial foodways, transcending dogmas; Indigenous mobilities and ancestral rights that defied and defy agroforestry at the borderlands of Mexico and Guatemala; living collective memories and cosmologies as activism at the intersection of local agency and state erasure for Indigenous Guatemalans; Indigenous spiritual activism and just pastoralism from Cold-War Mexico; and unjust depictions of heritage in popular play settings from nineteenth-century Mexico to Digital-Age games.

1. The Lacandon Jungle: Agroforestry, Migration, and Belonging in a Historic Central American Shatter Zone

Julia McClure, University of Glasgow

The Lacandon Jungle (approximately 1.9 million hectares) is part of the historic Maya region of southern Mesoamerica. It incorporates lowlands in Yucatan, highlands in Chiapas, and transcends the Mexico-Guatemala border. It is a region of significant ecological, cultural, and linguistic diversity (historically there are around 32 different Mayan languages). This bio-culturally rich region can be thought of as a 'shatter zone'. James C Scott used the term shatter zone to describe places of people seeking refuge from processes of state making, which he also described as 'zomias'. The Lacandon has historically been a place of refuge, but these people have not simply been fleeing from the state-making processes of colonial capitalism but also actively engaging in their own processes of world-making. The Lacandon has been home to forms of agroforestry, which have historically been a way to secure the food sovereignty that it is understood to be central to autonomy and anti-colonial resistance. This paper looks at the ways in which multiple forms of mobility have been part of the history of the Lacandon region, from its historic agroforestry systems to the experiences of displacement and replacement, and the new challenges created by the contemporary politics of migration on the southern-Mexican border.

2. The Indigenous Ministry and Rights in Late Twentieth-Century Mexico

Rosie Doyle, University of Warwick

In the last three decades of the twentieth century Church leaders, priests and lay Catholics associated with the liberation theology tradition developed networks, institutions and strategies to reach out to and work with marginalised indigenous communities with the aim of empowering those communities to overcome marginalisation. This was known as the Pastoral Indigena or Indigenous Ministry. The strategies developed have been credited for the establishment of NGOs and New Social Movements that defended indigenous rights, led to community development and helped resist intrusive state development projects. How well received was the Indigenous Ministry initially by the indigenous communities it reached out to and how did the ideas of both the priests and lay Catholics and the communities they worked with change over time?

3. Invisible Native Americans: The Garifuna Community and Indigenous In/Justice in Guatemala

Erica M. Zuniga, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK

The Garifuna community in Guatemala continues to fight against injustices like racism and marginalization, and are generally invisible in the national narrative. This research analyzes the relationships between Garifuna language, oral history, and musical traditions to resolve issues of justice on land and sea. Descended from a fusion of Arawak Indians, Carib Indians, and pre-Colombian Africans beginning in South America in 1000 AD to the Caribbean, Garinagu (plural of Garifuna) have preserved their culture despite a long history of resisting erasure. Garinagu were declared one of three Indigenous Peoples of Guatemala, along with Maya and Xinca, in the UN's 1996 Agreement on a Firm and Lasting Peace (also called 1996 Peace Accords). The Accords ended the country's brutal 36-year civil war, and recognized and promoted indigeneity and indigenous cultural, spiritual, political, and

economic rights. However, twenty-seven years have passed, and little is written or known about Garifuna policy implementation, equitable resource allocation, and recognition of their indigenous and lawful rights. As a Garifuna woman and postgraduate researcher, I take an ethnographic approach to Guatemalan Garifuna culture to theorize Garifuna concepts of collective memory, time and space, and land/seascapes, grounded in an intersection of fields, such as Oral History and Indigenous Studies. Fieldwork will commence in November 2023 in Guatemala, where I examine past and contemporary Garifuna cultural phenomena and belief systems. The aim is to explore ways in which these concepts can be expanded to a more general theory of Garifuna agency of indigenous heritage and social justice.

4. Women on the run. Narrative of the journey as a means of survival for women in transit through Mexico

María López, London Metropolitan University

In 2022, Mexico recorded the highest number of irregular migrant arrivals ever (444,439), surpassing the record number of 309,630 in 2021 (INEGI, 2020). Added to the long-standing migratory dynamics from the northern countries of Central America, there are unprecedented numbers of migrants from Venezuela, Cuba and Haiti, as well as from countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe. These flows include a large number of women and girls (IOM, 2022), who encounter a patriarchal and neoliberal system that seeks to subordinate and depoliticise them (Segato, 2010). Drawing on the original qualitative data from my project with migrant women in transit through Mexico, I suggest that migrant women's narratives of their migration process reveal a different account of the journey and women themselves in three ways: 1) violence against women emerges as a strong motivation for departure and as a continuum in the journey. Through the narrative, women identify the violence inscribed on their bodies, which becomes central to the migration process; 2) the migration process appears as complex and multidimensional, subject to complex personal circumstances and changing legal formulas that impose long periods of 'forced immobility' (Fernández and Juárez, 2019); 3) this gives them a status of exceptionality, agency and political subjectivity, moving them away from the role of passive recipients of violence. Finally, the narratives of migrant women's journeys show that patriarchal and neoliberal power is not absolute.

5. Regimes of Indigeneity as State Controlled Citizenship in Brazil and Canada

Cristhian Teofilo da Silva, Universidade de Brasília, Brasil

The purpose of this presentation is to describe how different regimes of indigeneity guide ethnic policies in Brazil and Canada with damaging effects for indigenous citizenship in both countries. The regimes of indigeneity were early configured in these two countries to provide the assimilation of indigenous peoples into the national order. The presentation will address the importance of former regimes of indigeneity for the genesis of a new kind of state controlled indigenous citizenship. The comparison of different regimes of indigeneity in distinct national contexts will allow the reciprocal elucidation of everyday consequences associated with the legal and political categories of racial belonging that legitimize institutional violence against indigenous subjects under the assimilationist paradigm of each regime. The comparative analysis will also allow a recognition of the scope and depth of integration policies to create an inferior status of citizenship for indigenous peoples in modern democratic liberal states. At the end of the presentation it is hoped to justify the urgent need to change the classificatory subordination of indigenous peoples as racially distinct subjects within national societies as a condition to promote true comprehensive citizenship based on the principles of self-determination, political inclusion and interculturality.

Environment & Climate change

ENV 1. A matter of states: Unequal development, free trade and workers

Chair: Bert Hoffmann (German Institute for Global and Area Studies)

1. La maquila textil de Alto Paraná en la economía-mundo: encuentros entre periferias y semiperiferias (2010-2023)

Andrea Taborri, Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Cuando se habla de maquila el foco se detiene en México, América Central y el Caribe. En estos casos se resaltan las relaciones desiguales que resultan de la presencia de EE. UU. como partner comercial. La mucho menos conocida maquila en Alto Paraná (Paraguay) difiere de manera sustancial de estos casos más notos. La gran mayoría de las relaciones comerciales que implica se dan entre periferias y semiperiferias del sistema-mundo; países comúnmente identificados como pertenecientes al Sur Global. Este ensayo explora el rol de la industria maquiladora de Alto Paraná en la economía-mundo vistas sus diferencias con casos similares y más estudiados. Me propongo explorar la tensión entre relaciones económicas Sur-Sur y desarrollo desigual a través del caso de la maquila textil de Alto Paraná. Desde un enfoque que incorpora aportes provenientes de la teoría de sistemas mundo y teoría de la dependencia -fundándose en entrevistas realizadas con exponentes clave de esta industria en Alto Paraná y datos estadísticos oficiales- busco investigar y problematizar las oportunidades de desarrollo local conectadas con dicho modelo productivo. Aunque a nivel institucional hay un fuerte énfasis en la industrialización de Paraguay por medio de las maquilas, este ensayo evidencia como el sector presenta criticidades en cuanto a arraigo territorial, dependencia del exterior, y falta de integración con los sistemas productivos locales. Es crucial, por ende, dar relevancia a este fenómeno, que, aunque poco estudiado, tiene importantes implicaciones en el análisis de las recientes tendencias del capitalismo global y sus contradicciones.

2. Brazil Navigating Neoliberalism: Leadership Positioning, Coalition Building, and Reciprocity Demands in the Free Trade Area of the Americas.

Quintijn Kat, Ashoka University

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) negotiations ended in failure in 2005. While several causes for this failure have been identified, Brazil's obstruction is often cited as decisive. This paper assesses the role of Brazilian dissent and agency in the collapse of the FTAA. It sets the wider hemispheric context in which the FTAA was conceived, examines Brazil's foreign- and trade-policy context leading up to the negotiations, and provides a detailed process tracing of the negotiation rounds, relying on primary data including interviews with negotiators and policy documents. The paper's main argument is that contrary to the dominant narrative Brazil had real interest in reaching a free-trade deal, which raises questions about the causes of the FTAA's failure. The paper finds that Brazil had two main worries: damage to its leadership position in South America and the closure of a hemisphere-wide deal that would harm Brazil's economic interests. Therefore, Brazil applied a combined and effective strategy of leadership positioning in the FTAA project, coalition building through parallel regional integration efforts, and demands for reciprocity on the part of the United States. This ultimately made the FTAA project unattractive to US policymakers, leading Washington to adopt a policy of competitive liberalization that closed the door on the FTAA. Through this analysis, the paper calls for a reconsideration of the causes of the FTAA's failure and of the larger western-hemispheric political economy dynamics concerning neoliberalism and resistance.

3. The impacts of the government spending ceiling on the role of the state in redistribution policies and reduction of inequalities in Brazil
Diogo Mazon, Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal

The aim of the paper is to contribute to the discussion of the impacts and effectiveness, or lack thereof, of the spending ceiling, which in Brazil is well-known as "teto de gastos" and was imposed by Constitutional Amendment 95/2016. In particular, the research will also examine whether the "teto de gastos" was used only as a political narrative that helped change Brazil's political landscape forces or whether it has been fully implemented and respected since its creation. Finally, a systematic and in-depth analysis of the spending ceiling's impact on public spending, public debt, and social expenditures will be made to ascertain to what extent austerity measures reached their goals, i.e. to concentrate public spending only on what is considered "essential". Then, indeed, it can be said if the prohibition for 20 years of any real increase in government expenditures and its effects on public health and education, cash transfer programs, and other income redistribution policies and development in general benefits the whole population or only the dominant political and economic elite. We will also look at whether these expenditure restrictions led to an increase in the financialisation of the economy and public services in Brazil as a specific channel for intensifying inequality.

4. Bio-Tech for development? Lessons from Cuba's COVID-19 vaccine development
Bert Hoffmann, German Institute for Global and Area Studies

Cuba stands out as the only country in Latin America –and one of the few worldwide– which successfully developed their own vaccine against COVID-19. This has highlighted the potential of the country's bio-tech sector which has been built up since the 1980s. The paper will sketch the historic background that led to Cuba's unique bio-tech for development strategy and ask for its social and economic results. It will then explore whether the COVID-19 vaccines developed on the island provided an effective response to the pandemic domestically, and discuss the factors that limited their viability as export products. In conclusion it will draw lessons from Cuba's anti-COVID-19 vaccine development and ask to what extent Cuba's bio-tech sector can live up to the developmental hopes put into it. More broadly the paper's findings speak to the possibilities and problems of autonomous bio-tech development in the Global South.

5. The cost of quality: the effects of banana quality standards on workers' wellbeing
Layla Zaglul, London School of Economics, UK

This article explores the consequences that the constructions of quality established in consumer countries have on workers and small producers. Bananas sold in the Global North are the result of decades of manufacturing quality standards, which have been designed to produce a recognisable and standardised commodity. As with many other crops, banana quality guidelines have a hierarchy that categorises the fruit in various classes. Naturally, each type has different requirements and a price range. The current international banana trade classifies bananas as first- and second-class fruit, with lower prices paid for the latter. However, the distinction between the two is pure aesthetics. The study is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in banana farms in Costa Rica. The findings reveal that subjective notions of quality based on aesthetics negatively affect the life of those producing the fruit. The prioritisation of an edible product's appearance over workers' and small producers' welfare shows that quality definitions are not merely technical. The data demonstrate that by excluding the significance of people's wellbeing and by focusing more on something as arbitrary as aesthetics, constructions of quality are in fact a political act. More broadly, this article raises important questions about value and consumption practices. Following David Graeber's ideas about consumption, I argue that the concept of quality is influenced by presumptions in the minds of consumers, and many of these

presumptions are created necessities born from Global North imaginaries rather than from practical or technical decisions.

ENV 2. National environmental frameworks and the role of the state

Chair: Ken Mitchell (Monmouth University, USA)

1. To conquer the land: Agrarian colonisation in lowland Bolivia 1952-1996

Olivia Arigho Stiles, University College London/ University of Essex

This presentation explores state-directed 'colonisation' projects in twentieth century Bolivia, focusing on the entanglements between Indigenous-peasant ecologies and the non-human within agrarian landscapes. Agricultural colonisation projects accelerated in Bolivia in the wake of the 1952 Bolivian National Revolution, with extensive assistance from the US, British and European governments. The Revolution's architects envisaged a grand programme of internal colonisation of the lowlands known as the March to the East. Settling the sparsely populated, resource-rich lowlands with migrants from the Andean highlands both responded to demographic pressures in the highlands and valleys partly produced by climate change, and also provided an opportunity for the post-revolutionary state to initiate a new agrarian extractivism based around tropical agriculture on the Eastern frontier. Based on archival research in Bolivia and drawing on a multispecies, decolonial and posthuman theoretical framework, I argue that colonisation dramatically changed the ways in which highland Indigenous-peasants related to their agrarian landscapes. The peasantry's role in the expansion of the agrarian frontier must be understood, therefore, as contributing to a dramatic transformation in both land tenure practices and ecological cultures in twentieth century Bolivia. Colonisation processes expose the fissures that emerged in the late twentieth century within and between Indigenous organisations regarding land, territory and development. By bringing to the fore the other-than human including insects, trees and pathogens this presentation further offers a multispecies approach to understanding historical agrarian colonisation projects in Latin America.

2. Limits and possibilities of the sustainable uses of biodiversity in Brazil

Guilherme de Queiroz-Stein, Utrecht University

In Brazil, there has been a growing debate on the economic potential of biodiversity and the country's immense sociocultural diversity, combining strategies for economic development, environmental preservation, and combating social problems. The Biodiversity Law, passed in 2015, established regulatory frameworks on access to genetic heritage and associated traditional knowledge and benefit-sharing (ABS). This ABS governance system might positively affect the development the sustainable uses of biodiversity but can also erect barriers to the development of the bioeconomy. This paper questions: is the Brazilian ABS governance system able to promote the sustainable uses of biodiversity in its different dimensions? The sustainable uses of biodiversity encompass several activities, such as the economic applications of genetic resources (bioprospecting), the research, development, and transfer of scientific knowledge and technologies and also the uses of indigenous peoples and traditional communities for different purposes, as feeding, healing and building. I based my research on 20 interviews, policy papers analysis, and quantitative data. The initial results indicate that the system has presented positive results concerning the promotion of bioprospecting, mainly because the system provides legal certainty for economic and scientific agents. Some factors are crucial to this result: a unified law at the national level, predictability in benefit-sharing and exemptions in some sectors. However, there are still some barriers to achieving the system's full potential, such as restrictions on international scientific cooperation, delays in the settlement of legal liabilities, problems in implementing certification mechanisms, and little progress in benefit-sharing.

3. Alternative business models for circular bioeconomy in Argentinean agro-industrial value chains

Celina N. Amato, National Scientific and Technical Research Council, Argentina

In Argentina, the bioeconomy approach has been developed since the early 1990s through regulatory policies and support for biotechnology, as well as in support policies for the development of the oil and biofuels industry. It was one of the first Latin American countries to formally work on an institutional bioeconomy roadmap. Despite progress, a national bioeconomy strategy or policy has not yet been defined, and coordinated work among stakeholders is still needed to facilitate its development and interaction with other economies at all levels. One of the main challenges is to add value through cascading use and circularity of bio-based materials to use biomass residues in an integrated and sustainable way. This leads to the concept of circular bioeconomy, which is presented as an opportunity to promote local economic development and create jobs in rural areas, thereby addressing existing inequalities in Argentina. In the search for the reintroduction of biomass residues into production processes to add value, different business models emerge. This paper seeks to answer: to what extent and in what ways do business models existing in Argentinean agro-industrial value chains contribute to the transition towards a circular bioeconomy? We analyse key policy and company documents as well as 30 interviews with key stakeholders in the quinoa, chia and jojoba value chains in Argentina, which adopt different business models of circular bioeconomy.

4. An ecofeminist analysis of the state's role in Agroecological Transitions: a case study in Brazil

Carol Bardi, University of Münster, Münster, Germany

The negative impacts of modern industrial agriculture are widely recognised in academic literature, supported by growing calls for systemic change to address social and climate justice issues. Public policies designed to foster the Green Revolution model have subjected peasants and rural communities to technological and monetary dependency while exacerbating socioenvironmental issues. Therefore, calls for an agroecological transition have now spread among scientists, international organisations and the broader civil society. One central actor in fostering the Green Revolution was the state, and calls for its active participation in systemic transformations towards just transitions abound. At the same time, many acknowledge the capitalist state as part and supportive of the incumbent global food system. Therefore, it is unclear what role states actually play or can play in sustainability transitions. Thus, this research responds to calls for more research on the state's role by bringing a novel theoretical perspective to transitions scholarship – ecofeminism. Using Brazil as a case study, this research offers an ecofeminist analytical framework to investigate the state's role in agroecological transitions. The results show the importance of cooperation-based state institutions, offering a safe space for innovations to emerge autonomously from the protagonists of agroecological practices. In addition, this case highlights the difference between government versus state policies, showcasing how capitalist states can quickly shift roles from helping to hinder socioenvironmental transformations. It becomes clear how institutionalised civil society participation mechanisms are key in devising and implementing necessary policies towards agroecological transitions and their quest for social and environmental justice.

5. Energy Transition in Argentina: Institutional Puzzles in a context of Late Development

Ken Mitchell, Monmouth University, USA

Transition from fossil fuels is a global development priority and few countries match Argentina's potential in lithium production and solar/wind power generation. Democracy, macroeconomic instability and fierce US/China geopolitical rivalry (Argentina is South America's largest BRI country) prevail. Argentina's energy transition depends on foreign investment, a core structural political economy feature of late development. We find external actors (IMF, World Bank, IDB, Wall Street,

Chinese finance institutions and firms, global mining, solar and wind firms) and domestic actors (public/private sectors) advancing diverse agendas, both external (short- and long-term US/China geopolitical aspirations to the UN's SDG agenda) and domestic (partisan goals to development outcomes such as manufacturing jobs, formal sector jobs and technological upgrading to climate change action). Institutions ("rules and norms") connect actors to agendas and policy outcomes. This paper starts with Argentina's energy transition progress since 2010. How was it achieved? Lessons learnt will be organized into three institutional discussions. First, the institutional nexus around foreign investment; here, wind/solar power auctions designed by the World Bank are contrasted with bilateral China-Argentina deals. Second, institutional change around industrial policy; this section starts with the "Lin and Chang" (2009) debate over trade policy and development, drawing attention to wind turbine assembly and lithium battery production. Third, subnational institutional change linked to Argentine federalism; this section draws on McDermott (2007; Argentine wine sector and economic upgrading) and Lebdioui (2019; Chilean industrial upgrading) to analyze energy transition at the subnational level.

ENV 3. Translocal social movements for riverine justice in Latin America - 1

Session organizer & chair: Carlota Houart (Wageningen University, The Netherlands)

Rivers across the world face challenges due to human activities and climate change. Dams and mega-dams, pollution, depletion, hydropeaking, droughts and floods are some examples of the growing pressures on and challenges that rivers face. As a response, new water justice movements (NWJMs) have been arising across Latin America and other parts of the world over the last couple of decades, which seek to fundamentally transform dominant, technocratic, capitalist and mainly neoliberal approaches to the management and governance of rivers. These plural, diverse, grassroots-led, and cross-scalar movements, initiatives, and alliances engage in river commoning processes by bringing together different groups of actors (e.g. civil society, environmental organizations, social movements, legal experts, state and non-state actors) and proposing different ways of relating to rivers and their biodiverse, multispecies communities. This panel will present case studies of these translocal social movements across Latin American countries, inviting critical reflection on the multiple ways in which they challenge and transform dominant water governance; and on the kinds of practices, methods, epistemologies, ontologies and river (re)enlivening strategies they develop and engage with. We invite river experts, activists, and researchers who work with, through or for NWJMs through translocal arrangements. By specifically emphasizing translocal encounters, we hope to shed more light on the multiplicity of bridges that emerge when NWJMs fight for justice in riverine environments.

1. Artificially created water scarcity along Ecuador's Nagsiche River. How understanding 'agua de papel' may support translocal water justice movements

Meike Klarenbeek, Wageningen University, the Netherlands

In Ecuador, both the country's constitution and its National Water Law provide significant levels of protection for nature and the rural and indigenous communities that depend on it. As such, water use and water extraction in the country are highly regulated on paper. However, in practice, the law's proposal to distribute water rights in fixed litres/second allocations combined with a limited capacity to monitor actual river flows and an ever continuing allocation of new water rights to economically powerful actors, means many rivers in Ecuador suffer high levels of water overallocation. Along the Nagsiche river, this institutionalised water scarcity results in tensions between the multitude of water right holders in the river's territory, because the opportunities to materialise their water rights are drying up. On the basis of this case study, this paper develops the concept of *agua de papel* to analyse how artificially created water scarcity institutionalises conflicts over water within river territories. It finds that such conflicts follow pre-existing power dynamics in the basin. As such, the consequences of

institutionalised water scarcity largely accumulate within small scale farming communities downstream, while agribusinesses and upstream communities continue to access their formal water rights. Agua de papel thus opens up a whole new realm of water injustices. Considering the ever-increasing prominence of institutionalised water scarcity in rivers across the world, this indicates a crucial importance for connecting the individual struggles of social movements battling with such realities in translocal social justice movements.

2. From opposing hydropower to claims for territorial autonomy: peasant socio-legal mobilisation along La Miel river in Caldas, Colombia

Ana María Arbeláez-Trujillo, Wageningen University and Research, The Netherlands

Peasant communities mobilising against hydropower challenge the claim that such projects are a source of green energy with little environmental and social impact. Drawing on empirical research from rural areas impacted by a Run of the River (RoR) hydroelectricity project in Caldas, Colombia, this paper analyses the socio-legal strategies of a movement that started as an anti-hydroelectricity struggle and has turned into a broader movement for peasant territorial autonomy. Further, it analyses the role of law and argues that legal mobilisation strategies must be understood as embedded in the political process. From a theoretical perspective, this paper builds on the concept of "river as a movement", defining riverine struggles as multi-layered and multivalent. "Demands for distributive equality combine with the demands for the right to be different: socialising water benefits, democratising authority and claiming recognition of pluralistic cultural normative orders" (Boelens et al. 2022, 18). In that sense, environmental justice movements around rivers combine social and environmental demands, going beyond discussions about water access. At the core of river struggles is the demand for recognition of groups with diverse cultural identities and their right to participate in decision-making (Schlosberg, 2017). This increasing convergence between agrarian and environmental justice claims on agrarian movements needs further study (Borras, 2016). This paper seeks to contribute to filling that gap by drawing on the experience and practices of a peasant movement for rivers' defence.

3. Re-designing Rivers: Power and representation in the Yanuncay River, Ecuador.

Catalina Rey-Hernández, Wageningen University of Research

Worldwide, management of rivers and riverine landscapes has been based on top-down processes of landscape design, territorial planning and related social-material transformations. These processes directly affect riverine communities and livelihoods, triggering local confrontations with -and adaptations to- the imposed designs and related forms of socio-material ordering. In this context, this research aims to better understand: a) how riverine landscape design and territorial ordering plans are shaped and re-created by policies, institutional and normative practices and related power relations; b) how such designs transform socio-material relations and practices in local riverine communities; c) how communities resist, negotiate and transform the imposition of such designs and territorial ordering plans; and d) in which ways counter designs and counter geographies can support resistance groups and networks to express their own riverine understandings, aspirations and interests. This project experimented with counter-mapping as a tool to inform (re)design processes in the context of the contestations around large-scale mining projects and rural-urban issues in the Yanuncay river and the Kimsakocha wetlands (Ecuador). The research builds on insights from the social construction of technology scholarship and notions of counter-cartographies theory to comprehend and theorize the role of 'designs' in the contestation and transformation of riverine spaces in which a multiplicity of actors try to create a specific social, technological and environmental order (a hydrosocial territory).

4. River Defense and Struggles Against Hydraulic Utopianism in Spain and Colombia
Bibiana Duarte Abadía, Wageningen University, Netherlands

New Water Justice Movements (NWJM) have unmasked the violence and utopias embedded in large hydraulic projects and extractivist projects. Their struggles have focused on preventing the dispossession of the river commons, defending their territorial rights, and protecting river ecological integrity. This article illustrates the role played by the National Movement of Ríos Vivos in Santander, Colombia, and the Coordinator for the Defense of the Río Grande, linked to the New Water Culture network in Spain. Based on these two cases, I argue for the importance of not recreating utopias and avoid idealizing social movements as stewards or river guardians. Rather the conceptualization of NWJM requires creative strategies to connect their diversities to reach water justice and build multiple and contextualized alternatives for river defense. To this end, I examine the evolution of their struggles, the strategies implemented against hydraulic modernist policies, their strengths, weaknesses, the transformations of their struggles, and the current challenges. In the Spanish case, I scrutinize a movement fighting to prevent the damming of the Río Grande in Andalusia, while in Colombia, I examine how 'Ríos Vivos-Santander' seeks water justice in the face of the dammed waters of the Sogamoso River. I conclude that in both cases, the mobilizations presented social fragmentation and divisions, but also creativity and heterogeneity, in order to abstain from utopian notions of uniformity and rather multiply their counterpowers. The cases reveal the need to rethink hydrosocial territories as less utopian but more free, dialectical, and interconnected in their diversities.

ENV 3. Translocal social movements for riverine justice in Latin America - 2

Session organizer & chair: Carlota Houart (Wageningen University, The Netherlands)

Rivers across the world face challenges due to human activities and climate change. Dams and megadams, pollution, depletion, hydropeaking, droughts and floods are some examples of the growing pressures on and challenges that rivers face. As a response, new water justice movements (NWJMs) have been arising across Latin America and other parts of the world over the last couple of decades, which seek to fundamentally transform dominant, technocratic, capitalist and mainly neoliberal approaches to the management and governance of rivers. These plural, diverse, grassroots-led, and cross-scalar movements, initiatives, and alliances engage in river commoning processes by bringing together different groups of actors (e.g. civil society, environmental organizations, social movements, legal experts, state and non-state actors) and proposing different ways of relating to rivers and their biodiverse, multispecies communities. This panel will present case studies of these translocal social movements across Latin American countries, inviting critical reflection on the multiple ways in which they challenge and transform dominant water governance; and on the kinds of practices, methods, epistemologies, ontologies and river (re)enlivening strategies they develop and engage with. We invite river experts, activists, and researchers who work with, through or for NWJMs through translocal arrangements. By specifically emphasizing translocal encounters, we hope to shed more light on the multiplicity of bridges that emerge when NWJMs fight for justice in riverine environments.

5. Building bridges across species and cultures: the Piatúa River in Ecuador as a multispecies site of resistance against hydro-extractivism
Carlota Houart, Wageningen University, Netherlands

The Piatúa is a highly biodiverse, free-flowing river in the Ecuadorian Amazon, one of the last rivers in the area to have so far escaped negative human interference (e.g. mining, pollution, damming). Kichwa communities who have lived on the riverbanks for several generations perceive the Piatúa as a living, sacred being inhabited by multiple animal and plant species, as well as spiritual and mythological entities. Since 2014, an energy company has been attempting to build a hydroelectricity dam in the

river, under the banner of the “green energy transition”, which would seriously endanger the Piatúa, its multispecies communities, and the livelihoods of local people. Members of local Kichwa communities and of activist organizations, joining forces with international and intercultural environmental organizations, researchers, academics, legal experts, and other allies, have been resisting the dam through legal battles and grassroots protests. More recently, they are following the route of self-determination to declare the Piatúa cultural heritage of the Kichwa people of Santa Clara, and of Ecuador. Based on ongoing fieldwork, ethnographic and activist research, this presentation will describe the ‘power-full’ political struggle of these activists and local community members in their efforts to defend the river and the future of its multispecies inhabitants, namely by building bridges across cultures, generations, geographies, and species.

6. Water as a Living Nature Force: Community Science and Mapuche Self Right in the Puelwillimapu, Chile

Sarah Kelly, Dartmouth College

Throughout Chile, movements to defend rivers and waterways are growing. This paper describes the evolution of river defense in Puelwillimapu, Mapuche Williche territory, in southern Chile. Over the past 15 years, Mapuche-Williche communities led a movement which began in opposition to large hydroelectric projects and evolved to articulate broad networks for water defense. Today, a vital alliance occurs through an intercultural water monitoring collective called Epulafkenmapu. The Chilean Water Code (1981) continues to privatize the right to use water. Enabled by historical dispossession, hydro-extractive industries in Chile are a growing threat. Legislative change is still urgently needed to achieve water equity after a failed plurinational constitution. But in Chile there is still no consensus on what water means in legal terms. For the Mapuche people, water has spiritual importance, and is fundamental for ceremonial cultural practices. The productive use of water is guided with respect for water as a living being. Water has a ngen, a spirit guardian or protector of water, that connects humans with the living forces of nature. Critically, intercultural collaborations like Epulafkenmapu provide opportunities to develop ways of understanding water together and from within Indigenous and local territories. To document the health of rivers and lakes in the watershed, we have adapted a transect float method that we conduct in intercultural and intergenerational teams. At the intersection between the customary way of occupying waters and the human right to water, we suggest that broader frameworks can be crafted to transform knowing water in legal spaces and translocally.

7. River imaginaries and climate adaptation in the Bajo-Magdalena

Lotte de Jong, Wageningen University

Worldwide, rivers face challenges due to human and climatic pressures which influence river management. Floods, droughts, pollution, damming and hydropeaking are only a few examples of these pressures. River management is influenced through a climate adaptation lens, which holds specific ideas on rivers managed in light of climate change futures. In this study, we explore diverse river imaginaries in the context of climate change adaptation that shape and materialise adaptation projects in the Bajo-Magdalena catchment of Colombia. River imaginaries are defined as ‘collectively held and publicly envisioned reproductions of riverine socio-natures, mobilized through truth claims of social life and social order’. The Bajo-Magdalena catchment forms a dynamic swamp ecosystem where several adaptation projects have been implemented and shared as success stories of adaptation. Through interviews, field visits and participant observations, we identified two distinct river imaginaries. The first river imaginary stemmed from an alliance between ecocentric and technocratic river imaginaries that materialised in the form of ‘nature based solutions’. In this imaginary, truth claims produced by models and modellers together with hydraulic infrastructure engineering formed the dominant mode of knowledge-production. The second river imaginary contested this by presenting

grassroot based initiatives that materialised as community projects such as food-gardens or reforestation projects. In this imaginary, truth claims challenged forms of technocratic, modernist, and capitalist river management that aimed to domesticate rivers and instead prioritised local knowledge-production. Although holders of both imaginaries used similar climate change futures to justify actions in the present, the distinct river imaginaries made that actions materialised differently.

8. River Commons and its implications for Riverhood

Jaime Hoogesteger, Wageningen University, The Netherlands

Rivers are essential for life and human well-being. However, most rivers in the world have been heavily intervened and transformed over the last two centuries to meet several human needs. As such rivers have been dammed, diverted, canalized, deepened, polluted and dried all over the world with severe consequences for landscapes, hydrology, bio-diversity, ecosystems and related services, as well as river dependent lives, livelihoods and human well-being. Recognizing that rivers are and manifest as different and often interrelated forms of commons might open doors for exploring and advancing more just and inclusive forms of river sharing. In this contribution I explore how the different river commons such as resource commons, cultural commons, urban commons, recreational commons and knowledge commons are closely interrelated to each other and manifest in riverine landscapes. In doing so I explore how these commons relate to the four different dimensions Riverhood. These four dimensions are river as a movement, river as territory, river as subject and river as eco-society. Though above all conceptual in nature I illustrate my exploration with several empirical examples.

ENV 4. Green extractivism and socio-political challenges in Latin American energy transitions

Session organizer & chair: Camila Ponce Lara (University of Marburg, Germany)

This panel aims to address current debates on 'green extractivism' and 'greenwashing'. To this end, in this panel we focus on a range of heterogeneous actors and shed light on the role of Latin American governments, in particular the ones part of the progressive political movement known as the 'pink tide', mining companies and other business entities striving to improve their image in the context of transitions to low-carbon energy sources and technologies. In doing so, we aim to deepen the conceptual discussion around these concepts, particularly with regard to green extractivism. The latter is often interpreted inconsistently and therefore requires a more precise definition and better understanding. For this purpose, we bring together several case studies on different 'climate change commodities' and national contexts in Latin America.

1. Green Extractivism or Greenwashing in Boric's Lithium Policies?

Camila Ponce Lara, University of Marburg, Germany

From his time as a congressman to his presidential campaign, Gabriel Boric has sought to position himself as a vocal opponent of the extractive model, advocating to end the ongoing creation of sacrifice zones in Chile. Upon assuming the presidency, he extensively publicized his lithium and development policies, even signing agreements with Chinese mining companies. This research focuses on delving into the depth of his government's lithium policy and his speeches, seeking to understand the green strategies and potential greenwashing tactics. The investigation mainly centers on analyzing the contradictions within his lithium policy and discourse, contrasting the implementation of these policies with their feasibility. Qualitative methodologies, such as discourse and content analysis, along with interviews, will be employed to examine these actions and statements thoroughly.

2. The uncertainty of water infrastructures and how desalination is shaping the dream for a green extractivism

Sascha Miguel Cornejo Puschner, Independent researcher

The well-known impacts of mining intervention on the fragile ecosystems of the Atacama Desert have been fundamentally on underground water tables affecting the local communities who depend on this resource. In recent years, the corporate sector has implemented technical solutions such as desalination to improve the future water supply for mining installations. In the Chilean Region Tarapaca, three of the biggest mining installations will implement these infrastructural changes to replace continental water with seawater. Looking closely at these possible infrastructural changes in an already impacted area it is possible to trace how technical modernism faces the search for sustainable solutions for the mining industry. In this process, infrastructures, discourses on sustainability, and corporate social responsibility are the new drivers for a green extractivism producing new uncertainties within local communities and already affected territories. The paper seeks to understand how these projections of the mining industry critically connect the possibility of continuing the commodity export model without its rationale being challenged.

3. The Roots of Agroindustrial Power: Political Hegemony and Private Governance on the Peruvian Northern Coast, 2000-2023

Pável Aguilar Dueñas, trAndeS Programme

Since the late 1970s, Latin America has witnessed intense market reforms that have given rise to a new type of agrarian capitalism based on the export of flexible and non-traditional crops. This trend is supported by the continuous expansion of the agricultural frontier for intensive farming, the implementation of large irrigation infrastructure projects, the privatization of water resources, and labor flexibility, coinciding with the retreat of popular organizations in the face of authoritarian policies. As a result, export agribusiness has consolidated over the past 25 years in the Peruvian northern coast, particularly in the La Libertad region and the Virú Valley, a new "oasis" of agroexport that ranks high globally in the production of avocados and blueberries. Consequently, the gaps in access to livelihoods for local inhabitants have widened. But, beyond the socio-environmental impacts, agribusiness now wields overwhelming political power over rural organizations and actors in Peru. This private power extends beyond the economic realm and becomes evident in private administrative capacities that transcend corporate territorial control. Agribusiness actors, for example, can restrict small producers' access to water and influence private interests in the national and subnational political agenda through lobbying and corporate social responsibility strategies. In response, a significant agrarian strike occurred in Virú Valley and Ica in 2020, led by agrarian workers with the support of small producers. Through a political ethnography approach, the following questions are addressed: What are the fluctuations of political hegemony in the Virú Valley? How does agro-export power rearticulate the political consensus recently challenged during the recent Agrarian Strike?

4. Authoritarian Corporate Populism: The Political Agenda of Agro-Extractivism for the Brave New Green Economy

Alberto Alonso-Fradejas, Wageningen University, The Netherlands

Authoritarian populism in the early twenty-first century is rooted in a global conjuncture of convergent social and ecological crises, but the ways in which the crises shape authoritarian populist politics and vice versa vary across socio-ecological formations worldwide. My analysis of the multiple and dynamic politics behind the rise of the flex sugarcane and oil palm complexes in Guatemala since the mid-2000s shows that an 'authoritarian corporate populist' agenda is on the rise. Authoritarian corporate populism is especially keen on manufacturing the consent of working people to the elites-led sustainability and development pathway. This involves political concessions to the underprivileged

through public grants and multistakeholder governance as in other populist political regimes but additionally, and distinctively, meaningful concessions to working people and the environment in the sphere of private relations of production. Although these concessions go beyond mere greenwashing, they do not compromise and ultimately enhance the flex cane and palm complexes' profitability and ability to stay in business in the 'brave new green economy' on the rise, as well as the racialized class hegemony of the elites. Violence, however, remains foundational to this political agenda, even if it is now cloaked in the rule of law. Thus, the concept of authoritarian corporate populism showcases a form of politics in which big business, intimately linked to the state and elites, plays a major role in mainstream sustainability transitions and climate stewardship today.

5. War, affects and "just" transitions in coal's value chain from Colombia to Poland.

Susana Carmona (speaker) & Magdalena Dąbkowska (co-author), Maastricht University, The Netherlands

This article contributes to the anthropological discussion of time and affect in the context of extractive industries and natural resources. Instead of focusing on one locality, it traces affect along the cross-Atlantic coal value chain to add to the debate about the relationship between resources' materiality and time. Taking two coal-producing countries that had to adapt to new geopolitical realities quickly in response to the war in Ukraine demonstrates that the energy transition is not a linear trajectory but rather an irregular and dynamic process prone to changes and influence due to affective responses by various actors. Affects and emotions challenge how people conceptualize and experience time. We suggest that imagining energy transitions is a creative and emotionally charged process that becomes more evident in precarious times, which, at the same time, challenges the idea of a transition altogether.

ENV 5. Epistemic Injustice, Psychoactive Plants and Pharmacoloniality

Session organizer & chair: Brigitte Adriaensen (Radboud University, The Netherlands)

In a 1990 interview, Jacques Derrida argued that 'drugs' is not a scientific concept. It is a term strongly determined by moral and political norms in a given social, historical and cultural context. In the course of the centuries, ideas about psychoactive substances have shifted and the distinction between 'illegal drugs' and 'legal medicines' are still object of debate. To account for this variety of meanings, Derrida proposes taking up the term *pharmakon* from Plato, referring to its meaning as poison, medicine or magic potion. A central concept, in this sense, is that of pharmacoloniality (Herrera and Ramos 2018), which allows us to understand the constitutive role of the *pharmakon* in the creation of global and Latin American modernity (Courtwright 2001). From an epistemic perspective, the ancestral origin of mind-altering plants outside indigenous communities raises questions on cultural appropriation, biopiracy and exclusion. Effectively, the main signs of injustice towards an epistemic community is its exclusion from having any influence on the utilization of its (ancestral) knowledge or of any parts, derivatives or applications thereof (Byskov 2021). It is precisely from this perspective that a decolonial angle is allowed to be introduced into the study of psychoactive plants, showing how the legislation and representation of these substances has often entailed a racist, classist, sexist and epistemically problematic perspective. This panel proposes to study the cross-cultural meanings, the changing discourses on drugs in and from Latin America and the forms of epistemic injustice and violence inscribed in the cultural uptake and appropriation of plants originally extracted from ancestral knowledge systems.

1. Epistemic transfers and ontological reformulations: Latin American Psychoactive substances in the European medical and commercial repertoire of the 20th and 21st centuries

Milton Fernando Gonzalez Rodriguez, KU Leuven, Belgium

From a media and sociolinguistic approach, this paper focuses on the cultural representation of psychoactive substances of Latin American origin as part of the European therapeutic repertoire in the 19th and 20th centuries. The discussion is divided, on the one hand, into an analysis of visual material and, on the other, into an analysis of scientific terminology. Using as base material a corpus of medical and pharmaceutical advertising, I explore the various ways in which psychoactive substances imported from Latin America were included and promoted as part of the materia medica routinely and commonly used at the time. The relative banality of some products, such as the advertising of cocaine toothpaste, allows for a discussion of the arbitrariness, appropriation and epistemic injustice behind the commercialization of ancestral knowledge. The epistemic, material and logistical transfer of plants brought, for example, from Mexico or Peru, I suggest, are relevant to understanding the “colonization of knowledge” (Boumediene 2016). The cultural adaptation of psychoactive plants occurs alongside or is preceded by a linguistic adoption, of how to talk about and explain these therapeutic additions. In my analysis, I use examples to show how 'drugs' serve as a paradigmatic example of adapted, borrowed, and colonizing epistemic reformulations. I close with suggestions on how to theorize the role of images and terms to understand the transit of Latin American psychoactive substances, their place in the expansion of the therapeutic imagination and the way to (mis)understand and overlook the geographical space from which they came and their adoption in Europe.

2. Shawi experiences of ka'pi: a linguistic-anthropological and cultural approach

Luis Miguel Rojas-Berscia, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, The Netherlands

In this paper we present fieldwork we will be doing amongst the Shawi from Peruvian Amazonia. The Shawi community has been rather understudied in the context of ayahuasca research from both an anthropological and linguistic perspective. A detailed linguistic cartography of the brewage and its uses -spiritual, religious, recreative - in Shawi will contribute to a more subtle understanding of the Shawi epistemology of the ayahuasca experience. In addition, insights into the social history of ayahuasca ritualistic practices will be provided, based on lexical comparative analyses with geographically adjacent Indigenous. Our study contributes to a broader linguistic-epistemic cartography we aim to make of the Amazonian epistemologies regarding ayahuasca. From our perspective, linguistic anthropology can significantly improve our current understanding of the different epistemologies regarding ayahuasca from different indigenous perspectives, as language and epistemology are intrinsically connected. So far, many publications do mention the indigenous names for the plant, but do not delve into a more profound research on the way in which the linguistic approach to the experience can be linked to the ontological, spiritual and epistemic perspectives on the plant. The main reason is that the majority of the researchers are not familiar enough with indigenous languages to render such a detailed account. Another reason is that many researchers tend to generalize their findings from one specific indigenous community to the entire Amazonian context, which leaves out the linguistic particularities which can enlighten subtle differences in the epistemological approach of the brewage and the spiritual experience.

3. Altered routes: The circulation of psychoactive plants between Spain and the Hispanic America during the 16th-18th centuries

Nidia Olvera Hernández, Radboud University, The Netherlands

With the background of the discursive analysis of chronicles of the Conquest, colonial inquisitorial records and natural histories, this paper aims to investigate the complex exchange of psychoactive plants between Hispanic America and peninsular Spain throughout the three centuries of the colonial

period, highlighting the multiple facets of trade and its socioeconomic and cultural impact. Through detailed research of the records of commercial ships preserved in the General Archive of the Indies in Seville and documentation from the General Archive of the Nation in Mexico, we seek to trace the introduction and spread of cannabis in the Americas, as well as the reciprocal transfer to the Peninsula of native psychoactive plants, such as coca and peyote. This work documents the development and commodification of these plants and examines the implications of their trade, not only on pre-existing economic structures, but also on the interactions between religious and scientific paradigms in the emergence of a modern and colonial epistemology that implied the stigmatization of indigenous practices and at the same time the trade of plants that were considered sacred. The research provides a renewed vision of the commercial practices of the colonial period and their impact on the contemporary exchange of psychoactive substances, thus contributing to a greater understanding of the historical patterns of global trade and consumption that illuminate current problems.

4. Affective injustices, pharmacoloniality and the contemporary narratives of psychedelic medicine in Latin America

Camila Suarez, University of Surrey, United Kingdom, School of Literature and Languages

Building on the cultural study of emotions and the health humanities, I study emotional repertoires in contemporary narratives around the therapeutic use of naturally occurring psychedelics in Latin America, analysing sources ranging from statements of indigenous doctors, psychedelic societies and retreat centres, to literature. I ask whether, besides epistemic injustices -linked to the exploitation and cultural appropriation of the traditional knowledge around psychoactive plants, fungi, and animals with psychedelic properties-, the pharmacoloniality (Herrera and Ramos 2018) of contemporary psychedelic medicine also involves affective injustices (Gallego 2022, Silva 2022).

I weave affective injustices and pharmacoloniality by describing the emotional regimes (Reddy 2004) and corresponding cultural structures of therapy (Illouz 2008) present in contemporary narratives. The so-called “psychedelic renaissance” in the global north has popularised the narrative around the therapeutic potential and efficacy of psychedelics for a range of health, particularly mental health, conditions (Perkins et al. 2021). These narratives are circulating and overlapping with local indigenous and non-indigenous narratives about what psychedelics are, do and are for, and about the kind of affective experiences they (should) produce.

This echoes how affective experiences have been historically linked to colonial processes: experiences considered useful for the colonial project are promoted, and those deemed as obstacles are controlled (Pernau and Jordheim 2015). I argue that predominant narratives put pressures on the affective lives of indigenous and non-indigenous communities in Latin America whose knowledge of/through and relationship with these plants, fungi, and animals transcends colonial notions of medicine, therapy and healing.

5. When plague and yellow fever became wild: rural and sylvatic diseases in the Americas (1900-1965)

Matheus Alves Duarte da Silva, University of St Andrews, UK

In the last few decades, the scientific imperative to understand from where and how infectious diseases emerged has ignored the opposite but equally relevant question: where do diseases go when they apparently disappear? In this presentation, I examine this question through the study of plague and yellow fever assuming rural and wild forms in Argentina, Brazil, and USA throughout the twentieth century; in other words, the circulation of these diseases among wild or semi-wild animals such as primates, marsupials, and rodents, in several landscapes in the Americas, ranging from forests to deserts. I argue that the study of these rural and wild forms of plague and yellow fever in Argentina, Brazil, and USA could reveal the crafting of a medical reasoning seeing “nature” not as the abode of potential diseases, but as the destination of old scourges, which I propose to heuristically call the

Waning Infectious Diseases framework. To discuss the craft of this alternative reasoning, I focus on three social groups and their interactions: a) plague and yellow fever experts, b) health officers, and c) rural communities living near foci of plague and yellow fever. In so doing, I in this presentation to expand the place of South America in the global history of science; uncover the active role played by rural communities in the development of medical concepts; understand the pathologization of wild animals in the Americas; and overcome the scientific trope of tropical forests as emerging disease hotbeds.

ENV 6. Extractive conflict and environmental justice

Chair: Hannah Porada (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

1. Entangled Territorial Controversies: Contesting Mining, Territorial Ordering, and Authority in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala
Hannah Porada, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This paper examines the territorial disputes in the Palajunoj valley of Quetzaltenango, Guatemala's second city located in the western highlands. It departs from recent territorial controversies around large-scale mining interventions and territorial ordering intents that are embedded in wider rural-urban and ethnic tensions. Empirically based on the lead author's ongoing doctorate research and theoretically combining a territorialization lens with the echelons of rights analysis framework, the paper unpacks the different echelons of the territorial disputes and coinciding and clashing strategies of territorialization deployed among collaborating and competing actor alliances. The paper thereby builds on and contributes to scholarship concerning mining and territorial conflicts in Guatemala as well as critical geography scholarship that has approached conflicts over resources and land through a territorialization lens. The paper argues that disputes around mining and territorial ordering are not only about the uneven resource control in the Palajunoj valley, but also entwine struggles over the territorial rules and regulations, competing claims of legitimate territorial authority, and discourses competing to stabilize the valley's unquestioned territorial order. The paper also highlights how Indigenous organizations, communities of the valley, and their allies contest the stark power imbalances at play, despite their encounters with violent confrontation as well as internal tensions.

2. Power and Contestations Through the Rights of Nature in the Context of Large-Scale Mining: Atrato Communities' Responses to T-622 judgment
Hannah Gracher, University of Glasgow

In 2016, the Colombian Constitutional Court released the T-622 judgment which recognised the Atrato river and riverine communities as subjects of rights. The judgment was a response to the environmental degradation of the river basin and the systematic violation of communities' rights in the Atrato region. The rights of nature have been viewed as a potential vehicle to displace the dominant neoliberal development paradigm (Coombe and Jefferson, 2021). However, the transformative potential of the rights of nature have also been questioned (Bellina, 2023). Drawing on 20 interviews and participant observation, this paper provides insights into the operationalisation of the rights of nature in the Upper Atrato region. This paper examines in particular how community groups and rights defenders responded to the T-622 judgment in the context of large-scale mining. This paper then follows Stammers' call to examine social movement's role in constructing and reconstructing the meaning of rights (Stammers, 2009). On the one hand, the rights of nature are not used to reject mining per se, as mining constitutes an important livelihood in the context of high levels of poverty in the Atrato region. On the other hand, the coalition challenges the inaction by the governing state institutions, the political economy of mining which benefits large companies to the detriment of local communities, workers and the environment and the narrow interpretation of community participation. Rights of nature are

increasingly seen as a solution to climate breakdown and biodiversity loss. Analysing how these rights function in practice is critical to understanding their potential as strategies.

3. Cosmopolitics of the South: the political economy of Balsa extractivism in the Amazonia Ecuatoriana

Leonidas Oikonomakis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Balsa (*ochroma pyramidale*), is a type of timber that is mostly produced in Ecuadorian Amazonia. In fact, Ecuador is the world's largest balsa producer and it has been so for decades. Apparently the demand for balsa has skyrocketed over the past few years, and illegal balsa trade is -indirectly - responsible for some of the Amazon's illegal deforestation. The - unlikely - reason is green energy: balsa is the core material used in the construction of wind turbine-blades, and since wind-farms have multiplied impressively all over the globe in the quest for green energy solutions, so has the demand for balsa, which is -ironically - bringing about deforestation in the Amazonia. Of course, extractivism is not a new phenomenon in the Ecuadorian Amazonia. Today it is the turn of balsa to become the "brown gold" of Amazonia's eternal El Dorado in order to produce the West's green energy. At the same time, local communities all over the globe also increasingly oppose the installation of wind-farms, the "final product" of the global balsa supply chain. Drawing from already existing literature on the windmills' installation, I intend to move 'backwards' to see the process of extraction, combine findings with previous research on windfarms and thus overall provide a more thorough and complete understanding of the issue, contributing to the literature on green energy, its contradictions, and its lived experience; adding to the genealogy of extractivism, in the Amazonia exploring how this case study adds/ challenges/ contradicts/ furthers what we already know.

4. Hydroelectric dam development and environmental (in)justice in Panama

Jennifer Kennedy, University of Leeds, United Kingdom

Panama has some of the world's most progressive laws for protecting the territorial rights of Indigenous people. The country has six semi-autonomous regions - comarcas - and Law 72 was passed in 2008 to establish procedures for titling indigenous land not included in the comarcas system. However, to date, most indigenous land outside of the comarcas remains untitled, and the government retains the right to sub-soil resources inside the comarcas for projects deemed to be in the national interest. As such, the government continues to encroach upon the land of the Ngäbe - Panama's largest and most marginalised indigenous group - by way of development projects that include mines and, as part of the country's energy plan to generate 50 per cent of its capacity from renewables by 2050, hydroelectric dams. In 2011 and 2016, two large-scale dams - Chan 75 and Barro Blanco - were completed despite organised resistance from affected Ngäbe communities. Drawing on interviews and participant observation undertaken in 2012, 2015 and 2023, I examine the enduring cultural, social and environmental destruction experienced by four Ngäbe communities as a result of the dams. I explore the impacts that have occurred at different stages of the dams' development as well as the Ngäbe's continued struggle for justice, which includes the use of international legal mechanisms to petition for reparations for harm suffered.

5. Aquí hasta la batata es feminista: Reflexiones desde la agroecología en Puerto Rico

Marissa Gonzalez Nieves, Grupo de Estudio de Ecología Política y Justicia Hídrica, Colombia

Este escrito buscó profundizar sobre conversaciones realizadas durante una investigación más amplia cuyo objetivo era entender cómo los movimientos socioambientales en Puerto Rico enfrentan el colonialismo ambiental tras los huracanes del 2017. Por medio de un diálogo realizado con Marissa Reyes y Stephanie Monserrate, integrantes del colectivo Güakiá, en Dorado, profundizamos sobre la crisis socio ambiental-climática en el archipiélago, el colonialismo, el rol de la mujer, el desplazamiento

y las alternativas que se vienen cultivando en el territorio. Actualmente a nivel mundial estamos enfrentando una crisis inmobiliaria la cual es agravada frente al cambio climático y en el contexto caribeño, permeada por la visión del paraíso eterno isleño creada por el Norte Global. Consecuentemente, se vuelve más latente la necesidad buscar soluciones que apuestan a la reproducción de la vida como manera de atender las políticas necrocoloniales que priorizan la propiedad privada, la apropiación de los bienes comunes, la acumulación de capital y que vuelven en “commodity” el paisaje del Caribe. Es ante este panorama que este capítulo reflexiona sobre cómo situar la sanación como eje central de nuestro accionar y cómo la agroecología ha sido una herramienta fundamental para repensar la descolonización, la gentrificación y la justicia ambiental en Puerto Rico. Más allá, explora las alternativas que las mujeres desde el feminismo comunitario vienen fortaleciendo para diseñar un nuevo porvenir basado en el acompañamiento, la comunalidad, y la solidaridad.

ENV 7. Alternative visions and understandings of nature

Chair: Rafael Barrio de Mendoza Zevallos (University of Cambridge)

1. Rethinking Extractivism: Commodifying Biodiversity and Dispossessing Ancestral Lands through Ecotourism Development in Coastal Ecuador

Mateo Salas, University of Calgary

“What will continue to grow in the future are [foreign tourist] developments in the mountains. Now everyone speaks of land by square meter and dollar. It is unbearable I think” (Don Juan, December 18th, 2019). From these words emerges a vast colonial history of violent extractivism in Latin America, strategically imposed to dismantle human-nature relationships for the amassment of resources and capital. Today, this extractivism is embodied in the neocolonial project of ecotourism development. This research takes place in the rural communities of the Ancestral Commune of Las Tunas in the coastal region of Ecuador. These communities are situated within a vastly biodiverse environment characterized by a verdant, humid cloud forest and the bountiful Pacific Ocean. Ethnographic research conducted in 2019 and 2023 demonstrates how ecotourism operators have reshaped the Comuna Las Tunas through a form of socio-spatial colonization termed rural gentrification. I argue that the relationship between ecotourism and gentrification serves as a form of neocolonial extractivism that reconfigures the rural space and its politics to materialize the broader colonial imaginaries used, and needed, to market the global South as an untouched paradise for westerners to consume. By tracing the stories and representations of land and people across various sites, I ethnographically examine how violence, dispossession, and resistance occur in the practices of ecotourism development in ways that illuminate global patterns, power relations, and political possibilities in relation to global tourism. Ultimately, the aim is to reframe our understanding of ecotourism as part of a violent geography.

2. Environmental digital platforms effects on the economic transformation of natural ecosystems in Latin America: The case of Restor and Lemu.

Felipe Araneda-Ávila, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

Nowadays, digital platforms for building global restoration capacity have reached notoriety as environmental tools for the protection, restoration, and management of natural ecosystems. Here, Restor and Lemu are two cases worth to discuss. Despite their differences, both platforms share a common goal: transform local ecosystems in both Costa Rica and Chile respectively into nature-based solutions for managing climate change, by making environmental conservation economically sustainable and attractive for capital investment. Despite the striking promise these platforms offer for improving environmental governance and generate uncontroversial assessments of ecosystem services that “capital can see” (Pickren 2022; Robertson 2006; Sullivan 2013), these technological devices can also generate hegemonic visions about what ecosystems are and what role they should play in the socio-

economic framework (Gabrys et al. 2022). Those who control these digital platforms pour their values and worldviews onto these technological devices, which in turn allows them to validate the access, control, and exploitation of the ecosystems they aim to protect (Nost and Goldstein, 2022). Building on the smart forests literature (Gabrys 2020, 2022; Gabrys et al. 2022; Prebble, McLean, and Houston 2021; Sarkar and Chapman 2021) and the political ecology of data (Nost and Goldstein 2022; Lave, Nost, and Goldstein 2022) my aim is to explore how both Restor and Lemu are contributing to the transformation of local ecosystems into market-based conservation initiatives which provide ecosystem services in the Global South. By engaging in this critical exercise, my goal is to discuss the limitations and possible consequences these technologies have on environmental conservation.

3. Beyond the Extractive Machine: Yuk Hui and the indigenous cosmo-technic exploration in Latin America

Tania Gomez, Goldsmiths College, University of London

As we globally enter into an Energy Transition process that aims to build alternatives to the industrial-technological complex, we need concepts and political strategies that are able to face modern technology in its colonial, extractive, and anthropocentric form, by offering a different narrative to technology than the story offered by Prometheism. Thus, it is fundamental to explore an alternative conceptualization of technology that gives space for its decolonization. Drawing on debates from Philosophy, Sociology, and Anthropology, this interdisciplinary essay will focus on the decolonization of the Energy Transition. I will argue that Yuk Hui proposal of cosmo-technics, in comparison to other theoretical and political frameworks, is able to include the technical sphere of life as part of the ordering of the cosmos. He does this by proposing a reconciliation of nature and technics through the invitation to explore the cosmo-technical traditions that the Western mono-technological culture aimed to disappear. These are central because they show that technology can take diverse forms and is not condemned to its extractive form. Moreover, I will address the case of the Ecosocial Pact of the South, an Energy Transition proposal from Latin American social movements, as an example of decolonial cosmo-technics and a new conceptualization of technology and energy.

4. Documenting toxicity, disputing harm. Fishermen's epistemic practices during the 2022 Repsol La Pampilla Oil Spill

Rafael Barrio de Mendoza Zevallos, University of Cambridge

This paper seeks to document and analyse the emergent epistemic practices that the fishermen affected by the January 2022 Repsol La Pampilla oil spill in Peru have displayed to sense and make sense of the disruption and advance their claims in public and regulatory forums. By displaying a qualitative approach, I examine how the affected fishermen of Ventanilla and Aucallama districts cultivate a genre of visual documentation and situated knowledge to articulate evidentiary stances on the controversy around the extension, management, and legibility of the oil spill. In particular, the fishermen engage with regulatory officials, NGO specialists, and journalists to dispute the thresholds, dimensions, and accounts of environmental harm, complicating the technocratic hierarchies of evidence. Facing an evolving process of socioeconomic marginalization caused by the disaster, the fishermen actively document the territorial, biological, and sensorial onset of intoxication, at the time of contending the epistemic apparatuses aimed at stabilizing the spill as an object of technocratic calculation. In that sense, this text shows the relevance of epistemic experimentation that marginalized collectives cultivate to overcome and challenge the knowledge hierarchies they come to populate.

5. Empowering communities and overcoming socio-environmental injustices: emergent eco-territorial governance innovations in the Chaparri Nature Reserve, Lambayeque, Peru
Vera Flores-Fernandez, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium

This paper explores the emergence of private protected areas resulting from novel approaches to nature conservation governance in Peru. By cross-fertilizing the Latin American eco-territorial perspective with the Euro-Canadian literature on social innovation, we introduce the concept of "eco-territorial governance innovations" to capture the ongoing efforts led by collectives and peasant-indigenous communities striving for socio-environmental justice transformations at the grassroots level in Peru. In this paper, we apply this concept to the case of the Chaparri Nature Reserve in Lambayeque, which stands as a pioneering privately owned protected area established and managed by a peasant community. With over two decades since its creation, Chaparri has gained recognition for effectively restoring and safeguarding dry subtropical forest ecosystems harboring a diverse array of flora, fauna, and endangered species, while concurrently enduring a territorial conflict linked to the construction of a hydraulic mega-project. Despite the unfavorable socio-political context in the Lambayeque region, the relentless expansion of its agricultural frontier, and the numerous instances of socio-environmental injustice faced by its commoners and advocates, Chaparri exhibits remarkable political resistance capacity. This paper demonstrates how eco-territorial governance innovations not only contribute to the conservation of nature, but also to counteract the adverse context of the region, empower its community, address socio-political gaps, and reconstruct socio-environmental relations and cultural bonds in the territory.

ENV 8. Fault lines in the Energy Transition: Local and Global Dynamics of Lithium Mining in South America - 1

Session organizer & chair: Barbara Hogenboom (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam)

The resource intensity of the transition towards a decarbonised energy system has a profound impact and includes both local and global dynamics. In the context of the rising demand for lithium, governments and mining companies look to expand production and achieve industrial development policy or commercial targets. Meanwhile, serious concerns remain around the social and environmental disruption in regions of extraction. What to make of these clashing narratives between saving and exhausting the world? How do diverse stakeholders interact, collaborate and conflict? Considering the urgent need and limited timeframe to decarbonize, what could environmental justice look like? In addition to analysing local dynamics in South America, we will discuss how the new global lithium production networks fit into historical trade and power relations between the (consuming) Global North and (producing) Global South and what role finance capital but also knowledge and discourses play. In this double panel we will approach local and global aspects of this so-called green extractivism from different angles and academic disciplines. At the same time, these different levels of analysis cannot be seen in strict separation. The global energy transition has direct local impacts, while local dynamics may have global repercussions. It is exactly along such fault lines that we hope to create more clarity through the exchange and discussion of our research in this double panel.

1. Towards a political ecology of lithium mining in Argentina: justice outcomes, power imbalances and micropolitical strategies
Melisa Escosteguy, National Scientific and Technical Research Council, Argentina (CONICET) - National University of Salta

At the global level, lithium is portrayed as a key element needed to achieve climate goals. In Argentina, the fourth largest lithium producer country, lithium is often framed by power elites within discourses of modernization and economic growth. However, lithium mining in the country takes place in

territories that have been home to indigenous and pastoralist communities who have claimed that mining activities fail to meet their needs and expectations. In this paper, I will present the preliminary findings of my doctoral research, which asks three main questions: 1) What are the justice outcomes of lithium mining in affected communities in Argentina? 2) How do power imbalances (between actors involved in and affected by lithium mining) shape justice outcomes? 3) How do affected communities respond to these justice outcomes and power imbalances? Drawing on ethnographic data from two case studies, and relying on political ecology and the energy justice framework, I argue that lithium mining produces and/or reinforces injustices at the local level. These injustices raise urgent questions about the potential for a just energy transition and reflect the ways in which power operates across scales, linking global processes with local landscapes. As the local impacts and injustices of lithium mining became more evident, affected communities have developed micropolitical strategies to engage or cope with lithium mining. These strategies are situated between the promises of development and the fears of potential environmental degradation.

2. Lithium for what and for whom: notes for environmental justice in Argentina

Débora Andrea Cerutti, CONICET

Global interest in electric vehicles has boosted demand for the so-called 'white gold', in a context of international crisis and rising fuel prices. Lithium appears as a strategic mineral in the discourses linked to the "green economy" and "energetic transition". In Argentina there are 38 lithium projects in different stages of production, exploration and exploitation promoted by state public policies, despite the lack of social license in the territories. Within the framework of regional sociopolitical ups and downs, this mineral is today in the center of local, regional and global politics. We ask ourselves questions related to the impacts and effects perceived and denounced, by subjects who inhabit in the local indigenous communities surrounding the mining projects in territories considered part of the Lithium Triangle. What is said and what is hidden about this great extractive business, which promises increase the coffers of the state, but do not talk about the drying of Andean wetlands? What are the impacts and effects perceived and denounced by communities that inhabit regions of interest for lithiferous exploitation in Argentina, in view of the development, deployment and consolidation of lithium projects in this country? Located within the field of studies of the critical geography, environmental justice and political ecology of water, as this is one of the main natural goods/resources disputed in lithium extraction projects, we will focus in developing the answers to the questions before and the discourse from the indigenous communities that fight against extractivism in the global south, specifically in Argentina.

3. Beyond North-South? Resistance to lithium extraction in Argentina (Jujuy) and Portugal (Região Norte)

Felix M., University of Vienna, Austria

The current demand for critical raw materials such as lithium and their exploitation in the Global South has stimulated a broad debate on how to conceptualize the processes of transition to a low-carbon economy. Following Latin American dependency theory, scholars often point to the reproduction of a North-South relationship, which is now perpetuated in the form of green sacrifice zones, green extractivism and green colonialism. Beyond these structural observations, however, lithium mining in particular involves a great heterogeneity of actors. While there has been a veritable lithium boom in Argentina over the past decade in interaction with a neoliberal mining legislation, numerous projects have also been pushed forward within the EU, particularly since the European Commission's foreseeable EU Critical Minerals Act. Building on ethnographic fieldwork in Jujuy, Argentina and Região Norte, Portugal, this contribution attempts to go beyond structural arguments by looking at the resistance movements in both regions from a relational and multi-scalar perspective. In what at first appear to be very different contexts, several similarities can be identified. Among national

governments, lithium deposits raise hopes for investment, export revenues, added value and economic growth. In exploration areas, local communities reject any form of mining project. Exploration projects repeatedly provoke protests and conflicts. This shows that the boundaries between Global North and Global South are becoming increasingly blurred. In particular, this study asks to what extent the power relations between the actors involved differ in the two case studies.

4. "Because we are the protagonists of our own development": perspectives from the inhabitants of the Uyuni Salt Flats

David Schröter, University of Lausanne (UNIL)

In Bolivia, lithium extraction was supposed to be different. There, grassroot organizations proposed it become a state industry, benefitting not just a chosen few, but the nation at large. Accepting their proposal, the ruling party MAS (Movement towards Socialism) has developed an ambitious vision of lithium extraction based on the principles of national sovereignty and re-distribution of resources. However, after over 15 years the project still does not have much to show. Lithium is still not extracted on an industrial scale, and recently the country has called for foreign companies to propose new ways of extracting the light metal from the brines of the Salar de Uyuni. With massive Chinese investment the project seems to finally take off. But will it do so at the sacrifice of national and regional interests and self-determination? Based on 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork with different regional grassroots organizations this paper will explore local engagement with the lithium extraction process at the Salar de Uyuni. Those who are inhabiting the sites at the heart of the "clashing narratives between saving and exhausting the world," have their own hopes and fears when imagining their futures, yes are not usually heard out.

5. Contesting Impact: the Power Relations of Knowledge Production in Chilean Lithium Mining

Mirko van Pampus, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The global energy transition has dramatically increased the demand for raw materials, including lithium. The largest global reserves of lithium are situated in the salt flats of the Atacama Desert in Chile and the current boom is expected to result in an increase in production. Local communities and environmental NGOs fear a degradation of the vulnerable ecosystem of the salt flat. The extractive companies on the other hand refute such claims and present scientific studies to support their narrative. In this paper, this epistemological contradiction is further analysed and interpreted through a literature study and interviews with representatives of different stakeholders on location. What is observed is an unbalanced and possibly incomplete field of knowledge production, due to a power disequilibrium between the involved stakeholders. As the state takes a passive role in the neoliberal environmental governance model, a lot of initiative lies with the lithium companies. Their privileged access to measurement equipment and data gives them a dominant position in the scientific debate on the impact of extraction. Without addressing root causes of the socio-environmental conflict, this 'scientisation' of the impact debate depoliticises fundamental contradictions between the different interests in the region.

ENV 8. Fault lines in the Energy Transition: Local and Global Dynamics of Lithium Mining in South America - 2

Session organizer & chair: Barbara Hogenboom (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam)

The resource intensity of the transition towards a decarbonised energy system has a profound impact and includes both local and global dynamics. In the context of the rising demand for lithium, governments and mining companies look to expand production and achieve industrial development policy or commercial targets. Meanwhile, serious concerns remain around the social and environmental

disruption in regions of extraction. What to make of these clashing narratives between saving and exhausting the world? How do diverse stakeholders interact, collaborate and conflict? Considering the urgent need and limited timeframe to decarbonize, what could environmental justice look like? In addition to analysing local dynamics in South America, we will discuss how the new global lithium production networks fit into historical trade and power relations between the (consuming) Global North and (producing) Global South and what role finance capital but also knowledge and discourses play. In this double panel we will approach local and global aspects of this so-called green extractivism from different angles and academic disciplines. At the same time, these different levels of analysis cannot be seen in strict separation. The global energy transition has direct local impacts, while local dynamics may have global repercussions. It is exactly along such fault lines that we hope to create more clarity through the exchange and discussion of our research in this double panel.

6. Depoliticization of lithium: How 'green energy' reshapes South America's local to global relations and decision-making

Barbara Hogenboom, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Parallel to what is probably only the start of a lengthy lithium boom, political arrangements for the extraction, access, and the distribution of benefits and burdens are in a flux in South America. At the local level, some communities (partly) resist extraction, such as in Argentina and Bolivia, but in Chile extracting companies preempt resistance through the use of new value-sharing logics and projects. At the (sub)national level, some governments go for substantial reforms, especially nationalization, while others stick to older policies for new realities. At the global level, the energy transition as well as rapid geo-political shifts, change the way in which lithium countries are approached. And at all levels, the lithium extraction companies remold their relations, aiming at beneficial decision-making. Despite the variety of political redirections, three factors seem to generally depoliticize lithium decisions. The lithium boom itself, the urgency of the energy transition and the ongoing dominance of corporate interests, all tend to silence deeper debates about long-term negative impact, injustices, and overcoming structural imbalances. Using a critical political economy lens, this paper aims to clarify to what extent the rising lithium demand empowers or disempowers South American civic actors and public institutions in local to global relations and decision-making.

7. Actors, territories and strategies: Re-embedding the Global Production Networks of the lithium industry from the Global North and South

Marie Forget, Savoie Mont Blanc University, EDYTEM, France

This presentation aims at discussing the ongoing restructuring of global production networks (GPNs) of lithium. Lithium is no longer being explored and developed only in historical territories such as the Andes, but the frontier movements of lithium production are still increasing in these territories. The multiplication of extractive and industrial projects (gigafactories) provokes an evolution of the geographies of the energy transition based on both firm strategies and state policies (Bos, Forget, 2021). Nevertheless, the dubbed 'lithium triangle' by global investors remains at the center of all attention. The GPN of lithium has restructured rapidly over the last five years, with the emergence of different types of players operating at all stages of the lithium production chain. These different types of stakeholders also have their own corporate strategies that often associates historical industry leaders and newcomers (Forget, Bos, 2021). This cross-border movement is not over, as demonstrated by the Livent-Allkem joint venture (2023), Livent been a long-standing player (FMC) with extensive operations in the Argentine salars. The diversification of stakeholders in Latin America is accompanied by a geographical expansion of mining projects beyond the most-known salars, hoping to take advantage of the window of opportunity for critical mineral (ongoing) players. In this presentation, we will focus on the evolution of the stakeholders involved in the exploitation of the Argentine, Chilean and Bolivian salars (fig 1), exploring the evolution of their entrepreneurial profiles (associations of mining

company with financial investors, major automotive groups, battery producers etc.) and strategies for horizontal and vertical integration in the GPN.

8. Latin America's Strategic Minerals: Catalyst for the Global Configuration of Inequalities
Miguel A. Rivera-Quinones, Radboud University, The Netherlands

Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina, collectively forming the "Lithium Triangle," hold an impressive 60% of the world's lithium reserves. The prospect of a lithium cartel, potentially incorporating Mexico and Brazil, signals the potential to control an unparalleled 65% of global reserves and 35% of current production. This emphasizes Latin America's pivotal role in steering the trajectory of the green transition in Europe and the United States. Beyond conventional debates on neo-extractivism, this research delves into the contemporary extraction of Latin America's strategic minerals, uncovering a nuanced blend of continuity and change concerning historical inequalities related with the global distribution of benefits from mineral extraction. Drawing on Ruy Mauro Marini's concept of uneven exchange, our research posits that Latin America's strategic mineral extraction may catalyze a reconfiguration of global wealth inequalities, fueled by an expanding technological gap driven by the region's mineral resources. The current extractive wave presents unique scenarios distinct from previous governance, necessitating a nuanced approach to redesign the international economic order. However, we argue that resource nationalism, redistribution, and community protections in extractive regions may fall short in adequately addressing the worldwide inequalities spurred by the green transition in the global north. This research contributes nuanced insights into the multifaceted dynamics shaping Latin America's pivotal role in the global green transition, offering valuable perspectives for social movements, policymakers, and scholars alike.

9. Legal Geographies Governing the Extraction of the Atacama Salt Flats
Juliette Maasland, Tulane University, New Orleans, United States

In an era of increased "green energy" policies, the demand for critical minerals such as lithium to create electric cars and solar cells has increased significantly. However, what is often left unacknowledged is the negative local socio-environmental consequences on local Indigenous Communities particularly in the Atacama Desert. This paper explores how the legal geographies of lithium mining in the Chilean Atacama Salt Flats affect Indigenous land tenure. Through a legal geographies perspective, this paper explores the relationship between people, land, and law to understand questions of power, equity, and environmental justice. Using a qualitative multi-scalar sociolegal textual analysis, this paper analyzes the regulatory narratives produced at an international, national, and local corporate level. At an international level, this paper analyzes the UN "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," UNCHR "Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights," and ILO "Convention 169." At a national level, the paper includes the 1980 Chilean Constitution, the 1983 Mining Code, and the 2023 National Lithium Strategy. At a local level, the paper compares the CSR policies of SQM and Albemarle, the two largest lithium mining companies. The results are summarized in a legal geographies model and demonstrate the relationship between the regulator and the four most dominant narratives in the legal texts: sustainable development, land, rights, and extraction. This paper suggests that different regulatory actors can and do co-regulate the Atacama Desert from a rights-orientated and sustainable development framework.

ENV 9. Flowing up: Grassroots initiatives in water governance

Chair: Catalina Garcia (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

1. An environmental justice perspective on the micro-politics of water ecosystem conservation and restoration in the Ecuadorian highlands

Juan Pablo Hidalgo-Bastidas, Wageningen University & Research, The Netherlands

In recent decades, the conservation and restoration of water ecosystems has gained worldwide attention. In Ecuador, the páramos are no exception, as they are both fragile and strategic ecosystems for water storage and production. Various nature-based water protection schemes - a variant of payment for ecosystem services - have emerged from conservation NGOs, municipal governments, financial institutions, private and public water companies and international development agencies. One of the schemes that stands out as a successful model is the financial and governance mechanism known as a water fund. Despite their rapid expansion in Latin America and around the world, these mechanisms have been poorly studied. Based on ethnographic research and from an environmental justice perspective, this article analyses the case of two indigenous communities in the central Andes of Ecuador: Rumipata and Llangahua. Both communities are part of the work area of the Fondo de Páramos de Tungurahua, an emblematic programme that has been in existence for almost two decades. This study shows how the activities of the Fund - and other similar programmes operating in the area - are characterised by a lack of recognition of the diverse visions and practices of the páramo, little political participation of historically marginalised populations in decision-making processes, and, as consequence an imbalance in the distribution of impacts and benefits among the different actors involved.

2. Socialization in Waterway Port Development in the Bolivian Amazon

Fernando Schrupp Rivero, GPIO, University of Amsterdam

This article explores democratic participation and social control institutional arrangements in the early stages of implementing the 1,182-kilometer Ichilo-Mamoré Tramo I waterway in the Bolivian Amazon. Grounded in urban political ecology, the study examines how newly emerging labor organizations and Indigenous communities in Santa Ana del Yacuma engage with the Bolivian State in shaping the waterway's planning process during the socialization phase. Employing an institutional ethnography method, the research traces the conflict back to the 2020 waterway modernization effort and the return of the Movement towards Socialism party to power, highlighting the unique participation of labor organizations in the planning process.

3. Acueductos comunitarios y distritos de riego en el Sumapaz: Historia ambiental como resistencia a la acumulación y la eficiencia

Sebastian Hernandez, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia

La inserción de múltiples dinámicas e intereses en los municipios de Fusagasugá y Pasca, en Cundinamarca (Colombia), se solapan como capas que convergen, pero que también presentan fricciones entre ellas, ahondado la desigualdad en el acceso al agua en zonas rurales y periurbanas que se han organizado en asociaciones de Acueductos Comunitarios y Distritos de Riego. Estas se ven amenazadas por discursos de escasez del líquido impulsados por la alcaldía de Fusagasugá y otras entidades departamentales que propenden por iniciativas para regionalizar el servicio público de acueducto con la construcción de un embalse para la acumulación del agua, para así gestionarla desde una visión de eficiencia y control en su uso. Considero este tipo de propuestas como proyectos hidropolíticos ya que implantan una visión sobre el manejo del agua y de territorio, en donde la primera toma un papel central. Ante este panorama, me interesa conocer cómo se han dado y se siguen dando las interacciones alrededor del agua desde una mirada a algunas organizaciones comunitarias ubicadas

en estos municipios. Esto lo hago a través de la construcción de un collage con las voces de sus integrantes, y desde el marco analítico de la historia ambiental, hacemos un ejercicio de memoria sobre sus procesos de conformación y arraigo en los territorios, que sirven de cohesión para resistir a la implementación de proyectos hidro-políticos; pero también como medio para articularse en organizaciones de segundo nivel que propendan por la defensa de las cuencas, los territorios y los procesos mismos

4. The Ebb and Flow of the Seaflower Marine Biosphere Reserve. Law Entanglements and Ocean Justice in the Southwestern Caribbean Sea.

Catalina Garcia, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This presentation explores the spatio-legal dynamics of the Seaflower Marine Biosphere Reserve, located in the Southwestern Caribbean Sea over twenty years (2000-2020). It adopts a legal geography perspective to unpack its establishment, fragmentation and resettlement, demonstrating how the marine reserve has served the purposes of territorialization, a space to be claimed by the states to exercise control over the people and the marine resources on the basis of international law. The presentation sheds light on the ocean legalities of this region, often contradictory and overlapped, and its effects on indigenous livelihoods and marine biodiversity. While social and environmental justice principles were compromised and entangled within the changing contested lawscape of the Seaflower Biosphere Reserve, the paper discusses the role of indigenous and alternative legalities in enhancing equity and sustainability in ocean governance. Hence, the presentation brings attention to local governance systems and how black indigenous communities resist the law but through the law.

ENV 10. Agricultural development and sustainability

Chair: Karen M. Siegel (University of Münster, Germany)

1. Just sustainability transitions across global agrifood chains: a framework

Karen M. Siegel, University of Münster, Germany

Over the last decades the Southern Cone of South America has witnessed an exponential and contested expansion of large-scale agricultural crops for export. The production of soybean for example has been heavily criticised by many social movements and civil society organisations because of its social and environmental impacts. At the same time, in European countries which are key importers of South American agricultural commodities, there are growing demands for a transformation of the agrifood sector as this has been identified as a key sector responsible for the transgression of several planetary boundaries and a driver of deforestation due to land use changes. Yet, there is no consensus as to what a sustainability transition in the agrifood sector should look like. While many actors state that any sustainability transition should also be just, this is particularly complex for the agrifood sector with its long value chains. Moreover, the high concentration of corporate power in the agrifood sector, which also influences sustainability discourses, means that there is a high risk that proposed sustainability solutions may not be considered just by all actors involved from producers to consumers. To develop a better understanding of different dimensions and demands for justice for a sustainability transition across global agrifood chains, this paper develops a framework that explicitly seeks to take into account perspectives from both, producing countries in South America and importing countries in Europe.

2. Coffee, Cocoa, and Centenarians: Bridging the Agriculture Generational Gap in Dominica through Specialty Crops
Ezra Remer, Tulane University, United States of America

Across Latin America and the Caribbean, declining youth involvement in farming and related activities has led to a rapidly aging agricultural sector. This generational gap in agriculture-related livelihoods threatens to negatively impact youth unemployment, economic diversification, and food security (Schneider, 2016), particularly for Small Island Developing States (SIDS). The ongoing trend is notably prominent in the academically understudied Caribbean country of Dominica where the destruction from Hurricane Maria in 2017 and shifting economic incentives have only amplified this generational drift on the agriculturally reliant island. However, recent developments in the rise of specialty agricultural products and related value-added industries such as agro-processing, import-export, and eco-tourism promise agricultural careers beyond the traditional, more physical labor-intensive confines (Weis et al., 2015). This paper investigates how the development of specialty agricultural industries in Dominica can address the growing generational divide within the agriculture sector. The project is co-written by 91-year-old farmer Witnel Louis as a means of implementing a “Farmer First” model (Chambers, 1986). By combining participatory research methods with the analysis of historical documents, ecological conditions, social structures, and economic data, this applied research study works to identify how the expansion of specialty agricultural industries in Dominica will help to overcome generational employment gaps and work to build a more resilient, sustainable, and multi-generational agriculture landscape that will help to insulate the island-nation against future shocks.

3. The Plantationocene, agrarian change and socio-environmental in/justice on Peru’s north coast
Andrew Jobling, Sheffield Hallam University, United Kingdom

This paper draws on the conceptual lens of Plantationocene (Wolford 2019, Borrás & Franco 2023) to analyse patterns of agrarian change and socio-environmental in/justice on Peru’s north coast. Peru’s north coast has been a key site for the historical development of large-scale agribusiness, most notably in the form of extensive sugar estates that came to dominate major valleys in the region by the mid-C20th. While this process was interrupted to some extent by Agrarian Reform measures in the 1960s-70s, contemporary plantation dynamics have involved counter-reform measures involving de-collectivisation and privatisation of agro-industrial cooperatives as well as significant expansion of the agricultural/ agro-food commodity frontier through major irrigation schemes that have consolidated control of land by big capital and involved dispossession of peasant groups. Specifically, the paper will explore how contemporary plantation dynamics are shaping: labour relations within and beyond plantations; patterns of land and water resource control; and broader agrarian and regional politics along the north coast.

4. From global value chains to local crops: changing approaches to bioeconomy in Argentina
Monica Buraschi, National University of Cordoba, Argentina

Argentinean policy documents and networks frequently present bioeconomy as a development strategy to improve the country’s position in the global economy by upgrading value chains with a strong focus on large-scale crops and biofuels. At the same time, dominant approaches often imply that the bioeconomy is inherently sustainable. Yet, our previous work has shown that this type of bioeconomy in fact exacerbates multiple social and environmental crises. Current bioeconomy policies oriented towards the large-scale production of biofuels tend to reproduce the inequalities inherent in agro-industrial global value chains. Environmentally, their impact on reducing carbon emissions is questionable and instead the expansion of monocultures has negative impacts on biodiversity. However, in the margins of this dominant approach to bioeconomy, other approaches are emerging with a stronger focus on local development in rural areas and arguably more attention to environmental

impacts. To understand how such newer bioeconomy initiatives impact on social and environmental inequalities, this paper examines public and private mechanisms of sustainability governance for three crops that have received much less attention; quinoa, chia and jojoba. We present findings from 30 interviews with key stakeholders in different Argentinean provinces as well as an analysis of relevant policy documents. This shows that while such initiatives may hold some benefits in terms of sustainability and more inclusive development compared to the dominant bioeconomy approach, the strong influence of industrialized countries in the global North remains and limits the autonomy of Argentinean actors and their room for maneuver.

5. Challenges and possibilities for a sustainability transition in South America's Gran Chaco: A comparison of Argentina and Paraguay

Daniela Gomel, University of Münster, Germany

Since the late 1990s Argentina and Paraguay have pursued comparable policy paths for harnessing the potential benefits of soy and beef production and exports, with contested environmental and societal impacts. Argentina pursued a promise of an industrial upgrading of the agricultural value chain without accomplishing the potential benefits for the social wellbeing, the environment or a better relocation of the country's position in the global agricultural market. Similarly, Paraguay promised food sovereignty which in turn deepened the soy monoculture land tenure concentration and negatively impacted on social dynamics and biodiversity loss. Nevertheless, the two countries also have important differences in terms of size, political system and position in the region. To gain a better understanding of the dynamics between national policies and the international value chain, this paper presents an initial framework for a qualitative comparative study of Argentina and Paraguay. Theoretically, we aim to bring together the global value chains literature drawing on World Systems approaches to analyze the global dimensions, and policy process theories to evaluate potential national differences. Empirically, we focus on the Gran Chaco Forest region, a dry forest region that extends across large parts of Argentina and Paraguay where high deforestation rates due to land conversion pose a threat to livelihoods and biodiversity. Yet, as most research on deforestation in South America has focused on the Amazon rainforest, much less is known about the political and institutional challenges and possibilities for a sustainability transition in the agri-food system of the Gran Chaco.

ENV 11. Multidimensional Transformations in Practices, Politics, and Values: The Betweenness of Commodity and Sociobiodiversity Production in Brazil

Session organizer & chair: Gabriela Russo Lopes (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam)

Discussant: Seline Meijer (WWF-NL)

The expansion of commodity production has been transforming multiple dimensions of Latin America over the last few decades. This expansion often unfolds by displacing smaller-scale, community-led agricultural systems based on forest products, also referred to as sociobiodiversity production. As a highly sociobiodiverse country and one of the world's leading soy exporters, Brazil is a case in point. In this panel, we delve into the betweenness of these two land-use systems, acknowledging their entanglement, coexistence, interaction, disputes, and conflicts that extend beyond rural landscapes. This entanglement not only shapes land-uses, but also influences political arenas and intangible values within society. The panelists explore multiple dimensions of these entangled transformations. First, by analyzing the relations between humans and non-humans within commodity production. Second, by addressing the ways in which soy interconnects different landscapes and socio-ecological challenges across space and time. Third, by exploring the pluriversality of onto-epistemic and ethical values arising from social groups that emerge from transdisciplinary dialogues around sustainability, residing within this betweenness. Fourth, by unpacking the broader contributions of commodity and sociobiodiversity land-use systems to food production, agricultural diversification, rural development,

and a holistic understanding of health. The panel offers critical insights and important considerations on commodity production in different regions of Brazil, seeking to contribute to more nuanced debates on the matter by considering the betweenness that underlies these multidimensional transformations. It further discusses how the literature on commodity production can benefit from thoroughly accounting for the alternative systems it displaces.

1. Pathways to the SDGs in conflictual areas: the case of West Bahia in the Brazilian Savanna
Tais Sonetti-González, Free University of Brussels, Belgium.

This article focuses on the concept of knowledge co-production as a method to cultivate stronger collaborations between the scientific community and diverse stakeholders, including government, business, civil society, and traditional communities. By involving various stakeholders and expertise on an equitable basis, research co-production can establish collaborative connections and a foundation for action-oriented strategies. Nevertheless, this process necessitates ongoing onto-epistemological and ethical reflection, particularly in settings affected by conflict or vulnerability. To ensure safe and equitable participation in such contexts, there is a strong emphasis on methodological adherence and empathetic engagement. Our study is part of a larger project focused on participatory processes in semiarid regions with the objective to seek alternative pathways toward achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. We analyze a participatory dialogue in the western region of Bahia-Brazil, where rapid growth in export-oriented commodity production has led to conflicts over land and deforestation of the Cerrado biome, considered the Brazilian savannah. This article seeks to contribute through an empirical example of some of the epistemic and ethical dilemmas that arise during this process. It also offers methodological reflections on how to address these dilemmas alongside tensions related to the researchers' stance in providing neutral facilitation within the conflict while assuming different roles. We analyze data from participatory dialogues using the Three Horizons for Sustainable Development Goals approach. By incorporating diverse perspectives, this process provides a space for the exchange of ideas, building coalitions, collective learning, and empowering marginalized groups, with a focus on social inclusion and representation.

2. Pests on the Plantation: Unraveling the Coexistence of the Brown Stink Bug with Brazilian Soybeans
Nathaly da Silva, Eindhoven University of Technology (TU/e), The Netherlands

In recent decades, Brazil has risen to become a global agricultural powerhouse, largely fueled by the exponential growth of soybeans' production and consumption worldwide. However, this expansion has not occurred in isolation but rather in tandem with the dynamic ecological interactions between humans and non-humans. Threatening the quality and productivity of Brazilian soybeans, the brown stink bug (*Euschistus heros*) is one of the major pests of this agricultural frontier. Although they are also present in cotton and sunflower plantations, they are popular and mostly known as "soybean's bugs" ("percevejo-da-soja") in Brazil, as before the acceleration of Brazilian soy monoculture in the 1970s, this species was considered uncommon in the country. This paper will explore the intricate relationship between the brown stink bug (*Euschistus heros*) and soybean cultivation in Brazil, delving into the historical and ecological dimensions of this interaction, tracing its origins and subsequent transformations. In particular, the paper will discuss how the presence of this "pest" has led to a complex web of ecological changes, including alterations in pest management strategies, shifts in agricultural practices, and consequences for biodiversity and ecosystem stability.

3. Being in the forest: The contributions of sociobiodiversity value chains to a grounded sustainability in the Brazilian Amazon

Gabriela Russo Lopes, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The expansion of commodity production in the Brazilian Amazon persistently displaces small-scale agriculture based on forest products. This is associated with high deforestation rates and the risk of trespassing ecological tipping-points. It further impacts local communities and their traditional food systems, cultures, livelihoods and affections with the territory. Such intertwined dynamics disrupts what is referred to as sociobiodiversity, a term accounting for the relations and attachments between local peoples and surrounding forests. If, on the one hand, commodity production relies on large-scale, concentrated, technified and capitalized agriculture (e.g., soy, cattle-ranching); on the other hand, sociobiodiversity productive systems encompass various types of small-scale, community-led, diversified and place-based value chains (e.g., native oils, tropical fruits, artisanal fisheries). Embedded in a deforestation lock-in, community-led sociobiodiversity systems are often invisibilized. Based on document analysis, data mapping, and field visits as part of the Linkages Project, this study sheds light on the multidimensional transformations of sociobiodiversity value chains toward a grounded bioeconomy in the Amazon. The results emphasize the contributions of such value chains not only to more sustainable and forest-based land-uses, but also to fair and inclusive local economies, healthy and diversified food systems, as well as purposeful and meaningful ways of being in the forest. Even in face of high deforestation pressures, sociobiodiversity value chains challenge the dominant commodity system by carving out transformative pathways toward sustainability in the Amazon. Recognizing their multidimensional contributions is a key step in counteracting the enduring patterns of deforestation in the tropics.

4. Soy-infused landscapes: How seemingly detached landscapes became entangled through soy (1950s-present)

Caroline Kreysel, Free University of Amsterdam (VU), The Netherlands

Since the mid twentieth century, the Dutch livestock industry relied increasingly on soybeans imported from among others Brazil to feed its animals. This dependency contributed to the expansion of livestock farming in the Netherlands and related socio-environmental transformations. I study soy as a plant, feed, carrier of nutrients and embodied in manure to interpret the entanglements of landscapes in the past through their exchange of species, knowledge, and technology. I investigate these histories to understand the situated histories that gave shape to the trajectory of soy as a commodity. In this paper, I focus on the Dutch region De Peel, a drained peatland in which intensive livestock farming was increasingly practiced in the second half of the twentieth century. I conduct fieldwork to find material and discursive traces of the multiple land use practices soybeans impacted in this region. This serves to understand how De Peel became entangled with landscapes of soy production in Brazil and the implications this had for the social and environmental histories of it. I connect these insights to archival and oral history investigations of how various agencies (soils, pigs, unruly plants) interpreted and co-constructed the materialities that emerged from the growing presence of soy. Through this research, I contribute to understanding the transformations commodity chains effected in their situated locations and point out the multiple historical contingencies that shaped these seemingly overarching chains. This serves to transcend binaries such as local/global, production/consumption and highlight the afterlives of Brazilian soybeans once they left the plantation.

ENV 12. Climate change, (im)mobilities and struggles for justice in Latin America

Session organizers & co-chairs: Hanne Wiegel (Centre for Climate and Resilience Research CR2, Universidad de Chile) & Giovanna Gini (University of Oxford)

Throughout Latin America, intensifying climate change impacts such as floods, drought and sea-level rise encumber lives and livelihoods. It is those already marginalised that tend to be most affected by these events, for example indigenous populations living in exposed areas, or subsistence farming communities. As a consequence, households and communities might be (temporarily) displaced, or decide to move elsewhere in search of new livelihoods or safer grounds. Others might decide to stay in place, motivated by place-specific cosmologies, traditions, and rootedness, even when their land becomes officially considered uninhabitable. This panel seeks to explore how these diverse household- or community-level responses to environmental changes are shaped and constrained by existing dimensions of injustice and violence, such as by high levels of socio-economic inequalities, different gender roles, uneven access to limited natural resources, or the structural and historical marginalisation of black and indigenous populations - complexities typically neglected in climate change mitigation and adaptation policies. Based on case studies from Colombia, Brazil, Peru and Chile, in this panel, we reflect on questions such as: How can climate-related (im)mobilities become an adaptation strategy in this context? How can justice and fairness in these processes be ensured? What struggles for justice can we already observe in relation to climate change (im)mobilities? And how can governance processes on different levels address these intersecting dynamics of injustices beyond exceptionalising climate change? This panel builds a space for dialogue and exchange, encouraging debate to envision how environmental and mobility justice can look in Latin America.

1. Between (Im)mobilities related to climate change, the forced relocation of Enseada da Baleia
Giovanna Gini, University of Oxford, UK

This paper proposes an understanding of forced (im)mobilities related to climate change as a series of violent events stemming from colonialism, racial capitalism, and coloniality. By analyzing the relocation of Enseada da Baleia, a caiçara community in Brazil, the paper highlights the structural aspects of (im)mobilities. It decentralizes the exceptionality of climate change beyond crisis. However, the paper emphasizes that avoiding the exceptionalism of climate change events does not mean people are not being hurt or that places are not being destroyed. It calls attention to the ongoing systems of oppression that underpin Enseada's forced relocation, raising questions about justice. The paper explores how the history of (im)mobilities in Enseada da Baleia needs to be read alongside the multiple historical slow-violent that mark their material and immaterial life. These quasi-events are almost imperceptible practices that serve the continuity of the colonial project guided by structures of racial capitalism, neo-liberal political landscapes, and patriarchal systems. The paper pays attention to the imposition of forced immobility and forced mobility produced by slow-violence, including the demarcation of Cardoso Island into a Conservation Unit (CU), real estate speculation, and erosion on Enseada's territory. The paper contributes to the critical understanding of forced (im)mobilities related to climate change and the need to attend to the historical and ongoing violence that goes beyond 'climate crisis' and patchy solutions.

2. Environmental im/mobilities, knowledge production and epistemic (climate) justice
Hanne Wiegel, Centre for Climate and Resilience Research (CR2), Universidad de Chile, Chile

This paper critically examines the politics of knowledge production on im/mobilities under climate change. Over time, the figure of the 'climate migrant' has become emblematic of the severe societal consequences of climate change, and is discussed in alarmist tones in many media, policy and academic arenas. In these narratives, however, the voices of those most affected by climate change tend to be conspicuously silent, if not altogether missing. This paper explores the consequences of such silencing

in two cases of environmental im/mobilities from Chile. One is central-northern Monte Patria, labelled the 'home of Chile's first climate migrants' in national media, where the local community emphasizes structural water scarcity and uneven resource access rather than climate change as reasons for outmigration. The second is Patagonian Villa Santa Lucía, heavily affected by a mudslide in 2017, where the community rejects relocation policies based on a fundamentally different risk assessment grounded in social representations of nature and human-nature relations. Drawing on Mimi Sheller's work, this paper argues that emancipatory knowledge production about climate change, its impacts and suitable responses is a crucial part of working towards climate (and) mobility justice. This involves actively counteracting epistemic injustices, or the exclusion, silencing or distorting of a person's or community's 'capacity as a knower'. From this perspective, including local communities as reflexive knowledge producers in climate change governance – beyond perfunctory consultation – is key not only to more adequate and locally accepted adaptation policy-making, but also to achieving climate and mobility justice.

3. Dynamics of resistance – territory and mobilities – in marginalized urban communities threatened or affected by multidimensional effects of climate change (Colombia).

Gilles Guymarie Hallé, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, Colombia

This proposal pertains to the author's qualitative academic study conducted as part of the Master's program in Contemporary Migrations at Pontificia Universidad Javeriana (Instituto Pensar) in Bogotá, Colombia. The study's objective was to analyze the strategies employed by individuals and families who were displaced 20 to 30 years ago due to the Colombian internal conflict and have since settled in high environmental risk areas in the city of Medellín, Colombia (Barrio El Pacífico, Comuna 8). The conceptual framework was collaboratively developed with community leaders during the initial months of the study, while the author was actively engaged in supporting community initiatives on the multifaceted challenges they face. This conceptual framework is summarized as follows:

1. "We have two options: either we wait for waterfloods, landslides and falling stones to overtake us or we proactively work to shape the future we desire" (Concept of agency).
2. "This is just another form of distress: we left one war only to find ourselves in another" (violence).
3. "Climate change has arrived, and no one can escape its impact" (risk).

The study has unveiled various pathways and insights that can inform local and national climate-related actions and policies. Based on this research, initiatives are currently in progress at different levels:

1. At national level, participating in discussions concerning a climate displacement bill.
2. At city level, preparing for the update of Medellín Climate Action Plan (PAC) and Development Plan (PD).
3. At local community level, fostering community-led "Actions for the Climate" (Acción Climática Incluyente).
4. The Value of the river for improving participation on water governance facing drought in the Chota valley

Sandra Megens, University of Wageningen, The Netherlands

The impact of climate change and variability has resulted in numerous major transformations in the ancestral afro-territory in Ecuador over the last few decades. This study explains how the historical transition, struggles, practices, and political participation surrounding dynamics water governance-related Afro communities have resulted in the redefinition of hydrosocial territories in the dry Chota Valley of the Mira River Basin. In recent years, the process of changing the productive matrix has brought with it significant transformations in these territories. Based on a case study, this research responds to the general objective of recovering memory about water access conditions, through the

course of its ancestral experience, and collective rights, as a critical opportunity to protect the collective values of the Chota River and to recognize the intangible national heritage of the Chota Valley, against water scarcity scenarios. Utilizing qualitative research methods, including bibliographical review, ethnographic information, and results validation.

Doing It Differently

alternative methods & epistemologies

DID 1. Body Aesthetics and Beauty Politics in Latin America (C. XIXth and XXth)

Session organizer & chair: Cecilia Tossounian (Conicet / Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina)

This panel explores diverse histories of beauty in Latin America with an emphasis on gender, consumer culture, and the body. Beauty culture, at the core of modernization projects, was both a discourse about a type of desired civilized population and an experience, an always unfinished embodied project constructed through the articulation of notions of gender, race, social class, sexuality, and ableism. By focusing on fashion, advertising, (anti)fatness and queer communities in diverse Latin American countries, these papers aim to move historical enquiry beyond popular understandings of beauty to unpack what beauty politics produced - what are the experiences and practices encoded in being (or not) benefited by beauty standards.

1. Gordos: Mapping (anti)Fatness Cultures in Buenos Aires (1900s-1940s)
Patricio Simonetto, University of Leeds, United Kingdom

This presentation explores the cultural histories of (anti) fatness in Argentina in the early twentieth century. The consolidation of the national state at the turn of the century led to broader efforts from the elites to produce desirable, patriotic, autonomous, and productive citizens in Argentina. Modern, healthy, and strong bodies became powerful metaphors of popular, scientific and political imagination along the spectrum. However, rather than a monolithic glorification of slenderness and fitness, fatness articulated spaces for contested and flexible identifications that went beyond stigma. This presentation analysed the transformation of "over-weight" in a social problem that catalysed imaginaries of race (whiteness), ethnicity, social class, sexuality, ableism and gender. Based on exploratory archival research of popular magazines, advertising, political newspapers from anarchist and trade unions, and scientific journals, this presentation argues that weight became a common ground to define desirable normative bodies in Argentina (and to contest them.) This analysis explores popular and scientific cultural production in two directions. First, as a normative force from above to understand how different members of the local culture have used figures of fatness to channel social anxieties of a changing urban society and to foster aptitudes that they considered positive in a productive community. Second, it explores common people's practices of weight regulation and those identifications that moved beyond fat stigma.

2. Making the Body Beautiful: Gender and Consumer Culture in Buenos Aires, 1920-1940
Cecilia Tossounian, Conicet / Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina

During the interwar period, the desire to achieve a healthy, beautiful, and vigorous body boosted. The perfect bodies of both female and male movie stars and athletes populated the mass media. Weight loss medicines and strength tonics, along with physical exercise and dieting, were endorsed as the way to achieve this body ideal. Through the analysis of advertisements and articles published in general and specialized magazines, this paper explores the discourse of corporal improvement aimed at men and women in 1920s and 1930s Buenos Aires. More specifically, it investigates how specific commercial

products were used to promote notions of what a beautiful body meant and how these notions redefined ideas about masculinity and femininity. The increased attention to the body responded both to a growing concern about the future of Argentina as a nation, and to a new individual consciousness of the body as an essential part of a consumer culture. The body, thus, became the place where debates on the moral dilemmas of modernity, especially those related to racial and consumer politics, took place.

3. The Peluqueras of La Laguna: Beauty, Race, and the Politics of Hair in a 1959 Cross-Dressing Ball in Lima

Diego Galdo-González, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

On January 31, 1959, the raid on the marica (sissy) ball of La Laguna unleashed a media scandal, police prosecution, and civil uproar across Lima. The police, news outlets, and the public disproportionately victimized working-class and mestizo to indigenous attendees – despite the majoritarian presence of white and middle-upper-class maricas in the ball. Throughout the following weeks, national tabloids published the former's full names, home and work addresses, and occupations. One occupation that appeared time and time again among the outed maricas was that of the peluquera (female hairdresser). Their overrepresentation among the ball's attendees pushed a group of respectable male hairdressers from the Artistic Cultural Center of Hairdressers of Peru to release a public statement distancing themselves from the peluqueras. The former accused peluqueras of proceeding as though their “immoral deviations” entitled them to cut hair, tarnishing their profession. Drawing on periodicals, magazines, oral history interviews, and ephemeral archives from the Ball of La Laguna, this paper approaches the peluquera and the beauty salon as sites from which to rethink class, race, and beauty in mid-twentieth century Peru. Charged with the feminized task of beautifying the self, peluqueras became rendered illegible within Euro-US LGBTQ+ discourse in the late twentieth century, as their practices began to align them closer to early-twentieth century maricas than to modern gay men. This paper taps into the histories of peluqueras in the 1959 Ball of La Laguna to comment on the ambiguous intimacies, embodiments, and beauty cultures of marica hairdressing in twentieth century Peru.

4. From Bazaars to Shop Windows: Fashion Consumption in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro through Periodical Press (1850-1880).

Teresita Garabana, Freie Universität Berlin/Universidad Nacional de San Martín

Around the mid-19th century, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro emerged as the two most important urban centers in South America, thriving on their commercial exchanges with Europe. Illustrated periodicals played a crucial role in disseminating news, and within this context, Parisian fashion became one of the most intensely propagated phenomena. While a significant portion of fashion content was produced in Paris and disseminated to major urban centers worldwide, it would be a mistake to assert that South American press merely copied and reproduced these trends. On the contrary, in this paper, I propose that newspapers in South American cities creatively embraced Parisian fashion content, adapting it to their local reality. Thus, initially through urban chronicles and later through advertising campaigns, newspapers in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro positioned fashion within these cities, expressing how and where the latest clothing trends could be acquired. A careful reading of these texts not only allows us to uncover details about the fashion trade in South America but also reveals innovative practices and consumer experiences that developed in the second half of the century.

DID 2. Infrastructures and Transregional Knowledge Circulation: The Challenges of Epistemic Justice - 1

Session organizer & chair: Barbara Goebel (Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin, Germany)

Epistemic justice is one of the central concerns in the current academic decolonial agenda. Proposed strategies for established knowledge infrastructures (e.g. archives, libraries, museums, disciplinary associations, publishing houses) to overcome the historically grown knowledge asymmetries and digital divides range from Open Access and a broader democratisation of knowledge, to the inclusion of other medialities, forms and practices of knowledge. In this panel, we will address the nexus between infrastructures and knowledge circulation in contexts of conviviality shaped by inequalities and differences. Hereby we look at knowledge infrastructures as spaces of dialogue, negotiations and disputes fostering or hindering the circulation, visibilization and valuation of knowledge. How and in which ways can knowledge infrastructures contribute to achieve epistemic justice? How can we foster a more equal and diverse circulation of knowledge? The panel is inspired by discussions and collaborative research developed in the frame of the Maria Sibylla Merian Center Conviviality – Inequality in Latin America (Mecila) which articulates research in Germany and Europe with research in Latin America.

1. First Universal Races Congress: Knowledge Circulation and Dynamics of Marginalization and Centralization

Aline Correa, University of Cologne and São Paulo University

The First Universal Races Congress took place in July 1911 at the Imperial College in London. The event has been proposed by the Ethical Societies Movement and brought together, for the first time at an international level, a proposal to talk openly about the problems regarding inter-racial contact. However, the idea of race was not consensually clear, neither the parameters of classification or divisions. If on one hand, the proposal was to universalize a way of discussing about racial matters, on another hand it also reinforced differences related to the perspective of racial issues according to the agent's geopolitical position. In this sense, I propose an analysis of the event as a context of conviviality or infrastructure of knowledges, focusing especially on the circulation of knowledge regarding the conceptual idea of “race” and “universal” in both directions: north-south and south-north and how it challenges or reinforces perspectives of justice, marginalization and centralization.

2. La circulación de ideas entre la RDA y América Latina: Instituciones, transformación epistémica y autoritarismo

María Eugenia O'Higgins, Universität Rostock

En 1964, en el marco y desarrollo de los estudios regionales en la República Democrática Alemana (RDA), se fundó en la Universidad de Rostock el Instituto-Latinoamericano (LAI-UR). Apoyado en un discurso “antiimperialista” y de “solidaridad” con los movimientos de liberación del “Tercer Mundo”, el SED (el partido oficial del Estado) priorizó los intercambios con países socialistas. En este contexto, la RDA buscó sentar las bases institucionales para la creación de centros de investigación especializados en estudios de área (Asia, África y Latinoamérica). Estos centros debían proveer sustento empírico para su postura anticolonialista –por ejemplo, a través de análisis socio-históricos– y, además, cuadros diplomáticos para su política exterior. Esta circunstancia produjo una sostenida movilidad académica y científica entre la RDA y el “Tercer mundo”: en el caso del LAI-UR, investigadores alemanes y latinoamericanos viajaron de un lado a otro para intercambiar ideas, perspectivas y saberes sobre América Latina. Sin embargo, las condiciones en que se realizaron estos viajes como la misma producción científica, en la RDA estuvieron bajo un riguroso control estatal. En mi presentación me voy a centrar en las condiciones políticas e institucionales de la circulación de ideas entre la RDA y

América Latina. ¿Qué posibilidades de transformación epistémica fueron posibles en infraestructuras de conocimiento marcadas por autoritarismo?

3. Epistemic Justice? The Reception of Decolonial Debates in Germany
Clara Ruvoituso, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Germany

Among the debates with a strong Latin American component that have had greater global circulation are the theories of dependency in the 1960s and 1970s and, a few decades later, the current “decolonial” critique. Both currents of thought had and still have impacts in Europe, although little is known about the practices and ideas they promoted and their interconnections. The current reception of decolonial (and postcolonial) criticism in Germany are opening an agenda that includes the question of subaltern voices, positionality, intertwined asymmetries and inequalities (gender, race, languages, geography etc.) and a critique of Eurocentrism with strong impacts on knowledge infrastructures (academic curricula, collections, diversity policies, etc.). In my presentation, I will focus on the role of peripheral voices (especially from Latin American) in this transformation that drives the idea of “epistemic justice”: What authors circulate in the German debate, what kind of practices and South-North collaborations does decolonialism/postcolonialism challenge? And, who are left invisible?

4. Multi-Institutional Information Infrastructures to Overcome Knowledge Asymmetries
Christoph Mueller, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Unrestricted access to information is a basic prerequisite both for a self-determined life and for equal conviviality. Against the background of the diversity of information producers, resources and channels, multi-institutional and, where possible, transnational cooperation between information infrastructures is therefore becoming increasingly important, not only in the academia but in a wider social context. Such an information infrastructure is being implemented by the International Center for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences Mecila: Maria Sibylla Merian Centre Conviviality-Inequality in Latin America financed by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). Departing from the experiences of Mecilas information infrastructure this paper will present and discuss opportunities and challenges to cooperatively collect, register and make freely accessible information on Latin America for research and dialogue with the general society.

DID 2. Infrastructures and Transregional Knowledge Circulation: The Challenges of Epistemic Justice - 2

Session organizer & chair: Barbara Goebel (Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin, Germany)

Epistemic justice is one of the central concerns in the current academic decolonial agenda. Proposed strategies for established knowledge infrastructures (e.g. archives, libraries, museums, disciplinary associations, publishing houses) to overcome the historically grown knowledge asymmetries and digital divides range from Open Access and a broader democratisation of knowledge, to the inclusion of other medialities, forms and practices of knowledge. In this panel, we will address the nexus between infrastructures and knowledge circulation in contexts of conviviality shaped by inequalities and differences. Hereby we look at knowledge infrastructures as spaces of dialogue, negotiations and disputes fostering or hindering the circulation, visibilization and valuation of knowledge. How and in which ways can knowledge infrastructures contribute to achieve epistemic justice? How can we foster a more equal and diverse circulation of knowledge? The panel is inspired by discussions and collaborative research developed in the frame of the Maria Sibylla Merian Center Conviviality – Inequality in Latin America (Mecila) which articulates research in Germany and Europe with research in Latin America.

5. Epistemic encounters between researchers and the researched: A sensitive ground within academic infrastructures
Simone Toji, University of Sheffield, The United Kingdom

The encounter between researcher and research interlocutors can at times be considered a sensitive moment within the production of knowledge in academia, as research in Latin America often entails engagement with vulnerable groups in varied contexts of inequality. In such conditions, applying certain standards of our academic practice, such as assigning a priori categories to interlocutors or extremely generalizing their presences can sometimes work as acts of epistemic violence, when our interlocutors cannot recognize themselves in the portraits that our research accounts make of them. Proposing to understand the research encounter through an ethics based on Levinas, the paper discusses the importance of modesty as a research attitude, considering the production of knowledge in academia rather a form of attendance to the presence of others in the world than a form of providing overarching and holistic explanations about them. In this line, it looks for ways to reach new grounds in the direction of epistemic justice within the infrastructures of academia itself.

6. Memorializing an uprising: The Museo del Estallido Social in Santiago
Daniela Vicherat Mattar, Leiden University, Netherlands

In 2019 Chile experienced the biggest uprising after the dictatorship. On the 25 October, over 1.2million people occupied the streets of Santiago; several thousands also mobilized across the country. This massive uprising had a wide variety of repertoires, from peaceful mobilizations, chants, dances and different artistic expressions on the surfaces of the streets, to violent confrontations with the police (mostly by groups defined as *la primera línea*) and various others providing support during the confrontations (mostly to care for the wounded). A consequence of this period is a rich archive of multi-sensorial artifacts that have been assembled and curated together in an initiative called El Museo del Estallido Social in Santiago. As self-managed and financed organization, this museum describes itself as an initiative “from the people to the people”; an effort to not forget the manifold forms of collective mobilization and voices of that October. This effort to remember is important in a context where the uprising has been tamed by the current constitutional process happening in the country, or, in a wicked turn, attempted to be criminalized as soft-coup, by some political figures. Remembering the many forms of contention during the Estallido of October is a call for epistemic justice, in as much as it keeps alive voices that are aimed to be silenced from public debates. In this presentation I take this initiative to discuss the importance of popular forms of memorializing the past in broadening conversations about what matters in national history. In doing so, they advance the formation of more democratic citizenries.

7. Activist Co-production for the Right to Occupy, Hold Ground, and Upgrade
Ana Paula Pimentel Walker, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

This paper theorises a multi-year participatory action research engagement focusing on young land occupations and consolidated favelas in São Paulo’s south periphery, reflecting on activist-scholar engagements through co-production. We call on academia to embrace activist co-production, learn from and support informal dwellers’ everyday urbanisms, and join social movements’ struggles for social transformation. This article contributes new theoretical perspectives bridging research on co-production, Participatory Action Research, and broader emancipatory pedagogies inspired by Paulo Freire (2014[1968]). This reflective research comes from our lived experiences as scholar-activists and activist-scholars through knowledge and action produced within a multi-year activist PAR engagement (Thiollent, 1994) since 2016 addressing the rapid, unequal, and precarious informal urbanisation in São Paulo’s south periphery. From this vantage point, scholars are catalysts of emancipatory processes, but not drivers of social change and knowledge production (Wallerstein and Duran, 2017). PAR’s Latin

American roots aim to decolonise the research process (Torre, 2014) so that disenfranchised social groups lead the production of knowledge about themselves. We advance three modalities of action: 1) awareness raising through emancipatory education and capacity building; 2) articulação through knowledge exchange between young and consolidated informal communities; and 3) advocacy through policy reform for the right to occupy, hold ground, and upgrade. These three modalities emerge from reciprocal theory development and add value to urban policy and planning, further substantiating demands for action research for a more just city.

8. Intercultural Education for and by Indigenous Peoples in Pernambuco, Brazil: epistemic disobedience and a tool for critical decolonisation.

Naiara Unzurrunzaga, University of Liverpool, England

The legal advancements and implementation of Intercultural Education (IE) initiatives for Indigenous peoples that disrupt assimilationist educational practices in Latin America have been widely debated for decades (Aikman, 1997; Lopez, 2008; Baniwa, 2013; Mato, 2016). Many of these, however, tend to take a deficit-focus perspective by highlighting the policy/practice disconnection, as well as short-term solutions. Whereas these are important aspects in the debate, perspectives highlighting social movements as agents of ongoing change across educational spaces are less common. This paper turns the attention to Pernambuco, Brazil. Under the 1988 Constitution Indigenous peoples in the country are guaranteed the right to school education adapted to their sociocultural and linguistic characteristics. Specifically, this paper focuses on how, to address the policy/practice disconnection, Indigenous teachers in Pernambuco organised around an epistemic disobedient movement (Mendonça, 2017) to retake schools in their communities in the mid 2000s. Since then, they have been advancing their decolonisation agenda via alliances with HE institutions and civil society organisations. The authors, a Brazilian historian and a PhD candidate at an English university, present how their trajectories crossed paths and ended up working with the movement to contribute with their agenda and the wider aspect of decolonising educational institutions. We argue that it is only via the critical engagement of HE institutions with the historically excluded that steps towards epistemic decolonisation can be taken. The case presented here represents an account in which alliances led from below are successfully leading to addressing historical injustices in the field of education.

DID 3. Transformation, Translocation, and Transition: Latin American Queer Resistance

Session organizer & chair: Javier Pérez-Osorio (University of Cambridge)

This panel critically explores queer artistic practices as privileged sites for challenging the exclusion of LGBTQ+ subjects in Latin American societies. Analysing works spanning documentary film, video art, and anime-inspired fanzines, we study how Colombian and Peruvian artists navigate the intersections of marginalisation and resistance. These works intricately intertwine with regional relations of race and class, but also foreground the influence and readaptation of transnational theoretical frameworks and aesthetics. Local and global, playfulness and political engagement, identities and practices are held in productive tension as these practitioners engage with the imperative to give a just place to sex and gender-dissident subjects from the continent. Positioned at the crossroads of transnational geopolitical exchanges involving Colombia and Peru, we survey the transformative potential of queer visual arts in Latin America. The first paper delves into the analysis of 'Somos libres?!' (1981) by Colombian artist Miguel Ángel Cardenas, engaging with migration, sexual repression, and the formation of queer subjectivity. The second paper, 'When Play Turns Revolutionary', examines the political potential of play within LGBTQ+ Peruvian fanzines (2020-2021), addressing performativity from an intersectional viewpoint. Finally, a close reading of the film 'Cada vez que muero' (2023) draws on decolonial queer thinking to investigate the film's reappropriation of queer politics, revealing how at once it challenges

societal hierarchies regarding queerness but also contributes to a nuanced understanding of the injustices faced by transgender individuals in Colombia.

1. When Play Turns Revolutionary: Otaku Communities, Activism, and the Role of Anime and Manga in LGBTIQIA+ Peruvian Fanzines

María Alexandra Arana Blas, University of Pittsburgh

Play and the objects we use to play have the potential to transform reality, then games and the act of play have a political potential. Authors like Miguel Sicart, proposes in his book *Play Matters* (2014) that play is not necessarily fun, but it can be pleasurable in a transgressive and dangerous way. The same says Caetlin Benson-Allott in *Debugging Game History* (2016): things are objects that have “a power in the world beyond its mere utility or associations for people.” What happens, then, when feminist activists and LGBTIQIA+ marginal communities rescue pop culture products, such as anime and manga, and use the potential of play to denounce their erasure in Peruvian society and history? This paper proposes to study the LGBTQ+ Peruvian fanzines to understand our ambivalent relationship with neoliberalism, and the way in which the bodies and products inserted in capitalism have the potential to defy a system that does not recognize them because of their performativity, sexuality, race, and social class. To demonstrate that, I will analyze the fanzines *Azúcar Amargo* (2020) of the non-binary artist Estado de Limbo, and *Exploradoras de la Luna* (2021) of the trans poet Gia Lujuria. In their work, they recognize themselves as activists, artists, and part of a fan community that sees hope and possibility to change society in fiction. Then, they, as marginal LGBTIQIA+ bodies and part of a fan community, use their position in society to incarnate the excess of sexuality and capitalism but also to question and destabilize them.

2. Somos libres?!: Miguel Angel Cardenas’ mobility towards freedom and the emergence of a queer artistic language

Elize Mazadiego, University of Bern, Switzerland

In 1981 Miguel Ángel Cárdenas, a Colombian artist living in the Netherlands, produced the experimental video work titled *Somos Libres?! (We are free?!)*. The 21-minute video, produced for the independent space for experimental performance and video art in Amsterdam *De Appel*, follows a journey of two gay men who leave their home in Latin America for Europe, in the hope of escaping violent oppression and locating relative freedom. This story mirrors Cardenas’ experience of migrating from Bogota to Barcelona in 1962, to eventually settle in Amsterdam, a city known as a “tolerant climate for homosexuals.” Converging with a growing political mobilization around sexuality and gender, Amsterdam was also an art scene that experimented with new media, alternative spaces, publications and approaches to artistic practice. While this period and context has been characterized as vibrant and experimental, this history is not without discrepancies and discontents, from limited representation to limited rights, which filter through Cardenas’ video work. Through an examination of *Somos Libres?!* and his larger body of work, this paper interrogates the way Cardenas’ artistic practice addressed the experience of sexual repression in Colombia that motivated his migration to the Netherlands, while also articulating a queer subjectivity and aesthetic “in exile.” This paper will discuss the ways that Cardenas’ transnational mobility was perceived as a liberatory paradigm and how he was part of a larger network of queer Latin American artists in Europe who explored new articulations of art, identity, sexuality and desire.

3. Cada vez que muero (2023): Travesti Resistance in Colombia

Javier Pérez-Osorio, University of Cambridge, UK

Cada vez que muero is a hybrid documentary film developed by Colombian director Raúl Vidales in close collaboration with seven women from *Red Comunitaria Trans*, a Colombian transfeminist

collective founded in 2012. The film draws on both documentary and fictional narrative techniques to explore the shadow of death that relentlessly looms over the lives of transgender people in Colombia. This paper adopts decolonial queer thinking (Miskolci 2014, Pelúcio 2014; Gomes-Pereira 2014, 2019) to study *Cada vez que muero* as a reappropriation of queer politics from the Global South. I explore how the film allows queer, racialised, and mainly lower-class subjects to destabilise not only Colombian social hierarchies but also the assumption of universalism in Western queer thinking. Considering the centrality of performance in the film, I probe the representation of queer embodied experiences as a strategy of resignification of and resistance to the violence suffered by transgender people in Colombia. I contend that the overt depiction of trans bodies – judged as abnormal in a pervasively heteronormative cultural setting – works as a means to reclaim recognition and legitimacy, thus highlighting the disrupting potential of trans bodies to (re)think sex and gender in Latin America. Finally, examining the inescapable intersection between deviant bodies and dissident citizenships, I analyse how *Cada vez que muero* incites a reformulation of hegemonic discourses on class, gender, and race in contemporary Colombia.

DID 4. Participatory research and knowledge co-production

Chair: Constanza Parra (KU Leuven, Belgium)

1. Fomentando la justicia azul en el sur de Chile: una propuesta de ciencia ciudadana para el Golfo de Arauco
Steven Mons, Instituto Milenio en Socio-Ecología Costera (SECOS) & Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Se presentarán los primeros resultados de un proyecto transdisciplinario en desarrollo titulado Ciencia Ciudadana para el Golfo de Arauco. Este proyecto es impulsado por el Instituto Milenio SECOS y busca estimular la co-creación de conocimientos socio-ecológicos, así como las prácticas de ciencia ciudadana, con el fin de promover la transformación sostenible de los sistemas socioecológicos del Golfo de Arauco en el centro-sur de Chile, un área fuertemente afectado por estresores naturales y antrópicos. Ciencia Ciudadana para el Golfo de Arauco responde a la necesidad de la región de fomentar vínculos de investigación transdisciplinarios de largo plazo entre ciencia-ciudadanía. El desarrollo científico ha estado alejado de los saberes y necesidades de las comunidades del Golfo de Arauco, por lo que se busca contribuir a la apropiación del conocimiento respecto al desarrollo territorial sostenible de los sistemas socio-ecológicos costeros del Golfo de Arauco. En este contexto, se ha desarrollado un diseño de investigación multimétodo y participativo, que busca la inclusión onto-epistemológica de los sistemas de conocimiento, experiencias y prácticas territoriales de una variedad de actores sociales clave, incluyendo pescadores artesanales, mujeres recolectoras de orilla, pueblos originarios, juntas de vecinos, comités de agua potable rural y niños, entre otros. De este modo, se busca la incorporación de las voces de todos esos actores sociales como participantes centrales en este estudio. Los principales instrumentos aplicados hasta la fecha incluyen el mapeo participativo, la co-creación de un mural y las entrevistas abiertas y semi-abiertas.

2. Striving for socio-environmental justice in the Chaparri Nature Reserve: The Belgian-Peruvian participatory action research “Todos y todas por Chaparri”
Constanza Parra, KU Leuven, Belgium

This paper presents a critical examination of a Belgian-Peruvian research project carried out in the Chaparri Natural Reserve and its peasant community in Lambayeque, Peru. The project followed a methodology of participatory action research and aimed to support the peasant community in addressing their challenges to promote nature conservation and ecotourism initiatives. These local efforts have been hindered by violence and criminalization resulting from the expansion of the

agricultural frontier driven by the regional government of Lambayeque and transnational agribusiness companies. By adopting an inter- and transdisciplinary approach, the co-researchers, including community members, activists, public officials, journalists, and academics, collaborated to frame the issues in Chaparri from diverse perspectives. The research project “Todos y todas por Chaparri” aimed to develop holistic and decolonial understandings of complex socio-ecological problems and co-create knowledge to raise awareness and promote positive changes. International collaboration facilitated multicultural dialogue among the co-researchers, although the institutional complexity of Peru and Lambayeque, as well as the struggles in the Chaparri territory, posed significant challenges. This paper critically reflects on the theory and practice of participatory action research, particularly in the context of the Chaparri community members, and offers insights and lessons learned for its potential as a tool to promote socio-environmental justice.

3. Travelling Rivers, Mapping Movements. Bridging river commons and grassroots justice struggles through counter-mapping

Rutgerd Boelens, CEDLA, University of Amsterdam & Wageningen University, The Netherlands

Across Latin America, rivers are vital to sustain life but industrial, hydropower- and agribusiness-driven projects displace peasant communities, dry out indigenous territories, grab fisher communities' resources and contaminate their waters. Dominant ways of mapping and representing rivers deepen these socio-environmental injustices. Thereby, conventional maps are powerful instruments through which nature and society are represented. Maps are performative; they inform decision-making and political actions. Drawing on critical cartography, we conceptualize maps as power constructions that advance claims to rivers. In this presentation, we discuss the Traveling Rivers initiative, linking grassroots activists, engaged academia and river commoning struggles through counter-mapping. This, to support translocal river defence networking across scales and contexts. We scrutinize how, through transdisciplinary counter-mapping workshops among six river conflict arenas in Colombia and Ecuador, local river knowledge, narratives and struggles are shared. This way rivers, as socio-ecological entities, can travel beyond their presumed borders, converse across places and cultures, cross-pollinate. That is how movements can take shape: more than just representing grassroots realities, counter-mapping can bridge and trigger alternative “living-with-river” proposals. River movements map, mapping moves rivers. Through activist-artist ‘river connectors’, social movements dynamically map and re-present river realities, embodying their destruction, suffering, wisdom, beauty and, possibly, enabling interconnected struggles and alternative futures. We seek to understand how grassroots interconnection among socio-fluvial contexts, representations and struggles may generate new understandings and concepts capable of transforming hydrosocial realities, of strengthening ‘rivers of resistance’ that break away from river grabbing and imposed status quo river governance.

4. La Atención de la Emergencia: Experiencia del Deslizamiento de Panabaj, Guatemala, 2005

Carlos Alfredo Puac Alvarez, Universidad de Edimburgo, Escocia y Universidad del Valle, Guatemala

Uno de los principales retos para las instituciones de gobierno, sociedad civil y sector internacional, es la atención de la emergencia cuando sucede un desastre. Implica contemplar las diversas condiciones que se generan durante el suceso, aumentando su complejidad debido a que cada evento es diferente y los impactos en cada unidad social afectada también son distintos. En la experiencia del deslizamiento de Panabaj, Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala, es posible ubicar los momentos inmediatos a la tragedia y los procesos de atención de la emergencia. La ubicación, traslado y funcionamiento de las casas de los albergues y casas de acogida generan complicaciones logísticas y humanas, que no finalizan con la instalación del mismo, principalmente cuando el tiempo de permanencia del albergue supera los estándares establecidos. La participación de la población es fundamental en la administración de ayuda humanitaria y participación en las negociaciones para atender las necesidades generadas. Esto no está exento de dificultades como el clientelismo de los actores políticos, racismo, abuso de poder, el robo de

la ayuda humanitaria y otro tipo de situaciones sociales que agravan la condición de los damnificados. La atención psicosocial es otro aspecto que regularmente es relegada a segundo plano. El apoyo a los rescatistas, así como la atención a los sobrevivientes por la pérdida de sus seres queridos y la niñez huérfana, se convierten en desafíos para este tipo de atención. La propuesta que acá se presenta, recoge la experiencia del deslizamiento de Panabaj (2005), con el análisis de las situaciones durante la emergencia, desde la voz y experiencia de los mismos protagonistas.

DID 5. Radical Futures in Latin America: Challenging and Shifting Dominant Narratives from Below

Session organizer & chair: Rafael Shimabukuro (University of Cambridge, England)

Utopia represents a vision of a world where inclusivity, equality, and social justice prevail. While utopian ideals may appear abstract and distant, utopia serves as a guiding star for radical endeavours. This panel explores the interconnected themes of transformation, empowerment, and the pursuit of utopia within the unique dynamics of Latin America. The panel will begin with a theoretical discussion of the necessity of utopia for thinking about emancipative futures through a critique of John Holloway's Open Marxism. Then, it will move on to the story of Lima, Peru's Self-Managed Urban Commune of Villa El Salvador, a place where planning, self-management, socialism and indigeneity came together to build radical democracy. Subsequently, the panel will travel to Vitória, Brazil, where the Bem Community Bank redefines socio-economic systems by challenging established norms and promoting financial inclusion in the favela of São Benedito. Elsewhere in Brazil, another group challenges norms and seeks inclusion: LGBTQ+ Christian activists. In the past decade, Brazil has witnessed significant political upheavals and social movements, and these activists have made it their mission to discuss the entanglements of religion with politics, gender, and sexuality in this complex landscape. These diverse cases from Latin America collectively illustrate the ongoing efforts and challenges to shape more inclusive and socially just vision of the future in the face of complex and evolving social dynamics.

1. From Above and Below: Municipal Socialism and 'Heroic Creation' in the Self-Managed Urban Commune of Villa El Salvador

Rafael Shimabukuro, University of Cambridge, England

José Carlos Mariátegui believed Latin American socialism would be neither calque nor copy, but heroic creation. This paper explores an attempt at heroic creation in 1970s Peru: the Self-Managed Urban Commune of Villa El Salvador. Born during the country's 'peculiar revolution' (1968-1980), Villa was the result of an encounter between two socio-political forces. From above, there was the left-nationalist Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces, which provided the land, an ultra-rational urban layout and incentives for organisation. From below, there were the communards, mostly indigenous and inspired by a combination of Marxism, liberation theology and long-standing communal traditions. What came out of this encounter was a remarkable entity, both radically democratic and democratically radical. The urban grid gave the institutional arrangement of the commune intuitive coherence. Strategically placed public spaces encouraged political participation from the lowest levels. Infrastructure was built with communal labour and a general ethos of solidarity permeated Villa. Yet, in 1983 a dual power arrived as Villa became a municipality. Throughout the following decades the commune was mortally weakened by competition with the municipality, intra-leftist division, economic crisis, attacks from the Shining Path and state repression. Today, little remains of Villa's glory days. Regardless, there are important lessons in Villa's history, lessons about how planning and self-management may come together, how socialism may lean into indigeneity and what Mariátegui's dream of heroic creation may look like.

2. The perils of radical political thinking without utopia: John Holloway's Open Marxism conflictive relationship with utopia

Matías Volonterio, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

John Holloway's Open Marxist political theory has focused, inspired by Latin American autonomous social struggles such as Zapatism, on how we can understand emancipation. Holloway rejects a teleological reading in which history walks towards a predefined utopian future. Instead, he argues that what matters is that people embark on self-determinative actions versus the command of capital and the state for building alternative futures. These futures, however, could materialise in various ways with no guarantees all of them will lead to a non-oppressive society. In my talk, I will analyse how his argument falls short in two areas. Firstly, I will dissect how the rejection of utopia puts much more weight on dystopia to affirm political mobilisation. Hence, political mobilisation is supported on much weaker and even paradoxical grounds. The second issue I will address is the lack of sources for imaging utopias. According to Holloway, while in orthodox Marxism strong utopian thinking guided political struggle, it was an umbrella for enacting totalitarian politics that curtailed people's agency. For him, Orthodox Marxism's use of utopia is enough to reject embracing any form of utopian models. The argument overlooks how subaltern thought holds alternative society models that can inspire some contours of the future to come. Against Holloway, I will argue that recovering some of those models as inspiration for thinking utopias does not entail accepting utopia in its totalitarian form. Considering this, I will suggest that critical theory still requires committing to some form of weak utopianism which could show the way to plural futures.

3. Solidarity Microcredit, Citizenship and Collective Empowerment: A Study of the Bem Community Bank in Brazil

Lila Gaudêncio, University of Cambridge, England

In Brazil, community banks have been a public policy for local development since 2003, and have since then promoted financial inclusion for over 150 low-income territories throughout the country. With the objective of encouraging a more collective and democratic economic system for the neighbourhoods in which they operate, these solidarity-based microcredit institutions intentionally shift traditional ideas around the socio-economic system by amending negative stereotypes and characteristics deemed as "second-class" (e.g. poverty and race) to positive views of pride, capacity and belonging. Looking through this method, this paper aims to analyse how these dynamics impact the production of citizenship in these spaces, and, more importantly, how these actions, summed with three specific types of microcredit loans - habitational credit, productive credit and consumption credit - partially repair historical deprivations of land, labour and law to the lower classes. Each type of loan will elaborate on different life stories, which will weave into how that specific credit strives to regain a section of lost (and denied) citizenship; while considering the fundamental qualifications of it, that being of freedom, capacity, dignity, respect and self-possession. In this context, and in order to address these matters, this research will focus specifically on the experience of the Bem Bank, a community development bank operating in the favela of São Benedito (Vitória, Brazil) since 2005.

4. Queer Christian Utopia: the activism of LGBTQ+ Christians in Brazil

Beatriz Santos Barreto, University of Cambridge, England

In Brazil, the saying goes 'política, futebol e religião não se discute'. In the past ten years, amidst protests over the 2014 World Cup, Dilma Rousseff's impeachment, and Jair Bolsonaro's election, not discussing these topics – sometimes all at once – has proven to be a risky choice. This paper focuses on those who have made it their mission to discuss religion and its entanglements with politics, gender, and sexuality: LGBTQ+ Christian activists. In a moment when the opposition to LGBTQ+ rights is strongly grounded in a narrow reading of Christianity, their activism can be transformative by showing

that (a) a non-normative and accepting Christianity is not only possible but already exists, (b) traditional Christian values are a discursive tool used to sustain the marginalisation of gender and sexual minorities, and (c) that the view of religion as immutable and necessarily anti-LGBTQ+ issues has limited the scope of actions from the progressive side as well. These activists differ from their LGBTQ+ peers by devising strategies focused on a deep cultural shift that challenges the discursive grounds of political oppression. In this process, LGBTQ+ Christian activists occupy a precarious position both in the mainstream LGBTQ+ movement and within Christian institutions. In both these arenas, these activists present challenges to well-established views and arrangements, at the same time as they claim their belonging to them. Their ambitious goal of queering the prevalent forms of Christianity is grounded in their faith, but their strategies are focused on localised impact as a tool for broader change.

DID 6. Space, sound and alterity

Chair: Eliot Edmonds (University of Cambridge)

1. Justice through Polyrhythm: Modernity and its Counterpoints in Literary Representations of Afro-Caribbean Musical Traditions in the Long 20th Century
Eliot Edmonds, University of Cambridge

Post-emancipation Afro-Puerto Rican performance traditions continue to underpin political and specifically racial struggles on the island. Liberation from both historic and ongoing injustices appears as a central tenet in the conventions of lyric and communal performance of these traditions which trace their roots back through the island's history of slavery. Rafael Acevedo's *Guaya Guaya* experimentally incorporates their aesthetics. The novel foregrounds this process of formal transposition, wherein the conventions of Reggaeton—a key Puerto Rican cultural export—are reimagined in the space of prose. Doing so, I argue Acevedo gestures, also, towards a broader Afro-Puerto Rican tradition of music in performance, specifically drawing upon the communal and improvisational aesthetics of *Bomba*. This autochthonous genre originates in the daily activities of enslaved Africans, and preserved their inherited traditions through creolisation alongside affording the enslaved peoples a means of practical communication and ideological resistance to the sugar plantations' oppressive regime. *Guaya Guaya* engages a contemporary concern with the apparently morally bankrupt, neoliberal ideology espoused in the music of so many reggaetoneros. Through an elaborate weaving of Reggaeton lyricism within a metafictional narrative framework, the novel acts to at once criticise the failure of Reggaeton as a late-capitalist cultural product whilst at the same time pushing its aesthetic and political potential into a new conceptual space. By layering irony, parody, and multivocality, Acevedo incorporates the communal and multi-participatory character of *Bomba*. He thereby invites reader(s) to consider how his novel reinforces a national narrative initially implied by its apparently damning internal critique of Reggaeton.

2. Folkloric indigeneity, alterity and the recorded past in audible "neuquinidad"
Dylan Bradbury, University of Manchester

An important source of sonic identity in Argentina since the late nineteenth century has been the folklorisation of Indigenous sounds. This entails the recording and appropriation of, for example, individual uttered words in Indigenous languages, traditional instruments and ritual singing, in order to recast them in new musical contexts according to different ideological projects (cf. Ochoa 2006). In the North Patagonian province of Neuquén, folkloric indigeneity provides the basis of a provincial identity marked by its alterity in relation to the wider nation. That is, the foundational provincial imaginary sees the "primitive secret" of conquered, near-extinct local Indigenous populations directly articulated with the political Otherness of the modern province within the nation—as famously told in

Irma Cuña's sonically rich 1956 poem Neuquina—with audible Indigenous symbolics providing a key feature of so-called neuquinidad. I argue here that while folklorised Indigenous sounds underpin this provincial alterity, the very process of folklorisation in fact always relied upon shared practices of sound recording across and between Patagonia, Buenos Aires and the wider nation. These recording practices are identified across three overlapping areas of sonic knowledge production: musicological research, State promotion of folklore, and commercial production of local popular musics—all, crucially, relying on a shared orientation towards an imagined Indigenous past. I trace the output of figures as disparate as Carlos Vega, Jorge Preloran, Isabel Aretz, Gregorio Álvarez and Marcelo Berbel, to show how those recorded Indigenous sounds constitutive of neuquinidad say as much about the province's embeddedness within the nation as they do about its alterity.

3. Formas de justiça social e criação de vínculos comunitários: Ações e produções Cartoneras
Ariadne Catarine dos Santos, Universidade de São Paulo (USP), Brasil, cotutela com a Sapienza Università di Roma (Roma)

Na virada do século XXI, em um período marcado por crise(s) em diversos países latino-americanos, como Argentina, Bolívia, Brasil, Colômbia, Chile, México, Peru, entre outros, ações e produções editoriais artesanais dominaram o cenário cultural independente, como os livros cartoneros, feitos com capas de papelão, pintados à mão coletivamente, vendidos por um preço abaixo do valor do mercado livreiro convencional, com o objetivo principal de divulgar vozes subalternizadas. Da criação de Eloísa Cartonera, a primeira editora cartonera argentina, até os dias de hoje já se passaram 20 anos e o modo de saber-fazer cartonero continua circulando e mobilizando um fenômeno que se mantém à margem. Esta apresentação se articula em duas frentes: a) apresentar um panorama do funcionamento das editoras cartoneras em atuação e os modos comunitários de articulação entre esses coletivos; b) a partir de extratos de livros e dos manifestos de Eloísa Cartonera (AR), Yerba Mala (BO), La Cartonera (MX) e Vento Norte Cartonero (BR), debater como as ações e produções desses grupos intervêm no campo artístico-editorial e indagam a relação entre literatura, justiça social e democracia, por exemplo.

4. Hilos/Threads: appropriating the public space through collective weaving in the context of femicide in Mexico.
Paulina Trejo Mendez, Amsterdam University of the Arts, The Netherlands

Through a decolonial feminist lens this paper unpacks the artistic project “blood of my blood”. This art project is also an art protest in the search for justice by the feminist Mexican art collective “Hilos” (threads). This work situates blood of my blood in the history of feminist textile artistic interventions as well as in the history of Latin American political artistic interventions. It considers the context of extreme forms of violence: femicide (killing of women because of their gender) and forced disappearance. Hilos Collective seek to repair the social fabric while using this textile to make visible the absences of those who have been victims of disappearance and femicide in Mexico. This in a country where ten women a day are murdered (García, 2021). Since the war on drugs started in 2006, 2000 mass graves have been found and more than 61 thousand people have disappeared (Rea Gomez, 2020, p. 25). Looking into feminist artistic practices implies unlearning the silences as well as understanding the tools, approaches and strategies used (Trejo Mendez, 2019). Since March 2023 the work of Hilos has inspired others across Latin America who are also re-signifying “blood of my blood” within their own sociopolitical context with examples from Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Perú and Puerto Rico.

5. Radically Affected and Affective: Contemporary Cuban Artists Negotiating the Politics of Cultural Spaces

Mahi Shah, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

In 2018, the Cuban Government passed Decree 349, prohibiting artists from operating in private and public spaces without Ministry of Culture approval. Contemporary Cuban artists, entangled in webs of cultural censorship, are facing iterations of silencing, narrative vulnerability, and epistemological injustice. I seek to foreground the works and experiences of emerging artists in Havana (e.g., Liliana Lam, Yanahara Mauri Villarreal, Roberto Ramos Mori) and diasporic artists (e.g., Sandra Ceballos, Tania Bruguera), to examine the frictions undergirding the Cuban art space, revolving around the relationality between the artist, curator, spectator, and state. Through a framework engaging with spatial and affect theory, supplemented with fieldwork, I analyse the positionality of contemporary Cuban artists, the institutional politics of curatorship, and the negotiation of cultural encounters. I draw on the theoretical works of Georges Perec, Sara Ahmed, Chantal Mouffe, amongst others. In *Species of Spaces and Other Pieces*, Perec posits that ‘to live is to pass from one space to another, while doing your very best not to bump yourself’. I argue the inversion of this premise, highlighting the political precarity for Cuban artists, as they navigate spatial-cultural topographies, where the threat of ‘bump[ing]’ is omnipresent. Identifying the power in collisions, I explore how to ‘live’ might not signify a mere passing, as existence depends on rupturing space by ‘doing your best [...] to [emphasis added] bump yourself’. Both (dis)empowered and (trans)formed by their navigation of such collisions, Cuban artists demonstrate the potential to be radically affected and affective in politically curated cultural spaces.

DID 7. Indagando la (in)justicia desde el lenguaje performativo

Session organizer & chair: Adriana Churampi Ramirez (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

Discutir la in/justicia en Latinoamérica es casi imposible sin indagar en cuestiones discursivas: a través de qué medios – no exclusivamente verbales – se articulan las identidades nacionales (nuevas / alternativas), cuáles son las voces dominantes y cuáles los discursos de resistencia de grupos marginales, y cómo se puede incluso deconstruir el lenguaje mismo como respuesta a un discurso ideológico vacío? Las tres ponencias que proponemos para este panel, discutirán cuestiones de materialidad y del cuerpo, centros y periferias culturales y geográficas, censura y testimonio, a través de diferentes aplicaciones del lenguaje performativo, el cual, por su carácter no exclusivamente semántico, consigue “dar voz” a los silencios y las cacofonías que producen estas experiencias. El tema de la construcción identitaria nacional se abordará mediante un análisis de la chicha andina y la cumbia amazónica en el Perú, propuestas musicales de ritmos híbridos que intentan potenciar la elusiva inclusividad de la diversidad de herencias culturales peruanas. Un cortometraje del artista audiovisual Felix Blume que recoge testimonios sobre un bicho mítico de la selva Amazónica Brasileña, será el punto de partida para discutir cómo la representación performática de la escucha activa, desde los espacios marginados, es un acto de resistencia al lenguaje afectivo de discursos neopopulistas de la extrema derecha en Latinoamérica. En Cuba son la performance y la dramaturgia que proponen una vuelta al cuerpo y la desarticulación de los discursos oficiales.

1. Bulliciosos reclamos participativos: La Chicha y el Sonido Verde

Adriana Churampi Ramirez, Leiden University, The Netherlands

La emergencia de los sectores provincianos andinos en la capital peruana se escuchó con fuerza en la época de la denominada música chicha. Este ritmo híbrido reforzaba la vivencia andina urbana mediante las letras de canciones interpretadas por íconos como Chacalón y Los Shapis. No se trataba, sin embargo, de la primera incursión de las periferias culturales en el panorama nacional, anteriormente, el sonido verde desde la Amazonía, con Los Mirlos y Juaneco y su combo, propagó

ritmos que se hacían eco de la naturaleza exuberante de la región. La peculiaridad de esta vertiente fue su impacto sonoro ya que carecía de letras. Propongo indagar en esta ponencia la contribución de estas propuestas musicales a la construcción de la narrativa identitaria nacional. El Perú, un país múltiple, lidia aún con la inclusión de su diversidad de herencias, de allí que desde las regiones emerjan interesantes y creativas corrientes reclamando continuamente su cuota de participación. La potencialidad, tanto de la chicha como del sonido verde, son las propuestas que propongo analizar.

2. La escucha activa: El testimonio como resistencia al neopopulismo en Latinoamérica

Jeffrey Pijpers, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Si durante la Guerra Fría los autoritarismos latinoamericanos ejercían la censura como manera de silenciar posibles voces – y otras formas expresivas – de resistencia, en la actualidad la hegemonía política se caracteriza por un uso desbordante del lenguaje. Políticos latinoamericanos como Bolsonaro, López Obrador y Milei, que llamaré de “neopopulistas”, se caracterizan por discursos que están fuertemente arraigados en los códigos del mundo online, donde el fake news, los deep fakes y la inteligencia artificial generativa obfuscan la separación entre lo real y lo ficticio, lo físico y lo virtual. Siguiendo el análisis de Lauren Berlant en *Cruel Optimism* (2011), argumentaré que los políticos neopopulistas no pretenden difundir un mensaje claro a los votantes, sino que es justamente el ruido del mensaje “no filtrado” con que desean “hablarle a la gente de una manera más directa”. En este contexto, la película “Curupira, bicho do mato” (2019) del artista audiovisual Felix Blume ofrece una perspectiva interesante. Es una película en que habitantes de la selva Amazonia Brasileña presentan testimonios sobre un animal mítico que nadie ha visto en persona. Ya que el acto de escuchar a sonidos del bosque tiene un papel principal en esta película, la obra nos invita a reflexionar si la representación performativa de lo que llamaré la “escucha activa” es una forma de testimonio que resiste la hegemonía del lenguaje afectivo del neopopulismo en el contexto descrito arriba.

3. Sonido, materialidad y escritura en el arte de la performance en Cuba

Nanne Timmer, University of Leiden, The Netherlands

En esta ponencia me centro en las obras de dos performers/escriptoras cubanas: Legna Rodríguez Iglesias y Martha Luisa Hernández Cadenas. Ambas trabajan con el ritmo, la oralidad y la escritura. Legna Rodríguez en su *Las analfabetas* propone una des-alfabetización de la ciudad letrada, un proyecto paralelo al de la des-patriarcalización. Este proyecto des-articula un gran discurso nacional que se apoya en un abecedario formulado a través de un epos revolucionario y a través de figuras heroicas masculinas. También Martha Hernández Cadenas continúa en esa dirección: sobre su performance y libro-objeto *Escribir con la lengua* ella dice que “surgió como una excusa para huir de lo alfabético”. La resonancia ideológica de la palabra alfabetización en el discurso cubano es grande y refiere a una tarea revolucionaria masiva llevada a cabo a inicios de los años sesenta que devino relato fundacional y latinoamericano. Retomando la importancia de la oralidad y el ritmo, ambas artistas interrogan el archivo nacional. No solo hay un rechazo del orden en el sentido político, social, y moral, sino que hay una intervención en el lenguaje-Nación. La ponencia se centra en la pregunta en qué sentido la recuperación de la voz, el silencio y la escritura del cuerpo propone otros modos de intervenir en la sociedad y construir nuevas ideas de comunidad.

DID 8. Dissidence and development in the Caribbean

Chair: Thomas van Gaalen (Radboud University, The Netherlands)

1. International solidarity as radical strategy in the interwar Caribbean

Thomas van Gaalen, Radboud University, The Netherlands

The 20th century Caribbean were a paradoxical political space. Caribbean islands were subjected to harsh censorship and subjugation. At the same time, colonial ports became hubs of radical exchange. Pamphlets circulated across ports, and radicals fled from harbor to harbor. Through a comparison of the transatlantic exchanges of two interwar radicals who established social movements on the Caribbean island Curaçao, this paper demonstrates how radicals operating under the severe limitations of the colonial Americas turned engagement with the globally circulating idea of international solidarity into a flexible and adaptable political strategy. The paper first illustrates how Curaçaoan dockworker Felix Chacuto took from US and Puerto Rican practices of solidarity to kickstart a 1922 Curaçaoan labor movement. It then shows how, in 1929, Venezuelan communist Gustavo Machado employed solidarity to organize revolutionary Latin-American refugees on Curaçao. Embedding these micro-histories in a digital discourse analysis of international socialist newspapers, the paper demonstrates how these radicals reconfigured globally circulating interpretations of solidarity to combat injustices specific to their direct context. By invoking solidarity, the paper shows, Latin-American and Caribbean radicals with little agency could circumvent political constraints. Simultaneously, practices of solidarity exposed fault lines and differences in radical collectives. Solidarity, then, served both as an equalizer and a lynchpin for division. Following cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall's call to produce "politically useful knowledge," this paper concludes by exploring the implications of these findings for present-day coalition building. What political potential does the framework of solidarity offer—and what are its obstacles?

2. How Does the Construction, Deconstruction, and Reconstruction of a Gay Identity Unfold in the Panamanian Maritime Industry?

Gustavo Abdiel Aguilar-Miranda, Newcastle University, England, UK

LGBTIQ+ rights in Panama are far behind the rest of the Americas. Panama does not have legal protection for LGBTIQ+ people. The Maritime sector does not escape this dynamic of LGBTIQ+ discrimination. Although there are efforts to increase women's visibility, these advances do not extend to include sexual orientation. This project delves into the intricacies of identity construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction among gay individuals in the Panamanian maritime industry. Utilising grounded theory and semi-structured interviews, this qualitative study facilitates knowledge development through the exchange of lived experiences among gay maritime employees. Twelve interviews were conducted, with eight identifying as members of the LGBTIQ+ community. Findings reveal that gay identity construction in Panama is linked to repudiation, discrimination, ridicule, abnormality, and disrespect, fostering a vulnerable and self-rejected identity. To navigate the maritime sector, individuals undergo the deconstruction and reconstruction of their identity, suppressing any sign of femininity and weakness. This compels the gay population to adopt a camouflaged, heterosexual facade, resulting in emotional-mental distress, depression, and loss of authenticity. Intervention is imperative to foster comprehensive inclusion, ensuring that gay talent is valued, all orientations are respected, and the maritime industry evolves into a safer space for everyone. The study highlights the urgency of addressing discrimination in Panama's maritime sector, emphasising the necessity for policies that embrace diversity and protect the rights of the LGBTIQ+ community. This research calls for transformative measures to create an inclusive environment in the maritime industry, where authenticity is celebrated, and mental well-being is prioritised.

3. "Soy un hombre como tal": Experiencias de masculinidad y despatologización entre hombres trans en Cuba

Thomas Grant, Leiden University, The Netherlands

En la lucha para el reconocimiento de los derechos de las personas trans, América Latina es un campo disputado, y Cuba no es una excepción. Su desarrollo excepcional dentro de la región y el papel pionero del Centro Nacional de Educación Sexual (CENESEX) en la despatologización de las identidades LGBTQ+ a nivel mundial no significan que Cuba haya evitado el sexismo, la homofobia y la transfobia que se observa por toda la región. La presente obra busca desarrollar conocimiento sobre la situación actual de los hombres trans cubanos para que exista un referente de sus realidades contemporáneas. Se realizó un estudio etnográfico cualitativo sobre las interpretaciones y expresiones de masculinidad dentro de la comunidad trans masculina en Cuba. El trabajo se llevó a cabo desde el mes de septiembre hasta el mes de diciembre del año 2022 y consistió de entrevistas semiestructuradas y observación participativa. La muestra quedó conformada por 17 hombres trans de edades comprendidas de 21 a 73 años, quienes estaban viviendo en varias locaciones por toda la isla. Este trabajo trata de las experiencias e identidades de estos hombres, incluso sus interacciones con CENESEX y el modelo hegemónico de masculinidad en Cuba. Se concluye que estos referentes y realizaciones de masculinidad siguen estando influidas por el machismo dominante en el país, y que los discursos despatologizantes del CENESEX no se ven reflejados en las experiencias de los hombres trans.

4. Challenges in Transforming the Cuban Economy

Namkwon Mun, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, South Korea

With the collapse of the Soviet socialist regime, various models of socialism have emerged across the globe. These span from the market reforms of China and Vietnam to the 'Twenty-First-Century Socialism' espoused by Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, and the traditional Stalinist model found in North Korea. The Cuban approach to socialist development, however, has distinctive features. Confronted with a critical economic and political crisis after the Soviet Union's fall, Cuba enacted reforms to enhance the sustainability of its socialist framework. Now, as the last bastion of socialism born from the 20th century's major revolutions, Cuba is in a phase of profound change and transition. In 2010, Fidel Castro, echoing Raúl Castro's reform-oriented views, conceded that Cuba's reliance on the old Soviet model of centralized planning was untenable. The Castros promoted a cooperative version of socialism with a diminished state economic role, alongside the creation of worker-owned cooperatives and self-employed businesses. Nevertheless, the Cuban economy is encountering numerous challenges during its transformation. Internal issues include migration, an aging population, over-centralization of the economy, hyperinflation, currency devaluation subsequent to the dual-currency system's unification, and a decade of sluggish economic growth. Externally, the U.S. embargo against Cuba continues to exert pressure.

5. Antihaitianismo as the "Other" Side of the Law: Discrimination and Migration in the Dominican Republic

Jermaine Young, Howard University, Washington D.C., USA

Emergency powers are generally noted for the challenge they pose to the rule of law. Political thinkers, from ancient to contemporary times, have acknowledged their utility while also outlining their potential dangers. Nevertheless, the substitution of clear, general, and prospective rules in favor of arbitrary measures in times of emergency, up until now, has been primarily studied in relation to the dangers it poses to the general population. This paper inverts this position by looking at how extra-legal measures allow for targeted discrimination for specific groups of people, especially those that have been historically disadvantaged and marginalized. Using the area of migration, I examine and trace how certain exercises of extra-legal power are disproportionately applied to Haitians and their

offspring in the Dominican Republic- a putative liberal democratic state committed to the rule of law. The use of extra-legal power here as subjected a particular portion of the population, Haitian migrants and their children, to heightened surveillance and regulation of their lives vis-à-vis accessing basic social services that are pre-requisites for citizenship. Ultimately, through a number of administrative, judicial, and executive maneuverings, the Dominican state has denationalized a number of Dominican children of Haitian descent, and this is where the nexus between emergency powers and migration reveals the dangers of the “other side of the law”.

DID 9. Care Work, Creative Methodologies and Alternative Archives in Latin American Culture

Session organizer & chair: Rachel Randall (Queen Mary University of London)

This panel explores the use of a set of creative methodologies – including videographic criticism, speculative writing and zine making – for analysing representations of distinct forms of care work in Latin American culture. All these methods have culminated in the creation of alternative and critical archives that shed light on the portrayal of different forms of care work, while also interrogating the ambivalent affective relationships that these types of work mobilise because they are framed by hierarchies of power. A critical video essay that juxtaposes tropes of intimacy in recent filmic portrayals of paid domestic workers in Latin America highlights the repetition of alienating social patterns. An alternative archive containing a series of recontextualised images of pets suffering begins to reframe the narratives of salvation mobilised by the organisations and activists in Peru that deployed those images on social media in the first place. A zine-making workshop that enables participants to intervene in, and juxtapose, a series of archival photographs taken in nineteenth-century Lima endeavours to re-centre the figure of the wet nurse who had previously been hidden in plain sight. In this panel, we will discuss the affordances of these creative methods and the parallels between care work as a process and the potentials of academic work as a method, practice and mode of critical (self-)reflection.

1. Suffering animals and bloody wounds: how a duty of 'care or else' is mobilised by pet adoption and rescue social media accounts

Daniela Meneses Sala, University of Cambridge

In recent years, Peru has witnessed a surge in the proliferation of social media accounts dedicated to the rescue and rehoming of abandoned pets, as well as fundraising efforts for the medical treatment of injured animals. These accounts not only present feelings of love and care for non-human animals, but also mobilise less innocent affects. Pet activists frequently utilise discourses of humanising infantilization and turn to graphic images depicting the shockingly-wounded-animal-body, to illicit a moral duty of 'care or else', where the 'else' is an inhumane and distressing death of an innocent 'baby'. Often, these accounts also turn to 'before' and 'after' success stories, that emphasise a 'saviour' motif. These narratives typically revolve around the transformation of nearly moribund cats or dogs into healthy individuals, subsequently seeking their 'forever homes' where all suffering would be replaced by a 'happy ever after' story. In this paper, I delve into the visual elements used to create these accounts and, employing creative methodological approaches, construct an alternative archive of these images. Through the creation of a fanzine, I aim to critically examine the ethics of showing and witnessing images portraying suffering bodies that have never consented to be seen by so many. In this alternative archive, I also present additional images that question the 'happily ever after' story, challenging the notion that the 'after' constitutes the ultimate closure of the pet's stories.

2. Ambivalent Affects: The Materiality of the Immaterial in Latin American Films about Domestic and Cleaning Workers

Rachel Randall, Queen Mary University of London, UK

This paper addresses the wave of Latin American fiction films released since the millennium that feature paid domestic and cleaning workers in key roles, such as: *La ciénaga* (Lucrecia Martel, 2001), *Domésticas: o filme* (Fernando Meirelles and Nando Olival, 2001), *Cama adentro* (Jorge Gaggero, 2004), *La nana* (Sebastián Silva, 2009), *Los dueños* (Agustín Toscano and Ezequiel Radusky, 2013), *Casa grande* (Fellipe Barbosa, 2014), *Réimon* (Rodrigo Moreno, 2014), *Que horas ela volta?* (Anna Muylaert, 2015), *Aquarius* (Kleber Mendonça Filho, 2016), *La camarista* (Lila Avilés, 2018), *Roma* (Alfonso Cuarón, 2018) and *Todos os Mortos* (Marco Dutra and Caetano Gotardo, 2020), among others. The paper will open with a screening of a video essay co-authored by Professor Catherine Grant and myself, which juxtaposes tropes of intimacy with domestic and cleaning workers that recur throughout these films. The video essay explores how these intimate ties quickly spill over into feelings of alienation among the workers themselves and culminate finally in the expression of suspicion and fear on the part of employers. The paper will close with a reflection on how videographic criticism has enabled the creation of an alternative archive based on this body of work that sheds new light on the films themselves. It permits the visual juxtaposition of key tropes in the films that attest to the materiality of ambivalent affective ties between domestic workers and their employers, while also providing an insight into the predominant class perspectives that frame their portrayals.

3. Wet Nursing and its Inclinations: A speculative attempt on some photographs found in the Courret Archive

Andrea Aramburú Villavisencio, University of Edinburgh, Scotland

In 19th century Peru, it was common practice for the bourgeois families to hire an “ama”, typically short for “ama de leche”, a wet-nurse to feed, nurture and take care of the newborns. It was also popular practice to have the newborn or child photographed with their wet-nurse, who often continued taking care of the child as time passed. This paper takes as its subject a series of photographs found in the Courret Archive which account for the latter practice. My aim is to build a critical archive which re-centres the figure of the wet-nurse. I propose three ways in which this re-centring can take place. First, I argue that a reading of “found pictures” can help us think about the configurations of care attached to the figure of the Peruvian wet-nurse beyond the institutional limits of the archive, its keywords and its visual regimes. Secondly, I reflect on two characters from the novel *Malambo* by afro-Peruvian writer Lucía Charún-Illescas, in order to suggest that the author’s narrative could be interpreted as a “critical fabulation” (Hartman) which both honours and rewrites the place of afro-Peruvian women in the historical archives and is pertinent to our understanding of the wet nurse and lactantes photographs at the Courret archive. Finally, I discuss some of the contributions from a series of creative methodologies workshops, of which the aim was to intervene collectively, both critically and materially, into the photographs studied.

Roundtables

RT 1 (GEN). Women of Influence: art, protest, justice and gender

Session organizer & chair: Sarah Barrow (University of East Anglia)

This roundtable discussion will explore the intersections between protest, justice, and gender as articulated through art. Framed as a discussion of an activist nature, we will draw on feminist theories

towards violence against women of Latin America, inside and outside of academia. Taking an eco-feminist perspective, we will pay attention to the ways in which art connects acts of violence and contests the spatial practices (controlled movement or re-direction of bodies, mapping of territories) that are associated with them. We will discuss the ways in which activist art, including film, reimagines and redesigns space, creating counter-hegemonic spaces and practices which stage or invite the 'unlearning' of existing choreographies of power, and which reclaim space for excluded bodies. We want to invite discussion of how feminist protests have formed a framework around which artists and filmmakers have developed their work to become symbols for the anger, hopes and collective energy of protestors. Members of this roundtable include Deborah Shaw (Portsmouth), Deborah Martin (University College London), Itandehui Jansen (Napier University/filmmaker), Claudia Martinez Garay (artist) and Sarah Barrow (University of East Anglia). They will bring together interdisciplinary approaches along with lived experiences, that draw on film, art, cultural and gender studies, with application to current work and with community partners in Latin America (Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru). We anticipate that the discussion and interventions will consider counter-hegemonic spaces and practices which stage the 'unlearning' of existing choreographies of power, and which reclaim space for oft-excluded perspectives.

Speakers:

1. Sarah Barrow, University of East Anglia
2. Deborah Shaw, University of Portsmouth
3. Deborah Martin, University College London
4. Itandehui Jansen, Napier University
5. Claudia Martinez Garay, independent artist

RT 2 (VIC). Intersecting Trajectories of Violence: Evaluating the Post Accord and 'Paz Total' Era in Colombia

Session organizer & chair: Shauna Gillooly (Pontificia Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile)

This roundtable discussion will deliberate on the dynamics of the reconfiguration of violence and territorial consolidation of different armed groups in Colombia from the 2016 peace accords to present day. We discuss the ways that violence via this reconfiguration and consolidation is experienced differently in Colombia based on identities such as gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and location in the country. We will evaluate and discuss both the era of "post accord" Colombia and the "Paz Total" agenda currently being pursued by the Petro administration, and how both impact experiences of violence that those with intersectional identities endure in the country.

Speakers:

1. Tatiana Sanchez Parra, University of Edinburgh
2. Samuel Ritholtz, European University Institute
3. Shauna N. Gillooly, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

RT 3 (POL). Author meets critics: *Cash, Clothes and Construction: Rethinking value in Bolivia's pluri-economy*

Session organizer & chair: Kate Maclean (University College London)

This 'author meets critics' panel discusses Kate Maclean's new monograph, recently out with University of Minnesota Press, which offers a gendered analysis of the mission of MAS to dismantle neoliberalism and decolonize politics and economy from the perspective of the Indigenous women who have radically transformed Bolivia's economy from the ground up. Based on more than twelve years of

empirical research exploring the remarkable transformations in Bolivia since 2006, this book focuses on three sectors—finance, clothing, and construction—in which indigenous women have defied gendered expectations. It presents detailed case studies of women selling secondhand high street clothes from the United States in the vast, peri-urban markets of Bolivian cities; Aymaran designers of new pollera (traditional Andean dress) fashions, one of whom exhibited her collection in New York City; and the powerful and rich chola paceña, whose real estate investments have transformed the cultural maps of La Paz and El Alto. The panel will discuss in particular what work on popular markets and urban marginalisation and transformation in Latin America can bring to discussions of how to reimagine the economy.

Speakers:

1. Kate Maclean, University College London
2. Gareth Jones, LSE
3. Jessica Hope, St Andrews
4. Aiko Ikemura, LSE

RT 4 (DID). What could possibly go wrong? Discussing the challenges and risks of participatory research approaches in Latin America

Session organizer & chair: Sonja Marzi (Radboud University, NL / LSE, UK)

In this roundtable we aim to open a frank discussion with each other and the audience to reflect and learn from our experiences of challenge and risk during research using engaged and participatory research approaches. Participatory and engaged research methodologies, with some of their origins in Latin America (Fals-Borda, 1987; Fals-Borda et al., 2006; Freire, 1970), are of increasing interest within and beyond academia. Additionally, and evident in work on decolonial methodologies and scholar-activism, there is a wider heightened intellectual interest at present, in addressing and shifting uneven power imbalances between researchers, collaborators and participants. Despite this, honest and critical appraisal is not often the subject of public accounts of our work. Researchers tend to foreground the strengths and benefits of working with co-researchers to co-produce knowledge, and rarely offer practical accounts of the challenges and problems. Yet, we suggest it is crucial to reflect and learn from those moments of ‘failure’, the problems we experience, and the potential risks to all involved, if we are to take these seriously and work to minimise them. In this roundtable, invited speakers who have substantial experience using participatory and engaged methodologies will share their honest accounts of ‘things that went wrong’. They will discuss the challenges encountered when doing their research in Latin America with local co-researchers/participants, and how they mitigated and dealt with problems that came up.

The roundtable discussion will be guided by the following questions:

- What are the challenges, problems, and/or situations of failure that we experienced in our research when adopting co-production, participatory and engaged research approaches?
- What are the direct and wider implications of those issues that came up in our research?
- How did we mitigate and/or solve them?

Speakers:

1. Sonja Marzi, Radboud University / LSE
2. Elisabet Rasch, Wageningen University
3. Cathy McIlwaine, King’s College London
4. Jelke Boesten, King’s College London
5. Sanne Weber, Radboud University
6. Rachel Pain, Newcastle University

RT 5 (GEN). Escucha militante. Sonic Creative Strategies against Gender-Based Violence in Ireland and Latin America

Session organizer & chair: Carlos Garrido Castellano (University College Cork, Ireland)

This roundtable will examine the transformative potential of artistic methodologies to encourage political and civic participation and to raise awareness and produce critical responses against gender-based violence. Taking place between 2022 and 2024, the Critical Epistemologies Across Borders (CEAB) research project makes use of creative strategies to gather and share visions on the future of the island of Ireland. Our presentation's main aim is to examine the role of militant listening as a tool of empowerment and a platform of solidarity in processes of co-creation. Based on our experience of mobilising Latin American genealogies of collective creativity as the triggering element of co-created workshops with women's collectives across the Irish border, the paper will discuss the role of listening and reception in sociological and humanistic research on issues of global justice and gender-based violence; explore the potential of bringing artistic practice and Latin American creativity into the workshop space; and speculate with the applicability of the methodologies developed in the context of CEAB beyond the Irish case.

Speakers:

1. Carlos Garrido Castellano, University College Cork
2. Nuala Finnegan, University College Cork
3. Céire Broderick, University College Cork
4. Cara Levey, University College Cork

RT 6 (URB). Geographies of (in)justice in Latin America

Session organizer & chair: Sam Halvorsen (Queen Mary University of London)

This special roundtable session, organised by the Latin American Geographies Research Group (LAGRG), will address the conference theme from a geographical perspective. We will assemble a panel of Latin Americanist geographers who research diverse contexts and themes and invite them to explore how the theme of (in)justice emerges in their own work and its relationship to space. Short opening comments will be followed by questions and an open discussion about geographies of (in)justice. We aim to use this roundtable as an opportunity to invite all SLAS24 participants interested in geographical questions to attend for an open and engaging discussion. The panel will be organised by the core committee of LAGRG, Sam Halvorsen, Matthew Richmond, Sonja Marzi and Alejandro de Cross. However, we note that in two cases (Richmond and Marzi) they are already participating in their limit of 2 activities. As such, the organizers of this event will be Halvorsen and de Cross, supported by a third member of the LAGRG committee; Manuela Ferreira Torres, who is based at the university of Groningen.

Speakers:

1. Sam Halvorsen, Queen Mary University of London
2. Alejandro de Cross, University of Edinburgh
3. Manuela Ferreira Torres, University of Groningen

RT 7 (URB). Subjectivity at Latin America's Urban Margins

Session organizer & chair: Moisés Kopper (University of Antwerp, Belgium)

This roundtable explores new forms of subjectivity taking shape at the margins of Latin American cities. It brings the editors of 'Subjectivity at Latin America's Urban Margins' (forthcoming with Berghahn

Books, 2024) into conversation with three prominent scholars on the region. Whereas, traditionally, the term margins has evoked a disorganized or redundant 'outside' in relation to an orderly, functional 'inside,' here we frame Latin America's urban margins to be the complex and multi-layered sites where ongoing translocal histories of exploitation and marginalization meet distinctly local and interpersonal forms of sociability, subjective belonging, and political agency. The book investigates how margins are actively produced, upheld, and challenged through processes of margin-drawing by a multiplicity of actors. The roundtable will focus on the book's introduction and first chapter (both written by the editors). The discussion will explore the theoretical genealogy of the concept of margins, identify key areas of research on Latin America's urban margins today and consider the complex ways in which margins and processes of marginalization relate to urban space.

Speakers:

1. Moisés Kopper, University of Antwerp, Belgium
2. Matthew A. Richmond, Newcastle University, England
3. Martijn Koster, Wageningen University, The Netherlands
4. Mara Nogueira, Birkbeck, University of London, England

RT 8 (URB). Navigating Latin America's urban margins: violence, migration, resilience

Session organizer & chair: Kees Koonings (Utrecht University, The Netherlands, and University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Violence, insecurity, and migration (both intra- and interstate) are key - and often intertwined - processes that affect vulnerable communities in the urban margins of Latin America. This roundtable will discuss the way residents and grass roots initiatives deal with the impact of these processes. Resilience refers to community strategies and practises for non-violence. Migration raises the issue of border making in terms of community boundaries, modes of conviviality, and exit strategies. The roundtable seeks to explore the critical potential and limitations of these concepts and their relation to broader questions of governance and urbanism. Case material from Medellín, Guatemala City, Rio de Janeiro, among others, will be used to support the discussion.

Speakers:

1. Marie-Louise Glebbeek, Utrecht University
2. Martijn Oosterbaan, Utrecht University
3. Isabelle Mollinger, University of Amsterdam
4. Sebastian Ritschard, Utrecht University
5. Tina Hilgers, Concordia University (Montreal)
6. Patrick Naef, Graduate Institute Geneva

RT 9 (DID). Animales e incomodidades

Session organizer & chair: Irene Arends (CEDLA, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands)

One of the most pressing inequalities of our times is to be found in the relationship humans have established with other animals. Still, within today's field of Latin American social/cultural studies, human-animal research is highly underrepresented. This roundtable is therefore an interactive activity envisioned to start a much needed conversation. Focusing on Latin America and the Caribbean, we zoom in on the representations and cultural imaginaries surrounding animals as subjects, objects and references in public discourse, food culture, spatial organization, commerce, scientific practices, folklore, rituals and companionships. In doing so, we reflect upon the set of attitudes, beliefs and assumptions that societies have about themselves, O/others, the geographies they inhabit and the natural world in general. We purposely scrutinize the implications of anthropocentric hierarchization

for nonhuman and human animals alike by considering the multiple dynamics, systems and mechanisms at work (e.g. animalization, (de)personalization, commodification, objectification, sexualization and gender-fication). Hence, we understand that speciesism is an interlocking system with inter-human “isms” (racism, sexism, classism, ableism, heterosexism, etc.). By proxy, the intersectional approach operates at many levels. In this roundtable we collectively work around the imagination of dystopian and utopian worlds of interspecies in/justices. We ponder about the potential of Latin America’s diverse local knowledges as well as global paradigm shifts (e.g. Me too/NiUnaMenos; Black Lives Matter; Rights of Nature) to (re)ask the question: How to integrate more-than-human care and empathy in the struggle for interspecies justice, hear multispecies voices, and rethink human-animal relations altogether.

Speakers:

1. Irene Arends, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands
2. Ludmila Barbero, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina
3. Fernando Gonzalez Rodriguez, KU Leuven, Belgium
4. Rivke Jaffe, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands
5. Daniela Meneses Sala, University of Cambridge, UK