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Individual Abstracts

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1. INSURGENT MEXICO 100 YEARS ON

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JAPHY WILSON (University of Manchester): 'Plan Puebla Panama: The Politics of Space in Southern Mexico'

This paper examines the popular resistance to the implementation of the Plan Puebla Panama (PPP) in Southern Mexico, including the networks of social movements organised through the *Foro Mesoamericano* and *La Otra Campaña* (which began as *Plan La Realidad-Tijuana* – the EZLN's alternative to the PPP). The paper draws on extensive fieldwork involving interviews with members of both networks, and would also consider the multiple state strategies through which these resistances have been co-opted, fragmented and repressed.

ROBERTO ZEPEDA (University of Sheffield): 'The Development and Regression of Labour Unions in Mexico Over the 20th Century'

This presentation explores the emergence, expansion and decline of labour unions in Mexico over the 20th century, but more specifically during the neoliberal period (1982-to the present). The deterioration of labour unions influence is assessed considering two perspectives: the conversion of labour-state relations within a specific corporatist structure and labour unions' presence in the employed labour force. Three stages are regarded: the revolutionary process (1906-1934), the corporatist pact (1934-1982) and the neoliberal era (1982- until the present time). The privileged position and the subsequent decline of labour unions may be more accurately assessed taking into account the significant transition happened in the neoliberal era. In this period, the political transition not only extinguished the 70 years PRI hegemony, but also reduced the influence and presence of labour unions in the political arena. While the PRI lost ground as the predominant political force, labour unions saw a reduction in the official bureaucracy and political positions. We found a decline of trade unions' influence in the political and labour spheres, mainly as a result of the advent of neoliberal globalisation and the fracture of the corporatist pact. As a result of the deleterious effects propelled by neoliberal policies on the economy and labour markets, independent trade unions (ITU) emerged during the mid-1990s contesting such prescriptions. ITU are the only section of labour movement in Mexico opposing neoliberal reforms which have generated more unemployment, informal jobs, inequality and poverty throughout the last decades.

PASCALE BAKER (University of Sheffield), '*Los de abajo*: Anticipating the *Novela de la Tierra*'

It is now nearly one hundred years since the first publication of Mariano Azuela's seminal novel of the Mexican Revolution, *Los de abajo* (1915). The novel continues to be re-read and re-defined in the twenty-first century and this paper seeks to build on those new approaches by re-casting the novel as a forerunner of later *novelas de la tierra*, such as *Don Segundo Sombra* (1926) and *Doña Bárbara* (1926) in its partial idealisation of the Mexican rural scene and of the peasant hero, Demetrio Macías. This reading feeds into the Mexican State's post-revolutionary project of cultural nationalism, which promoted the image of the heroic peasant through novels such as *Los de abajo*, in an effort to shore up support amongst the masses, even though the country was in fact undergoing a widespread process of modernisation and such images belonged to the past. In inscribing the underdogs as the representative of a barbarous cultural essence therefore, Azuela was anticipating the complex re-working of the civilisation-versus-barbarism ethic come the time of the *vanguardia*, as well as the nostalgia for a now vanishing past that would come to dominate the telluric novel of the 1920s and 30s.

PETER WATT (University of Sheffield): 'NAFTA Fifteen Years On'

This paper examines the social impact of NAFTA in Mexico and considers the effects of transferring political power to big business, international financial institutions and the US economy. Proponents of NAFTA presented it as a potential solution to the country's ills, claiming that with some hardship in the initial years, it would resolve many of the central problems affecting Mexican society. In the third decade of neoliberalism and fifteen years since NAFTA, what are the major challenges facing Mexico and, crucially, how has society responded?

CHRIS HESKETH (University of Nottingham): 'From Passive Revolution to Silent Revolution: Class Forces and the Production of State, Space and Scale in Modern Mexico'

Mexican development in the 20th Century represents something of a paradox. Despite undergoing a profound, protracted and bloody revolution, Mexico has also been the Latin American country which has most vigorously pursued the path of capitalist development. This was further enhanced by the signing of NAFTA in 1994, signaling most visibly the commitment to a neoliberal accumulation strategy. Moreover – and of necessity related to this – the country has produced some of the most visible and vibrant resistance movements that have sought to contest and remake political space. Drawing on Gramsci's key concepts of passive revolution and hegemony, this paper examines how specific scalar and spatial configurations have been historically produced in Mexico, within the conditions of worldwide capitalist development. It argues that passive revolution (understood as the state-led reorganisation of social relations that seeks to maintain or restore class domination) can be seen as a recurring theme of Mexican history in the 20th century. In order to make this case, the Mexican Revolution is examined and the case for labeling it as a passive revolution is elaborated. Following this, the contradictory character of Mexico's development trajectory is explored, with the resulting restructuring of the economy along neoliberal lines interpreted as a second phase of passive revolution. Through an analysis of changing state formation and the spaces and scales associated with this, this paper thereby highlights the key antinomies of capitalist development, whilst furthermore seeking to contribute to an understanding of the tactics of radical social movements that have deliberately eschewed the taking of state power.

2. BRITAIN AND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

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STEPHEN WILKINSON (London Metropolitan University): 'The Bahamas Raids, Britain and the Kennedy Administration: The 'Special Relationship' in Action over Cuba, 1962-3'

Because of their myriad complexity, the networks for cays that make up the western side of the Bahamian archipelago have historically been a haven for pirates. Their proximity to Cuba has also provided political rebels with ideal locations from which to launch attacks on the island. In the 19th century exiled Cuban 'independistas' used the Bahamas as a base for raids on the Spanish Colony and, starting in October 1962, the British colony was used by anti-Castro exiles to stage commando raids on Cuban shipping and the Cuban mainland. The raids, in which US citizens participated, became a diplomatic bone of contention between Britain, Cuba and the United States and a point of friction between the Kennedy administration and the Cuban exile lobby. At the Kennedy administration's request (and the exile's chagrin) from March 1963 the British authorities began to move against the raids. This paper examines the diplomatic and political evidence available and seeks to establish exactly how far the British were acting under the guidance of Washington. At a time when the British were very publicly refusing US demands to stop trading with Cuba, the secret cooperation over the raids provides an example of the way the so called 'special relationship' works. The paper also evaluates the claims, made by some conspiracy theorists, that the Kennedy administration's decision to ask the British to stop the raids may possibly have contributed to the Cuban exiles' animosity towards it.

BRIAN WILSON (Former UK Trade Minister / Visiting Professor at Glasgow Caledonian University): 'Britain and Cuba: Toeing the American Line?'

When the Cuban revolution triumphed, Harold Macmillan was the British Prime Minister and the Special Relationship with the United States was entering a golden age with the US preparing to locate its nuclear submarines at Holy Loch. The shared spectre of a Communist threat underpinned the foreign policy outlook of both countries. While Britain had continued to sell military hardware to Batista until embarrassingly late in the day, it refused from the outset to get involved in the sanctions and embargoes pursued by Washington. Politically, however, as the Cuban fixation became an integral part of the Cold War, Britain generally toed the American line and that is how it has remained. Cuba has never been a first-order issue for the UK and acquiescence in American policy has been the norm over the past half century with the notable exception of never having supported the Helms-Burton Act which enshrines the unacceptable principle of extra-territorial sanctions. Latterly, the UK has adopted a hawkish position within the European Union in maintaining a negative attitude towards Cuba, always in accord with the American position. The Obama administration offers the best hope in 50 years of more constructive relationships – though sadly, this is likely to be on a "me-too" basis with Britain eventually following any change in American policy. History suggests that such progress would be at least as likely under a pragmatic Tory government as under a Labour one which has always contained its own opponents of any denouement in relations with Cuba under Castro.

HELEN YAFFE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON: 'Not socialist enough: why does the British left have a problem with Cuba?'

This paper will examine why most of the British 'socialist' left have failed to support the socialist revolution in Cuba despite the benefits it has brought to the Cuban people and its remarkable record of proletarian internationalism. It will discuss how the Left's opposition is linked to its own political strategy in Britain and the challenge represented by the Cuban road to socialism to the political assumptions on which that strategy is based. Despite claiming to oppose the US blockade, many sections of the British left call for the overthrow of Cuba's revolutionary government, thereby actively bolstering imperialism's Track Two efforts to generate an internal Cuban opposition. Perhaps inevitably, given the lack of knowledge about the historical processes behind the Revolution, the Left's attitude towards Cuba is distinguished by sloganeering as a substitute for analysis. Their dependence on Cubanologists to provide historical substance to their political opposition creates the contradictory situation where 'socialists' share the assumptions and assertions of right-wing 'academics', 'think-tanks' and capitalist politicians. For example, in recent years the Socialist Workers' Party, the largest 'socialist' organisation in Britain, has asserted the following: The working class played no role in the Revolution, has hardly benefited and is exploited by the Cuban government; Che Guevara knew nothing about Marxism and left

Cuba because Fidel kicked him out; Cuba acted as a stooge of 'Soviet imperialism' in sending troops to Angola to fight apartheid South Africa; homosexuals and those with HIV/AIDS are persecuted and/or imprisoned in Cuba; the army controls prostitution in Cuba; Cuba's health and education achievements are merely the product of Soviet aid; the Cuban Revolution represents a threat to the progressive movements in Latin America today. Twenty years after the collapse of Soviet bloc, these 'socialist' critics are incapable of explaining the longevity and vitality of the Cuban Revolution.

CHRISTOPHER HULL (University of Nottingham): 'Graham Greene and the Cuban Revolution'

British novelist Graham Greene's most direct connection with the Cuba was his 1958 spy-fiction satire *Our Man in Havana*, published just twelve weeks before the 1959 revolution. His Cold War 'entertainment' ridiculed British intelligence services, for whom Greene had worked during the Second World War. It contained one of the best examples of the author's renowned prescience, with its account of invented military bases in eastern Cuba uncannily presaging the October 1962 Missile Crisis.

Greene involved himself directly in the politics of the Caribbean island when he travelled to Santiago de Cuba during research for his novel and met with representatives of the Castro-led *26 de julio* revolutionary movement. And in the last weeks of 1958 he requested that a Labour MP ask questions in the House of Commons after Harold Macmillan's Conservative government sanctioned the sale of military planes and tanks to Fulgencio Batista's flagging dictatorship. In the aftermath of revolution Greene criticised the British government for their ignorance of Cuban affairs, and the Foreign Office carried out an internal enquiry into the affair.

The author made several visits to Cuba after the revolution, enjoying better access to its leader Fidel Castro than British diplomats in the island. He continued to write travel articles about Cuba, as well as letters to newspaper editors. But how did Greene resolve the apparent contradiction between his vocal opposition to Batista's right-wing dictatorship, and tacit support for what soon developed into a radical communist dictatorship under the leadership of Fidel Castro? And furthermore, should we believe the allegation from Greene's biographer that the novelist reported back to his former handlers at MI6 in London after each of his trips to Havana?

JAMES CLIFFORD KENT (Royal Holloway, University of London), 'Louder than War: Manic Street Preachers in Havana'

"I do expect the enigma to be intact, in every way – culturally, politically, architecturally ... whatever. I do expect a culture shock in every sense." (James Dean Bradfield, 2001)

By examining the staging of Havana following Cuba's Special Period, this paper scrutinizes the way in which the city has unfolded as a space of performance for the popular music artist over the previous decade. Specifically focussing on the notion of the 'city as melodrama', the paper explores the case study of Manic Street Preachers' visit to play Karl Marx Theatre in the Cuban capital in 2001 – notable for them being the first western rock band to play Cuba. The paper presents a distinctive view on British-Cuban interactions by exploring the usage of Havana as a theatre for performance, considering both the role of the British performer and image-maker, whilst exemplifying the visit of Manic Street Preachers as a type of poaching on the public space of Havana, popularized two years earlier by Wim Wenders' *Buena Vista Social Club* and later continued by other popular western groups. The paper's exploration of spatial representations of Havana throughout the project are propelled by analysis of the Manic Street Preachers' Cuba phenomenon in its entirety – the documentary film – *Manic Street Preachers: Live in Cuba – Louder Than War* (2001), the recording – *Know Your Enemy*, the photobook – *Forever Delayed: Photographs of the Manic Street Preachers* and the ensuing media coverage. By scrutinizing these different mediums, in turn considering the political and 'revolutionary' discourses at work within them, the paper exemplifies how Havana as a space became a place of validation for the bands' own philosophies, as well as becoming a 'statement' and space of third-world socialist pilgrimage for both the performing artists and for the countries involved in enabling their visit.

**3. SOUTHERN CIRCUITS:
NATIONAL BORDER CROSSINGS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN LATIN AMERICA**
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GISELA HEFFES (Rice University): 'Southern Displacements in Flora Tristán's *Peregrinaciones de una paria*'

This paper will focus on Franco-Peruvian writer Flora Tristán. One of her most well known works, *Peregrinaciones de una paria* (1833-1834, first published in French) is organized as a hybrid narration that intersects different literary genres, such as autobiographical discourse, *costumbrismo* and travel writings. Although this text enjoyed some recognition, many others still remain relatively obscure. This negligence is due in part to the lack of translations of her manuscripts, but also to the fact that Tristán has been a very controversial figure both in France and Perú. The paper will address Flora Tristán's travels to South America, specifically in Perú. Although her perspective is that of a European, her travel experiences within Latin America would go on to play a key role in her future utopian texts. Moreover, because of both her personal and geographical dislocations, this displacement towards the South would help Tristán to reformulate and call into question the basic premises of her own society, particularly the place of women in both the family and society as a whole. The paper will also examine Flora Tristán's "subaltern" condition and her distinctive use of travel writings to both objectify and subsequently critique her social and historical context, inverting this condition into one of superiority.

This paper will be presented in Spanish.

CORINNE A. PERNET (University of St. Gallen): 'Americanismo in Writing and on the Ground: The Travels and Travails of Gabriela Mistral in the 1930s'

In 1922, the Mexican Minister of Education invited the Chilean teacher and poet Gabriela Mistral to establish rural schools in Mexico, thus launching the astonishing international career that brought her fame as "Teacher of the Americas" and eventually led her to win the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1945. Mistral's years in Mexico were decisive for her insertion in border-crossing intellectual networks that included the likes of Alfonso Reyes, José Vasconcelos, Gonzalo Zaldumbide, Joaquín García Monge, Teresa de la Parra. Mistral carefully cultivated these Latin American networks for the rest of her peripatetic life, mostly through correspondence and common publication projects, as well as by participating regularly in transnational debates in journals such as *Repertorio Americano*. Without doubt, Mistral was an important protagonist of the Americanist movement, despite the fact that physical border crossings and travel to different Latin American countries were ambivalent experiences for the Chilean poet. This paper will look at Mistral's correspondence and prose writings in order to examine how her travels to several Latin American countries --Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, Dominican Republic, Cuba-- in the early 1930s affected her and her views on Americanismo, fleshing out some of the sore spots of the Americanist movement. Moreover, it will assess if and how these travels had an impact on Mistral's Latin American networks.

JUAN PABLO SCARFI (University of Cambridge): 'Pan-American Imaginings of Latin America: The Visit of Elihu Root to Latin America and the Intellectual Foundations of Modern International Law and Organization in the Americas (1906-1912)'

In 1906, for the first time a US Secretary of State made an official visit to Latin America, in the context of the Third Pan American Conference held in Rio de Janeiro. Elihu Root, widely considered to be one of the founders of Pan-Americanism, made a sweeping tour of Latin America, visiting Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Peru, Colombia, Mexico and Panama. This paper will argue that this was not a traditional diplomatic visit, for it reshaped US understanding and relations with Latin America, particularly with the ABC countries. Furthermore, Root's interaction with the elites of the region served to imagine and legitimize a common continental discourse about peace, cooperation and international law. In this way, Pan-Americanism, the idea initially promoted by James G. Blaine in 1881, according to which the countries of the western hemisphere shared common institutions, cultural traditions and continental ideas, was re-invented.

A few years later, in 1912, Root sent Robert Bacon on a visit to Latin America, which followed the same itinerary, under the auspices of the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. By providing new insights into Root and Bacon's visits to Latin America, the paper will show how these set the basis for the common and monist discourse of peace and order in Latin America that the US disseminated and legitimized across national borders --at least among Latin American

elites. By visiting different circuits and dialoguing with a variety of audiences, Root and Bacon were able to institutionalize this hemispheric discourse and create shortly afterwards, in 1915, the *American Institute of International Law*, an organism that unified all the existing national societies of international law across the continent. The configuration of these Pan American imaginings -and organizations- of international law and order were instrumental in legitimizing US hegemony in Latin America.

ORI PREUSS (Tel Aviv University): 'Honeymoon in the River Plate: Brazilian Forays into the South during the Late Nineteenth Century'

In 1889, the newlywed couple Joaquim Nabuco and Evelina Torres Ribeiro went on their honeymoon to the River Plate. Regardless of what Brazil's foremost abolitionist leader and his wife might have envisaged, their journey from Rio de Janeiro to Montevideo, up the Paraná river to Asunción and then on to Buenos Aires, during the critical months between the end of slavery and the fall the Monarchy, was hardly a private matter. Replete with official banquets, social meeting and public speeches, "their honeymoon" turned out to be a transnational affair of a political and cultural nature that reverberated across the region. The paper will discuss this all but forgotten border crossing alongside similarly neglected forays by Brazilian statesmen and intellectuals into the South during the last third of the nineteenth century. What were the reasons for these journeys within the Latin American periphery, from Rio de Janeiro to the Plata and back? What were these Brazilians looking for and what did they find? How did their discoveries feed into discussions about society and politics back in Brazil's capital city? This is the untold story of an evolving relationship between a slaveholding Empire in decline and its forward marching republican neighbors, a conflicted relationship that shaped Brazil more than is commonly acknowledged.

ROSALIE SITMAN (Tel Aviv University): 'Babel-Argentina/Babel-Chile: The Life and "Towers" of Samuel Glusberg'

The Argentine Jewish editor and cultural entrepreneur Samuel Glusberg, better known by his nom de plume of Enrique Espinoza, was an influential "maven" and "macher" behind the scenes of the intellectual fields of Argentina and Chile during the first half of the twentieth century. Despite the active role that Glusberg played in the consolidation of the publishing market in two such different cultural scenes, little has been written about him. By looking at the Argentinian and Chilean editions of the literary review "Babel," this paper will trace the impact that these physical and spiritual border crossings across the Andes had on Glusberg's personal trajectory and on the collective project embodied in his magazine. By extension, the experience of the insertion of this Jewish immigrant into the local cultural scene in two different countries should give us insight into the formation and workings of important and reciprocal intellectual networks in Latin America.

4. ENERGY IN LATIN AMERICA: POLITICS BETWEEN COMPETITION AND INTEGRATION

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VALERIA VALLE (Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, Mexico): 'Energy in the Americas: Integration or Disintegration?'

Energy is a key element for integration processes in Latin America. The availability of energy resources within a country gives it an important leverage in regional politics creating energy diplomacy. There is a dominance of energy production by a few central countries: Mexico, Venezuela, and more recently Brazil, considered medium powers. Leaders have developed individual projects but also created bilateral and sub-regional types of integration instead of a wider initiatives.

Energy has translated into a source of political power as various leaders vie for regional dominance. It can also create economic competition which can be transferred into politics, stalling infrastructure projects and causing disintegration. Not only does the economic/energy realm affect the possibilities of integration in the political realm, but political conflicts between different countries can also prevent energy distribution among countries.

This paper is divided into two parts: the first one approaches different integration forces that are driven by energy. Mexican, Brazilian and Venezuelan energy diplomacy are examined. The second part studies disintegration forces. Finally, this paper concludes that although there is a potential for integration processes derived from the energetic issue, it is more likely that political turmoil and leadership divergence may provoke disintegration in the near future.

JULIE CUPPLES (University of Canterbury): 'Shifting Networks of Power: The Struggle for Electricity in Nicaragua'

This paper documents struggles for and barriers to more sustainable energy futures in Latin America. It traces the shifting associations between producers, distributors, legislators, regulators and consumers of electricity and the ways in which the relations between these actors are mediated by discourses of neoliberalism, sustainability and resistance. It draws on in-depth fieldwork in Nicaragua on the electricity crisis to analyze the ways in which multilateral institutions, governments, multinational and national companies, donors, state regulators, NGOs, civil society movements and electricity consumers (especially the urban poor) are responding to the energy challenges facing the country. Electricity is too expensive for most Nicaraguans, much of the country is still not connected to the national grid, and even those with access to electricity must deal with frequent blackouts and erratic supply. Ordinary people have resorted to a range of tactics, which include painting over meters, Internet activism and street protest, to subvert the strategies of Spanish multinational, Unión Fenosa, which took over the distribution of electricity in Nicaragua after the World Bank and IMF mandated its partial privatization.

This study will draw upon actor-network theory to show how dominant economic models and political interests work against access to affordable and sustainable energy, and to look at the agency exerted not only by electricity consumers, but also by the resource itself, which has refused to be profitable in spite of the economic and political modes of power in operation. The socially and economically devastating breakdown of the electricity network does not however lead to the total breakdown of the actor-network but does cause the elements to be reassembled and to engage in proliferating forms of association, not all of which are disempowering to ordinary people. This approach highlights in particular the diffuse nature and contingency of multinational power and the delivery of privatized electricity in third world contexts.

RADOSLAW POWESKA (University of Liverpool): 'Natural Gas in the Bolivian Development Strategy and its Implications for Internal and Foreign Policy'

The nationalization of gas industry in Evo Morales' Bolivia is another version of an old emancipation project found in the history of that country. A project that implies "liberation" of the nation by restoring the control over strategic sectors of its dependent economy, gaining economic sovereignty and using the "national fortune" to modernize the country. To mention only the first nationalization of petroleum industry in 1937 (which was first nationalization in whole Latin America). The similar emancipationist discourse accompanied the nationalization of tin mining industry in 1952, the

expropriation of an American gas company in 1969, the foundation of the first Bolivian tin foundry in 1970 and last but not least, the hydrocarbon industry nationalization decreed by Evo Morales in 2006.

New Bolivian gas and oil agenda envisages modernisation and diversification of economy by State-led reinvesting of incomes from gas export, industrialization of resources (abandonment of traditional model of non-manufactured export) and stable gas delivery as a source of energy to the Bolivian society. This is a project totally based on gas and oil as a 'motor' of the entire national economy and development project. The paper will examine the implications of that project in shaping internal politics (the role of State in economy, State-society relations, political reforms, political processes and power).

Such a design of economic development also implicates the crucial role of energy resources in Bolivian foreign policy. The fragile dependency of reliability of that project on export incomes makes it especially vulnerable on foreign relations and eventual energy integrationist or competitive projects in the region (e.g. Venezuela-Brazil-Argentina gas pipeline construction or Chilean-Argentinian commercialization of the Bolivian gas). Thus the paper will examine the relationship between national development project based on gas and oil industry and Bolivian foreign policy.

MAITE J. ITURRE (University of the Basque Country / University of Oxford): 'Energy in Brazil: Fuel for a Rising Power'

There is no doubt that Brazil is nowadays an important international player, but up till now this role has not been based on the possession of natural resources. In contrast with other countries, Brazil has not been endowed with significant energy resources. When the industrial development process required more energy in the 1960s and 1970s, several dam projects were undertaken in order to supply electricity, but the dependence on foreign fossil fuels remained. The oil crisis shocks of the seventies and low sugar cane prices had an important impact on the country's economy, but the authorities took advantage of the situation to develop biofuels. Thus, it has become one of the main biofuels producers in the world.

In spite of legal reforms carried out in the nineties, oil prospecting and exploration activities went on, led by the national oil company PETROBRAS. Leading technology and luck fate bore fruit: the finding of huge oil reserves in the Tupi pre-salt layer in deep waters have attracted the attention of international investors and the world's oil and gas industry and international investors. The ugly duckling is becoming a swan.

This paper aims at analyzing the increasingly important role played by Brazil in international energy politics. Firstly, it briefly describes Brazil's energy development path, focusing both on the development of biofuels and on oil prospecting and exploration. Secondly, it assesses the implications of Brazil's achievements in both energy sectors, focusing especially on the impact in the regional arena. Finally, this paper concludes that recent developments in Brazil's energy policy and resources are likely to strengthen the leverage of this rising power in international politics.

5. IDENTITIES, EMOTIONS AND CITIZENSHIP WITHIN AND BEYOND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM: THEORETICAL, METHODOLOGICAL AND EMPIRICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

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MABEL ENCINAS (University of London): 'A Sociocultural Study of Emotions in the Classroom'

Based on the premise that emotions have a social existence, this paper addresses the way in which theory and methodology need to be woven together. With an ethnographic approach that involved working with four experienced Spanish (mother tongue) teachers in a Mexican urban secondary school (junior high school), emotions were unveiled during the phase of analysis. This 'discovery' of emotions implied working along two strands: the construction of a sociocultural theoretical approach to the study of emotions, and the close analysis of the data video recorded during class time. The first strand benefits from my study of Vygotsky's work in the construction of a non-dualistic (non-Cartesian) psychology. The second strand, the close examination of emotions in teaching-learning situations, implied the construction of a methodology accordingly. In this paper, I present the way in which theory and methodology were woven together in order to study emotions as embodied in pedagogic practices. This approach allowed to tackle the challenge of considering emotions as situated, and thus, concurrently embodied in the body and within practices.

ANALÍA INÉS MEO (University of London / CONICET): 'Crisis and Change of Teachers' Professional Identities in Secondary Schooling in Argentina: Between the Fragmentation and Challenge'

During the last three decades, there has been a growing international and national interest in the social construction of teachers' professional identities. The difficulties to implement educational reforms in different socio-political scenarios have made apparent the centrality of teachers, their perspectives and identities in educational policy. This paper presents some results of two qualitative research projects in Argentina (carried out between 2004 and 2008). These studies were carried out in four state secondary schools, belonging to different "circuits of schooling". The term "circuit of schooling" refers to material and symbolic differences between schools and groups of schools contributing to unequal school experiences and learning, which contribute to the reproduction of social advantages and disadvantages of their students. This paper looks at teachers' professional identities, focusing the attention on the ways in which they define their job, responsibilities, and boundaries. It argues that the strong differentiation between schools impacts on the ways in which teachers define their professional identities. It unpacks the emergence of new ways of seeing of teachers and schools' role. These new and critical perspectives challenge the foundations of the traditional secondary school system.

JUANCHO BARRÓN (University of East Anglia): 'Another Education is Possible: Anti-systemic Reflection/action in Mexico'

In the last few years, many authors and actors have challenged Eurocentric views of knowledge production (De Souza, 2008), and have encouraged participative education of subaltern groups to build up alternative forms of development (Esteva, 2006). In 2001, the Mexican State decided to ignore the agreements signed with significant indigenous and political actors calling for a radical change in the role given to indigenous peoples, and their knowledge and culture in this country. Since then, alternative education has been constructed outside the government system. Based on qualitative research conducted by the author, this presentation compares the different representations given to indigenous knowledge in governmental discourses, and those constructed in an 'alternative university'. The aim of the paper is to explore how discourses of the actors reproducing the 'status quo' ascribe traditional roles to indigenous contributions, and to compare those discourses with the perspectives of actors currently building alternative education. The latter are reshaping the role of indigenous knowledge through addressing the question 'What kind of education do we want?' Particularly, the analysis follows the notion of desire proposed by Gilles Deleuze (1974) to highlight the actors' perspectives on the possible becoming of indigenous knowledge and its future potential contribution, contrasting that with the current governmental trends where indigenous peoples are apparently seen as part of a pre-modern past, and with a very modest and subordinated role in the future.

TRISTAN McCOWAN (University of London): 'Political Learning in 'Prefigurative' Contexts: the Case of the Brazilian Landless Movement'

The Landless Movement (MST) of Brazil works for agrarian reform by establishing cooperative rural settlements. These communities have their own schools, run with state funds, but following the movement's principles of collectivism,

equality and radical democracy. This paper analyses political learning in these schools, drawing on qualitative case studies involving documentary analysis, interviews and observations. The analysis explores the presence of 'the prefigurative' in the movement's educational work. Prefigurative forms of political organisation are those which reflect the qualities of the ideal society aimed for. In relation to school, therefore, prefigurative forms require 'harmony' between the democratic nature of the institution and the democratic society to be constructed. It is possible to identify three key functions of prefigurative forms in education, constituting: 1) an instantiation of the new society to be created; 2) a learning process for those involved; and 3) an exemplar of alternative forms of organisation. The MST approach to political education is characterised in this way by the embodiment of its overarching aims in its pedagogical principles, by the involvement of the whole school community in the construction and delivery of the curriculum, and by an organic link between classroom learning and political action outside. Some problematic issues were also raised, including the difficulties in extending participation to the whole student body, and the tensions with teachers when students began to exert greater influence in school. Yet while there are some limitations and obstacles in practice, the MST approach represents a highly significant experience.

IVETTE HERNANDEZ SANTIBAÑEZ (University of London): 'Which Education for which Democracy? : *Solo sé que no LOCE*

The central claim of more than seven hundred thousand Chilean secondary students manifesting in Chile in 2006 was that *education is not a privilege, it is a right*. The demands by who would be known later as the Penguins were able to deal with a national debate concerning the crisis of the Chilean educational system defined by some authors as the new Chilean "educational apartheid".

Their mobilizations, demanded the need of structural changes in the Chilean Educational System, placing at the same time a confrontation about what definition of education was defended by each educational actor and re-drawing a new way of political and social participation of social actors in the Chilean post- dictatorship society.

In analyzing the arenas of secondary students' mobilization this paper focuses on describing the socio-historical matrix and the depth, breadth and range of issues which delineate the capability of education from the beginning of nineties.

Following these previous scenarios, the analysis of the Penguins' Revolution is based on how key aspects like space, time, self-organization characterized the arena of their participation as one interdependent with central questions like what did education mean to these social actors? ; What did democracy mean to these different social actors? ; How was their participation characterized? And what conditions shaped the entire organization of this social movement?

A systemic view of these scenarios was developed bearing in mind that education has a dimension of transformation more than an aggregative one to other capabilities and that democracy is an ongoing building process of struggle and contestation (Gaventa, 2006). Therefore their scenarios and analysis would allow attempting some answers related to define which education for which democracy?

MARÍA BALARÍN (University of Bath), 'Imagining Citizenship: Methodological Challenges from Research into the Citizenship Experiences of Marginalised Young Peruvians'

This paper discusses the methodological challenges faced during a research project into the experiences of citizenship of young Peruvians living in conditions of socio-economic marginality in the slums that surround the city of Lima. In order to explore and elaborate on theoretical ideas about the political-economy of citizenship, the project sought to capture the different ways in which young Peruvians living in marginal conditions understand notions of citizenship and experience themselves as citizens in their everyday lives. Anticipating that a traditional research approach would yield few substantive results, a participative methodology was used, involving participants in the production of maps, letters and photographs which enabled them to develop more elaborate narratives about their citizenship experiences. The paper will reflect on the methodological challenges faced during the research as well as on the analytical strategies used to make sense of participant's often fragmented accounts.

6. THE EFFECTS OF LAND REFORM ON RURAL LATIN AMERICA: ASSESSING 20 YEARS OF MARKET-LED AGRARIAN REFORMS

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HANNE COTTYN (University of Ghent, Belgium): 'The Land Reform Project of Bolivia, 1953-2006: The Effects for Aymara Communities of the Altiplano Through a World-systemic Lens'

In my contribution to this panel, I approach the topic of land reform from both a historical-anthropological and a world-systemic perspective. I focus on the continuity of land reform as a long term project, shaped by and shaping processes of incorporation and accommodation. In Bolivia, the land reform law of 1996 was adapted in 2006 by the enactment the law on the "communitarian recondution of the agrarian reform", under the government of Evo Morales. Situating the current regulation on a longer historical road, reveals at the one hand the constraints to go beyond a recurring ambiguity, and at the other hand however, the alteration in the power balances of Bolivian society. The land reform and discourse of 1953 represents a turning point on this road, implying both challenges and opportunities for the control over land in indigenous communities. My hypothesis is that the ambiguity of land reform lies in the underlying logic of the modern world-system. That logic involves the long term search for an answer on the assumed incompatibility between original/external and imposed/incorporating organisational structures.

However, rather than considering the world-system in itself as my unit of analysis, I concentrate on the interaction between the "free" indigenous communities (comunidades libres, now comunidades originarios) of the Central Altiplano and that system. Through results of research on and field work in the Aymara community of Turco, I aim to integrate the role, the trajectories and organizational patterns of these communities into the research on land reform.

DR ANDREW JOBLING (Sheffield Hallam University): 'Assessing the Impact of Market-led Reform in Peruvian Coastal Agriculture'

This paper assesses the impact of market-led agrarian reform in Peru – which gathered momentum during the 1990s – upon the already dynamic processes of agrarian transformation underway in the country's coastal region. These market-led policies need to be understood in relation to, and are often a reversal of, the earlier period of state-led agrarian reform (involving collectivisation of key aspects of agricultural production) during the Velasco government of 1968-75. Key processes of currently ongoing structural change are the expansion of a dynamic sector geared to 'non-traditional' agricultural exports, the re-concentration of private ownership in the country's largest agro-industrial complexes (the sugar estates - until the mid-1990s still co-operatives) and continuing patterns of socio-economic differentiation among medium and small-scale farms predominantly orientated to the production of food for the national market. The paper - based on empirical field research in northern Peru with both independent farmers and workers on sugar estates - discusses these trends in relation to wider debates on agrarian change and the evolution of economic and political power relations in Peruvian society.

RAFAEL CALDERÓN CONTRERAS (University of East Anglia): 'State-Led Land Reform and Institutional Concurrence: The Limits Of Intervention'

The last period of land reform in Mexico have not brought the promised results regarding setting up a more secured land tenure environment for smallholders, it has not proved an increase of agricultural land for landless rural poor and it has not encouraged land markets. Instead, the Mexican government has created restrictive policies and programmes to cope with the unsolved land reform claims. These policies are mainly based on cash transfers and the provision of basic goods as well as legislation on natural resource extraction and management, respectively. These policies and programmes are received at the community level, however, when it comes to livelihoods adaptation, indigenous groups bend the law and re-direct the outcomes of the programmes implemented according to their needs and experience. Hence, this paper will investigate the degree of agency and accountability that these policies are creating at the community level. This paper is based on an analysis of the way in which a specific indigenous group in Mexico central highlands obtain benefits out of the natural resources available under the scheme brought by the land reform itself. It will have a special focus on the inter-institutional coordination regarding development issues of access to land-based resources in the rural sector, that is reflected on the absence of development programmes on one hand, and the proliferation of apoyos –cash transfers and infrastructural endowments, on the other.

**DR FRANCISCO GUÍZAR VÁZQUEZ (Leibniz Universität Hannover / Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México) and
DRA. IVONNE VIZCARRA BORDI (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México): 'Los efectos de la reforma agraria
sobre territorios indígenas en Latinoamérica: los casos de México y Bolivia'**

La ponencia presenta una síntesis de los efectos que a nivel nacional y sobre los pueblos indígenas han ocasionado las reformas agrarias de ideología neoliberal y de ideología socialista aplicadas en dos países latinoamericanos (Bolivia y México) en el periodo de tiempo entre 1992 y 2009. En México, la transformación agraria que se ha escenificado ha estado marcada por una tendencia política hegemónica neoliberal, de forma tal que sus efectos han seguido una tendencia que los autores consideran constante en torno al empobrecimiento masivo de los campesinos indígenas, a pesar de los aislados logros en materia de productividad que se han registrado. Por su parte, Bolivia presenta dos etapas: una primera, similar a la de México, de impulso a la privatización y negación de derechos de minorías étnicas; y otra de reacción hacia dicha tendencia, caracterizada por el diseño de políticas de distribución e inclusión de minorías étnicas, promovidas por un gobierno que expresa una filiación socialista. La comparación de los efectos y sus tendencias, resulta un ejercicio relevante para el debate en torno al desarrollo rural.

7. WORKSHOP: DILEMMAS OF DOING RESEARCH

Lucy Taylor (University of Aberystwyth)

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This workshop seeks to create a conversation about how we do our research, building on a similar and highly successful workshop at SLAS 2009. It will bring together researchers from different disciplines and stages in their career to share experiences, strategies and dilemmas which they have encountered in the course of their research practice. They will raise issues in brief presentations, but the main focus is on audience participation and the sharing of experience and expertise.

SESSION 1: KNOWLEDGE

How do we know what we (think we) know? How should we 'translate' texts or experiences? How should we disseminate our knowledge? Whose knowledge is it?

FERNANDO GONZALES (PhD candidate, Newcastle)

Fernando is studying tourism, culture, development and uses of space in vulnerable villages of northern Peru. Having begun his undergraduate career at the Catholic University in Peru and now studying in the UK, Fernando will speak about his experience of negotiating different cultures of knowledge. He will explore the way in which the tensions created by crossing and intersecting these knowledge cultures has enriched his research, though the process has not always been an easy one.

SARAH BOWSKILL (Lecturer, Swansea)

'I've done the interview, what now?' In summer 2009 I interviewed a Mexican author. The interview was in Spanish and the interviewee did not speak English. With the interviewee's permission, I recorded the interview and made some notes as she was speaking. Afterwards, I transcribed the interview. The interview lasted a few hours and is too long to publish in its entirety. I am now left with a decision about how to use the information I gathered. Should I use short quotations to support my argument? Should I edit it down so it is an acceptable length to be published? Should I combine an edited version of the article with some discussion of the author's work? Should I translate the interview into English making it inaccessible to the interviewee? The different options and their advantages and disadvantages will be outlined in Sarah's paper.

BERENICE ORTEGA (PhD candidate, Essex)

Berenice's thesis focuses on the social protest case of APPO, the Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca, Mexico. "It is a very complex situation since APPO participants are in constant fear of government persecution, and there are also many divisions and tensions within. The ethical and methodological issues that I have confronted whilst transcribing, translating, and selecting what information to use from the interviews are vast. But I am also concerned about how to disseminate my research to the Oaxacan community once I finish my thesis, considering my obligations to them on one hand and to the academic community and the research itself on the other." Berenice will share her thoughts on these dilemmas, which are faced by many researchers.

SESSION 2: RELATIONSHIPS

How do we manage relationships with research subjects? Who benefits from our research trips? Is it desirable – or possible – to keep an academic distance or neutrality?

XIMENA CORDOVA (PhD candidate, Newcastle)

Ximena has researched the Oruro Carnival in Bolivia, looking at the relationship between ideas of heritage and claims of national belonging. "When doing research I have found it necessary to include knowledge from sources not considered 'academic' and it is always something one has to justify much more than if borrowing ideas from 'academic' or established authors. As a researcher working in my own country, it was important to deal with the issues of my research in a manner that would be beneficial to my society as a whole, not just for an academic audience. I wanted to include authors who engage more philosophically and perhaps more informally, for example looking at the issue of postcolonial knowledge without being unafraid of discussing its morality." Ximena will discuss different strategies in the treatment of knowledge in Latin American research along these lines.

ANN VARLEY (Professor, University College London)

Ann works on housing and gender relations in informal settlements in Mexican cities. She will discuss some of her experiences of working with the residents of these areas in the light of a recent literature, especially but not exclusively from feminist scholars, on the ethics of such research – a literature which is often highly self-critical, moralising, and anguished in tone. She will suggest that western researchers' anxieties about ethical problems can, ironically, serve to re-centre ourselves rather than, as intended, disrupting the power relations between researcher and researched.

POLLY WILDING (Lecturer, University of Leeds)

Polly works on violence and gender relations, mainly focusing on communities with high levels of urban violence in Brazil. She will discuss some of her experiences of carrying out research in these areas, in particular looking at the difficulties surrounding emotions, empathy, solidarity and the complexity of discussing sensitive subjects. How do we deal with the telling of violent acts and histories, when is it appropriate to delve deeper into painful subjects, and what range of barriers do we face as researchers? She will also touch on the difficulties in definition – what is violence? – and how the slippery terms used to describe and categorise the such acts can both shed light on individual experience, as well as hinder our understanding.

8. INTERFACE BETWEEN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE: CROSS-DISCIPLINARY MECHANISMS OF TEXT ANALYSIS

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DR WILLIAM RICHARDSON (University of Ireland Galway): 'Spatiality and Its Ramifications in Borges'

Borges's work has often been invoked in relation to advances in information technology, and especially cyberspace and the development of the internet. It has also been seen as relevant to the exploration of basic mathematical concepts such as zero or infinity. While these are valid ways in which his writings relate to the world of knowledge in general and science in particular, there are other links between his work and certain fundamental scientific issues, including the nature of knowledge itself. One topic deserving of further consideration is spatiality, and it is notable how, in his stories, Borges manages to offer a subtle commentary on the human experience of space. The implications of his treatment of spatial issues connect his work to areas such as physics and astronomy, but also to fields such as geography, philosophy and psycholinguistics. In this paper I will outline some of the ways in which this is achieved in a number of the major stories from *Ficciones* and *El Aleph*.

DR JOANNA PAGE (University of Cambridge): 'Of Literature and other Technologies: Tangled Hierarchies, Autopoesis and Complexity in Argentine Fiction'

Argentine novelists since Borges have frequently drawn on mathematical and scientific paradigms to model the workings of fiction. This paper will focus principally on the work of Marcelo Cohen and Ricardo Piglia, writers for whom a reflexive exploration of literature has led to the discovery of isomorphic structures in mathematics and science, among them Gödel's incompleteness theorem, the self-generating and rhizomatic systems of biological autopoesis, and theories of chaos and complexity. In Piglia, these experiments construct a sophisticated model for metafiction and for understanding the tangled hierarchies which govern fiction's relationship with literary criticism, on the one hand, and with non-discursive experience, on the other; in Cohen they gesture towards a possible theorization of difference and subjectivity which brings complexity into dialogue with Buddhist thought.

Mark Hansen delivers an extensive critique of 'technesis' (the 'putting-into-discourse of technology') in post-structuralism and cultural studies, arguing that establishing an 'ontological isomorphism between text and technological system' becomes a 'profoundly reductive' exercise as it limits our understanding of how technology shapes us to a discussion of only those aspects of subjectivity which can be expressed in language. These objections seem to me to receive some answer from the texts in my corpus: the lack of neatness and exactitude about the tropes they employ consistently draw attention to what remains beyond theorization, but which – like noise in an information system – may be the source of new knowledge.

DR VICTORIA CARPENTER (University of Derby): 'Membrane Theory and Hidden Texts in *Obsesivos días circulares* (1969) by Gustavo Sainz'

Gustavo Sainz's novel *Obsesivos días circulares* (1969) is often seen as a 'dirty secret' of Mexican counterliterature of the 1960s. Largely overlooked in favour of Sainz's more easily understandable *Gazapo* (1965) and left in the shadows of its mainstream contemporaries (*Rayuela*, *La muerte de Artemio Cruz*), this novel presents a fascinating case of textual multiplicity. The few analyses agree that the novel is about madness, yet little has been made of the complexity of its delivery and the novelty in the representation of simultaneous texts.

This paper will examine *Obsesivos días circulares* from the point of view of quantum physics. The two theories selected for the analysis are string theory and membrane theory. The study will trace several recurring text fragments through the novel to determine whether they are independent texts joined together by a common denominator, or whether they are the same text undergoing multiple mutations as a result of an intertextual influence.

DR PATRICIA NOVILLO-CORVALÁN (University College London): 'Literature + Illness = Illness': An Interdisciplinary Reading of Roberto Bolaño's Fiction'

In the last decade, the prolific Chilean writer Roberto Bolaño has shaken the foundations of Latin American literature by producing a new type of fiction that offered an alternative to the age-old paradigm of magic realism. Since the publication of his award winning novel, *Los detectives salvajes* (1998), Bolaño's rise to fame has been meteoric, an event that has been propelled even further by his premature death of liver failure in 2003 and the publication of his posthumous masterpiece *2666*. Bolaño's work has blazed a trail not only in contemporary Latin American fiction but also, as he has been rapidly translated into other languages, across the world.

This paper will explore the interface between literature and medicine in Bolaño's novels: *2666*; *The Savage Detectives*; *Monsieur Pain*, as well as his testimonial illness narrative, 'Literatura + enfermedad = enfermedad', which reflects on his battle with liver disease and the complex and difficult experience of writing with, and about, a terminal illness. This paper asks: how has Bolaño reflected on the personal, social, and cultural effects of illness in contemporary societies? I will borrow the terminology employed in Susan Sontag's *Illness as Metaphor* (1978) to explain how Bolaño has used physical illness as a means to convey the larger disease of the body politic. I will also examine the central role of illness and its cure/treatment in relation to Bolaño's literary representations of physiological and mental diseases including cancer, AIDS, and psychosis. The hypnotic techniques of Mesmerism, and their cure, will also be discussed. Characters drawn from the world of medicine such as physicians, healers, nurses, and patients, and the subjects of disease, suffering, and death, will remain at the heart of the paper. Finally, I will highlight the present-day relevance and ubiquity of Bolaño in contemporary literature, and how his fiction is crucial to the advancement of a model of global literature dealing with issues of morality, migration, illness, and crime.

KARAN BUBBER (University of Derby): 'How to 'Land' a Threesome: Particles, Cats and Waves – an Alternative Imagination of 'la tierra'

My current research into the evolution of indigenous land practices has presented a number of challenges - both theoretical and conceptual, particularly in reference to how land practices may be understood and examined. This paper will adopt an alternative theoretical approach to the examination of land practices, based upon Heidegger's conceptualisation of Being – They, wave particle duality and Schrödinger's 'cat'.

9. BETWEEN POLITICS AND POLICIES: REFORM AND MODERNISATION OF THE STATE

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SONIA ALONSO-VILLEGAS (Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey) and HUGO TULLIO CÉSAR RUBIO-RODRÍGUEZ (Universidad de Salamanca): 'Evaluación de Programas Gubernamentales como factor clave para la Reforma del Estado: Un análisis comparativo entre México y Chile'

México y Chile, a pesar de sus distancias geográficas y diferencias históricas, comparten algunas similitudes políticas: Chile estuvo sujeto a una dictadura militar por casi un cuarto de siglo y México estuvo bajo una dictadura 'sui generis' por tres cuartos de siglo, de la que todavía se pueden sentir fuertes influencias. En ambos casos se ha dado una transición hacia el régimen democrático con mayores o menores ventajas y dificultades. Este trabajo busca hacer un análisis comparativo, desde la perspectiva jurídica y de la administración pública, sobre la evaluación de los programas federales de gobierno en México y Chile, con el objetivo de generar lecciones que sirvan para mejorar el desempeño de esta práctica en México y así contribuir a una mejora en la administración pública, entendida como un factor clave para la Reforma del Estado, proceso que se viene gestando en México desde hace unos años. El resultado de esta investigación indica que Chile tiene un sistema más sólido de evaluación de programas de gobierno, mejor acceso a la información y una mayor fortaleza institucional. No obstante, México, con algunos ajustes, puede llegar a mejorar su sistema de evaluación, ya que la investigación demuestra que las bases legales son sólidas y los instrumentos técnicos metodológicos utilizados son los correctos.

CITLALLI AIDEE BECERRIL-TINOCO (University of East Anglia): 'Efficiency in the Drinking Water Supply System in Mexico'

Mexican state wants to fulfil international requirements in water policies at the national and state level. Policies try to respond to demands of efficiency in both institutional processes and the provision of water services. Despite this, the desired efficiency has not been achieved. Water management has not achieved the expected positive effects at local levels (municipal, community). One reason suggests that 'efficiency' has been understood with a different meaning not only from consumers but also from governmental institutions. The second reason suggests that the adoption of a global water management agenda into national policies might create inefficiencies in the local water supply service and the administrative process. For example, at the moment of producing information it could be incomplete; some relevant data could be omitted or overlapped. Also, activities and responsibilities could be partly covered by one or another institution or even both.

Policies implemented without considering particular local contexts could lead towards resilient and adaptive social changes in which official laws and state institutions are surrounded to cope with these inconsistencies. For instance, people start building social networks to solve intermittent water supply. Households include in their expenses a budget to buy water for domestic use. Some communities shape customary governance that frequently interacts with democratic government to improve water services. Therefore, the aim of this paper is discussing efficiency in the water management. It concludes that if a regulation is adopted without involving local requirements policies are not going to achieve the positive expected outcomes.

CARLOS ROBERTO HERNÁNDEZ-VELASCO (University of Glasgow): 'Informal Settlements and Institutional Capacity: the Mexican Experience'

In Mexico, poverty is many times a convenient argument in the opportunistic political discourse; as a concept, it has experienced recent theoretical changes intended for the design of social policies. This paper examines to what extent the revised official definition of poverty¹ has impacted on housing policies and looks whether this conceptual shift has been absorbed in practice by the official structure via housing programmes for the urban poor. Finally, this paper reveals some findings and challenges for social policies as to whether this refined concept has benefited the urban poor in search for housing at their grasp.

¹ In 2006, the Mexico's National Commission for Social Policy Evaluation, CONEVAL, was created by the Mexican Government to elaborate and evaluate social policies, including the definition of poverty and the corresponding methods for measurements. See CONEVAL (2008). 'Informe de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social en México 2008'. Mexico: CONEVAL.

In 2006, in a context of economic crisis, unemployment and a growing informal sector, the federal government decided to revise the definition of poverty to better identify the poorer segments of population and deliver poverty-alleviation programmes more efficiently. Hence, based on the three categories within the new definition, 50.6% of the population lived in patrimonial poverty,² 26.8% in capabilities poverty³ and 19.3% in food poverty⁴ (e.g. extreme poverty). By 2008, however, according to official reports, 18.1 million people (e.g. 16% of the total population) fell into poverty and the figures are expected to increase showing that the benefits of new poverty policies are not clear. In addition, by the end of 2009, a new definition of poverty was published which represents the inconsistency of policies design.

At the end, as Choguill (2007: 146)⁵ affirms, informal settlements are 'the shelter dimension of urban poverty' and the evidence of policies unable to promote housing for the poor. In this paradox, the Mexican government is immersed into a slow delivering process of the new approach via social policies and, in the meantime, millions of the urban poor struggle to achieve housing through strategies usually referred to as informal.

VALÉRIA MARQUES LOBO (Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora): 'Brazilian Labour Reform'

The objective of the paper is to discuss the reforms led by the Brazilian government in the nineties, implemented under the liberal perspective that guided the measures of Reform of the State in Latin America in that period. Initially, it analyzes the impact on the labor market of the politics of reduction of State in the plan of the economy. Soon after, it discusses the government agenda on social politics, highlighting that in this plan deregulation measures prevailed, above all in work relationships. In this case, the measures were subsidized by the speech that appeared, and in that context of high unemployment, the generation of employment was conditioned by the suppression of rights associated with formal work. However, although the government has achieved to execute several measures addressed to the reduction of public protection, some found severe resistances by sections of society, taking the government to retreat. The approach is based on thematic literature, as well as documental sources.

MALAYNA RAFTOPOULOS (University of Liverpool); 'Reform and Modernisation: The Development of Tourism in Fujimori's Peru'

Like so many other countries, Peru's insertion into the global economy has followed the path of neo-liberalism. During the 1990s Peru experienced significant economic, political and social restructuring, where a concerted effort was made by the government, prompted by the international finance community, to align the role of the government, State and public institutions. One of the industry's to be targeted by Alberto Fujimori's government was the tourism sector. The discourse of modernity in Peru is often measured in terms of economic development, making international tourism an important source of earnings. Tourism has long been viewed as a symbol of progress and modernity, largely due to its potential contribution to the balance of payments, its foreign exchange earnings and its potential to act as a catalyst for development. Prior to the 1990s, tourism was effectively run by a series of state-led networks. However, this state-led development strategy simply collapsed during the 1980s debt crisis and the tourism industry became caught up in the political and economic chaos that followed. Under Fujimori, the tourism industry experienced massive institutional changes with involved the rolling back of the state, the growth in the private sector and the repositioning of the sectors role in Peru's development strategy. Although there is little doubt that the reform and modernisation packages implemented during this period have led to a growth in the industry, they have however, brought with them much controversy.

JENNY K RODRIGUEZ (University of Strathclyde): "' ¡Esto es una tragedia griega!" Civil Service and Administrative Career in the Dominican Republic'

² Patrimonial poverty refers to the insufficiency of a household's income to cover the cost of the basic basket of food and other expenses related to health, clothing, housing, transportation and education.

³ Capabilities poverty refers to the insufficiency of a household's income to cover the cost of the basic food basket and other expenses related to health and education.

⁴ Food poverty refers to the insufficiency of a household's income to cover the cost of the basic food basket.

⁵ Choguill, C. (2007). 'The Search for Policies to Support Sustainable Housing.' In Habitat International 31 (2007), pp. 143-149.

There is a historical lack of credibility, integrity and efficiency associated with the public sector in the Dominican Republic. Similarly, reform has responded to a combination of global trends and demagogic political rhetoric rather than to serious planning or assessment of development needs. The consistent historical battle of public sector reform has been politicization; where an authoritarian political tradition has resulted in an excessive centralisation with both limited institutionalisation and managerial capability of State institutions to comply with social demands and aspirations. Reform and modernisation have relied on cosmetic structural changes. Institutionalisation, however, remains one of the key issues as the implementation of legislation has been inconsistent, biased and generally unsuccessful. The result is a public sector overcrowded with duplication; bureaucratic and generally inefficient, where agentic roles are overpowered by political roles. This paper aims to discuss the rhetoric of actors involved in the process of reform and modernisation of the Dominican State, with specific reference to the implementation of civil service and administrative career. It is argued here that the process of implementation of civil service and administrative career in Dominican public sector resembles a Greek tragedy in that all actors are tragic protagonists who whilst unequivocally asserting their roles as heroes of the process, are complicit in its failure.

ROMUALDO A SANTOS (University of Sheffield): “Controladoria-Geral da União”: Modernisation of the Fight Against Corruption in Brazil?’

This paper discusses the anti-corruption reform in Brazil focusing on the institutionalisation of the Controladoria-Geral da União (CGU). CGU is regarded to be Brazil's anti-corruption agency and has been an innovation in the country's public administration considering status, structure, longevity and development. The institution claims to be responsible for setting the anti-corruption agenda and, in spite of reporting to the president, it assumes an independent, technical and non-political attitude. CGU has emerged and developed within a political system where relations between institutions have been distorted and horizontal and vertical accountability undermined. In a State guided by traditional politics which uses non-accountable political practices intriguing has been the persistence of such an institution. The coexistence of these divergent sides is far from being harmonious. On one hand, the history of lack of control and corrupt scandals has forced governments to reorganise the structure of accountability (internal control, anti-corruption). On the other hand, governments have received complaints from political allies within the bureaucracy on what they have claimed as an excess of control. These clashes have driven the study to the following questions: Is CGU a real modernisation of the State toward a more accountable public administration? To what extent is this anti-corruption policy vulnerable to politics? The paper reveals that answering these questions is an ongoing process. This is because the institution is not entirely consolidated and the political and technical dimensions of the anti-corruption policy are not clearly dissociated from each other. However, the innovative aspect of CGU, its persistence and evolution might indicate that a consistent reform of anti-corruption policy in Brazil is possible.

10. FILM, PHOTOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Alejandra Gómez (UNAM) and María Elena Albuérne (UNAM and Universidad de Valladolid)
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MARIA ELENA ALBUERNE (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México): 'Bustillo Oro: A Touch of Mexican Expressionism'

Mexico was rebuilding itself in the thirties. Politics and economics were not the only changing fields, culture underwent a big transformation as well. In Mexican culture there were two major trends: nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The Mexican film industry, with the rest of the country, entered a period of change. Through images and sound, filmmakers were trying to represent the new country born after the military revolution. They searched for the idea of "mexicanity" in the country and the "charros". However, others were more willing to experiment. The first years of the 1930s witnessed the production of movies which explored themes like drugs and prostitution without a moral attitude. There were also filmmakers who experimented with new styles. Juan Bustillo Oro attended movie theaters since he was a young kid and was impressed with European cinema, thus when he took part of the film industry he was looking forward to shooting in one of his favorite styles: expressionism.

VALENTINA RAURICH VALENCIA (University of Chile) and JUAN PABLO SILVA (University of Chile): 'Emergent, Dominant and Residual: A glance on the Speeches, Representations and Ruptures in the Construction of the Popular Made by the New Chilean Cinema (1958 -1973)'

This paper is based on the idea that the film practice developed by the New Chilean Cinema from the sixties and seventies, is configured like a significant practice that allows, through the filmic production, to give bill of the process of construction of a new conception about the popular. This conception locates in the center of its concerns the sociocultural, political and economic conflicts, configuring the popular as a lifestyle and like a social class that is in continuous tension with the dominant class. This tension allows us to acknowledge that the forms and cultural activities are a dynamic field, in which relationships of dominance and subordination are articulated. Concentrating on the processes for which certain relationships of power settle inside the cultural field, allows us to give bill of the changing and mismatch relationships of force, paying attention to the relationship between culture and hegemony. In this way, what we propose to discuss are the ideological implications inscribed in the film practice developed by the New Chilean Cinema.

XIME CASTILLO-SMYNTEK (University of Manchester): 'Mass Media as a Protagonist in Chilean Contemporary Film'

The present work analyzes the use of the language of the mass media as a protagonist within the diegesis of selected contemporary Chilean films. I will study the use of the mass communication language as an artistic and dramatic expression as well as a narrative and filmic device. This study; based on the theories of: Boris Uspensky, Yuri Lotman, Michael Foucault, Stanley Baran and the critiques of Lidia Santos and Alexander Sustí among others; examines how a film can use the speech of the mass media as a language beyond the persuasive. Therefore, the mass media could become a protagonist, which can create an impact in the mind of those that are exposed to it. This interaction could allow one to find alternatives that originate ways of expression and open avenues for the development of marginalized or silenced voices that could be subjects of an oppressive system.

This research concentrates on the Chilean films Johnny cien pesos (Dir. Gustavo Graef-Marino, 1993) and Machuca (Dir. Andrés Wood, 2004), which demonstrate and/or exemplify artistically how the use of mass media as agents, in the sense I am proposing, could be read as presenting an important alternative in the construction of new filmic narratives. Finally, this work will be accompanied by a segment of the video production written and directed by the author of this study, Jandy C.S.G., PANAmericanGEA, which supports and legitimizes the objectives of this research.

CLARA GARAVELLI (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid): 'Post-crisis Audiovisual 'colectivos' in Argentina's Periphery'

In Argentina, the crisis of the neoliberal project, and its subsequent social repercussions, had its most critical moment towards the end of 2001. During those days, people took to the streets to demand a complete restructuring of the State, and volunteered to be part of making change happen. Accordingly, a rearticulation of certain ways of interaction among individuals took place, as exemplified by the emergence of public assemblies, the taking of factories by their workers, or

the alternative 'networks of solidarity'. This proliferation of these encounters between individuals, with its collaborative and horizontal way of working, had its artistic counterpart in the creation of the so-called 'colectivos'. These groups of artists, either inside or outside the Arts field and/or the film industry, were formed in various Argentine cities. Nevertheless, it was mainly those *colectivos* producing and distributing their work in Buenos Aires that gained national and international recognition. Therefore, the aim of this presentation is to analyze a group of audiovisual *colectivos* that escaped those hegemonic channels of distribution. Based in Córdoba, *Arte Proteico*, *Dialogo Beat*, *Bistro Casares*, *Recolectivo* and *Cine el Calefón*, created iconic works that are essential to understanding this post-crisis period and the complexities present at the borders and margins of contemporary Argentine society.

CATHERINE LEEN (National University of Ireland, Maynooth): 'Contemporary Documentary Cinema in Paraguay'

This paper examines the situation of documentary filmmaking in Paraguay, providing an overview of several films and the way in which they present the past and present of one of the least known nations of Latin America. A diverse range of films will be discussed, including Hugo Gamarra's 2006 *Profesión cinero*, which traces the history of cinematic presentation in Paraguay; Silvana Nuovo and Ricardo Álvarez's 2006 *Ogwa*, a biographical documentary about the late artist; Rafael Kohan's 2006 *Rechts-Links*, a testimonial documentary about seven Holocaust survivors; and Guillermo Kohen and Miriam Paz's 2008 *Chokokue*, which focuses on the struggle of farmers to defend their rights and fight against the damage caused by soy production. The trajectory of the genre will be traced, and the question of whether these films can amount to a national cinema, given the lack of institutional and other supports available to Paraguayan filmmakers, will be considered.

MARÍA PAULA NOVAL MORGAN (Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México): 'Nuclear Family Murder in Film'

This paper is a comparative analysis of two contemporary films: *Sweeney Todd: The Demon Barber of Fleet Street* (USA/UK, Tim Burton, 2007) and *A Wonderful World (Un mundo maravilloso)*, México, Luis Estrada, 2006). The story of *Sweeney Todd* takes place in nineteenth-century London and *A Wonderful World* in contemporary Mexico City. The analysis focuses in the impossibility of male characters to accomplish traditional family roles as providers and protectors. *Sweeney Todd* is a settled husband and father that provides for his family but fails to protect his wife and daughter from violence. He is a good citizen who suffers legal injustice. Juan Pérez is a homeless drunk who suddenly gets the chance to settle down and start a family, but his dream is broken by the injustice of the economic system. The male characters in both films are victims of social injustice, a situation which leads them to become outcasts and serial killers. Their transformation can only be explained by historical context: In the nineteenth century, the bourgeois family and the modern state were in an equilibrium that served the interests of industrial development. After the 1929 economic depression, Keynesian interventionist government policy gave workers' families social protection in both developed and in developing countries such as the UK and Mexico. Now global economic crisis provokes a high index of unemployment, and social security systems in different countries are reducing their capability to support workers' families. This situation creates social pressure and violence, an impact on traditional family roles. Both films have a conservative background which underline the ideal of traditional family roles, at the same time they depict its internal fracture and the crisis of symbolic dominant order.

ANDRÉA CASA NOVA MAIA (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro): 'Urban Landscapes, Memory and Social History: Rio de Janeiro through Augusto Malta's Photos (1889-1930)'

This paper contains a theoretical and methodological discussion about visual culture and representation. The main purpose is to think about these concepts in relationship to Rio de Janeiro photographs by Augusto Malta from the end of nineteenth century to the beginning of twentieth. On the other hand, this paper aims to demonstrate how pictures can help historians in the construction of historical knowledge. How do the photographers capture people and the mutant urban landscapes? How do these artists build many visions about the new city and the modern people? This is only an initial question that searches for multiple visual intakes to understand how life was in the renewed Federal Capital of the Brazilian Republic, Rio de Janeiro. Rio was rebuilt as a copy of the Haussmann's Paris reform. Through Augusto Malta's photos we can see the project of the "civilized" and "ORDERED" city proposed by the Republic's new policy. How was this new city, punctuated in a scientific rationality and progress, represented by Brazilian artistic and intellectual elites, often sponsored by the Government to propagate the "Tropical" Paris?

LUCIANO RAMÍREZ (Universidad Autónoma de Aguascalientes, México): Iconographic Analysis of Alberto Beltrán's engraving "The Aguascalientes Convention, October 10th, 1914"

25 years since the end of the different revolutionary factions in Mexico (1914-1916) had to pass before some authors rescued the subject of the Sovereign Revolutionary Convention from institutionalized oblivion and started publishing images of it in books, especially in photography. I will analyze the engraving "The Aguascalientes Convention, October 10th, 1914" made by Alberto Beltrán, — Mexican drawer, engraver and illustrator — who around 1945-1947 gave shape, in a unforgettable print, to the theme of the Convention, under the frame of the collective critic of the *Taller de la Gráfica Popular* (Popular Graphic Workshop), during a time when the country was undergoing national unity and reconstruction policies. This analysis will be made according to the iconographic analysis based on Erwin Panofsky image interpretation model (primary or natural subject matter, conventional subject matter and intrinsic meaning or content).

In this lecture I underline the training and the professional path of the engraver in a historic-artistic context, the cultural and political environment and the different aspects surrounding the graphic work: choice of the subject, literature and historical sources that nourish it, description, composition and message, as well as media, where it has been published and possible goals.

The scene of the engraving depicts a very excited assembly argument in which the revolutionary factions (followers of Carranza, Villa and Zapata) took part during the 1914 Convention. They got together in order to avoid a new civil war, create a government program and build a nation project. It was a great failure. A faction's war started, the constitutionalists (followers of Carranza) won and the losers only got oblivion: "conventionists" (followers of Zapata and Villa) became taboo for many years.

KRISTINE JUNCKER (Columbia University, New York / University of Nottingham): 'Between " Prop Art" and Realism: African Imagery in 1960s and 70s Cuban Posters'

From 1967 to 1972, the Havana-based journal *Tricontinental* featured photographic reproductions and written debates surrounding a government-sponsored movement of negritude. That is, the Revolutionary Government considered negritude, or international cultural outreach to people of African Heritage, as a means to establish a historical basis for the newly emerging society. Notably, in reaction to the journal's formulation of Afro-Cuban negritude, African political leaders reached out to the journal audiences in order to denounce primitivist representations of Africa. A number of African politicians and scholars advocated replacing ethno-historical imagery with styles that represented literal descriptions of current social and political circumstances. Embracing these new demands, *Tricontinental's* poster designers surrendered Afro-Cuban negritude, particularly photographs of traditional African art, in favour of internationalist realism.

Cuba's unique form of realism was a reassertion that Cuba, as well as other nations pursuing socialism, did not have to follow in the same footsteps as Soviet practices. Rather a graphic focus on photographs of leaders as national symbols helps to strengthen Cuba's claim to its own form of socialism and cultural expression even more effectively than Afro-Cuban negritude. A stringent visual language dependent upon photographic reproduction emerged in order to highlight internationalism of the period, including reproductions of portraits of Patrice Lumumba, Amílcar Cabral, and Che Guevara, among others. This is made particularly evident in *Tricontinental's* reiteration of Korda's famous portrait of Guevara, which appears in over a dozen different posters. There and throughout internationalist realism from the 1970s and 80s, leaders usually are shown to be in a posture communicating thoughtfulness and a sense of confidence in national circumstances.

ALIN AUGUSTIN (University of Kent): 'Murals of Puente Alto (Santiago de Chile) – A Visual Expression of Social Injustices through the Eyes of Marginalised Youth'

The paper explores the visual expression of youth on the streets of the deprived municipality of Puente Alto of Santiago de Chile. This municipality has a high demographic growth and urban planning expansion. Puente Alto has been my point of reference due to its socio-economic problems and marginalisation of the population in that area which they face from the dictatorship era of general Pinochet. It is the second most populated municipality of Santiago Metropolitan region with a high rate of suicides, robberies, delinquency and illegal drug use.

Murals are used as a method of communication between the painters and the viewers. This paper analyses the degree to which street art serves as a medium of collective and personal development of youth within the community. It follows the reflection, vision, identity and experience of young people, their present, past and future through the medium of mural painting and graffiti. I will, furthermore, present to what degree the marginalisation of population is reflected in this form of art and what messages are portrayed as part of their memory of the past in respect of their denial or acceptance of their current situation. The paper explores the link between murals and visual art – the power of colour – poverty – inequality – human resilience and how much they contribute to the recollection of urban memory.

GUY BARON (University of Aberystwyth): Not Afraid to Search for a Critical Space: Discovering The Postmodern in Cuban Cinema. The case of ¡Plaff! (O Demasiado Miedo a la Vida).'

The end of the 1980s saw Cuba in crisis as the collapse of the USSR removed the island's economic lifeline. But this crisis had been building for a number of years and many of the 'certainties' of the past were being fundamentally questioned. This questioning produced a particular brand of Cuban postmodernism, in many ways not dissimilar to how Frederic Jameson has described the postmodern condition of late capitalism in the 'West' in which a certain rejection of the linear trajectory of history was being articulated in a country with a still-developing sense of its past but with a crisis that would undoubtedly alter that perception. This paper intends to tease out this ideological break with the past via analysis of the film ¡Plaff! (o demasiado miedo a la vida) (Juan Carlos Tabío, 1988). The film stands on the threshold of important change in Cuban cinema, coming as it did only a year before the collapse of the Berlin Wall on 11-12 November 1989, and the subsequent collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe. The paper will demonstrate how the film deconstructs old values and creates new ones via a recycling process of pastiche and parody, managing a difficult balancing act between the questioning of the authority of state institutions and support of the Revolution as a valid national project.

**11. THE BOLIVARIAN REVOLUTION:
PRACTICES, POLICIES, PROCESSES – FROM LOCAL, TO REGIONAL, TO GLOBAL**
Thomas Muhr (University of Bristol)
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Session 1 (Friday 9th April)

DARIO AZZELLINI (Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany / BUAP, Mexico): 'Revolution as Process: The Permanency of Constituent Power and the Resignification of the State'

This paper focuses on the normative orientation of the Venezuelan process and how the concepts are put into practice. The Venezuelan process of social transformation has very unique characteristics. Beyond the two major leftist approaches to social transformation – the takeover of the State and its use as the agent of change, versus the idea of social change through 'civil society', rejecting state power – the Bolivarian revolution has taken a new path. Control of the government and the State is considered necessary, but since the State is understood to be the result of capitalism it can not be the agent of change. The State is to guarantee material conditions for change while the New is created as a parallel structure from below. While in former revolutions councils were founded out of the need to organise until the 'new State' or the revolutionary party was consolidated, in Venezuela the dual power structure is sustained with the ultimate objective of a council system. This approach comes from recognizing constituent power as the force of change and looking to create a system in which constituent power can always impose itself over constituted power, understanding revolution as a long-lasting process. So the struggle in Venezuela is inside, outside, with and against the State. The parallel structures built from below like community councils, workers councils etc. are not integrated into the existing representative institutional frame but aim to construct a new non-representative institutionality. Under the concept of peoples power the State and its institutions are resignified. However, despite these normative orientations, the relation between constituent and constituted power is inevitably a conflictual one. But the conflict in this case is to be considered the motor of the transformation process.

MAURA DUFFY (University of Manchester): 'Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution: Power to the People?'

Demonstrations for and against Venezuela's 2009 Law of Education reveal the contested nature of education in projects for radical social change as well as the deep divisions in Venezuelan society over the Bolivarian Revolution. While opposition supporters see the new Law as a government attempt to indoctrinate and manipulate the people, supporters argue it is a crucial step forward in the struggle to create a new hegemony based on principles of democratic socialism; providing people with the knowledge and skills to actively engage with the political, economic and social transformations underway in the country. The Bolivarian Revolution is therefore at the forefront of current debates on the potential and limitations of state-led projects to promote popular participation and social change and create alternatives to neo-liberalism. By drawing on the experiences and viewpoints of a cross-section of people 'on the ground' in Caracas, gathered during extensive fieldwork between 2007 and 2009, I look beyond government discourse and policy to explore how people themselves see the democratic process unfolding in Venezuela and their opportunities for participation in it, as well as their views on the role of education in developing their ability to organise and mobilise to demand and shape change. Through their experiences of the pitfalls and potentials of a state-led project, I locate the organisational forms and processes that can enable people to act as protagonists of change, thus contributing to wider debates on the possibility of synergy between state-led transformation and democratic power from below.

RAFAEL RAMOS (Universidad Nacional Experimental de las Artes): 'El poder del pueblo en participación'

Como introducción, hare una síntesis de los cambios y transformaciones sociales y constitucionales que ha vivido el pueblo venezolano, desde una Democracia representativa a una Democracia participativa; resaltare, el papel fundamental y protagónico que a tenido el pueblo en esas transformaciones. Como creador y coordinador del frente estudiantil expondré sobre el papel protagónico que jugaron los estudiantes en el rescate de espacios que en pasado estaban en manos de las elites burgueses y excluyentes del país. espacios que en la actualidad pertenecen a la todos. Con esto señalaré el crecimiento de la inclusión estudiantil; las diferentes vinculaciones existentes entre el Estado, la comunidad y los estudiantes. En este mismo sentido, hablare de todas las actividades de vinculación comunitaria que llevamos, en ese mismo enlace, estudiante, comunidad y Estado; como ejemplo diferentes actividades sociales: tomas culturales, talleres de pintura gratuitos para niños y jóvenes, foros educativos para los trabajadores y la comunidad, entre otros. Todo esto, para reforzar la importancia de la participación protagónica en el proceso bolivariano. Hablare también sobre el papel de la juventud del partido (JPSUV), en el cambio social que vive el pueblo venezolano y sobre el

role fundamental de la educación política para fortalecer la conciencia social y crítica. Para concluir voy a ofrecer un resumen de los logros y los retos que nos enfrentamos, el pueblo de Venezuela, en nuestra lucha por una sociedad más justa basado en la inclusión social y participación democrática.

HAZEL MARSH (University of East Anglia): 'La cultura es el pueblo: Bolivarian Cultural Policy'

This paper provides an overview of the development of cultural policy by the Bolivarian government, and of its underlying theoretical framework. Beginning with a brief historical survey of Venezuelan cultural policy, examining colonialist and post-Independence beliefs and attitudes towards European, Afro-Venezuelan and Indigenous cultures, the paper goes on to explore how the Bolivarian government perceives and reacts to the existence of divergent national cultural customs as well as to previous governments' cultural policies. It examines official contemporary cultural policy and the establishment and organisation of bodies, programmes and institutions through which this policy is put into practice. Finally, it explores the extent to which Bolivarian cultural policy emulates or deviates from other mainstream socialist models in Latin America (such as those of Cuba, Chile during the UP years and Sandinista Nicaragua), and asks how far Bolivarian cultural policy can be seen as a continuity with or a break with history.

Session 2 (Saturday 10th April)

LIBIA VILLAZANA: 'From Cultural Politics to a Politicised Culture? La *República* Bolivariana de Venezuela and its Audiovisual Cultural Revolution'

The paper discusses the official cultural and identity politics of Venezuela with regard to film and television production, which is one of the most ambitious projects of Hugo Chávez's cultural revolution. With the creation of an independent chain of film production, including the studios Fundación Villa del Cine, a state-owned film distributor (Amazonia Films) as well as a legislation favouring the production and financing of national films, the Bolivarian revolution aims at undermining Hollywood's cultural hegemony. The radical approach to 'decolonising the media' and the underlying transnational dimensions of Venezuelan cultural politics become also manifest in the project of Telesur, a pan-latinamerican television network conceived as the 'CNN of the people', that transmits alternative, popular voices and contents to international audiences.

ANDRÉS OTALVARO (University of Cologne, Germany): 'Misiones Bolivarianas, Class Struggle and Transnationalization Processes: Battles and Social Conquests in Contemporary Venezuela'

Since Hugo Chávez Frías took power in 1999 and the Bolivarian Revolution was set into motion, profound political, economic and social changes have marked contemporary Venezuelan history. The followers of Bolivarianism vindicate the conquest of socio-political and socio-territorial spaces that must be defended against the constant attacks of the opposition. This is the case of the "Bolivarian missions" (Misiones Bolivarianas), vanguard social programs implemented since 2003; their goal is to "pay off the vast social debt" and to create new ways of institutionalisation and reterritorialisation in order to satisfy basic human needs, to protect social rights, to overcome human practices based on exclusion and to promote the interests of the historically marginalized and poorest sectors of the population. It has been stressed that the "social polarisation" grows day by day because of the dynamics triggered by the forces of transformation. Therefore, this paper will analyse the state of the class struggle and the class-consciousness building process in the context of social practices and symbolic manifestations around the misiones. In this sense the new social programs are the result of political conflicts, dialectical processes and hegemonic articulations. It will also explore the expansion (transnationalization) of the misiones to other countries (not just to the ALBA members) and the repercussions it carries for the dynamics of class struggle in these new spaces of reterritorialisation.

MAITE J ITURRE (University of Basque Country / University of Oxford): 'Venezuela-led Initiatives: New Times for Energy Cooperation in Latin America?'

Given its strategic nature, energy has always been a key issue for any economic development process and therefore one of the principal concerns of governments. At the moment, the decline of fossil energy resources – mainly oil – and global climate change have reinforced the concern about energy politics worldwide, which has also been reflected in the issues on the regional agendas. Latin America has not been an exception. In the last decade, the increasing importance of energy issues on the regional agenda has coincided with a new political wave of left or left-of-centre governments. Energy endowment and political will have converted Venezuela into the leader of a renewed energy cooperation in Latin

America. Thus, this paper addresses Venezuela-led energy projects and their consequences on the regional level. Firstly, it describes the launch and current state of the main regional energy initiatives set in motion by Caracas (namely, Petroamérica and Caracas Energy Cooperation). Secondly, it analyzes the innovative features that these initiatives show. Thirdly, it evaluates the role played by these initiatives on the regional scene by assessing their impact both on specific countries (such as the energy-poor Caribbean states and the US) and on other regional and sub-regional energy initiatives.

MIEKE LOPES CARDOZO (University of Amsterdam), with JESSE STRAUSS (University of Amsterdam): 'Education for Plurinationalism? Understanding Regional Processes of Progressive Social Change through Bolivia's Proposed Education Reform'

Bolivia joined ALBA in 2006, transforming the bilateral project between Cuba and Venezuela into an emergent form of regionalism. With the election of the first indigenous president Evo Morales at the end of 2005 and a new constitution as of February 2009, Bolivia is rejecting neoliberal policies and exclusionary globalisation processes. In line with developments in other ALBA member states, Bolivia has created various social reforms. This paper centres on Bolivia's current education reform process. Through this lens it analyses Bolivia's interpretations of ALBA's People's Trade Agreements (PTAs) and the concept of *Vivir Bien* (to 'live well'). Bolivia's new Plurinational constitution proposes an Education Reform entitled Avelino Siñani-Elizardo Pérez (ASEP), which aims for decolonised, inter- and intra-cultural, communitarian and productive education. This law epitomises the country's efforts to create a Plurinational society in which indigenous peoples and their cultures are revalued. The law aligns with some of the major themes of ALBA's PTAs, since education should ensure social justice, respect for cultural diversities, respect for Mother Earth and a communitarian and productive system of knowledge generation and economic development. The paper discusses the various perceptions of these new education plans from the perspectives of both urban and rural teachers' unions, teachers-in-training and in-service teachers as well as policy-makers and (Bolivian) experts. Through an examination of the ASEP reform, we provide insights into the possibilities and challenges of Bolivia's recently shifted innovative processes of social cohesion and social justice as proclaimed in ALBA's PTAs and the concept of 'living well'.

processes of the Empire. The American continental territories of Spain and Portugal fell prematurely into nation-statehood. The Spanish American Liberators themselves had not foreseen that more than twenty sovereign territories would emerge from the collapse of the Bourbon Empire in that continent. Furthermore, the disintegration of the Spanish continental empire between 1816 and 1826 took place before the generalised triumph of nationalism as a predominant form of ideology.

ANTHONY McFARLANE (University of Warwick): 'Soldiers and Café Revolutionaries: Montevideo Against Buenos Aires, 1810-11'

Throughout the year after the 1810 'May Revolution' in Buenos Aires, the Spanish commander of the armed forces of Montevideo sustained a copious correspondence with the Minister of War in Spain. The aim here is to review the contribution which his letters make to our understanding of politics in the River Plate in this crucial period and to the Spanish response to revolution. The paper aims, first to judge the character of royalist political thinking at the start of the Spanish imperial crisis in America; second, to consider the politics of Buenos Aires and Montevideo from a royalist perspective; third, to re-examine the revolt of the Banda Oriental as seen from Montevideo; and, finally, to assess the impact of royalist resistance on the progress of the May Revolution in the Río de la Plata. This will be the first time that this correspondence, which is scattered among the holdings of three different Spanish archives, has been used in its entirety.

ADRIAN J. PEARCE (ISA / SAS, University of London): 'Foreign Commercial Interest in Spanish American Independence: The British Case'

Trade with foreign powers is often seen as a key goal among Spanish-American elites at Independence, and the opening of ports in 'liberated' regions witnessed a great influx of foreign manufactures and capital. For this reason, Independence is viewed as a key watershed in British trade with Latin America, and most histories of British relations with the region begin at or after independence. What these studies miss, in the view of the speaker, is the sheer scale and value of British trade with Mexico, Cuba, New Granada, and elsewhere, in the late colonial era and particularly from the late-1790s. In this context, the key question to be addressed by this paper is whether Independence brought a renewed commercial boom for the British, or rather tended to disrupt an extensive intercourse already established by 1808.

NATALIA PRIEGO (CONACyT / University of Liverpool): 'The Heroes, the *Villanos* and the Others: Reflections on the Official Historiography of Mexican Independence'

Mexican independence has been interpreted from a variety of standpoints, reflecting both the interests of groups in power and shifting academic fashion. Heroes and villains, with some exceptions, have swapped roles, and sometimes it has been very difficult to determine who was what. After the consolidation of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) in the early-twentieth century, the Liberal tradition became predominant in both Mexican political life and in the official curricula of state schools and other educational establishments. Many of the streets of Mexico City lost their traditional names, replaced by those of leaders of the PRI and its Liberal heroes. The party's official vision of Mexican history was accepted socially during the 75 years when it was in power. However, the shift of power to a conservative, Catholic political party (Partido Acción Nacional, PAN) changed the situation, and, as a consequence, the contradictions and misunderstandings of the so-called 'official history' began to be challenged. This paper examines key features of these historiographical trends, with particular reference to the historiography of Independence.

13. ADDRESSING INEQUALITIES THROUGH HEALTH REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA
Jasmine Gideon (University of London) and Silvia Lamadrid (Universidad de Chile)
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ALEJANDRA CARREÑO (University of Siena, Italy): 'Lecturas de lo "étnico" en la reforma sanitaria chilena'

The Chilean health care system reform has recently established, within various other challenges, the multicultural approach as a set priority for an integrated health care model with a pro-poor focus. Such an approach has meant a series of initiatives throughout the country that, since the 1990s, have installed "the ethnic" within sanitary policies, thus recognizing the indissoluble connection between the social, politic and economic condition of Indigenous Peoples and the health indexes that they present, historically worse than the ones of non-Indigenous populations, which is a common issue among Latin America.

Nevertheless, the execution of this new "ethnicity" into sanitary policies of the Chilean State ("ethno-governmentality") has interpreted the medical use of "the intercultural" in terms of another strategic device of control for Native populations, now starting from the management of their medical systems, the individualization of their wellbeing, the control of their bodies and of the pain engaged with any kind of illness or uneasiness. In this way, the intercultural policies should become a strategy for making invisible the social and power relations involved, as well as their concrete materializations that mirror an existing unequal distribution of the possibilities of life or death.

From this approach, my presentation shall reflect on two applications of the "Programa Salud y Pueblos Indígenas" in the cities of Santiago and Arica, focusing in depth on the latter experience where ethnicity has started to be timidly explored within the Mental Health sphere. In this context, the "psychic pain" and the "mental illness" clearly expose the difficulties and risks to endorse a kind of intercultural model that does not assume the political challenges that the psychosocial wellness of this specific population demand.

BÁLTICA CABIESES (University of York), with, HELENA TUNSTALL and KATE E. PICKETT (University of York): 'Access to Health Care Among International Immigrants in Chile: A Forgotten Issue in Chilean Health Reform?'

Introduction: Health reforms in Chile, implemented since 2002, have explicitly included the goal of reducing inequalities between the poor and rich. Health care access of one potentially disadvantaged group, the international immigrant population (IIP), has however, not been assessed.

Objective: To compare access to health care among the IIP in Chile and the total Chilean population (TCP) after Chilean Health Reform.

Methods: A cross-sectional analysis of the national representative CASEN survey of 268,873 people in 73,720 households conducted in Chile in 2006. Descriptive and comparative analyses were conducted using STATA 10.0, which provided a weighted population size of 16,130,743.

Results: 1% reported being international immigrants (n=1,548,513 estimated population) and had lived in Chile for, on average, 10.95±16.48 years. In comparison to the TCP, a larger proportion of the IIP reported having no health care provision (28.10% versus 15.37%, p<0.0001) and "other not stated" type (15.57% versus 5.08%, p<0.0001). The IIP also reported a smaller proportion of public provision, both free of charge (15.27% versus 29.39%, p<0.0001) and with co-payment (39.09% versus 47.46%, p<0.0001). The IIP reported lower rates of well-baby care (9.48% versus 23.43%, p<0.0001) but higher rates of antenatal care (11.03% versus 3.15%, p<0.0001), gynaecologic (16.38% versus 9.08%, p<0.0001), and preventive for adults and the elderly (28.29% versus 16.79%, p<0.0001).

Discussion: IIP in Chile have distinctive patterns of health care utilisation with a notably higher proportion living without any provision and using private health care. These differences may reflect the socio-economic diversity of the IIP and might need further consideration in the Chilean Health reform.

JASMINE GIDEON (Birkbeck College): 'Health Reform and Gender Inequality: How far have we come?'

Drawing on empirical material from Chile and Peru this paper considers the progress of gender mainstreaming initiatives in health sector reform in Latin America. Recent debate has focused on the importance of guaranteeing universal

access to all citizens to health services and ensuring the private sector is better regulated yet much of this discussion has been gender blind. Questions around reproductive rights continue to be excluded from policy debates and the role of women as producers of health remains largely ignored. Within these constraints the paper asks how far health reforms are likely to produce more equitable outcomes for all health service users.

SILVIA LAMADRID (Universidad de Chile): 'Equidad y derechos sociales en salud'

Se intenta dar un marco conceptual para centrar el debate en torno a la equidad en salud. Se revisa la conceptualización de equidad en salud y su relación con las desigualdades sociales en el análisis epidemiológico y el reconocimiento de la salud como parte de los derechos humanos de tercera generación. Se revisa la construcción de los sistemas estatales de atención de salud dentro de los estados de protección social, y los logros en términos de equidad. Finalmente, se analiza el nuevo marco que se abre con la globalización y la instalación de modelos económicos neoliberales, y la desarticulación de los servicios tradicionales y su reformulación con modelos de atención gestionada, enfocándose también en los efectos hasta ahora observados en la equidad.

14. MIGRATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN LATIN AMERICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Michael Goebel (European University Institute)

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MICHAEL GOEBEL (European University Institute): 'Migration Studies and the Historiography of Nationalism in Latin America'

Whether in Latin America or elsewhere, the study of transnational migrations and the historiography of nationalism and national identity constructions have often developed in disjuncture from one another. In particular in the 1970s and 80s, whereas studies of nationalism tended to stress the invented nature of nations (whether driven by the state, intellectual elites or less tangible processes of 'modernisation'), migration studies instead turned away from earlier 'assimilationist' paradigms, rescuing the long-term 'stickiness' of an ethnicity irreducible by a homogenising state. Where scholars have explicitly studied migration and nationalism together (e.g. Solberg, 1970, for Argentina and Chile), they have typically opposed them to one another: whereas migration has been cast as undermining the nation-state, nationalism has usually been equated with anti-immigrant nativism. To open this panel on migrations and national identity, my paper discusses the theoretical backdrop of migration and nationalism studies with reference to Latin America and seeks to suggest some ways in which the two strands of scholarship could profit from each other.

SILVIA LAMADRID ALVAREZ (Universidad de Chile): 'Los médicos europeos en las redes familiares de poder en Chile en el siglo XIX'

En este trabajo se explora cómo los médicos europeos que llegaron a Chile en la primera mitad del siglo XIX se vincularon con las elites chilenas, y cómo se articuló su proceso de emergencia como profesión dentro de la constitución de las nuevas elites de poder republicanas. Las redes familiares de fines del XVIII y principios del XIX en la América independiente se articularon con la construcción de los nuevos estados nacionales y su expansión en las relaciones comerciales internacionales. En Chile se definió pronto una forma política que permitió organizar la administración del país. Uno de sus objetivos fue hacerse con las competencias profesionales y técnicas que ya existían en Europa, atrayendo a profesionales para que ejercieran y enseñaran en Chile.

La medicina tenía bajo prestigio, debido a la pobre formación científica de quienes la ejercían. Los primeros médicos respetados fueron profesionales europeos con credenciales universitarias, y a partir de ellos se fundó la Escuela de Medicina de la Universidad de Chile.

Se revisa y analiza cómo se articuló la integración de dos de los casos más destacados de los médicos extranjeros llegados en el siglo XIX: Guillermo Blest y Nataniel Cox. La trayectoria de ambos y sus respectivos descendientes muestra dos caminos diferentes para integrarse a las redes de poder, contando los dos con la apertura de la elite chilena. La más lenta integración de la familia Cox parece adaptarse mejor a las formas de la sociedad del momento en Chile, ya que se consolidaron en la elite, mientras que la brillante y crítica entrada de los Blest llevó al retorno a Europa o a diluirse entre las capas medias.

MICHELA COLETTA (University College London): '*Latinoamericanismo* and Identity: An Immigrant's Contribution to the Debates on the Idea of *Latinity* in Chile and Argentina in the *fin-de-siglo* period'

Between the last decade of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century the idea of *Latinity* deeply informed the discourse on both national and supranational identity in the Southern Cone. Far from being a passively received concept, the idea of a *Latin* America was at the centre of a heated debate involving key identity issues. This paper will put new emphasis on the role European immigrants played with respect to the definition of a Latin identity in the region by looking at the contribution of Italian sociologist Enrico Piccione, whose active engagement in the intellectual debates of the period has not yet been studied.

Enrico Piccione (1863-1929) established an intense relationship with the intellectual communities of both Chile and Argentina. During his long permanence in Chile, he became an important interlocutor for the Chilean intelligentsia, founding a periodical publication that soon gained relevance on the international intellectual scene. By locating Piccione's work and activities in the wider context of *fin-de-siglo* public discourse, this paper will attempt to recover the key role played by a forgotten figure in order to shed new light on the relationship between immigration and national identity in Spanish America.

JASON YAREMKO (University of Winnipeg): 'Pitching for the Indians: Promoting Amerindian Labour Immigration and Colonization in Nineteenth-Century Cuba'

Overwhelmingly, newly-independent Latin American republics sought to develop according to models based in Europe and North America. For the most part, these republics had no place for indigenous peoples except as fully-assimilated, or exterminated: white, European immigration served as a way to reinforce this model of modernity and as an antidote to the "Indian problem." Cuba, island colony in a sea of Latin American republics, offered still both an exception to the hemisphere's europhilic immigration trend and a destination for the republics' indigenous peoples. Ironically, the island colony where indigenous peoples had historically been considered extinct appeared to be attempting to revive such a population through the promotion and development of immigration policies that also promoted Amerindian labour immigration. Economic and political elites in Cuba promoted Amerindian immigration in Cuba as actively as they did white immigration, and depended on Yucatecan Maya and other indigenous migrants/colonos as acceptable "white" substitutes when necessary, as reflected, in part, in the repeated expenditure of efforts and resources toward the securing of Amerindian colonos throughout the nineteenth century. This should not, of course, be overstated nor misconstrued: cheap, docile labour was a cardinal consideration here. At the same time, the case study of Cuba offers a relatively rare instance when a more nuanced understanding of race and ethnicity was reflected or realized in immigration questions and policy, again, at a time when whiter and more restrictive immigration was the tendency everywhere else. In this as in other ways, government policies in Cuba stood in considerable contrast to the Latin American norm.

NICOLA FOOTE (Florida Gulf Coast University): 'West Indian Migration and Identity Formation in Ecuador and Costa Rica'

West Indian migration to Latin America in the first decades of the twentieth century was central to the national identities of both host and sending nations, yet it has rarely been addressed in those terms. Research has focused on the economic dynamics of the movement; the contributions West Indian workers made to labour organizing in the U.S enclaves in which they were typically located; the exploitation that stemmed from the imposition of Jim Crow segregation by American corporations; and the social history of diasporic community development. Each of these factors had far-reaching implications for national identities in both the Caribbean and Latin America, yet while some attention has been paid to the meaning of the migrations for identity formation in the Anglophone Caribbean, historians of Latin America have largely discounted the broader significance of the West Indian presence. This paper will address Aline Helg's 2006 call for a renewed focus on the transnational distribution of Afro-Caribbean workers in Latin America by examining how the West Indian experience in two separate countries – the well-known case-study of Costa Rica, and the "forgotten diaspora" of Ecuador – influenced national identity in two separate spheres: ideas about race (specifically "blackness"), and anti-imperialist sentiment.

ESTEBAN DEVIS (University of Southampton): 'In What Ways is the Colombian-Lebanese Community in Bogotá Re-identifying Itself?'

The Colombian-Lebanese community has been established in Bogota since the late 19th century; however, levels of participation as a discrete community have varied. In recent years this community appears to have been experiencing a process of re-identification, with new organisations being set up, such as the foundation of a Maronite parish; older ones being re-structured, such as the World Lebanese Cultural Union; and the increased involvement of a greater number of individuals. Moreover, this has coincided with heightened patriotic feelings for and re-identification to Colombia by the general population, which has intensified during the presidency of Alvaro Uribe. Factors contributing to this include an improved economic climate; new laws introduced in the 1991 Constitution; the effect of the recent widely-reported violence in the country; and the impact of globalisation. I argue that even though these re-identifications have been happening simultaneously, they have not gone against each other, allowing the Colombian-Lebanese to be part of both processes and to participate in this dual re-identification.

15. CURRENT POLITICAL PROCESSES IN LATIN AMERICA

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HORACIO MACKINLAY (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana at Iztapalapa, Mexico City): 'Mexican Rural Organizations: A Comparative Analysis of Three Different Political Strategies towards Democracy'

This paper presents a comparative study of three different political conceptions and strategies towards political change sustained by Mexican Peasant and Indigenous Organizations: corporatist, liberal-democratic and neo-revolutionary (the Zapatista movement). Amongst other aspects, it considers the relationship that these different types have established with political parties and their strategies related to elections, the legislative power and the political establishment in the present decade.

BERENICE ORTEGA BAYONA (University of Essex): 'The Dispute for the State, Struggles for Democracy from Within: The Case of the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO)'

Much has been studied on Mexico's "transition to democracy" at an institutional level. My research focuses on the importance of questioning the country's current state of democracy and legitimacy from the perspective of contemporary social protests, specifically, the formation of APPO (Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca) in June 2006. Because of how diverse and complex the popular sectors that converged in this conflict and their forms of resistance were (some historical while others new); as well as the essence of their basic social and political demands; and the presence of characteristic government forms of political negotiation, cooptation, rupture and repression, I believe it is a crucial example through which we can understand the historicity and extent of the structural and institutional legitimacy crisis at the national level. An oral and life history approach was taken to reconstruct how contentious political, economic and social relationships were negotiated and transformed between popular sectors and authorities since the Mexican post-revolutionary state in Oaxaca; how recent local experiences of social and political organisation and protest developed in representative popular sectors; and how both continue to have an influence in political culture today. Furthermore, I explore how the different experiences, interpretations and positions of the 2006 events and its outcomes amongst APPO sectors, not only reflect the historical relationships mentioned above, their own internal conflicts and diverse identities, but how they also correspond to a dispute over distinct forms of struggle and political projects for the construction of democracy and a contested hegemony in Oaxaca and Mexico today.

GUSTAVO ERNESTO EMMERICH and XIOMARA PERAZA TORRES (Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, Mexico City): 'Political Participation beyond Borders: Compared Experiences on External and Alien Voting in Latin America'

Migrant transnationalism has been developing as a social phenomenon trespassing conventional borders. One of its aspects is the increasing presence of foreign-born populations in diverse regions. Foreigners often lack political rights in their country of origin as well as in their country of reception. Before this situation, some States have granted voting rights to their nationals living abroad (external voting), and some others to foreigners living within their limits (alien voting). This paper provides a comparative account of both tendencies in Latin America. Some countries included in this study have made some democratic progress regarding external and alien voting. A few of them have for a long time extended these rights to both nationals abroad and foreigners in-country. In general, there seems to be a tendency to allow nationals to vote from abroad in most of the Latin American countries, while alien voting is not so widespread in the region.

MADELEINE EVANS (London School of Economics and Political Science): 'Think Tanks, Civil Society Organizations and Industry Associations: Identifying Channels and Constraints to Impact on FTA Policy in Peru'

This study examines the extent to which civil society organizations, think tanks, and industry associations in Peru achieve impact on the nation's free trade agreement (FTA) policy, using a combination of empirical research methods including primary interviews. Dividing the policy process into two phases, we discover formal and informal opportunities for impact and identify variance in timing and method utilized by these three types of non-state actors. We find that a historical "revolving door" between Peru's political executive and its largest business organizations has institutionalized the participation of industry associations in trade policy creation, crowding out the influence of a budding civil society in the agenda-setting process.

Public policy research institutions that achieve high-level informal relationships to policymakers and civil groups organized around the policy preferences of Peru's politically sensitive indigenous communities are the exception, overcoming this institutional barrier to entry at different stages of the FTA policy process. We conclude that the most effective means for most civil society organizations or public policy research organizations to influence on trade policy seems to be an indirect channel – shaping popular opinion through media or education campaigns – until procedural elements of the agreement negotiation and approval process are formally opened to the greater participation of civil society.

JUAN PABLO FERRERO (University of Bath), with ANA DINERSTEIN: Social Movements and Political Change in Argentina and Brazil (1990-2010): The Case of the MST (Brazil) and the Piquetero Movement (Argentina)

This paper explores the political process underpinning the contentious relationship between social movement organisations and the state in the last two decades in Argentina and Brazil with the intention to explore the contribution of social movements to 'political change'. The current socio-political situation in both countries is characterised by the retrenchment of SMO's visibility (from the streets and the media coverage) and the simultaneous expansion of comprehensive social schemes implemented by governments. There has been a tendency towards either *integration* (to the government), *diffusion* (partial collaboration with governmental institutions) and/or *criminalisation* (exclusion from public politics). Simultaneously, the governments have proposed significant social policy agenda and launched policy of unprecedented dimensions in both Argentine and Brazil country's histories.

We address the question of 'political change' as a result of social movement action. We want to contest the widespread yet misleading idea that SMOs have been 'defeated' by the state after a period of intense mobilisation. The main objective of the paper is to point at some broader lessons the MST and Piqueteros experience presents for an understanding of political change in an era when the role of social movement's collective action has become fundamental rather than residual for the political processes underpinning Latin American democracies.

Our discussion is based on two significant illustrative case studies of Latin American SMO: the Movement of Landless Rural Workers, MST (Brazil) and the Movement of Unemployed Workers, *Piquetero* Movement (Argentina). The MST and the Piquetero movement's involvement in contentious action in the 1980s and 1990s were successful in contributing to contesting the neoliberal agenda in both 'symbolic' and concrete terms, but there seems to be a loss of the necessary moment of open opposition that characterised the anti-neoliberal mobilisation mode. This has been usually interpreted as defeat.

We argue that the current retrenchment in SMO's visibility from public politics must not be interpreted as defeat but rather indicates a *new moment* for collective action within SMOs and with regards to the relationship between social movement and the state. We suggest that this new moment is characterised by a tendency to the 'contested institutionalisation' of the movements (Dinerstein, Cintarese and Deledicque 2008). Institutionalization is a 'contested multi-levelled process' (Schneiberg, M. & Soule, S.A. 2005) and the result of the political process and political dynamics rather than a governmental top-down action.

Theoretically, we tackle the problem of 'partiality' suffered by the three main perspectives in social movement studies (resource mobilization, socio-cultural constructionism and new social movement theory, by using McAdam et al (1996) framework to analyse social movement as it provides a synthesis of different perspectives. McAdam et al (1996) argue that social movement scholars representing different traditions have been concerned with three dimensions: the structure of political opportunities available to social movements (political opportunities), their organisational forms (mobilising structures) and their collective interpretations and meanings (framing processes) (p.2). These three dimensions of social movements are used to explore the origins and formation of the social movement and the development of the movement over time (p.7).

Following this, we explore the three aforementioned aspects in a comparative fashion and in two different periods. We show that in order to evaluate political change as a result of social movement action, the best indicator is the *articulation* of the three aspects involved in social movement activities: politics and relationship with the state, organizational and discursive/framing.

The data presented comes from the authors' research projects on 'The movement of the unemployed in Argentina' and 'Social movements in Latin America', funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, Non-Governmental Public Action programme, LSE, UK (Dinerstein, RES-155-25-0007) and the PhD research project on 'Consensual democracy or *democratisation*: trade unions and social movements in Argentina and Brazil in the last two decades', funded by the Overseas Research Studentship (ORS) and University of Bath Research Studentship (URS).

16. DEVELOPMENT AND INEQUALITY IN THE CONTEMPORARY CARIBBEAN

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DAVID HOWARD (Oxford University) and KATE QUINN (ISA): 'Inequality and Development in the Contemporary Caribbean: Reflections after the Earthquake'

This joint paper will provide an overview of the main concerns of the panel, reflecting on the region as a whole and establishing the broader contexts for the case-specific papers that follow. Circumstances of territorial and demographic scale, insularity and enduring relations of dependency make the region particularly exposed to the economic, political and social effects of the international downturn, with serious implications for governments and citizens alike. However the recent devastating earthquake in Haiti has provided tragic illustration of another of the primary challenges to Caribbean development: its extreme vulnerability to natural disasters. This paper will therefore reflect on the current crisis in Haiti, touching on issues of state capacity, poor governance, failed development policies, and regional and international aid and interventions. Placing the current crisis in historical context the paper asks what the lessons of history might tell us about the prospects for Haiti's future 'reconstruction'.

REBECCA PRENTICE (Goldsmiths, University of London): "'Cut and Contrive": Illicit Economies after Neo-liberal Restructuring in Trinidad'

This paper begins on the shop floor of a Trinidadian garment factory, and traces the labour practices and economic strategies of its workers both within the factory and beyond its gates. It concerns itself with a group of women at a time of both continuity and change: garment workers witnessing the broad-scale disappearance of their industry from the Trinidadian manufacturing landscape under the competitive pressures of 'free trade,' and the revival of older, informal modes of labour organisation (e.g., 'contracting' labour, home working, sewing for neighbours) sprung from the cracks of opportunity left behind. Based on fifteen months' ethnographic fieldwork in Trinidad – including nine months of participant observation in a Trinidadian garment factory – this paper explores Trinidadian idioms of illicit and informal labour, arguing that they constitute a master trope for garment workers' experiences of neo-liberal restructuring.

I examine the changing lives of garment workers through the Trinidadian idiom of 'thieving a chance,' a phrase that workers use to refer to their covert use of company materials and machines to produce clothing for themselves. West Indian garment workers are often highly-skilled seamstresses; their wide-ranging skills and readiness to adapt to new labour regimes have enabled some Trinidadian firms to thrive within a niche market of good-quality, high-fashion clothing, despite the otherwise devastating effects of global free trade on the local industry. These workers often maintain their own home businesses in the evening, designing and sewing clothing for friends and neighbours. 'Thieving a chance' on the shop floor allows such workers to give their homemade garments a more 'professional' look, while factory designs also serve as a source of innovation and style. The effects of these illicit practices are diverse and unpredictable, and do not imply ideological or material opposition to the aims of factory owners. In pursuing their own projects of production and self-making, workers consistently conform to managerial demands that they 'flexibly' respond to changing work conditions. Hence, workers come to embody new subjectivities associated with a neoliberal insistence on self-reliance, resourcefulness, and opportunism (Ferguson 2006, Ong 2006), which are also deeply inflected by West Indian cultural mores that celebrate cunning, creativity, and nerve (Browne 2004, Mantz 2007).

HIPOLINA JOSEPH (University of East London): 'St Lucia and the Millenium Development Goals: Assessing Achievements in the Light of the Global Financial Crisis'

In the May 2004 issue of Social Issues, a Ministry of Social Transformation, Culture and Local Government publication, the government of St Lucia reported that they had achieved, and in some cases surpassed the Millenneum Development Goals and their targets. This is three years before the halfway milestone and eleven years before the targeted date. For MDG1 the article states 'We have superceded this MDG target', whilst for MGD2 it contends that 'St Lucia has substancially achieved and even surpassed this goal.' St Lucia's efficient achievement of the MDGs is a cause for international recognition, and may provide a working model for other small island developing states in the Caribbean and beyond. Yet this achievement seem to be limited only to national boundaries and rhetoric.

However, four years after St Lucia's claim, the Secretary-General of the UN posits in the MDG 2008 report that 'we have made important progress towards all eight goals, but we are not on track to fulfill our commitments.' The report further highlights that the challenges and threats presented by the global economic crisis have direct implications for efforts like the MDGs aimed at reducing and ultimately eradicating global poverty. This paper sets out to explore the validity and authenticity of this claim taking into consideration the country's socio-economic position at the point of adopting the Millennium Declaration in 2000. It will draw on the two reports plus other data from both the UN and the Government of St Lucia, which will be analysed against the MDGs and targets deemed to have been surpassed since 2004. Further, with the adverse socio-economic effects of the global financial crisis on small states like St Lucia, the paper will explore the Government's response to the accompanying challenges and threats. The findings will present a contemporary reflection on the country's socio-economic status vis-a-vis the MDGs.

17. CONTROL, REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE IN CONTEMPORARY ARGENTINA
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CARA LEVEY (University of Leeds): '¡A dónde vayan les iremos a buscar!' The *escrache* as a Tool for Resistance in Contemporary Argentina'

During and since the last military dictatorship, Argentina has witnessed an upsurge in the mobilisation of civil society, notably human rights, relatives' and survivors' organisations aiming to ensure that former repressors stand trial, accompanied by many projects related to both truth-seeking and commemoration. It is in this context in which I examine the struggle of *H.I.J.O.S* (*Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio*) in which the *escrache* has been employed as a tactic of resistance and a unique form of protest. Formed in the mid-1990s, mainly by children of the *desaparecidos*, the group contests the lack of justice to date by occupying urban space, usually nearby the home or workplace of an individual involved in human rights violations. The group will march to the location and sing, chant, sometimes perform street theatre, make speeches and then paint information about the accused on the ground outside. These acts are accompanied by visual aids such as posters, maps and flyers.

This paper focuses on *H.I.J.O.S*' employment of the *escrache* to critique not only the human rights violations committed during the last dictatorship, but also current human rights violations and abuses. I will explore the significance of urban space vis-à-vis the dictatorship and post-dictatorship period, the aesthetics of the *escrache*, its engagement with the political and judicial spheres and its potential for resistance and change, assessing whether the *escrache* creates an alternative space for resistance, or whether it *directly* challenges the impunity that undoubtedly persists in Argentina today.

ANA SOLEDAD MONTERO (Universidad de Buenos Aires / CONICET): "'Y al final un día volvimos": Collective Memory and the Recent Past in Argentina (2003- 2007)'

Since the commencement of former Argentine President N. Kirchner's administration in May 2003, the memory of the last military dictatorship (1976-1983) has acquired great importance in the public arena. In fact, the repeal of impunity laws, the reactivation of trials to the military and other agents involved in the violation of human rights, the transformation of clandestine detention centers into sites for memory/spaces for memory and the direct official confrontation with sectors linked to repression can be considered to be the main features of Kirchner's administration. In addition, the former President has often claimed to be the heir of the political struggles and ideals of the young revolutionary activists of the 1970s, who were the main targets of the military repression.

In this paper we will examine a corpus of presidential speeches delivered by President Kirchner in which he provides a discursive reconstruction and interpretation of Argentina's recent past. We will also draw attention to the major tensions, achievements and challenges that Kirchner's reading of the past brings about in terms of the construction of a collective memory in Argentina. This study will be approached from two different but complementary analytical perspectives: the "memory policies" (Jelin, 2003) established and developed during the Kirchner administration and the political and ideological stance assumed by Kirchner in his presidential speeches. Thus we shall consider the process of consolidation and stabilization of the democratic regime in Argentina concerning the resolution of the dictatorial past and the human rights issue.

CHANDRA MORRISON (Centre of Latin American Studies, University of Cambridge): 'Refiguring Public Monuments: Argentina's *Monumento al Che* and *Monumento a la Mujer Originaria*'

Despite his Argentine roots, the figure of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara is tangibly absent from the collective imaginary of the Argentine nation. In attempt to fill this silence, Buenos Aires-based visual artist Andrés Zerner initiated the *Monumento al Che* project, which culminated with the installation of a bronze statue of Ernesto Guevara in Rosario (his birth town) on 14 June 2008 in celebration of what would be the revolutionary icon's 80th birthday. This homage to Che was founded in an emphatically collective and participatory construction process, with the bronze of the statue being collected from donated keys, the final location of the monument determined by public voting, and elaborate ceremonies accompanying the statue's transfer from Buenos Aires to Rosario. Due to the success of this participatory public format enacted through the *Monumento al Che*, the collaborative team of Andrés Zerner and historian Osvaldo Bayer

embarked on a second intervention into the symbolic realm of national monuments – this time enabling the public construction of a *Monumento a la Mujer Originaria* to be inaugurated during Argentina's bicentennial celebrations in 2010. This paper will consider the symbolic functions of these two monuments in attempting to reshape Argentine perspectives towards its national identity and notions of collective heritage. Moreover, attention will be given to the distinctly performative nature of the construction of the monuments and their relation to the public, and how such performance enacts both an anti-institutional and a defiantly participatory public (and popular) art.

DAN OZAROW (Middlesex University): 'Saucepans, Barter and Getting to Know the Neighbours: Spaces For and Controls Against Resistance to Pauperisation Among the *nuevos pobres* in Argentina'

One of the defining consequences of the Washington Consensus reforms in Argentina has been the impoverishment of millions of its once powerful middle-class. As the 'losers' of neoliberalism and structural changes in the economic system, the widespread loss of jobs, pensions, savings, purchasing power and security among many has meant that a 'new poor' social stratum has emerged. Contrary to early predictions this has now become a permanent feature of both Argentina's and Latin America's economic landscape.

This paper provides a unique insight into the social, economic and political resistance that newly impoverished Argentines have undertaken in order to confront their descent, whilst acting as both individual and collective agents. Drawing upon both household survey data, qualitative interviews and the recent literature, the findings indicate that far from being motivated to take different actions merely by their own downward mobility and impoverishment, new poor households assess the national economic and political context before deciding how best to respond. Secondly, participation in a particular type of action is strongly shaped by the diachronic and resource-sensitive opportunities and constraints that exist for them at particular times. This allows the forms of resistance that were taken by those who were impoverished in the 1990s to be compared with that made by the more recent 'wave' of new poor that followed the social and economic crisis 2000-2003. Finally, differences in response preferences between households can be attributed to the distinct combination of biographical characteristics that each household possess and how these otherwise inert features assume importance when interacting with the forces and mechanisms that open and close these spaces for action.

CHRIS WYLDE (University of Leeds): 'Beyond the Neoliberal State? Argentina under Néstor Kirchner 2003-2007'

This paper is an attempt to examine some of the themes to have emerged from the crisis of 2001/02 and the subsequent administration of Nestor Kirchner (2003-2007). The national *Peronist* social contract in Argentina has a long history rooted in syndicalism and Latin American populism. However, *Menemismo* in the 1990s served to fundamentally transform both the state and society in Argentina. Such transformations were firmly embedded within the principles of neoliberalism. However, *El Argentinazo* in December 2001, and *Kirchnerismo* post crisis have served to change the fundamental framework of the Argentine economy, and how that economy intersects with global capital. Identifying the sources of continuity and change within the *Kirchnerismo* model represents a starting point, as such identification represents an empirical basis to search for new meta-theories more appropriate to the political economy of Argentina 2003-2007. The paper concludes that whilst elements of historical forms of political economy exist in Nestor Kirchner's regime – elements of populism, elements of neoliberalism – in its entirety one must look to other explanations not traditionally associated with Latin America, i.e. the Developmental State and the Developmental Regime.

18. INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS: CONSTRUCTING EVERYDAY LIFE
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ANN VARLEY (University College London): 'Normalizing Informal Settlements? Constructing Everyday Properties'

Some recent literature on informal settlements in Latin America emphasises the cultural distinctiveness of their residents compared with (the rest of) the urban population. In doing so it runs the risk of lending renewed life to what Janice Perlman famously described in 1976 as the 'myth of marginality'. Accounts of the cultural distinctiveness of informal settlements also tend to emphasise their provisional and transient nature – as shelter rather than dwelling – and to celebrate informality as resistance to the state. Such interpretations are now feeding into debates about the regularization of property in informal settlements, with suggestions that formalization means normalization and 'the crushing weight of state domination' (Simone and Boudreau 2009). It is suggested that residents of informal settlements in Latin America do not welcome regularization of title (Irazábal 2009). What is often absent from debates about formalization, however, is an engagement with what the residents of informal and formalized settlements themselves have to say about the process of property regularization. This paper therefore reviews evidence from interviews, questionnaire surveys and group discussions with residents in three of Mexico's largest cities in an effort to represent their views on the subject and to consider how far these may have changed since the regularization of title in informal settlements first became a federal government policy several decades ago.

FLORENCIA ALMANSI (Instituto Internacional de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo, Argentina): 'The Symbolic Action of Social Practices: Land Tenure Security in the Urban Periphery of Buenos Aires'

The dominant model of urban development cannot find answers to the problems and challenges in metropolitan cities. Social practices that exist in tension with the urban development model generate solutions that exceed land use regulatory systems. This paper focuses on peripheral urban settlements which have been shaped by ideological and political processes in constant interaction and conflict. Here we find renewed social practices which question the established order of the city. These practices explain how the lack of land tenure security as conventionally understood, is not an obstacle to improving the living conditions of people living in the urban periphery.

Land tenure contains social relationships which go beyond the dichotomy of legal or illegal and includes a number of gradations that support different degrees of extension and intensity of security depending on the status of that relationship. Therefore to understand the nature of tenure security and to explain the social actions that transform the territory, it becomes necessary to understand the social practices, as mediators of the symbolic actions of the residents. The paper draws on empirical data collected during several studies of peripheral settlements in the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires. It aims to demonstrate that the improvement of environmental conditions over time in such degraded areas cannot be exclusively explained through the security provided by the legal dimension of land tenure, but also by the security built through symbolic actions mediated by practices in the territory.

ALISON KOHN (University of Chicago): 'Decolonizing the Colonial City from the Margins: Autoconstruction Processes in La Paz, Bolivia'

In Bolivia, the old colonial categories that mapped ethnicity/race to 'types' of spaces - that rendered 'the urban' an exclusive habitat of "white" people and their European/North American practices - is finally being ruptured and a new kind of urbanism appears to be taking shape that is driven, not by centralized urban planning schemes, but by Aymara-speaking rural-to-urban migrants who make claims to the city through the construction of their neighbourhoods or urban vernacular spatial production. I argue that the creation of new urban vernacular space has been mediating a powerful re-imagining of the city, resulting in a dialectical process: on the one hand a proliferation of class divisions, ethnic affiliations, and political networks, all bound on the other hand to a distinctive urban aesthetic that is changing the very *idea* of that which has historically been considered 'urban' in Bolivia. In this paper I will focus on the emergence over time of this new urban aesthetic through a diachronic study of vernacular house-forms. I suggest that this process has been mediating new class divisions and underlying the expansion of the political party system in La Paz and Bolivia more generally.

PETER KELLETT (University of Newcastle upon Tyne): 'Building Dreams: House Construction and Social Aspiration in Coastal Colombia'

Informal settlements can be characterised as building sites where life is dominated by house construction and furnishing. Everyday life takes place in and around buildings which are partially completed and few households live in dwellings which can be considered finished – indeed the continuous process of change is a constant. Even in dwellings which appear to be largely complete, improvements are planned as tastes and aspirations change and finance becomes available. Despite undeniable structural constraints of land, legality and resources the agency of dwellers is apparent as they accumulate symbolic capital through the construction of dwellings and settlements.

This paper draws on longitudinal ethnographic research over a 25 year period in two adjacent settlements in the city of Santa Marta, Colombia. Living for extended periods with a family in one of the settlements provided the opportunity to explore the diverging trajectories of different households as they attempt to build new lives through the generations. The paper will present contrasting cases which demonstrate different strategies and levels of achievement and analyse how dwelling construction and consolidation are fundamental to the construction of new identities. Analysis of building and dwelling practices reconfirms the central role of the house in multiple aspects of life and in the realisation of ambitious social aspirations.

CHRISTIEN KLAUFUS (Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation, The Netherlands): 'Moving and Improving: Poverty, Globalization and Neighbourhood Transformation in Cuenca, Ecuador'

Several urban studies have shown that Latin America's metropolitan areas are becoming increasingly fragmented. Social inequality is spatially marked out in the juxtaposition of 'islands of wealth' and 'seas of poverty'. In smaller cities social contrasts are often more subtle and more spatially mixed. Besides, in smaller cities poverty reduction – for example in governmental housing or upgrading programmes – does not have the same political urgency as in metropolitan areas. Whereas residents of informal settlements in non-metropolitan urban areas tend to get less institutional support, they often have good access to what John Urry has called 'mobility resources' because they live relatively close to the urban core. This paper addresses the complex relationship between physical, virtual and social mobility in an informal neighbourhood in Cuenca, Ecuador, based on the experiences of the residents with various forms of (im)mobility. The goal of the paper is to shed light on how the 'invisible' poor in smaller cities use the possibilities offered by globalization to improve their lives, and how the individual attempts together transform the neighbourhood, both physically and socially. Ultimately, the paper aims to contribute to the body of knowledge on neighbourhood consolidation in intermediate cities.

MELANIE LOMBARD (University of Manchester): 'Hope, Struggle and Aspiration: Exploring the Temporal Dimension of two *colonias populares* in Mexico'

In the context of the ever-changing dynamics of life in urban informal settlements, the dimension of temporality is often present, but infrequently acknowledged. Particularly in Latin American cities, informal settlements' very existence may be premised on the notion of change over time, summed up by Lloyd's (1979) characterisation of 'slums of hope', in reference to residents' aspirations for future integration into the city. The temporal dimension is crucial to residents' constructive efforts, as it underpins collective narratives of arrival, struggle and suffering, as well as contextualising their aspirations and hopes for the future; relating not just to their neighbourhood, but to the city as a whole.

Exploring residents' perceptions and experiences of time in urban informal settlements therefore offers potential for increased understanding of the dynamic nature of these places, revealing their 'transitional' character to be forward-looking and creative, rather than temporary or worthless. This is particularly important in the light of the somewhat static, binary categorisations often used to refer to such settlements in policy and theoretical discourses – such as 'formal/informal', 'legitimate/illegitimate' and 'legal/illegal' – which may reinforce their existing marginalisation. To explore these issues the paper draws on recent research in two *colonias populares* in Xalapa, Mexico.

ILIANA ORTEGA-ALCAZAR (Queen Mary, University of London): '*Juntos pero no revueltos*': Dwelling Patterns and Ideals in the Consolidated Informal Settlements of Mexico City'

This paper follows the development of multifamily plots in the consolidated informal settlements of Mexico City. It explores the desire of home builders and dwellers to live *juntos pero no revueltos* (together but not mixed). The paper is

based on participant observation and in-depth interviews which are part of an ethnographic study carried out in the consolidated informal settlement of Santo Domingo in Mexico City. The first part analyses how what started out as single room dwellings have expanded into complex multifamily plots of one or several multi-storeyed structures. This expansion takes place as a result of the processes of family unfolding, house sharing and the production of rental accommodation. The second part argues that for the builders and dwellers of Santo Domingo, clustering in multifamily plots carries important advantages and is thus an essential coping strategy. Lastly, the paper explores how beyond being a coping strategy, the built and family forms of Mexico City's informal settlements respond to a desire to live in close proximity to each other but with a degree of independence. This last section looks into the delicate balance between closeness and togetherness that is expressed in this ideal and how it is reproduced and/or transformed across generations.

GUSTAVO RIVERA (University of Chicago): 'When I Lived in The Favela': Public Housing in Brazilian Favelas'

Since the transition from a military regime to a civilian democracy in the early 1980s, Brazilian politics regarding *favelas* have shifted from policies of neglect or removal to those of integration. In the mid-1990s, urban planning officials in Belo Horizonte, Brazil's third largest city approved an innovative slum-upgrading programme that included—for the first time in Brazilian urban planning history—the construction of hundreds of public housing structures *within* favelas. As part of this effort, urban renewal experts have sought to involve favela residents in the planning of public housing through 'participatory planning' meetings.

Through detailed participant-observations and extended interviews, my ethnographic fieldwork chronicles how public housing transforms the lives of favela residents. Based on fourteen months of ethnographic fieldwork in one favela in Belo Horizonte, my paper argues that public housing reconfigures residents' sense of belonging, social relations, and dwelling practices. Specifically, I argue that a large number of public housing residents no longer identify as inhabitants of the favela. Although public housing buildings were constructed at the centre of the favela, its inhabitants viewed their new homes as something distinct and separate from the favela. Instead of living in the favela, residents were now living in "city buildings" or "closed condominiums"—gated spaces with an entirely different set of rules, obligations and expectations. By living in public housing, residents were able to break free from the stigma of living in the favela and improve their lives.

TORI HOLMES (University of Liverpool): 'Following the Content, Framing the Favela: Researching Residents' Representations and Narratives on the Internet'

Many people living in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, particularly the young, access and use the internet, often via *lan* houses (internet cafes), or sometimes home-based connections. There are many favela-related communities on the social network site Orkut, which continues to be intensely popular in Brazil, particularly with internet users in lower socioeconomic categories. Some favela residents are also using tools such as blogs, Twitter, Orkut and email to announce and promote local cultural activities and productions, discuss and respond to violent events in their communities, and present alternative interpretations and information about life in the favela. This paper will present early findings from PhD research into how residents of a favela in Rio de Janeiro use the internet to create and disseminate content which offers their own representations and narratives about the area where they live. Such content contrasts with the stories about the favela which are produced and circulated by the mainstream media, and indeed sometimes directly contests them. Based on an ethnographically-inspired methodology involving 'following the content', interaction with content creators via the internet and face-to-face, and analysis of the content they produce, the paper will discuss the opportunities and challenges associated with this use of the internet by favela residents and reflect on the multiple ways in which they frame the place/space of the favela through their local content practices.

19. ENVIRONMENTALISMS, NATIONALISMS AND SOVEREIGNTY
George Holmes (University of Leeds) and Katinka Weber (University of Liverpool)
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CAMILO QUINTERO (Universidad de los Andes, Colombia): 'Migratory Birds and the Transnational Protection of Nature in U.S.-Latin America Relations'

Birds don't seem to be regulated by political boundaries. Migratory birds in particular traverse long distances crossing the borders of many countries. In the 1930s many U.S. naturalists began to realize that this transnational character of birds posed a big problem for U.S. nature conservation: migrating birds received no protection once they traveled to Latin America. Between the 1930s and the 1960s, the United States developed strong initiatives and pressed Latin American governments to promote the protection of nature shared by both regions.

Using archival material this paper recreates this story in dialogue with recent literature on U.S.-Latin America relations. I argue that environment is an important historical variable to understand United States' southward expansion in the twentieth century. Wildlife conservation was part of a "civilizing mission" to enlighten and transform Latin America's relationship to nature. However, Latin Americans were no mere puppets of U.S. interests. The rise of animal protection in Latin America should also be analyzed in the strong nationalistic context of the time. Latin Americans began to see nature as a national treasure and the preservation of birds became as important as preserving the indigenous past or popular folklore in defining what it meant to be Colombian, Mexican, etc.

In the end, through an understanding of the different meanings Latin American and North American naturalists, hunters and governments attached to migratory birds, as well as the interactions between these groups, the paper analyzes the influence of U.S.-Latin America relations in the rise of Latin America's conservation movement.

PETER TABER (University of Arizona, USA): 'Conservation, Commodification and Chachi Sovereignty in Esmeraldas, Ecuador'

Using an attempted deforestation assessment of Ecuador's Maché-Chindul Reserve as an example of regional conservation politics, I discuss the ramifications of conservation-development for indigenous Chachi residents and their advocacy organization. A reformulation of Ecuadorian state policies and devolution of powers in the mid-1990s brought about what might be thought of as a 're-commodification' of forest resources on the country's northern coast. In the province of Esmeraldas, this involved a transition from intensive timber extraction to ostensibly sustainable market-oriented activities. The transition occurred under pressure from international environmental concerns, which have financed numerous market-oriented interventions, as well as monitored resource extraction at the local and regional level. Entering the region with conservation as their goal, these extra-local interests are received primarily as conduits of financing by cash-poor rural residents.

Biodiversity re-commodification has been intertwined with the country's indigenous politics. The history of engagement between indigenous peoples and the state in Ecuador has made 'nation' and 'community' the objects of contestation and different forms of political representation. However, these terms also have resonances within the international environmental movement. Nation and community, as objects of collective identification and sources of political legitimacy are taking on new dynamics as they map onto Esmeraldas' conservation politics. The Chachi contend with the tensions created by conservation-development financing, and the territorialization processes brought about by the creation of protected areas, through a 'distributed sovereignty' that is located at multiple social scales (e.g. nation, region, community) and invoked in different contexts.

KATINKA WEBER (University of Liverpool): 'Chiquitano and Sustainability: The Struggle Over Control of Indigenous Territories in Bolivia'

The paper examines how Chiquitano people in the Bolivian Santa Cruz department and state and NGO actors construct the space of the 'communal indigenous land' Monte Verde as legally recognised 'territory', considering that the struggle is over control of renewable and non-renewable resources, living spaces and governance.

As state actors and NGOs (WWF and others) are pressuring for the 'sustainable' exploitation of indigenous territories in Bolivia and 'territorial management', Chiquitano organisations have increasingly adopted this rhetoric. It becomes

apparent that they had to adopt the logic of sustainable exploitation of the territory's resources so that they could legally claim the land (i.e. are granted sovereignty over the land and resources).

Paradoxically, this means that Chiquitano are involved in dividing the territory into 'zones of use', representing a shift from subsistence to the logic of production-oriented projects. These developments seemingly contradict the constitutional text which defines TCOs as spaces where indigenous people 'maintain and develop their own forms of economic, social and cultural organisation'. Consequently, Chiquitano are not receiving the sovereignty over the territory (and the resources within it) that they demand, but state and NGO actors maintain the power to decide over the use of resources within the territory.

GEORGE HOLMES (University of Leeds): 'Nationalism and the Rejection of Transnational Conservation: Protests Against the Gringo-isation of the Dominican Republic'

Large international conservation NGOs are frequently portrayed as overly powerful in Latin America, able to dictate conservation policy in many regions by virtue of their size, political connections, and financial resources. Not only have they been involved in setting environmental policy, but they have sometimes been actively involved in day to day running of national parks and other protected areas. Often, their work has been opposed by smaller, local NGOs and by indigenous and rural peoples' groups, and is sometimes criticized as imperialistic and colonial, imposing outside concepts and rules. Whilst this may be the case in many areas, the example of the Dominican Republic shows the limits of the power of large NGOs in Latin America. Here, national NGOs have been opposing the interventions of large, US based groups, not due to differences in conservation philosophy or practice, but on grounds of nationalism and sovereignty. US ownership of land is a particularly sensitive political issue, and the idea of US based NGOs becoming involved in day to day running of protected area is seen as an unacceptable undermining of sovereignty, tantamount to annexation of parts of the nation. As such, Dominican conservationists have lobbied fiercely over the decades to successfully prevent international intervention in conservation. Yet this case may be the exception that highlights the rule for the rest of Latin America – the rejections are only successful because of the uniquely powerful connections that Dominican conservationists have to politicians, lobbying resources that may not be possessed by other resisting conservation throughout Latin America. Nevertheless, the articulation of ideas of nationalism and sovereignty point to where the limits of the power of international conservation NGOs may lie in Latin America

**20. FRIEND OR STRANGER?
A DISCUSSION OF THE EMOTIONAL IMPACT OF
ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELDWORK IN LATIN AMERICA**
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DR SALLY EVANS (University of Liverpool): 'Field and Home: Positioning, Acting and Reflecting in Ethnographic Fieldwork'

Scholars have discussed the joys and sorrows of fieldwork, as will I. I compare two experiences of fieldwork in different parts of Amazonian Ecuador in 2005, as well as a revisit in 2009. My gender, age, sexuality and culture all affected these experiences. I turn to the concept of the 'trickster' (van Meijl, 2005; Crapanzano, 1986), among others, to analyse these experiences. I also discuss the post fieldwork phase, that is, the emotional impact of returning to England to write up the fieldwork, which involves Fabian's 'coevalness' and Clifford and Marcus's 'ethnography is always writing'. Overall, values for those involved in ethnographic methodology to discuss emotions and fieldwork include recalibrating power relationships and ways of working with our contacts.

DR CAROLINE HODGES (Bournemouth University): 'Negotiating 'Relaciones Humanas' in Ethnographic Research in Mexico City'

This paper will explore how interpersonal relationships and culture-shock impact on ethnographic research processes and the construction of knowledge (Irwin, 2007, Monchamp, 2007, Holland, 2007). This paper will be auto-ethnographic since it will rely on personal reflections drawn from my experiences as a young, female novice ethnographer researching the occupational culture of professional communicators in Mexico City. In particular, I will consider some of the challenges faced by the ethnographer in identifying and negotiating complex cultural nuances and behaviours. I will go on to discuss ways in which culture influences interpretive issues regarding emotions and forms of expression and the researcher-participant relationship (Hammersley, 1992). Examples discussed will include the challenges faced when adjusting to family life within an unfamiliar Mexican home; the ethical implications of establishing a 'sisterly' bond with a research participant who subsequently asked me to be witness at her wedding, and my own emotional welfare as an autonomous researcher faced with an acrimonious relationship with a colleague in the workplace in Mexico. Finally, I will reflect upon some of the feelings of emotional disturbance (Irwin, 2007) to emerge from experiences of 'culture shock' and how this impacts on the production of ethnographic accounts. Significantly, I will consider 'reverse culture shock' (Christofi & Thompson, 2009; Gaw, 2000), which is often experienced by ethnographers upon re-entering and re-adapting to their 'home' environment, yet remains a subject under-explored in the anthropology literature (Irwin, 2007).

KARAN BUBBER (University of Derby): 'Researchers Anonymous: Bias, Neutrality and Attachment in Fieldwork'

As researchers, we are taught that an academic must be neutral, unbiased and therefore emotionally detached, yet as human creatures we are anything but. Heidegger posits the notion of Care as fundamental in building connections to others. Emotions are another form of communication that allows the researcher to connect with others, it allows the building of reciprocal trust with one's contacts. This paper will examine fieldwork experiences, focusing upon a period that was spent living in a small, predominantly indigenous villaje in southern Chile.

DR ANNE-MARIE SMITH (Liverpool Hope University): 'Crossing Boundaries: Emotions and Reflexivity in Ethnographic Childhood Research in Oaxaca, Mexico'

Based on ethnographic research with displaced indigenous children in Mexico, this paper seeks to unpack the consequences of crossing boundaries in research: boundaries between researcher and researched, emotion and reason, personal involvement and critical detachment.

The entanglement of our subjectivity with the lives of others in the research process, as posited by Denzin (1997) is the main concern here.

Written with the benefit of hindsight, this paper offers a frank account of fieldwork as experienced by a novice researcher. It explores the multiple roles adopted during fieldwork, and how the resulting messiness produced knowledge and a different set of relationships far beyond the lifetime of fieldwork.

DR KATIE WILLIS (University of London): 'Anger in Fieldwork: Reflections on Gender Research in Mexico'

Gender research, and research adopting a feminist methodology in particular, has long highlighted the importance of considering power relations within the research process. The role of gender performances in how the researcher is 'read' by research participants and how researchers 'fit into' particular settings has been identified as a key dimension of any kind of ethnographic research, particularly that by 'outsiders'. Until recently, the emotional dimensions and implications of research had been less widely discussed.

In this paper I draw on my experiences of gender research in Oaxaca City, Mexico focusing on themes of work, domestic life and social capital. I draw out the moments of anger and rage that emerged during the research process, highlighting the possible implications of these emotions and the expression of them both on my relationships within the research communities and the framing of the research.

21. THE COUP IN HONDURAS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR LATIN AMERICA

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On 28 June 2009 President Manuel Zelaya was ousted from power as President of Honduras. He remained in exile for over eighty days until 22 September when he returned to Tegucigalpa and took shelter in the Brazilian embassy along with 85 members of his cabinet and supporters. Initially the International Community refused to recognise the coup government, and human rights organisations denounced hundreds of cases of violent repression. Since January 27th, 2010, however, a new president, Porfirio 'Pepe' Lobo of the National Party, took office, promising reconciliation, and organising Zelaya's departure into exile in the Dominican Republic. Some countries in Americas, including the US, Colombia and Peru, claimed that this was a new beginning signaling the end of the 'crisis'. Others, such as the ALBA group of nations, and Brazil refuse to recognize the Lobo government, claiming that it is simply a continuation of the coup. The coup in Honduras, hence, has wide ranging implications across the region as well as within Honduras itself. This workshop seeks to draw together both academic and activist perspectives to examine these and trace their impact.

PARTICIPANTS

KEYNOTE SPEAKER, LETICIA SALOMON (Universidad Autonoma de Honduras): *'Honduras: Golpe de Estado y debilidad institucional: Desafíos a la gobernabilidad democrática'*

KATHERINE RONDEROS (Central American Women's Network): *'Adopting Fake Democracies? Future Challenges and Perspectives from Feminists in Resistance'*

BARRY CANNON (DCU), MO HUME (University of Glasgow) and MARINA PRIETO-CARRÓN (University of Portsmouth): *'Honduras, June 2009: 'Democracy' Unmasked'*

22. LATIN AMERICAN MIGRANTS, GENDER AND HUMAN RIGHTS

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NICOLA PIPER (University of Swansea): 'Global Justice, Gendered Migration and the Migrant Rights Movement'

This paper's broad aim is to take a fresh look at what migrant rights are all about, in light of the global division of productive and reproductive labour, the link between the feminisation of work and migration in resource richer and poorer countries and the evolving migrant rights movement and its transnational networking efforts. Drawing on Nancy Fraser and Martha Nussbaum's conceptions of global justice, it is argued that the political dimensions (in terms of rights being about political struggle and collective action to gain recognition and representation) and developmental issues (i.e. being related to global redistributive justice) are both at the heart of justice for migrant workers in general and migrant women in specific. The next question then is to what extent – or how - the emerging global migrant rights movement politicizes the migrant experience of hardship and grievances that lies at the intersection of a rights-based approach to migration and development on board and translates them into political advocacy goals in the pursuit to achieve greater justice for male and female migrants.

KATIE WILLIS (Royal Holloway University of London): 'Gendered Rights: A focus on Male Migrants in Latin America'

An analysis of men and masculinity has become increasingly common within social sciences generally, and migration research more specifically, since the early 1990s. Within the gender and development field, men as gendered beings has also been taken increasingly seriously within both research and policy. There has, however, been much less work bringing together issues around gendered migration with social justice agendas focusing on men. This paper provides an overview of some of the key aspects of existing research and potential areas for future work.

TANJA BASTIA (University of Manchester): '[Until then] I didn't know about love": Men Caring, Migration and Changing Masculinities in a Bolivian City'

An extensive literature has already established that migration is strongly influenced by gender relations. Women and men migrate for different reasons and they also experience migration differently. Caring is often an integral part of the migration process, but the migration literature has focused on the ways in which women care for and care about other members of their families through migration. For example, a number of studies have shown how migrant women construct motherhood transnationally. Men have so far been relatively absent from such analysis, save indications of their reluctance to take on caring responsibilities when their partners migrate. This paper will bring men - their roles and identities - into the discussion of transnational migration, through the life stories and experiences of Bolivian men who have migrated to Argentina and Spain.

ALICJA GLUSZEK (Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland): 'Human Trafficking or Immigrant Exploitation? Analysis of Mexican Trafficking Cases Detected in the United States'

Based on secondary data (NGO, media, law enforcement reports) I would like to shed some light on trafficking in persons from Mexico to the United States. Bearing in mind all limitations of such resources, I intend to analyze critically the findings in order to draw a picture of the phenomenon and determine knowledge gaps. In this paper I would like to discuss cases of sex trafficking and labor trafficking, detected in the US, since 1994 to 2009, where Mexican nationals were victims of exploitation. The main question I ask is whether in analyzed cases we can say it is a human trafficking (international enterprise of procuring and providing bounded workers) or it is a migration that ends badly with exploitative work or it is an internationalized sex business?

JASMINE GIDEON (Birkbeck College, University of London): 'A Study of Migrants' Access to Health Care: The Case of Latin American Migrants in London'

To date, few empirical studies have focused on the everyday experiences of migrants in relation to health care access in a UK context. The analysis presented in this paper considers the experience of Latin American migrants in London.

Latin Americans have been identified as a 'new migrant population' in the UK and the majority of the population group tend to be employed in low-skilled and low paid job, regardless of their gender, educational attainments and previous experience in their country of origin (McIlwaine, 2008). The paper draws on interviews conducted with a diverse range of Latin Americans living in London and presents findings from a study that seeks to understand the constraints and barriers to health care faced by this group as well as identifying the health seeking strategies they employ. The analysis also considers how far these processes are gendered, particularly given the gender division of labour in which women are predominantly assigned the prime responsibility for care-giving. In the majority of cases those interviewed were documented migrants and did have some entitlements to access the UK health system. However, despite these formal rights many felt excluded from the system and sought alternative solutions to their health problems. In many cases respondents relied on trans-national health care practices, including returning to their country-of-origin to receive health care treatment or resorting to self-diagnosis and self-medication using pharmaceutical products sent by friends or relatives. The paper seeks to explain these findings.

MARINA PRIETO-CARRÓN (University of Portsmouth): 'Labour Rights and Collective Resistance: Latin American Migrant Workers in Spain'

Research on labor rights and different forms of resistance is a well established inter-disciplinary field of studies. Yet, we know little about migrants' collective resistance and even less about those civil society organisations working 'with them' or 'for them'. The aim of this paper is to discuss this theme by analyzing how Latin American women and men in the agricultural region of Murcia (Spain) are collectively organized. I draw mainly on Nancy Fraser (identity and re-distribution) to analyse trade unions, migrant organizations and women organizations. I also examine how social constructions of gender and ethnicity are key to understand a diversity of organizational politics and strategies. This analysis will give special attention to recognizing the limits and possibilities of collective resistance of migrants and the practical solutions and policy implications for improving their lives.

SÒNIA PARELLA and LEONARDO CAVALCANTI (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona): 'Transnational Family Dynamics and Women's Migration: The Case of Bolivian Immigrants in Spain'

Through a transnational methodological approach and a gender perspective, we explore the practices and subjectivities that shape the "transnational" families transformed or generated through women's migration. We begin with a theoretical discussion of the concept "transnational family", meant to identify the dimensions that are most relevant for analysis of the geographic separation of the families flowing from migration, as well as the adjustments and impacts that this form of family requires. Likewise, we provide examples of the analytical categories used as they apply to the Bolivian migratory context. This is followed by a brief contextualization of Bolivian migratory movement to Spain and micro-level empirical illustration of the transnational arrangements connecting productive and reproductive work through the data of a set of in-depth interviews with Bolivian immigrant women who work in domestic service in Barcelona.

DIANA MATA CODESAL (University of Sussex): 'Impacts of International Migration on Non-migrant Women in Rural Highland Ecuador'

The 'feminisation' of migration impacts not only on migrant women's lives. Specially in rural areas, women who do not migrate also experience changes as a result of relatives or other villagers' migration. In the paper I will explore non-migrant women's experiences of empowerment and disempowerment as a result of international migration in two rural areas in Ecuador. It is based on eight months of fieldwork in the Southern Highland provinces of Azuay and Loja. Comparisons will be made as both areas show very different migration patterns. Ecuadorian migrants from the Southern province of Azuay have been migrating to the US, mainly New York city, since the early 80s (Kyle 2000: 66). This migration, overwhelmingly male and irregular, has profoundly changed the social and material landscape of the rural areas in the province (see for instance Pribilsky 2007: 108; Abbots 2008). In the 90s, Spain, with a growing economy, no visa-requirement for Ecuadorians and a large shadow economy, became a feasible option for Ecuadorians without the support or the financial resources to migrate to the US. Many rural dwellers of the contiguous province of Loja made their way to Spain. Contrary to migration to the US most of the pioneers were women (Pedone 2006). Migration has profoundly altered, albeit in very different ways, gender positionalities in the rural areas of origin of migrants in Azuay and Loja. Specific features of each type of migration, as well as different forms of migrants' insertion into the social and labour structure in destination, help to explain gender changes in origin.

23. UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN THE NEW FORMS OF REGIONALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

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GIAN LUCA GIARDINI (University of Bath): 'Unity and Diversity in Latin American Visions of Regional Integration'

Outside Europe, Latin American is the region of the world where integration has the longest tradition and the most sophisticated, although not necessarily successful, record of implementation. In the 1850s the key theoretical features of Latin American regionalism were already defined: The stance to be adopted vis-à-vis the United States, the ambivalent role of Brazil, and the model of development to be incorporated at the regional level. These three characteristics still define and differentiate the current projects of regional integration in Latin America. This paper concentrates on three schemes: ALBA, MERCOSUR and UNASUR. Latin American regionalism today reflects the diversity existing within the continent more than it expresses its unity.

JOSÉ BRICEÑO-RUIZ (University of the Andes, Venezuela): 'UNASUR: a new regionalism in South America?'

The Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), is the latest step in the process of construction of the creation of a new regionalism in this zone of the Western Hemisphere. This process was initiated in 1993, when the former Brazilian President Itamar Franco proposed the creation of a South American Free Trade Area (SAFTA). Fernando Henrique Cardoso continued the process by proposing the establishment of a South American Community of Nations (SACN) in 2000. This latter was created in 2004 in a Summit of South American Presidents held in Cusco, Peru. The SACN was based on a strategy centred on three pillars: the trade convergence between the Andean Community, MERCOSUR, Chile, Surinam and Guyana; the promotion of the South American Infrastructure and the political cooperation. However, the increasing leadership of the Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez and his criticism to the SACN project led to the change of the South American regionalist strategy. The result was the setting up of the UNASUR in 2008. This paper analyses all these processes of construction of a new South American regionalism and the extent to which UNASUR could be a successful strategy in this process.

GERMAN PRIETO CORREDOR (University of Manchester): 'Regionalism in the Andean Community: Between Identity and Material Incentives'

After 40 years of existence, the Andean regionalist project has not been able to achieve its main initial goal, namely the consolidation of a common market in the region. Regional integration has not been deepened, and the first decade of the 21st century has shown to be the most conflictive for the political stability of the process, entailing Venezuela's leaving from the project in 2006 and accurate political confrontations between Presidents Uribe, Correa, Morales and Chávez along 2008 and 2009. The present paper aims to propose some reasons that explain why facing a "failed" regional integration process and the political turmoil that has stroke the region in the last years, the Andean Community is still maintained at its institutional dimension and its continuity is not put into question at the official level. From a constructivist approach, the paper suggests that the maintenance of the regionalist project might respond more to a need of assuming regionalism as a source of state identity than a project aiming to provide economic gains or even to generate effective mechanisms of political cooperation.

APARAJITA GANGOPADHYAY (Centre for Latin American Studies at Goa University, India): 'New 'Regionalisms' of the South: The Case of IBSA'

In the field of international relations, an emerging body of literature has come to conceptualise the notion of regionalism as something that need not be seen as necessarily anchored in its geographical referent. More often than not, regionalism has come to connote the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose in terms of institutions which further that particular identity and shape collective action in the global geo-political arena. Evidently, the transcending of regions in the form of 'trans-continental' groupings has implications for the ways we have hitherto understood the twin ideas of 'region' and 'regionalism'. In particular, the IBSA (India-Brazil-South Africa Trilateral Dialogue Forum) illustrates the altered dynamics of the idea and phenomenon of regionalism in contemporary times. While being alive to the overarching context of the evolving trilateral process of IBSA, this paper seeks to understand the attempted synergy between the three powerhouse economies of the global South which have been facing formidable existential challenges to prospects for intensified cooperation. Though, the overall objective is not only to

analyze the challenges posed by such initiatives for their respective regions, but also to delineate its effects on the discourses and practices of 'south-south cooperation'.

ARANTZA GOMEZ ARANA (University of Glasgow): 'The European Union and Inter-regionalism with Latin America: Promoting Regionalism or National Interests in the Region?'

The European Union (EU) has traditionally given priority to Mercosur within the different regional groups in Latin America. By 1995 the EU had offered them the negotiation of a free trade to Mercosur (which was created in 1991). This was claimed at that time to be the first case of inter-regionalism. Other regional groups such as the Andean Community (AC) and the Central Common American Market (CCAM) did not bring the attention so quickly, in fact the former was created in 1969 and the latter in 1960. The EU has not offered them until recently a similar arrangement. In the case of the CCAM, the negotiations of the Association Agreement with the EU started in October 2007 in San Jose. In the case of the AC since 2008 the trade part of the Association Agreement (launched in 2003) is negotiated individually and the political and cooperation part as a group with the EU. None of these three agreements have had a successful story so far, the Spanish presidency of the EU starting in January could change things. Especially in a time where regionalism and inter-regionalism could be an alternative to protectionism which in times of economic crisis tends to be the traditional approach. This paper intends to compare these three relations and argue that unity is important in regionalism to have a successful story with the EU since it rather negotiate with blocs promoting regionalism abroad, nevertheless there are other factors such as national interest of EU members that explain as well how the EU deals with regions in Latin America.

KAARLO METSÄRANTA (University of Helsinki): 'Challenging Neoliberalism? Social Movements in the New Wave of Latin American Regional Integration: A Comparison of Ideas and Positions'

Since the turn of the millennium the Brazilian and Venezuelan governments have initiated or relaunched regional integration projects in Latin America as one way of fulfilling their leaders' promise to their constituents to introduce concrete alternatives to the neoliberal paradigm reigning in the region. This paper will focus on four regional projects: the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (ALBA), the Bank of South (BANSUR) and the Initiative for the Integration of the Regional Infrastructure of South America (IIRSA). Using as primary sources official and social movements' documents concerning the projects and in defining neo-liberalism through the "Washington consensus" document and the Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean's (ECLAC) 1994 paper on "open regionalism" a comparative analysis is made to, first, identify similarities and differences in the ideas of governments and social movements concerning the content and purpose of a regional project and then, to look at whether the ideas differ from neo-liberalism. The research also focuses on how the social movements and their ideas are institutionalized in the power structures of the integration projects. The theoretical approach informing the study is neo-Gramscian, and especially Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony is used to theorise the changes and continuities in the ideas identified in the analysis as well the social movements' positions. The analysis identifies major differences in the regional projects concerning all three research topics. Yet a principal finding is that none of the projects can be considered hegemonic in the Gramscian sense since none of them contains effective institutional power sharing mechanisms between the governmental bodies and the social movements. Thus even when social movements and governments share various ideas that differ from neo-liberalism, as in ALBA, the current institutional structure does not constitute a counter-hegemonic project. a counter-hegemonic project.

ANDREA RIBEIRO-HOFFMAN (PUC, Rio de Janeiro/London School of Economics)

In July 2007, the European Union (EU) launched a Strategic Partnership with Brazil. The initiative was announced during the First EU-Brazil Summit at Lisbon, capital of Portugal, the EU member-state occupying the Presidency. Benita Ferrero-Walder, Commissioner for External Relations and Neighbourhood Policy, emphasized in her speech at the summit, the role of the new strategic partnership to push the process of integration in Mercosur, as well as the biregional negotiations in course. The paper explores the challenges posed to Mercosur member-states to cooperate in a birregional framework in which one of the members has a special position vis-à-vis the EU, challenging the assumption of complementarity between birregionalism and bilateralism. Moreover, it explores the impact of the partnership on the contemporary changes in South American regionalism.

24. CULTURAL PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION AND THE HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES IN COLOMBIA

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ANDREA CADELO (University of Warwick): 'The Making Eighteenth-century Eurocentrism, the Construction of America as an Inferior World and the Inception of the Colombian Nation'

In my paper I explore the interplay between the forging of eighteenth century Eurocentrism, the construction of America as an inferior human and natural world and the inception of the Colombian nation, in the early nineteenth century. I show how intertwined discourses on climate, beauty, taste, sexual behavior, manners, commerce and luxury, encompassed within the hallmarks of climatic determinism and the *doux* of commerce were at the core of the making of eighteenth century Eurocentrism.* Likewise, I discuss how they provided a transnational interface of meanings underpinning the inception of the Colombian nation and the forging of a Creole identity. Given the crucial role played by the construction of difference in the making of Eurocentrism as well as in any nation-building process, it is with this field where I set to explore the relationship between the forging of such cultural construct and the inception of the Colombian nation. I specifically highlight the pivotal role played by race in the shaping of otherness within these processes, by showing how a construction of a racialised perception of difference lay at the core of both of them.

I pursue this objective, by showing how the imagining of Colombia was deeply bound to the ways in which Creoles approached the eighteenth century thesis of American inferiority, a global-scale representation integral to the making of Eurocentrism. As I discuss, such response entailed an active construction of New Granada's human diversity; it entailed circumscribing the generalised European dismissive interpretation of the New World into specific bodies, practices, times and spaces. I highlight how in the making of such response, Creoles' appropriation of the set of discourses set within the hallmarks of climatic determinism and the *doux* of commerce played a paramount importance. I aim at illustrating this through the *Semanario del Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, a newspaper published in Bogotá between 1808 and 1811, which constituted an important platform of expression of New Granadan Creole' elite. It is in line of this perspective that I explore how the inception of the Colombian nation was inextricably linked to the worldwide *racialisation* of difference, upon which the myth of white European superiority was fully grounded.

* By the expression *doux* of commerce I refer to the late seventeenth and eighteenth century doctrine which shifted the longstanding understanding of commerce and luxury as triggers of moral corruption and societal ruin towards and understanding of them as civilising devices.

ANA MARÍA OTERO-CLEVES (University of Oxford): 'The Consumption of Foreign Commodities and the Formation of National Identities in Nineteenth-century Colombia'

The paper aims to explore the cultural impact of the consumption of foreign commodities in nineteenth-century Colombia, in particular, its influence on the formation of national identities after independence. It explores the link between Colombia's material culture and the formation of a "cosmopolitan" national identity and aims to determine to what extent were foreign goods employed as markers of social distinction and, more importantly, national discourses. Thus, the paper will argue that the consumption of foreign goods (i.e. dresses, luxury goods, cheap imported fabrics, books, etc.) was one of the key paths chosen by the country's upper classes to consolidate themselves as a dominant group, capable not only of maintaining their social and political position, but also of building a nation according to European standards.

Yet, because the consumption of foreign goods was not limited to the upper classes, this work will go further and analyse how the importation of these commodities had a cultural significance on different levels of society, and, in consequence, demonstrate that the category of "foreign good" was employed and reworked to fulfil cultural and social objectives by the different levels of the social strata. It will be argued that the study of the tensions between categories of 'foreign' and 'local' commodities illustrates who participated more actively in the creation of a national identity whose reference was for the most part European.

CATALINA MUÑOZ (Universidad del Rosario): 'Colombia's Liberal Republic (1930-1946) and "Popular" Music: Ambiguities in the Social Function of Culture'

This paper evaluates the efforts made to provide a “social function” to culture during the reformist Liberal governments that ruled Colombia between 1930 and 1946. In particular, I study these regimes’ use of music as a tool for social transformation through the particular case of state funding of choral societies (*orfeones*) and popular music ensembles (*murgas populares*) throughout the country. This policy sought to configure a national artistic tradition at the same time that it used culture as a tool for uplifting a population considered to be backward and problematic. In dialogue with debates around the categories of popular and elite culture, my work reveals the ambiguous relation that the Liberals in power fashioned between the ruling elites and the ruled, as they considered the latter to be at the same time the “soul” of the nation and an object in need of transformation. The analysis I present is based on sources such as the reports presented yearly by the Minister of Education to Congress, documentation of the Ministry of Education found at the *Archivo General de la Nación*, and the Archive of Antonio María Valencia, one of the main collaborators of the Ministry of Education in terms of music policy.

SANDRA SÁNCHEZ-LOPEZ (The State University of New York at Binghamton): ‘Women’s Print Media and Modernization: The Female Body Narratives in Early 1960s Colombia’

This paper explores body image representations within the Colombian female-authored publications in the early 1960s. By combining a textual and visual analysis of the print media, I examine the ways in which middle- and upper-class women crafted a female identity and an unitarian definition of womanhood through the composition of media narratives of the female body. Before the 1960s, the women’s print media focused predominantly on the debates over the vote, female civil recognition, and women’s moral contribution within a nation of intense violence. Women dedicated many articles to highlighting communal social activities as well as to bolstering a female identity around charity and service to the poorer classes of the nation. In contrast, in the early 1960s, women emphasized fashion, beauty, and emotional themes in their publications; visual and textual material on body image proliferated in women’s print media, occasionally interwoven with political and social articles. In female-authored publications, the rhetoric of the body channeled most of the contending debates over transnational and local-grounded notions of femininity by addressing the importance of balancing growing consumption practices with a catholic moderate behavior, old-rooted in Colombian society. In this paper, I study the proliferation of this bodily centrality in the female-authored print media, aiming to dissect how urban women engaged, through narratives of the body, in cultural struggles that encapsulated contending national projects. I pursue an answer for the following questions: what type of femininity did the women’s press fueled and why? How did body image messages compete with other information addressed to women in the female-authored publications? How did urbanization and consumption mediate the press’s messages on femininity and the body? How were women’s publications similar or different from one another, along the lines of regional contending identities?

**25. WHAT DID REALLY HOLD US BACK?
ECONOMIC HISTORIES IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY LATIN AMERICA:
POLITICAL ECONOMIES OF THE STATE AND EXTERNAL CONNECTIONS**

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NICOLAS GRINBERG (LSE): 'Why did the "Economic "Miracle" become the "Lost Decade"? The Political Economy of Brazilian Industrialisation'

The paper examines the Brazilian experience from the 'Economic Miracle' of 1968-73 to the 'Lost Decade' of the 1980s. It argues that capitalism developed in Brazil under a *specific form* which sprung from its particular insertion in the 'international division of labour' as producer of raw materials. It proposes that during the period under study industrial capital accumulated there through the appropriation of a portion of the available ground-rent. This specific form of capitalist development lifted a barrier for technological and socio-economic development in Brazil, since the appropriation of the ground-rent by industrial capital implied the production in a small scale for the domestic markets. The 'miracle' and the 'lost decade' are understood as concrete manifestations of the historical development of that specific form of capital accumulation as well as expressions of its limited nature.

HEINRICH KRAMARSKI (University of Liverpool): 'From Free Standing Companies to Multinationals: British Investment in Colombia, 1920 and 1965'

Encouraged by the mirage of "El Dorado", British investment in Colombia started as soon as Colombia attained independence in 1819. Unfortunately disappointment followed as British enterprises set up in Colombia achieved no success and British investors retreated. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that British investors renewed their interest in Colombia. Despite this, very few activities received British attention in Colombia. Indeed, with the exception of ventures in international merchanting, railways and mining the majority of British enterprises achieved very little success.

Though limited, the favoured vehicle of investment for British investment in Colombia was the free-standing companies which employed modest capital and had a small managerial structure. This set the investment pattern after the second half of the nineteenth century which still operated during the 1920s. By the 1920s Colombian conditions improved as the country achieved the development of both an export infrastructure and integrated national market thanks to the advent of coffee as a major export and Government expenditure in public infrastructure. But it was not until the beginning of the 1950s that British investment in Colombia started to change as new British enterprises began to develop new business activities in the country. Although some free-standing companies remained in the country after the Second World War the new British enterprises followed a multinational investment pattern. As conditions in Colombia changed and the country achieved a significant rate of economic growth between 1946 and 1970 and the gradual transformation of its society from a rural one to a more urban and industrialized one. British enterprises steadily increased their participation in the country. According to a British mission to Colombia in 1962, sixteen British companies had subsidiaries in the country developing diverse activities from oil production to advertising, (FO371/162447, Colombian Mission. National Archives, London)

Aside from describing the evolution of the forms of British investment in Colombia the primary aims of the paper are: 1- To analyse the Colombian case in the context of growing literature on the concept of free-standing companies. 2- To explain the initial lack of interest that British multinationals enterprises showed in Colombian market despite its growth from the 1920s, and then to explain the reasons for their decision to invest after the World War II and the means they adopted to it.

JOE FRANCIS (LSE): 'Developmental State Formation in Argentina and South Korea in the 1950s'

This paper discusses the formation of 'developmental states' in South Korea and Argentina in the 1950s and '60s. While South Korea is one of the twentieth century's most celebrated success stories, Argentina is one of its most noted failures. Comparisons between the two therefore help answer the question of why one country declines while another prospers. The paper focuses particularly on a factor that is frequently neglected: US policy towards the two countries, placed within the broader context of the Cold War international order. It argues that South Korean development was facilitated by US policy, particularly the large quantity of aid that it received. This allowed land reform and prevented

dependence on foreign investment, giving the government a capacity to discipline business that was quite unusual for a Third World country. Argentina, by contrast, relied on transnational corporations and agricultural exports to overcome its foreign exchange shortage. This marginalised the 'national bourgeoisie', and contributed to the conflictive nature of the country's politics. Within this context, it was virtually impossible for the developmental state to function effectively. And for this reason, the paper concludes, South Korea's successful development should be seen as a case of 'development by invitation' – an invitation from the United States that was never extended to Argentina.

IGNACIO GODINHO DELGADO (Federal University Juiz de Fora, MG, Brazil): 'State, International Insertion and Varieties of Capitalism: Elements for a Comparative Analysis of Real Capitalism'

This paper presents the central features of industrial policy in Brazil, considering the institutional environment in which the companies that are the object of such policies operate. The institutional environment, in *varieties of capitalism's* approach, is identified by the patterns of authority within the firm and by the relationships that the companies establish with each other, with finance and labour (trade unions, employees and qualification procedures). We suggest that this approach should be complemented by considering also the relationship between companies and the state and between national economies and the global market. For the role of the State in the enforcement of operating conditions in the relationship between the firms and other actors, and the weight of its expenses on demand, the state is crucial for the strategic choices of companies. Similarly, companies operate in national spaces which occupy different positions in the world market, and this influences their perceptions and choices in different manners. From this conceptual review, we analyze the characteristics of the capitalist order and Brazilian industrial policy pursued in the country since the 1980s, when thrown into a crisis of the development of import substitution. We confronted the Brazilian process with that of countries like the U.S. and Germany, exemplary cases, respectively, of liberal and coordinated forms of capitalism, for the approach outlined above. Ultimately, you want to understand how the articulation of the dimensions given above affects the willingness of firms to innovate and public policy used to induce them to conduct innovative procedures.

CARLOS A. BRANDO (LSE): 'The Politics of Finance in a Developing Country: Allocating Credit to Industry in Colombia, 1940-64'

Accounts of Latin America's economic development in the middle of the twentieth century have been, and still are, dominated by interpretations framed under state-led and/or import-substituting industrialisation. This conventional literature attaches an extensive and penetrating role to the state in several policy fields, of which credit is a most important one. The current version goes that Latin American states intervened heavily in money and capital markets in order to prioritise the channelling of both ample and cheap supplies of credit to manufacturers, and in this way advanced official projects of protected industrialisation. This paper demonstrates that this was not always the case, as illustrated by the Colombian experience. Since this is so a puzzle emerges. The literature, on the one hand, sustains that the Colombian state promoted ISI, amongst other means, through preferential credit allocation. The empirical evidence in this paper, on the other, demonstrates that credit for industry was neither sufficient nor subsidised to the extent commonly argued. Based on archival research on key centres of public decision-making institutions, such as the central bank, congress, banking regulators and the cabinets and executive offices, qualitative and quantitative evidence substantiate the argument that credit to industry during the ISI era did not flow seamlessly. At one level, industrialists had to compete for scarce resources with other economic groups that proved more influential and powerful in the quest for financing – agriculturalists, specially coffee-growers and livestock-farmers. At another one, the preferences of governments and the capacity of the state to force financial agents to lend to industrialists was found to be much more limited than previously assumed; this might be a major factor explaining the apparent lack of public-based financial support of industry in this period.

26. INSURRECTIONARY POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

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PROFESSOR WILL FOWLER (University of St Andrews): 'The Pronunciamientos of Antonio López de Santa Anna, 1821-1867'

If there was one truly consummate and repeat-offending pronunciado in nineteenth-century Mexico, it was, without a question of a doubt, Veracruz warlord, hacendado, and six-times president, Antonio López de Santa Anna. In the course of his long and eventful life he initiated or took over the leadership of five separate national pronunciamientos (Veracruz [2 December 1822]; San Luis Potosí [5 June 1823]; Perote [16 September 1828]; Veracruz [2 January 1832]; and Perote [9 September 1841]), and tried but failed to stage a sixth pronunciamiento in Veracruz on 7 June 1867. He rose to the presidential seat, moreover, as an indirect result of the pronunciamiento series of 1832, 1846, and, 1852-53 (in each of these cases the pronunciamientos created a context in which Santa Anna could be elected president [1833 and 1846], or in which the government could declare him ruler [1853]). In 1841, the Bases de Tacubaya that led to Santa Anna having, to quote the British Minister Plenipotentiary at the time, "almost absolute power," were drafted as a direct result of the combined pronunciamientos of Guadalajara (8 August), the Cuadela barracks in Mexico City (4 September), and Perote (9 September).

A quick overview of the years in which Santa Anna's life was affected by the pronunciamiento syndrome, either as a visible participant, secret instigator, eventual beneficiary, or ruthless opponent, is evidence in itself of the importance this practice held for him. To put it differently, between 1821 and 1855, there were only thirteen years in which he was not actually involved either promoting or crushing a pronunciamiento (1825, 1826, 1831, 1837, 1838, 1840, 1845, 1848-1852), and five of these thirteen years may be accounted for by the simple fact that he was abroad in exile and consequently unable to conspire meaningfully.

So what was it about the pronunciamiento that made it into such an addictive practice for Santa Anna? The purpose of this paper is to assess Santa Anna's motivation, and, in turn, understand how individuals used the pronunciamiento both to further their careers and engage with politics. Whilst Santa Anna's case may strike us as exceptional because of the sheer number of pronunciamientos he was involved in, the variety of ways in which he employed, adopted, and benefited from this practice, provides us with fertile ground to appreciate the multiple purposes, opportunities, and uses a pronunciamiento provided nineteenth-century political actors. Santa Anna's pronunciamientos also tell us how fundamental issues of authority and legitimacy were understood and exploited at the time. Perhaps of greater significance and because of the pronunciamiento's strangely consultative dynamic, a study of a selection of Santa Anna's pronunciamientos also forces us to interpret this practice as one that had more in common with electioneering or straw-polling than it did with staging a coup.

A study of Santa Anna's experience of the pronunciamiento should serve to prove the extent to which this practice in forceful negotiation became the means of influencing politics, bringing about change, and achieving personal gains at a time when the constitutional order lacked authority, and the government remained tentative, weak, and ineffectual. It will also highlight the extent to which pronunciamientos were not purely about rising to power via forceful means. In this sense, Santa Anna's case, like those of other pronunciados, forces us to rethink what a pronunciado was hoping to achieve when he pronounced. A pronunciado was neither a revolutionary nor a golpista, but a forceful negotiator of sorts.

PROFESSOR ABDIEL OÑATE (San Francisco State University): 'Mexico's Reluctant *Pronunciado*: Adolfo de la Huerta and his 1923 Rebellion Against Obregón'

With the election of Alvaro Obregón to a four-year term in 1920, Mexican politicians set to work on implementing the Constitution promulgated at Querétaro in 1917. The war-torn country seemed closer to peace than it had been for a decade. To secure that peace, Obregón immediately turned his attention to the pressing problems of national reconstruction and the crafting of a new state. However, peace would be elusive. In December of 1923, Adolfo de la Huerta, a member of the triumvirate of Sonoran generals who had emerged as leaders of the Mexican Revolution (Obregón and Plutarco Elías Calles were the other two), and who was one of Obregón's closest allies during the war, issued his Plan de Veracruz in which he "pronounced" against Obregón. The reasons for the rebellion are a blend of perceived personal affronts, political tensions, and the fractured social landscape in post-revolutionary Mexico. In spite

of widespread support by army officers and other sectors of Mexican society, the government quickly suppressed the insurrection and the *pronunciados* were harshly punished, with the exception of de la Huerta.

Based on Mexican and American archives, this paper explores the causes and nature of the de la Huerta 1923 *pronunciamiento*, and sets it in the context of a 20th century political milieu, rooted in the tradition of Mexico's insurrectional politics.

FRIDA OSORIO GONSEN (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences-po): 'The Practice of the Separation of Powers in Mexico (1824-1834): A Revaluation of "Extra-constitutional" Political Acts'

In the years following emancipation from Spain, social upheaval and foreign wars became the norm in Mexican political life. Like most of the countries in the region, the Mexican government had to respond to the problems of territorial fragmentation and insurrectionary politics. Within the framework of this Mexican political landscape, I will study the role of the Constitution in the establishment of the *pronunciamiento* as a popularized form of politicking during the early Mexican Republic. By focusing on the first Mexican constitutional experience during the 1820s, I shall analyze how the relationship between constitutional powers affected the political culture of the newly emancipated State.

Through a close examination of the political controversies in which this Constitution had been involved during the early 1830's, the purpose of this paper is to propose an interpretation of what was at stake in the separation of powers of the first liberal Constitution. The principal assumption of this study is that the liberal republican Constitution did not institute an appropriate division of powers that would establish stable institutions for the Republic. Excessive power had been concentrated in the legislative branch, while the executive and judicial powers were not given enough. I also argue that the use of extra-constitutional powers by the executive and the legislative branch was an outcome of the unbalanced nature of the relationship between powers. Therefore, these extra-constitutional political acts took part in the spread of *pronunciamentos*. Against the dominant interpretation of nineteenth-century Latin America which sees the failure of the liberal institutions in the inability to break with the cultural and social practices inherited from Spain, I argue that the dynamics of the powers themselves since then contribute to raise the level of conflict in the competition for power. Although this paper addresses only the case of Mexico, the political dynamics it will describe may be used to understand the evolution of other liberal regimes in Latin America as well.

This paper is divided into three parts. The first will examine the debate over the Federal Constitution in the 1830s. It will argue that political actors pointed out to the close link between the problems of the institutional functioning and the vicious cycle of "revolutions", as liberals called them. The following part exposes the meaning of the concept of separation of powers that had been used in the Constitution of 1824 and the consequences of the constitutional dysfunction identified during the debate. The third and final section will attempt to identify the specific proposals for reform the Mexican Constitution in order to make liberty and order compatible. It will explore what kind of constitutional mechanisms were undertaken with a view to preserve institutions and stem the tide of tumultuous political movements.

DR MATTHEW BROWN (University of Bristol): 'Were there Pronunciamentos in the Republic of New Granada, 1830-1863?'

The paper explores the rebellious utterances, political proclamations, published broadsides and fiery rhetoric of insurgents in the Republic of New Granada. It focuses on the three decades after independence and the disintegration of Bolívar's Republic of Gran Colombia (1830). In particular the focus is on the region of Antioquia, and the analysis includes rebellions led and texts authored by Salvador Córdova, Manuel Antonio Jaramillo and Braulio Henao. In conclusion I will offer some observations on the usefulness or otherwise of the concept of the *pronunciamiento* outside of Mexico.

PROFESSOR CLÁUDIA VISCARDI (Federal University of Juiz de Fora, MG, Brazil): 'From Monarchy to Republic: The Well Succeed Brazilian Insurrection'

The Brazilian political culture has been marked by a great number of insurrectionary movements throughout its history. One of the most important was the military coup that engendered the Republic system, in 1889. Our research deals with the main actors of this insurrection, their goals, and their shared ideologies. This research considers the transition to Republic in Brazil as a result of a partnership between civilian and military forces, with a clear predominance of the first

ones. Because of that, it highlights the mainframes of the new political regime, especially their contributions to the extent of citizenship. As is well known, before the military coup, the Brazilian Monarchy was living through one of its most difficult times. The abolition of the slavery was hardly accepted by the conservative rural entrepreneurs and the Emperor was not strong enough to deal with the economic and political problems faced by the Nation. An emerging political culture related to Federalism, inspired by the successful North American experiences, provided further discontent through an alternative way to conduct politics in Brazil by reducing the centralization of the Old Regime. This new ideological group was composed by intellectuals, journalists, professors, doctors, magistrates, etc. and had the political support of the coffee planters from southeast Brazil, interested in a new fiscal policy that would enable them to retain the profits from the coffee exportation in the producer regions. This alliance was completed with military sectors, inspired by Comte's ideas and pragmatic interests related to political expectations over the growth of their political importance after their victory over Paraguay in the war. The Republic was implanted by this group through an insurrectionary act and the regime remains in Brazil until today, transforming this insurrection into the most important in Brazil's history.

27. NARRATING MAPUCHE HISTORIES

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STEFANIE GANGER (University of Cambridge): ‘“Dwellers on the Threshold”: Indigenous Intellectuals and Mapuche Archaeology, c. 1860s-1910s’

In the archaeological collections formed in Chilean museums, missions, and military caserns during the ‘Pacification of Araucanía’, the Mapuche past was reconfigured into a lost world, and its materials, re-envisioned as the relics of a bygone time. The re-signification of the indigenous past distinctly reflected the different stages of the conquest. This paper scrutinizes how Mapuches who participated - as informants, scholars, or ‘objects of study’ - in the formation of archaeological discourses and collections, variously contested and reaffirmed the narrative that their culture was a time going by. Some envisioned themselves as beings on the threshold of extinction, and as the ‘last’ of their kind, while others continued to use and produce the material culture Chileans associated with native primitiveness and evanescence. This paper, then, examines how different historical temporalities in relation to the Mapuche past variously coexisted with and displaced each other.

JOANNA CROW (University of Bristol): ‘Appropriating and Subverting Alonso de Ercilla’s *La Araucana*: Manuel Aburto Panguilef’

La Araucana was an epic poem of the late sixteenth century which exalted the bravery and strength of the Araucanian (Mapuche) warriors as they battled against the Spanish conquistadors. During the early independence years it became the foundational narrative of Chilean nationhood, but, as interpreted by ruling elites, this glorious military legacy had little relevance to modern-day Mapuche who were often imaged as a degenerate, downtrodden people, or, worse still, barbaric savages who impeded the ‘progress and modernization’ of the nation. This paper explores how the Mapuche intellectual and political leader Manuel Aburto Panguilef (1887-1952) appropriated and, simultaneously, undermined the ‘official’ narrative of nation-building. He appealed to history, as told by Ercilla, as an important definer of Mapuche identity but – in contrast to the ruling elites – he avoided reducing the Mapuche to history. Instead, he sought to re-create them in history, tracing the continuities between the Mapuche titans of old and their descendants in twentieth-century Chile, and demanding the recognition of these descendants’ rights.

MAGNUS COURSE (University of Edinburgh): ‘The Clown Within: Becoming “White” and Mapuche Ritual Clowns’

In this paper, I take Mapuche ritual clowns, *koyong*, to be a local commentary on the complex historical nature of Mapuche interactions with the white, or *winka*, Chilean majority. Through their close symbolic association with *winka*, and through the negative moral evaluations of their lives both in ritual and everyday contexts, clowns offer a novel perspective on the processes by which young Mapuche people become *winka* through migration to the cities. By taking clowning as a form of self-critique, I suggest scholars should be more careful in their frequent equating of indigenous creativity with agency, for in this case clowning is a means by which rural Mapuche people come to terms with their own perceived failures.

ANDREW WEBB (Cambridge): ‘The Writing on the Wall: Narrating Mapuche History on Blogs and Murals’

The paper will discuss some of the contemporary ways in which collective memory is being re-constructed among the Mapuche via internet blogs and urban graffiti. In particular, the paper will argue that contrary to the impending “doom” of Mapuche culture, predicted during the early twentieth century, the current writings on the wall (be they physical or virtual) show re-invigorated identities which offer much cause for optimism. The virtual sphere of the internet has been especially important for respatialising the context of the wallmapu, and the massification and popularisation of social networking sites and blogs now gives a voice to portions of the population who were previously not heard. The paper will additionally problematize the representativity of such writings.

28. PERSPECTIVES ON 21ST CENTURY FOREIGN POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA

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GIAN LUCA GARDINI (University of Bath): 'Latin American Foreign Policies in the 21st Century: An Overview'

In recent years several Latin American countries have taken a more assertive stance in their foreign policy. A pondered use of rhetoric toward both internal and international audiences is used as leverage to extract benefits according to convenience and is accompanied by a strong awareness of international constraints. Is this a permanent or contingent feature? What factors affect the mix of pragmatism and ideology? This paper analyses 5 factors: ends (objectives of foreign policy), means available (country profile), process (stakeholders and policy-making), agency (stature of the leaders), and structure (historical and political context).

DIANA RABY (University of Liverpool): 'Venezuelan Foreign Policy under Chávez: New Developments in the Changed Regional Context of the Past Twelve Months'

Chávez' project of 'Bolivarian Revolution' implied a fundamental reorientation of foreign policy, which aroused hostility from the Bush administration and relations with neighbouring Colombia, Washington's closest ally in the region, were characterised by intermittent tensions. This paper argues that Venezuelan foreign policy under Chávez is dominated by the ideology of Bolivarianism. Yet pragmatic elements such as continuing strong trade relations with Washington and pursuit of détente with Colombia are also present. Contrary to the expectations of many, Bolivarianism has enjoyed a degree of success, partly attributable to petroleum wealth. The paper concentrates on the last twelve months of the Chávez administration.

PETER LAMBERT (University of Bath): 'Dancing between Superpowers: Paraguayan Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era'

Paraguay's foreign policy has historically been characterized by its subordinate relation with its two powerful neighbours, Brazil and Argentina. With the end of the Cold War and the dictatorship, Paraguay's foreign policy in the 1990s was non-institutionalized and reactive at best, and non-existent at worst. The paper argues that although this policy failure has been influenced by size, institutional weakness, domestic crises and weak presidencies, this does not condemn Paraguay to such failure. Indeed, since the election of Fernando Lugo (April 2008) there are strong indications that a more proactive policy could replace drift and inaction.

DAVID CLOSE (Memorial University of Newfoundland): 'Nicaragua's Pragmatic Ideologues'

Nicaraguan politics has three deeply ingrained characteristics that influence policy-making. First, politics are hegemonic and exclusivist. Second, politics are personalistic. Third, despite the foregoing, Nicaragua's politics are pragmatic: governors do look for ways to get things done efficiently and will negotiate everything except power. This paper seeks to discover how Nicaragua's long-standing political characteristics combine with its recent political history to affect its foreign policy. When do they incline it toward pragmatism? When do they push the country's international affairs toward declarations of principles and the pursuit of ideologically defined objectives? Particular attention is given to role of leaders.

ANA COVARRUBIAS (El Colegio de México): 'Mexican Foreign Policy: Principles, Values or Pragmatism'

The paper analyses Mexico's foreign policy since Vicente Fox assumed power in 2000, when Foreign Secretary Jorge Castañeda announced a 'new' foreign policy based on a strategic relationship with the United States and an active participation in multilateral organisations. More importantly, one of the instruments whereby the *Partido Acción Nacional*, PAN, intended to strengthen Fox's democratic legitimacy was foreign policy. Despite the fact that President Felipe Calderón is also a *panista*, Mexico's foreign policy has been more restrained in general, but especially as democracy and human rights are concerned. The purpose of this paper is to find the links between principles, interests and values by identifying the influence on foreign policies of both domestic and international variables.

LARRY BIRNS and ALEX SANCHEZ (Council on Hemispheric Affairs): 'From Obscurity to Center Stage: The Rise of Evo Morales and the Architectonics of Bolivia's Galvanic Foreign Policy'

Evo Morales's victory in the 2005 presidential elections has had a profound effect on Bolivia's foreign policy. Bolivia has traditionally kept a very low profile in the realm of international diplomacy. Foreign perceptions of the country were radicalized with the election of Morales, with his role as a prime ally of Venezuela's Hugo Chávez with whom he staked out a populist nationalist political process, while also advocating a socialized economy. Change and continuity in Bolivian foreign policy under Morales will be forejudged by analyzing the country's relationship with three key countries: the U.S., Venezuela and Brazil. Ultimately, to understand Bolivia's contemporary foreign policy, it is of fundamental importance to comprehend Evo Morales himself.

29. LA TRANSGRESIÓN DEL CUERPO Y LA FRAGMENTACIÓN DEL DISCURSO COMO EXPRESIÓN EN EL ARTE Y LA LITERATURA LATINOAMERICANA ACTUAL

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JOSÉ RAMÓN CASTILLO (Universidad del Táchira-Venezuela): 'Cartografías dramaturgicas: Violencia en el discurso del teatro y las artes artes plásticas'

Diego Aramburo (Bolivia), Víctor Viviescas (Colombia) y Rodrigo García (Argentina) nos muestran un espacio latinoamericano desvencijado en búsqueda de una utopía, el discurso está basado en la constante alimentación de ilusiones y de fantasías de sus personajes, que señalan la diatriba entre: la violencia basada en la ironía y la proyección de un imaginario de lo grotesco. Desde esta premisa nos da la posibilidad de realizar un panorama general sobre algunas categorías sobre la violencia, y pueden aplicarse al movimiento teatral actual, que permite la elaboración de un discurso que se transforma en un estilo artístico y de allí realizar una especie de cartografía dramaturgia en algunos países como Colombia, Bolivia y Argentina que son parte de este análisis. El objetivo de esta investigación se basa en revisar el discurso de los dramaturgos, para entrar en sintonía con propuestas de tres artistas plásticos venezolanos: Héctor Baptista, Oscar Abrahams y Ender Rodríguez, que emplean el tema con la misma intensidad. Para definir este discurso proyectado en diferentes espacios, que establecen el paralelismo, se realiza un estudio de leiv motiv y elementos similares en algunos artistas que logren vislumbrar la mirada aguda de la crisis del arte desde la ironía, el humor y la violencia, jugando a los discursos alternos. La metodología de esta investigación radica en un estudio comparatístico entre literatura y artes plásticas, que está latente en la obra de los dramaturgos. También consiste en acercarse a otros discursos literarios, de allí encontrar los puntos de inflexión, e innovar y re-crear la propuesta visualmente. En conclusión, el estilo de esta dramaturgia nos deja de manifiesto la paridad que está en concordancia con lo grotesco, lo obsceno, el humor y la violencia en constante promoción, para generar un desbordamiento del orden, el cuestionamiento y crítica incisiva de lo que debe establecer el arte.

LUIS MORA-BALLESTEROS (Universidad Pedagógica Experimental Libertador, Venezuela): 'Rating y realidad: ¿Qué exporta Colombia? Análisis del impacto televisivo entre el guión adaptado para televisión de "Sin Tetas no hay Paraíso" de la obra homónima de Gustavo Bolívar'

En la actualidad, la mayoría de los televidentes sigue con expectativa alguna serie de televisión, ya sea ésta de firma extranjera o local. En el caso colombiano y en lo particular para los habitantes de poblaciones fronterizas entre Venezuela y Colombia, las series de televisión relacionadas con: el tráfico de estupefacientes, prostitución, redes delincuenciales organizadas, carteles del narcotráfico, grupos irregulares, etc.; vienen a ser del atractivo de la colectividad que las sintoniza a diario y en horarios no supervisados. La novela de Gustavo Bolívar: "*Sin Tetas no hay Paraíso*", llevada a la pantalla en 2006 por Caracol Televisión, recoge entre otras cosas la realidad colombiana, intentando plasmar a calco exacto la vida de Catalina, una joven de un barrio pobre de Pereira-población del Depto. de Risaralda-quien se prostituye y entra en un círculo relacionado con el narcotráfico, con la intención de obtener dinero para realizarse una prótesis de busto. El presente trabajo busca deconstruir los hilos que tejen el imaginario social colectivo presentes en la obra de Bolívar, desde un enfoque comparativo sobre el impacto en el televidente, que va más allá del rating y el morbo; dado que, existen otros aspectos de interés de estudio, tales como: la denuncia, el reflejo social a través de un *ars* narrativa, y la coseidad y/o cosificación del cuerpo y la feminidad. A su vez, se incorporarán elementos y categorías de análisis para enmarcar la obra de Bolívar en lo que se ha denominado como *realismo trágico*.

JOSÉ ANTONIO ROMERO CORZO (Universidad Nacional Experimental del Yaracuy, Venezuela): 'Ironía, sinédoque y metonimia como expresiones de lo grotesco en el relato "Las uñas" de Jorge Luís Borges'

La ponencia trata de dilucidar algunos aspectos concernientes a la textualización/ discursivización del cuerpo en el relato breve del escritor argentino Jorge Luís Borges, titulado "*Las uñas*", tomado de *El hacedor*, editado por el sello Emecé en la ciudad de Buenos Aires en 1967, partiendo de un análisis retórico que comprende la ironía, la sinédoque y la metonimia como dispositivos retórico-discursivos empleados por el autor para elaborar su propia visión comprensiva de la subjetividad desde un enfoque dialéctico y metafísico de la alteridad constitutiva del sujeto latinoamericano en la literatura del siglo XX, y como expresión estética de lo grotesco.

30. THE MILITARY IN TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY LATIN AMERICA

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COLIN CAMPBELL (University of Liverpool) 'US Military Involvement in the Western Hemisphere Under the Obama administration'

This paper will discuss the nature of US security architecture within the Western Hemisphere in the aftermath of the Bush administration and the 'war on terror'. The paper seeks to address the role of the US military in the region as it attempts to assert its regional and even global military dominance in the face of challenges from the processes of globalisation, non-state actors and climate change.

The paper will aim to shed light on the internal workings of US military and government policymaking towards the region and its wider role in the development of the US military command structure and strategic planning. This will be discussed in light of the growing role of Iran and the People's Republic of China within the region, together with their alignment with the ALBA as a possible counter-hegemonic bloc.

Hence this paper seeks to give an overview of the wider strategic interests at play with the Western Hemisphere from a US perspective in so doing, providing insight into the possible security threats and developments that may occur within the region.

DIANA RABY (University of Liverpool): 'The Venezuelan Military and the Origins of Bolivarianism'

The rise of Hugo Chávez was undoubtedly made possible by the profound economic and social crisis of Venezuela and the resulting political impasse in the 1980s and '90s. There is also no doubt that Chávez himself is an outstanding exemplar of charismatic leadership with a remarkable emotional appeal to the poor of Venezuela. But his Bolivarian Movement arose in the context of a military institution with a distinctive and long-standing history of political engagement on the left or in alliance with popular social movements. The democratic revolutions of 1945 and 1958 were both implemented by what could be described as a "civil-military alliance", a concept which is at the centre of Chávez' Bolivarian ideology today. The guerrilla insurgency of the 1960s and '70s was also closely linked to the left-nationalist military revolts of Carúpano and Puerto Cabello in 1962. This paper will explore the ideological and political origins of Bolivarianism and will also briefly address the issue of its possible relevance to other countries in the region.

STEFANIA PALADINI (Coventry University): 'China's Military Presence in Latin America'

Military spending in Latin America has been increasing around 50% in the last ten years and it has been argued (by SIPRI, among others), that the region is starting an arm race. While this may be regarded as a too alarmist approach, it is clear that not only the military build-up has regained importance but also that the changing international outlook has made possible for new actors to enter a region considered before "the backyard of the USA". The most recent example is the sale of French fighters and submarines to Brazil, but it is by no means the only one. One of the new powers that have seen its influence growing steadily is China. The Asian giant has been so far careful not to appear too assertive, especially in sensitive areas for the US. But the Chinese presence is now a reality in Latin America, and it is due to increase for a series of reasons, among them the willingness of Latin American countries to balance US influence. And the effects on the military arena are becoming evident. The offer of the Ecuadorian Manta Air base to the Chinese (opportunistically declined) is a good example of a more general trend. The aim of this paper is to explore this new relationship, its implication for the Latin American military and its dangers for regional equilibrium, and to propose some scenarios.

LETICIA SALOMON (Universidad Autónoma de Honduras): los militares hondureños: ¿guardianes de las fronteras, del bosque o del orden político?

En Honduras los militares jugaron un papel determinante en la producción y sostenibilidad del golpe de Estado que se produjo el 28 de junio de 2009 Para entender lo ocurrido, hay que remitirse a dos factores centrales:

- a) Lo que ha ocurrido dentro de la institución en los últimos años, comparando su papel antes y después de la guerra fría y
- b) Lo que ha ocurrido con los dirigentes políticos en relación a los temas de defensa y seguridad, desde la transición a la democracia en 1982.

Lo anterior permitirá conocer la forma en que los militares fueron saliendo de sus cuarteles y se fueron posicionando de manera creciente en otras actividades del Estado, de competencia civil (comunicaciones, migración, marina mercante, instituto geográfico y policía) y la forma en que reaccionaron luego de la profunda reforma de 1995 que los obligó a replegarse a los cuarteles y volver a salir posteriormente para asumir funciones de apoyo a la policía en el combate a la delincuencia común y organizada, y funciones de protección del bosque, como producto de la multiplicidad de funciones que les otorga la Constitución de la República y de la desesperada búsqueda de su verdadero papel en la democracia.

Con el golpe de Estado los militares volvieron a asumir su viejo papel interventor en la vida política y represor de los opositores al gobierno de facto, lo que obliga a reflexionar sobre las fallas de un proceso de reforma que no logró que las funciones militares se redujeran a la defensa externa y que se fortaleciera el papel de los civiles en la conducción de la defensa y la seguridad pública.

**31. SLAS STUDENT PANEL: THE 'LONELY PLANET?':
PERCEPTIONS AND MISPERCEPTIONS OF LATIN AMERICA**

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MURIEL MEUTCHEYE (Cameroon), Bsc Economics and International Development , University of Bath : 'The Cuban Paradox'

The French revolution is often associated to the fight for human rights, whereas the Cuban revolution is mostly perceived in the Western World as the release of a totalitarian regime perpetrated by the devil figure of Castro⁶. This perception was reconfirmed by the Western media following Castro resignation. I would like to reflect on whether the vilification of Castro and the Cuban revolution were predominantly conditioned by the extraordinary geopolitical situation of the time, which was dividing the World into two camps. Thus, whereas on the one hand we see Castro vilified by the Western media, on the other we see the glorification of his friend Nelson Mandela, receiver in 1993 of the Nobel Peace Prize. Both fought against oppressive regimes and fought for political freedoms and equality.

Cuba has shown considerable international solidarity and engagement to political freedoms, collaborating with countries such as Congo, Algeria and South Africa. The western world's failure to recognize Cuba's aspirations for political freedom and democracy, which surpassed the international context of Cold War, has weakened the democratization process in the island. The Cuban revolution overthrew a corrupted regime, and had in mind the establishment of a democratic system that would come with alphabetisation and economic development. Yet instead of receiving the cooperation of its old ally, Cuba was condemned with economic, commercial and financial embargo, which had a clear impact on the Cuban economy and the possibility to enact its initial program, since economic development is an important variable in democratization. After so many years of opposing the Cuban regime because of its Communist nature the embargo remains, whereas US-China economic ties are strengthening. It may therefore be the case that the Cuban revolution was not only unlucky to occur during the Cold War but also to directly go against American interests

PEDRO PARRAGUEZ RUIZ (Chile), MSc Innovation and Technology Management, University of Bath: 'The diversity and dynamic of political parties and citizen movements in Chile: Common misperceptions and a look into the future of the Chilean political ecosystem'

Chile and many other Latin American countries have a rich variety of political expressions. Nevertheless, it is common to assume that the same left-right paradigm operating in Europe, is easily extrapolatable to countries like Chile. In this discussion, using as an example the last presidential election in Chile, I will explore the new role of the citizen movements (*movimientos ciudadanos*) and other alternative political expressions in the evolution of the Chilean political ecosystem. The aim is to analyse how these new expressions are redefining the old left-right paradigm in Latin America, drawing some examples from my experience being part of the NGO "Independientes en Red" (www.independientesenred.cl).

MALGORZATA LOJ (Poland), Bsc Politics with Economics, University of Bath : 'The security issue in Colombia : The guerilla groups and paramilitaries- the threat from or to the country's security'

The growing propaganda on the 'war on drugs' which has transformed into the world's 'war on terror' after the events of 9/11 sees the Colombian guerilla group FARC as one of the most dangerous terrorist organisations in the world. The common view therefore is that of the FARC committing atrocities and being the leading drug-traffickers in Central America. However, few know that the highest rate of human rights abuses is linked to AUC-paramilitaries who have connections with the Colombian army (heavily dependent on the US military aid) (Human Rights Watch). Nevertheless, despite the ongoing Human Rights Watch reports on the numerous human rights abuses committed by the AUC and military units and the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which does not allow aid to military groups that are known to have committed human rights abuses , the aid is still being disbursed in support of the army and the attention drawn to the insurgency group FARC rather than paramilitaries. There is also a mistaken view of the security in Colombia that is considered weak and the common view of Colombia is that of drugs and crime, while really Colombian streets are safer than those of Mexico or many other Central American countries.

⁶ The Independent reported that Prime Minister Harold Macmillan described Fidel Castro as a devil.

NICOLAS ROBINSON ANDRADE, BSc Politics with International Relations, University of Bath: 'Marching down separate paths: The misperception of an ideologically-united continent'

Leftism, Ché Guevara, and Revolution were recurring themes mentioned by 16 of 20 University of Bath respondents who were asked: What do you associate with Latin America?

Ernesto Guevara famously suggested a certain homogeneity amongst all Latin Americans, common from the 'Rio Grande' in Mexico to the straits of Magellan. To adopt this vision, however, would be to ignore the vast diversity in race, culture, geography, and political ideology constantly evolving in Latin America. To try and introduce the extent of this divide to a European audience, one could perhaps draw a parallel with the blunt ideological divisions of the Cold War. In the Latin American example, however, the distance between Ciudad Juárez in México and Ushuaia in Argentina (10,283km) is over four times larger than that between London and Moscow. Using as a main example the government elected in Ecuador since 2006, this session discusses why the strengthening of these modern socialist regimes has brought about strong, 'checkerboard-like' divisions within the continent. Using examples of global trade, drug trafficking, attitudes towards freedom of speech, and the support base of 21st century socialism, it examines whether the situation is more suggestive of a 'united Latin American' front or of an spiral effect of conflict amongst states.

ANNI KASARI, BA (Hons) in European Studies with Spanish and ab initio Italian, University of Bath : 'Mexico – a cradle of violence?'

The news are filled with horror stories about the violence prevalent in Mexico, especially near the US border. In the US and Europe, Mexico has become intrinsically associated with violence: the general view is that it is a dangerous country, a kind of wild west where killings, kidnappings and corruption have become almost endemic. Last year a Pentagon study concluded "that Mexico is at risk of becoming a failed state" (The Wall Street Journal, 16 January 2009), further raising fears that the lawlessness is becoming uncontrollable and spilling over to the US. I will argue that although the drug-related violence is clearly a real problem that Mexico needs to address, the media constantly exaggerates and distorts the conflict, contributing to the public image of Mexico as an unsafe country. In reality, the narco-violence is confined to specific areas and constitutes mostly intra-gang violence which does not directly affect civilians.

POLLY WALKER, BA (Hons) Philosophy and Spanish, University of Bristol : 'Repudiating Latin America's Apron Strings'

There is a general consensus that a country's lack of development can be traced back to at least one of three principal factors. The first factor is that a country may enjoy inadequate access to necessary resources, such as energy or technology. The second factor is the obstacle played by unstable, inefficient or corrupt institutions or governments. The final factor is the effect that the global economic and political order has had in the developing world. In short, the argument is that this order, dominated by the West and characterized by international, national and regional economic and trade policies, the IMF, the World Bank, the UN, and intellectual and medical patents, combined with US military intervention have wreaked havoc in developing countries and been the primary cause of poverty and global inequality.

Latin American academics, especially in Europe, have tended to focus on the last of these explanations. They emphasise the detrimental role the foreign governments and multinational corporations have played in the history of Latin America in the 20th century. While this is certainly the case, I argue that this focus, and the perception it has generated in Europe, do not help Latin American development now or in the future. Not only does this theory portray Latin American countries as victims, as pawns in a game where they have no agency, but it detracts attention from other areas more in need of study. To cast blame entirely on the US intervention and multinational companies is tantamount to denying agency to political leaders and the elite who have been complicit with these activities. Without the perception of agency, these figures can shirk responsibility - allowing complicity and corruption to be repeated.

I feel that this perception among Latin American academics in Europe needs to be shifted. Not only from focusing so intently on US involvement and onto the failures of national governments in order to prevent their repetition, but also onto Latin American culture. By defining Latin America in terms of her North American neighbour, albeit economically and politically, we are losing the opportunity to promote the development and criticism of cultural works which would serve to counter the prevalence of US cultural hegemony.