

The 8th NOLAN Conference  
**“Struggles over resources  
in Latin America”**

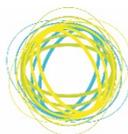
University of Helsinki  
June 11–13, 2015



**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**UNIPID**  
FINNISH UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIP  
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ULKOPOLIITTINEN INSTITUUTTI  
UTRIKESPOLITISKA INSTITUTET  
THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## **The 8<sup>th</sup> NOLAN Conference**

### **“Struggles over resources in Latin America”**

Debates about Latin American development have seen old themes return in a new guise. For some, the electoral victories of various shades of left during the first years of the new millennium seemed to signal a break with older development models. Others talked about the return of state-centered policies associated with classical Latin American developmentalism. More recently, the importance of natural resources has become an increasingly hot topic in the debates. During the first decade of the millennium there was much talk of a boom of commodities, especially since the demand in China and India raised the prices for Latin American soy bean, copper and other raw material exports. Now the boom has slowed down. The ecological and social impact of the resource-exporting models, often called extractivism, are under heavy criticism by various social movements. Even if various of the left-leaning governments have been reelected, there is less clarity than before about the future of the development models.

The main theme of NOLAN 2015 covers various aspects of the struggles over natural and human resources in Latin America. In addition, important themes such as gender struggles, societal security, Latin America's role in world politics, knowledges and beliefs, are brought to the table.

The Organizing Committee of the conference aims at encouraging the continuity of Nordic academic collaborations and at promoting new links with its European and Latin American counterparts.

## ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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**UniPID.** The Finnish University Partnership for International Development (UniPID) is a partnership network between Finnish Universities. UniPID was established in response to the Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002, where institutional partnerships for development were encouraged. Following this Summit, in December 2002, representatives from eleven Finnish universities assembled at the University of Jyväskylä and decided to include and promote international development as a part of their international strategies.

**FinCEAL Plus.** FinCEAL Plus is a project financed by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture with the purpose of increasing support for Finnish researchers focusing on Africa, Asia and the LAC regions. The project is a continuation and expansion of the FinCEAL project (2013-2014) and aims to enhance Finnish expert participation and influence in the EU-Africa, EU-Asia and EU-CELAC Science, Technology and Innovation (STI) policy dialogues.

**Finnish Institute of International Affairs.** The Finnish Institute of International Affairs is a research institute whose mission is to produce high quality, topical information on international relations and the EU. The Institute realizes its aims by conducting research as well as by organizing domestic and international seminars and publishing reports on its research and current international issues.

**NorLARNet.** The Norwegian Latin America Research Network is an inter-disciplinary network of institutions and individuals involved in research related to Latin America. It is meant to provide researchers and experts from all over Norway with an arena for interaction and cooperation, and to be a main point of access for all in search of academic knowledge about Latin America in Norway.

## CONFERENCE PROGRAM

### Thursday, June 11, 2015

8:30 am to 9:30 am	Registration
9:30 am to 12:00 pm	Opening words by Jussi Pakkasvirta <b>Keynote Session 1.</b> <b>Arturo Escobar and Carlos Sandoval</b>
12:00 pm to 1:00 pm	Lunch break
1:00 pm to 3:45 pm	<b><i>Panel Sessions 1</i></b>
3:45 pm to 4:15 pm	Coffee break
4:15 pm to 7:00 pm	<b><i>Panel Sessions 2</i></b>
8:30 pm	Conference Dinner at Restaurant Piano

### Friday, June 12, 2015

8:30 am to 9:00 am	Registration
9:00 am to 11:45 am	<b><i>Panel Sessions 3</i></b>
11:45 am to 12:45 pm	Lunch Break
12:45 pm to 3:30 pm	<b><i>Panel Sessions 4</i></b>
3:30 pm to 4:00 pm	Coffee Break
4:00 pm to 6:00 pm	<b>Keynote Session 2. Eduardo Gudynas and Anthony Bebbington</b>

6:00 pm to 8:00 pm | Rector's Reception

8:30 pm | City Walk

### Saturday, June 13, 2015

10:00 am to 12:00 pm | Round Table CLACSO - NOLAN

12:00 pm to 1:00 pm | NOLAN Plenary Meeting and Closing Address

## LIST OF PANELS

1. Fractured Ground: Exploring Ideas of Extraction and Post-Extraction **(p.5)**
2. Going Beyond Extractivism? Alternative Conceptualizations of Modernity and Development in South America **(p.15)**
3. Green-Tech Resources in Latin American Neo-Extractivism **(p.21)**
4. Natural resources, social conflicts and local developmental trajectories in Latin America: Do people fight for alternative development? **(p.28)**
5. Decolonizar el Estado y el Derecho **(p.37)**
6. Analyzing management and resolution of socio-environmental conflicts in Latin America **(p. 42)**
7. The Quinoa Dilemma – How to support sustainability **(p.48)**
8. Forests and Development in Latin America: From Struggle to Sustainability **(p.52)**
9. Amazonian indigenous people and environmental change **(p.55)**

10. Battle over meanings: Media representations of poverty and development in Latin America **(p.61)**
11. Struggles over Mass Media in Latin America **(p.68)**
12. Cities and societal security in Latin America **(p.71)**
13. Criminal organizations, natural resources and social order: understanding the transformation of violence in northern Latin America **(p.78)**
14. Inequality and fiscal policy during and after the commodity boom in Latin America **(p.85)**
15. Inequality and Resources in Latin America in the 21st Century **(p.89)**
16. U.S.-Cuba Relations: The End of the Cold War in the Americas? **(p.94)**
17. Los recursos políticos o la política de recursos en América Latina: la estagnación o el desarrollo **(p.99)**
18. Latin America in modern South-South relations: In search for new theoretical and methodological perspectives **(p.104)**
19. Simposium Red Haina. Gender Struggles in Latin America **(p.110)**
20. VET Teachers for the future **(p.119)**

21. Human Resources and Power in Latin America **(p.124)**
22. Procesos etnohistóricos de la población Afrodescendiente en América Latina y el Caribe **(p.131)**
23. Winds of change. New ways of being Pentecostal-charismatic in Latin America **(p.136)**
24. Mesa Redonda CLACSO-NOLAN. América Latina: Democracia y Ciudadanía en el Laberinto de las desigualdades **(p.141)**

### **Screenings**

- a) *Cine Ativismo: Short Films as Actions of Media Activism for Human and Civil Rights in Rio de Janeiro* **(p.145)**
- b) *Conversaciones sobre Wirikuta: Huicholes: The last peyote guardians* **(p.145)**

## VENUES

### **At the University of Helsinki**

Main Conference venue: Metsätalo Building (Unioninkatu 40)

Rector's Reception: Main Building (Unioninkatu 34)

Lunch venue: All university cafeterias accept the lunch vouchers. A map with nearby cafeterias can be found at the information desk.

**Conference Dinner:** Restaurant Piano (Rauhankatu 15)

## PANEL SESSIONS SCHEDULE

<b>June 11</b>			
<i>Session 1</i>		<i>Session 2</i>	
<b>1:00 pm to 3:45 pm</b>	Panel 1 Panel 4 Panel 9 Panel 12 Panel 22	<b>4:15 to 7:00 pm</b>	Panel 1(II) Panel 4 (II) Panel 8 Panel 12(II) Panel 18 Panel 23
<b>2:00 pm to 3:45 pm</b>	Panel 14 Panel 16 Panel 20	<b>4:30 pm to 6:30 pm</b>	Screening A
<b>June 12</b>			
<i>Session 3</i>		<i>Session 4</i>	
<b>9:00 am to 11.45 am</b>	Panel 2 Panel 6 Panel 7 Panel 10 Panel 17 Panel 19 Panel 21	<b>12:45 pm to 3:30 pm</b>	Panel 3 Panel 5 Panel 11 Panel 13 Panel 15 Panel 19 Panel 21 Screening B



# **ABSTRACTS**

## KEYNOTE SESSIONS

Keynote Session 1. June 11, 9:30 am.

**Moderator: Florencia Quesada**

### ***The Political Ontology of Territorial Struggles***

**Arturo Escobar** (University of North Carolina)

The talk develops the framework of political ontology to examine contemporary struggles for the defense of life and territory in Latin America at present. Environmental conflicts and struggles over territory and place, it is argued, can be seen as ontological struggles for the defense of relational worlds. In this context, the knowledge and categories created by activists and communities constitute privileged spaces for imagining the kinds of transitions needed to face the profound ecological and social crisis facing the Planet. The argument is illustrated with recent Afro-Colombian mobilizations against extractivism and mining.

### ***Exclusión y migración forzada en Centroamérica***

**Carlos Sandoval** (Universidad de Costa Rica)

Esta presentación argumenta que en Centroamérica se desencadenan procesos de emigración forzada, especialmente como consecuencia de políticas neoliberales. Simultáneamente, se da un incremento de controles migratorios, entre los cuales se pueden citar la externalización de fronteras y el cumplimiento de la ley (“Law enforcement”), que hacen de la posibilidad de inmigrar una alternativa muy difícil. A ello se

agrega la actividad del crimen organizado en regiones por donde los migrantes procuran avanzar hacia los Estados Unidos. Estas dinámicas de exclusión y control revelan las dificultades del capitalismo por contener las contradicciones generadas por sus propias políticas. Es decir, el desmantelamiento de las economías locales y regionales procura extender negocios y ampliar las posibilidades de acumulación, pero desencadena migraciones que se consideran inaceptables. Cuáles podrían ser las consecuencias de estas contradicciones es, sin duda, una interrogante mayúscula. Por lo pronto, las iniciativas de solidaridad a lo largo de la ruta migratoria hacen que el panorama sea menos desgarrador.

Keynote Session 2. June 12, 4:00pm.

**Moderator: Anja Nygren**

***“Nuevos ensayos en política y desarrollo en América del Sur: 5 historias, 5 lecciones”***

**Eduardo Gudynas** (Centro Latino Americano de Ecología Social, CLAES)

En los últimos 15 años, en América del Sur, se observan un conjunto de procesos destacados en los campos de la política (tanto ciudadana, partidaria como estatal), y el desarrollo (en sentido amplio). Esos procesos revelan tanto cambios como permanencias, innovaciones como retrocesos. Algunos de ellos se examinan en la presentación, enfatizando cinco historias desde casos específicos, de las que se derivan cinco lecciones a ser atendidas.

1) Los extractivismos adquirieron enorme importancia, tanto en versiones conservadores reajustadas como progresistas. Estos generaron efectos de derrames sobre distintas dimensiones sociales, económicas, políticas e incluso culturales.

2) Se expresaron distintas variedades de desarrollo, que inicialmente parecían muy distintas entre sí, pero ha quedado en evidencia que todas ellas comparten un basamento común en cómo entienden el progreso, el bienestar y la Naturaleza.

3) Las ideas del Buen Vivir emergieron como nuevos tipos de cuestionamientos, que atacaban esas bases compartidas por las variedades de desarrollo y buscaban alternativas post-capitalistas y post-socialistas (y por lo tanto más allá de la Modernidad). Esto generó reacciones desde la defensa del desarrollo, tanto por izquierda como por derecha.

4) La evolución política de estas dinámicas permite identificar al menos tres tendencias: (a) una izquierda plural que buscó seguir explorando alternativas, (b) intentos frustrados de conformar una ruta progresista, pero que retornaron a posturas conservadoras (y tal vez neoliberales), y (c) la consolidación del progresismo, como gran experimento político que adquiere una identidad propia.

Todo esto genera nuevos escenarios para los estudios latinoamericanos.

***Mining, risk and climate resilience: governing extractives in El Salvador and Peru***

**Anthony Bebbington** (Clark University)

The presentation explores the interactions between extractive industry, climate change and environmental governance through the lenses of double exposure, double movements, resilience and risk.

The first part of the talk addresses the nature and scope of investments in extractive industries in Latin America. The geography of these investments is changing the actual and perceived distribution of exposure and risk in the region. The nature of this risk is also being affected by climate change and its implications for the geographies of water and land-use. Much of the contention surrounding extractive industries can be understood as conflicts over the unequal distribution of this risk, how to interpret its significance and the ways in which resilience might be enhanced to respond to it.

The final section of the talk discusses the ways in which mining governance and governance for resilience converge and, on the basis of recent (failed) efforts in El Salvador to pass legislation that would have introduced an indefinite suspension of mining, analyzes the difficulties in governing extractive industry in a way that manages risk, builds resilience and finds bridges between the constraints of governing and the concerns of social movements. This section draws directly on my own experience working on the government side of these negotiations.

## PANELS

### **1. FRACTURED GROUND: EXPLORING IDEAS OF EXTRACTION AND POST-EXTRACTION**

Coordinator: John Andrew McNeish (Norwegian University of Life Sciences)

Conflicts over natural resources in Latin America are evidently not only focused on fissures made in the ground, but are evidently connected to deep fractures with society. Whilst we might agree with Mitchell (2011) that energy extraction and development of governance structures are mutually constitutive in the course of history, and that hydrocarbons in particular have shaped both the possibilities and limitations of modern democracy, we must also question how these global processes reflect context specific socio-economic ideas and interactions.

The panel studies specific cases of resource extraction in Latin America with an aim to highlighting the role that resource struggles have as part of deep-seated struggles over the meaning of society, nature and their relationship in the future. As such the panel highlights the intimate relationship between natural resource extraction and violent conflict, models of development and competing epistemologies. Put simply, we recognize that struggles for natural resources are not only about material wealth, but localized struggles for power and knowledge.

In doing so we consider the way in which natural resources play into the historic development of Latin America as idea not only as place, from the pre-colonial era to the present. We consider the place and significance of natural resources within

the region's political economy and the formation of inter-class relationships and self-perceptions. We also importantly consider recent regional political, legal and intellectual efforts to premise an alternative model for development on ideas of post-extraction and living well. Some of the results of which are new constitutions where rights (including those of nature) are enhanced and indigenous claims for territorial autonomy acknowledged, but glaring contradictions also become evident between these projects and economic necessity and desire. Here it becomes clear that as much as energy resources generate struggle and produce limitations, they are also part of a wider process to spur and negotiate positive economic, democratic and cultural change.

John-Andrew McNeish (Norwegian University of Life Sciences)

### **“Exploring Post-Extractivism in Latin America”**

This paper will critically assess current proposals for a “post-extractive” alternative development model in Latin America. Whilst the profits generated by extraction over the last decade have significantly contributed to improvement in wide range of development indicators, the rising numbers of clashes between local communities, states and private corporations have also made evident the negative consequences of the extractives boom. In the face of these negative impacts a new movement of Latin American intellectuals have acted in connection with civil society and environmental organizations to protest and propose alternative principles for development. Drawing on indigenous ideas of socio-natural harmony and radical proposals for decolonialism, these scholars propose a “post-

extractivist” model that rejects the destructive tendencies of Western political and economic thought. In this paper I critically assess these post-extractive ideas and proposals by drawing on recent research on the politics and anthropology of extractive activities in Bolivia and Colombia. The paper contrasts the philosophical strength and empirical contradictions of post-extractive ideas. It furthermore argues that a transition away from a reliance on resource extraction requires acknowledgement, not denial, of historical technological, social and environmental complexities.

Juan Pablo Sarmiento Barletti (Durham University)

**“The Political Ontology of a Social Conflict: Clashing Conceptions of Humanity, Territory, and Ownership in the Peruvian Amazon”**

In this paper I argue that the current social conflicts between states and indigenous peoples at the Latin American extractive frontier can be best understood, and thus addressed, by approaching them as ontological struggles. I focus on the participation of Ashaninka people, an indigenous society in the Peruvian Amazon, in the Amazonian National Strike of 2009. The Strike opposed a series of laws proposed by the then President Alan Garcia, accompanied by the agenda set in his ‘Dog in the Manger’ articles, that put their right to territory in peril in favour of extractive industries. The Strike involved a series of motorway, river, and airport blockades, which violently culminated in lethal clashes between indigenous people and the police outside the city of Bagua (el Baguazo). I argue that the indigenous demands for territorio were misrepresented by the state due to an underlying misunderstanding of what was at stake in their demands. In the

Ashaninka case, territorio is a translation of aipatsite ('our earth') that is deployed for political representation purposes. Yet, in their everyday experience aipatsite is regarded as a more-than-human agent that cannot be owned as property, but can only be engaged with through relationships of care.

Markus Kröger (University of Helsinki) and Rickard Lalander (Stockholm University)

### **“Ethnic-Territorial Rights and the Resource Extraction Boom in Latin America: Do Constitutions Matter?”**

In the 2000s, a growing number of rural groups in Latin America achieved deepened and expanded ethnic-territorial rights, and large land areas were protected by new progressive constitutions. This development has been followed by a resource extraction boom, which has ended up creating conflicts between the two tendencies, as groups have demanded for de facto recognition of their new de jure rights. By comparing both positive and negative de jure and de facto-right protection cases in Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, and other Latin American countries, this paper explores whether – and to which extent- constitutional reforms have mattered in these dynamics. The results indicate that the new progressive constitutions are useful for movements in conflict. Moreover, progressive constitutions may also offer governments and companies the possibility to show they are operating in an ethical environment. However, the constitutional provision of ethnic-territorial rights per se is not sufficient, nor necessarily a causal condition for local rural populations to attain autonomy or local land control. The findings are important for social movement theories, new constitutionalism, agrarian change,

and the study of new extractivism, particularly in Latin America.

Monica Amador, University of Oslo

**“Outsourcing en un campo petrolero: De la Texas a los Chinos en Puerto Boyaca”**

Producto del trabajo etnográfico en el Campo Petrolero Velásquez en el Magdalena Medio colombiano, esta ponencia explora la articulación de prácticas y estructuras legales e ilegales en la industria petrolera, en particular es una reflexión sobre el outsourcing como catalizador del entramado que hace posible el extractivismo en Colombia. El caso estudiado recoge elementos para una discusión más global sobre el boom petrolero en América Latina, ya que el Campo petrolero donde se hizo la etnografía es propiedad de las empresas estatales asiáticas: Sinopec (China) y ONGC (India), lo que permite problematizar la creciente curiosidad sobre la emergencia de actores asiáticos y sus prácticas laborales y ambientales en otros lugares fuera de sus países de origen. Como todo trabajo etnográfico, el propósito de esta reflexión está fuertemente atada a la realidad local y a las particularidades colombianas. En esta se muestra una experiencia de los chinos afuera, diferente a la de los chinos en África. Colombia tiene su historia y construcciones heterogéneas de ciudadanía, resultado de 60 años de conflicto armado, ajustes estructurales y luchas sociales, en donde los locales no son pasivos ante los asiáticos. Esta interacción es observable en la respuesta de sindicatos, comunidades y administradores colombianos a la iniciativa China. El encuentro entre chinos y colombianos en busca de crudo, es pues el escenario en donde se reflexiona sobre la

transformación de territorios, instituciones y subjetividades en una Colombia camino al “postconflicto”.

Maria Ehrnström-Fuentes (Hanken School of Economics) and Markus Kröger (University of Helsinki)

**“In the Shadows of Social License to Operate: Untold Investment Grievances in Latin America”**

The concept of SLO has spread rapidly from mining to other sectors, forestry included. The past decade has seen a massive increase in industrial forestry investment in Latin America, focusing in Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, and visible in massive tree plantations re-ordering rural relations, landscapes and land uses. While Brazil and Chile have witnessed extensive socio-environmental conflicts in the form of rural communities' movements and NGOs protests and campaigns, Uruguay has been seen as a relatively conflict-free country. However, our empirical studies in Latin America illustrate how it is problematic to say that industrial forestry would have an SLO even in Uruguay, given that there are several voices from rural communities, for example, which radically contradict the tenets of SLO. To focus on corporate SLO may lead to the false idea that a given population would have accepted something too unanimously, which can lead to surprises as the dynamic quality of legitimacy is forgotten. These notes help to put the SLO into the context of rapidly changing and contested rural realities of the global South, and question the applicability of the concept, illustrating areas needing further conceptual discussion.

Keywords: Social License to Operate, legitimacy, corporate resource exploitation, natural resource politics, Latin America, industrial forestry, grievances

Maija Merimaa (University of Helsinki)

**“Tensions in Environmental Politics in Ecuador. Analysis of Political Expectations and Perceived Challenges”**

In the first years of Rafael Correa’s presidency Ecuador’s progressive environmental policies aroused global interest. However, eight years after Correa’s first election Ecuador’s economic dependency on extractivist activities has increased, and the government is in an open conflict with environmental opposition. In my presentation I seek to understand the origins of these tensions by presenting an analysis of interviews conducted in Ecuador in February –May 2015.

The focus of my presentation is on how different actors - Indigenous movement, environmental organizations, local opponents and proponents of extractivist activities, agroindustriales and government representatives - perceive the state of environmental policies in Ecuador. By analysing the their discourses I seek to understand what different actors expect from their country’s environmental policies, what they consider it’s main challenges and what is causing the tensions between government and its critics.

Theoretically my presentation relates to the discussion on post-development. I ask what is the future –be it future development or an alternative to development – that different actors in Ecuador are advocating for. My focus is on environmental aspects of post-development theories, and I ask what environmental compromises are considered (in)acceptable and for what reasons, and how nature-society –relations are defined in different discourses.

Iselin Åsedotter Strønen (Chr. Michelsen Institute)

**“Envisioning a post-petro state? Critical discourses on oil-led development from within the Bolivarian process in Venezuela”**

Venezuela is often taken to be the epitome of a so-called “petro-state”. Since its historical foundation as a “modern” state in the early 20th century, Venezuelan society, economy and political economy has been intrinsically shaped by the extraction of “black gold”. Central in the political discourse of the late president Hugo Chavez was a criticism of not only the lack of redistribution of oil revenues but also of the country’s oil dependency and the “rentenist” mentality of many of the country’s citizens. Moreover, Chavez was a vocal critic of the capitalist oil-dependent system and its consequences in terms of climate change. Yet so, there is a profound ambivalence within the “Bolivarian project” evolving under and after Chavez with regards to the question of oil. In spite of awareness both amongst political leaders, ideologues as well as popular intellectuals about the need to break with the country’s oil dependency, both politically, economically, as well as culturally, such critical thinking has not come to the fore in the otherwise vocal debates about how “the Bolivarian Revolution” or alternatively “Socialism for the 21 century”, shall evolve. Locating the analysis within a historical perspective that addresses how the ambivalence over oil wealth has been a central tenant in the Venezuelan public ever since oil was first discovered, the paper will discuss how criticism against Venezuela’s continuous oil-led development and “oil culture” has been framed and circulated in public debate in recent years, and how this ties in with similar debates at the continent

Maria-Therese Gustafsson (Stockholm University)

**“Ordenamiento territorial como mecanismo para influenciar prácticas extractivas”**

Hay distintos mecanismos participativos en la gobernanza ambiental que todavía no se han dado mucha atención en el debate académico. En Perú, la sociedad civil ha puesto presión al estado para implementar procesos de Ordenamiento Territorial. Este proceso es constituido a través de la zonificación y la planificación del territorio. Ordenamiento Territorial es un proceso altamente político en que la sociedad civil, el sector privado e instituciones estatales están representados en el proceso de las negociaciones sobre el desarrollo territorial. Como muchos conflictos están relacionados, de incompatibles demandas al territorio, los actores de la sociedad civil y las fuerzas dentro del estado, argumentan que la zonificación y planificación del territorio van a reducir los conflictos socio-ambientales. Este artículo analiza, bajo qué condiciones, las poblaciones locales pueden influir en las prácticas extractivas y contribuir en la construcción de un desarrollo alternativo a través del proceso de ordenamiento territorial. El artículo utiliza teorías de sociedad civil, participación e influencia en contextos de relaciones de poder asimétricas y compara dos procesos de ordenamiento territorial en los Andes Peruanos.

Arturo Ezquerro-Canete (Saint Mary's University, Canada)

**“The Soy Boom in Paraguay: Progressive Extractivism or Agribusiness as usual?”**

There is a widespread understanding in critical scholarly literature that, across the heterogeneous field of Latin America politics, there has been a shift away from the Washington Consensus. This shift has led to the formation of a variety of ‘post-neoliberal’ states that have managed to integrate an intensified extractive model with a progressive social agenda based on poverty alleviation programs. The empirical record of Paraguay’s economic development model, however, stands out as a significant counterexample to the experience of its neighbours. Indeed, in contrast to the Left in much of South America, which pursues various forms of ‘progressive neo-extractivism,’ the Paraguayan Left, under the administration of Fernando Lugo (2008-2012), was frustrated in implementing similar reforms to resolve its endemic problems of poverty and inequality. How can we explain the mystery of Paraguayan divergence from the neo-extractivist project so prevalent throughout the region? This paper analyses Paraguay’s rapid expansion of soybean production –understood here as agro-extractivism– and explores how powerful vested interests, supported by the opposition-led conservative Congress, repeatedly blocked key funding streams for the Left’s social welfare and poverty alleviation programs. It argues that Paraguay’s continued reliance on a development model rooted in the exploitation of natural resources, without ‘progressive neo-extractivist’ reform, reflects neoliberal continuities as well as the political stronghold of an entrenched and predatory elite.

## **2. GOING BEYOND EXTRACTIVISM? ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF MODERNITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AMERICA**

Coordinator: Milton Almonacid (Copenhagen Business School)  
Comentator: Teivo Teivainen

Governments in South America remain highly dependent on raw material exports for revenue, and the resurgence of nominally leftist governments in recent years has not reversed this trend. In fact, many countries have increased levels of extraction in order to use the proceeds to finance social programs for the poor and middle classes. Despite positive gains in poverty alleviation, the model of development based on the extraction of natural resources has faced frequent and strong criticism from environmental and indigenous activists, in particular. Extractivism has become one of the main points of contention between supporters and critics of the growth-oriented development pursued by South American governments.

In this context, the panel wishes to critically discuss extractivism and explore alternative conceptualizations of modernity and development found in contemporary South America. Drawing on decolonial studies and postcolonial theory, the panel presents case studies and discusses methodologies for integrating alternative conceptualizations of modernity into development theory and practice in South America.

Mara Duer (Warwick University)

**“Enclosure and Land Production in Araucanía. A Case from the Global South”**

Global commodification of land is changing form. Previously, many rural areas lay outside the scope of state and capital, allowing local communities to interact with land for subsistence and social reproduction. The current phase of capitalist development has seen these places redefined as ‘under-used’ land. But while these represent an asset for the global market, people living there represent an obstacle for development. This gives rise to land acquisition involving the displacement of so-called ‘surplus population’ (McIntyre and Nast, 2011). In this schema, land is needed but people are not (Li, 2011). Technologies of spatial governance create a new regime of bio/necropolitical enclosure, dismantling the social functions of land for local communities and further estranging them from it. Practices of enclosure have become a framing mechanism through which land is incorporated into productive social functions. Since the ‘discovery’ of America, enclosure practices have simplified the continent’s land as property and resource, and, in IR, as terrain and territory. Other understandings of, and relations to, land have been banalised, marginalised, invisibilised – and attacked. In this paper, different regimes of enclosure (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012) will be historicised using the key case of Araucanía as a region that still contests land in its meaning, practices and representations. A de-colonial approach will illustrate how hierarchical and racial practices of enclosure and control work to discipline peoples and land under the colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 2010)

Juan Camacho Cueva (University of Freiburg, Germany)

**“Políticas extractivas y opciones de acción de los pueblos indígenas alrededor del proyecto Camisea”**

Mi investigación tiene como objeto dilucidar la constelación de poderes al rededor del proyecto de Gas de Camisea en el Perú, como un caso representativo para casos de extracción de recursos. En este sentido las preguntas centrales una vez identificados a los actores involucrados con el proyecto de Camisea y sus posiciones de poder (Gramsci, Foucault) es el de dilucidar los intereses, estrategias y poderes implícitos de negociación de estos actores para acceder a los recursos naturales. Finalmente el proyecto de investigación pretende llevar adelante un estudio para encontrar en qué medida los indígenas tienen la capacidad de negociación o en la implementación de sus intereses en cuyo enfoque se pretende tematizar el sumaq kawsay y el enfoque del chanin kawsay como parte complementaria al Sumaq Kawsay (enfoque propio de los pueblos del bajo Urubamba, Cusco).

La noción de desarrollo, entendida en un sentido clásico, ha jugado un papel fundamental para la consolidación de un aparato jurídico e institucional enmarcado dentro de un modelo extractivista. En esta medida, mi propósito en esta propuesta es preguntar si en el escenario extractivista que se analiza, el discurso del desarrollo que se articula a través de la legislación colombiana y que se ha creado en un contexto transnacional se puede comprender como una manifestación de la colonialidad del poder/saber.

Rickard Lalander (Stockholm University)

**“Moral Philosophical and Historical Reflections on Sumak Kawsay and the Good Way of Living in Ecuador: Challenging the connotations of modernity and development?”**

The ancient Indigenous (Kichwa) ethical and philosophical conception of Sumak Kawsay (Buen-vivir/Good Life) is undoubtedly among the most resonating of recent conceptualizations (and criticisms) of modernity and development in Latin America. The principles of Sumak Kawsay and the Good Way of Living have been established as the backbone of the new Ecuadorian Constitution of 2008. However, the practical and ethical interpretations of what Sumak Kawsay and Buen Vivir really imply as a fundament of the functioning of society vary a lot. Even though many interpreters broadly agree that this philosophy advocates a harmonic relationship between human beings and the environment, and likewise arises as an alternative to the idea of development (understood as economic progress/growth) questioning its mere essence, the practical and moral philosophical differences in the definition of the concepts are broad. For instance, some advocates emphasize Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir as a post-colonial project. Others emphasize the concept as part of a welfare reform. Scholars also disagree regarding to which degree Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir is an ecological project. This paper discusses the recent debate and standpoints regarding Sumak Kawsay and Buen Vivir in Ecuador from a historical perspective. Thus far no study has thoroughly examined how recent debates on Sumak Kawsay and Buen Vivir relates to previous debates in the Amazon of the late 1990s and early 2000s. The authors lean on

ethnographic fieldwork in the Ecuadorian Amazon since the late 1990s and in the Northern highlands since 2004.

Julia Suárez-Krabbe (Roskilde University)

**“World-System and Earth-System. Political Ontology and Alternatives to Development”**

This paper explores the relationship between power (manifested as ‘development’), ontology and subjectivity. Power interacts dialectically with subject formation, opening up several possibilities to people, including participation, resistance, subversion, avoidance and inaction, as well as the forging of a range of political ideas. The understanding of these political subjectivities and their relevance beyond their own localised settings is often inhibited by approaches to development that leave its underlying ontological assumptions unchallenged. Political ontology (Blaser, Escobar, de la Cadena) is useful to challenge these assumptions, placing development as one of the expressions of a specific, historically formed and globalised political ontology, and as one among many political ontologies that exist in territories considered targets of development. On this basis the paper discusses two notions opposing the dominant conception of development: world-system (cf. Wallerstein) and earth-system (Solon). What kind of political practices do these concepts authorize, and which ones are sanctioned? The discussion implies taking into account the political ontology that underpins decolonial perspectives, as well as that which underpins conceptualizations inspired in indigenous philosophies and spiritualities, and the (political) subjectivities that these notions produce.

Michela Coletta (University of Warwick/ILAS)

**“Critique of Modern Reason: Alternative Ecologies in Latin American Critical Thought”**

The Latin American natural landscape has been imagined and mapped based on the underlying assumption of an absence of human history, while nature has continued to dominate the imaginary of the region - ecotourism being its latest development. Various interpretations, for instance, have been suggested about Columbus' frustration at not being able to name the flora of the New World and thus immediately identify the economic value of his new possessions. The Euro-modern paradigm based on the pursuit of growth through the objectification of the natural world has recently been challenged in Latin America in relation to the politics of social, economic and environmental sustainability. By drawing on recent and current theoretical approaches to modernity, this paper seeks to offer an analysis of alternative conceptual frameworks that have emerged in Latin America on the relationship between the human and the natural worlds. Starting from the analysis of the pioneering ecological thinking of Argentine intellectual Rodolfo Kusch (1922-1979), the paper will set his work and ideas in relation to contemporary debates on 'decoloniality' and post-development. The aim is to identify original categories by shedding new light on a movement of critical thought that has produced a timely revision of modernist intellectual, political and economic paradigms.

### **3. GREEN-TECH RESOURCES IN LATIN AMERICAN NEO-EXTRACTIVISM**

Coordinators: Axel Anlauf (University of Freiburg, Germany), Isabella Radhuber (University of Freiburg, Germany) & Janine Romero (University of Erfurt)

In the wake of multiple global crises, green growth has been proposed as an important alternative development strategy. The promise of a post-carbon society build on alternative energy sources is tempting. It persuades the possibility of a constant level of energy consumption even after peak oil and without further contributing to global climate change. Yet, besides carbon emissions other factors are decisive for the assessment of socio-ecological sustainability and fairness. Green technology expansion develops new resource needs whereby global business and energy hungry states increasingly focus on Latin America to secure strategic resources. Examples include the expansion of lithium exploitation in the triangle between Chile, Argentina and Bolivia, coltan mining in Colombia or the use of land for biofuel production, hydropower installations, wind or solar parks. Similar to traditional „brown” commodities, newly demanded greentech resources are exploited within asymmetric power relations. They are likely to deepen social, political and environmental inequalities since the extensive appropriation of nature to supply a “green economy“ endangers ecosystems and livelihoods of local communities. While the continuities and changes of resource policies within the contemporary pink tide are extensively discussed within the neo- extractivism debate, specific dynamics and discourses around greentech resources have only marginally received attention in this context.

The panel focuses on the interlinked challenges as well as benefits of a greentech commodity boom in Latin America. We are interested in different case studies on the exploitation and use of resources and alternative energy sources for global green development as well as papers on methodological or theoretical dimensions of the topic. Contributions are invited from all scientific fields and can for instance focus on conflict, governance, regional integration initiatives or political economies in general. We invite both historical analyses and future scenario contributions.

Pía Marchegiani (FLACSO-Argentina/ FARN)

**“Global benefit, local losses? Can green-tech resources secure sustainable development at all levels? A local case of lithium extraction in Argentina”**

The re-discovery of lithium as a key supply for batteries for electronic devices and electric vehicles places the politics and policies of this mineral in an important position for the information technology and climate change debates.

As one of the three countries of the “Southern lithium triangle” Argentina is receiving with great enthusiasm the opportunities presented and is trying to create a support structure for the production of batteries in the country. While these strategies are directed to overcome its traditional role as a natural resource’s exporter (central for the national government’s rhetoric), not much attention is being paid to the practical implications of these policies at a local level. Also, there is little discussion on the concrete social and environmental impacts that lithium extraction and production processes have on the ground.

Thus, this paper analyses an environmental impact assessment (EIA) process of the Olaroz-Caucharí project as a local decision making case. It looks at three factors which contribute to the efficiency of EIA process in improving projects in terms of their environmental performance: 1) the process design; 2) the characteristics of citizen participation; 3) the external context of the project. After analysing the three set of factors, the paper concludes that the EIA process for the case had limitations in integrating environmental and social concerns into the project. Also, it calls the attention on the challenges that arise at national and global levels to avoid the contradiction between global benefits and local losses.

Andrés Núñez González (Universidad Católica de Chile) y Enrique Aliste (Universidad de Chile)

**“En nombre de la naturaleza: neocolonización, conservación ambiental y control de la propiedad en Patagonia-Aysen (Chile)”**

El territorio de la Patagonia-Aysén ha estado inserto en la construcción de un imaginario geográfico de escala nacional. Así, se han definido desde inicios del siglo XX una serie de mecanismos de institucionalización del espacio, tales como exploraciones geográficas y políticas de colonización e integración. Esos dispositivos, a escala nacional, han tenido un carácter centro-periferia, al formar parte de discursos de desarrollo originados desde el poder político. En este marco, interesa poner atención al discurso del desarrollo proyectado para Patagonia-Aysén desde el término de la dictadura militar (1989) en tanto impone una nueva fase de territorialización para la región. Una de las características más relevantes de este periodo es la fuerte liberalización económica para la zona y por

lo mismo la aparición de un mercado activo en torno a los productos turísticos y de conservación de la naturaleza. Aquello ha impactado fuertemente en la propiedad de la tierra, reestructurándola con base en una fuerte especulación. Esta etapa no es ajena al proceso de globalización, por lo que la condición fronteriza de Patagonia-Aysén es conflicto y tensión entre posiciones que persisten en su integración física y otras que especulan -bajo el slogan “Aysén Reserva de Vida”- con la imagen de su posición periférica. De este modo, el discurso de la conservación y la protección de la naturaleza, a escala global, se visualiza como un renovado mecanismo de colonialidad centro-periferia de aquellos territorios australes.

Miriam Boyer (Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Berlin)

### **“Two Shades of Green: The Role of Nature in Valuation Processes”**

Certain resources have been designated as ‘green’ due to their purported potential as alternative energy sources in the context of peak oil (e.g. lithium extraction, wind parks, agrofuels). While these have been studied from the perspective of how they have reshaped social inequalities in the region, inequalities also stem from a different process of ‘greening’ that has received less attention. Here, ‘green’ designates the role of nature—and in particular living nature—in the transformation of valuation processes.

For some of the dominant global industries ‘green resources’ are interesting as a new transformative power in production, in particular in the form of new biotechnologies (e.g. the manipulation of crop plants for the production of pharmaceuticals; yeast cells for the production of industrial inputs). Moreover, according to a number of scholars have

identified that ‘green resources’ play a key role in valuation if they can be (cheaply) appropriated, rather than valuated. Here, prominent examples include agricultural crops but also human natures in the form of labor. Expanding on previous work within the research network, ‘desigualdades.net’ the paper explores what this other sense of ‘green’ can mean for the reconfiguration of inequalities. In addition to reshaping ‘classical’ inequalities in terms of power relations, access to resources and the distribution of risks, new dimensions of global inequalities become visible, including inequalities in labor power and the labor process as well as new socioeconomic inequalities due to devaluation.

Dr. Barbara Göbel (Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Berlin)

**“Lithium as a new green-tech strategic resource: Local conflicts - new opportunities - transregional inequalities”**

Lithium batteries play a crucial role in the development of more sustainable lifestyles and “green technologies” (transformation of the energy mix with more renewables and electric mobility). The so called “lithium triangle” with the Salar de Atacama (Chile), the Salar de Uyuni (Bolivia), and a couple of smaller salars in northwestern Argentina, holds about 70 % of the worldwide exploitable lithium brine reserves. The expectations of an increasing global demand for lithium triggered economic interests, raised political attention and societal awareness on these peripheral regions. Based on research in Atacama different scenarios of negotiation between local indigenous communities, mining companies and the state will be presented. Strategies range from long-term financial arrangements through corporate social responsibility mechanisms, fast-track low compensations through clientelist

networks up to open opposition of the communities towards lithium mining. Despite the different outcomes, these negotiations are embedded in persistent configurations of inequalities. At the same time indigenous actors strategically use the symbolic value of lithium in order to gain empowerment.

Evelyn Linde (Freie Universität Berlin)

**“Un análisis interseccional de la generación de conocimientos para la industrialización de los recursos evaporíticos en el Salar de Uyuni”**

La investigación acerca del neoextractivismo pocas veces asume una perspectiva integral de género. La metodología de la interseccionalidad, no obstante, permite realizar un análisis de las interrelaciones entre categorías de desigualdad con una perspectiva integral de género. Lograr económicamente y en la generación de conocimientos una nueva posición en el mundo – Esta meta establece la GNRE, entidad responsable del proyecto estatal de la industrialización de los recursos evaporíticos en los salares de Bolivia. La industrialización del litio y la producción de baterías de ión litio son de suma importancia también para un país como Alemania, donde las tecnologías verdes juegan un papel clave. Por lo tanto resulta interesante analizar los entrelazamientos existentes entre Alemania y Bolivia en la generación de conocimientos. Dependiendo de las tecnologías aplicadas, existe el peligro de que la región se convierta en la “zona de sacrificio” de la transición energética de los países del Norte Global. En la investigación expuesta se analizará cuáles conocimientos se generan para la industrialización de los recursos evaporíticos en el Salar de Uyuni y quién produce las tecnologías para quién.

Junto al proyecto estatal cabe mencionar que existe un proyecto que investigó en una tecnología divergente a la de GNRE. La Universidad Autónoma Tomás Frías inventó en cooperación con la TU Bergakademie Freiberg la tecnología de los conos de evaporación solar. En la comparación de los dos proyectos se pretende enfocar los diferentes entrelazamientos entre categorías de desigualdad.

#### **4. NATURAL RESOURCES, SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENTAL TRAJECTORIES IN LATIN AMERICA: DO PEOPLE FIGHT FOR ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT?**

Coordinador: Javier Arellano-Yanguas

Comentarista: Anthony Bebbington (Clark University)

La mayoría de los gobiernos latinoamericanos, independientemente de su signo político han apostado por promover la inversión en la extracción de minerales e hidrocarburos y en la agricultura a gran escala. El proceso ha transformando los regímenes de control del territorio, dando mayor poder a inversores extranjeros. En este contexto, se evidencia el aumento del número de conflictos sociales que enfrenta a pobladores rurales con empresas y estado. Frecuentemente esos conflictos son presentados en términos de colisión entre distintos modelos de desarrollo: las poblaciones locales defienden un tipo de desarrollo que es incompatible con un modelo basado en la preeminencia del capital y la concentración de recursos y poder. Aunque esa incompatibilidad sea real, la evolución de la confrontación puede desvelar la coexistencia dentro de las poblaciones locales de visiones diversas que en función de su fuerza relativa dan lugar a negociaciones y procesos de acomodo a las nuevas circunstancias. Entender cómo se dan esos procesos a nivel local y cómo influyen en las trayectorias de desarrollo en las que se embarcan esos territorios es de suma importancia. Los papers que se presentan en este panel analizan procesos en distintas regiones rurales de países latinoamericanos en los que en los últimos 15 años se han dado conflictos en torno a la expansión de la inversión en Industrias Extractivas y/o la agricultura a gran escala . El análisis se centra en los procesos

socio-políticos que han tenido lugar en los espacios locales y el tipo de desarrollo al que se encaminan esas regiones, tratando de evaluar hasta qué punto la forma de abordar el conflicto influye en la trayectoria de desarrollo de la región.

Javier Arellano-Yanguas (Universidad de Deusto)

**“Devolving the wealth or the curse? The politics of devolving natural resource revenues to local governments in four Andean countries”**

Los gobiernos de los países latinoamericanos que han optado por la promoción de la minería y la explotación de hidrocarburos tienen que responder a los crecientes reclamos de las poblaciones directamente afectadas por las industrias extractivas (IE). La transferencia de parte de los ingresos fiscales generados por las IE a los gobiernos sub-nacionales de las zonas productoras ha sido una de las estrategias empleadas para responder a esos reclamos.

La comparación de Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador y Perú ayuda a entender los factores políticos e institucionales que influyen en los distintos modelos de distribución de los ingresos fiscales de la minería e hidrocarburos seguidos en cada país. La comparación revela que existen dos factores claves para explicar el mayor o menor grado de devolución al nivel local: (i) la distinta fuerza de las movilizaciones locales y (ii) el tipo de actores presentes en las movilizaciones y su vinculación con la política nacional. El paper también adelanta algunos hallazgos sobre cómo la manera en la que esas políticas de distribución se han construido influye en la manera en la que se gastan las transferencias y, por tanto, su capacidad de generar desarrollo local.

Alejandro Schweitzer (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas - Universidad Nacional de la Patagonia Austral)

**“Conflictos por el territorio y los bienes comunes en la Patagonia Sur”**

La Patagonia sur es desde mediados del Siglo XIX espacio de ocupación para la puesta en valor de la riqueza de sus bienes comunes naturales del suelo, subsuelo y el litoral marítimo, en dinámicas se enmarcan en procesos de desarrollo geográfico desigual y expansión del capital hacia espacios donde las condiciones de explotación de mano de obra y de la naturaleza son más favorables.

En el marco del actual escenario de convergencia de pautas de consumo material y aumento de demanda de recursos de la naturaleza asociados la emergencia de China entre otras nuevas potencias, se reproducen y acrecientan en la Patagonia mecanismos históricos de expansión de fronteras internas y de transferencia de bienes materiales desde las actividades extractivas y localizadas en espacios rurales hacia los grandes espacios de consumo mundial.

A fin de asegurar el proceso de valorización del territorio los países de la región adoptan modelos neodesarrollistas donde el Estado disputa por la participación en la renta aplicando políticas pro-cíclicas. En Argentina y la Patagonia Sur en particular, estos procesos entran en conflicto y generan resistencias locales y regionales tanto por el acceso a bienes comunes como por proyectos de territorio asentados en modelos alternativos.

En la presente ponencia se apunta a presentar las dinámicas de los procesos de expansión del capital en la Patagonia Sur, las resistencias emergentes y las configuraciones territoriales

resultantes en tanto cristalización en el espacio de relaciones sociales cada vez más conflictivas.

María del Pilar Bernal Gómez (Universidad de Deusto)  
**“Transformación de los territorios por conflictos sociales en contextos de extracción: petróleo y carbón en Colombia”**

En los últimos 20 años Colombia ha vivido una acelerada expansión del sector extractivo como motor del crecimiento económico, al igual que varios países en Latinoamérica. Junto a la ampliación del número de territorios dedicados a la extracción de recursos naturales, se vive la proliferación de conflictos sociales a nivel local y se incrementan los debates respecto a la capacidad de este tipo de actividad para generar desarrollo en sus zonas de influencia.

Para entender las dinámicas que se generan alrededor del desarrollo de Industrias Extractivas en lo local el estudio tiene dos puntos de partida. Primero, la comprensión del conflicto social como una forma de interacción entre actores que produce cambios y exige procesos de adecuación del sistema social, económico y político. Segundo, la posibilidad de transformación que tienen los conflictos sociales a lo largo de su trayectoria de desarrollo. Con este marco la ponencia presenta, a través de dos estudios de caso ubicados en el norte (Cesar) y el suroriente (Meta) del país, los distintos tipos de conflictos que ocurren en los lugares donde se llevan a cabo actividades de extracción de minerales e hidrocarburos, las transformaciones que ellos generan y la manera cómo su abordaje puede favorecer o entorpecer procesos de desarrollo local sostenible en los territorios.

Alicia Alemán Arrastio (Universidad de Deusto)

**“Ganarse la vida en el campo. El papel de ONGD, instituciones públicas y empresas en la promoción de capacidades para el desarrollo ”**

En el ámbito de los estudios del desarrollo, los últimos 20 años se han caracterizado por el predominio del enfoque de capacidades inspirado por Amartya Sen y promovido por el Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD). Tanto ONGD como empresas e instituciones públicas de los diferentes niveles de gobierno han ido incorporando dicho enfoque en las estrategias e intervenciones que ha implementado en el terreno. Por otra parte, se han multiplicado las aportaciones al debate sobre el desarrollo desde enfoques alternativos, postdesarrollistas, permeando así el discurso y la práctica de algunas ONGD.

La investigación estudia: i) la forma en la que dos ONGD , el Centro de Promoción del Campesinado (CIPCA) en Piura (Perú) y el Instituto Mayor Campesino (IMCA) en el Valle del Cauca (Colombia) han incorporado el enfoque de las capacidades en la promoción de actividades económico-productivas en 4 distritos rurales de Piura y 4 corregimientos del departamento del Valle del Cauca en el periodo 1994-2014, ii) la forma en que dichas capacidades han quedado o no reflejadas en los medios de vida de las familias campesinas y en las apuestas de desarrollo local, iii) la forma en que CIPCA e IMCA han interactuado con otras ONGD, instituciones públicas y empresas para el acomodo de las distintas visiones de desarrollo existentes en los territorios, iv) las potencialidades y límites del enfoque de las capacidades y de los enfoques postdesarrollistas para promover el bienestar de

las familias y de los territorios donde se producen las intervenciones inspiradas en dichos enfoques.

Maria A. Guzmán Gallegos (Rainforest Foundation Norway)  
**“Fragmenting water: Constrained spaces of influence”**

This paper focuses on a 3-year process of demands and negotiations carried out by four indigenous organizations in Loreto, in Peru. It started before the Law of Consultation was passed on, intertwining deep felt grievances caused by severe contamination of soil and water bodies due to oil extraction and ongoing socio-environmental local conflicts with newly guaranteed rights and the state’s urgency of securing oil production in the biggest oil field in Peru. The indigenous organizations, representing the communities of the basins of the Pastaza, Corrientes, Tigre and Marañón demanded state recognition of contamination and environmental damages, remediation, compensation and titling of their lands before accepting any consultation in their communities. The state declared these four basins in environmental and sanitary emergency, and in February 2015 an agreement was eventually reached. This paper focuses on what I provisionally call the “fragmentation of water”. I explore how Peru’s legal density (laws, regulations and their continuous modifications), the lack of coordination between ministries, between the central and the regional government, the ongoing compensation practices of the operator, and the difficulties of establishing trustworthy alliances between actors within civil society influence this process. The decentralization of the state and the liberalization of the extractive sector constitute spaces of political interaction that generates social fragmentation and the fragmentation of vital resources as water.

Manuela Nilsson (Linnaeus University, Sweden)

**“Restituting Land in the midst of Violence: A Case Study of Colombia”**

Land is an important natural resource particularly for developing countries, tackling poverty by providing food security and export dividends. Protracted social conflict, however, may lead to decades in which land is underused, destroyed, or changes hands in both legal and illegal ways, often related directly to power asymmetries of the conflict actors. When peace finally comes, part of social reconstruction may involve restituting that land to its rightful owners. Despite being a high priority for the international community, land restitution is often contingent upon other peacebuilding steps. However, post-conflict reconstruction necessitates rapid attention to agricultural production and resource extraction to spur development and economic growth, which in turn may help to prevent renewed conflict.

This paper is the result of a pilot study conducted on the land restitution process in Colombia. It looks particularly at the impact of land restitution on three interrelated peace building goals: security, development and transitional justice. Conducted in October 2014 with the first communities who were returned to their land, the study included interviews with the main actors involved in land restitution, ranging from international organizations to the Unit of Land Restitution in Bogotá to regional judges who ruled on land restitution to local communities that have received land and those awaiting the final legal decision. Preliminary results demonstrate the challenges to the Colombian land restitution process at all levels, particularly amidst conditions of violence.

Maria Ehrnström-Fuentes (Hanken School of Economics)

**“Building legitimacies from below: The cultivation of ‘Alternatives to Development’ in the Uruguayan countryside”**

The aim of this study is to explore how a legitimacy embedded in alternatives to development can emerge under conditions of near complete naturalization of the development imaginary. The study asks, under almost complete naturalization of development, how can marginalized voices construct alternative imaginaries for the future? This question is explored based on a case study of the Forestry Sector in Uruguay, where the extended border conflict with Argentina over the construction of a pulp mill has reinforced the political support for such industrial projects among the majority of Uruguayans. Still, many Uruguayan smallholders continue to fight a silenced battle against the spread of eucalyptus tree plantations that affect their lives by drying up water wells and depopulating the countryside. Through expert in-depth interviews with affected smallholders and NGO representatives who support their struggle, the study finds two different coping strategies to defend livelihoods among those threatened by the spread of plantations: one based on the traditional form of resistance by organizing and raising claims in the public sphere, and another one engaged in building new future imaginaries and meanings of the value of land among local community members. The article explores the possibilities that the two different strategies have to change current the favorable conditions for forestry investments, and consequently impact the perceived legitimacy and desirability.

Markus Rauchecker (Freie Universität Berlin)

**“La relevancia de la estructura del Estado en la disputa por el modelo de desarrollo en Argentina”**

Los Estados latinoamericanos en su mayoría siguen un modelo de desarrollo basado en la explotación de recursos naturales. En Argentina domina el cultivo de soja transgénica que genera vastos ingresos para la agroindustria, los agroproductores y otros, pero también para el Estado a través de retenciones a las exportaciones. El cultivo de soja genera varios conflictos sociales y políticos de los cuales el conflicto por el uso de agroquímicos es uno de los más difundidos. El uso de agroquímicos es uno de los pilares de la producción de soja transgénica. Mientras su uso está cada vez más restringido en el nivel local del Estado a raíz de movimientos locales en contra de las pulverizaciones, en el nivel nacional y provincial la política casi no avanza y los actores estatales fomentan el modelo de desarrollo sojero. En el paper muestro que el debate por el modelo de desarrollo a través del conflicto por los agroquímicos en Argentina está estructurado por la división de trabajo del Estado y el nivel del Estado en donde los grupos de interés tienen la capacidad de imponer sus demandas. La agroindustria ejerce su influencia dominante en el nivel nacional y provincial del Estado para impedir una regulación más estricta como en el registro de agroquímicos, mientras los movimientos en contra de los agroquímicos pueden imponer sus intereses en el nivel local donde se puede regular el uso de agroquímicos pero en una área territorial limitada. Por ende la disputa por el modelo de desarrollo depende directamente de la estructura del Estado y sus jerarquías en un sistema hiperpresidencial.

## **5. DECOLONIZAR EL ESTADO Y EL DERECHO.**

Coordinador: Aitor Jiménez González, UNAM

Nos encontramos en un momento indudablemente crítico en cuanto al papel de los pueblos en la configuración del devenir de América Latina. La esperanza de cambio radical compartida a principios del siglo XXI está dando paso al realismo más pragmático por parte de sus gobernantes. El discurso anticolonial oficial de los gobiernos partícipes del nuevo constitucionalismo latinoamericano está dando paso a prácticas reales de colonialidad del poder y de la naturaleza semejantes a la de otros países del entorno. Proponemos abrir un debate que permita reflejar la contradicción en el seno de los procesos emancipatorios en América Latina. Se propone enfocar la discusión en la aplicación del derecho en casos de megaproyectos (minería, carreteras, represas) desarrollados tanto en los países del llamado nuevo constitucionalismo (Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador) como en otros referentes de explotación extractiva (México, Argentina, Chile, Brasil), para poder debatir acerca de las posibilidades, logros y límites del nuevo constitucionalismo y de la repercusión que ha tenido el marco de Derechos Humanos en el conjunto de América Latina. También queremos abrir un debate sobre el nuevo papel que deben tener unas Relaciones Internacionales no coloniales que tengan en cuenta las problemáticas de devastación ambiental, pero que quieran alejarse del paradigma de Capitalismo Verde.

Elena Pavlova (University of Tartu)

**“Decolonial dialogue from Bolivian perspectives”**

The concept of “Decolonization” is actively debated not only among IR scholars or political elites; this is a principal topic of socio-political discourse in Bolivian society. This paper aims to explore the dual nature of the decolonial discourse in Bolivia, where attempts to address the pre-colonial philosophical legacy are combined with traditional leftist rhetoric. The paper thus focuses on different interpretations of the concept of “vivir bien”, as it is advanced by the current political elites and the social group called “indigenous bourgeois”. This analysis gives an opportunity to discuss the influence of the local myth on the debate about the possibility to formulate a new counter-hegemonic trend in the Third World. The paper is based on deep interviews conducted in December 2014 in Cochabamba and La Paz.

Magdiel Sánchez Quiroz (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

**“La refundación del Estado en México desde la sociedad civil”**

En la última década se ha reconfigurado el mapa político de América Latina. Por un lado, fuerzas políticas desarrollaron una reformulación del Estado a base de un nuevo constitucionalismo. En un sentido opuesto, otras sostuvieron proyectos imperantes, conservaron el marco constitucional del que emanaron pero modificaron los principales soportes del derecho instituido para expandir el libre comercio. Sin embargo, en estos últimos países también hay tendencias emancipadoras. En México un bloque amplio compuesto por

movimientos sociales y comunitarios, intelectuales, líderes de iglesias y pequeños empresarios han planteado construir una salida ciudadana a la evidente crisis política a partir de la redacción de una nueva Constitución. Su propuesta se basa en el diagnóstico del Tribunal Permanente de los Pueblos-México (TPP) sobre el dismantelamiento jurídico por el libre comercio y megaproyectos. Sin definir tiempos precisos plantean desatar la construcción de un sujeto comunitario que de modo masivo se aboque a la redacción de un nuevo texto constitucional y nombre una nueva representación.

La presentación analiza los límites y posibilidades de esta propuesta en el marco del derecho instituido en México, de su relación con la nueva legalidad implantada por el libre comercio y a la luz de la experiencia de los recientes procesos constituyentes acontecidos en América Latina. Se problematiza también sobre los retos decoloniales de un proceso constituyente en el país de América que más tratados de libre comercio ha signados.

Elizabeth Pelisson (University of Coimbra)

### **“Impasses e alternativas: os direitos socioambientais frente à agenda neoextrativista brasileira”**

Sob o lema “é preciso crescer o bolo para depois dividi-lo” da ditadura militar, o denominado milagre econômico brasileiro dos anos 1968-1973 construiu-se na realidade com aumento da concentração de renda, degradação ambiental, ocupação da Amazônia para projetos agrário-exportadores, e supressão de todos os direitos fundamentais, sobretudo das populações autóctones. No atual período democrático, apesar da progressista Constituição Federal de 1988, violações de direitos humanos e perseguição dos que lutam por justiça ambiental

ainda são práticas constantes em nome do crescimento econômico necessário para garantir um suposto avanço em políticas sociais.

O neodesenvolvimentismo, defendido pela era Dilma como única via de obter o crescimento econômico que permitiria combater a exclusão social, mostra-se tão agressivo quanto equivocado como o modelo desenvolvimentista outrora implementado regime militar. Tal continuidade deve-se ao fato de que, apesar do discurso contra-hegemônico presente na ascensão de governos mais progressistas na América Latina, a região mantém seu papel extrativista primário-exportador na divisão internacional do trabalho. Para escapar às maldições do neoextrativismo, movimentos sociais falam em alternativas ao desenvolvimento ou pós-desenvolvimento, enquanto são comparados por boa parte da esquerda latino-americana aos arautos do Clube de Roma. Mas, será que para promoção do bem-estar coletivo no Sul global, i.e. no Brasil, estar-se-á fadado à exploração de recursos naturais a qualquer preço e à secundarização dos direitos socioambientais?

Nidia Catherine González (University of Bologna)

**“Innovation on governance, inclusion and sustainability: Plurinational Constitutions and energetical nationalism in Latin America”**

Over the last decades Latin America has assisted to different changes on governance, after the multicultural constitutionalism wave of the 90's, this region took place the period of “crisis of presidentialism”. The international community is looking for new options of governance as an alternative against the instability of the political institutions, but not only, the meta-governance agenda is also concern of

how to ensure current societies against the violence and insecurity into the extreme population growth of multicultural societies. In the last decade some countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador have refounded their constitutions through the “plurinational constitutions” and the “energetical nationalism”, these policy instruments have verified the emergence of a different kind of governance, inclusion and social sustainability in the Latinamerican region. Bolivia and Ecuador are countries with a meaningful indigenous population, that recently have established plurinational constitutions as a legal structure that expand the concept of the nation, not only in relation to society, but also in relation to the sustainability of the natural resources and the social sustainability of global, local and national societies.

## **6. ANALYZING MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION OF SOCIO-ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN LATIN AMERICA.**

Coordinator: Mikael Wigell (Finnish Institute of Foreign Affairs)

While exports of raw materials have been a major driving force of economic growth in Latin American for the last fifteen years, the production or extraction of these materials has at times had significant social and ecological negative impacts. Because of the governance and institutional deficits that several countries in Latin American have, these negative impacts have often not been addressed adequately. As a result, socio-environmental conflicts between companies, particularly transnational enterprises, and concerned communities have often arisen. While several international and transnational initiatives to improve governance of these fields have been adopted in the last fifteen years, these conflicts continue to arise and are at times addressed inadequately. The panel seeks to analyze in detail the causes of these conflicts, their nature, particularly whether they are characterized as collective, the mechanisms used for their resolution, the role of selected actors in their management and resolution, and how are these conflicts resolved when this is done.

By closely examining these themes in a region in which socio-environmental conflicts between companies, particularly transnational ones, and concerned communities have often arisen, the panel will shed new and valuable light on the topical theme of the management and resolution of these conflicts, including the role that international and transnational initiatives to improve governance of these fields have played.

Matti Salo (Natural Resources Institute Finland)

**“Faking and making the institutional fit: formalization game in the Madre de Dios gold fields, Peru”**

The recent Amazonian gold rush associated with global price hikes and large-scale infrastructure projects has inflated the economy of the Madre de Dios region in Peruvian Amazonia. The Peruvian State has contributed to this development through a combination of investment-friendly policies and absence of efficient governance related to land-use planning and (fiscal) regulation. As a response to the uncontrolled expansion of the mining frontier and its associated social and environmental costs, the Peruvian Central Government has adopted a dual strategy of formalization and interdiction, the former involving a technical-bureaucratic process and the latter offering police operations and even military air strikes to illegal mining facilities. The social impacts of this strategy have become apparent in the region. The formalization front has stagnated, however, with the interdiction activities becoming the synonym of State involvement. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the region suffers from an economic downturn related to the completion of the infrastructure construction projects. All this has left little room for creative bottom-up approaches and initiative from the Regional Government of Madre de Dios, while also vested interests and lack of political will characterize the current cul-de-sac. In this paper, based on a series of three workshops organized in Puerto Maldonado in March 2015, I present an alternative strategy, based on the management of the social impacts of the formalization process itself.

Gabriela Cuadrado (University of New South Wales)

**“Groundwater governance, social conflicts and alternatives: experiences from Costa Rica”**

The effective and sustainable governance of groundwater continues to be elusive, politically contentious and generating social conflicts. In this context many nations face various challenges, such as experimenting with the development and enforcement of laws, policies and plans for managing groundwater problems. Nevertheless, when the rule of law has been broken social conflicts have arisen.

This research seeks to answer the following question: To what extent social conflicts can be avoided and effective and sustainable groundwater governance achieved?

In order to answer this question, the research follows a mixed methods approach. First, a doctrinal analysis is conducted, then an analysis of national policies, water laws and planning laws in Costa Rica and internationally is completed. Subsequently a qualitative analysis is incorporated by using in-depth interviews with 40 stakeholders in Costa Rica in groundwater governance in practice.

A comparison of two case studies indicate that groundwater crisis can help motivate people to actively engage in groundwater governance. Furthermore, when there is local governmental support this can contribute to implement local legislation such as planning instruments and address some groundwater problems. Additionally, the findings show that negative incentives (e.g. enforcement or the threat of enforcement) through groundwater laws and plans can encourage people to sustainably use groundwater. Unfortunately, the force of the law is not enough for certain

actors (e.g. multinational corporations) who only respond to civil unrest.

Jacobo Ramírez (Copenhagen Business School)

**“Competing institutions: Indigenous Communities opposing Green-energy mega projects”**

The importance of indigenous groups has extended beyond political dynamics into the economic and social arenas. This paper employs the institutional logic to investigate the approaches adopted by indigenous peoples in their opposition to a wind energy park in Oaxaca, Mexico. This research is based on participatory observation, 35 interviews and two focus groups, and a deductive content discourse analysis. The results indicate that Zapotecas and Huaves endorse the idea of addressing climate change through the development of wind energy parks because such development will help ensure the survival of fishing and agriculture. The results tend to indicate that the institutional logic regarding development seems to match the logic of the Mexican political and economic elites. On the other hand, the implementation process of the wind energy park in Oaxaca, Mexico has fostered a mismatch of institutional logics between Oaxaca’s indigenous communities and the Mexican political and economic elites. The institutional context of Oaxaca, Mexico reveals the struggles of indigenous communities who are challenged by questionable institutional arrangements from political and economic elites. This Oaxaca saga provides fertile ground for further developing new elements in studying the institutional context and social movements that combat the power of political and economic elites in Latin America and beyond.

Susanna Myllylä (University of Jyväskylä)

**“Ethnoterritoriality confronting multinationals: Indigenous peoples’ perceptions of pulp and paper industries in Atlantic coastal Brazil”**

In the state of Espírito Santo, Brazil, the multinational company Aracruz Celulose had a long-term and violent land dispute with the Tupinikim and the Guaraní. Eventually the company had to withdraw and pay compensations to the communities. Then Aracruz was merged with Votorantim Celulose e Papel, resulting in a new company; Fibria Celulose. The second case study is situated in the state of Bahia, where Veracel Celulose is a joint venture formed by Fibria and the Swedish-Finnish Stora Enso. Since prior to its establishment, Veracel has had land disputes with the Pataxó. The three Indigenous communities share a common background concerning their territorial claims and experiences of pulp production. In the land conflicts with the corporations the Indigenous peoples’ territories, livelihoods and identities have been mutually recreated via the processes of ethnogenesis and ethnoterritoriality. The corporate tactics in gaining societal legitimacy, both in Brazil and in Finland, were identified and categorized into thematic groups. These tactics used in practice were then compared to the companies’ corporate social responsibility principles, which exhibited a great discrepancy between the two. In addition, the Indigenous groups’ various resistance movement strategies and their counter-arguments as they searched for legitimacy for their land claims were analyzed: how they speak and act for themselves? How do Indigenous Peoples define responsible business?

Violeta Gutiérrez Zamora (University of Helsinki)

**“Peasant organizations and the construction of claims against GM corn in Mexico”**

Since the decade of 1990, Mexico has faced the dilemma between allowing Genetically Modified (GM) corn plantations in its fields, and preserving its corn landraces along with the agrodiversity associated to milpa cultivation systems. As corn has a central stage in the national culinary traditions and remains the main source of peasant and indigenous communities' livelihoods, anti-GM corn claims have rooted in many peasant and indigenous organizations.

In this paper, I will examine the construction of claims against GM corn in Mexican peasant organizations that have identified with the Food Sovereignty discourse in Mexico. The study is based on interviews conducted with members of five organizations in different periods of time.

These peasant organizations have established their anti-GM corn position by focusing on arguments that unite ecological and cultural concerns to achieve agricultural sustainability. In the organizations' campaigns and arguments corn is used as symbol of struggle against transnational and national corporations, in order to defend their identities and natural resources. The organizations also employ food sovereignty concept to construct a different image of the “campesinado” in which they depict themselves as protectors and guardians of Mexico's biocultural heritage.

## **7. THE QUINOA DILEMMA**

### **– HOW TO SUPPORT SUSTAINABILITY**

Coordinator: Susanne Friis Pedersen (Bioforsk Organic Food and Farming Division, Norway)

The panel deals with the fact that the ancient quinoa crop formerly only cultivated and consumed by poor remote farmers in the Andes, now has become worldwide attractive. During the last decade, quinoa has become popular and attractive for many groups of consumers all over the world. This is mostly due to the plants high nutritional values and therefore it has been praised as superfood.

Faced with the challenge of increasing the production of quality food to feed the world's population the United Nations General Assembly declared 2013 as the "International Year of Quinoa". FAO promotes quinoa for the plants adaptability to extreme climate conditions and at the same time acknowledge the Andean people by being guarantees for the conservation of this brilliant crop. It seems to offer a solution for food sovereignty and security in vulnerable areas. On the other hand, practice today seems to drive in another fatal direction. With too high loaded extraction from the Andean natural resources and provoking social conflicts among farmers on the sites, many challenges occurs. In traditional cultivation of quinoa crop rotation were important with quinoa returning to the same spot every eight year. In between the quinoa crops, the fields were prevalent used as pasture for lamas and other camelids. Currently, crop rotation of quinoa is minimized and lamas are displaced. In addition, harvest time has turned out to be full of conflicts due to entitlement to the crop and upcoming of non-organic cultivations. This is the quinoa dilemma!

How can all three aspects of sustainability (ecological, economic and social) be supported? To what extent is sustainability valued in agriculture management in Southern Bolivia, the center of quinoa production? What is status of natural resources in the area? How are quinoa producers organized? How is food trade organized and what impact has the trade system on the people involved? Andean and Finnish grains: latest trends in food development

Susanne Friis Pedersen (Bioforsk Organic Food and Farming Division, Norway)

**“Introduction to the quinoa dilemma”**

Historically quinoa has been cultivated in six South American countries even before the Inca culture. The prevalence of quinoa shrunk remarkably during the last century but expanded tenfold in the beginning of this century and has become an important product for export. To introduce the topic the traditional and the innovative use is presented. The dilemma along with the dilemma of how to defend and protect natural and human resources as well.

Sven-Erik Jacobsen (University of Copenhagen)

**“The situation of quinoa production in Bolivia the center of quinoa production. What is status of natural resources in the area? To what extent is sustainability valued in agriculture”**

In traditional cultivation of quinoa crop rotation were important with quinoa returning to the same spot every eight year. In between the quinoa crops, the fields were prevalent used as pasture for lamas and other camelids. Currently, crop rotation

of quinoa is minimized and llamas are displaced. In addition, harvest time has turned out to be full of conflicts due to entitlement to the crop and upcoming of non-organic cultivations.

Kristine Skarbø (Norwegian University of Life Sciences)

**“Genetic erosion of quinoa varieties – An Ecuadorian case”**

Quinoa exists in a large number of varieties that are adapted to different climates and growing conditions. Conservation and continued cultivation of genetic diversity is an important means of agricultural sustainability; without this diversity food production stands in a precarious situation when facing environmental changes. This case study from Ecuador shows that the world market boom in quinoa may threaten the maintenance of the crop’s traditional landrace diversity. As farmers focus on a narrow selection of commercially successful quinoa varieties, traditionally grown landraces retract.

Eva Smulders (Centre for the Promotion of Imports from developing countries, Netherlands)

**“Future scenarios for Andean quinoa”**

The future for the quinoa sector is crucial for many people both producers and consumers. Analyzing the market different scenarios appear: For instance, the sustainability of the organic produced quinoa may be questioned or strengthened, the price level may be unaffected or collapse, the pressure on the Altiplano will be less or worse. Future perspectives for impact in both South America and Europe are outlined and examples from Bolivia is given.

José Ramos Díaz (University of Helsinki )

**“Andean and Finnish grains: latest trends in food development”**

Amaranth (*A. caudatus*), quinoa (*C. quinoa*) and kañiwa (*C. pallidicaule*) are grains cultivated in the Andes since Pre-Hispanic times. They are formidable nutritious alternatives due their high content of high-lysine protein, dietary fiber and bioactive compounds. Despite this, the international research conducted on their utilization for human consumption is relatively poor. Conversely, lupine (*L. angustifolius*) is a well-known legume used mostly for animal feed in Finland. Their substantial content of protein and fiber make it an excellent alternative for food development; lupine’s nutritional status is comparable to soybean. Extrusion cooking was applied to the transformation of these grains into edible corn-based snacks. Investigation on mechanical and sensory properties as well as loss of micronutrients was conducted. The results showed that extruded corn-based snacks containing increasing amounts of amaranth, quinoa and kañiwa can maintain key mechanical properties such as sectional expansion and hardness; only 20% lupine could be incorporated to corn-based extruded snacks before structural collapse. Extruded snacks with higher content of amaranth or quinoa were perceived crispier and crunchier as well as less adhesive during mastication (TDS), while extrudates containing kañiwa were perceived substantially less rough. Extrusion-cooking increased the chemical extractability of phenolic compounds and folate. This study proved that quinoa, amaranth and kañiwa can be incorporated successfully to extruded corn-based snacks, and maintain the added nutritional value.

## **8. FORESTS AND DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA: FROM STRUGGLE TO SUSTAINABILITY**

Coordinator: Markku Kanninen (University of Helsinki)

The role of forestry in the economic development of Latin American countries is far from homogeneous. After a long period of resources degradation, many countries have managed to reduced forest loses while a few have managed to recover some of the original forest cover. In recent decades, countries have developed different strategies, from the promotion of forest conservation to the industrialization of the forestry sector, under a combination of national and international pressures with often mixed results and unexpected consequences at the national and international levels. The aims of this Panel are:

- To present and discuss cases where local, national and international interests over forest resources collide or overlap, their management, and conservation.
- To generate a multidisciplinary discussion about how the forestry sector is incorporated into the national development strategies in the region.
- To compare the different expectations about the management of forestry resources, considering local, national, and international agendas.

Malayna Raftopoulos (University of London)

**“Facing reality: Addressing the urgent need for a full Community-Based Human Rights Impact Assessment of REDD+”**

Since 2007, the ecosystem services (ES) of carbon storage in forests has gained increasing worldwide attention due its potential role in climate change mitigation. The idea of reducing carbon emissions through avoided deforestation (RED) was first proposed in 2005 at the 11th Conference of the Parties (COP 11) in Montreal. It soon evolved to include avoided forest degradation (REDD), and later, at COP 13 in Bali in 2007, the enhancement of carbon stocks, becoming REDD+. Setting out to create a system that provides forest users with economic incentives that reflect the value of the carbon sequestered and stored in trees, the emergence of the REDD+ mechanism within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change has raised concerns over the social impact of its carbon sequestration activities on forest peoples. In particular, concerns have been raised over the potential loss of forest people territories to large scale commercial forest operations and the restriction of access and use of natural resources by these communities. This paper argues that concerns over the social impacts of REDD+ should be addressed by carrying out a community-based human rights impact assessment (HRIA). The paper first discusses why it is necessary to carry out a HRIA of REDD+, examining the driving forces behind the market mechanism as well as concerns raised regarding the potential impact of REDD+ on forest communities before moving on to contemplate the contributions HRIA can make to promoting and protecting the human rights of forest-based communities.

Wojciech Doroszewicz (University of Warsaw)

**“Private conservation initiatives in Latin American Forests”**

In recent years, a social initiative and emerging of private protected areas is a new phenomenon in conservation of natural habitats, especially in the countries with a large proportion of land lying in the private hands or belonging to local communities and indigenous people. Similarly, in Latin America a private conservation begins to play an increasingly important role in protecting of endangered forest ecosystems.

In the last years in Chile appeared a lot of new reserves protecting temperate rainforest created not only by NGOs or philanthropists but also by small landowners, and local communities, or even timber companies. Former timber producers and neighboring small villages changed absolutely and become the remarkable conservation areas with leading sustainable tourist centers like Reserva Biológica Huilo-Huilo. Protection and conservation of forests is also related to the future of indigenous or local communities which despite poverty, are remained in the possession of large areas of forests of high biological and economic value. One of the most interesting initiatives are developed by indigenous peoples such Reserva Ecológica Chaparrí in Northern Peru or Community Parks Network “Mapu Lahual” in Chile.

In this paper I would like to present and compare the variety of conservation ideas of these reserves. And also consider what role such initiatives start to play in the preservation of endangered forest ecosystems and improvement of situation of local inhabitants, possibly changing the local histories of struggle over resources.

## **9. AMAZONIAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE**

Coordinators: Pirjo Virtanen (University of Helsinki) & Minna Opas (University of Turku)

In many Latin American countries, the so called “frontier expansion” has left the Amazonian region under severe oppression. Increased deforestation due to often extractive activities, large scale farming, development of transportation systems, demographic changes transnational, colonialism as well as transnational and national politics in general, have in a relatively short period of time lead to extensive environmental changes. The length and nature of rainy and dry seasons are becoming less predictable, rainforest ecosystems change, wildlife – especially game animals –become scarce, and pollution sickens people and makes areas inhabitable. This panel addresses Amazonian indigenous peoples’ responses to these changes in their environment. We welcome contributions examining the responses from a variety of viewpoints such as culture, society, politics, and economics. Possible topics include, but are not restricted to, new indigenous environmental practices, changes in subsistence and economical activities, re-territorialization and migration, transcultural negotiations, political organization, social restructuring, and religious and socio-cosmological responses to the transformation of the environment.

Dan Rosengren (University of Gothenburg)

**“Modernity, local understandings of weather, and environmental relations in Amazonia”**

Climate change has during the last decades become an increasingly urgent issue that largely is driven by scientific experts. Even though it is argued within academic circles that modern science is only part of an ontology that cannot claim any favored position in relation to other ontologies, many who consider themselves to be modern conceive of science as a symbol of advancement and sophistication that only modern society can bring forth while other perspectives are seen as irrational and false. This is the case among migrants from the Andean highlands to the tropical Upper Urubamba where the indigenous Matsigenka live.

Analyzing prevailing climate conditions local authorities conclude that the principal factor generating climatologically detrimental effects locally is the “irrational swidden agriculture” practiced on slopes. Significantly the kind of agricultural practice identified as harmful largely characterizes Matsigenka subsistence horticulture. Fuelled by the employment of words such as “harmful” and “irrational” a plan has been elaborated to mitigate the effects of the changing climate. The belief in modernity makes however the authorities fail to see that Matsigenka people have cultivated the slopes in the assumedly irrational manner for hundreds of years without negative effects to the environment while the migrants’ cultivation practices have resulted in the deforestation of large tracts within only a few decades.

Nicolás Acosta García (University of Oulu)

**“What you will: exploring contested rights to use Utría National Park in Colombia as a Wicked Problem”**

Utría National Park, on the north-eastern Pacific coast of Colombia, is a biodiversity hotspot of extraordinary natural beauty in an extremely remote area. It is managed by the Environment Ministry of Colombia, encompasses the legally recognised ancestral territories of the Embera indigenous communities, who migrated south from Panama, and borders those of the Afro-descendant communities of El Valle, who previously lived also within the area of the park. In this paper we explore ongoing contestation over rights to use and access the benefits deriving from ecosystem services provided by the park as a Wicked Problem. Building on Aristotle’s concept of entelechia (inherent purpose) we use Faber et al.’s concept of the three tele of living nature, – (1) self-maintenance, development and self-realization; (2) replication and renewal and (3) service [to other parts of the ecosystem] – we propose that deficiency with respect to the third tele, service, is symptomatic of late-industrial societies and so also of Wicked Problems, as defined by Rittel and Webber, i.e. problems that cannot be resolved by more industrialisation. Based on empirical data collected in the field, we review how the three actor groups listed above use and would like to use the park and assign each use to one or more of the three tele categories. We find service uses are underrepresented and self-maintenance uses predominant and propose that the Wicked Problem of ongoing contestation over using Utría might be reduced by increasing service oriented uses.

Francis Ferrié (Centre EREA-France, CAS-St Andrews)

**“Land extraction versus protection by reemerged indigenous Leco in a new natural park”**

On the Bolivian Piedmont as elsewhere, the environmental protection issues are politicized. But in the province of Apolo the political conflict goes with an ethnic split. While the Quechua farmers defend a model of economic development based on the extraction of raw materials and the construction of a road crossing the natural reserve Madidi, the indigenous Leco advocate a model of sustainable development and ecological tourism.

The international cooperation monitored the creation of the Madidi National Park in 1995, and did support the ethnogenesis of the Leco, who split from the Quechua farmer group in 1997. Before this split, the Leco were considered vanished, whereas now, they are one of the 36 ethnic groups or naciones of the Plurinational State of Bolivia (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia) and possess their native territory partially located in the park.

This communication reviews the recent history, outlining the politico-ecological stakes and their actors (NGOs and international cooperation, Bolivian government, farmer and indigenous syndicate federations which support the local groups). Land property, environmental protection and indigenous affairs are connected, but to what extent? A comparison with the TIPNIS National Park conflict which took place in 2011 could help us to understand the opposition between extractive and ecological policies.

Vanessa Boanada Fuchs (University of St. Gallen)

**“The tangible side of the Belo Monte Dam: socio-environmental impacts, perceptions of change and strategies of survival”**

The Belo Monte Dam has been impacting the lives of indigenous and riverine peoples in the Brazilian Amazon. The most affected area is the Volta Grande do Xingu – part of the river from where water will be deviated to feed the reservoir. Prior to the construction of the dam, the river was central to most of the communities that used it for fishing, means of transportation and communication with the neighboring communities and the city. During the phase when the dam was still a ‘plan’, an intangible idea, frontal opposition to its construction seemed still an option; however, now the advanced state of construction shows that the socio-environmental impacts are very sizeable and need to be dealt with. How do the inhabitants of Volta Grande perceive the rapid changes to their environment? How do they react and adapt to it?

The author proposes to explore the ways in which the communities have been coping with the environmental changes brought about by the dam and the strategies developed to turn environmental impacts and social injustices into opportunities of future. Two areas are of particular interest to this study: the immediate socio-economic impacts and their connection with the forms of participation and interaction in society. The paper is informed by and aims to contribute to studies of human-environment interactions (Moran, 2009) and is based on fieldwork that has been following the life changes of the Volta Grande communities in different phases of the

dam's construction from the beginning in 2011 until the present.

Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen (University of Helsinki)

**“Local experiences and interpretations of environmental changes in Southwestern Amazonia”**

Large-scale economic activities, such as logging, mining, and development of transportation systems, have resulted in several environmental changes in Southwestern Amazonia. In the territories of the Apurinã (Pupŷkary) in Brazilian Amazonia, these alterations have especially led to the scarcity of game and fish, among others. The Apurinã number approximately 8,000 people living in various indigenous reserves. This Arawak-speaking group is increasingly worried about the exploitation of natural resources, for local and national markets, in the areas next to their demarcated territories. Besides, territorial invasions in the form of overhunting and overfishing in their rivers and forest, as well as extraction of Brazil nuts inside their demarcated indigenous territories are common. Southwestern Amazonia is also discovered rich in oil, and therefore it has become a focus of petroleum companies. This paper particularly looks at the Apurinã's socio-cosmological responses to the transformations in their natural environment. It reveals anxiety, but also hope for the future.

## **10. BATTLE OVER MEANINGS: MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA**

Coordinators: Alberto Cimadamore (CROP/ISSC/UiB) & Johanna Kivimäki (University of Jyväskylä)

Poverty eradication has been defined as “the greatest global challenge facing the world today and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development” (OWG proposal for SDGs, 2014). Media shape the public understanding of social issues, influencing also the social construction and deconstruction of poverty and development. Therefore, it is important to know how notions of poverty, and anti-poverty policies and interventions are conveyed by different types of media - from agenda-setting to social media - in Latin American countries. The progressive turn in the region has influenced the media, contributing to more multifaceted and inclusive representations of poverty and the poor. In the new media, the poor themselves can actively participate in the production and dissemination of contents. This is happening in a context where traditional and media corporations are still dominant actors in the regional battle of meanings and politics. Power and influence are struggled over by contending sectors trying to bring their ideologies and interests forward. We call for papers from different disciplines and theoretic-methodological backgrounds aiming to analyze the connections between media, poverty, and development in Latin America, for instance, through the following questions: What are the connections between knowledge, power and ideologies in the representations of poverty? How the media texts on poverty, inequality and development reflect, and potentially affect, the prevailing social power relations and/or social understanding of

these phenomena? What consequences the representations may have to the poor themselves and to progressive social policies? How mainstream representations are challenged? How can media promote social change?

Johanna Kivimäki (University of Jyväskylä)

**“Examining the basis for discrimination and social exclusion in the media representation of urban poverty in Venezuela”**

The purpose of this paper is to reconsider the results of my master’s thesis from 2012, which studied the representation of urban poverty in Venezuelan media. My thesis explored how one specific poor urban neighbourhood, the barrio “El 70” in Caracas is represented in newspapers. The inhabitants of “El 70” considered that the media representation of their community is distorted towards violence and insecurity. The negative representation was thought to add to the historically negative reputation of the barrio, causing further discriminatory practices against the inhabitants. This led me to consider whether the discrimination and social exclusion experienced by the urban poor is maintained or reproduced in media representations and how the discriminatory representations could be deconstructed. According to my thesis, “El 70” is represented mostly through negative and stereotypical discourses, defined by insecurity, social exclusion and deficient living conditions. However, a strong positive discourse was also found related to the empowerment of the urban poor. In this paper, my intention is to reevaluate the results of my thesis from the perspective of intersectionality theory. I will suggest that in addition to the place of residence and the condition of

poverty, the media representations discriminate the poor urban dwellers based on various socially constructed categories of differentiation, such as gender, class, age and ethnicity. This is to examine how the intersectionality theory would suit to further research on the media representation of poverty in Venezuela.

Alberto D. Cimadamore (CROP/ISSC/UiB)

### **“Media representations of poverty in Latin America”**

The paper will explore ideologies and interests expressed in the notions of poverty transmitted by Agenda-setting media in order to understand the theoretical and practical (i.e., policy) implications of the framing of poverty.

This presentation is part of a larger research project (PoLAME-UiB/NFR, 2013-16) that involves four Latin American countries and will focus on relevant Argentinean newspapers with «agenda setting» capabilities. It will try to show how notions of poverty are conveyed, how ideas are presented in the news and what the consequences for the understanding of poverty production and eradication are. The aim is to describe how poverty is presented to the public and, more precisely, if this notion tends to “naturalize” poverty (thus limiting the possibility of its eradication) or to conceive it as a “social construction” and the result of a process of “production or reproduction” of poverty (Øyen, 2004, 2007; Alvarez Leguizamon, 2005, 2008, 2010; Cimadamore, 2007, 2008).

Particularly, the presentation will critically analyse the ideological and theoretical implications of the way the notions are conveyed, trying to frame the analysis in the historical context to infer the interests behind the news that creates «the pictures in our heads» (Lippmann, 1922).

Resulting knowledge will have implications for policy and social change allowing the identification of factors impeding the social understanding of poverty and therefore, the effective design, implementation, and long-term political support of anti-poverty policies.

Lorena Pérez-García (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

**“Information and Communication Technology (ICT)-based mass media and the indigenous communities in Mexico”**

This paper aims to challenge the notions of socio-economic development and its relation with ICT-based mass media.

To tackle this problem I will, first introduce as my theoretical framework Nussbaum's conception of self-agency and human flourishing in technological environments as developed in her Human Capabilities Approach (2011). Secondly, I will examine the direct effect self-agency could have on mass media representation and whether this effect could enforce human flourishing. Thirdly, I will briefly introduce the federal ICT policies launched by the latest governments in Mexico and scrutinise their effects in the society and in the indigenous communities. Fourthly, I will use the example of three indigenous communities in Mexico that have used mass media supported by ICT to accomplish the diffusion of their agenda in opposition to federal political agendas. These examples are the neo-Zapatista hacktivism movement in Chiapas, the Huichol online movement to Save Wirikuta in Nayarit, and the Talea mobile network in Oaxaca. In these movements, their success involved the appropriation of ICT by indigenous individuals, the social aim of the projects, and the type of information presented, rather than only the communication means by itself or the proposed governmental practices. Therefore, fifthly, I

will approach the question of how mainstream agendas are challenged by the use of ICT-supported mass media in indigenous communities. Finally, I will provide my conclusions on whether social change could be promoted by the use of ICT-supported mass media in Mexico.

Ewa Sapiezynska (Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities)

**“Discrimination will not be televised - a case study from Chile”**

I present and analyze a case of censorship of a journalistic reportage on discrimination by Canal 13, one of the biggest TV channels in Chile, in 2012. The material showed how poor women who work as house cleaners are systematically discriminated in different instances of everyday life. After the first part of the reportage was showed on TV, the second part was stopped just hours before its emission. Through interviews with key informants, including the author of the reportage, other journalist who worked for the channel and the president of the journalists’ association of Chile, I look for the background and direct reasons of this censorship. The case helps to shed light on Chilean business and religious power networks. I argue that it is a case of strict social control by the elite in order to cover up huge social disparities and protect its interests.

Carolina Matos (City University London)

**“Globalization, gender politics and the media”**

Globalization, gender politics and the media is a work which is concerned with women's rights vis-à-vis the media's representation, reproduction and construction of gender roles. This project is part of my third book, and aims to be a continuation of some of the issues explored in my previous work, *Media and politics in Latin America: globalization, democracy and identity*, which looked at the relationship between public service broadcasting and democratisation in Brazil and Latin America in comparative perspective with the UK in the post-dictatorship context and following the collapse of military regimes throughout the region in the late 1980's. My work has been largely concerned with issues of democratization, equality, media and development and the role of PSB in European democracies and their potential to contribute to political democracy in Latin America. In this research I explore further the phenomena of the 'feminization' of politics and the growth of women leaders in Brazil and in other Latin American countries, examining issues of gender inequality within a comparative perspective with the US and UK. Among my key worries is to assess some of the roots around the construction of the myth of Brazilian femininity, examining what has been done regarding gender equality in the last years and detecting future challenges and roadblocks to further progress. It has the intention of looking at the correlation between gender inequality and income in society with media representations of women, discussion of women's issues in the press, gender politics and online feminism.

Liina-Maija Quist (University of Helsinki) and Pia Rinne  
(Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission)

**“Nostalgic discourse and invisible actors in press  
representations of the oil industry and fishers in Mexico”**

This essay studies newsprint discourses about the oil industry and fishers in Tabasco, Mexico. The study combines discussions on media and marginalized groups and social movement studies to analyze newspaper representations of struggles between the oil industry and fishers. The examined period covers ten years during which the Mexican government has established large offshore areas for the exclusive use of the oil industry, thereby displacing fishers from their former fishing grounds in the Gulf of Mexico. The essay’s focus is on the representation of arguments on resource access and environmental harm in two Tabascan newspapers between 2003 and 2012. The newspaper material is complemented by material acquired through ethnographic fieldwork and interviews among fishers, the oil industry and the government in 2011 and 2012. In the news analysis, we discovered that most of the news in both papers were produced in collaboration with few journalists and fishers. The articles represented relatively similar and conservative argumentation over the years, which focused on fishers’ claims to entitlement to compensation from the oil industry. By examining this dominant and a more marginal, rights-based argumentation, our essay problematizes the different justifications of claims, represented in the media, and analyzes their relevance in the political struggles.

## 11. STRUGGLES OVER MASS MEDIA IN LATIN AMERICA

Coordinator: Ewa Sapiezynska (Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities)

The mass media are a key resource as far as public debate and the construction of political will is concerned. The Latin American media market is still strongly dominated by a few powerful actors, limiting the access of various significant social groups to the broad democratic dialogue. Some of the owners established their position through close cooperation with dictatorships during the 70s and the 80s and greatly benefited from the privatizations of the 90s. However, we have observed an intensified struggle over media access over the last 15 years in Latin America. Argentina, Uruguay, Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela all got new media laws that limit ownership concentration in the media sector, strengthen public media and help to establish grassroots media outlets. Some of these laws were praised internationally because of the extent of civil society participation in their drafting and promulgation, as in the Argentine case. In contrast others have been fiercely criticized. All of them are object of ongoing battle between the governments and the private corporations. At the same time and independently of state regulations, Latin American social and political movements have been using new media as a weapon in their struggles. The panel welcomes analysis of Latin American media landscape and its impact on power structures.

Ewa Sapiezynska (Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities)

**“Power struggles and power shares in the Latin American media market”**

First the paper offers a quick view over historic trends of Mass media concentration at few private actors in the most Latin American countries during the second half of 20th century and these actors political and economic bonds. We continue with an analysis of new media laws and regulations introduced in Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador in the last years and their attempt to give a reserved spectrum to public and communitarian media. We compare these regulations and processes of their elaboration (more participatory in some countries than others). We also inquire about the struggles between the governments and the private media in those countries. We close the panorama with the case of Chile with its extremely concentrated media sector and see how this country’s journalists’ association and social movements struggle for public and communitarian media.

Virpi Salojärvi (University of Helsinki)

**“Mediatized politics or politicized media – The role of media in the political conflict of Venezuela during President Chavez’s regime”**

Politics can be understood as pursuing power through conflicts in order to run a society. These power plays exist in many levels and forms. According to Mouffe (2000) in politics there is always a formation of us/them. The crucial task is to deal with this issue, which always concerns discriminating one

group, in a pluralist democratic way. The confrontation should generate collective forms of identification that are able to mobilize political passions. If this doesn't exist passions don't have a democratic arena. Therefore, it is possible that non-negotiable moral values take over. (Mouffe 2005.) Also in populist politics different ideas are attached to certain actors and they become empty or floating signifiers to a group of people (Laclau 2005).

During President Chavez's regime there was a confrontation between sympathizers of Chavez and the opposition in the macro level and also the media was involved in it. The study focuses on how different media actors construct the situation underneath the macro level political conflict.

The data consists of 34 interviews conducted in 2011-2012. The interviewees include state, private and community media, academics, NGOs, and citizen activists. The interviews are analyzed by argumentation analysis.

The interviewees conceive the situation in different levels. The basis of action is in the values of different parties. Historical events and life experiences of the interviewees affect to their worldview. For some the media has become a signifier and therefore is not able to play a neutral role.

## 12. CITIES AND SOCIETAL SECURITY IN LATIN AMERICA

Coordinators: Florencia Quesada (University of Helsinki), Anja Nygren (University of Helsinki) & Mauricio Romero (Pontificia Universidad Javeriana)

Commentator: Arturo Escobar (University of North Carolina)

Latin America is the most urbanized region in the developing world, with around 80% of the population living in urban areas. Hence, cities are emerging as key arenas to deal with crucial challenges related to societal security. Violence, environmental problems and social inequality were in previous decades issues that were largely dealt with in national development agendas. In recent years, the states have, however, been found poorly-prepared to face the new challenges linked to urban governance. In this situation, city governments, organized civil society groups and actors in informal networks are seeking new ways to deal with problems of insecurity, shifting forms of service provision and management of environmental risks in urban spaces of multi-scale governance.

This panel seeks to explore the following issues:

- how the new agendas to manage security challenge the existing structures of violence and networks of illegality
- how social movements that demand institutional accountability contest the legacies to confront contestations with repression
- how the new forms of mitigating environmental risks and vulnerabilities may lead to increased justice and social well-being

These three dimensions of security are analyzed within the context of neoliberal governance and societal security in Latin American cities.

Luz Paula Parra (Stockholm University)

**“Insecurity as another form of Inequality in Latin America”**

Latin America remains the most unequal and most insecure region in the world. The region has fifteen of the top most violent cities in the planet. Over the past decade, it experiences an increased crime rate, with more than 100,000 homicides per year during this time. The deterioration of security has not been a uniform phenomenon. In some countries, homicide rates are the major problem, whereas in others crimes against property and personal integrity have stridently grown. Meanwhile, within these countries the situation varies greatly, with some municipalities showing indicators comparable to very secure nations, and others where lethal violence is even greater than in countries at war.

Perception of insecurity and fear amongst citizens have worsened in the past years, and large demands on security have increased among different social sectors towards their authorities. However, state representatives are unable or unwilling to provide adequate security for their citizens, at least to certain sectors and areas of their territory. This domestic public security vacuum has been fulfilled by private actors who are providing security where the state cannot or will not act. This phenomenon gets more complicated because of the history of impunity, corruption, lack of thrust in the judicial system and the police public forces in most countries in Latin America. In light of “these deficits, privatization of security has gained

momentum, which deepens inequality in access to security and leaves unsolved the challenges the State faces as the main guarantor of citizen security".

Roberto Domínguez (Suffolk University, Boston)

**“Security Governance in South America”**

This paper is based on the assumption that there is a gap between the demand for collective mechanisms of security governance and the traditional inward-looking security agenda of South American countries. While this gap is explained by historical reasons and to some extent inhibits further cooperation, the region has moved forward in the development of regional security governance mechanisms. The outcome has been a variety of forms of security governance influenced by three main elements: a) the sources of threat and the capacity of the state to manage them, b) levels of inclusiveness of actors, and c) the strength of the mechanisms of security governance.

Enzo Nussio (Stockholm University)

**“Understanding Unlikely Successes in Urban Violence Reduction”**

The problems of violence in Latin America are often reiterated, yet understanding how and why violence declines is far less common. While urban violence takes different forms and has a range of motivations, we suggest that strengthening political and social institutions are important in violence reduction processes. The article examines this using a comparative analysis of two cities which have recently seen unusual and marked reductions in lethal violence: Bogotá in Colombia and Recife in Brazil. Drawing on primary data collection, the case

studies suggest improvements in public security are linked with institutionalising progressive security policies, increasing accountability of political institutions, and social reforms encouraging civic values and commitments to non-violence. While findings are specific to these two cases, they may plausibly apply to a broader range of cities, such that commitments to improve public policy and political institutions can overcome structural risk factors that foster violence.

Asli Postaci (Stockholm University)

### **“Disentangling the Mass Protests in Brazil and Turkey: A Trans-Continental Comparison”**

Year 2013 was marked by mass demonstrations and protests against government policies both in Brazil and Turkey. Despite particular contrasting aspects, these two cases were comparable in several levels. Both countries have a history of military interventions but managed to set relatively stable representative democracies in the post-Cold War period and are perceived as models to their regions. Secondly, both countries are emerging powers which have democratically elected governments that have international ambitions; and pursuing neo-liberal policies that create immense accumulation of capital for a small elite. Thirdly, in both countries the allocation of public funds rise criticism, namely the redevelopment plan for Istanbul and the hosting of major sports events in Brazil. The protests of 2013 attracted utmost international attention, and raised academic questions as to the extent of their links in the light of the aforementioned similarities. The class, background and age group and demands of the protesters were similar and both protest movements were reactions to the degradation of democracy to mere electoral process and a demand for wider

participation in decision-making. The differences of two cases are based on their particular historical and social conditions such as the ideological distinction of the governments, the triggering events of the protests and the government response to the events. This paper intends to disentangle the motives and conditions of the two incidents in order to contribute to a better understanding of protest movements globally.

Víctor Manuel Jimenez Verduzco (Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo)

### **“Gestión cultural en tiempos violentos”**

Michoacán es uno de los estados más afectados por las condiciones de violencia, inseguridad, delincuencia, corrupción y desigualdad en México. A pesar de contar con una ubicación geográfica envidiable y vastos recursos naturales, esto no se ha podido ser transformado en bienestar para los habitantes del estado. La reciente aparición de grupos de autodefensa (civiles fuertemente armados) en la región de tierra caliente, no es más que el resultado de un largo y complejo proceso de descomposición del tejido social, donde el narcotráfico/crimen organizado y la corrupción de las instituciones son algunos de los factores más visibles. En un escenario como este ¿Hay lugar para una vida y desarrollo Cultural? ¿Cuáles son las condiciones de los motores de cultura local? ¿Cómo se ve afectada la red de relaciones/exhibición/consumo/producción de arte? ¿Es posible pensar en una participación cultural contemporánea, en propuestas artísticas de vanguardia, en estas condiciones? La presente ponencia hace un recuento del estado en que se encuentra la cultura local y sus participantes en un contexto tan desfavorable, con la intención de obtener una de

las instantáneas posibles de la realidad local como reflejo de una realidad latinoamericana.

Monica Lemos (University of Helsinki)

**“Educational management beyond school walls: a possibility of school and community transformation”**

This paper aims at discussing how a chain of activities developed in a school located in a favela in the city of São Paulo and its community to deal with a flood issue. As theoretical background we discuss the concept of collaborative agency, based on the discussion by Engeström, Sannino & Virkkunen (2014) focusing on transformative agency and on van Oers and Hännikäinen (2010) on togetherness as a powerful concept to break the boundaries of the relation between oppressor and oppressed, which is based on Freire (1970). Methodologically we follow the transformative intervention research, based on the critical collaborative research (Magalhães, 2011) which implies different subjects taking part and negotiating decisions to be made during the research moving beyond school setting. The analysis is based on categories of argumentation, such as controversy and agreement (Liberali, 2013) and on multimodal analysis (Kress et al., 2010), which contributes to the scrutiny of different voices and activities in the relation school and community. As a result we discuss how collaborative agency contributes to the transformation of the given context. Mainly how the community gets involved in the school activities and how school gets involved in the community activities in order to overcome the flood issue.

Anja Nygren (University of Helsinki)

**“Socially Differentiated Urban Flood Governance in Mexico”**

Cities around the world are developing new ways of governing risks and vulnerabilities. In the new flood-governance measures, technological risk-prevention is linked to programmes of social resilience and cultural adaptation. By focusing on the governance of catastrophic floods in the city of Villahermosa, Mexico, this paper argues that new flood-governance strategies rely on hybrid forms of neoliberal governance, in which flood governance is turned into a matter of adaptation and self-responsibilisation, while scant attention is paid to the socio-spatial distribution of vulnerabilities. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in socially differentiated neighbourhoods of Villahermosa in 2011–2014, this study demonstrates how flood-governance strategies and the residents’ responses to them vary across the city and how the production of flood risk is connected to the uneven production of the urban space. The institutional acts of governing aim to render certain groups of population governable, whilst being unable to eradicate dispersed contestation efforts.

### **13. CRIMINAL ORGANIZATIONS, NATURAL RESOURCES AND SOCIAL ORDER: UNDERSTANDING THE TRANSFORMATION OF VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN LATIN AMERICA**

Coordinator: Benedicte Bull (University of Oslo)

Criminal behavior is in most literature treated as an anomaly and a threat to the existing social order understood as relationships between groups and classes embedded in institutions that support specific forms of human organization and activity. Such social orders also impact strongly on the relationship to natural resources and how they are exploited. However, in some societies, crime and the organizations that perpetuate it have become an important element in that social order. This is the case in various areas in northern Latin America, including in Colombia, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico.

The ways criminal organizations sustain the social order are many, and there are economic as well as political mechanisms: proceeds from drug-trafficking and other high-profit criminal activities sustain local markets for consumer goods and real estate; money from these activities fuel the local financial markets; criminal organizations provide capital for natural resource exploitation; reinvested money from criminal activities provide employment in peripheral areas; criminal organizations provide “protection rackets” for legal economic actors; money from criminal activity finance political campaigns; criminal organizations are used to oppress opponents to the existing social order, etc. etc. The role of criminal organizations in sustaining an existing social order varies across geographical spaces, also within countries, and is often stronger in the periphery of the reach of the central state

and high profit legal activities. Understanding how to combat such criminal organizations has to be embedded in an understanding of how they relate to other social actors, including economic and political elites and “subalterns”. It also has to be based on an understanding on how international markets and actors open or close spaces for such criminal organizations.

In this panel, we will present novel research on the role of criminal organizations – including drug-cartels, mafias, and paramilitary groups – in sustaining social orders in specific localities, through their relationship to other social actors. It will also focus on how such social orders are transformed through the changing income sources, structures and strategies of the criminal organizations over time.

Carlos Illades (El Colegio de Mexico) y Teresa Santiago (UAM, México)

**“La guerra interna en México (2006-¿?)”**

La guerra interna iniciada por el gobierno federal en 2006 equivocó el diagnóstico y la estrategia, subestimando los posibles daños a la población. Sin haber identificado claramente al enemigo y menos calcular los daños a la población (masacres, desplazados, desapariciones forzadas, violación de los derechos humanos), otro efecto imprevisto de aquella ha sido la constitución de autodefensas armadas. Si bien éstas hunden sus raíces en las insurrecciones campesinas del siglo XIX, su rápida expansión en el último trienio se debe a la violencia desbordada y la incapacidad del Estado para cumplir con la función básica de proteger a sus ciudadanos.

Esta comunicación comienza con la conceptualización de ésta dentro del marco de la teoría general de la guerra, analizando sus particularidades pero también los rasgos comunes de todo conflicto armado. Se ocupa después de reconstruir el proceso que vincula la guerra sucia con la guerra contra el crimen organizado, destacando los elementos de continuidad en las respuestas estatales hacia los desafíos armados y la incapacidad casi orgánica de los aparatos de seguridad para ceñirse al empleo de la fuerza legítima. Este aspecto se aborda en el tercer apartado que trata de las víctimas directas e indirectas de la guerra, entre ellas desaparecidos, desplazados y “daños colaterales” al grado que es ya de un apreciable problema humanitario. Por último, se habla de los nuevos actores convocados por la violencia armada, las autodefensas comunitarias o ciudadanas, integradas con el propósito de llenar el vacío estatal en este ámbito.

Markus-Michael Müller (Freie Universität Berlin)

### **“Criminal Sovereignties and the Politics of Informal Order-Making in Mexico City”**

During the last decade Mexico witnessed a hitherto unparalleled explosion of criminal violence related to the escalation of the “war on drugs” that led to more than 80,000 drug-related killings since 2006. When compared to many other “battlegrounds” of the local drug war, Mexico City, despite the fact that it is the country’s biggest internal drug market, seems to be a relatively peaceful and safe place, where drug-related violence has not (yet) escalated to levels observed elsewhere in the country. This paper suggests that this outcome can be explained by taking a closer look at the way informal politics and patron-client relations shape the (re)production of

urban order in the city. In drawing upon the results of empirical fieldwork in the city's main drug trafficking "hot spots," Tepito and Iztapalapa, this paper assesses the role of informal politics in establishing networks that link drug-traffickers, bureaucrats and politicians. It is through these networks, the paper argues, that local political and bureaucratic actors have been able to contain and regulate drug-related violence, while at the same time allowing for the reproduction of drug trafficking and the emergence "criminal sovereignties" in marginalized urban neighborhoods.

Benedicte Bull and Mariel Aguilar-Støen (University of Oslo)  
**"Anti-mining movements in Guatemala: the elites' influence on the outcome of conflicts and the response from the government"**

Based on on-going research, the aim of this paper is to analyse and explore the links between different elites in the country, (including economic, political, media, the military) and the government vis a vis social movements to shed light on the increasingly violent response to protests against extractive industries in Guatemala. In this way we would be able to discuss how certain claims and notions are excluded from the way in which the government responds to extractive conflicts. We first look at the claims and tactics of social movements to then focus on the strategy of the elites and the government. The claims of the movement are demands to the state for recognition and representation as political actors, participation in environmental governance and memory of the civil war. Our findings suggest the existence of a concerted strategy from the elites and the government. This strategy includes discursive alliances to deploy a narrative that builds heavily on an anti-

communism ideology that was prevalent during the civil war. The narrative justifies and legitimizes the increasing use of violence and repression, as well as other counter-insurgency tactics to confront popular demands of participation. Further the strategy also includes the manipulation of royalties from mining activities in an effort to pacify, silence and divide social movements against the extractive industries.

Cecilia Gosso (Università degli Studi di Torino)

**“Las violencias y el Estado en El Salvador: desde la violencia política hacia la violencia multifactorial”**

El Salvador luego de una guerra civil de 12 años (1980-1992), terminada con acuerdos de Paz entre las partes, emprendió la difícil fase de construcción de un régimen democrático con cambios institucionales. A partir de 1995 emergió otra faceta de la violencia presentándose como emergencia ineludible en las agendas políticas y del Estado. ¿Cuáles y como las políticas públicas del Estado en materia de seguridad pública, justicia y de derechos humanos han influido en enfrentar las violencias? Con el aporte de 90 entrevistas semiestructuradas en profundidad a los actores de la guerra civil y a los actores institucionales actuales, se analiza la continuidad y la discontinuidad entre la violencia política del periodo de la guerra civil y la violencia multifactorial en la sociedad salvadoreña contemporánea. Los factores que llevaron al conflicto armado se han metamorfoseado manteniendo raíces histórica de exclusión social que afectan profundamente la libertades políticas y la construcción de un estado de derecho. El Estado y sus instituciones aparecen como reproductores de violencia, mantienen rasgos autoritarios y populistas registrando déficit creciente de democracia, sin atender a las

garantías debida al ciudadano. Los resultados contribuyen a desvelar algunos elementos de cómo la construcción del Estado ha sido y sigue siendo un indicador para observar el mantenimiento de continuidad de poderes externos y antagonicos generando clúster de soberanía y de producción de violencia de actores estatales y no estatales.

Oscar Sánchez Terrones (Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, México)

**“La violencia en el Estado mexicano: Narcotráfico, cultura, seguridad social y represión”**

El año 2006, es una fecha inolvidable para los ciudadanos mexicanos. Derivado de la implementación de las políticas públicas de seguridad por el entonces Presidente de México Felipe Calderón Hinojosa se dispersó de manera considerable la violencia. Para el 2008 el Estado Mexicano se había embarcado en una guerra sin cuartel contra las organizaciones criminales. México atrajo la atención de la comunidad internacional debido a la creciente ola de asesinatos brutales, los desaparecidos, los secuestrados y las balaceras a plena luz del día. El pánico la incertidumbre y la inseguridad se apoderaron de los mexicanos. Al terminar el sexenio, el saldo oficial fue de 121, 613 personas fallecidas por homicidio, 12,990 desaparecidos, 160, 000 desplazados.

Los mexicanos poco a poco empezamos a vivir en un mundo lleno de violencia sumergido en la ingobernabilidad, de manera paulatina empezamos a buscar dentro de las notas periodísticas una señal de cambio. Sin embargo sin darnos cuenta comenzamos a almacenar y a cambiar la precaria cultura que poseíamos en cuanto a novelas, poesía, ciencia jurídica, medicina, teorías políticas, económicas, etc., por amplias

compilaciones de artículos que tratan asuntos de las drogas narcotraficantes y su conexión con el golpismo militar que las combate.

Jacobo Ramírez (Copenhagen Business School)

**“Hybrid organizations and ambidexterity as strategic responses to conflicting institutional conflict logics in security risk environments”**

This paper presents two studies that analyze how organizational members respond to conflicting institutional logics in security risk environments. We analyze the direct and indirect impacts of security risk on firms in an environment characterized by narcoterrorism. First, we conducted a content analysis of 204 news reports on the impacts of narcoterrorism on organizations operating in Mexico. Then, we conducted 35 interviews with employees at three organizational levels in eight Colombian and Mexican firms. Our results suggest that in Colombian and Mexican firms, developing line managers’ ambidexterity capability is a key strategic response to competing logics in environments characterized by narcoterrorism. Our data do not provide evidence that developing a hybrid organization is a strategic response to conflicting logics in security risk environments. Our research aims to contribute to the role of managers and employees as key actors in filling institutional voids in security risk environments.

## **14. INEQUALITY AND FISCAL POLICY DURING AND AFTER THE COMMODITY BOOM IN LATIN AMERICA.**

Coordinators: Constantin Groll (Freie Universität Berlin/desigualdades.net) & María Fernanda Valdés (desigualdades.net)

In the last decade Latin America was able to take advantage of the unprecedented increase of global commodity prices, increasing their revenues due to the export of minerals, energy resources or agricultural products. These positive dynamics in public finance led to major efforts of redistribution via transfers. Overall, such transfers had a positive effect on the reduction of socio-economic inequality in Latin America. However, inequality levels are still very high in most Latin American countries; in particular, in the areas of tax policy and fiscal federalism inequality-reducing policies were less evident. This panel will weave together research on two fundamental themes, which together explore the connection among fiscal policy, revenues of natural resources and inequality:

- The limits of re-distribution, especially via the tax channel. One aim is to explore the forms how the unprecedented resources have determined the configuration of tax systems in the region, perpetuating systems that are at odds with redistribution. In particular, it aims to discuss the discursive and policy resistance to pro-distributive tax reforms in order to understand the historical inability to tax the elite and the reproduction of socio-economic inequality across the region.
- Increased commodity revenues as cause of new dynamics of state reconfiguration and conflicts about the distribution and use of these revenues within nations and among various subnational units. In particular, it aims to discuss how

governments at different levels react to the challenges posed by these new revenues, indicating different dynamics in fiscal federalism with important implications for territorial disparities.

Constantin Groll ([desigualdades.net](http://desigualdades.net) / Freie Universität Berlin)  
**“The external dimension of fiscal subnational autonomy: insights from the Mexican case”**

This paper explores the influence of external factors on subnational fiscal autonomy, operationalized as the ability of subnational governments to collect and spend revenue independent of the influence of other jurisdictions, in federal states. In contrast to much of the research, it argues that the change of subnational fiscal autonomy is not only conditioned by domestic factors, but the result of the interaction between external factors and domestic institutional configurations over time. Using panel data analysis the paper explores the relationship between external factors - such as crisis, export activity, natural resource exploitation, foreign direct investment, and external debt, and subnational fiscal autonomy – for the Mexican case in the last two decades. Based on the empirical results the paper identifies the domestic institutional “filters” that mold the effect of external factors and proposes some general assumption about the dynamics of fragmentation vs. equalization between subnational units in the federal state in the light of changing external economic dynamics.

Maria Valdés (desigualdades.net)

**“Taxation for inclusive development in Latin America during the commodity boom and beyond”**

This paper will depict the way in which Latin American countries have been using the tax system to achieve inclusive-development in the last two decades and the role of commodity prices in this process. In particular, after analyzing the case study of Argentina, Chile and Colombia with a mixed methodology consisting of a quantitative study, which uses structural tax revenues (tax revenues adjusted by the cycle and by the prices of commodities) as a proxies for tax reforms, complemented by a qualitative analysis of tax reforms based on a revision of tax legislation and other qualitative studies, this paper will argue that the unprecedented commodity boom experienced in the region since 2003, particularly in the south, although brought enormous revenues to be invested, boosting growth and reducing inequality; has also weakened the possibility of creating a more progressive and developmentally-friendly tax system. Therefore, the unprecedented resources have determined the configuration of tax systems in the region, perpetuating systems that are at odds with inclusive development. This paper will conclude with a reflection on the enormous opportunities which lay ahead as the commodity boom appears to have reached its peak, and countries in the region, particularly these highly dependent on commodities, will feel the necessity to use the tax tool again.

Marco Just Quiles (Freie Universitat, Berlin)

**“Revenue Bonanza and Territorial Inequalities: Lessons from Bolivia”**

Based on an unprecedented increase of state revenues deriving from commodity exports, Bolivia is experiencing a promising momentum of poverty and inequality reduction. Redistribution efforts through ambitious infrastructure programs and direct as well as indirect cash transfer schemes have brought improvements in terms of human development, but fostered above all the popular support for the three times elected president Evo Morales. While recognizing valuable public investment dynamics, this paper presents recently compiled empirical results that indicate a far more sobering perspective on the redistributive achievements in the last two terms of the current government (2005-2014). Although overall public spending increased notably, the provision of public services remains highly concentrated in some regions and localities of the country while leaving others completely unaltered. The unbalanced territorial reach of public policy measures not only diminishes the redistributive potential arising from the revenue bonanza, but comprises the risk to reproduce existing and new territorial inequalities. Via a subnational approach this paper explores the determinants affecting territorial disparities in the four major public policy areas (education, health, infrastructure and social protection), commonly understudied in conventional analysis from a national perspective. In addition to the applied descriptive statistical tools, this paper draws on a unique set of interviews with political actors and experts, recently conducted within a three month research stay in 2015.

## **15. INEQUALITY AND RESOURCES IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

Coordinator: Pekka Virtanen (University of Jyväskylä)

As academic and policy debate over inequalities booms worldwide, Latin America continues to occupy a leading position on global ranks on economic and social disparities. There has been some expectation that these highly stratified societies would start to change after a decade of left-inclined governments in different countries. Indeed, several regional and multilateral institutions and researchers have been pointing to a slow but still declining tendency on income disparities, suggesting that most of Latin American countries are finally becoming less unequal and have taken a different route when compared to developed nations in the past decade.

The picture gets much more blurred when structural issues such as the distribution of wealth, control over resources and economic elites are directly addressed. For instance, some recent research on Brazilian income disparities have claimed that income inequalities are not falling if the data on the income of the top 1% is correctly computed. This body of research suggests that inequality and exclusion continues to be a constitutive part of Latin American social, economic and political recent dynamics. And that public policies that aim at reducing inequality levels must address more structural issues.

This panel addresses both the specific theme of inequality in the control and distribution of resources and broader discussions on inequalities – of income, wealth, ethnicity, gender, education, health etc. The panel seeks to explore and debate these themes from a multi-disciplinary perspective and welcomes papers from all social sciences.

Jairo Baquero Melo (Universidad del Rosario, Colombia)

**“Global value chains and social inequalities: the case of plantain in Colombia”**

Global value chains (GVCs) play a crucial role in globalization, determining trends in labor relations and profits distribution among peasants, workers and companies (Barret et al., 2012: 715). Governments defend GVCs for breeding development through employment and incomes opportunities (USAID, 2009). But opposite views take GVCs as producers of risks for workers and farmers (Little and Watts, 1994; Said and Tallontire, 2014). More analysis is demanded on the relation between GVCs and social inequalities. Previous studies analyzed horizontal and vertical inequalities associated to GVCs (Kaplinsky, 2004; Leslie and Reimer, 1999; Kaplinsky, 2004; Bolwig et al., 2010; Slocum and Saldanha, 2013). A crucial but little studied GVC has been the plantain, specially for Colombia. Plantain is the staple food of millions of people worldwide (FAO, 2009). Production reached more than 35 million tons in 2012; Colombia is the fourth global producer, and the third exporter after Peru and Nicaragua (FAO-STAT, 2014). This chain is characterized by an unequal distribution of benefits among the small-scale farmers, intermediaries, and multinational corporations (USAID, 2009). The environmental risks and the impacts of free trade are also unequally distributed (Baquero, 2014), with ineffective governance structures (Gereffi et al., 2005). Main paper’s aim is to analyze the inequalities associated to the plantain value chain in Colombia. Proposed methodology includes qualitative and quantitative methods, focused on the main production areas (Urabá and Eje Cafetero) for the period 1990-2014.

Diego Andrés Guevara Fletcher (Universidad La Gran Colombia)

**“Incidencia de las TIC en Colombia: ¿Inequidad en el recurso o medidas mitigadoras de la pobreza?”**

En Colombia, la pobreza vía ingresos ha venido disminuyendo en los últimos años. Sin embargo, en las zonas rurales, sigue siendo aún alta: Datos del año 2014 la ubican en un 41.4% de esta población. Bajo este escenario, las Tecnologías de la Información y las Comunicaciones –TIC- constituyen un elemento importante para la reducción de la pobreza y vulnerabilidad económica y social de las personas.

El presente estudio, busca profundizar en los temas de las barreras para acceso a las TIC en zonas con altos niveles de pobreza y Necesidades Básicas Insatisfechas, la exclusión social y marginalidad étnica entre otras características particularmente, en los municipios de Cértegui, Atrato y Unión Panamericana en el departamento del Chocó; El Charco en el departamento de Nariño; Inírida en el departamento de Guainía, los municipios de Fonseca y Distracción en el Departamento de la Guajira. La relación de la pobreza y las TIC, obligan a su vez, a la configuración de nuevas categorías conceptuales asociadas tales como la marginalidad digital, brecha digital y pobreza digital. Las principales conclusiones arrojan que, durante los últimos años ha sido evidente y notoria la penetración de las TIC a lo ancho y largo del territorio nacional, especialmente en servicios tales como Internet, Televisión y telefonía celular. Sin embargo, debido especialmente, a situaciones geográficas, y a sus niveles absolutos de pobreza, muestra deficiencias en calidad y acceso uso.

Así mismo, un mayor número de personas conectadas y una mejor conexión a Internet no conllevan a disminuir la pobreza

Dora Elia Ramos Muñoz (El Colegio de la Frontera Sur, México)

### **“Inequidad e Industria energética en Tabasco, Mexico”**

Internacionalmente hay evidencias que las regiones con alta producción petrolera generan dos condiciones negativas de participación económica en las mujeres: ellas no siempre pueden insertarse en los empleos generados por empresas petroleras y otras oportunidades en trabajos para la exportación o manufacturas baratas se reducen debido a la “enfermedad holandesa”. Tabasco es el estado con el segundo PIB de México, el 71% resulta de la extracción petrolera y la manufactura, las mujeres tienen una baja participación económica 24% (34% en México) y está decreciendo, mientras se duplican los hogares encabezados por mujeres solas y los niveles educativos de las mujeres se igualan con los hombres. La distribución de la renta es un elemento central de la justicia social, pero cómo impulsar que un sector socialmente vulnerable se inserte en el sector productivo de altas rentas. Examinamos 10 casos de mujeres jefas de familia en sus procesos de inserción y deserción de la industria energética. Los datos preliminares muestran las dificultades por 1) poca transparencia para acceso a información de empleos disponibles, 2) fallas en el sistema educativo, que se agudizan en el caso femenino y 3) cultura de trabajo. En seis años, la industria energética generará en México 135,000 empleos, muchos en Tabasco, si el patrón de contratación no crea condiciones de inserción laboral femenina, las condiciones de pobreza se agudizarán y se reforzará la industria social del reclamo, los robos y el comercio informal. Proponemos trabajar con universidades locales para buscar mayor movilidad social.

Renata Campos Motta (Freie Universität Berlin)

**“The ambivalent situation of the rural poor in Argentina and Brazil”**

This paper analyses the ambivalent relationship between social movements of the agrarian poor and the "pink tide" governments in Argentina and Brazil. It inquires into the contradictions between social policies that reduce poverty while agrarian policies generate new inequalities. Indeed, while undoubtedly effective in reducing the level of poverty and misery among the very poor, Argentina and Brazil did not achieve as good results in regard to other dimensions of inequality that affect the rural poor: access to public services and policies that guarantee social, economic, cultural, and environmental rights. At the same time, by improving the living conditions of those who lack access to a minimum wage, social security, and basic public services, the progressive governments have hampered the mobilization efforts of social movements. As their grass-roots bases were satisfied with the social policies that have ameliorated their daily lives, movement leaders were met with the hard task of targeting the government to demand adequate policies to promote land reform, guarantee land rights, and foster peasant farming and agroecology. The state promotion of a chemical-intensive agriculture acted as a mechanism of creating new inequalities in the distribution of the health and environmental risks. Above all, the criminalization of poverty and protest deny the very bases of human rights. These contradictions are not seen as such by the governments that hold a conception of development restricted to economic growth and inclusion in the labour and consumption market.

## **16. U.S.-CUBA RELATIONS: THE END OF THE COLD WAR IN THE AMERICAS?**

Coordinators: Benita Heiskanen (University of Turku)  
& Nadia Nava (University of Helsinki)

On December 17, 2014, President Raúl Castro and President Barack Obama announced the resumption of diplomatic ties between Cuba and United States. The purpose of the “normalization” of the relations was, as Obama put it, “to create more opportunities for the American and Cuban people, and begin a new chapter among the nations of the Americas.” The United States’ agenda, in particular, is to increase travel, commerce, and the flow of information to and from Cuba.

This exploratory panel considers the various ramifications that such an agenda may engender: Does it signify the end of the Cold War in the Americas? Will it be appropriate to refer to Cuba as a “Post- Communist” society? How will any bilateral cooperation and economic changes impact “the American and Cuban people” and societies? What are the hemispheric effects of the changes? How is the “new chapter” regarded by the international community and Cuban exiles? This panel probes into the initial responses to the U.S.-Cuba policy shift in the Americas. In particular, we will be interested in presentations dealing with media representations, policy discourses, and the voices of the “Cuban and American people.”

Benita Heiskanen (University of Turku)

**“*Todos somos Americanos*: The Promise and Peril of the U.S.-Cuba Policy Change”**

On December 17, 2014, President Raúl Castro and President Barack Obama announced that the two nations would begin to normalize diplomatic relations for the first time since the United States’ trade embargo was imposed on Cuba in 1961. This process would re-establish an Embassy in Havana and increase travel, commerce, and information flow to and from Cuba. The official rationale behind the decision was “to create more opportunities for the American and Cuban people, and begin a new chapter among the nations of the Americas,” for, as President Obama claimed in closing his statement: *Todos somos Americanos* [“We are all Americans”]. The announcement was met with simultaneous exhilaration and skepticism by various parties in both nations. Proponents and opponents of the policy were quick to establish their vocal opinions on the issue.

This paper considers the initial responses to the U.S.-Cuba policy change in both the United States and Cuba. Drawing on media coverage in both U.S. and Cuban newspapers and social media, it probes into the various reactions prompted by the presidents’ announcement. In particular, the paper discusses the ideological ramifications of the policy change, as interpreted by the commentators involved. If, as Obama claimed in his speech, the people of the United States and Cuba were “all American,” what would such a shared identity signify on a hemispheric scale? Rather than chucking Obama’s proposition to mere rhetorical pomp, this paper takes seriously the notion of “Americanness” as a hemispheric—rather than a national—nomenclature, alongside the various implications that

such a premise entails. Ultimately, the paper teases out the question, whether the notion of *Todos somos Americanos* might, in a radical way, reconfigure our understanding of the Americas.

Ewelina Biczynska (University of Warsaw)

**“Geographic differences in perception of Cuba and its future in the eyes of Cuban emigrants”**

Currently there are over 2 and a half millions of Cubans living outside of their fatherland and are an important voice in the discussion around Cuba and its future. Moreover, they might be the only Cuban representatives, who can communicate their opinions in an unrestricted way.

The resumption of diplomatic relations between the US and Cuba and accompanying discussions in both countries and in Europe have inspired us to analyze again the data collected in 2012-13 in the online survey among Cubans living in diaspora. The project investigated in their vision of the Island and its future, international relations and Cuban's own migration trajectory. The study revealed interesting generational differences among Cubans in diaspora; e.g.: the younger turned out to be less critical towards the regime; they were also more optimistic about possible changes. The older were more likely to expect rather intervention than peaceful transformation.

This time we present the results analyzing the spatial factor; focusing on the differences between Cubans living in US and in Europe. In fact it turns out, that receiving country is a significant determinant of Cuban's perception of international, Cuban and individual matters.

The differences are apparent in the immigrants' trajectory, as well as in the perception of international relations and

Cuba's role – e.g. US residents are less likely to support the idea of international and Latin-American economic integration. In our paper/ presentation we come up with interpretation of this and other results obtained in the study.

Larisa Pelle (Aalto University)

**“Student exchange and media cooperation in Cuba: existing links and future possibilities”**

Contrary to popular belief, student exchange has existed in Cuba for years. Study programs accept participants from all continents and backgrounds, including students from the United States. Cuba appeals to some American youngsters for its availability of free and advanced degree programs. In recent years it has also become possible for journalists to access Cuba and report on current issues. Film workshops in Cuban TV and Film School have for decades provided free and tolerating environment where critical works on current affairs are commonplace. Many journalists from abroad have gained access to censorship-free working environment by joining film workshops.

This paper reflects on those issues from a journalistic point of view. It is based on interviews that were conducted with three US students obtaining a MD degree in the Latin American School of Medicine (Havana) and on four selected films that take a closer look at social issues prevalent in Cuba.

Nadia Nava (University of Helsinki)

**“Past and transition: Ibero-American visions on the Cuban question”**

As Barack Obama and Raúl Castro announced the long-awaited bilateral approach in December 2014, speculations on the eventual success of the U.S. - Cuba relations' reestablishment and its hemispheric implications became a mandatory topic for the Ibero-American media. This paper aims at presenting contrasting visions on the U.S.-Cuban rapprochement. By taking a look at selected newspapers, the paper reflects on political uses of the so-called Cuban question in the last months and interpretations on the direction of an eventual political change in the island.

In the Latin American scenario, political arena divisions and divides place the Cuban question in the middle of two axes. One that stresses the legacy of the Cuban revolution (e.g. Bolivia, Venezuela) and one that focuses more on transition (e.g. Colombia). At the same time, the Spanish press has carefully followed the approach posing questions on the role of Spain's transition model and the importance of the European Union for the Cuban future.

What is discussed when discussing Cuba? What is missing from the discussions? Is there an Ibero-American or Latin American common ground on the Cuban question?

## **17. LOS RECURSOS POLÍTICOS O LA POLÍTICA DE RECURSOS EN AMÉRICA LATINA: LA ESTAGNACIÓN O EL DESARROLLO**

**Coordinadores:** Viktor Kheifets and Lazar Kheifets (Universidad Estatal de San Petersburgo)

Los recursos políticos son uno de los elementos del potencial total del cualquier estado soberano. Bajo una formación de la arquitectura multipolar del sistema internacional contemporáneo aparece alguna redistribución del poder. Es cierto de nivel mundial, así como de la regional. Por lo tanto, estamos siendo testigos de los cambios estructurales y funcionales dentro de las relaciones en el hemisferio occidental. En cuanto a los recursos políticos están estrechamente relacionadas con los fenómenos de la influencia política y la igualdad política, con el fin de medir los recursos políticos dentro de la región, es bastante útil para analizar los procesos políticos modernos y relaciones internacionales en América Latina en una serie de dimensiones : (1) los tipos de interacción entre los Estados; (2) la dinámica interna dentro de unos ciertos países; (3) las relaciones entre los recursos políticos y recursos económicos; (4) la política de recursos regionales en el contexto de la grave escasez de recursos; (5) consecuencias políticas de la consolidación de actores extra-regionales en América Latina.

El panel tiene como objeto discutir los asuntos relacionados con los recursos políticos en América Latina contemporánea. Estos recursos desempeñan papel significativo en la toma de decisiones y la influencia sobre política de recursos llevada a cabo por las naciones latinoamericanas. La instrumentalización de los recursos políticos hacia política de recursos es discutida sobre la base de varios casos regionales, entre estos el de

Colombia/Nicaragua y el de las comunidades Afro-Latinas. Además, se analiza el papel desempeñado por las estructuras inter-americanas y inter-latinoamericanas, así como por las potencias extra-hemisféricas.

Viktor Kheifetc and Lazar Kheifetc (Universidad Estatal de San Petersburgo)

**“Las potencias extra-hemisféricas y la lucha por recursos e influencia en América Latina”**

Los autores pretenden analizar el papel desempeñado por varias potencias extra-hemisféricas (Rusia y China, sobretodo) en la política de algunas naciones latinoamericanas. El asunto se investiga dentro del paradigma de formación del mundo polar. Se analiza tanto la política internacional en el sentido de formar alianzas temporales y estratégicas, como también la competencia por mercados y recursos del continente. La atención especial se dedica a los 'triángulos' Rusia-Venezuela-China, Rusia-Nicaragua-China y Rusia-Cuba-China (este último tiende a convertirse en una figura mucho más complicada con el eventual mejoramiento de relaciones entre Washington y La Habana). Los autores pretenden analizar cuál es el peso de los motivos políticos y económicos en el llamado 'regreso ruso' a América Latina y hacer lo mismo respecto a la penetración de Beijing al continente. Obviamente, no se trata de un modelo general para todo el continente (y nos parece que hay diferencias visibles entre los casos de tal o cual país), sin embargo queremos marcar unos rasgos básicos de penetración de las potencias extra-hemisféricas a América Latina.

Olga Andrianova (Universidad Estatal de San Petersburgo)

**“La política de los Estados Unidos en América Central en el siglo XXI: la hegemonía absoluta o la cooperación equitativa”**

A lo largo del siglo 20, la política de los Estados Unidos en América Latina en general y en la región centroamericana en particular, claramente tenía el carácter hegemónico. El desarrollo socioeconómico de los países centroamericanos reflejaba los intereses de las empresas norteamericanas que son apoyados por la oligarquía local y el desarrollo político también era controlado por los Estados Unidos. En este artículo vamos a tratar de analizar la situación en el momento actual para identificar las tendencias principales y las perspectivas de la cooperación.

Liliia Khadorich (Saint Petersburg State University)

**“Diminishing the OAS: reasonable limits”**

The beginning of the 21st century has witnessed a crucial shift in regional politics and economy. An increased Latin American autonomy poses a serious challenge to the U.S. leadership, while newly emerged models of regional integration (ALBA, UNASUR, CELAC) take over some functions traditionally performed by the Organization of American States. Therefore there are some grounds for reassessment of the OAS relevance. The proposed paper offers an analysis of contemporary role of the hemispheric body and several considerations on correlation between Pan-American organization and several Latin American groups.

Nikolai Dobronravin (Universidad Estatal de San Petersburgo)  
**“La reinención de la historia afro-latina como un instrumento en las políticas de recursos”**

A partir de la década de 1960, influenciada por los acontecimientos en África y los Estados Unidos creció la Conciencia Negra en el Caribe, América Central y los países sudamericanos como Brasil y Venezuela. El interés en los orígenes de la diáspora africana ha hecho que muchos de los eventos y biografías conocidas fueron objeto de reinterpretación. Por ejemplo, Zumbi, el último líder de Palmares (s. XVII), hoy se ha convertido en un símbolo de la Conciencia Negra y un héroe nacional en Brasil. En busca de las raíces de su cultura, los activistas afro-latinos reinterpretan la historia del Islam como la religión de la lucha contra la injusticia y la desigualdad social.

Ahora los documentos relacionados con la historia de la diáspora africana en el Nuevo Mundo no sólo interesan a los científicos, sino también a las figuras públicas. Estos documentos (en escritura latina o árabe) tienen capacidad de consolidar los logros conseguidos en los últimos años.

La reinterpretación de la historia sirve para garantizar los derechos sobre la tierra de las comunidades afrodescendientes. Un caso interesante es la costa atlántica de Nicaragua donde la población “Kriol” de la Costa, consciente de sí misma como un grupo étnico distinto, exigió la autonomía cultural y territorial.

Anton Andreev (Universidad Estatal de San Petersburgo)

**“Uruguay entre Mercosur y Alianza del Pacífico, el caso de la política exterior realizada por la coalición de izquierda”**

Durante la campaña electoral de 2014 en los medios de comunicación uruguayos apareció una polémica sobre el apoyo real de la línea del "Frente Amplio" sobre la política exterior e interior realizada por el gobierno. Las encuestas de opinión de septiembre-octubre 2014 mostraron que los dos candidatos a la presidencia - Tabaré Vázquez, de la coalición "Frente Amplio", y Luis Lacalle, quien representaba el partido tradicional – “El Partido Nacional de Uruguay” (Blanco) - tenían casi igual número de votos. Parecía que la "izquierda" estaba perdiendo apoyo en la sociedad uruguaya, que quería ver los cambios políticos y sociales.

El principal punto de la agenda para el Uruguay ahora es el problema de la integración regional, es decir, sus consecuencias positivas y negativas. El "Frente Amplio", que una vez más llegó al poder en el país, va a fortalecer los procesos de integración, especialmente el MERCOSUR. Sin embargo, a pesar de la creación de las barreras aduaneras comunes y la simplificación de las relaciones comerciales, la dirección notada de política exterior de "izquierda" es una de las más importantes. Durante las campañas electorales de 2004, 2009, 2014. en las páginas de los periódicos uruguayos el tema de la integración regional aparece con mucha frecuencia. Por eso tenemos que analizar las perspectivas de la política exterior uruguaya, especialmente en MERCOSUR y Alianza del Pacífico como el ejemplo de la política exterior de la “izquierda”.

**18. LATIN AMERICA IN MODERN SOUTH-SOUTH RELATIONS:  
IN SEARCH FOR NEW THEORETICAL  
AND METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES**

Coordinators: Edmé Domínguez and Adriana Salazar  
(Gothenburg University)

The fall of the Washington Consensus as a compelling development model together with the rise of emerging economies (with China) at the forefront have transformed Latin American politics and economics. The presence of new (and old) partners with an economic muscle and a growing political influence have lessened US hegemony in the region, allowing Latin American countries to immerse in a quest for national development plans that better respond to local realities and preferences.

Many Latin American countries are looking for new partners some of which have attracted special attention like the case of China, Russia, India, Iran or other partners in the South. The literature about Sino-Latin American relations is already vast. In a region plagued by decades of colonialism and neo-colonialism, many praise China's non-interventionist approach. Chinese demand has shored up growth in the region and the new left has seized the windfall to distribute resources and lift millions out of poverty. Macroeconomic trends indicate that the region exports mostly natural resources to China in exchange for manufactured products, sparking fears of reprimarization of Latin American economies. Others argue that these exchanges are prompting a neo-extractivist development model that is heightening socio-political and environmental tensions. Even the so-called progressive governments are aggressively promoting extraction in the name

of economic growth with redistribution. By presenting themselves as “compensating states” that are allegedly able to find a balance between social development and the negative aspects of resource extraction, these governments are perpetuating the territorial fragmentation brought about by globalization, as resource-poor territories and groups are switched off from the global economy. Another issue is how, the more established relations between Latin America and the North, for example in the case of EU, are being affected by this re-orientation.

Jorge Alberto López Arévalo (Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas)

### **“Comercio intra-industrial China - América Latina: los casos de Cuba, Bolivia y Venezuela”**

El presente trabajo analiza las particularidades del comercio de China con los países de la Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños (CELAC) con los que se identifican relaciones políticas (Cuba, Bolivia y Venezuela). China se ha convertido en los últimos años en un actor destacado en el comercio mundial, y los países que son potencialmente aliados políticos de China han intensificado sus relaciones económicas, en consecuencia la irrupción de China en algunos de estos países ha transformado significativamente su especialización comercial.

El presente trabajo analiza el comercio intra-industrial entre países considerados emergentes, lo cual difícilmente se explica a partir de teorías como la de Heckscher-Ohlin. Las relaciones comerciales entre China y estos países de América Latina tienen la característica de ser una especie de centro-periferia entre países sur-sur, donde China hace el papel de centro

exportador de manufacturas y los países de América Latina, de periferia proveedora de materias primas. En consecuencia, pretendemos capturar el sentido y la profundidad de estas tendencias para el caso de los países que son potenciales aliados de China.

Edmé Domínguez (Göteborgs Universitet) and Anna Protsenko (Institute of Latin America RAS)

**“Russia-Latin American relations after the Ukrainian crisis: windows of opportunity?”**

The new political constellation in Latin America has created the opportunity for new regional initiatives like ALBA and UNASUR, CELAC and Pacific Alliance, but also for the establishing of reinforced economic relations with such extra-continental allies as Russia, China or Iran. Even if a great part of these new relationships may be explained as pure pragmatic economic agreements they do redraw certain maps to which we had got used to regarding center-periphery relations. In other words, the political economy of the region has been changing substantially and the consequences of these trends may still be difficult to grasp. For example, Russian foreign policy had been in search for new directions even before the EU economic sanctions. These sanctions have motivated Russia to seek closer economic relations with several countries in Latin America who have responded in a positive way to such initiatives.

The aim of this paper is to revise post-Soviet relations between Latin America and Russia and see how do they fit in the new geopolitical and political economy of both regions. What is the economic, the political and possibly the ideological content of such relations from both sides? Are these conjuncture-related

re-accommodations or is there any substance pointing to a long term sustainability?

Fabricio Rodríguez (University of Freiburg)

**“Making sense of China’s extractive presence in Latin America”**

China’s expanding presence in Latin America is subject to controversial debate. Yet, social scientists still need to generate adequate analytical frameworks for an essentially new phenomenon of global power in the Global South. Further, research on this area requires careful account of the asymmetries between countries and the diversity of extractive economies within Latin America. A key question is how China’s critical need for raw materials has shaped its foreign relations to different Latin American countries since the beginning of the 21st century. Brazil is an emerging power and thus represents an exceptional case. Meanwhile, Peru is more representative of countries that lack Brazil’s international power capacities. Yet, China has become the primary exporting address for Brazil’s state-driven oil industry as well as for Peru’s private copper industry. Through a quasi-experimental, comparative research design, I analyse variation in terms of the independent variable (China’s resource policies) across two diverse contexts with similar outcomes. If “power is the production [...] of effects that shape the capacities of actors to determine their own circumstances and fate” (Barnett/Duvall 2005: 3), then how do China’s resource policies adapt to contextual changes in countries as diverse as Brazil and Peru? In order to address this question, I use a power taxonomy that encompasses four interconnected concepts of power: compulsory, structural, institutional, and productive.

Ori Preuss (Tel Aviv University)

**“Roots of Mercosur: Toward an entangled South-South history of Latin American regionalism”**

At the crossroad of intellectual, diplomatic, and cultural history, this paper concerns the widening cross-border circulation of people and information within southern South America and the interrelated proliferation of macro-regional, cultural-political projects between the 1860s and 1910s. Inspired by the spatial turn in the humanities and the *histoire croisée* approach, it disavows the state as the prime frame of reference, focusing instead on movement between the rapidly growing and modernizing urban centers of Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. Late nineteenth century globalization, so runs the argument, brought these cities’ inhabitants close not only to Paris, London, and New York, as is often discussed, but also to each other, both physically and mentally. Ever more cognizant of international affairs and public opinion, the urban lettered classes of the most dynamic area of Latin America created texts, images, and spectacles that transcended “national” spaces, thus fashioning original, distinctively South American ideas and identities. In so arguing, the paper offers a correction to two major traditions in Latin American studies: the predominance of the nation-state as the main unit of analysis, and the focus on relationships with Europe and the U.S. as the main sphere of cultural exchange. Shifting attention away from extra-regional, North-South relationships to the deep roots of trans-South-American exchanges it seeks to offer a fresh theoretical-historical approach to current South-South dynamics within the region and beyond.

Adriana Salazar (University of Gothenburg)

**“The developmental impacts of Chinese FDI in Venezuela: the case of CNPC”**

The rise of emerging markets like China and the failure of the neoliberal model to deliver satisfying results seem to be prompting a change in the development agenda. In Latin America, countries have been diversifying its relations seeking to lessen dependence on the US. Venezuela has deepened links with China, now a top economic and political partner since the launching of its “going out” policy in the early 2000s. However, some academic and political circles are concerned that this new relationship with Beijing may be turning into a form of neo-colonialism by invitation – with negative consequences over long-term development. Trade and investment patterns have been discussed extensively, but incipient suggests that FDI from developing countries is qualitatively different from FDI from industrialised countries, bearing thus different implications for the development of host countries. The aim of this paper is to analyse the developmental impacts of Chinese FDI in Venezuela, focusing on investments by China's National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC). The research is carried out from the perspective of developing-country FDI on another developing country, using the emerging ambidexterity framework from the field of international business relations as an analytical tool. It finds that CNPC's investments offer significant potential for promoting long-term socioeconomic development but that governance problems in Venezuela such as corruption, power concentration in the figure of the President and the erosion of democratic checks and balances hinder such potential.

## 19. SIMPOSIUM RED HAINA GENDER STRUGGLES IN LATIN AMERICA

Coordinadora: Edmé Domínguez

El objetivo del simposio es fortalecer un espacio académico de discusión interdisciplinaria y transversal sobre temáticas de género. El simposio estará organizado en diferentes paneles temáticos. Las ponencias podrán ser en español o inglés. Los paneles girarán en torno a temáticas transversales que ejemplifiquen las luchas feministas en el continente, por ejemplo, historia y actualidad de los movimientos feministas, efectos de la globalización y resistencias de género, usos y espacios de la memoria, derechos humanos, equidad y justicia, género y desarrollo sustentable, construcciones discursivas de lucha feminista e identidades femeninas, etc.

Edme Dominguez (University of Gothenburg)

**“A gender perspective of trade in the case of NAFTA and the EU- Mexico association agreement”**

What is a feminist perspective of trade? Many authors have addressed this subject approaching it through different dimensions. The most obvious ones have been employment, migration, labour organizing and trafficking but also education, violence and even sexuality have been studied. This is part of the critical studies of free trade and its consequences and the approaches have varied and even diverged. The aim of this paper is to revisit the issue of the consequences of free trade from a gender perspective coming back to classical approaches

that nevertheless may open new paths as to how to address the problem.

This paper has 2 parts: the first one tries to give an overview of what has been developed regarding a gender perspective of trade in general and in particular regarding NAFTA and the EU-Mexico association agreement.

The second part of the paper develops this perspective in a more empirical way focusing on the above mentioned free trade treaties and the labour market in Mexico. We are using statistical material but also second hand sources in an effort to retrace a path that may lead us to new and unseen roads if revised in a critical way.

Andrea Sempertegui (Goethe University Frankfurt)

**“New radical women resistances in a neo-extractivist era”**

Within a new context of “environmentalization” of social struggles in LA, a radical antiextractivist movement has emerged in Ecuador with a strong role of Amazonian women. These women criticize the neoextractivist policy of the government after the opening of the XI. Oil Round. The critical discourse of a Huaorani leader at the Parliament and “The Women’s March for Life”, where hundreds of indigenous women marched to Quito against extractivist policies, have emerged as symbolic moments of this women uprising. The language employed to defend nature is radical, since the “Mother Earth” is defended as a living being and neoextractivism, despite all the promises in the name of national interest, is criticized as a masculinized form to conquer space.

I am going to analyze the factors that enabled the rise and radicalism of this women’s movement, despite the fact that

antiextractivist movements, with a long trajectory like the indigenous movement, have faced serious constraints for formulating a radical opposition against neoextractivism. I argue that the women's vital dependency from the conservation of nature, their potential to organize collectively and their alliance with the Sarayaku women enabled their political formation. The applied theoretical framework is based on Partha Chatterjee's subaltern studies about the "politics of the governed". Chatterjee values the political potential of subalterns, who -like indigenous women- escape the logic of being regulated by hegemonic discourses -like neoextractivism- and have the capacity for political formation and radical action.

María Cristina Osorio Vázquez (Universidad Intercultural Maya de Quintana Roo)

**“Socioeconomic Analysis of the Microbusiness conformed by indigenous Mayan women in the Peninsula of Yucatan, Mexico”**

Women in the developing world (and perhaps even in some so-called developed countries), have workloads linked to their families financial needs, which include rural production of agricultural products. Implying that their working hours exceed those of men given the tendency of women to fulfill responsibilities at home and in productive activities outside the household. (Fonchingong, 1999: 75).

Additionally, the reality of the indigenous Mayan woman is commonly related to marginalization and poverty, their main tasks are directly associated to the needs of their children, elderly and household activities. They try to provide for their children access to education to break the cycle of poverty and

frustration. Frustration related to observe alcohol consumed in large volumes by men, in rural areas such as the Maya region of the Peninsula of Yucatan.

The contribution of indigenous women in the home is now more visible. While men had previously been regarded as breadwinners, now both sexes share this role, although rarely are recognized their efforts.

As part of the information gathered, women indicated that their work in agricultural production has increased considerably in recent years. In rural areas, most women work with basic tools, and have no access to agricultural support, as offered by the Secretaría de Desarrollo Rural e Indígena (SEDARI). Additionally they are engaged in livestock activities. Many of them are involved in microbusiness as a way to generate income outside the home, alleviate poverty and create better opportunities for their children.

Johanna Leinius (Goethe University Frankfurt)

**“*Mi Cuerpo, Mi Territorio* - The (Cosmo-)Politics of Translation in the Alliance-Building between Rural and Indigenous Women in Defense of their Common Goods and the Peruvian Feminist Movement”**

In the eco-territorial conflicts in Latin America, different understandings of progress, development and nature are negotiated in a context characterized by highly asymmetrical power relations. In Peru, the protagonism of rural and indigenous women, whose livelihoods are threatened by dispossession and environmental pollution, is notable and, challenging the paternalist logics of previous relations, there is a certain level of convergence with the feminist movement. In my presentation, I ask: What are the cultural, economic, social,

and political factors that shape the activism of women in eco-territorial conflicts in Peru? From what position do women construct themselves as political subjects, which gender roles do they mobilize, and what challenges do they face? What are the practices and discourses that have enabled the convergence between the feminist movement and rural and indigenous activist women? What politics of translation are played out and to what effect? Drawing on the experiences of the eco-territorial conflict in Cajamarca, Peru, I argue that this convergence is undergirded by the development of new discourses that articulate sexual and reproductive rights with territorial autonomy, and democracy with ecological sustainability. I analyze the ‘cosmopolitics’ (de la Cadena) of these practices and discourses, paying particular attention to the limits of recognition, the moments of strategic misunderstanding, as well as the possibilities for solidarity and emancipation. My research is based on participatory research with actors of the Peruvian women’s movement.

Maria Luisa Bartolomei (Stockholm University)

**“Gender and Women in the Political Discourse of the Argentine Military Government 1976-1983- The social and political construction of citizenship - Yesterday and Today”**

This paper presents a discursive analysis of both gender subject matters and women issues in the political discourse of the last military dictatorship in Argentina. It also takes into account the issue of violence that was experienced by women at that time. The paper examines the role of family, kinship and maternal images as the central source of legitimacy in the behaviour of socially accepted gender stereotypes (women as wives, mothers

and homemakers). This is in contrast to the concept of "citizen" and the construction of a social and political citizenship.

There is also an analysis of the discourse and political practices of the military junta. This analysis refers to women, the family and the Christian order. It examines torture, disappearances and rape as a way to disciplining the feminine bodies, on the so-called "subversive women", who participated in social and political movements, during this time (public and private sphere) and sexual violence as a crime against humanity.

The study importantly includes a gender perspective and the discursive construction of social and political power relations. This has been developed by authors like Jelin, Lagarde, Fraser, Butler, Yuval Davis and Foucault et al. Finally, it takes into account yesterday's violence against women and today's reality, in particular the process of building citizenship, political participation and the autonomy of women.

Cirila Quintero Ramírez (El Colegio de la Frontera Norte)

**“Medio siglo luchando en las maquiladoras. Experiencias de lucha femenina en el Norte de México, 1965-2015”**

Esta ponencia discute a través de diferentes conflictos laborales, la participación que la mujer ha tenido desde los inicios maquiladores, a mediados de los sesenta, hasta la fecha, primera década del siglo XXI. A través de entrevistas con mujeres, se reconstruyen los movimientos en los que participaron para formar sindicatos, para exigir mejores salarios, para frenar la tiranía de supervisores, hasta la lucha por el apoyo de servicios como el transporte y el comedor. La ponencia recupera la agencia que han tenido distintas generaciones de mujeres en la maquila, cuestionando el estereotipo de apáticas o poco interesadas en el mejoramiento

laboral. Se muestra como algunas fueron herederas de una historia sindical pero otras aprendieron en la maquila a luchar, a cuestionar para mejorar su situación laboral. La ponencia está basada en las experiencias de Matamoros, Tamaulipas y Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, y la entrevista a distintas generaciones de mujeres desde 1965 al 2014.

Mariana Affonso Penna (Universidade Federal Fluminense)

**“Sobre Emoção e Razão: Movimento das Comunidades Populares e o protagonismo político das mulheres”**

Nas sociedades patriarcais, mulheres e homens somos seres incompletos. Influenciados desde tenra infância a assumirmos papéis específicos, coerentes com aqueles determinados socialmente como papéis corretos para cada gênero. Nos formamos enfatizando determinadas características humanas e sufocando outras. Em outras palavras, estamos tratando do clichê homem razão, mulher emoção. Apesar de clichê, não se trata de uma falsidade, observamos objetivamente que por maiores que tenham sido os avanços da luta feminina, espaços públicos ainda são hegemonicamente dominados por uma lógica de dominação masculina. O Movimento das Comunidades Populares (MCP) pôde escapar ao sectarismo masculino tão comum a muitos grupos políticos supostamente mais radicais, marcados pela dureza no trato entre companheiros. Este tipo de ambiente de militância, em geral repele as mulheres, que já têm de suportar em seus cotidianos como esposas, filhas ou funcionárias a violência masculina. Não faz sentido portanto buscar uma militância que reproduza o que já lhe é desagradável no cotidiano.

Com origens na esquerda católica em 1969, o MCP desenvolve em 12 estados brasileiros uma atuação política que valoriza a

emoção e sentimento de suas/seus militantes. Possuem como objetivo fundamental ampliar e difundir as “Comunidades Populares” como gérmen de um mundo novo. Nessas comunidades, mesmo sem uma discussão formal de gênero, desenvolvem uma metodologia de trabalho que abre espaço para o protagonismo político de mulheres da classe trabalhadora em regiões de periferia como favelas e áreas rurais empobrecidas.

Live Danbolt Drange (NLA University College)

**“An effect of migration: Indigenous grandmothers with caring responsibilities again”**

In the 1990s a flow of migration started from the Andes to USA and Spain in seeking wellbeing and improvements. Young parents left children behind with relatives and paid large sums to smugglers to go to the USA to live as undocumented migrants. They are unable to travel home to see the children and also to bring them to the USA. In many communities in the Andes most families have at least one family member living abroad, a great deal of the younger generations has hardly lived together with both parents.

Enormous demands have been placed on grandparents who must raise grandchildren at midlife, in the transition to a stage that would normally give more freedom to choose what they wish in life. These grandparents belong to a generation that have experienced a tremendous expansion of opportunity freedom, from growing up under serfdom to be able to make free choices. Their own upbringing did not offer much opportunities for schooling while it today is a matter of course for the grandchildren not only to complete primary school, but also to continue studying at the university.

Generally, the migrant or the children left behind are in focus in research on migration. In the paper, I will delve at the impact this migration has on the well-being of the grandparents, especially of the grandmothers for whom their freedom to choose has been limited as they have to take care of small and young children again.

My research question is: What effect do the migration have on the childrearing grandmothers? What life limitations do they experience?

## 20. VET TEACHERS FOR THE FUTURE

Coordinator: Seija Mahlamäki-Kultanen (Häme University of Applied Sciences)

VET Teachers for the Future is a Finnish professional development programme, which is targeted at teachers who work in the vocational and professional education sector especially in Latin America. The first, Brazilian pilot group, 27 teachers, have just finished their first period of study in Finland and are currently continuing to implement lessons learned in the Brazilian context. The Brazilian Ministry of education funds the programme, and it aims to support the development of vocational and technical education in the country. Three Finnish universities of applied sciences organize the programme and development projects connected to it.

This panel gives voice to actors involved in the project and focuses on of relevant pedagogical concepts and practices. To a general extent it addresses which pedagogical methods are more useful for best practice transfer between different contexts.

Lasse Heikkilä (Häme University of Applied Sciences)

### **“VET Teachers for the Future Programme Development “**

The VET Teachers for the Future - Professional Development Certificate is meant to meet the strategic goals of the Ministry of Education in Brazil, the needs of Brazilian Federal Institutes as well as actual programme participants (VET Teachers). The Design-Based Research Collective (2003, 6) regards DBR as a methodology to develop curricula, new learning environments as well as learning theories. In this presentation DBR and

participatory quality work are used to develop a certificate programme in Brazilian-Finnish cooperation and preliminary results from the pilot group 2014-2015 are presented.

The first pilot group consists from 27 participants and conducts a 9 month programme, 5 months in Finland and 4 months in their own workplace, a Federal Institutes. The scope of the programme is 30 credit points. The learning targets emphasize project and competence-based learning and teaching and applied research.

For the service providers, Finnish Universities of Applied Sciences, it was important to carefully meet the learning needs of the participants. This is why several individual interviews were made and videoed. Two, both qualitative and quantitative surveys, were presented to the participants in the middle and at the end of the Finnish period.

In the mid-term survey, the overall satisfaction of the participants was already high, 4,3 on a scale 1-5 and raised until the end of the Finnish period. The cultural shock about the climate or living conditions in general was reported to be almost absent. However, the rather open pedagogical approach and learning culture caused some frustrations. We suggest that in spite of some tensions, the transfer of pedagogical models between North Europe and Latin America should mainly be of participatory nature and not mechanistic in-service-trainings. The preliminary findings call for the institutional level support, which is evaluated during the Brazilian period and reported later.

Bruno Pereira Garcês (Federal Institute of Mato Grosso)  
**“Challenges for the "Teachers for the Future" in Brazil”**

The Federal Institutes of Education, Science and Technology of Brazil (IFs) are institutions specialized in the provision of vocational and technological education. The main focus are the vocational education courses, which can be in four different ways: - Integrated: The students take vocational education courses and high school in the IFs; - Subsequent: Students do a vocational education course after the end of high school; - Concurrent: Students do a vocational education course at the IF and high school in another school. - PROEJA: It is a kind of integrated vocational education course aimed at adult education. In addition to vocational education courses, IFs offer higher education (bachelor degree), master and doctoral degrees and also teacher training courses. The Brazilian government, through the "Teachers for the Future" is sending teachers of IFs to Finland for pedagogical training in order to implement some methods used by successful Finnish educational system in their IFs. A group of 27 teachers have completed the course and other with 33 teachers is already in Finland for training. The challenge of these teachers is to socialize all the knowledge obtained during this period in Finland with colleagues in order to rethink, reevaluate and "remake" the professional education in IFs. The purpose of this abstract is to invite everyone to a brief discussion of how to rethink vocational education in Brazil. Is there a protocol to be followed? Who would be responsible for these changes? Can we take the first step with only 60 teachers? Hands-on and let's discuss.

Essi Ryymin and Brian Joyce (Häme University of Applied Sciences)

### **“Finnish-Brazilian Learning Process as an Experimental Path towards Pedagogical Change”**

The School of Professional Teacher Education of Häme University of Applied Sciences in Finland has offered professional training programs for the Brazilian vocational education and training (VET) teachers since the autumn 2014. There are thirty-one teachers studying in The VET Teachers for the Future -programme in Finland and in Brazil. The training was planned in co-operation with Brazilian and Finnish partners. The Brazilian teachers are intrigued by the current pedagogical approaches, student-centered methods, pedagogical use of technologies and models for educational change. On their nine-month journey, Brazilian teachers stay and study in Finland for five months; it comprises a lengthy series of rich experiences. Hence, the programme becomes a living laboratory and joint idea platform for new educational innovations.

In this study, the research interests lie in the personal experiences of the pedagogical change of the program participants. The theoretical framework follows the narrative research with a specific focus on the stories told by individuals (Polkinghorne, 1995). The data was gathered through individual interviews and analyzed within an approach called phenomenography (Marton, 1988), which is a method for mapping the qualitatively different ways in which people experience phenomena. The research results indicate that studying in Finland have been an empowering learning process for the Brazilian teachers, and significant for their pedagogical

thinking. The pedagogical models are being implemented, disseminated and developed in a more meaningful way, back in Brazil.

## **21. HUMAN RESOURCES AND POWER IN LATIN AMERICA**

Coordinator: Sarri Vuorisalo-Tiitinen (University of Helsinki)

For hundreds of years, Latin America has been famed for its rich natural and human resources. At the same time it has seen both of these exploited to an extent that is no longer sustainable. In this panel we would like to focus on the question: who, why, and in what way executes power over Latin America and its human resources? To answer this question we have to pay attention to issues such as human capital, freedom, political culture, traditions, and historic ties that have played a significant role in forming and simultaneously explicating the reasons for the current status quo.

Next to economic power, there are related, more hidden forms of power which have enabled inequality to persist in Latin America. Our panel is concerned especially with this latter form of power, or symbolic capital, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu; a more subtle form of domination that is not perceived as power but as legitimate demands for recognition, deference, and obedience. Our research aims at the identification, conceptualization, and further understanding of these hidden forms of power in the creation of knowledge and information resources, religious beliefs and rituals, media contents, etc., in the context of historical as well as contemporary Latin America, paying attention to the human resources available to different groups to maintain and challenge these power structures.

Jorge Calbucura (Mid Sweden University)

**“Cuando lo subalterno no habla. Estrategias en relación a la restitución, repatriación de restos humanos de comunidades indígenas provenientes de Latinoamérica en museos de Suecia”**

En Suecia, como resultado de demandas de repatriación iniciados por diferentes comunidades indígenas el gobierno pidió a los trece museos e instituciones estatales que hicieran un inventario de sus colecciones de restos humanos. El inventario da cuenta de una considerable colección de restos humanos guardadas en depósitos de museos y universidades. El presente trabajo tiene como objetivo analizar el ayer y el hoy del discurso sobre el manejo de los restos humanos de comunidades indígenas provenientes de Latinoamérica en museos de Suecia. El objetivo de mi ponencia es analizar las estrategias implementadas en relación con la restitución de restos humanos, así como destacar la importancia de la restitución, la repatriación de restos humanos en relación al reconocimiento de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas.

Kirsi Cheas (University of Helsinki)

**“Resources to Speak for Themselves: Proportions of Brazilian and ‘Northern’ Perspectives in Finnish and US World News Ahead of the 2014 World Cup”**

Following Brazil’s recent economic boom, its government has been gaining more confidence in defining and defending the country’s interests in the international public sphere. Furthermore, the massive demonstrations that have taken place in the country show that its citizens are speaking up too.

Building on Bourdieu's field theory, I examine the extent to which the voices of Brazilians in different socio-economic positions and institutions were quoted/paraphrased in Finnish and US world news, vis-a-vis Finnish/US/"Northern" voices, as Brazil was preparing to host the 2014 World Cup.

Eleonora Lundell (University of Helsinki)

**"Ritual Agency and Societal Changes in Contemporary Brazil: The Case of Afro-Brazilian Religiosity in Southeast Brazil"**

Paying attention to the power of religious experiences and religious knowledge is essential in terms of the current socio-political transformations in the Brazilian society. In this paper I will offer fresh ethnographic insights from two Southeast Brazilian metropolitan areas, addressing the experiences of middle-class followers of Afro-Brazilian religions.

Martti Pärssinen (University of Helsinki)

**"Ancient Earthmovers in Brazilian Amazonia and the Accumulation of Landesque Capital"**

A Finnish-Brazilian team has detected a hitherto unknown civilization (ca. 250 BC–AD 1300) in Western Amazonia (Acre). The societies that formed this civilization used their manpower to build large geometric settlements and ceremonial centers (earthworks) that were connected by a sophisticated system of roads. These societies practiced agriculture and horticulture, changing completely the so called pristine character of Amazonia. At the same time the land-use practices of this civilization accumulated resources that still affect local political economy and the structure of power.

Sara Robinson-Moncada (University of Jyväskylä)  
**“Learning from Narratives in NGO work”**

As non-governmental organizations (NGOs) take on more significance within international development cooperation, pressures also increase to provide concrete evidence of the results of development interventions. Many of the existing tools for monitoring and evaluation rely on measurable indicators that inadequately describe many value-based objectives, such as empowerment. Recently, narratives and life change stories are being considered as increasingly effective ways of gathering data on these value-based objectives. Still even as NGOs collect narratives, their methods of and time for analysis of them have not increased, nor have many donors' pressures for evidence-based results varied greatly. This research studies the concept of community and individual empowerment from an organizational perspective based on interviews with staff from two Finnish development NGOs' global partner countries, including Peru and Nicaragua. Using narrative analysis to explore empowerment and non-empowerment narratives given in individual interviews, this study attempts to understand different dimensions of empowerment in international development and shed light on both organizational theories of change in empowerment processes and methodologies for understanding empowerment narratives. In an attempt to contribute to dialogues of knowledge production by whom, for whom and how, the analysis intends to search for typologies of empowerment narratives and structural characteristics in order to conceptualize understandings of empowering processes and how that knowledge is used in organizations.

Ave Ungro (University of Helsinki)

**'Discursive Dimensions of Power and Injustice in the Contemporary Mexican Crónicas Related to the Illicit Drug Trade'**

The aim of the paper is to discuss how the illicit-drug-trade-related power relations are discursively structured and expressed in the Mexican *crónicas* (literary journalistic texts) of the last ten years. The focus will be on auctorial choices and the analysis of the interfering discursive dimensions from the author's, main protagonists', and reader's perspectives. The paper will showcase some of the most representative discursive frictions and utterances around topics closely linked to the Mexican drug trade – corruption, impunity, fear, social justice, and citizenship.

Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen (University of Helsinki)

**“Democratization of Arawakan Shamanism in Southwestern Amazonia”**

This paper looks at the shamanic practices of Arawakan-speaking peoples in Southwestern Amazonia. It shows how shamanism has increasingly become practiced by members of the younger generations and women, providing them a new chance to enter into dialogue with non-Indians, as well as a chance for social mobility.

Yvonne Siemann (University of Lucerne)

**“Symbolic capital of Japanese descendants in Bolivia”**

Starting in 1899, single Japanese men migrated to the Bolivian Amazon basin to work as rubber collectors; later, they built up

small shops or farms and married Bolivians. In the 1950s and 1960s, families from Japan migrated to the Bolivian lowlands on the base of a trilateral agreement between Bolivia, the U.S. and Japan in order to found two agricultural colonies. Many of those post-war migrants have now moved to the nearby city of Santa Cruz. They have become successful doctors, engineers etc. and have a high standard of living. Generally, the ‘Japanese’ are well respected by the local Bolivian population. But how did this high prestige evolve, considering that they arrived as poor farmers? And where are the limitations of it?

According to the Japanese descendants (Nikkei) I interviewed during field research in Santa Cruz, their ‘typically Japanese’ cultural values and solidarity were the reason, as well as the focus on the acquisition of cultural capital via education. But Nikkei benefited from their transnational relations using the high prestige of Japan in Bolivia for their own means. Furthermore, the Japanese government has allowed Nikkei to work in Japan and has been an important donor: buildings, loans, or scholarships turned out to be helpful for Nikkei (and in turn, it allowed Japan to benefit from the Nikkei’s good image). However, some Nikkei (mostly of pre-war origin) did not have the same opportunities to benefit from these transnational ties. Furthermore, the Nikkei’s symbolic capital has also its limits in Bolivian daily life.

Sarri Vuorisalo-Tiitinen (University of Helsinki)

**“Linguistic Biographies of Latin American Adults in Helsinki: Language as a Resource of Well-Being and Integration in the Finnish Society”**

The number of Latin Americans in the capital area of Helsinki has rapidly quadrupled in the past ten years, totaling over 6,000

in the end of 2013. Why do some Latin Americans learn Finnish and others do not? I will introduce the preliminary results of a pilot project where I collected linguistic biographies of adult Latin Americans who have arrived in Finland at an adult age (over 18 years old) and who have lived in Finland for a minimum of five years. International mobility due to societal, economic, and personal reasons brings along questions of integration and identity. Linguistic well-being in the new home environment is a key factor in making international mobility sustainable and fruitful, both on individual and societal levels.

## **22. PROCESOS ETNOHISTÓRICOS DE LA POBLACIÓN AFRODESCENDIENTE EN AMÉRICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE.**

Coordinadora: Luciana Salazar (Universidad del Valle de México)

El expansionismo europeo de los siglos XV y XVI, proceso histórico que incluyó los primeros contactos con los pobladores americanos y africanos, ocasionó una voraz carrera por el acaparamiento de los recursos de los “nuevos” territorios, tanto naturales como humanos. En este sentido, la lucha por el control del comercio trasatlántico de esclavos africanos fue una característica de esta pugna por los modos y medios de producción. Así, la trata africana ocasionó la deshumanización de estos “recursos humanos” al equipararlos jurídicamente como “mercancía”, y a su vez, convertirlos en “motores de sangre” de las economías europeas en expansión. Por consiguiente, este simposio estará conformado por trabajos antropológicos e históricos que analizarán las distintas facetas de la esclavitud de millones de africanos llegados a distintas regiones de América Latina y el Caribe. El cimarronaje, las rebeliones y formas “sutiles” de resistencia, la libertad y la manumisión, los cuerpos militares de negros y mulatos al servicio de la Corona, la evangelización, la integración y la movilidad social de las castas negras a finales de la etapa colonial, el estatus jurídico en los nuevos estados-nación, así como otros elementos simbióticos presentes en la cultura, música y religiosidad de los territorios americanos, son cuestiones que evidencian la trascendencia de estos “motores de sangre” hacia sujetos sociales, los que tuvieron y tienen una activa participación en la conformación de las naciones latinoamericanas.

María Eugenia Silva Garcés (Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, México)

**“Identidad y aculturación en las cofradías negras de la Ciudad de México. Época Novohispana”**

Entre la población de la ciudad de México había una diversidad de culturas africanas, las cuales se organizaron en cofradías, corporación integrada por fieles laicos, con los propósitos de dar culto a un santo patrono, así como a promover la caridad cristiana y la ayuda mutua entre sus integrantes.

Las cofradías con población negra a lo largo del siglo XVI y el siglo siguiente, estuvieron organizadas cada una de ellas por diferentes grupos étnicos africanos y los afrodescendientes, que les permitió tener y mantener una identidad, la cual se fue transformando a través del tiempo hasta perder su sentido, por el proceso de mestizaje y la aculturación novohispana.

Rafael Obando Andrade (Universidad Pablo de Olavide)

**“Palenque La Guayava: un espacio de creación de dignidad de los afrodescendientes, en la costa Pacífica Centroamericana, Siglo XVII”**

En el Pacífico de Guatemala vamos a encontrar uno de los pocos grupos de Palenques estudiados en Centroamérica, se trata de San Diego de la Gomera, o Palenque de “Guayava”, en las tierras bajas fundadas a principios del siglo XVII. Estableciéndose como importante enclave de contacto con el Pacífico y la lejana población de las Tierras altas del interior, hemos venido diciendo que la resistencia esclava al poder colonial no debe pasar necesariamente por una relación de

fuerza, sino consiste en una serie de mecanismos que buscan crear espacio de poder para una mejora del nivel de vida.

Luciana Salazar Plata (Universidad del Valle de México)

**“Del cuento créole a los colores de la Negritud: la genealogía y la astucia de la literatura antillana”**

A través de los cuentos podemos ver los aspectos que el hombre créole resguardó para sobrevivir dentro del contexto colonial. Por un lado, la elección de la astucia para soportar el régimen esclavista y la posibilidad posterior de utilizar la escritura como símbolo de una literatura autónoma y regional. Dicho de otra manera, referirse a los cuentos construye un puente espacio- temporal que utiliza como ladrillos la voz de los “conteurs” y las plumas de los autores créoles para establecer una genealogía en este pueblo en busca de su identidad.

Los cuentos restablecen la dimensión antropológica de la literatura antillana así como el uso del créole es una marca identitaria. Esta herencia literaria narra una experiencia humana que nos permite decodificar la interpretación de las características psíquicas, morales y físicas de la identidad forjada en estas islas. Los relatos que son contados tradicionalmente por un *conteur*, en escena, detrás de los cuales se esconde también la historia de la esclavitud. Además de que no se puede negar la función didáctica en el cuento créole. Para retomar el término de Édouard Glissant, diremos que la “trace” (la huella) será el lazo antropológico que proporcionará el ancestro de la literatura antillana: el *conteur*.

Inkeri Aula (University of Eastern Finland)

**“Quilombismo contemporâneo e translocalismo do conceito de quilombo”.**

No Brasil há diversas comunidades reivindicando seus direitos constitucionais como “remanescentes de quilombos”, comunidades rebeldes fundadas pelos fugitivos da escravidão. A definição é, portanto, contestada e exclui diversas comunidades afrodescendentes. Pensamento quilombista visa além: na sua declaração de Quilombismo em 1980, Abdias do Nascimento propôs a estrutura comunitária dos quilombos, baseada em “valores culturais africanos” e produção agrícola diversificada, como um modelo ideal para toda a sociedade. Entretanto, restava a imagem reificada de 'sobrevivências' africanas no diáspora.

Pesquisas recentes demonstram efetivamente os vínculos transcontinentais da cultura afro-brasileira, como o intercâmbio contínuo entre o Brasil e países africanos, e uma presença imprevisível de europeus e indígenas nos quilombos históricos. Justaponho essa percepção atual de translocalismo com trabalho etnográfico em duas comunidades que se autoproclamam quilombos e funcionam em volta da prática de capoeira angola, outro símbolo central de resistência negra no Brasil. Quilombo Tenondé acolhe praticantes de capoeira de diversos continentes e combina métodos de permacultura, um modelo transnacional de autosuficiência ecológica, com ideias de quilombismo na sua fazenda no litoral da Bahia. Quilombo Cecília tem uma história ativista de educação afrocêntrica no centro histórico de Salvador, junto a atividades político-culturais. O quilombismo destes centros divergentes ecoa a resistência às estruturas de poder político-econômico e o próprio transnacionalismo dos quilombos históricos.

Andrea Guerrero Mosquera (Universidad del Tolima, Colombia)

**“Babel ultramarina: evangelización e intérpretes a través del atlántico en el siglo XVII. De los reinos del Kongo y Ngola a los reinos de las Indias”**

Misioneros de diferentes órdenes religiosas que operaron en los reinos africanos y en las colonias americanas de las monarquías ibéricas catequizaron a los que consideraron infieles. A pesar de que la evangelización tuvo tropiezos y dificultades, también tuvo aciertos —desde la visión católica— que deben ser nombrados. Esta catequesis como dispositivo instrumental de la educación en la fe, ha sido a lo largo de la historia una herramienta netamente pedagógica para la enseñanza de la fe cristiana. En este proceso de evangelización los intérpretes se convirtieron en parte esenciales del proceso a los dos lados del Atlántico. Según las descripciones, el proceso de catequización fue un poco difícil en ambos lados del atlántico, todo esto debido a la carencia de intérpretes de las diferentes lenguas africanas, lo que lo convirtió el asunto en una verdadera babel de la evangelización. En este texto se pretende resaltar la importancia de estos actores y mostrar los diferentes roles que estos jugaron en el proceso de evangelización. Todo lo anterior, visto como un todo, un conjunto alrededor de las posesiones ultramarinas de las coronas ibéricas, una historia de la evangelización negra a través del atlántico, con el fin de distinguir entre las semejanzas y diferencias, pero sobre todo vislumbrar las conexiones e intercambios que se establecieron durante el siglo XVII para llevar a cabo esta empresa liderada por jesuitas y capuchinos.

### **23. WINDS OF CHANGE. NEW WAYS OF BEING PENTECOSTAL-CHARISMATIC IN LATIN AMERICA**

Coordinator: Martin Lindhardt (Syddansk Universitet)

Throughout most of the twentieth century Latin American Pentecostalism was mainly the religion of the impoverished sectors of Latin American society. Churches tended to be sectarian and were characterized by an outspoken ambition of keeping the “world” at arms’ length and a demonstrative unwillingness. However, well into the twenty first century things appear to have changed. First of all a certain de-institutionalization of Pentecostal religious life and the embracement of individual confessed Pentecostal identities can be observed all over the region. Many contemporary Pentecostals shift church on a regular basis and tend to develop religious self-identities that are not tied up to specific institutional affiliations. At the same time the nature of religious competition has changes in Latin America as Pentecostal groups are mainly competing with each other over already converted Pentecostal. Third, a new generation of “native Pentecostals,” that is children of Pentecostal parents have now emerged in Latin America. Many of the native Pentecostals have higher levels of education and higher incomes than previous generations. Finally, a partial reformulation of classical dualistic (church/“world”) theologies can be observed as several Pentecostals are now experimenting with new kind of engagement with the surrounding societies, including participation in political processes. The session is intended to shed light on these and other transformations of Latin America’s religious scene within recent decades.

Martin Lindhardt (Syddansk Universitet)

**“Time to move on: Pentecostal Church shifting in contemporary Chile”**

This paper is intended to shed light on Pentecostal church shifting in contemporary Chile. Many of the Chilean Pentecostals I have got to know over the years have participated in five to six different churches during their conversion career. While Chilean Pentecostals generally recognize the importance of regular participation in congregational activities, many also see their current membership of particular denominations as transitional, that is they consider the church in which the congregate as a good place to be at this particular point in their lives, but they do not necessarily feel very attached to particular denominations or pastors.

The paper will focus on reasons for leaving churches. Furthermore the increased de-institutionalization of Pentecostal religiosity will be related to a growing individualism in neo-liberal Chilean society. The second part of the paper explores how religious competition in contemporary Chile is affected by and responds to the emergence of a new Groups of religious customers, namely the already converted Pentecostals WHO are on the lookout for a new church.

Jakob Egeris Thorsen (Aarhus University)

**“Catholic Pentecostal Identity in Guatemala”**

Pentecostal or Charismatic Christianity in Latin America is not restricted to churches from the Evangelical or Pentecostal tradition. In the year 2000, the number of Charismatic Catholics in Latin America was estimated at minimum 70

million, which was then equivalent to the number of Protestants. The rise of ‘Pneumacentric’ Christianity is thus a trans-denominational phenomenon, which has significantly influenced the Roman Catholic Church. In this paper, I explore how Charismatic Catholics in Guatemala shape their identity in the cross-field between the Roman Catholic Church and its traditions and the heavily missionizing (and often fiercely anti-Catholic) Evangelical-Pentecostal churches. Drawing on ethnographic material, I wish to demonstrate how, by construing the Pentecostal faith expressions and practices as originally Catholic, Charismatic Catholics create a self-understanding as “truly Catholic” revivalists of the Roman Catholic Church and the main defense against fierce competition from heavily missionizing Evangelicals.

Virginia Garrard (University of Texas)

**“Toward a Pentecostal Hermeneutics of Social Engagement in Central America? Bridging the Church and the World in El Salvador and Guatemala”**

This paper will explore themes of evangelical concepts of citizenship in Guatemala and El Salvador. this project proposes to advance the topic in two specific ways. First, it will historicize Pentecostal notions of civic engagement in these two countries. Secondly, the paper will expand considerably on how contemporary Central American Pentecostals conceptualize civic engagement through leadership-building (capicitación) for pastors and ordinary lay people, and via new forms of outreach that extend beyond the walls of the church. The project will explore theories of praxis utilized by the evangelical group, ENLACE, in El Salvador, and the Centro Esdras in Guatemala.

George St Clair (London School of Economics)

**“Growing Up Pentecostal in Brazil: Parents, Children and the Transfer of Faith”**

By looking at second, third, and fourth generation Pentecostals, this paper explores an under-studied dimension of Pentecostal life in Brazil – the intergenerational transmission of religious faith and affiliation. I focus ethnographically on the Congregação Cristã no Brasil (CCB), Brazil’s oldest and most traditional Pentecostal church, which has a long-established community including fifth-generation members. Though it appears very sectarian from the outside, among CCB churchgoers there is great variation in the level of commitment to the church. This paper shows that the prospect of baptism can be approached as a measured choice, and regarded as a return to something familiar. Long studied as a religious phenomenon that grows through evangelization and conversion, my research highlights the growing number of people raised as Evangelicals in Brazil.

Mariana Affonso Penna (Universidade Federal Fluminense)

**“Ecumenism as a response to Pentecostals’ religious intolerance: the Movimento das Comunidades Populares’s Libertarian Religion”**

Some conservative Catholics attribute the Pentecostals fast growing in the last decades as result of the Theology of Liberation way to deal with the poor. According to them, those catholic socialists spread up religion among the people, in a way that everyone could freely interpret the Bible, reducing, in consequence, the religious authorities’ role as the “truth

Christianity” holders and opening space for the Pentecostals’ invasion.

There is some truth in this analysis. The Theology of Liberation adepts spread up religion among the people indeed, and they also contested the catholic mistakes of the past. However, in no way their ideas were related to the conservative or even reactionary role that most of the biggest Pentecostals’ churches diffuses in Brazil nowadays (persecution against homosexuals, afro religions, feminists and others). Therefore, catholic and Pentecostal conservatives have much more in common.

Originated from the “Catholic Left” in 1969, Movimento das Comunidades Populares goes against this hegemony in a period of significant crisis of the Theology of Liberation. This movement, organized in 12 Brazilian states, do not integrate any specific church. Instead, they propose a “Libertarian Religion”, based on what they consider the truth religious objective: relink humans with the divine. This reunification with God can be also understood as the reunification of human beings themselves in an ecumenical and even pantheistic religious proposal. As a result, they have successfully united people from different beliefs in the communities where they work.

**25. MESA REDONDA CLACSO-NOLAN.  
AMÉRICA LATINA: DEMOCRACIA Y CIUDADANÍA  
EN EL LABERINTO DE LAS DESIGUALDADES**

Coordinadora: Fernanda Saforcada (Universidad de Buenos Aires/CLACSO)

La mesa abordará diferentes dimensiones de la relación entre ciudadanía, democracia y desigualdad en América Latina.

**Benedicte Bull** (Universidad de Oslo) analizará las múltiples semejanzas que existen en la manera en que instituciones como la CEPAL piensan reducir la desigualdad en América Latina y las ideas detrás del modelo nórdico de reducción de desigualdad económica existente desde la década de los 50, lo cual fue evidenciado en un reciente proyecto de investigación conjunto, entre la CEPAL y la Universidad de Oslo. La variante noruega de este modelo fue basada en un sistema centralizado de negociación salarial solidaria. El sistema acordó que los sectores de salarios más altos y de mayor productividad tenían sueldos relativamente bajos en comparación a los de otros países; y los segmentos más bajos eran relativamente bien remunerados. Esto ayudó a mantener la competitividad en una economía abierta y pequeña pero tuvo un efecto aún más importante en la canalización de la inversión a los sectores de alta productividad. Esto, junto con el establecimiento gradual del “estado de bienestar,” con un enfoque en la igualdad de derecho a la educación y altos niveles de participación en el ámbito laboral, dio lugar a un proceso sostenido de reducción de desigualdades, inclusive antes de que comenzaran los flujos de ingresos petroleros a la economía a principios de 1980.

Se discutirá cómo este mecanismo, con el tiempo, ha demostrado ser robusto y ha sobrevivido varias crisis.

Aun cuando este modelo afronta desafíos en la actualidad, hay muchos elementos interesantes a considerar para el caso de América Latina. Sobre el mismo existen dos grandes objeciones: La primera es basada en altos niveles de sindicalización, que a su vez depende en altos niveles de formalización de la economía, sin embargo, esto no es necesariamente insuperable ya que algunos mecanismos de fijación de salarios también pueden funcionar para el sector informal. La otra objeción es más importante: sólo funcionaría si es posible enfocarse en los emprendedores y no solo en una pequeña y privilegiada élite.

Finalmente, se abordará como la estructura dominante en la organización de negocios de América Latina ha servido como reproductora de la desigualdad al excluir a los emprendedores de invertir en sectores que podrían contribuir a un cambio estructural, y por lo tanto, fijando a América Latina en una estructura productiva que reproduce altos niveles de desigualdad.

**Fredrik Ugglá** (Universidad de Estocolmo) reconocerá en su ponencia que declarar que los ciudadanos tienen diferentes posibilidades políticas de acuerdo a su estatus y posición socio-económica es una obviedad. Aun así, la democracia se basa en el principio de igualdad y puede ser vista como un mecanismo correctivo para divisiones existentes en la sociedad. Por lo que alza la siguiente pregunta: ¿Hasta qué punto las percepciones de los ciudadanos sobre la posibilidad de comunicar sus preferencias a través del sistema político son afectadas por sus condiciones socio-económicas?

También presentará cómo algunos estudios sobre la relación entre factores económicos y democracia han identificado heterogeneidad causal respecto a esto, en el sentido de cuáles interacciones entre estas variables difieren entre las regiones del mundo. Esto se puede atribuir a asuntos como la herencia de la cultura política, el carácter del sistema político o el nivel general de desigualdad en la sociedad. Con la finalidad de comprobar esto, la presentación comparará datos de la opinión pública de América Latina y la Unión Europea con respecto a cómo las condiciones socio-económicas influyen en la percepción de la eficacia política.

**Jussi Pakkasvirta** (Universidad de Helsinki) por su parte discutirá diversos aspectos de las transformaciones dentro de la comunidad política con un especial énfasis en el caso latinoamericano. Sosteniendo que el “estilo” para crear una comunidad política se ha transformado y que la actual era de la Internet abre posibilidades para desafiar muchas teorías establecidas en las ciencias sociales y los estudios culturales. Por ejemplo, las discusiones en teorías de nacionalismo necesitan, urgentemente, más análisis sobre las redes sociales y la actividad política en la web. El nacionalismo está cambiando y reproduciéndose a una velocidad nunca antes experimentada. El mundo pluralista o de actos sociales simultáneos, en el sentido Andersoniano, ha creado diferentes procesos de construcción de nación como también diferentes formas de promover el nuevo orden mundial en América Latina. A través del análisis de datos sociales es posible buscar el último “*Zattelzeit*” (periodo bisagra en los medios de comunicación”), concepto usado por R. Koselleck para describir el rango de modernidad cuando una gama de nuevos conceptos se forjan y viejos se redefinen. Esto es una gran oportunidad y a la vez un

desafío para aquellos investigadores enfocados en temas como la democracia y la ciudadanía en países latinoamericanos.

**Pablo Gentili** (Universidad del Estado de Río de Janeiro, Brasil / CLACSO) finalmente, realizará un balance de algunos de los importantes avances alcanzados en América Latina y el Caribe durante los últimos 30 años de desarrollo democrático. Presentará así algunas tendencias y datos que muestran cómo ciertas políticas públicas han contribuido a disminuir los altos índices de pobreza, ampliando una esfera de derechos ciudadanos que algunos países de la región nunca antes habían conocido. Sin embargo, en su exposición, también alertará acerca de algunas de las deudas pendientes de la democracia latinoamericana: la persistencia de la desigualdad, la violencia (muchas veces promovida y ejecutada desde las fuerzas de seguridad pública) que cobra miles de vidas entre los jóvenes de sectores populares, la discriminación de género, el racismo y el alto nivel de incertidumbre que plantea, en términos democráticos, un modelo de desarrollo productivo profundamente excluyente.

## SCREENINGS

### **a) Cine Ativismo: Short Films as Actions of Media Activism for Human and Civil Rights in Rio de Janeiro.**

The session presents short films made by activists in Rio de Janeiro as part of local struggles "for the rights to have rights" (Dagnino, 2007) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Through films circulated in online social networks, activists denounce human rights violations (e.g. police violence, arbitrary evictions) and different forms of segregation preceding the 2016 Summer Olympics in the city. The videos consist of media activism, one of the recent forms of action among local social movements. Host Leonardo Custódio (University of Tampere, Finland) will introduce the context in which each film was made before each screening. After the films, the audience is invited to participate in a discussion about the potentials and limitations of (new) media for activism. 'Cine Ativismo' is presented in partnership with Cinemaissi - Latin American Film Festival" in Helsinki.

### **b) Conversaciones sobre Wirikuta. *Huicholes: The Last Peyote Guardians* (2014)**

La película nos presenta el caso emblemático de la defensa de Wirikuta, el territorio sagrado de la etnia huichol, ante la amenaza de la explotación minera. El director Hernán Vilchez y la productora Paola Stefani conversarán con la audiencia vía videoconferencia al final de la sesión.

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