



# Society of Latin American Studies Latin America in times of political mistrust and global pandemic



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#### **PANELS**

Panel Title	Author + Email address	Paper title/Abstract
Methods in Latin     American Studies     Research	CHAIR: Juan Mario Díaz, Sheffield University Juan.Diaz@sheffield.ac.uk	1 Enacting participation and action through remote Participatory Action Research
	IN PERSON	This paper brings together theoretical and practical reflections on doing participatory action research (PAR) during the Covid-19 pandemic. Firstly, drawing on Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda's pioneering ideas on the ontology of 'participation' in PAR, it explores whether (and in which ways) fieldwork through virtual environments altered the epistemological and methodological principles of PAR. Secondly, based on my experience conducting fieldwork in person and then remotely in three conflict-affected areas of Colombia, it discusses the practical challenges and new opportunities for participation opened up by remote practice of PAR. It focuses on analysing the limits and potential of the creative adaptation of PAR methodologies to foster authentic dialogue between researchers and local partners and participants, while allowing for the co-production of strategies to facilitate social dialogue amidst a context of social unrest and systemic violence. Finally, it concludes by presenting some lessons learnt from this experience.
	2 Philipp Horn, University of Sheffield, he/ him p.horn@sheffield.ac.uk ONLINE	2 Collaborative research in pandemic times: virtual labs, dis-placed co- presence and knowledge co-production

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Collaborative research, grounded in intellectual traditions such as PAR or liberation theology, has a long history in Latin American Studies. While lauded for its emancipatory and decolonial potential, critics highlight how collaborative methodologies can reproduce asymmetric power relations, especially in relation to long-standing divisions between fieldwork – characterised as space of co-thinking/co-working – and the analytical writing stage, mostly conducted by academics in isolated settings. Yet the pandemic disrupted notions of geographical presence/absence in all research stages. Instead, Covid-19 leaves us between new possibilities and unavoidable limitations. In this paper, we reflect on this conundrum by sharing insights from an ongoing collaboration with indigenous youths as part of the ESRC project 'Indigenous Development Alternatives: An urban youth perspective from Bolivia'. We highlight three aspects: (1) the need to construct a "displaced co-presence" through online interactions, and related creative multimodal ways of generating data and discussions; (2) the (partial) loss of embodied knowledge as privileged access to fieldwork, and the potential of switching to visual methods to develop a shared 'sense of place'; (3) the disparities between different positionalities (class, gender, ethnicity/race) and attempts to reconfigure research practices by distributing roles and resources more evenly. Building on this discussion, we develop tentative answers to two questions we consider pertinent for future collaborative research in (post)pandemic Latin America: What are the epistemological possibilities and boundaries of collaborative research when it is forced to 'go virtual'? What knowledge/experiences are we able to access and share, what are we missing out as part of this shift?

#### 3. Decolonial ethnography: between and within fields

The presentation draws on my experience in the effort to develop a decolonial ethnography as part of my doctoral fieldwork in San Pedro de

		Atacama, Chile. As a personal challenge, I try to undertake a decolonial ethnography that could combine both my topic of research with a different approach to ethnography, in which reciprocity could be done and in which the territory could also have a clear voice in the experience itself. In this challenge, I was helped by the fact that I was also teaching a course and I offered my students to carry on research that was of interest to the people that I was developing a relationship with as part of my own ethnography. This mutual opportunity, made me enter the field differently since I was not only "asking questions" but I was also bringing a chance for them to carry on studies that were thought as relevant for the actors themselves. By engaging with transdisciplinarity and a decolonial framework, I was able to undertake fieldwork that was the result of my interest and the interest of the people from the territory (mainly Atacamanians, Andean indigenous people). Merging the academic field, the ancestral field and the territorial field, I entered a different approach to ethnography and developed a mixed methodology in which ethnography worked also as a facilitator for a broader approach. In doing so, I hope to contribute a bit towards a transformative and engaged social science.
2. Football/Footballin		
g Histories	1 Will Huddleston - University of Cambridge - He/Him wgh23@cam.ac.uk	1 Uruguayan Football and the Project of Modernity in the Early 20th Century
	IN PERSON	In the early 20th century, Uruguay rapidly transformed itself from a "medieval backwater" (Oddone, 1986: 453) into one of Latin America's most advanced liberal democracies. The immense political and economic reforms of this period have already been well documented, but less prevalent are the sociocultural strands of this project of modernity. This paper focusses on Uruguayan football in the first three decades of the 20th century, exploring the sport's symbolic and practical implications for the country's modernising impulse. In practical terms, the state – swept along by an international wave

2 Thomas Fischer: th.fischer@ku.de /Nelson Chacón/ Katholische Universität Eichstätt- Ingolstadt nelson.chaconlesmes@ku.de ONLINE of hygienist policies — eagerly deployed sport as a way to 'create Uruguayans' from the turn of the 20th century. Accordingly, Uruguay invested heavily in public spaces (such as parks and football pitches), sporting organisations and physical education, not only as a means to occupy the nation's youth, but also with an eye to creating a robust, healthy and contented workforce in the rapidly industrialising country. Beyond the more functional aspects of this modernising drive, this paper also takes account of the symbolic importance of international football during the era of the "primera globalización" in 1870-1929 (Bértola, 2000). Football symbolised a progressive, dynamic modernity and allowed for Uruguayan representation on the world stage. Far from being a passive beneficiary of the global game, Uruguay was central to its establishment as the world's most universal cultural mode, through international tours and global mega-events such as the 1924 and 1928 Olympics, and the inaugural FIFA World Cup, all of which were won by Uruguay.

2 The global and the local. El Gráfico and Kicker in a Historical Perspective
The fact that the emergence and establishment of football is accompanied by
the media is now a commonplace in the growing corpus of football and
society research. For a long time, those studying the history of football used
as sources mainly the sports press, which was also transformed by the game
(and other sports). However, poor attention was paid to the sports press
itself. The actors in this field, the journalists, the photographers, the media
(and their owners), the constructors of football as a team sport and mass
event, the statements and narratives they disseminate, the circulation of
"football", as well as the public that appropriates football and thus forms a
community, only really came into the focus of research in the last two
decades. This raises the question of how "football" was constructed as an
object of reference, circulation and conversation in the 1920s and the first
half of the 1930s. Our contribution deals with two emblematic media: El

		Gráfico, founded in 1919, and Kicker, founded in 1920, i.e. an Argentinean and a German magazine. So far, research in this type of analysis has focused predominantly on national contexts, taking into account transnational dimensions. In our work, we analyse transnational/international discursive events in South America and Europe with a glocal approach. The aim is to compare coverage of the same events but from a different perspective.
3. Migration	1 Simón Palominos, Department of Music, University of Bristol (he, him) simon.palominos@bristol.ac.uk ONLINE	1 Framing Migrant Music in Chilean Cultural Policy: The Discourse of Transborder Interculturality This paper investigates the emergence of a transborder interculturality discourse in Chilean cultural policy as a device for the representation of the musical practices of migrants in the country. Since the early 1990s there has been an increase in Latin American and Caribbean migration into Chile, based on the perceived economic and political stability of the country. Migrants of Afro-Latin American or indigenous descent are commonly stigmatised by the media and local population. Consequently, since the mid-2010s the Chilean state introduced diverse initiatives to promote migrant inclusion in the country. These initiatives highlight the cultural contributions of migrants, especially music, under the concept of transborder interculturality. However, in 2018 a right-wing government came to power, introducing restrictions to migration into Chile. My analysis follows the controversy of the Migrantes Festival, a state-funded event promoting intercultural exchanges between migrants and the Chilean population. In 2018, the festival took place amid Chilean government attempts to restrict migration into the country, thus illustrating the tensions between cultural policies that celebrate interculturality and migration policies that restrict the mobility of people. Based on the review of academic literature, official documentation, press and other media, the paper explores the concept of transborder interculturality as developed by the Chilean state. The paper concludes that far from contradicting the restriction of migration, the discourse of transborder

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interculturality reinforces Chilean national identity, exoticising, racializing and gendering migration, and locating it in a subordinate position in Chilean social structure.

### 2 Young Venezuelans' experiences of migration on YouTube before and after Covid-19: A portrait of post-settlement needs

Venezuela's displacement crisis has received extensive media coverage over the last few years. Covid-19 has exacerbated dramatic stories of border closures and increased prejudice against new arrivals. This paper presents the experience of six young Venezuelan migrants who created YouTube channels to document their journey over four years (2017-2021). A multimodal content analysis tried to interpret the portraits that emerge from these videos. While the sampled stories should not represent the full spectrum of Venezuelan emigration, neither is YouTube free from commercial influences, their testimonials introduce lesser-known faces of the diaspora. Beyond the crisis frame, results posit the need to reinterpret mediatized migratory events as context-dependent axioms. The major themes identified split into the need to move out, their assessment of integration, and plans for post-settlement life. These narratives make sound evidence for dismantling the victimising call boosted by the mainstream media, with most migrants leaning toward consumerism and material affordances after the pandemic.

### 3 Migrant integration in Latin America: a conceptual baseline for developing an indicators framework suitable for Latin American cities

The current mobility dynamics in the region reveal that there is pressing need to think about the migrant and refugee population beyond the crossing of borders. Accordingly, concepts such as inclusion and integration have become salient in scholarly debates. There is consensus that the integration

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of migrants and refugees goes beyond the functional aspect, commonly understood as housing and employment. Integration extends to questions of rights and societal interactions between multiple actors, including the receiving society. A way to operationalise integration has been through indicators and domains, which albeit their limitations, deem promising tools for gathering relevant data and support evidence/based policymaking. In parallel, there has been a shift to the 'local' in migrant integration studies, positioning the city as a main locale of analysis. Yet, both the development of integration frameworks as well as the analytical turn to the local, are not unique to, but reflect Global North concerns and dynamics. This paper is positioned in the contours of these debates and proposes a conceptual baseline to develop a framework for integration at local level in Latin America. We argue that to better grasp the integration and inclusion challenges in the region, there are three main dimensions to account for: rights-based approaches and integration policies, diversity and interculturalidad, and the Latin American city. The proposed conceptual baseline contributes to the indicators for integration literature, as a preparatory tool, and studies on integration in the city. This research stems from the work of the MiLA Network (Migration in Latin America).

## 4 Migration as mobility: mobility practices and experiences in South American migrants

The movement of people around the world has presented a dizzying and varied development in recent years, which has exceeded the projections of international organizations. When reviewing the literature associated with migration, the complexity of the phenomenon is underlined, together with the multivariate explanations and motivations for it. This proposal, based on qualitative material built with migrants living in Santiago de Chile, reflects south-south migration as a relational space that is built from complex types

of mobilities that are related to social and cultural practices linked to economic policies. The subjective participation within the confrontations and struggles that are configured in this political field allows us to look at irregularity as a process in tension that has its bases in the conflict between the politics of control and the politics of migration, where the social movement of migration is a relevant and fundamental actor. This work concludes that the understanding of the phenomenon of migration becomes more complex, constituting mobility as a relevant action for the social and emotional life of people. From this perspective, migration is also a creative force within social, cultural and economic structures, and prioritizing subjective practices, desires, expectations and behaviours of the migrants themselves when observing migratory movements and conflicts, it is they can recognize new forms of domination and exploitation as well as new practices of freedom and equality.

4.	Colombia in times of Covid	1 Viviana García Pinzón (GIGA- Hamburg), she/her vivianagarciapinzon@gmail.com ONLINE

#### 1 COVID-19 and the Dynamics of (Post-)War Violence in Colombia

The COVID-19 pandemic is a truly global phenomenon. Not only are all countries affected by and struggling with the immediate medical and healthrelated problems, but they are also contending with the social, economic, and political consequences. Although no society has remained unscathed by the global emergency, societies amid or after war are some of the most vulnerable to the pandemic. These societies show a dangerous mix of acutely vulnerable populations, fragile systems of public health, and unconsolidated transitions out of war. Taking Colombia as a paradigmatic case study, the paper examines the impact of COVID-19 on the dynamics of violence and local orders. We conceptualize COVID-19 as a multidimensional crisis. Our theoretical framework departs from four tenets: 1) Spatially, we focus on subnational units. 2) Actor-related, we account for the differences and diversity of state and non-state armed actors. 3) Time-sensitive, we differentiate the effects of the pandemic in the short- and medium-terms, and 4) We differentiated among forms of violence. We explore the effects of COVID-19 on violence in selected locations of Cauca, Norte de Santander, and Bogotá. We do this through a unique combination of in-depth interviews, event data on violent events, crime statistics, and data on COVID-related measures at the national and sub-national levels. Ultimately, the article provides an account of the linkages between multi-dimensional shocks, violent conflict, and local governance. The paper results from a research project on the pandemic-related reconfiguration of social and political orders in a comparative study of Syria and Colombia at subnational levels.

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#### 2 Covid and armed group transition in Colombia

The transition of the FARC from armed group to political party was central to Colombia's 2016 peace agreement. But the model also gave preference to

3 Carlos Cruz Mosquera, Queen Mary University, He/Him carlos.cruzmosquera@qmul.ac.u <u>k</u> IN PERSON conflict-affected rural communities, with limited regard to urban experiences of conflict, nor the FARC's potential emergence as a legitimated political actor in cities. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork and ongoing (virtual) engagement this paper explores the post-agreement political practices of FARC members in Cali, Colombia's third-largest city. It specifically engages with questions pertaining to urban peacebuilding, urban territoriality and the impact of Covid measures on these dynamics

#### 3 How race and class shaped Colombia's historic protests

For a couple of months from late April this year, Colombia saw one of Latin America's most extreme cases of street protests in its history. Although the protests were initially motivated by an attempt to halt the government's proposed tax reforms, the scope of the mobilisations soon broadened to include the government's handling of the pandemic, corruption and proposed healthcare reforms. The intensity of the protests brought important neighbourhoods of the country's largest cities to a standstill. Consequently, the government responded by deploying military units and special riot police forces who went on to use violent force to disperse protestors, leaving a disputed number of people dead and hundreds injured, disappeared or imprisoned. There is also strong evidence that illegal armed groups took part in the violence against civilian protestors during this period. Despite the deep conflict between civilians and the state during the protests, the country's official political opposition played a negligent role, with only some individual representatives showing meaningful support. This paper will explore the political demands made by the protestors and propose that the rapture observed with official liberal and leftist opposition leaders is explained when analysing the class and racial components of both of these sections of society. Furthermore, using an analysis of the country's position and role in the world economy, this paper will argue that Colombia's

opposition parties and leaders, like the current government, are interested in
quashing revolutionary social change.

Г	Latin American	1 Jennifer Kibbe, Franklin	1 Why Colombia? Exploring Colombia's role as an early case of CIA/SOF
٥.	International	Marshall College, she/her	Convergence
	Relations/US &	jkibbe@fandm.edu	Convergence
			A key day alanment in the LLC military and intelligence worlds ever the last
	Latin America	IN PERSON	A key development in the U.S. military and intelligence worlds over the last twenty years has been the increasing overlap of operational convergence between the CIA and Special Operations Forces (SOF). While competition remains between the two organizations, it is nonetheless true that the US response to problems in difficult places increasingly involves some form of the CIA and SOF working together, which poses increasing difficulty for congressional oversight. Most discussions of this convergence phenomenon attribute it to the "war on terror," but a closer look at the historical record shows that one of the first places where the two organizations began to combine forces was in Colombia in the 1990s. This paper explores the Colombian case study and identifies the key characteristics of the case that fostered the beginning of this CIA/SOF convergence. It's an important case to detail as this phenomenon, and its ramifications for congressional oversight, look likely to outlast the "war on terror" and to characterize the US' coming conflicts in the "grey zone" with Russia and China as well.
		2 Dr Grace Livingstone, Affiliated lecturer, Centre of Latin	2 United States Policy towards Venezuela: a critical approach
		American Studies, University of	This paper considers US policy towards Venezuela during the Chavista
		Cambridge, she/her	period. Taking a critical approach, it considers the way in which the interests
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		ONLINE	actors shape US policy towards Venezuela. It argues that viewing US policy
			through the lens of empire can downplay the agency of Venezuelan actors
			and the commonalities of interests between US and Venezuelan
			elites. Focusing on political economy, it outlines the economic interests of
			the both the US state and the US private sector in Venezuela. It gives an
			overview of the key economic elites that have historically dominated

		Venezuela. Using US embassy cables, it demonstrates the way in which US officials regularly met both US and Venezuelan private sector representatives, encounters which reinforced shared understandings of Venezuela's economic and political developments.
6. Human Rights 1: Decoloniality and human rights	1 Dr Rebecca Smyth, Birmingham City University, she/her/hers rebecca.smyth@bcu.ac.uk IN PERSON	1 Ciudadanas and Colectivas: The Salvadoran feminist movement's campaign for abortion rights through human rights, law, and activism  At a time when numerous Latin American countries have made the headlines for liberalising abortion legislation, El Salvador remains home to one of the world's most restrictive abortion legislation regimes and receives scant international attention. Not only is abortion completely criminalised, those suspected of having had an abortion are actively prosecuted. Since the introduction of the country's total abortion ban in 1998, it is estimated that around 200 women and girls have been prosecuted for abortion or aggravated homicide, with around 25 currently serving prison sentences for various grades of homicide. Amidst this challenging legislative context, El Salvador's difficult economic and political situation, and ongoing public health crises such as the Zika virus epidemic of 2015-6 and the current COVID-19 pandemic, feminist and human rights activists in El Salvador have made effective, innovative use of the language and mechanisms of international human rights law to campaign for straightforward, safe, and legal access to abortion. Taking a decolonial, intersectional feminist approach, this paper will discuss some of the strategies employed by Salvadoran feminists to harness the emancipatory potential of human rights to realise reproductive freedom for women and gender-diverse people in the country and across the region. It will reflect on the challenges and opportunities that the current political and public health situation have created, and how these will shape this research project as it evolves.

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### 2 Invisible Indigeneity: Challenges and Potentials of Indigenous Forced Migration from Latin America to the United States

During forced migration movements, human rights of Indigenous Peoples have largely been neglected. One remains indigenous despite being displaced and many situations of displacement may be connected to one's indigenous status, which raises particular human rights concerns. Indigenous status has implications for both human rights violations forcing Indigenous Peoples to flee, especially considering their autonomy and collective rights. Indigenous migrants are often treated without regard for their status as Indigenous Peoples (Riley & Carpenter 2021), as if their migrant status would hierarchically supersede their indigenous one, leading to their intersectional invisibility. This article addresses the relations between indigenous and migration human rights protection instruments in Latin America and the US. It questions how a human rights agenda rooted in decolonial views may help overcoming the challenges faced by the intersectional invisibility of Indigenous Peoples. This case study of indigenous migrants fleeing to the US analyses the interconnections and applications of international, regional and national human rights frameworks and human rights of indigenous migrants contextualized within decolonial epistemologies. It offers insights, potentials, and limits of current human rights frameworks in protecting Indigenous Peoples' rights. This may inform potential directions for decolonizing the human rights agenda as well as the law and practice of human rights in the case of forced migration to the US.

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# 3 The Vernacularization of LGBTQIA+ Human Rights in Latin America: The Stages of Development from (Democratic Transition and) Movement Emergence to Memorialisation

This paper explores the framing, development and amplification of LGBTQ+ human rights within Latin America across the 2000s/1990s and 2010s. It posits this development as an iterative process between early social movement framings and the later amplification of said framing through domestic and regional institutions, such as legislatures and the Inter-American Human Rights System (IAHRS), to create a sort of 'LGBTQ+ human rights regionalism'. I draw on Merry's notion of 'vernacularization' to examine how this contextual translation and development of LGBTQIA+ rights as human rights, which applies international human rights norms locally, has a specific regional dynamic. I argue that this local translation must be considered within the wider application of human rights norms used to address historical, dictatorship-related abuses in the region, and to forge more responsive institutions to rights-based claims and the rule of law (and a more inclusive citizenry).

### Navigating Colonial Debris: Structural Challenges for Transitional Justice in Colombia

In recent years, interest has grown in how Transitional Justice (TJ) can approach colonial harms and their long-lasting effects, because of a lacuna in both TJ practice and academic research on the issue. Even scanter attention has been paid to how conflict-ending TJ processes themselves can be undermined by ongoing colonial legacies. In this article, we offer an in-depth case study on Colombia, particularly the Havana Peace Accord of 2016, and discuss how the debris – to use the term coined by Stoler - of Spanish colonialism relating to land, ethnicity and gender has created difficulties

		throughout the peace process. We argue that TJ processes must account for ongoing harms rooted in colonial projects; in the first instance, to provide structural justice for those who suffer these harms in a broader sense and, also, to protect the specific aims of the TJ process in question.
7. LGBTQIA+ lives	Panel Chair Penny Miles p.l.miles@bath.ac.uk IN PERSON	1 Being gay in revolutionary Cuba: three generations and three life stories
	1 Raúl Pérez Monzón, University of Havana, he/him rperezmonzon91@gmail.com IN PERSON  Coni Valdés, Universidad Diego Portales. coni.valdesc@gmail.com ONLINE	The article proposes to study the evolution of positions on homosexuality in Cuba by studying the life experience of three Cuban gays who have lived in three different moments in the contemporary history of Cuba. The fundamental objective is to reconstruct the discourses that marked the collective attitudes towards homosexuality and how they have affected the lives of these people. Through three life experiences, the research will approach the evolution of attitudes and policies towards homosexuality in revolutionary Cuba. Sociocultural and historical factors have determined the attitudes towards homosexuality in Cuba. It has been influenced by the values of a traditionally patriarchal society with a solid heteronormative and homophobic mentality. The Cuban Revolution - also influenced by the approach of the socialist camp on the subject - in its first decades of existence reinforced these patterns with positions and measures that supported discrimination against the gay community based on prejudices and taboos supported by scientific research. The mentality about homosexuality in Cuba has slowly evolved towards a progressive and slow inclusion, based on the crisis and reform processes that Cuba has experienced since the collapse of Soviet socialism and the advancement of the civil rights movement at the international level.

8. Social Moven 1, Contention politics: Betw the state and streets	s University of British Columbia, een he/his.	In November 2020, the short-lived government of Manuel Merino resigned after an intense week of mobilizations across the country. Despite the threat created by the Covid-19 pandemic, thousands of Peruvians gathered in the streets to protest the illegitimacy of the government. While this episode stressed the power of street demonstrations in politics, it was a puzzling outcome in a country with weak social movements. Although social conflicts

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are a constant feature since Peru transited to democracy in 2001, these episodes of contentious action have been deemed as organizationally dislocated and territorially focalized. How was such rapid and effective reaction possible in a country with such characteristics? How was it possible to mobilize citizens during a pandemic? Although spontaneous in nature, I argue that the protests that brought down Merino's illegitimate government were sustained by groups with experience and organization. Moreover, protesters also learned from recent protesting cycles around the world, successfully adapting new repertoires that were crucial to secure broader citizens' support to their fight. Using data obtained from fieldwork during protests, this paper highlights the relevance of accumulated resources throughout protest cycles to better understand the nature of "Estallidos" in Peru and other countries in the region.

# 2 Why Protests Turn to Riots: Government Response and Vilification of Dissent in Contemporary South America

Scholars have largely debated the causes of recent protests in Latin American democracies, but little attention has been given to why and how some of these protests turned into rioting. This study argues that the way in which democratic governments react to long-standing grievances significantly impacts the escalation of violence. Consequently, I expect that protests are more likely to turn into riots when the government response to mobilised dissent involves repressive actions and defamatory discourses. To examine this proposition, I conduct a process-tracing controlled comparison of government performance in Argentina and Chile during mass mobilisations between August and November 2019. I confirm that differences in responses help explain why violent demonstrations played out in starkly dissimilar ways in both countries. Where governments confront dissent persistently, as in

3 Hector Rios-Jara, Social Research Institute, University College of London hector.rios.18@ucl.ac.uk IN PERSON Chile, national scale rioting erupted. Conversely, where governments opt for a conciliatory and forbearing reaction, as in Argentina, they contribute to deescalating popular anger and preventing outbreaks of violence. Comparative quantitative data are presented to illustrate these divergent outcomes. These findings contribute to existing scholarship by showing how government response in general, and the vilification of dissent in particular, can add explanatory leverage to uncover the causes of civil disorder.

3 Between streets, parliament and government. The late political trajectory of the Chilean student movement (2015-2021).

The Chilean student movement has played a central role in renewing policy and politics in the country. Since 2011, student opposition to neoliberalism has defined policy and political priorities of higher education and beyond. However, after introducing the free education policy in 2016 and the growing incorporation of student activists into parliamentary politics, the student movement has experienced a decline in its political role and relevance. Despite the surge of feminist waves of protest during 2018 and the national rise of demonstrations during the 2019 uprising, students' organisations have not played a significant role in Chilean politics during recent years. In this paper, I explore the political trajectory of CONFECH (Confederation of Chilean Student Unions) between 2015 and 2020. My analysis focuses on the growing tensions between streets and parliamentary politics and the tendencies to institutionalisation and autonomy inside CONFECH. The results suggest that closer ties to party politics during the 2018 higher reforms and the presidential election of 2017 and 2021 increased the impact of CONFECH in higher education policy and national party politics. But, at the same time, it reduced students' capacities to engage with emergent demands and new street politics developed by feminist movements and activists involved in the recent uprising. The paper finishes reflecting on strategic dilemmas between

	4 Dra. Ana Natalucci (CONICET-UBA) anatalucci@gmail.com IN PERSON Dr. Juan Pablo Ferrero (University of Bath) jpf22@bath.ac.uk IN PERSON	activists about how to achieve free public education and how to move forward the battle against neoliberalism in education.  4 Social protest during the Covid Pandemic: what's changed?  In March 2020, the World Health Organization declared SARS-CoV-2 a pandemic. Subsequently, governments implemented restrictions on the movement of people and economic activities. The ILO warned about the catastrophic effects for the world of work and the need for governments to intervene to alleviate the crisis. The objective of this paper is twofold: to map and characterise social protest events identifying changes and continuities in social conflict, measuring three variables: organisations, demands and repertoires. Second, we aim to reflect about the rationality of collective action, i.e., to what extent spontaneous actions reveal the return of crowd [i]rationality in collective behaviour. The main questions are 1) has the pandemic changed the dynamics of social conflict and 2) what are the implications of these changes for social movement theory? The argument is that the protest dynamic adopted a "segmented dynamic", maintaining a high level of organisation, with a predominance of the trade union organisations, with little capacity for coordination, generalisation, and low impact on the political system in the short term.
9. Social Movements 2, Indigenous. Mobilisation	1 Geoff Goodwin, London School of Economics/University of Leeds, He g.goodwin@lse.ac.uk IN PERSON	1 Water politics during Ecuador's 'revolución ciudadana': Hope, translation, and decay  In May 2010, thousands of members of community water associations and indigenous and peasant movements surrounded the National Assembly in Quito, Ecuador to prevent the approval of a comprehensive new water law. The siege of the National Assembly was not particularly surprising: laws and

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policies are frequently contested through protests and occupations in Ecuador. However, the reason why the protestors were challenging the law was more puzzling. The legislation, which was proposed by the Correa government, pledged to strengthen state control of water and minimize the role of the private sector, two core demands of protestors during earlier mobilizations against water privatization in Ecuador and elsewhere in Latin America. Why were the same groups of actors who resisted the privatisation of water in the 1980s and 1990s and contesting the nationalisation of water in the 2000s and 2010s? I will seek to answer this question by tracing the history of community water management in Ecuador and showing how the autonomy of community water associations became a central issue in the dispute over the introduction of the law. I will also consider how the conflict over the water law help us understand the collapse of Correa's political project – the so-called 'revolucion ciudadana' – and the lurch back to the neoliberal orthodoxy in Ecuador. The paper draws on qualitative research – interviews, observations, archives - conducted in Ecuador since 2015.

### 2 Alternative development in the Amazon in the age of COVID-19: the role of indigenous peoples in environmental protection

As COVID-19 swept through the Amazon basin in 2020, indigenous communities were supported by local and international NGOs in their efforts to resist the advance of the virus and to achieve greater self-sufficiency. Prior to COVID-19, Kichwa communities along the Napo and Bobonaza rivers in Ecuador had already been already engaged in self-generated projects to achieve greater economic independence through the production of handicrafts, such as Hakhu Amazon, in order to achieve long term sustainability. A number of communities had been involved in expanding ecotourism, following the example of the Kichwa Añangu center in Yasuní national park. In 2019, the Sápara of the Ecuadorian Amazon, were

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endeavouring to follow the Añangu example by constructing cabins for ecotourists on the banks of the River Conambo. This was a collaborative project for six Sápara families, created by Ashiniwiaka, the Sápara women's association, and the Ripanu community. This paper examines the challenges facing indigenous communities living in harmony with nature who embody an alternative development paradigm in the spirit of sumac kawsay/buen vivir. Indigenous communities in Ecuador continue on the frontline against the extractive industries—oil companies, illegal mining and logging—in their efforts to defend their cultures, the forests and biodiversity. This paper explores the nexus of indigenous communities, the state, and the global economy--the intersections of the global and the local—in the context of the role of indigenous peoples in combating climate change and loss of biodiversity.

3 Between negotiation and confrontation. The re-emergence of CONAIE during Moreno's presidency under the Resource Mobilization Theory.

During President Rafael Correa's administration, the most relevant indigenous organization of Ecuador, CONAIE, entered in a legitimacy crisis that weakened its representativeness among the indigenous peoples. However, on October 2019, this organization surprisingly joined the indigenous movements in a massive national strike that paralyzed the country and forced President Lenin Moreno to derogate a controversial decree that eliminated the oil subsidies. Furthermore on the last presidential election, the indigenous movement played a significant role, especially in the light of the economic crisis due to the COVID-19 pandemic. To explain CONAIE's re-emergence within Ecuador's political arena, this article relies on the Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) to analyze how CONAIE benefited from the political turn that Moreno implemented within the Citizen's Revolution project. More concretely, this article states that Moreno's

		government reverted the institutionalization process within the country, increasingly abandoned the use of indigenous cultural marks and reestablished a positive relation with CONAIE —at least at the beginning of his government. In that context, CONAIE could recover, through cooptation and appropriation, resources lost during Correa's presidency, thus increasing its legitimacy and influence within the indigenous communities.
10. Feminist  Mobilisation / Political Thought	1 Melany Cruz, University of Leicester (she/her) mc715@leicester.ac.uk IN PERSON	This paper analyses the role of activists and the development of feminist political ideas in Chile. In the last months of 2019, a popular anti-neoliberal revolt (Tijoux, 2020) took place in Chile, led by social protests, violent and nonviolent civil disobedience, and political upheaval. Feminists, specifically from the collective Coordinadora 8 de Marzo, became central during this period. They did not only participate in the organization of protests and artistic interventions (Cruz, 2021), but they helped to install and advance feminist ideas in mainstream public debate. Based on qualitative interviews with feminist activists, conducted between February and April of 2021, this paper identifies three strands of feminist political ideas that were predominant during and post social uprising: a) the link between neoliberalism and the precariousness of life as a gendered issue; b) the idea of political-sexual violence and c) intersectionality and autonomism as antineoliberal principles. The development of these political ideas demonstrates that feminism in Chile is not purely a demands-based social movement but is a political project that came to transform the landscape of political thinking, directing the social uprising into paths of feminist praxis. In the words of one of the activists, feminism became a "revolt within the revolt". This paper concludes by indicating the importance of understanding the development of

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political ideas in the context of political and social upheaval, especially when these are collectively built.

2 Re-configuring citizenship with a gender perspective. Analysis of Funa (online shaming) as a political practice of current feminist movements in Chile

This research investigates the political practices of current feminist movements in Chile and their ability to challenge the dominant notions of citizenship from a gender perspective. The central argument is that feminist practices account for a transformation of the role and position of women as subjects of rights, the state's role and responsibility and, therefore, the principles of the social contract. This paper focuses on one practice of Chilean current feminist movements related to funas (online shaming). In this practice, feminist movements use social networks as a space to share experiences of violence and publicly shame (funar) their perpetrators, denouncing the failure of the state and seeking alternative means for achieving justice. The analysis recognises this practice contribution to denormalise gender violence and generates solidarity and sisterhood networks among activists. However, it also provides a critical reflection on possible limits on its capacity to empower women and its ethical dilemmas that tensions feminist movements and may threat social transformation. The research interrogates this practice's ability to contribute to the reshaping process of the citizen-state relationship with a feminist perspective. In doing this, it questions the process of social change through punitive strategies, reflecting on how to trigger a feminist transformation. This research contributes to the debates on current feminist movements in Latin America through a critical exploration of citizenship as a dynamic construct, pointing out a historical gender-blind and limited approximation to politics.

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### 3 ¿Feministas en todas partes? - Marcos de la acción colectiva del movimiento feminista durante la crisis política Argentina de 2001-2003

Entre las formas que adquirió la acción colectiva durante el ciclo de movilización (Tarrow: 1997) de 2001 se destacaron por su presencia en el espacio público y capacidad de influir la agenda de gobierno diversos movimientos sociales (Revilla Blanco: 1996), en particular el movimiento de desocupados, las asambleas barriales, las fábricas recuperadas, y las agrupaciones de ahorristas. Fueron experiencias heterogéneas en sus demandas, duración y composición pero que ensayaron formas alternativas de u operaron cambios en los órdenes de la política y lo político respecto de la década anterior. El movimiento feminista recibió menos atención de los académicos a pesar de haber atravesado cambios sustantivos en su base social y transformado sus vínculos con las organizaciones de mujeres de base territorial a partir de la crisis de 2001 (Di Marco: 2011). Este trabajo se inserta en el marco de una tesis doctoral cuyo objetivo es indagar cómo la crisis política de 2001 influyó las formas de movilización social del movimiento feminista en Argentina y qué sentidos de la política y lo político consolidaron en el curso de su acción entre 2001 y 2005. Ambos interrogantes son abordados combinando los aportes de los enfoques de la estructura de oportunidades políticas (EOP) y el análisis de marcos. Presentaré un análisis exploratorio realizado en base a entrevistas en profundidad de las prácticas y marcos interpretativos construidos por ATEM y MAO durante 2001-2005, centrándome en dos dimensiones específicas: acciones de protesta en el espacio público y discursos movilizadores.

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4 Feminist regional integration in Latin American civil society: the ideas below the regional cooperation of women social movements

While regional intergovernmental initiatives evidence a severe crisis, Latin American civil society strengthens its regional ties through transnational cooperation, facing the post-covid scenario. Latin American feminisms have a long tradition of supranational cooperation, which has been widely explored by gender studies since the 1980s onwards. The most recent example of this regionalization is represented by the mobilization for the legalization of abortion that has been replicated in several Latin American countries, and the fight against gender-based violence that has spread from Argentina to the region since 2015, with the Ni Una Menos movement. These current experiences of supranational collective action also coexist with a regional right wing conservative movement that has been growing since the beginning of 2000, fighting what they understand as gender ideology. The self-called prolife movement has become the main opponent to the feminist mobilization. Both positions have been furthering their policy influence strategies even with interventions at regional intergovernmental organizations. These experiences show that civil society might have reduced their participation in regional integration processes although they have furthered their supranational bonds across borders, under the assumption of a pre-existent regional sense of belonging. We will explore contemporary regional initiatives of Latin American feminist movements and the ways they are facing new possibilities of regional integration. From a qualitative, intersectional and decolonial approach, this chapter will analyze coincidences and differences between civil society feminist agenda and the gender agenda of regional intergovernmental organisms.

11. Decolonial	1 Dr Matthew Doyle, University	1 Indigenous Universities and the Politics of Decolonization
Indigenous Action	College London	
	matthew.doyle@ucl.ac.uk	During the last twenty years, indigenous social movements throughout Latin
	IN PERSON	America have helped establish universities which pursue alternatives to the
		Humboldtian model of higher education, embody their own principles of
		academic community and integrate indigenous cosmologies and
		epistemologies into teaching, curricula and research. These initiatives seek to
		redefine how knowledge is understood, created and whose interests it
		serves. Within these institutions, new forms of academic community and
		knowledge practices are being created and their meaning disputed by
		multiple actors, through contested discourses of indigeneity, decolonisation
		and education. Meanwhile, some administrations of the democratically
		elected 'Pink Tide' of left-wing reformist Latin American governments, such
		as Bolivia and Ecuador, founded or endorsed indigenous universities as part
		of national projects of decolonisation. Based on digital ethnography of three
		indigenous higher education institutions, this paper explores how these
		represent sites through which it is possible to study emerging political
		struggles over the meaning of knowledge and indigeneity, alongside
		questions of broad academic and public interest concerning the nature and
		value of higher education, decolonisation and the politics of knowledge
		production. It discusses the extent to which such institutions offer a way of
		radically transforming knowledge systems and offer examples of how to build
		alternatives to the institutionalised knowledge practices of the modern
		university that go beyond formal attempts to recognise diversity and decolonise curricula.
	2 Hannes Kalisch,	decoloriise curricula.
	Nengvaanemkeskama	
	Nempayvaam Enlhet, he/his	2 La pandemia y las heridas de la colonización: los enlhet del Chaco
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Desde 1927, el territorio enlhet fue poblado por colonos menonitas, que pronto emprendieron esfuerzos misjoneros en el pueblo nativo. Hacia 1960. los enlhet se dejaron bautizar de forma masiva. Testigos describen esta decisión como una capitulación que los hizo renunciar a un proyecto histórico propio y apostar a propuestas externas para encontrar nuevas opciones para vivir. Esta apuesta dio inicio a una marcada orientación a un protagonismo externo que se combina contradictoriamente con una clara afirmación de una identidad diferenciada. La ponencia relacionará esta situación con las lecturas que los enlhet dan a la pandemia del Covid-19. Interpretando la pandemia desde las experiencias de una convivencia interétnica sistémicamente deseguilibrada, no la ven como un desafío sanitario. Más bien, le dan lecturas que reflejan un posicionamiento ante los que hegemonizan el poder dentro de su territorio tradicional. La iglesia nativa funciona como un espacio en el cual se negocian poderes entre los colonos y la sociedad nativa tanto como entre los pastores enlhet y la comunidad. Durante la pandemia, esta función fue resaltada, complicando la expresión de miradas alternativas a la que domina en la comunidad. Se concluirá que las respuestas de la sociedad enlhet a la pandemia están motivadas por la historia de relacionamiento con la sociedad colonizadora, no por la falta de acceso conocimientos técnicos. Por lo tanto, se cuestionará el énfasis que la sociedad nacional pone en la concientización de los pueblos indígenas sobre la pandemia, ignorando la necesidad de desarrollar un tipo de relacionamiento orientado al equilibrio.

#### 3 Towards food sovereignty: Maya women and their biocultural territories

The Maya Solar is the space traditionally inhabited by rural families in the Peninsula of Yucatán, Mexico. It is a place where land, livelihoods and identities have historically intertwined, and which continues to be an

		important site for Maya families. In this presentation, I will share some results from my postdoctoral project focused on the role of Maya women working the land as part of local agri-food systems, and the connections between food sovereignty and biocultural territories. I take on food sovereignty as a political concept which frames food as a human right, considering environmental and sociocultural elements, and its ecological and sustainable production. As the Peninsula has been considered as a priority biocultural region, I analyse the territory from the Solar, linked through actions of preservation, enrichment, and diffusion of knowledge. Women are responsible for most of the food-related work and for the continuous reproduction of Maya ways of life. For this project, I focused on regions characterised by a population that preserves agricultural productive, ecological, sociocultural and identity practices. Based on qualitative methodologies, I met this year with mostly Maya women in Yucatán who work their land to talk about their solar, traditions and agri-food practices. We also walked their Solar and other agricultural plots while they related stories, showed off their latest harvest and discussed challenges. The strategies of women for providing healthy and culturally appropriated food for their families involve the maintenance of a local agrobiodiversity and practice of traditional knowledges.
12. Indigenous & Latinx visions in Literature	1 Nick Regan, University of Bath (he/him) n.j.regan@bath.ac.uk In person	1 In whose terms? The translation of indignous Enlhet voices into Spanish and English as a bridge between worlds  The act of translation of indigenous voices into western languages such as Spanish, Portuguese and English is at once a traditionally simple technical operation, a step towards a kind of understanding between two worlds, and a contribution to the dispossession of indigenous peoples of the possibility for relating in and on their own terms. The indigenous world risks being brought to the western colonising world for appraisal. However, could the

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coloniser's world not more usefully "go to" the indigenous world? Is an understanding in western academia of the experiences related by indigenous voices enough to build bridges for balanced shared living? How far can translation contribute to opening a third space, a site of encounter between worlds? Through reflexion on the experience of the translation of the indigenous Enlhet accounts compiled by Hannes Kalisch and Ernest Unruh in iNo llores! La historia enlhet de la guerra del Chaco, (Don't Cry: the Enlhet history of the Chaco War) this talk will firstly discuss the importance of indigenous voices both for the recreation of shared memory within Enlhet society in the Paraguayan Chaco. Secondly, it will describe and analyse specific translatorial challenges in bringing those voices to a 'western' academic readership, and the ethical issues involved in co-creating in this way balanced shared living, in Paraguay and by extension other nation-states where a colonial and a native society coexist.

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## 2 Re-writing the Land through Contemporary Maya Literature: "In lu'um / Mi tierra" by Javier Abelardo Gómez Navarrete

This paper will explore, from an ecocritical perspective, the bilingual poem "In lu'um / Mi tierra", composed in Yucatec Maya and Spanish by Mexican writer Javier Abelardo Gómez Navarrete (1942-2019). The paper will discuss how, through the dialogue between the two versions of the poem, Gómez Navarrete rewrites the ancestral Maya homeland from *Yucatán* to *lu'um*, the Maya word for "earth". While the former name is associated with incomprehension, allegedly deriving from the Maya phrase, "I do not understand your language" as the native inhabitants first addressed the Europeans, the term *lu'um* implies the opposite, namely congruity, fluidity and cyclicity, enabling the constant regeneration of life. Given that *lu'um* holds different possibilities for human development than *Yucatán*, by

	1	
		redefining the Peninsula the poem opens up a path for the redefinition of
		humanity itself. If, as I argue, place is best understood not as a physical
		location but as a semiotic constellation, then the dialogue between both
		languages in the poem can be seen as part of the evolution of land, the latter
		understood as an ecological network that stretches across human,
		nonhuman and more-than-human spheres. By examining the poem at
		linguistic, literary and cultural levels, the paper will reveal its ambiguity in
		terms of the co-presence of life and death. It will show how this ambiguity is
		an expression of cyclicity, whereby the co-constitution of earth and humanity
		(habitat and inhabitant) is realized as a process of constant emergence.
13. Environment, Land	1 Gabriela Ramirez Galindo/ PhD	1 Mediating climate justice and food security: a comparative analysis of
& Justice & its	Student	Mexican and British news media representations
intersections (1)	University of Brighton/ she/her	·
, ,	gabrielaramirezgalindo@gmail.c	The climate justice movement demands a recognition of humanity's
	om	responsibility on the impacts of global climate change on poor and vulnerable
	In person/virtual	people. Research has shown strong links between severe food insecurity and
	' '	disasters, including droughts and floods, and people living in food insecurity
		are heavily impacted. Media discourses influence our understanding of
		climate change and climate justice, and shape societies' responses and
		actions. Research on media and climate justice remains scarce and has
		mainly concentrated in examining the Global North. This project is the first
		attempt to examine how climate justice is represented in a Latin American
		country. The aim is to identify the discourses around climate justice,
		specifically in relation to food security, and how international, national and
		subnational actors are portrayed, the prominence given to the topic, the
		specific concerns, and who has the power to influence discourse. Given the
		differential impacts of climate change on food security in the global North
		and South, this research compares the characteristics of the media
		·
		discourses in Mexico and in the UK, before, during and after the 2021 UN
		Food Systems Summit and UN Climate Change COP26. The research will

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inform practitioners working on climate justice and food security (including journalists, activists, governments, and international and national civil society organizations) about how representation of climate justice influences society's engagement with it and to what extent the climate justice movement has an impact on the public sphere. The results will also contribute to wider academic debates on media, power and justice.

2 Territories of care. A feminist approach to extractivism in the Atacama Desert, Chile.

The global crisis experienced as a result of COVID-19 has confronted us with an intimate discussion on the issue of care and a much more critical problematization of the narratives of remediation sensu lato. It has been a time of methodological reflection and peer cohesion, where the fact of being able to be for a long time outside the hegemonic practices of globalized time control has allowed us, as a collective of women researchers from provincial scientific units, to have opportunities to discuss the scenarios of care in the hyper-arid region of the Atacama Desert. In the face of the serious ecological crisis, marked by climate change, natural and socio-technical disasters, water scarcity, species extinction, in this article we discuss two major domains where opposing logics converge, but closely related and resulting from extractive activities in the Salar de Atacama, and which have been deployed in different temporalities and scales. On the one hand, there are the historical production practices associated with the exploitation of the saltpetre industry, copper and lithium mining, at the cost of irreversible destruction of local ecologies. On the other hand, we identify care practices that are understood as experiences of non-extractivist remediation, which would make it possible to care for ecological relations in the face of disaster. Based on the study of three cases (gender roles in extractive mining, care in

3 Patrick O'Hare St Andrews He/him po35@st-andrews.ac.uk In person the pastoralist space and the case of heavy metal contaminated microorganisms), we analyse these tensions and coexistence as ways of dealing with environmental change and in particular with the effects of extractivism.

### 3 Of Virgins, Demons and Plastiqueros: the Uruguayan plastics industry and environmental critique

Plastics have recently come to occupy a prominent place in the environmental imaginary, particularly in countries with large coastal populations such as Uruguay, where citizens regularly come face to face with plastics washed up on beaches. This paper explores the debates, controversies and positionalities surrounding plastics in Uruguay, in the context of new national legislation that seeks to curb plastic contamination and institute standards of circularity. There, divisions between good and bad plastics that have become commonplace in the general population are reproduced within the plastics industry, with 'good' plastics coming to be associated principally with products that are durable and made from recycled 'pellet'. At the same time, those working in packaging and with 'virgin' also put forward a vision of themselves as 'good' actors given the quality and standardisation of their products and the formality of their businesses. Surprisingly, given their role in fomenting national production and recovering plastics that might otherwise contaminate the environment, recycling companies fear visits from environmental authorities, in part due to their high levels of informality. Based on a year's ethnographic research with actors at various stages of the Uruguayan plastics recycling chain, from waste-pickers to multinational companies, this paper asks how so-called 'familias plastiqueras' are coping with a series of new challenges, from aging machinery to emergent anti-plastics discourses, as well as market dynamics

		that are positively impacting the price of recycled plastic pellet and products in comparison with competing materials.
14. Environment, Land		
& Justice & its intersections (2)	1 Carlos Vacaflores, Comunidad de Estudios Jaina, Profesor elcantodelmonte@gmail.com Virtual	1 Agrobiodiversidad como objeto geográfico: el agroecosistema tradicional como territorio campesino en la gradiente ambiental de los Andes tarijeños (Bolivia)
		La agrobiodiversidad es un objeto de creación humana, y su vitalidad depende de la capacidad de control territorial que tiene el sujeto social para poder desplegar su capacidad de adaptación a las siempre cambiantes condiciones del medio natural. Si bien el proceso formativo de las comunidades campesinas en el área andina de Tarija, Bolivia, tiene como referente de estructura agraria originaria a las haciendas coloniales españolas, la articulación espacial contemporánea ha desplegado estrategias diversas de articulación de espacios productivos y de complementariedad alimentaria, configurando territorios campesinos con estructura organizativa en función a la complementariedad agroambiental del espacio, es decir, los agroecosistemas tradicionales. La agrobiodiversidad se expresa en el medio natural condicionada por la interacción de los factores ambientales, pero manejados en cierta medida por el ser humano, de manera que las especies y procesos ecológicos domesticados se manifiestan en formas espaciales especificas a partir del trabajo humano de adecuación del medio ambiente natural. Esta domesticación es fruto de un profundo conocimiento de los grupos humanos sobre su medio natural, cuya comprensión de los procesos naturales es la condición ineludible para replicarlos en los sistemas productivos, pero también de la capacidad y posibilidad de control territorial para poder reproducir este conocimiento ancestral y proyectarlo al futuro. Er la gradiente ambiental de los Andes tarijeños podemos encontrar diversas formas de articulación de los agroecosistemas tradicionales, que los discutimos comparativamente, cuya alta coincidencia con estructuras

	2 Deborah Delgado Pugley, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Perú, She/her	organizativas supra comunales provee su condición de territorio campesino capaz de articular la política pública.
	m.arestegui@pucp.edu.pe / marisol.arestegui@student.kule uven.be	2 Sustainability dilemmas in the Amazon: the persistence of structural racism in subnational policies
	ONLINE	Structural racism towards indigenous peoples has been constantly present in sustainability policy approaches, both strong and weak. We argue that disregarding structural racism in the sustainability debate has undermined the status of its social pillar. To support this claim we will first present an analysis of the development of weak-sustainability-based projects in the amazonian region of San Martin (which includes the construction of the Marginal highway and the promotion of agricultural commodities production). Then, we will discuss the arrival of a new strong sustainability paradigm in the region since the 2000s. Champions of this new approach received the necessary attention and funding to position their proposal in the national and subnational spheres. Although these two approaches are very distinct, structural racism can be identified in the implementation of every project, policy, and debate in this Amazonian region. Finally, we will identif some barriers and opportunities this subnational state has encountered in building a more comprehensive sustainability model. We propose that the regional actors' profound understanding of the scenario's complexities holds great potential for strengthening the social pillar of the San Martin sustainable development model.
15. Social organising in the urban context	1 Dr Taru Silvonen, University of Bristol, she/her taru.silvonen@bristol.ac.uk IN PERSON	1 Resilient place-making in an autonomous cultural centre - observations from a colonia popular in Iztapalapa, Mexico City

2 Carlos Eduardo Cardenas Escutia, University College London, him/his <u>carlos.escutia.17@ucl.ac.uk</u> ONLINE Peripheral areas in Latin American cities are known for self-built housing and informal solutions to challenges posed by chronic disadvantage. Decades have passed since the formation of most informal settlements in eastern Mexico City, as well as the gradual consolidation of peripheral areas to become part of the broader city. Regardless of this, the urban outskirts continue to face issues with limited public services and infrastructure as the collapse on the línea dorada of the Mexico City metro in spring 2021 showed. This paper draws attention to the ways in which local residents continue to fill in the gaps in service provision in a neighbourhood in Iztapalapa by telling the story of an autonomous cultural centre. Based on a doctoral research project, this paper analyses how an autonomous cultural centre maintains the self-made ethos of its broader neighbourhood from its formation in the 1990s to the present day. Drawing on the concept of place-making, comparisons are drawn between a borough-run community centre in the Consejo Agrarista Mexicano -neighbourhood to show how physical, social, and cultural processes of place-making intertwine with resilience in the context of a disadvantaged urban setting. The paper shows how the challenges faced by a colonia popular continue beyond the peak of the selfbuild era and poses the question: what role do independent community organisations play when dealing with new challenges such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

## 2 Righting Historical Wrongs: Transforming Household Workers Rights in Mexico

With over 2.5 million household workers, paid domestic work represents a significant economic activity in Mexico. Disproportionately performed by women, many of them from ethnic minorities and/or migrant backgrounds, it is unsurprising that despite its numerical importance and continuous efforts to vindicate their rights and contributions, this occupation has been

3 Kevin Daniel Rozo, Professor Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia, Colombia. kevin danielrozo065@hotmail.c om IN PERSON historically undervalued, both in law and practice. Nonetheless, the last decade has witnessed a series of key moments of reform where household workers have managed to secure changes in their legal status. One of such key moments came in 2018 when the Supreme Court declared the optional nature of social security for household workers to be unconstitutional. Moreover, the court's resolution mandated the government to develop a pilot programme to pave the way for mandatory social security within a three-year timeframe. The paper will analyse this instance of reform, and contrast it with other institutional routes (i.e., legislature) and strategies that have been employed by Mexican household workers to equalise their labour rights. It will then examine how the pilot programme has fared since its launching in 2019. The paper concludes with a discussion of the prospects of mandatory social security in light of further significant achievements in the struggle for equal labour rights, like the ratification of the International Labour Organisation Convention on Domestic Workers in 2020.

### 3 Urban resistance by bicycle in Fusagasugá, Colombia.

The promotion of urban cycling is considered a strategy for the development of sustainable cities and the substrate of a public mobility policy, a priority today in the context of the post-pandemic world. In this presentation, we analyze how urban cycling has been established in the municipality of Fusagasugá, Colombia, as a "counterbehavior", that is, a series of strategic movements carried out by bike users and activist cycles in different dimensions of human life: health, physical activity and mobility. In methodological terms, we conducted an analysis of the discourse of government entities that interact in the design of public policies related to urban cycling, and semi-structured interviews with members of the municipal administration, bike users and cycle activists from the city of Fusagasugá, Colombia. Understanding the field of forces constituted around the urban

		cycling phenomenon can become a valuable tool to contribute, from an academic point of view, to the design, planning and implementation of an inclusive public policy in said municipality.
16. Insecurity & illegality in urban Latin America	1 Josefa Maria Stiegler, Department of Political Science, University of Vienna josefa.maria.stiegler@univie.ac. at IN PERSON	1 Em nome do estado: The race, gender, class and territoriality of (in)securities in Rio de Janeiro.  This paper aims to harness perspectives from the everyday spaces of (in)securities in favelas in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Everyday life for favela residents is frequently interrupted by violence, resulting from overlapping (in)security regimes imposed by (military) police, drug gangs and militias. Favelas are an extreme example of how (in)securities are gendered, racialized and classed. Victims of (lethal) police violence are predominantly black men living in favelas who, according to dominant narratives, pose the main threat to public security. Racism is thus deeply entrenched in Rio's social geography. The Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated existing inequalities and left the communities most vulnerable to the virus. Since the start of the pandemic, residents, activists and community organizers utilized online collaboration tools to discuss issues such as (police) violence and lack of healthcare access. In a hybrid ethnography, I combine self-organized, publicly streamed online discussions with field notes I took in two favelas in Rio in 2019. The study reveals that mothers, whose sons got killed by the police, position themselves as key security actors who try to teach their sons strategies to protect themselves against police violence, such as never wearing a hood. Most participants connect their everyday insecurities to their socio-economical status, race, gender and place of residence. In online debates, they develop counter-strategies to combat the insecurities they are facing. My contribution shows an innovative way of accessing local

2 Isabela Vianna Pinho, PPGS/UFSCar (Postgraduate Program in Sociology at Federal University of São Carlos), she/her isaviannapinho@gmail.com ONLINE knowledge and experiences that can motivate researchers to engage with hybrid research methods even beyond the pandemic.

## 2 An ethnography about the cocaine market in Brazil: challenges and possibilities

The expansion of illegal markets is an emerging theme in Latin American socio-anthropological literature. With the arrival of Brazilian criminal groups at the borders, in ports and airports, the circulation of goods expanded, consolidating global circuits. The relationship of these economies with Brazilian urban conflict has also been highlighted, but little is known about its operation in everyday life and its practical modes of expansion. Considering the enormous economic strength of this market, its transnationalization and its violent effects, especially in the favelas, this research aims to contribute to empirical studies about illegal markets and violence in Latin America. Furthermore, it intends to analyze how money and violence are socially distributed in this market. That is observed from an ethnographic research, which reconstructs the double journey of cocaine that crosses the Port (wholesale) and the Pouca Farinha favela (retail) in Santos, located in São Paulo state. With global pandemic, this ethnography has been reconfigured and has been dealt with uncertainties and new possibilities. I'm doing several interviews (online and in person) and collecting a lot of secondary datas, such as journalistic news, police operations, quantitative datas and other documents. However, I face difficulties doing fieldwork, due to the risks and responsibilities with myself and interlocutors. In addition, this research has particular challenges for dealing with crime, like sometimes people are not comfortable to talk online. So, I'm challenged to reflect on many pandemic effects, in which Brazil is being greatly impacted, especially about the supply and circulation of drugs.

3 Paz Irarrázabal, Universidad de Chile,

the legislation framing the activities of the street workers has been scall studied. This article aims to contribute in the study of the field by gather the main rules that govern the work of street vendors and sex workers by assessing them with the help of the principles of participatory equal (Fraser) and freedom as non-domination (Pettit). In this evaluation, enter requirements and street work conditions established by municipal ordinances are highlighted. The former involves denigrating requirements and street work conditions established by municipal ordinances are highlighted. The former involves denigrating requirements are precarious economy. Then, the situation of workers whose activition omitted or prohibited by law is examined. These groups of people are targeted by aggressive police control and are harmed by illegal acts and practices, such as the confiscation of property and the prohibition of sex work in municipal ordinances. The later, the analysis of the work conditions shows that there is no protective statute for workers, but rather that the of the legal framework is to achieve a specific urban order. It conclude suggesting the need for redistributive measures and the participation of workers in the construction of a regulatory framework that incorporate interests.  17. Social relations at the intersections 1: Professor, GREThA (CNRS), University of Bordeaux (France) aspirations of the Argentinean middle class  1 A quantitative and qualitative exploration of the dynamics, behavior aspirations of the Argentinean middle class  Argentina is generally considered as the typical middle-class country in		She, her pirarrazabal@derecho.uchile.cl ONLINE	3 STREET WORK LEGAL FRAMEWORK: THE IMPOSITION OF AN ORDER WITHOUT THE WORKERS
the intersections 1: Class+ Professor, GREThA (CNRS), University of Bordeaux (France) matthieu.clement@u- Argentina is generally considered as the typical middle-class country in			ordinances are highlighted. The former involves denigrating requirements in demanding to prove to be a deserving person in order to be granted access to a precarious economy. Then, the situation of workers whose activities are omitted or prohibited by law is examined. These groups of people are targeted by aggressive police control and are harmed by illegal acts and practices, such as the confiscation of property and the prohibition of sex work in municipal ordinances. The later, the analysis of the work conditions shows that there is no protective statute for workers, but rather that the air of the legal framework is to achieve a specific urban order. It concludes by suggesting the need for redistributive measures and the participation of workers in the construction of a regulatory framework that incorporates the
matthieu.clement@u- Argentina is generally considered as the typical middle-class country in	the intersections 1:	Professor, GREThA (CNRS),	1 A quantitative and qualitative exploration of the dynamics, behavior and aspirations of the Argentinean middle class
		matthieu.clement@u-	Argentina is generally considered as the typical middle-class country in Latin
			America. However, the successive crises over the last decades have obvious affected both the size and stability of its middle class. This paper provides ar

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exploration of the recent dynamics of the middle class through the combination of quantitative investigations based the data from the Encuesta Permanente de Hogares and an original qualitative survey conducted remotely on 40 individuals from middle-class households in Buenos Aires and Tucuman. First, our analysis shows that the trend of upward mobility that was dominant until 2007 progressively slowed down, before reversing after 2014 when downward economic mobility began to prevail under the impact of the late 2010s economic crisis. Second, we identify five distinct groups within the Argentinean middle-income class, confirming that the Argentinean middle class is heterogeneous in terms of educational, occupational and income characteristics. Third, the qualitative survey provides detailed accounts of the subjective perceptions and expectations of the different segments of the Argentinean middle class. We identify shared aspirations regarding the diversification of consumption, access to homeownership, the search for security or prioritization of education and health. However, the adoption of subsequent behavior in those domains remains highly constrained for the lower segments of the middle class, especially during the COVID-19 crisis. Fourth, our analysis confirms that the Argentinean middle class is highly heterogeneous in terms of political orientations, with a significant segment remaining loyal to Kirchnerism, while other segments are more supportive of neoliberal parties or develop anti-system stances.

2 Neighbour relations among farmers in La Araucania: an interpretative approach to everyday life dynamics.

The present research draws on an ethnographic endeavour carried out during 2020. It highlights the perception among different types of farmers and their dynamics within and among rural households in a region characterised by its indigenous component, high levels of rurality and an ongoing social conflict. It shows how different modes of production within

		the same rural setting offer a fertile terrain to examine class relations among farmers. In this way, the range of mechanisms utilised in everyday life by farmers from various backgrounds to socialise with their neighbours allows shedding light on class, gender and race issues. Finally, the presentation concludes that regardless of differentiation in terms of class, gender and race, there are common grounds from where they can build up intercultural relationships.
18. Social relations at the Intersections 2: Race+	1 Edward King, University of Bristol, he/his edward.king@bristol.ac.uk IN PERSON	The digital public sphere has become the most prominent stage on which conceptions of race in Brazil are performed and contested. During the collapse of the Partido Trabalhador (PT) regime in 2018, Facebook and WhatsApp became the vehicles for a steep rise in racist discourse among President Bolsonaro's powerbase (Trindade 2018), which openly returned to the language of slavery as a way of increasing social divisions in the country. However, while social media, and the artificial intelligence systems that drive it, has normalised racism among middle-class Brazilians, it has also become a platform on which artists and activists are articulating new connections between blackness and digital technologies. This paper explores the use of Afrofuturist aesthetics to produce what Ruha Benjamin (2019) describes as 'subversive countercodings' of the dominant practices of racialization in Brazil. Artists working in various media – such as filmmaker Adirley Queirós and visual artist Vitória Cribb – have adapted a science fiction aesthetic developed in the 1960s and 1970s US to challenge the normalised disparity between black culture and science and technology. Although varied in their approaches, these practitioners are united in their use of Afrofuturism to contest what André Brock, Jr. (2020) identifies as the conflation of online

2 América López, Post-doctoral researcher in the Department of Sociology Cambridge University ame.lopez24@gmail.com ONLINE identity with whiteness, 'even as whiteness is itself signified as a universal, raceless, technocultural identity.' In the process, they propose alternative conceptions of the human as intimately imbricated with computer systems that do not repeat modernity's pseudo-universal versions of modernity that are predicated on anti-Blackness (McKittrich 2014).

## 2 How does racism operate in Guerrero, Mexico? The process of negative racialization of Indigenous Peoples and Afro-Mexicans

Racism needs a space and specific conditions in order to operate. Therefore, this paper mentions the development and key moments of the process of negative racialization experienced by Indigenous Peoples and Afro-Mexicans of Guerrero, Mexico that contributed to the configuration of Guerrero as a impoverished, marginalized and a net expeller of migrants. The text uses theoretical concepts such as race, racialization, racism and racialized social system, secondary sources and goes from a general to a particular location. First, it develops the process of the negative racialization experienced by Indigenous Peoples and Afro-Mexicans at the national level, mentioning key theories, doctrines and concepts, and identifies the groups that were positively racialized. Then, it moves to the local level, to point out the disadvantageous and unequal distribution of resources between negatively racialized subjects and positively racialized subjects. Finally, it analyzes the political and racial project of the mexican mestizaje and connects it with the concept of negative racialization, to show that the state of Guerrero is an impoverished, marginalized and migrant-expeller area with small-privileged zones for white-mestizo tourism, in which opportunities and resources have been distributed unfairly and unequally.

3 Masculinity, racialization, and class among academic workers in Mexico

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		Gender, 'race', and class play a central role in the configuration of academic culture, life, and experience in Mexico. In recent years, there has been increasing growth in the research and work aimed at studying these dimensions of the academic experience. However, the intersection between masculinity, 'race' and class remains, largely unexplored. Using a qualitative methodological approach, we explore how class and racialisation interact in the production of masculinities among workers in different positions of the academic profession in Mexico, who identify as masculine to varying degrees. The objective of our paper is to discuss the processes through which they have incorporated to and navigated academia in Mexico, as well as the ways in which these continue to imbue Mexican academia with classed and racialised hegemonic masculinities. Through the analysis of in-depth interviews with Mexican academics, we explore how masculine practice is crossed by racialisation and class in the particular contexts in which they work, around three main axes, namely, academic practice, body markers, and personal relations. We particularly situate our reflections as Mexican academics in close contact with these notions, whose experiences have been shaped by them to large extent
19. Covid +		
educational impact	1 Juan Carlos Ruiz Associate Professor, Social Work Department, Universidad	1 Impressions, Narratives and Recommendations: the Results of the Covid- 19 Survey among the UTEM higher education community in Chile
	Tecnológica Metropolitana (UTEM), Chile, (he, him, his)	From its inception, the Covid-19 pandemic has had a big impact on people's lives the world over. The pandemic-related changes have resulted in
	j.ruizf@utem.cl	psychosocial effects of various kinds and to different degrees. Throughout a
	ONLINE	University of Georgetown's original quantitative survey, this study recognizes

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the pandemic over the last two years. What the results show is that there are several challenges for social workers and psychosocial teams who work in the support programmes for university life, such as: a) Redefine work protocols so that they consider the current living conditions of students, workers and their families; b) Manage online communications technologies using teleassistance or teleconsultation; c) Promote the work of the internal services network and external networks of the communes or territories in which the families served live; d) Adjust intervention mechanisms so as to make times, moments, resources etc., more flexible; e) Promote support with different levels of career progress; f) Identify the most at-risk cases and generate resources according to need. The university should use its specialized services to strengthen campaigns to promote actions that will prevent exposure to the novel coronavirus, and other actions that will require social and technological innovation. Furthermore, information regarding the perception that access to health services has worsened should be urgently communicated to the units and their related tools, to the student health service and welfare staff, as well as to the staff in management units.

### 2 The Case for Connections: Uncovering Student Mental Health & Social Connectedness In the COVID-19 Era

Central to the college experience are the connections students forge with others. Research suggests that certain social support networks can modulate academic stress, but the closure of universities following COVID-19 has disrupted many students' support networks. In response to this timely issue, our team investigated the effect of social support networks on the perceived academic stress levels of undergraduates. Our study includes three universities in Austin, Texas, and Mexico City, Mexico; this cross-cultural perspective offers unique insight. In this paper, we highlight results from our rigorous mixed-methods approach comprising: key informant interviews,

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focus groups, surveys, and descriptive statistics. We surveyed students across all three universities (n = 1.183) with the validated Perceptions of Academic Stress Scale, the Scale for Perceived Social Support, and demographics questions. To further explore the individual and societal contexts informing survey responses, we also conducted twelve co-ed focus groups (n = 87) with diverse student groups. We found statistically significant differences between males and females' perceived academic stress. We also uncover insights into how scholarships can affect student stress. Finally, we present findings regarding how virtual classes can pose new challenges to students' stress due to noise, unavailability of workspaces, and unaccommodating remote exam proctoring software. We provide the first comprehensive dataset regarding the intersection of students' social support networks, academic stress, and the pandemic. The binational data also reveal potential insights Texas and Mexico can exchange. A set of recommendations is outlined, which are currently being examined by respective offices at the three universities.

### 3 The dangers of staying home: lockdown deepens inequalities in Brazil

The global COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent social isolation policies have placed the home at the heart of the social debate about inequalities, immobility and survival, especially in the most affected Latin America countries. Having to stay home affects the most vulnerable in society far more than others — both socially and materially. Considering this, our main goal is to understand what makes the experience of staying home (or not) so much harder for these populations. In our research we focus on the bodies and residences of those living in Brazil's urban outskirts, particularly lowincome black women. Our theoretical and methodological approach considers the house from three spheres: (1) as a human right to dignified housing; (2) as a complex materiality, involving its physical construction and

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surroundings; and (3) as a space for life, experiences and exchanges within a group of people and things. Based on secondary descriptive data, survey data and official social indicators we show that, since the pandemic began, there has been a dramatic worsening of living conditions for the poorer sectors of society. That is the case for both those who have stayed home in precarious, often violent conditions, and for those who have had to go out to work – exposing themselves to greater risk of infection – in order to survive. In general, we explore from the economic, territorial, race and gender categories how the pandemic has affected each part of the population differently.

## 4 Beyond the Plurinational State: Self-organisation to protect life in times of Covid-19 in Bolivia

The handling of the COVID-19 pandemic has revealed many deeply rooted inequalities in Latin America. In Bolivia, the pandemic also overlaps with a political and social crisis. During the crises and amidst rising cases of COVID-19 in 2020, people report a vacuum of care left by the state - especially regarding access to health care and education, and in providing support and resources to sustain life during the pandemic. In this paper we argue that self-organisation has become a principal strategy as a response to the absence or insufficiency of policies to relieve hardship during the pandemic. We find that different forms of self-organisation have emerged, both drawing upon long standing practices of cooperation or communal forms of organisation, as well as spontaneously organised networks. We turn to the debates on community and commons and explore 'lo común' on a micro level and beyond state organisation. We understand 'lo común' as a way of establishing and organising social relations of cooperation and coordinated links and actions that prioritise care for life during a crisis. We address debates on the shaping of community in the absence of the state. For this

		paper we draw upon insights from the research project Solidarity in Times of a Pandemic - Latin America (SolPan+ Latin America).
20. Covid + intimate lives	1 Maximiliano Marentes + CONICET/IDAES-UNSAM + he/him	1 Different ways of taking care of oneself. How Argentinean gay men negotiate COVID-19 protocols for hooking-up
	mmarentes@unsam.edu.ar ONLNE	Argentinean's lockdown and restrictions for COVID-19 Pandemics included different scales of social distancing. Citizens were asked to stay at their homes and to avoid any kind of unessential social interactions by the nation government. Despite the rigidity of these means, some people defied authority by arranging different in-person encounters with the aim of hooking-up. In doing so, caring emerged as a combination of plural practice that reframe and reshape the mainstream official discourse. The aim of this paper is to describe and analyze those heterogeneous ways of caring among gay men who looked for other men to have sexual intercourses. Based on 1 in-depth interviews with Argentinean gay men —aged from 22 to 44— living in different cities, we examined how these men renegotiated COVID-19 caring measurements when hooking up during pandemic times. Instead of portraying them as careless, we describe different ways they renegotiated caring and how, in certain situations, they made decisions about what was, and was not, important to care about. Considering those arrangements as tactics and microresistances opposed to the disciplinary official discourse, the description of real care practices that refresh experiences among specific groups are addressed on this communication. It is concluded that it is essential to redefine care and desire as the result of merged and often contradictory practices, in a particular context.
	2 Beatriz Santos Barreto, PhD	
	candidate,	2 LGBTQ sub-citizenship, activism and networks of care during the COVID- 19 pandemic in Brazil

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3 Martín Hernán Di Marco, National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET), he mh.dimarco@gmail.com ONLINE The COVID-19 pandemic in Brazil has been defined by conflicting information, state omission and severe inequalities. In the midst of this, years of increasingly precarious public services and social policies left a large portion of the population economically and socially helpless. Marginalised communities often organise to fill the gaps left by the state, but what can they do in the face of a government hostile to social movements? In this paper, I discuss the Brazilian government's (mis)management of the COVID-19 pandemic through the lenses of LGBTQ citizenship, and the responses stemming from the LGBTQ community. From January to June 2021, I conducted 50+ interviews with Brazilian LGBTQ activists, in which we discussed their innovative solutions to care for the most vulnerable within the community while sustaining political action. In that, I also explore how intersections of gender identity, sexuality, race, class, and age have shaped the impact of the pandemic on their health, livelihood, social relations, and activism.

3 When it rains, it pours: intimate partner violence before and during COVID-19 lockdown in Metropolitan Buenos Aires, Argentina

COVID-19 movement restrictions were designed to reduce disease transmission. Nonetheless, these policies, including isolation, have an unknown effect on intimate partner violence (IPV). As the pandemic has progressed, a burning question has been if such restrictions pose a danger to the well-being of people experiencing violence. In Argentina, femicide and domestic violence hotlines rates have increased during 2020. Drawing upon sociology of violence and narrative criminology, this paper analyses the accounts of IPV male perpetrators, comparing men interviewed before and during lockdown. A qualitative hermeneutic approach was adopted. 42 narrative interviews with perpetrators (20-52 years old) were conducted

		(face-to-face and online), following a purposeful sample strategy. All interviewees were contacted via "violent men" programs in Metropolitan Buenos Aires. Two groups were compared: men in the programs before (2019-2020) and during (2020-2021) lockdown. An inductive thematic coding strategy was followed. While the explanatory narrative patterns remained fairly constant, three distinctive features were identified during lockdown. First, descriptions of violence were gorier and more savage. Second, limited space became a relevant topic and a focal point of stories. Third, contextual elements were more present, and were "used" to explain way IPV. Remarkably, discussions about abortion, femicide and economic policies were prevalent topics, and were used to neutralise their actions. The findings show how movement restrictions enhanced the ferocity of patriarchal violence and how contextual transformations are symbolically used to convey meaning to violence. This paper highlights the need to complement the mobility restrictions imposed with specific services to engage men during lockdown.
21. Social Policy In + Out of times of Covid	1 Thalles Vichiato Breda (UFSCAR - Brazil/ Bauhaus- Universität Weimar - Germany) (he) thallesvbreda@gmail.com IN PERSON	1 The impacts of the dismantling of Social Housing in Brazil from the Temer and Bolsonaro Government in pandemic times  One of the most important factors in combating the Covid-19 pandemic is social isolation and personal hygiene. Therefore, it is necessary to have a house with minimal conditions for insulation, as well as an adequate water and sewage network. In 2009, Lula (Workers' Party) created the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV) with the intention of fighting the housing deficit and promoting better urbanization conditions for part of the population. Despite all the criticisms we can make to the program's format, it has produced around 5.5 million homes, providing poor families with a home in an environment served by a water and sewage system. However, from 2016 onwards, with the coup d'état that removed Dilma Rousseff, a series of

2 Ricardo Velázquez Leyer, Universidad Iberoamericana <u>ricardo.velazquez@ibero.mx</u> IN PERSON neoliberal and privatizing measures were adopted, directly attacking Workers' Party social policies, among them the PMCMV. In this sense, this article aims to discuss what measures were taken by the Temer and Bolsonaro government that put an end to the largest housing program in Brazil and what are the impacts on the population, especially in times of COVID. The analysis points to a dismantling of Social Housing and the promotion of laws aimed at the unique promotion of private property and the financialization of housing. Added to the political, economic and social crisis aggravated by Covid and by the processes of precariousness of forms of work, the exponential increase in precarious housing, such as shacks, squatters and slums, is notorious – material conditions that aggravate the contagion of the Cornona Virus.

# 2 Policy Feedback, Institutional Weakness and Policy Termination: The Case of the Mexican Conditional Cash Transfers Programme

The conditional cash transfers programme (CCT) for poor families was terminated in Mexico in 2019. The programme had been the first of its kind introduced at a national level, it was preserved and expanded by three federal administrations, constituted the backbone of anti-poverty policy for more than two decades, delivered positive results in several areas, triggered the expansion of social policy beyond social insurance and was emulated by governments across the globe. Its creation represented a departure from previous clientelistic anti-poverty policy of low institutionalisation levels and insignificant outputs and outcomes. This article aims to explain the termination of the CCT in Mexico, applying a framework of historical institutionalism. The case study represents a challenging conundrum to existing theoretical arguments on policy feedback. The aim is to understand how was it possible to cancel a programme that had been in place for that long, covering such a significant proportion of the population, and involving a

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large number of actors. Two explanations are proposed: policy apathy instead of feedback due to a hard application of behavioural conditionalities, which obstructed the perception of the programme as a social right; and low institutional density, because policy development processes was carried out exclusively by one agency of the Federal Government, excluding other national or subnational bureaucratic structures. The article contributes to the literature on historical institutionalism by identifying conditions under which policy feedback will not be produced, providing clues for solid policy formulation and implementation processes.

#### 3 Digital identity, Rights and Citizenship

Over the next ten years, states are carrying out large-scale registrations in alignment with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which aim to provide more than one billion people around the world with evidentiary proof of their legal and, increasingly, digital existence by 2030. While the Americas is upheld as a story of success within this global picture, the recent multidisciplinary symposium we held with the Centre for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS) in collaboration with the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI) highlighted the complex and contradictory ways in which Indigenous, Afro-descended, and nonbinary populations, and others, experience contemporary ID systems. This event, entitled '(Re)Imagining Belonging in Latin America and Beyond: Access to Citizenship, Digital Identity and Rights', brought together scholars, practitioners, policymakers and legal specialists. This panel will underline the growing need in a post-pandemic world to explore the ways in which contemporary ID systems, while promoting social and financial inclusion, can also be used to exclude marginalised and vulnerable populations from essential state services, voting rights and healthcare. The case studies we will examine may include although will not be limited to - legal challenges brought by non-binary

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people in Peru, the experiences of Dominicans rendered stateless, and the voting rights of Latinx communities in the US. We intend to use this platform to analyse and critique the rapid roll-out of digital identification technologies which are currently being used to identify and register all citizens, everywhere over the coming decade.

Digital Identity, Access to Citizenship and Rights in the Americas: What we know and where we are heading. The paper will explore the ways in which contemporary ID systems, while promoting social and financial inclusion, are also being used to exclude marginalised and vulnerable populations from essential state services, voting rights and healthcare in the region

# 4 Re-signifying tourism for development after COVID-19: a bottom-up perspective

COVID-19 has demonstrated that the existing economic system is unsustainable since it needs people to consume continuously in order to survive. The same capitalist logics apply to tourism, which is portrayed as the flagship of sustainable development for marginalised communities in the Global South. However, owing to the closing of national borders during the COVID-19 pandemic, the geographies that were heavily reliant on tourism had their economies weaken and, as a result, the host populations' livelihoods were curtailed almost instantly. This is particularly important in rural and indigenous communities where tourism for development (T4D) initiatives replaced or undermined traditional livelihood strategies such as agriculture or fishing for the benefit of tourism. This show the need to redesign T4D so that, rather than focusing on the sustainability of tourism, it concentrates on the sustainability of livelihoods and communal well-being.

	T	
		This paper bases on the experiences of three indigenous and rural
		communities located on the Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico's most touristic
		region. Interviews, participant observation, and participatory mapping of
		social and economic interactions enabled comprehension of the perspectives
		and meaning that the host communities place on tourism, emphasising the
		need of using a livelihood approach in the research and implementation of
		T4D. Empirical discoveries enabled to uncover tourism gains that the present
		T4D literature overlooks, because these gains do not conform to capitalist
		logics, but instead empower communities to fulfil their life projects by
		adapting tourism to their cultures of reciprocity and solidarity.
22. Film and literature	1 Dr Niamh Thornton,	1 Rethinking Stardom Audiovisually: Jennifer Lopez, Maya Zapata, and
in Latin America in	University of Liverpool, she/her	Taste
times of Covid (and	n.thornton@liverpool.ac.uk	
not)	ONLINE	The audiovisual essay is a growing methodology to facilitate thinking through
		the heavily mediatised eco-system in which we work and seek
		entertainment. This paper and audiovisual essay take a close look at the lead
		actors in the 2006 film, Bordertown (Gregory Nava): Jennifer Lopez and Maya
		Zapata. The film attempted to bring worldwide attention to the assaults,
		murders, and disappearances of women in Juárez, Northern Mexico. Instead,
		the film was poorly received. For example, Jean Franco dismissed it as a
		"sickening vulgarization of the murders" (2013, 1). For her, having a star at its
		centre is its failing. Furthermore, while Mexican theorists, such as Sayak
		Valencia (2018) and Oswaldo Zavala (2018), have put forward highly
		productive frameworks for the examination of the cultural articulations of
		drug-related violence, both are critical of how it has been mediatised. The
		paper reflects on how the audiovisual essay helps address the negative
		reception and argues that it was tied to critics' preconceptions about Jennifer
		Lopez, because of her off-screen persona and her joy in public display.
		Dismissal of Lopez and judgments of her being excessive, mis-cast, and
		lacking in good taste are assessments that are often racially marked,

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frequently directed against Lopez, and, by extension other Hispanic women. The paper and audiovisual essay take another look at Lopez in Bordertown and explores the audiovisual essay as a productive tool that leads to new readings of the film and a re-think of the value placed on stardom in the evaluation of the film.

#### 2 The Changing Nature of Latin American Film Stars

The COVID-19 pandemic has severely impacted the performing arts sector. The film industry, like many others, has been forced to rethink its ways of working, including how film performers engage with the general public. This process was already starting to take place before global lockdowns were put in place. Martin Shingler and Lindsay Steenberg were wondering about the place of the film star in what they called the 'age of (digital) celebrities' (2019: 446). The contemporary shift in cinema distribution, such as the rise of streaming platforms, and 'the theatres of stardom and celebrity (e.g., the rise of social media)' (2019: 446), generate new forms of interactions with the audience, further breaking down the boundaries between the private life and the public image of a star (Qiong Yu 2018; King 2015). Bearing this in mind, this presentation aims to explore the current effectiveness of the star currency. It will do so by focusing on the case of Argentine film star Ricardo Darín and his son, 'El Chino', bringing generational comparison to the debate. These considerations would further allow for the examination of commonalities among various star systems, and particularly of how Argentina, and Latin America more generally, stand vis-à-vis the production of stardom in Europe and Hollywood.

3 Microcuento: Very Short Latin American Fiction in and for pandemic times

3 Luis Medina Cordova, University of Birmingham, He/His I.medinacordova@bham.ac.uk IN PERSON

23. Literature and	1 Rodrigo López Martínez (he-	In the late 1980s, John Beverly posed a question that seems uncannily adequate for 2021: "are there experiences in the world today that would be betrayed or misrepresented by the forms of literature as we know it?"  (Beverly 12). Although Covid-19 is not our first pandemic, it is certainly the first one in the age of social media. Never before have we been able to experience – and interact with – worldwide illness, death, suffering and globally spread fear in real time. And once again, one must wonder: how adequate are existing literary forms, like the short story or the novel, for representing the present? Could Covid-19 give rise to new or alternative forms of World Literature? This article analyses a form of narrative fiction that has engaged with the COVID-19 outbreak by embracing social media. Microcuentos, a form of very brief short stories usually referred to as flash fiction in English, have widely circulated across Latin America through digital platforms in pandemic times. But more than simply thriving in a context of globally spread fear, death, and isolation, I argue that – in 2021 – microcuentos are uniquely suited for pandemic times. By combining narrative intensity condensed in a structurally limited wordcount with social media's capacity to circulate swiftly and widely, writers of microcuentos across the region have been exceptionally capable of responding to the crisis as it is happening. The case of the Latin American microcuento in the time of COVID-19 invites us to question the hegemony of the novel while rethinking the meanings of World Literature in a pandemic and post-pandemic world.
contextual critique	him)	
	University of Manchester	My paper traces intellectual exchanges between a minor group of Argentine
	rodrigo.lopezmartinez@postgra	and Spanish writers in post-Franco Spain. First, Argentine writers in the
	<u>d.manchester.ac.uk</u>	Spanish transition to democracy have been mostly studied concerning
	ONLINE	Argentina's military dictatorship and exile. Complementing this perspective, I
		will explore the endeavors and effects of writers like Germán García, Osvaldo
		Lamborghini and Oscar Masotta within the Spanish cultural field itself. Then,

2 Liliana Chávez Díaz, Freie Universität Berlin / She-her <u>lilianachavezd@gmail.com</u> IN PERSON their Spanish connections enacted a vocationally polemic and marginal voice amidst the transition's cultural scene. Writers like Alberto Cardín and Biel Mesquida opposed the transition's hegemonic and consensual guidelines and were quickly disregarded by the period's most influential media and cultural actors. By studying their literary works and interventions in periodicals, I will highlight a transatlantic intellectual convergence usually overlooked by historiographical and scholarly recounts of the transition. "Bodies in transition" will outline an inextricably aesthetic and political program combining formal experimentation and ideological questioning of both the Argentine and Spanish politico-cultural scenarios. I will stress these transatlantic linkages to show how national boundaries restrict the way literature is incorporated into narratives of socio-political change. I will present a renewed and transatlantic account of post-Franco Spain, looking at authors and works not fitting into the transition's framework of national, linguistic and political normalization.

#### 2 Mobility and gender in Latin American travel writing

Although Latin America has been a popular destination and a literary topic for European travelers, the genre of 'crónica de viajes' produced by Latin American authors has not been yet fully studied and it usually highlights the figure of the adventurer, self-fashioned man narrator. This paper explores and proposes a more inclusive definition of Latin American travel writing by focusing on contemporary representations of female mobility in works which have not necessarily been published as travel crónicas. Considering the freedom of mobility that this genre inherently requires it is even less common to find women authors who have practiced it in the region. Since migration and traveling for leisure or professional reasons have been limited for women historically it is argued that their experiences and literary representations of mobility are influenced by the cultural and social

3 Rafael Andúgar Sousa, University of California Santa Barbara, He/him andugarsousa@ucsb.edu ONLINE restrictions they face due to their gender identity. It particularly analyses the cases of Cristina Rivera Garza and María Moreno applying Rosi Braidotti´s notion of the nomadic subjectivity in relation with the authors´ female embodied experience of displacement of themselves and others in their writing. As the paper reflects on contemporary representations of mobility it contributes to the 2022 SLAS conference topic of interest by addressing new (literary) ways in which Latin American women are trying to make sense of the challenging world within and beyond their homelands.

## 3 Toxic Noir, Embodied Landscapes and Transcorporeality in Noxa (2016) by María Inés Krimer

María Inés Krimer's crime novel Noxa's narrates the investigation of a journalist, Marcia Meyer, who travels to an Argentine town to investigate a protest against the herbicide Noxa. The use of pesticides in the fields results in deaths, illnesses, deformaties, a murdered child and the disappearance of her best friend, connected through a series of crimes. This paper will study how toxic discourse develops from the devices of the noir genre to show how it affects form, structure and motives, focusing on Noxa. The crime novel is an ideal space for reflection on environmental crimes, since the crime novel itself is already a deeply contaminated genre. The detective dialectic of crime and control are intertwined in this novel with the containment and the leak of toxicity, which infiltrates the very form of the novel. For example, the rhetorical and descriptive use of parts of the body serves to embody the description of the landscape that activates a transcorporeality from the toxic. Bodies and landscapes are no longer traditional romantic concepts, a beautiful organic object of contemplation for the subject, and are in transition to something different, now they are undisciplined, abject bodies. Finally, the affective relationships between the characters, more than an allegory of the toxic relationship, are a representation of the relationships

		that escape social containment. Thus, a conception of pollution and the abject as something that needs to be contained will be left behind, at the center of the crime novel itself.
24. Cultural sites of social protest	1 Dr Struan Gray Lecturer at Falmouth University, in the School of Film and Television - he/his struan.gray@falmouth.ac.uk IN PERSON	1 Imagining Emancipation at the Centro Cultural Gabriela Mistral: Architecture, Film and Protest  This paper analyses representations of the Centro Cultural Gabriela Mistral (GAM), an emblematic building in Santiago de Chile, exploring its significance as a nodal point within intersecting discourses of modernisation, national rebirth, heritage and rebellion. Formally known as the UNCTAD III, the building was constructed under the Unidad Popular government of Salvador Allende to serve as a conference venue and cultural centre. Soon after the inauguration, the 1973 military coup brought a violent end to Allende's government, and the building was selected as the headquarters of the Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1990). Drawing on theories of haunting (Gordon 2008) and representational space (Bruno 2002), I analyse how the film 'Escapes de Gas' (Salas 2014) represents the multiple histories that intersect at the building, exploring the creative potential of documentary as a curatorial medium. I argue that the film salvages traces of the Unidad Popular project, including its commitment to public housing and the popularisation of art. However, it also points to the affective emptiness, or illegibility, of these traces in the context of the neoliberal transition. I end by reflecting on the significance of the GAM within the recent 'estallido social', mass protests that erupted throughout Chile in October 2019, during which the façade was transformed into a vast collage of images and messages of rebellion. To what extent, I ask, can this collage be read as a continuation, or radicalisation, of the building's original function, both conjuring and critiquing the socialist past in which the GAM was imagined and constructed?

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## 2 Performing the Honduran exodus: testimony, epistemic resistance and the aesthetics of solidarity in the Northern Triangle of Central America

This research examines theatre of resistance as a socially engaged practice that opens a space for interhuman relationality where stigmatised members of society become credible agents of knowledge. Through bearing witness and communicating stories of precarity, trauma and violence, the speakers recover agency, resist dominant discourses of prejudice and facilitate intersubjective constructions of knowledge. I propose that the processes and products of testimonial theatre foster interdependent relationships between performers, the performed, social actors and the audience. These relational dynamics are at the core of an aesthetics of solidarity that goes beyond the utilitarian effect-centred approach to the socially engaged arts. I use James Thompson's aesthetics of care and Myriam Jiménez' concept of emotional communities to explore the significance of interhuman relationality in performance. I argue that this mutuality allows us to encounter 'subaltern' voices and engage in a shared commitment to care for one another and to devise broader concepts of justice. To illustrate this, I present a case study of the testimonial play La patria que no existe by the Salvadoran theatre troupe La Cachada Teatro. La patria que no existe is a collection of testimonies from Honduran undocumented migrants and asylum seekers who, like thousands of other Central Americans, embark on a journey in times of pandemic to flee violence, poverty and the destructive forces of climate change. This collection was curated and performed by La Cachada, a group of internationally celebrated female performers from marginalised backgrounds with an extensive experience in testimonial theatre practice.

3 'Si no están todas, no hay justicia': Visual politics of the fight for justice for victims of forced sterilisations in Peru

		During the 1990s hundreds of thousands of mostly poor, indigenous women (and some men) were forcibly sterilised in Peru under the National Reproductive Health and Family Planning Programme. To this day those responsible for this program have not been held responsible. Since 2016 the campaign group Somos 2074 y Muchas Más (we are 2074 and many more, named for the 2074+ people in the initial registry of victims) has taken to the streets to fight for justice for the victims. As part of this campaign, activists created a giant Peruvian flag covered with the names of those affected. This flag has since become a core part of Somos 2074's actions: from being carried by activists through the streets of Lima during 2019 anti-congress protests to lying on the coast of the pacific in a socially-distanced action during the COVID-19 pandemic. This paper analyses the visual politics of the creation and evolution of this flag, based on ongoing doctoral research on the contemporary feminist movement in Peru. Drawing on the work of Pollock (1988) and Bleiker (2012), I define visual politics as a set of beliefs communicated through images, the use of images to challenge (or maintain) power and status. Through the use of women*-only protests and feminine activities like sewing, these actions re-imagine the flag not as a symbol of a masculinised 'patria' but rather a living object and testament to the victims.
25. The Power of Propaganda	1 Anna Grimaldi (she/her).  Department of History, King's	1 Cuba's Tricontinental: Narratives and Artefacts of Cold War Social Movements The masters are assisted as a surface see and bulleting of Cuba's Organization of
	College London. anna.grimaldi@kcl.ac.uk	The posters, magazines, conferences, and bulletins of Cuba's Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL) offers
	IN PERSON	a crucial window into the history of transnational social movements and South-South solidarity since the 1960s. And yet, a vast majority of these
		artefacts of the past have remained an untapped resource within scholarly
		research. Drawing from a private collection of the Tricontinental posters, this
		paper presents a thematic analysis of a selection of posters designed in and

2 Dr Daniel Mandur Thomaz, King's College London (he/him/his) daniel.mandur thomaz@kcl.ac. uk IN PERSON disseminated from Havana to explore the intersection of cultural and artistic production, social and political movements, and transnational solidarity. This co-authored paper provides an aesthetic and semiotic analysis of OSPAAAL posters, allowing us to compare and contrast the narratives contained within these artefacts with mainstream historical narratives, discourses, and other forms of social and collective memory of global, Cold-War solidarity. The themes we explore are: the construction of masculinities, women as the backburners of social struggles; 'Third-Worldism'; militarisation; children as the future, children as victims; nature, landscapes, and femininity; critiques of capitalism; the social and politically contested construction of minorities, including women, African and Indigenous -descended peoples; and martyrization.

## 2 The Language of Power: British Cultural Propaganda in Latin America, 1934-1968

This paper discusses overt and covert propaganda campaigns in Latin America targeting the press, broadcasting, films, and cartoons between 1934 (the creation of the British Council) and 1968 (the visit of HRM to Brazil and Chile – the first visit of a British Monarch to Latin America). The paper will discuss some initial findings from my new research project, in which I analyse documents on and by the British Council, the Ministry of Information, and the Information Research Department (IRD), a secret propaganda department operating inside the Foreign Office from 1948. The first objective is to investigate the development of British cultural diplomacy in Latin America in light of the UK's strategic priorities: from 1930s' anti-Fascism to 1960s' anti-Communist campaigns. The second is to understand to what extent the promotion of the UK's geopolitical interests through propaganda campaigns might have created unexpected networks for the international circulation of ideas, artworks and intellectuals within and outside the Global

4 Tatiane de Oliveria Elias, UFSM, Mrs. <u>tatianeeliasufsm@gmail.com</u> ONLINE South. The third is to examine the importance of language and cultural practices in shaping propaganda as an international socio-historical phenomenon. By analysing British cultural policies and propaganda material targeting Latin America, this paper questions the notion that Britain had negligible influence in the region, thereby repositioning its global role in current scholarship on propaganda studies and within media history, cultural studies, Latin American studies and international relations. In addition, this project sheds light on practices that can contribute to contemporary debates about the role of disinformation and culture wars in international relations.

### 4 As influências do Muralismo Mexicano na pintura americana.

O muralismo mexicano teve início em 1913, com o pintor Gerardo Murillo. Ele foi o pioneiro em pintura muralista moderna mexicana. Acreditava que a arte mexicana devia refletir a vida mexicana. Los três grandes, assim como são conhecidos os artistas muralistas mexicanos Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orzoco, David Siqueiro, foram os grandes expoentes desse movimento. O muralismo mexicano influenciou as artes americanas no período entre Guerra e pós guerra. Com o exílio dos três principais expoentes do muralismo mexicano nos Estados Unidos, José Clemente Orzoco, Sigueira, e Rivera, e com a política do New Deal do presidente americano Roosevelt, de financiar artes públicas com a criação do WPA e FDA, as técnicas do muralismo mexicano foram propagadas nos EUA. Vários artistas americanos foram para o México nos anos 30 ou tiveram aula com os muralistas. O pintor americano George Biddle foi bastante importante para o desenvolvimento do muralismo. Ele escreveu para Roosevelt para seguir o exemplo de patronage dos muralistas mexicanos, no qual o governo oferece para patrocinar as obras públicas mais importantes. O muralismo mexicano se tornou popular

		nos EUA graças aos trabalhos produzidos no âmbito dos programas de artes do New Deal. Quando terminou a política do New Deal, Los tres grandes retornaram ao México. Eles influenciam profundamente a arte americana nos anos 30 num período de crise econômica, o que levou os artistas americanos a trabalharem com uma arte direcionada mais para o social, conhecida como o período dark age (época negra).
26. Historical Perspectives on Nation from within and without	1 Dr. William A. Booth, UCL Institute of the Americas (he/him) williambooth@gmail.com IN PERSON	Using interviews, personal correspondence and archival research, this paper gives an account of the PLAL, a series which existed for only a few years in the early 1970s but published (under Richard Gott's editorship) more than twenty influential books. The paper will examine the role of the series editor, the volume editors, translators, and Penguin itself as co-producers of knowledge alongside the impressive roster of authors. The circumstances of the series' termination will also be analysed in the twin contexts of geopolitics and business history.
	2 Pedro Acuña, University of Chile, Post- Doctoral Research Scholar (he/him) pedroacunar@gmail.com ONLINE	2 The Trans-Andean Opponents. Peronist Argentina in the Chilean Press, 1945-1956.  The conference paper examines the views and interpretations of the Santiago press in relation to Peronist Argentina, the quintessential example of Latin American populism in the region. In convergence between political history and media studies, this research seeks to demonstrate that Chilean columnists, cartoonists, and editors developed heterogenous forms of adherence and opposition to Argentina's populist regime led by Juan Perón (1946-1955) and to the political movement created around him. The study integrates an innovative visual analysis of tabloids and magazines to show

that the Peronist presence in Chile surpassed the political and diplomatic sphere, becoming a matter of cultural hegemony that shaped the modern press in Santiago. This study provides new insights regarding the important role played by the press in shaping anti-Peronist views and in discrediting Perón within Chilean politics. Studying the impact of Peronism in the region – particularly in neighboring countries such as Chile— might be useful for thinking about populism as a transnational phenomenon with multiple meanings outside Argentina.

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## 3 Incomplete Conquests and Indigenous Reductions in Friar Espino's Seventeenth-century Missionary Expeditions to La Taguzgalpa, Honduras

This presentation discusses the significance of Friar Fernando Espino's Relación verdadera de la reducción de los indios, a written account of his missionary expeditions to the northeast region of Honduras known as La Taguzgalpa during the seventeenth century. It explains Espino's assessments of the terrain, proto-anthropological observations of the sylvan indigenous peoples, including the Xicaque Indians, and descriptions of the numerous reasons for the Spanish authorities' limited success in conquering this area. In particular, this project focuses on the history surrounding the Franciscan reducciones of San Buenaventura and Santa María and the effects the conflicts between British and Spaniards had on these settlements and the subjugated indigenous populations. Lastly, this essay argues that while Espino's text was supposed to be solely a report of the conditions of the reducciones and status of Spanish colonizing efforts in La Taguzgalpa, it was also an account in which Espino self-fashioned himself as an exemplary missionary who was steadfast in his evangelizing undertakings despite the numerous obstacles and dangers, he had to overcome.

27. Movements and
Institutions in Perú
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## 2 De Túpac Amaru a Pedro Castillo: sombreros, identidades y política en el Perú (1971-2021)

A partir de las elecciones presidenciales, y más aún con la llegada de Pedro Castillo al poder (2021), el sombrero se ha convertido en el principal símbolo del presidente y su gobierno. Lo que evoca, sin embargo, no es unívoco. El sombrero es un contenedor de múltiples sentidos y ansiedades; un soporte que hoy convoca discusiones sobre las relaciones entre identidades y política, autenticidad y manipulación, orgullo y falta de "buenas maneras", etc. Pero este no es el primer sombrero que se sitúa al centro del debate público en nuestra historia reciente: el famoso diseño de Túpac Amaru elaborado por Jesús Ruiz Durand durante los primeros años del Gobierno Revolucionario de la Fuerza Armada (1968-1975) suscitó acalorados debates sobre la autenticidad del sombrero que colocó al rebelde andino. En este ensayo enfocaremos las actuales pugnas alrededor del sombrero de Castillo desde las resonancias que los años 70s y algunos hechos posteriores siguen activando en el presente.

# 3 Understanding the Ejército del Pueblo Paraguayo - EPP. The theoretical conundrums of the "21st Century Francismo"

The present article analyses the Ejército del Pueblo Paraguayo (Paraguayan People's Army - EPP), a rara avis guerrilla organization emerged during the post-Cold War period in a country with democratic institutions. Given the peculiarity of this insurgent group, we explore its ideological cornerstone, the Francismo del Siglo XXI (21st Century Francism), which claims the legacy of the Paraguay's liberator José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia. With that purpose on mind, the article firstly explores the origins and evolution of EPP and the theoretical backgrounds of the organization. Secondly, we focus on the

3 Professor Peter Lambert, University of Bath p.w.lambert@bath.ac.uk IN PERSON particularities of the EPP's perception of Francia, who in EPP's view, aimed at implementing a proto-socialist government. Thirdly, we summarize the 21st Century Francism's main statements concerning the political and economic spheres. The article concludes that even though Francism constitutes an original theoretical proposal bringing up together nationalism and socialism, it has severe problematics when clarifying the coexistence between radical democratic institutions and a strong political leadership.

### 3 The Paraguay conundrum: Colorado hegemony and democratic inertia

Except for a brief interruption between 2008 and 2013, the Colorado Party has been in power in Paraguay since 1947, despite the collapse of the Stroessner dictatorship, with which it was intimately connected in 1989, and since then, periods of political instability, economic crisis and damaging internal power struggles. Since its return to power in 2013, it has been heavily influenced by the rise of Horacio Cartes, widely associated with international smuggling and money laundering, first as president (2013-18) and more recently as key power-broker. Given his opposition to long overdue land, judicial, tax and state sector reform, Paraguay's democracy is increasingly characterised by institutional inertia and drift. This paper explores some of the causes of such political longevity, its effect on the transition process and consequences for the country's ability to withstand key challenges of the 2020s. These include the growing infiltration of the political and judicial systems by the drugs trade, the unsustainable nature of the current development model and growing social unrest.

28. Brazil, Democracy	1 Dr Brigitte Weiffen (she/her),	1 The COVID-19 crisis as triple challenge for democracy in Latin America
& Covid	Senior Lecturer in Comparative	
	Politics, The Open University	Latin America was hit by the COVID-19 pandemic at a moment when
	brigitte.weiffen@open.ac.uk	democracy was already sailing in treacherous waters and various countries
	IN PERSON	were experiencing (socio-) economic distress and political unrest. Over the
		past ten years, the region's democracies have seen an erosion of political
		liberties, of the protection of individual freedoms, and of checks and
		balances among institutions. This paper conceptualizes three dimensions of
		democracy – freedom, control, and equality – and uses them as analytical
		framework to assess the repercussions of the COVID-19 crisis for democracy
		in Latin America. It expounds how responding to the pandemic put to the
		test the still consolidating democracies with their long-standing defects in the
		areas of civil and political rights, political and legal oversight of the
		government, and equal opportunities to participate. In the course of coping
		with the crisis, it is precisely in these problem areas that additional risks for
		democracy have arisen due to infringements of political rights, power
		interests and performance of presidents, and rising poverty and economic
	2 Dr Wagner Guilherme Alves da	inequality.
	Silva, Universidade Federal do	
	Rio de Janeiro (PPGAS/ Museu	2 The drugs of the nation: science, truth and making-state in Brazil on
	Nacional)	pandemics times.
	wagnerguilherme.alves@gmail.c	
	<u>om</u>	Since the beginning of the covid-19 pandemic, Brazil's President Jair
	ONLINE	Bolsonaro has been advocating medicines without proven scientific efficacy
		as public health tools in fighting Covid-19. From an unprecedented
		opposition in politics, Bolsonaro began to oppose public health and the
		economy, trumpeting the risks that social isolation could bring to the
		country, such as the return of hunger, robberies and also the approximation
		of communism. In this way, insofar as they would protect the citizens, the
		remedies would allow the return of economic life. It defended by a group of

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doctors allied with the government, the phenomenon known as early treatment brought together thousands of people on WhatsApp and Telegram groups. The early treatment movement in Brazil is of considerable success. It increased sales of chloroquine by 80%, Ivermectin by 557%, vitamin D by 110% and vitamin C, an important ally of the immune system, by 80% in 2020. Aiming to map the discursive strategies of the far right in groups on the internet and thinking about their socio-political effects, since August 2020 I've been mapping messaging apps in Brazil in order to understand two issues: 1) what is the effect that extreme direct speeches have on ordinary life, that considered part of the national population started to defend and use a protocol without scientific evidence and of high risk; 2) the extent of the opposition between health and economics is part of the dynamics of a specific form of governmentality to the Brazilian extreme law regime.

# 3 Effects of the national economy's evaluation on public opinion towards democracy in Brazil

This investigation seeks to understand the evolution of Brazilian public opinion regarding the democratic system, aiming to identify factors that increase or reduce satisfaction with democracy. The first hypothesis predicts that if the national economy is evaluated as improving, that would be understood as a sign that the democratic model is successful, increasing support for democracy. The opposite would occur if the economic situation is perceived as becoming worse, in which case the individual could blame democratic government for the failure, showing less support and satisfaction with democracy. The second hypothesis investigates an ambivalence in Brazilian political culture, in which the preference for democracy would not imply rejection of authoritarian models. Finally, the third hypothesis implies that formal schooling would promote greater support for the democratic system as it increases. The research will feature data from the Latin American

		Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), rounds from 2006 to 2018, which will be analyzed using multivariate and descriptive statistical methods, testing and controlling variables such as income, ideological position, gender, color, age and religion. If the hypotheses are confirmed, this would indicate that for many people democracy is not desirable in its own right; in this case, conditions of this support can vary over time, resulting in authoritarian alternatives gaining strength. Furthermore, if evaluations of economic improvement matter to democracy support, and culturalist explanations about maintenance of the democratic system are proven to be correct, this would mean that factors that affect the economy could also affect the democratic functioning of a nation.
29. Politics in Brazil, Argentina and Chile	Dr Juan Pablo Ferrero, University of Bath ipf22@bath.ac.uk IN PERSON Dr Ana Natalucci, CONICET (CITRA/UMET): anatalucci@gmail.com IN PERSON	The objective of this article is twofold: 1) to discuss the concept of postneoliberal political representation and 2) to develop a middle-range conceptual model to understand transition in political representation in Latin America in the 21 Century. This article argues that contemporary developments in Latin American politics mark the emergence of a new type of political post-neoliberal representation. The nature of political representation is important because it lays the basis for the legitimacy of political regimes and this, in turn, tends to widen the quality of representative democracy. To be sure, we propose to understand post-neoliberal political representation as the consolidation of at least two electorally competitive socio-political poles with institutional-identity ascendancy, after having gone through a period of crisis. Furthermore, we argue that the polities that transition to this new type of political representation achieve political stability often despite having gone through a serious economic crisis. On the contrary, the polities that have not

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transitioned to this type of regime can experience political instability without economic crisis. We test this argument comparing the cases of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

#### 1 Defining "popular moderate bolsonarism"

This paper will characterize "popular moderate bolsonarism", that is, it will seek to understand the elements that describe the sociopolitical field configured by popular class voters who, in their majority, migrated from previous Lulism, voted for the ex-captain in 2018 but do not keep an extreme identification with Bolsonaro and nowadays define themselves as disillusioned or regretful for having voted for him. Through ethnographic mini focus groups, we will try to define these main elements: the penetration of micro-entrepreneurial subjectivity in the configuration of the "new middle classes", the Car Wash logic that criminalizes politics and results in an intense anti-partisanship rhetoric as well as an intense betraval feeling towards the Workers' Party, the combination of patriotic-militarist and Christian analytical matrices to build a mythical conservative and existentially organized Brazil and an Schmittian identification of the lefts as an enemy to be fought. We will use the conceptual framework of the counter-public to understand the empowerment of these popular bases in the Bolsonarist logic.

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### 3 Socio-political polarization and Argentina's pandemic reality

The paper discusses the increasing socio-political polarization observed in contemporary Argentina, referred to as la grieta (the crack). Currently the Argentine political debate is dominated by supporters and opponents of the so called kirchnerism - the dominant Peronist political movement, identified

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with the presidencies of Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007) and his wife Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-2015). La grieta, conceptually referring to the second decade of the 20th century, has a very long tradition in Argentina, marking its entire history and influencing the society. The impact of social polarization on the condition of the Argentine state has been the subject of in-depth analysis, which has taken on particular importance in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Undoubtedly, such a major crisis cannot be dealt with effectively under conditions of deepening polarization and internal factional struggles. The goal of the paper is to discuss the impact of la grieta on Argentina during the pandemic. The levels on which the divisions have deepened will also be identified.

## Latin American Democracy and What Ails it: Revitalizing the Social Contracts Framework

Democracy, although it remains intact throughout much of Latin America, critically hangs in the balance between fragile resilience and outright decay. Across the region, this has generated a new wave of political disenchantment that has manifested in citizens' widespread dissatisfaction with democratic institutions that are designed to represent them, and the elected officials entrusted to maintain these institutions. Recent scholarship addressing this alarming trend has been overly diagnostic and insufficiently causal: attributing democratic malaise to either persistent structural barriers (such as high inequality and weak rule of law) that sit uneasily with fluctuating public opinion data, or surface-level analysis of the data itself, which scapegoats disenchanted voters for what appears to be a resurgent tolerance for authoritarianism (and a preface to democratic deconsolidation), or for demanding more than what liberal democracy is equipped to offer. In this paper, we argue alternatively that democratic resilience is not determined by the public's willingness to remain devoted to democratic norms, but instead by elites' abilities to fulfill their end of the social contract – that is, to credibly

		deliver on their promises to engender socioeconomic development. When elites fail to do this, the social ramifications lead voters to lose faith in institutional democracy and consequently search for new and often unstable forms of representation.
30. Political Elites in Latin America	1 Asbel Bohigues, University of Valencia, he/his asbel.bohigues@uv.es	1 Ideology and evaluations of Brazilian presidents across Latin American elites: from Lula's transversality to Dilma's polarization
	ONLINE	What image did Presidents Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff project among political elites across Latin America? The aim of this paper is to analyse, with data from elite surveys in Latin American parliaments, the determinants of the evaluations of two left Brazilian presidents, Lula and Dilma, taking into account explanatory variables related to the sociodemographic characteristics and, especially, with the legislators' ideology. The results of the logistic regressions show that the principal determinant is the legislators' perception about the ALBA, particularly during the presidency of Dilma due to the sharp decrease in positive evaluations by right legislators, who had a much better opinion of Lula. This article provides empirical evidence that when it comes to evaluating foreign presidents in Latin America, ideology matters more than the policies presidents themselves may implement in their own countries. This finding contributes to a better understanding of why some leaderships, such as Lula's, are ideologically transversal.
	2 Alicja Fijałkowska-Myszyńska, Ph.D., University of Warsaw, she/her	2 Impeachment in Latin America: support or a threat to democracy?
	alicja.fijalkowska@uw.edu.pl ONLINE	Vast majority of Latin American countries are democratic republics with a presidential system as a form of government, which is why impeachment is a common measure in this part of the world. In principle, this procedure intends to enable the enforcement of the constitutional responsibility of the head of state, allowing the president to be legally and democratically

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removed from power in case of misconduct. Although impeachment exists in almost all Latin American countries, it is hard not to notice that some of them use it much more often than others. A separate issue is that among the recent impeachments, some have been so controversial that they have become known as parliamentary coups d'état. This paper looks at the impeachment procedure in Latin America today, trying to answer the following research questions: Why is impeachment more frequent in some Latin American countries than in others? Why are some impeachments in Latin America considered parliamentary coups d'état? Has the procedure, which was supposed to protect against abuse of the executive power, become a tool of abuse by the legislature in Latin American countries? Does impeachment support or threaten democracy in Latin America today? A contextual approach is applied in order to capture specificity of the analyzed countries, while comparative perspective looks for general conclusions on Latin America.

# 3 Political Leadership in Democratization: The Case of Carlos Menem, 1989-1999

This paper aims to analyse the political leadership of President Carlos Menem during the process of democratization in Argentina. Argentina's transition in 1983 constituted a crucial turning point in the country's history of failed attempts at installing stable democratic regimes. Significantly, however, the country had a tradition of presidentialism that left important imprints on its political history and culture. Hence, during the process of democratization, Argentina entered a novel phase of experience with democracy, democratic ideas, and political leadership. Whereas the leadership of President Raúl Alfonsín is largely perceived as committed to democracy and the rule of law, Menem is often described as a populist leader, who contributed to increased hyperpresidentialism of the system and the political culture of hegemony.

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This paper aims to explore, to what extent such claims are (not) valid through the analysis of Menem's conceptions of democracy, his motivations, actions and decision-making. Moreover, it will consider Argentina's relevant political traditions and the trajectory of democracy against which Menem's leadership will be examined. Ultimately, the paper is part of a broader project which has two main goals: to contribute to the understanding of Argentina's democratization by asking to what extent the leader helped to break away or reinforce the country's caudillista and populist tradition against the backdrop of democratization. The topic is particularly pertinent considering the fact that most Latin American countries suffer from strong hold of executive power. Role of leaders in strengthening/hindering democratic values has proven to be crucial in determining the countries' democratic path.

### 4 Seniority and Cosponsorship in the Chilean Lower House 2006-2018

This article analyses the impact of endogenous and exogenous effects of the dynamic structure of legislative cosponsorship in Chile between 2006 and 2018, corresponding to the three congressional sessions during the governments of Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010), Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014) and Bachelet' second term (2014-2018). We employ Stochastic Actor-Oriented (SAO) models to assess the changed cosponsorship ties from one year to another in the Chamber of Deputies. Specifically, we evaluate both dyadic and individual covariables such as affiliation in the same party, official or opposition positions regarding the government, district coincidence, geographic district contiguity, permanence in the chamber, and sponsorship activity. Our primary findings suggest segregation on collaboration by party, political coalition, and geographic location. Furthermore, the greater a deputy's experience and bills' sponsorship, the greater the likelihood that the deputy will avoid new collaborations in the short term.

31. Political	
Institutions in Latin	
America 1	
	l

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1 Gender and bureaucratic recruitment: The allocation of senior bureaucratic posts in Brazil by portfolios.

The senior civil service in Brazil has crucial power in the management and formulation of federal policies. It consists of political appointees who are hired by the President and ministers. Women constitute only a limited minority of these appointees - just over 23%, a figure that increased only 7% since 1999. In the lower echelons, women reach similar rates as men, but the sex differences in the allocation augment as we move forward the bureaucratic hierarchy, with men being disproportionally concentrated in the highest levels. In this proposed paper, I want to discuss if these sex differences are influenced by the ministerial portfolio. The literature on portfolio allocation reports that women are typically allocated in policy areas stereotypically seen as feminine, and excluded from policy domains perceived as masculine. In the Brazilian senior civil service, are women more likely to reach the top echelons in stereotypically feminine ministries? I will analyse the results of a government dataset with information pertaining to 394.793 senior bureaucrats, distributed across six hierarchical echelons. I will compare male and female portfolio distribution by echelon from 1999 to 2019. It is expected that females will have greater odds of getting into the top echelon in feminine policy domains- which account for fewer posts. If this is true, this could shed light on why females have been persistently underrepresented in the senior bureaucracy. I hope my research can contribute to the literature on gender and bureaucratic recruitment, which is scant.

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2 The Effective Number of Electoral Forces: A Growth Mixture Model for the Analysis of the Nationalization of Electoral Forces

3 Bastián González-Bustamante, University of Oxford, he/his, bastian.gonzalezbustamante@p olitics.ox.ac.uk IN PERSON This article proposes a new statistical model–growth mixture model–to examine the nationalization of electoral forces. Electoral forces determine the level of electoral support for a political party in each election. As such, nationalized electoral forces bind all territorial areas in a country to follow a single and stable trajectory of electoral support for a political party across elections. Regionalized electoral forces, on the other hand, act upon the fluctuation of electoral support for a political party through which some territorial areas can be grouped together to the extent that the pace and direction of change in electoral support are similar. This article illustrates the use of this model by applying it to the analysis of municipal-level electoral results for 20 political parties running in lower-house elections in six Latin American countries from 1953 to 2018. The empirical analysis shows two major findings. First and foremost, it turns out that support decline would be more likely to be driven by a few (and often a single) factors, whilst support rise is more likely to follow multiple factors. Second, the analysis also indicates that the effective number of swing factors, discussed later, is not correlated with the degree of homogeneity in support distribution (or static nationalization) and support change (or dynamic nationalization). In other words, static and/or dynamic nationalization may not necessarily be driven by the nationalization of electoral forces.

#### 3 Resignation Calls and Ministerial Turnover in Latin America

This article focuses on the effect of ministerial resignation calls on reallocation and dismissals in presidential cabinets, which allows us to explore the heterogeneity of the presidential responses in the framework of different chains of delegation. To this end, there is an adaptation of the existing chain of delegation and incentives in the relationship between the prime minister and cabinet members in parliamentary democracies. The application to presidential systems constitutes a novel theoretical

		contribution in the framework of the principal-agent approach, particularly considering that it focuses on Latin American countries about which there is little research on the relation and incentives existing between presidents and their ministers. In addition, this study implies a novel empirical contribution since it is a pioneer in the use of the data of resignation calls in 12 Latin American presidential democracies from their redemocratisation in, depending on the case, the late 1970s and 1980s through to the second half of the 2010s. The empirical strategy is based on a combination of competing risks models and propensity score methods
32. Political Economy		
and its impacts	1 Hugo Goeury, The Graduate Center (CUNY), he/him	1 The political economy of punishment in Argentina: from neoliberalism to "post-neoliberalism"
	hugo.goeury@gmail.com ONLINE	Following the seminal work of Rusche and Kirchheimer (1939), scholars working within the "political economy of punishment" tradition have studied the role played by the institutions, discourses, and practices of punishment in the reproduction of capitalist order (De Giorgi 2006; Melossi, Sozzo, and Brandariz-García 2017; Quinney 1977). A core tenet of this research agenda is that the characteristics of the prison system evolve according to the evolution of the capitalist system as a whole (e.g. the prison of the 'embedded liberalism' era is not the same as the prison of the neoliberal era). The goal of this paper is to apply this political economic approach to study the evolution of the prison system in Argentina between 1989 and 2015. The objective is to assess how the transition from the neoliberal model of Carlos Menem (1989-1999) to the neodesarrollista regime of Néstor and Cristina Kirchner (2003-2015) that some have defined as 'post-neoliberal' (Grugel and Riggirozzi 2012; Wylde 2016) might have impacted the Argentine prison system. This study is based on a comprehensive analysis of the key penal reforms implemented by each administration. The overall objective is

2 Nathália Gonçalves Zaparolli PhD Student of the Postgraduate Program in Political Science at the Federal University of São Carlos ngzapa@hotmail.com ONLINE to assess if the predictions of the "neoliberal penality thesis" (Reiner 2007; Wacquant 2009) hold true for the Argentine case and whether the transition from neoliberalism to 'post-neoliberalism' led to a reduction of the punitiveness levels of the prison system. In this case, "reduced punitiveness" refers to initiatives aiming to decrease incarceration rates (e.g. alternatives to incarceration, shorter sentences, decriminalization of certain behaviors,…).

# 2 Analysis of the Science, Technology and Innovation Policies of the State of São Paulo in the João Doria's government in Brazil

This paper presents a mapping of the Science, Technology and Innovation Policies (STIP) promoted by the government of the State of São Paulo (Brazil) during the term of Governor João Dória, from 2018 to the first half of 2021. The central objective is to analyze the focus of the policies developed at the regional level, which sectors and favored groups are linked to the political agenda proposed by the governor. The research is justified, since the State of São Paulo for decades is governed by the same party, Brazilian Social Democracy Party, with speeches of its representatives in the neoliberal political and economic line, in this sense it seeks to analyze to what and who are intended to PCTI. These policies are of utmost importance for the development of the State, according to the capitalist perspective of production. Since we will cover part of the period of the COVID-19 pandemic, we will be able to analyze if there is a shift in the profile of the implemented policies. The period of Doria's government was selected because of his recent opposition to the federal government, but he used the popularity of Jair Bolsonaro (current Brazilian president) to garner votes in the electoral dispute for governor - making it possible to see the changes in policies with the advent of the pandemic. From this, the data are synthesized and based on the literature regarding agenda, public policy analysis, PCTI in Brazil,

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neoliberalism, we can analyze them. Therefore, this is a case study research and qualitative methods are used, such as content analysis.

# 3 Learning a Global Language: Economists, Philanthropists and Technical Expertise in Colombia's National Front, 1958-1974

The inauguration of the National Front (1958-1974) marked in Colombia not only the return to democracy, but also new type of engagement with transnational networks of economic expertise. For contemporary observers in government and international agencies in the late 1950s, democratization was closely linked with accelerating economic development. Technical experts were thus assigned key role in the redemocratization project. While in the 1950s, the Colombian governments sought foreign expert missions to guide and coordinate economic development, in the 1960s governments and pedagogical reformers considered paramount to form a cadre of local technical experts: engineers, sociologists, and namely economists. By international standards, economics was in Colombia nascent profession and economists had not yet displaced autodidact practical men and letrados as 'counsellors of the prince.' This paper studies how the internationalisation of economics during the National Front allowed economists, as technical experts, to gain a position of influence in Colombian society. It explores how the training of economists in Colombian universities during the 1960s became more attuned with international disciplinary trends. It also examines the role American-based philanthropic institutions, such as the Rockefeller (RF) and the Ford Foundation (FF), played in the abstraction of economics as a 'global language' by sponsoring the movement of people across boundaries and the institutionalisation of economic departments and research centres in places like Colombia. Based on archival sources from the RF, the FF, and Colombian universities, I inquire how these transnational engagements

		became organising factors of the hierarchies and of the possibilities available both within the profession and for the profession at the national level.
33. Democratic backsliding: analysing political reasons	Laura Tedesco, Associate Professor of Political Science, Saint Louis University, Madrid Campus laura.tedesco@slu.edu IN PERSON	Panel paper The perception that democracy is in crisis is widespread. In Latin America, there are different explanations: lack of trust in political elites, corruption, weak institutions, economic crises, polarization and/or inequality. This panel aims to explore different causes and perspectives to democratic decline. The focus of the panel is the empirical study of democratic decline in Latin America.
	1 Prof. Mariana Llanos  Mariana.Llanos@giga- hamburg.de  German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA) IN PERSON	1 Court-Executive Relations in Times of the Pandemic.  Court-executive relations have been conflictive in many Latin American countries in the last decades. The independence of the highest courts is frequently contested through formal and informal political interferences when courts take decisions contradicting the government's interests. During the pandemic, executives have been implementing protection measures against the spread of the virus that often curtailed individual rights or resulted in conflicts of competences between different levels of government. For example, court-executive relations in Brazil and El Salvador, and their populist presidents Bolsonaro and Bukele, drew a lot of attention. In Brazil, the Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF) maintained its power to control a hostile executive unwilling to implement the necessary measures to slow down the pandemic. On the contrary, in El Salvador, the conflict between the executive and the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court increased during the pandemic and, lastly, ended in the destitution of four judges. This chapter undertakes the first regional mapping of court-executive relations during the pandemic based on data on pandemic-related court decisions and the respective government reactions. Then, through two case studies, it explores

	2 James Bowen, Saint Louis University james.bowen@slu.edu IN PERSON	in more detail whether and how court-executive relations have evolved under these exceptional circumstances.  2 Democracy in Ecuador since 1996: Chaos, Backsliding, and Resilience.  Democracy has never been a static or linear phenomenon, and so periods of democratic struggle or backsliding are to be expected. This paper seeks to provide nuance to the discussion of democratic backsliding by exploring a case of democratic backsliding and resilience. Focusing on the case of Ecuador since 1996, I will explore various factors that contribute to democratic backsliding and resilience. My analysis will be divided into three periods: 1996-2007 (when Ecuador had 7 presidents in 10 years and no elected president successfully completed their term in office), 2007-2017 (when Rafael Correa consolidated political power for a decade which may be considered a period of democratic backsliding), and 2017-present (when Correa's chosen successor broke with Correa and opposition candidate Guillermo Lasso was elected president in 2021). I will explore the various factors that contributed to democratic chaos (1996-2007), democratic backsliding (2007-2017), and democratic resilience (2017-present). I will explore arguments based on elite cohesion and conflict, political institutions economic crises, and mass political behavior. I conclude by putting the Ecuadorian case in comparative context with other Latin American
		democracies.
34. Abortion in Latin America: experiences and challenges	1 Dr Cordelia Freeman Pronouns: she/her Senior Lecturer in Geography	1 Caramelos and Silence: Strategic Ignorance in Abortion Practices in Latin America.
	University of Exeter	Abstract: Abortion is a public secret in Latin America. It is highly restricted across the majority of the continent and yet millions of abortions take place

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2 Lea Happ, King's College London, she/her lea.happ@kcl.ac.uk IN PERSON every year. We use the sociological framework of 'strategic ignorance' to argue that convenient not knowing, silence, and concealment allow for the simultaneous negation and allowance of abortions in Latin America. By drawing on interviews with people involved in abortion activism and access in Mexico and Peru we examine three sets of actors: the state, abortion providers, and individuals. When wielded by the state, strategic ignorance reproduces the status quo of the criminalization of abortion but when wielded by abortion providers and individuals it creates the conditions for abortions to be procured without prosecution. Strategic ignorance is therefore mobilized by the powerful as well as the powerless who are resisting state control of their fertility and reproductive lives. We conclude by reflecting on pathways out of ignorance through the work of activists who aim to bring clandestine abortions out of the shadows.

# 2 Socorristas en red: abortion and women's activist identity in contemporary Argentina.

How does direct action for safe abortion contribute to reimagining women's activist identity within Argentina's feminist movement? Centring the work of feminist group Socorristas en Red, this paper explores the role of online activist spaces that support people having safe abortions in invoking a feminist identity grounded in direct action and activist solidarity. Focusing on activism since early 2020, I investigate affective mechanisms invoked in online spaces, particularly through artistic-informative cultural productions. The context of my analysis are the COVID-19 pandemic and the legalisation of abortion in December 2020. Socorristas en Red is a network of activist groups accompanying people who have abortions. Prior to the legalisation of abortion, their activism centred around enabling people to access medical abortion — legally or illegally. I analyse how their activism — already relying significantly on the creation and use of digital tools and spaces due to the

3 Saskia Riera Zielińska, King's College, London, Ms saskia.hoskins@kcl.ac.uk IN PERSON stigma and clandestinity attached to it prior to COVID-19 — has changed in response to the challenges of isolation and reduced services posed by the pandemic. Thinking through the notion of affective solidarity, I trace how the Socorristas' creation of online political spaces and publication of cultural productions like illustrated collections of testimonies of those who have aborted in quarantine have invoked affects such as joy, safety, and solidarity. I argue that this has given rise to an on- and offline activist community that reimagines women's activist identity and will play a crucial role in implementing the right to legal abortion in the coming years.

## 3 Politics, Pandemic and Precarious Progress: Sexual and Reproductive Rights in Peru.

The Peruvian state has taken some positive steps in the past few years to improve the sexual and reproductive rights (SRRs) of women and girls, including plans to provide wholistic sex education, despite a much-publicised conservative backlash. Nevertheless, obstacles to women and girls' SRRs remain. The pandemic in particular has highlighted the precarious situation of SRRs in Peru. National media reported how during the pandemic many underage victims of sexual violence were denied emergency oral contraceptives (AOE) in state hospitals, exposing them to potential child and adolescent motherhood; indeed, the number of child mothers spiked during the lockdown. Furthermore, AOE is once again under threat as conservative lobby groups have filed an appeal to the Constitutional Tribunal to end free legal provision. Moreover, although guidelines for therapeutic abortion were finally established after a 90-year delay in 2016, women and girls still face significant barriers to safe, legal abortion. In a regional context where women are increasingly securing abortion rights, a hospital in Abancay was recently fined for denying a (legal) therapeutic abortion to a pregnant child, and a recent report noted that 63% of healthcare centres were unaware of

		therapeutic abortion protocol. Nevertheless, a new legal congressional project seeking the legalisation of abortion in the case of rape is offering many women hope. This paper seeks to examine how, despite some progress in recent years, SRRs in Peru continue to be precarious, examining the interplay between politics, the impact of the pandemic, and the provision of SRRs in Peru.
35. The Causes of		Panel Abstract
Social Policy	Gibrán Cruz Martínez,	
Expansion in Latin	Universidad Complutense de	Latin American countries have experienced an unprecedented expansion of
America	Madrid	social policy in the last 20 years. This expansion was characterised by
	gicruz@ucm.es	substantial increases in the numbers of beneficiaries and a substantial rise in
	_, ,	access to social services and cash transfers. Never in the region's history have
	Theodoros Papodopoulos,	so many citizens received so much from the state. Decades of social policy
	University of Bath	development restricted to Bismarckian social insurance programmes were
	hsstp@bath.ac.uk	interrupted by the introduction of social programmes that targeted groups of labour market outsiders, namely people without formal employment
	Ricardo Velázquez Leyer,	relations. Our proposed panel seeks to contribute to contemporary debates
	Universidad Iberoamericana	on the causes of the remarkable expansion of social policy in Latin America
	ricardo.velazquez@ibero.mx	by interrogating current arguments that posit as causes the democratic
	IN PERSON	transitions, the consolidation of electoral democracy, social mobilisation and
		social participation, the election of leftist governments and the diffusion of
		policy innovations, among others. We invite contributions that engage with
		these and other explanations, to generate new insights and narratives of
		understanding the widening of social protection to include historically
		neglected and socially excluded population groups. The panel aims to foster a
		dialogue between different explanatory approaches and, thus, will welcome
		articles from a plurality of perspectives that address the causes of policy
		and/or institutional change such as (indicatively): political economy,

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historical institutionalism, power-resources theory, rational choice, ideational analysis or multiple streams approach. In addition, our panel will welcome papers from a plurality of methodological approaches including single-case or comparative case studies of small or large samples. Our intention is to work with our panel members towards a publication, in the form of a special issue or an edited volume.

## 1 Brazil of the « lulist » era (2003-2016). Social policies under the challenge of labour.

Since the late 1980s/early 1990s, Latin America has been considered a social laboratory for a new generation of social policies that combine social protection and poverty reduction (Lautier, 2012). In this sense, they combine a dimension previously associated exclusively with wage labour, which was always limited in quality and quantity, with the fight against poverty. These policies share a moral and political dimension. Their implementation has been described by Bruno Lautier as a 'moral government of the poor' (2009). This government would have a certain number of features in common within the region, with some shifts over time, depending on the country. However, the adjustment modalities and moral dimensions of these policies differ between countries, but also between local regions within countries (Destremau, Georges, 2017; Georges, Santos, 2016; Georges, 2021). In the case of Brazil, huge differences exist in between municipalities, which are in charge of the implementation of these policies (health and social assistance policies, for example). We're in particular interested in the « lulist » period, of different succeeding governments of the Labour's Party (2003-2016), and the city of São Paulo.

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	2 Dr. Mauro Cristeche	2 Paper Title: Social Policy Expansion and Socioeconomic Rights in Argentina.
	CONICET Associate Researcher.	Abstract:
	Lecturer in Constitutional Law,	Latin American countries have experienced an unprecedented expansion of
	Universidad Nacional de La	social policies in the last 20 years, being the explanatory causes of this
	Plata.	phenomenon at the centre of the public debate in the region. This work aims
	Visiting Fellow, McGill University	to contribute to a better understanding of the Argentinian case. The analysis
	CHRLP	will go through the capital accumulation process, the evolution of the labour
	Email:	market and the structural changes that have taken place in the country in
	maurocristeche@gmail.com	recent decades, developing legal, economic, and political aspects. It will
	ONLINE	particularly explore the most important welfare policies implemented in the
		last two decades, i.e., the Universal Child Allowance and the non-contributory
		Social Pensions, highlighting their main characteristics. The work will attempt
		to unravel the role of the expansion of social policies in the transformations on
		the capital accumulation process and their impact on the fulfilment of
	3 JASMINE GIDEON -	socioeconomic rights.
	j.gideon@bbk.ac.uk –	-
	ONLINE	
36. Reimagining	Javier Pérez-Osorio, University	Panel Abstract
Protest: Cultural	of Cambridge, he/him.	
Mediations of	jap93@cam.ac.uk	The global pandemic has produced profound changes in Latin America: not
Social Movements	IN PERSON	only the death of almost 1.5 million people across the continent, but also
in Contemporary		increasing recession, political upheaval, and generalised social unrest. In
Latin America		many countries, the major structural gaps thrown into relief by the public
		health crisis have prompted protests over economic inequality, social
		injustice, and unfair public policies. However, during the hardest months of
		the pandemic, such demonstrations faced the imposition of draconian
		restrictions, challenging the possibility to organise collective demonstrations
		and to occupy public spaces. In these circumstances, the role of artistic
		media – created and disseminated mainly, but not exclusively, on social

1 Javier Pérez-Osorio, University of Cambridge, he/him.

jap93@cam.ac.uk IN PERSON media platforms – has acquired renewed relevance as a widespread form of circulating and mediating social advocacy. In this panel, we analyse recent examples of production and circulation of audiovisual and artistic works that foreground urgent social issues on the continent. Drawing from diverse theoretical sources within cultural studies, we probe the possibilities and limitations of cultural mediations in the formation of new citizenships, political participation, and activism. Ranging from film, TV and video, analogue and digital photography, and collage, we study these cases to explore and question hegemonic configurations of class and race, gender and sexuality, and democracy and citizenship in Latin America today. Furthermore, far from considering this a temporary phenomenon, we stress the lasting relevance of such visually and virtually mediated expressions in a Latin American post-pandemic milieu.

1 Deviant Sexualities, Dissident Citizenships: A Decolonial Examination of Queer Artistic Performances During Colombia's Social Demonstrations.

In April 2021 mass social demonstrations began across Colombia to protest against a tax hike proposed by the country's right-wing president. The protests gradually morphed into a generational outcry over the nation's deep-rooted inequalities, rising poverty exacerbated by the pandemic, and constant police brutality. In a rare phenomenon for a traditionally conservative society, various explicitly queer groups positioned themselves at the forefront of the demonstrations. The Red Comunitaria Trans, the Frente de Resistencia TransFem-Marik and TOLOPOSUNGO (a local iteration of A.C.A.B.) have taken to the streets with artistic performances which centre their non-normative sexualities just as much as their defiant political statements. This paper adopts decolonial queer thinking (Miskolci 2014, Pelúcio 2014; Gomes-Pereira 2014, 2019) to examine records made across different media of these racialised, queer — particularly transgender and

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IN PERSON

non-binary — movements participating in the Colombian protests. As a reappropriation of queer politics from the Global South, I study these artistic practices as a means to question the presumed universalism of the categories posited by Western queer theory. In line with Quiroga's assertion that in Latin America 'sexuality is more effective as a praxis than as an identity' (2000), I emphasise the plasticity of queerness in the tropics to probe the potential and limitation of recognising that sexualities are sociohistorically constructed. Furthermore, examining the inescapable intersection between deviant bodies and sexualities, and dissident citizenships in a Latin American context, I analyse the way in which these performances incite a reformulation of hegemonic discourses on class, gender, and race in Colombia today.

## 2 #NoLosLiberen: Fictional Framings of Prison Life and Mistrust of Prison Protest.

The outbreak of the pandemic in Latin America in 2020 posed a serious threat to the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of incarcerated men and women across the region, most of whom were already facing violence, overcrowding, and inadequate sanitary conditions. Fears over livelihood inside prison led to both prisoner-led protests and state-led repression. Photographs and videos of these consequences spread widely on television and social media, leading to responses, outside prison, of both outrage towards inhumane conditions and fear of exposure to politically organised prisoners. In this paper, I analyse the viral circulation of images of prisons in Argentina and El Salvador on social media to show how emotional responses towards images of prison protest and repression are conditioned by fictional accounts of imprisonment. I argue that the connections drawn between prison-based series and films, notably Sebastián Ortega and Adrián Caetano's El Marginal and Héctor Babenco's Carandiru, and 'real' images offer new insights on the cultural mediations and emotional structures underpinning

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countries (Sozzo 2009). Specifically, I suggest that popular fictional accounts of prison encourage mistrust towards the 'authenticity' and 'legitimacy' of real protests inside prison and demands for safety. By highlighting social interactions and cultural mediations across prison walls, my approach demonstrates the importance of understanding imprisonment as a wide-reaching phenomenon founded on inequalities both inside and outside prison.

the phenomenon of punitive populism that besets many Latin American

3 Political Collage between Public and Virtual Space: @CollageChile and the **2019 Anti-Government Protests.** After strict lockdowns were imposed in many cities across Chile from March 2020 due to Covid-19, the embodied demonstrations that had surged into a widespread anti-government movement were confronted with evacuated public space and restrained possibilities for leaving one's house without authorization. Faced with the inability to collectively march, gather, and occupy public space, much of the movement's political momentum became visually and virtually mediated. In this paper, I consider works of (analogue) collage created by multiple artists compiled on the Instagram account @CollageChile during the months before and after the lockdown. In light of the political legacy of collage, this paper delves into the uses of this medium for collective dissent, questioning the impact of its circulation through social media. Focusing on works by the multiple artists compiled on @CollageChile, I ask: How did the digital circulation of collage respond to, limit, and support the collective demands of the anti-government protest movement? What is collective about this work and its circulation, and how might that collectivity depart from an embodied occupation of public space? What is lost (or gained) when political assembly becomes (socially) mediated, and how does the digital compilation of collages reflect this shift? The chronological structure of Instagram can constitute a timeline, map, and form of collective memory through which

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IIN	IIN PERSON	reflections on a particular moment in time are recorded. With the right to gather collectively in space revoked, social media becomes one potential resource for inciting and demonstrating collective denunciation that is nonetheless limited by its algorithmic and commercial foundation.
		4 No se toca: Citizens Assemblies' Photographic Practice against Neo- extractivism in Argentina.
		On the 7th of August 2021, the citizens assembly El Algarrobo in the provinc

nce of Catamarca, Argentina, held their 600th walk against open-pit mining. For the past eleven years, the people of Andalgalá have marched every Saturday to oppose the mining projects that have so fiercely devastated their health. their environment and their local economies. Photographs of the demonstration on the 7th of August have circulated on their social media and some national and international media outlets. Andalgalá is but one location in Argentina, and indeed Latin America, to continue to struggle against neoextractivism. Photography is an accessible and immediate medium that recurrently accompanies activists' interventions. This paper studies the performative role that documentary photography adopts in environmental activism in Argentina, specifically in the activism by citizens' assemblies in the Cuyo region. The assemblies understand an attack on the environment to be an attack on the body, establishing a continuation between human and environmental rights claims. Amidst a climate of hostility and violence against activists, the aggressive extraction of resources involves also an extraction of the democratic conditions of citizenship. As the relations between the State and its citizens become fraught, environmental extraction additionally precipitates the extraction of the ability to bear rights and participate in decision-making. In this context, rather than give testimony to environmental collapse, photography is mobilised to reclaim citizenship. Photographic practice becomes an embodied, localised action that

		performatively reconfigures the conditions of citizenship in democracy in order to protect the environment.
37. New Alphabets: Building a Poetic &	Jessica Sequeira (chair), University of Cambridge	Panel Abstract
Critical Dialogue	js875@cam.ac.uk	We take Abhay K.'s recent book of poems "The Alphabets of Latin America: A
between Latin	ONLINE	Carnival of Poems" (Bloomsbury India, 2020) as a starting point to discuss
American and		possibilities and challenges of intercultural conversation between Latin
South Asian		America and India. How to go beyond the cliché of "building bridges",
Thought		avoiding pitfalls of orientalism, exoticism and facile universalisms, and
		including both appreciative and critical elements? What are the possibilities
		of poetry to explore culture? Abhay K.'s book of poems, with its lyrical
		traveling "I", evokes places, people, religious traditions and politics in Latin
		America. Abhay notices details, makes surprising comparisons ("I am Krishna
		from the Dwapar age / I have come to see the Rasa lila in Rio) and shows a
		wry sense of humor in formatting and observation. Literary form shifts with
		theme, even as personal experiences inform the text ("This fresh, green,
		perfect calabash I have / purchased today at the market in Brasilia / reminds me of calabashes growing on my mother's thatched roof in Bihar"). The
		dictionary-like format, with alphabetical entries, playfully subverts
		colonialists' cataloguing tendencies. To alphabetise poems removes them
		from geographical grouping to create unexpected juxtapositions, "Nazca
		Lines" next to "Neruda". Embedded quotations (e.g. "The afternoon wind
		comes and goes between India and Brazil tirelessly" —Cecilia Meireles) serve
		as spurs to lateral thought. To defamiliarize is another way of breaking down
		cliché to create new connections, and we ask how to do this for Latin
		America and South Asia, especially in the contemporary digital context,
	1 Jessica Sequeira	exacerbated post-Covid.
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	ONLINE	1 "Alphabets in Translation" introduces Abhay K.'s books, the themes of
		intercultural translation it presents and the possibilities of poetry within
		global intellectual history.
	2 Abhay K., poet and diplomat, India's Deputy Chief of Mission to Brazil (2016-2019) ONLINE	<ol> <li>"From Nazca Lines to Neruda" presents his experiences as a poet working between cultures, and the themes of his work.</li> </ol>
	3 Jorge Heine, research professor, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, and former Chilean ambassador to India ONLINE	<b>3 "Familiar, Unfamiliar"</b> puts this conversation into a political and cultural context, and into the long tradition of Latin American and Indian diplomat poetry.
38. Pushing the boundaries of collaborative research and scholar activism with communities,		Panel Abstract  Participatory knowledge production, action research and scholar activism, based on shared interests, power and solidarity and aiming at producing social change and social justice (Rasch and van Drunen, 2017) are once again of increasing interest in academia and practice (Askins, 2018; Mitlin et al.,
artists and researchers in Latin America		2019; Pearce, 2010). Additionally, a heightened intellectual interest in shifting traditional power imbalances in research, a growing decolonising knowledge agenda, and an increasing number of scholar-activists are pushing the boundaries of the neoliberal academy epistemologically and

before, during and after Covid-19

methodologically. Therefore, we are interested in reinvigorating principles of collaboration, education, action and reflection – with its origins in Latin America (Fals-Borda, 1987; Fals-Borda, 1996; Freire, 1997) – to co-produce knowledge and bring together recent work that applies, develops further and is curious about innovative co-production and scholar activist epistemologies and methodologies. At the same time the COVID-19 pandemic shifted and shaped the landscape of co-production, participatory, engaged and collaborative research methodologies and practices, calling into question common research practices towards developing new ideas of designing and 'doing' co-production and collaborative research (Marzi, 2021). Consequently, this double session engages with co-production researchers, artists and scholar-activists whose work is based in Latin America and/or engages and put into practice Latin American epistemologies and methodologies pushing the boundaries of research practices. Speakers will share their experiences and challenges of doing co-production, engaged and collaborative research and creation before, during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, using examples from their own practice. Contributions address issues including, but not limited to: • How do we conduct research as coproduction, participatory and action researchers in partnership with participants, collaborators, activists and civil society transnationally? • For whom do we do our research and how can we ensure that research practice includes a focus on solidarity and social justice? • How can we shift power towards Latin American partners in our research? • What role play Latin American theories, epistemologies, aesthetics and methodologies in our research practices? • What does this mean for the researcher's positionality and power relationships in our research partnerships? • How can our scholarly work create impact beyond academic outcomes in Latin America? • How does transdisciplinary research permit to build different relationships between researchers and participants? • What are the challenges and opportunities of innovative methodologies that focus on shifting power

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2 Susanne Börner School of Geography, Earth & Environmental Sciences, University of Birmingham, towards Latin American partners in our research? • What can we learn from our Latin American research partners, collaborators, and participants for our research methodologies?

1 Co-producing a film during the pandemic with displaced women in Medellin and Bogotá: participatory and audio-visual research from a distance using smartphones.

In this session we present an innovative remote participatory audio-visual methodology using participants' smartphones, developed and employed as an alternative for co-production research when face-to-face contact is impossible or undesirable. The research reported here was a collaboration between women in Medellin, Colombia, and a team of UK and Colombia based researchers and practitioners. In this research, we used audio-visual and participatory strategies to invite participants to use their smartphones to co-produce audio-visual data. Researching how displaced women in Medellín and Bogotá negotiate urban challenges in their everyday lives, the women participants then co-produced a film as directors. Here, we reflect on the methodological challenges but also opportunities for collaborative and participatory transnational audio-visual research with regard to equalising power imbalances during the research process. We argue, while challenges emerge during the project and co-production process, doing remote coproduction research and creating audio-visual outputs offer new avenues for collaboration and participation which have been widely unexplored before the pandemic started in 2020.

2 Remote participatory action research with Brazilian youth: challenges and possibilities of knowledge co-production under COVID-19

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3 Elisabet Dueholm Rasch Sociology of Development and Change, Wageningen University, The Netherlands (She/Her) Elisabet.rasch@wur.nl IN PERSON In this session, we discuss some of the challenges and possibilities of conducting youth participatory action research with hard-to-reach young people in the urban periphery of Sao Paulo during COVID-19. The research was conducted as part of a Global Marie Curie Fellowship, involving the University of Birmingham and the University of Sao Paulo. Research activities had started out face-to-face at the beginning of the pandemic in collaboration with youth groups at two Community Social Reference Centres (CRAS) in the municipality of Franco da Rocha, Greater Sao Paulo Metropolitan Area. With the onset of COVID-19, the physical displacement of the researcher from the field required an adaptation of research methods to the digital. Between November 2020 and May 2021, research activities were then conducted through different WhatsApp groups that were managed by the CRAS. Through the WhatsApp groups, participants (aged 12-18) were invited to engage in individual and group discussions by text and audio as well as visual activities such as photo-voice and video-making. The displacement of both the researcher as well as the participants from the field created challenges to the participatory nature of knowledge co-production, as activities were now conducted from the inside of people's homes via smartphones. Further challenges included making remote participatory research truly participatory and navigating shifting power relations in the research partnership. At the same time, these challenges also represented opportunities for making research more inclusive and for re-thinking research partnerships across borders. Especially community stakeholders such as CRAS assumed a key role in the process of setting up and facilitating researcher-participant connections.

3 Transforming power relations in/through participatory research? Conflicts, tensions and frictions

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In this paper I explore how activist anthropology as a participatory, engaged and solidary mode of doing research can or cannot be a way to transform power relations in and beyond the research process. In my current research about how territory defenders in Guatemala experience violence and criminalization, I try to establish more horizontal research relations and to prevent the "extraction of data" by way of involving research participants in the design, process, and dissemination of the research. In so doing, I found that also participatory methods, often developed with the objective to. among others, transform power relations, might as well (re)produce (new) categories of exclusion. Participatory methods often presume some form of literacy – not only in terms of being able to read and write, but also to draw, to speak up, to prepare a presentation, take pictures with a smartphone, and so on, and therefore might exclude the participation of marginalized groups within communities. Such processes might deepen when developing such methods remotely. I am not arguing at all that we should not pursue doing participatory research, because we should. But I do argue that we should ask critically how inclusive they are, and think about how we can develop (remote) inclusive, participatory methods for the future.

## 4 Feelthinking and hearting activist scholarship. Reflections on accompanying women territory defenders in Bolivia

In this paper I explore the role of affect and emotion in activist methodologies and epistemologies, reflecting on my affective encounters with women territory defenders in Bolivia. Drawing on the concepts of sentipensar (feelthinking) and corazonar (hearting) that are emerging from decolonial scholarship from Abya Yala, I propose a methodological approach that I call acompañar ¬- a more radical form of participant observation, rooted in solidarity, affective relations, and mutual learning. I argue that

	placing care and love at the heart of our research methodologies can help us explore more collaborative and decolonial ways of doing research. Moreover, acompañar can facilitate the co-production of knowledges beyond the colonial dualisms of feeling/knowing, researcher/researched, north/south. However, hearting our research practices is not possible without pushing the boundaries of neoliberal academia while resisting its speed, metric culture and extractive logic. These limitations have only become more evident during the global pandemic.
39. Contentious politics and institutions in Latin American cities (1)	Latin American cities have long been researched and understood as sites of contentious mobilisation and political activism. This became particularly clear during the 1990s and early 2000s in the wave of protest movements and uprisings against neoliberal globalisation. Although these instances were initially understood as moments of autonomous resistance, it has become increasingly clear that urban mobilisation interacts within a range of political institutions and in complex ways. The takeover of urban and then national governments by left-wing political parties has led to a growth in understanding of movement parties, that span both contentious and electoral repertoires, and have organised at the urban scale (Halvorsen, 2020). This also led to a growing phenomena of bureaucratic activism (Abers, 2019), or activists in government, again blurring the line between contention inside and outside institutions. This phenomena is not only associated with the left-wing; the right is equally focused on grassroots mobilisation (Mayka and Smith, 2021). Several years on from the first instances of attempts to generate participatory governance in Latin American cities, what is the current role of contentious politics in urban political institutions? To what extent are activists mobilising in and against the city as a scale of politics? What role or impact does contentious politics have on urban government and governance? Following participatory decentralisation in many Latin American cities, what is the role of the neighbourhood as a site of

institutional activism? What are the recent experiences of movement parties in Latin American cities? Does it make sense to speak of a radical urban municipalism in the region? 1 Emilia Arpini University of Glasgow An Emergent "New Municipalism" in Argentina? Exploring Local Food e.arpini.1@research.gla.ac.uk Movements and the Role of Municipalities. Abstract: Recent discussions in or emilia.arpini@gmail.com urban studies have been permeated by the notion of "new municipalism", ONLINE described as an emerging global trend of cities and towns changing the way that politics is done by promoting the participation of inhabitants both within and outside state institutions, as well as supporting forms of public and common production and/or ownership in the economic sector. However, it can be argued that this phenomenon is not particularly new to Latin American politics and Argentina in particular, with many well-documented experiences dating back decades. While so far these discussions have been focused on European cases, theorising mainly from the paradigmatic case of Barcelona En Comu, I argue that taking into consideration cases beyond these geographies can provide for a more comprehensive account of the potentialities, accomplishments but also contradictions of "actually existing municipalism", and to rethink some assumptions of the theory and practice of the emergent "new municipalism". I will explore this subject through a qualitative analysis of experiences of local food movements in Argentina that pursue alternative ways of producing and distributing food from urban peripheries. First, I will identify the different ways by which they engage with municipal states and municipal political institutions, and then consider how meanings of the public and the common are constructed by these 2 Dr Rocio Annunziata Universidad de San movements, considering their relation to the state. Martin/CONICET; The city as a scale of contentious politics: the case of Buenos Aires Dr Sam Halvorsen

Queen Mary University of London s.halvorsen@qmul.ac.uk; Sebastian Mauro Universidad de Buenos Aires/CONICET ONLINE

3 Dr Gabriel Silvestre Newcastle University gabriel.silvestre@ncl.ac.uk ONLINE To what extent do the political institutions of the city provide political opportunities for grassroots contentious politics? Latin American cities have been widely researched as sites of activism and mobilisation. Urban scholars have pointed to the significance of struggles over public space in addition to the importance of urban demands based around what Castells (1983) termed collective consumption (housing, transport, etc.). What is less clearly understood is the relationship between grassroots demands and the political institutions of the city. Following decentralisation across much of the region, medium and large cities now have significant political and fiscal capacity. In the 1990s and early 2000s this gave a renewed impulse to progressive sectors to reclaim the city as a site of participatory democracy. Yet the subsequent scaling up of the left to national governments detracted from the significance of urban political institutions as sites for progressive campaigns, especially in cities such as Buenos Aires that were taken over by the right. Based on ongoing research across two neighbourhoods in the city, we examine how its political institutions inform strategies mobilising activist demands.

An urban politics of hope? New social movements, political institutionalisation and radical policies in Latin America

Over the past decade, Latin America has experienced turbulent political shifts that unsettled the dominant paradigms of neoliberalism and neodevelopmentalism. Mass protests and violent clashes with the police took place in most countries of the region as constellations of social actors took the streets to voice their grievances in the face of deep inequalities and political distrust. This was followed by the passage of new social movements

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uk IN PERSON to "political movements" (Karaliotas & Swyngedouw, 2019) that are prefiguring modes of political activism and institutional presence. While academic and media attention has focused on the national politics, there is scant scholarship on how subnational political arenas are being transformed by these social movements. This paper addresses this gap by comparing the experiences of new actors in Argentina, Brazil and Chile using the "territory as a catalyst" (Halvorsen et al., 2019; Briatta et al, 2020) to both their contention and identity formation. The paper analyses three experiences of institutionalisation of new social movements in politics, thus responding to calls for comparative and transnational analysis (della Porta & Subirats, 2019). It will examine cases in Rosario (Argentina), Belo Horizonte (Brazil), and Valparaiso (Chile). In common, the cases saw the rapid passage from the initial articulation of the movements to electoral success including city mayors, councillors, and regional and national representatives who are predominantly young and previously engaged in protests. Nevertheless, the different political conditions that these groups emerged in opposition allow a rich examination of their abilities to envision new models of territorial development and coexistence (Calderón & Castells, 2020).

# Contentious politics of repair and maintenance: Infrastructural mediations in traders-state relations in Mexico City

Traditional retail markets (mercados de abasto popular) are usually seen as sites of trade and culture; however, they are also sites of political activism and mobilisation (Gonzalez, 2018). In Mexico City, markets are repositories of long-standing urban political traditions performed by a diversity of trader organisations, which deploy wide-ranging political practices and discourses vis-a-vis local and national institutions and political parties (Tellez, 2021). In so doing, these organisations develop instances of political autonomy and patronage that allows them to influence broader city-making processes. For

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example, how Mexico City's food supply system works and how urban regeneration projects will ultimately materialise. The traders' multifaceted politics have shaped and have been shaped by urban political institutions since the creation of the modern public markets network in the 1950s, which today comprises 329 markets and more than 70,000 traders. In this paper, I analyse the contentious relationship between traders, state institutions, and political parties and evaluate the impact traders' grassroots politics have had on urban governance and the production of Mexico City itself. To illustrate the complex nature of these contentious politics, I draw on ethnographic material that focuses on the traders' struggles for repair and maintenance for the markets. By looking at the grassroots mobilisations around these ordinary infrastructural practices (Anand et al. 2018), I also discuss how certain infrastructures become the loci where the line between patronage and autonomous politics blur.

Urban collaborative governance and contentious politics: antinomies? The widely-used concept of "collaborative governance" would seem to be antonymous to the idea of "contentious politics". With a focus on urban settings in Mexico, I ask whether there are ways of thinking collaborative governance that are consistent with contentious politics. I will draw on a current project designed to understand how civil society organizations can collaborate with state agencies, on the one hand, and with diverse communities, on the other, in response to crime-related violence. The project builds on partnerships earlier research, also in Mexico, which focused on societal responses from outside government, such as cultural activism, women's groups, and desaparecidos movements. Our current project dwells instead on the interface between such societal actors and state institutions, and it considers the potential for productive collaboration. The project investigates state-civil society-communities collaboration across 4 Mexican cities: Apatzingan, Zamora, Xalapa and Guadalajara. Despite the focus on

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the possibilities for collaboration, we retain a critical perspective, and in the paper I will review the project findings to consider whether contention is compatible with collaboration, and if so, how.

## 4 June 2013, political polarization and the rise of collective mandates in Brazil

This paper presents the context of political polarization that has characterized Brazil since the eruption of June 2013 protests. On one side of the spectrum, the most conservative sectors of Brazilian society have been successful in electing Jair Bolsonaro in 2018. As a result, since 2019 a series of attacks to democratic institutions have been attempted, threatening the system of liberal democracy that has been put in place by the constitution of 1988. On the other side, groups who aimed at expanding democracy through better representation and wider participation have created new political forms, structures and strategies. Inspired by the concept of new municipalism and experiences from Spain and other countries, they created "collective mandates", which challenge hierarchies, political-party structures and the separation between social movements and institutions. In this paper, I analyze the trajectory of two political platforms and their respective collective mandates. Muitas Pela Cidade Que Queremos, from Belo Horizonte-MG, created the collective mandate Gabinetona. Bancada Ativista, from Sao Paulo-SP, elected the collective mandate Mandata Ativista. Both platforms are members of Fearless Cities, a global network related to new municipalism. During the municipal elections of 2020 in Brazil, hundreds of groups were inspired by the experiences of these two collective mandates. As a consequence, they launched "collective candidacies", many of which are now forming new collective mandates in city councils around Brazil. In this context, many ideas related with new municipalism have been promoted in Brazil through collective mandates.

40. Political mistrust		
40. Political mistrust and global pandemics - a historical perspective	1 Juan I. Neves Sarriegui, University of Oxford juan.nevessarriegui@wolfson.ox .ac.uk IN PERSON  2 Dr Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, University of Winchester g.iglesiasrogers@winchester.ac.	1 The cholera pandemic and the press in 19th century Latin America In the second half of the nineteenth century, several cholera epidemics brol out in Argentina. The main waves took place in 1856, 1867-9, and 1886-87. They were not part of an isolated phenomenon. In this period, cholera became a global pandemic that deeply affected the lives of people from Ind to Europe and throughout the Americas. As a consequence of its location as an important South Atlantic port, Buenos Aires was particularly vulnerable the introduction of the disease, and to be a gateway for its transmission to the interior. In the nineteenth century Argentina also witnessed the development of a strong British community. Although the origins of the British presence in the Rio de la Plata can be traced to the colonial period, after the wars of independence people from the British Isles settled consistently in the new country in the context of Britain's global e xpansion following the Napoleonic wars. The British in Argentina became very active through educational and health institutions, setting up robust organisations such as the Hospital Británico established in Buenos Aires in 1844. This presentation will explore some aspects of the contribution of the Anglo-Argentine community to the fight against cholera and the transnational connections that made that possible. It will do this by looking at their health and charitable institutions, the impact the disease had amon foreign residents, and the role of key individuals. In the relation to the latter focus will be placed on the contributions made by the Wilde family, in particular Jose Antonio and Eduardo Wilde, leading Anglo-Argentine physicians and politicians.

2 Neither bullion nor guano: pandemics and global entrepreneurship – the
case of Antony Gibbs & Sons
This paper will explore the role played by pandemics in shaping the destiny of
a man once described as 'the richest commoner in England' and the company
that he directed: William 'Guillermo' Gibbs (1790–1875). Particular attention
will be paid to his formative years in Spain and the measures he undertook
hand-in-hand with his brother George Henry Gibbs to transform the family
company Antony Gibbs & Sons into a global commercial powerhouse with
permanent agents in Europe and the Americas – all before acquiring a
spectacular country house near Bristol, Tyntesfield, now under the care of
the National Trust and striking a legendary monopoly deal with the
government of Peru for the commercialization of guano in Europe. The
discussion will be a follow up to one of the chapters in the recently published
book Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, ed. The Hispanic-Anglosphere from the
Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century - An Introduction (New York and
London: Routledge, 2021) that emanated from the work of the international
research network 'The Hispanic-Anglosphere: transnational networks, global
communities (late 18th-20th centuries)' funded by the AHRC and the
University of Winchester in partnership with the National Trust Tyntesfield.
, University
3 A Tale of Two Pandemics A Century Apart: Comparing the Hispanic News
Coverage of 1918 flu and COVID-19
Major health crises can spur or exacerbate political upheavals and social
divides, and alter the behaviour of threatened communities. Through a
comparative analysis of the Spanish news coverage of the 1918 influenza
pandemic and the 2020 coronavirus pandemic, this paper explores their roles
in reflecting and facilitating evolving public perceptions of infectious
diseases, the political dialogues they incite, and the desperate search for
solutions to a global health crisis as fatalities spiked and state resources

41. Participación política en las ciudades latinoamericanas: ¿crisis o consolidación?	Rocío Annunziata CONICET/ Universidad Nacional de San Martín/Universidad de Buenos Aires rocio.annunziata@gmail.com	became overwhelmed in Spain, Latin America and elsewhere. Using a rhetorical approach to news-framing, I analyse how newspapers communicate changing assumptions (and suspicions) about epidemiologic risks during pandemics.  Paper abstract  Durante la primera década del siglo XXI la región latinoamericana ha sido la pionera en el desarrollo de instituciones participativas promovidas por los gobiernos locales: presupuestos participativos, consejos consultivos, consejos de barrio, planificación estratégica participativa, cabildos abiertos, bancas ciudadanas, conferencias de políticas públicas, consejos comunales, se
	1 Brian Wampler Boise State Universit	desarrollaron en las ciudades de todos los países de la región y fueron imitados por otras ciudades del mundo. Pero en el presente, ¿es válido sostener que el boom de las instituciones participativas ha pasado? ¿Los procesos participativos en las ciudades latinoamericanas se han aletargado? O, en cambio, se han renovado de la mano de la actualización de los paradigmas y de los nuevos desafíos? ¿Cómo ha afectado a las instituciones participativas el fenómeno del "giro a la derecha" en muchos países de la región? ¿Cómo ha impactado el rápido desarrollo del paradigma de Gobierno Abierto en la administración pública? Finalmente, ¿cuáles han sido las consecuencias y los legados de la pandemia de Covid-19 en las experiencias participativas de las ciudades latinoamericanas? Aquellas instancias de participación ciudadana que se suspendieron, ¿pudieron ser retomadas? ¿Cómo se incluyeron las tecnologías de participación digital en los procesos emergentes? Este panel tiene el objetivo de revisar y caracterizar el estado actual de las experiencias de participación institucionalizada en la región latinoamericana, mediante una comparación entre distintas ciudades, que ponga en común desafíos pendientes, éxitos y fracasos de la promesa de la participación en el ámbito local con la que se inauguraba el siglo XXI.
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2 Mariano Suárez Elías Universidad de la República. CENUR Litoral Norte, Sede Salto marianodoc01@hotmail.com ONLINE 1 The Rise, Spread, and Decline of Brazil's Participatory Budgeting: The Arc of a Democratic Innovation This paper examines the rise, spread and decline of participatory budgeting in Brazil. In the last decade of the twentieth century Brazil became a model of participatory democracy for activists, practitioners, and scholars. However, some thirty years later participatory budgeting is in steep decline, and on the verge of disappearing from Brazil. Drawing from institutional, political choice, civil society, and public administration literature, this book seeks to generate theory that accounts for the rise and fall of an innovative democratic institution. It considers both the successes and failures of participatory budgeting in Brazil, why many participatory budgeting-adopting municipalities have abandoned it, and why so few new municipalities have adopted it since the mid-2000s. More broadly, it also examines what the arc of the creation, spread, and decline of participatory budgeting tells us about the long-term viability and potential democratic impact of this innovative democratic institution as it spreads globally. Will the same inverted trajectory plague other countries in the future, or will they be able to sustain participatory budgeting for greater periods of time? (prefered presentation format: virtual)

2 La participación institucionalizada en Montevideo: un análisis de los procesos de "Presupuesto Participativo" y "Montevideo Decide".

La ponencia aborda el análisis de dos de las principales instituciones participativas que existen en la ciudad de Montevideo, el "Presupuesto Participativo" y "Montevideo Decide". La primera, surge tempranamente en la década del noventa de la mano del proceso de descentralización de la ciudad impulsado tras la llegada de la izquierda al gobierno del departamento. Desde entonces ha cambiado muchas veces de diseño, pero se ha mantenido vigente hasta la actualidad transformándose en una de las experiencias más maduras del continente. La segunda, es una institución

3 Stephanie L. McNulty FRANKLIN & MARSHALL COLLEGE stephanie.mcnulty@fandm.edu ONLINE participativa online que se pone en práctica por primera vez en 2018 y que surge de la mano de la diseminación del modelo de laboratorios urbanos en el mundo. En el caso concreto, es el Montevideo Lab el espacio en el que se crean y se ponen en práctica los componentes participativos desarrollados en la plataforma. La ponencia busca poner en diálogo ambas instituciones, analizando el tipo de propuestas, las características de los procesos deliberativos, el perfil de los participantes y las potencialidades y limitaciones detectadas en ambos casos. Se analizará también cómo han sido afectadas por el fenómeno de la pandemia durante el 2020 y 2021 y se ofrecerá una reflexión, en base al funcionamiento de estas instituciones, sobre las posibilidades y desafíos que se plantean de la mano del uso de las tecnologías digitales en los procesos participativos. (prefered presentation format: virtual)

4 Sam Halvorsen Queen Mary University of London S Los efectos paradójicos de las instituciones participativas del Perú. Perú es uno de los países de América Latina que ha aprobado leyes nacionales para garantizar que los gobiernos locales involucren a sus ciudadanos en la toma de decisiones sobre el gasto de inversión anualmente a través de una Ley Nacional de Presupuesto Participativo. Este estudio pregunta si este esfuerzo ha cambiado la naturaleza de la participación y los gastos de inversión local a lo largo del tiempo. Explora los efectos de la pandemia de coronavirus en el proceso y los resultados del gasto. El documento sostiene que en Perú, las instituciones participativas han llevado a cambios en el gasto público a nivel local, pero estos efectos locales no se están agregando al nivel nacional. Dada la miríada de crisis políticas y económicas que enfrenta la nación, el documento pregunta si las instituciones participativas merecen el tiempo y el esfuerzo que los ciudadanos y los funcionarios gubernamentales dedican a ellas. (prefered presentation format: virtual)

	Sebastian Mauro Universidad de Buenos Aires/CONICET  Rocío Annunziata CONICET/ Universidad Nacional de San Martín/Universidad de Buenos Aires rocio.annunziata@gmail.com  ONLINE	4 De la participación a la innovación: las instancias de deliberación online promovidas por la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Este trabajo se propone analiza la evolución de las instituciones participativas en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. La instancia participativa por excelencia promovida por el Gobierno de la Ciudad durante los últimos años había sido BAElige, una herramienta basada en la plataforma Cónsul, que funcionaba con la dinámica de un Presupuesto Participativo digital. En 2020 este dispositivo fue interrumpido por la pandemia de Covid-19 y el gobierno decidió promover en cambio otras instancias deliberativas mediante reuniones sincrónicas por Zoom con los vecinos y vecinas para tratar sobre diferentes problemáticas específicas y predefinidas (denominadas "Encuentros de Diagnóstico"). Estas nuevas experiencias se han acercado más a la investigación de mercado que a las instituciones participativas características de las décadas pasadas en Améric Latina. El caso de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires participa así de una tendencia general que pareciera tener lugar en la región al impulso de herramientas colaborativas en las que el acento está puesto más en la innovación (tecnologías empleadas, metodologías para los intercambios, gamification) que en la participación (masividad del involucramiento ciudadano y grado d influencia en la toma de decisiones). Por otra parte, el uso exclusivo de plataformas digitales implicó también una tendencia hacia la participación individualizada, en la medida en que estos formatos no permiten la representación de actores colectivos. El reemplazo de una asamblea participativa por un grupo focal tiene consecuencias políticas: el mayor beneficiario es el Gobierno que busca información y no el ciudadano que ejerce un derecho a influir en la decisión. (preferred presentation format: virtual)
42. EcoSol- agroecologia responde a la	Les Levidow (el), Open University, UK, les.levidow@open.ac.uk	Panel Abstract

pandemia: innovando circuitos cortos solidarias como proximidades (all presentations to be virtual)

El término "EcoSol-agroecología" indica la convergencia entre movimientos sociales para la producción agroecológica y para una economía solidaria (EcoSol), sobre todo en America Latina durante la década pasada. Las prácticas agroecologicas utilizan y conservan recursos naturales biodiversas, asi evitando insumos químicos, emisiones de carbono y degradación ambiental. La Economía Solidaria (EcSol) construye circuitos cortos para aproximar los productores con los consumidores. Los ultimos conocen mejor los métodos de cultivo y la organización cooperative, asi fortalecendo compromisos para elegir productos agroecologicos. Tales circuitos incluven: feiras del agricultor, compras institucionales, comunidades que sustentan agricultura (CSA), Turismo de Base Comunitaria (TBC) y bancos/intercambios de semillas. Así la distribución alimentaria evita los mercados globales del sistema dominante agri-industrial. Podría desempeñar un papel alternativo, aún más contrahegemónica. Los circuitos cortos solidarias pueden entenderse como formas de proximidade. Propósitos próximas (comunes) incluyen: construir una autogestión democrática, enfrentar las desigualdades (socio-económicas, de genero, etc.), y promover Buen Viver (armonía entre la gente y la naturaleza). Tales objetivos comunes pueden activar otras formas de proximidade (organizativa, cultural, institucional). La pandemia Covid-19 dificultó la articulación de los circuitos cortos de producción y consumo. Sin embargo, las relaciones solidarias promovieron el fortalecimiento de redes solidarias con soluciones innovadoras, involucrando nuevos actores y relaciones próximas. Mantuvieron los ingresos de las productores y suministraron alimentos a las personas vulnerables. Esta sesión va comparar estudios de caso (en Brasil y Bolivia) por la esquema analítica de proximidades. Las experiencias proporcionan metodologías para identificar y extender circuitos cortos solidarias en diversos contextos.

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Davis Sansolo

1 Economía Solidaria basada en agroecología: aclarar y extender los circuitos cortos como proximidades

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Varios movimientos sociales llevan décadas impulsando acciones de Economía Solidaria (Ecosol) en América Latina. EcoSol tiene como objetivo el desarrollo de empresas autogestionadas, democráticas y emancipadoras, así como la promoción de la ayuda mutua entre iniciativas económicas. EcoSol, entre otras estrategias económicas, promueve los circuitos corto solidarios con el objetivo de evitar los intermediarios capitalistas, acercar los productores a los consumidores, promover el aumento de los ingresos y difundir una cultura solidaria. Por lo tanto, EcoSol podría jugar un papel contrahegemónico. Surgió una convergencia entre movimientos vinculados a la economía solidaria y movimientos agroecológicos, especialmente en América Latina durante la última década. Las prácticas agroecológicas utilizan los recursos naturales y promueven la conservación de la biodiversidad, evitando insumos químicos, emisiones de carbono y degradación ambiental. Para el movimiento agroecológico, los circuitos cortos solidarios incluyen estrategias de marketing solidario y consumo consciente expresado por mercados de agricultores, compras institucionales, comunidades que sustentan la agricultura (CSA), Turismo de Base Comunitaria (TBC) y bancos/intercambios de semillas. Sin embargo, para los circuitos cortos, el término "corto" sigue siendo ambiguo: ¿Cómo identificar y expandir experiencias exitosas? Aquí hay una brecha analítica. Los circuitos cortos solidarios pueden entenderse como varias formas de proximidad, dependente de propósitos inmediatos (como arriba). Estos pueden activar diferentes formas de proximidad (organizativa, cultural, institucional). EcoSol crea capacidades colectivas para establecer y vincular estas proximidades. Este marco analítico fue elaborado por el proyecto AgroEcos, 'Economía Solidaria basada en la Agroecología en Bolivia y Brasil', a nivel general y en los siguientes casos de estudio. Vea https://projetoagroecos.wixsite.com/meusite =

# 2 La Baixada Santista, Brasil: EcoSol-agroecologia extenden circuitos cortos solidarios durante la pandemia

Como agenda política, la agroecología proporciona muchos beneficios más allá de las actividades productivas. En América Latina, la agroecología se ha relacionado ampliamente con una economía solidaria (EcoSol), aquí llamada EcoSol-agroecologia. Como propósitos comunes, estas redes buscan la autogestion democratica, la equidad socioeconómica, sobretodo para las personas de bajos ingresos y las mujeres. Esta agenda brinda mayores incentivos económicos para las prácticas agrícolas que evitan insumos químicos, emisiones de carbono y degradación ambiental. Los circuitos cortos construyen relaciones más próximas entre productores y consumidores. Los últimos conocen mejor los métodos de cultivo y la organización cooperativa, así fortaleciendo compromisos para elegir productos agroecológicos. Estos "consumidores conscientes" forman redes generando apovo para la agroecología. También estas redes se oponen al "desarrollo" prejudicial, por ejemplo la modernización tecno-difusionista, agroindustria y turismo pesado. Todas esas actividades han sido promovidas por el Fórum de Economía Solidaria da Baixada Santista (FESBS), una región costera brasileña, como nuestra área de estudio de caso. Para ampliar los circuitos curtos, los productores agroecológicos han desarrollado varios tipos de proximidad (cultural, institucional y organizativa), que extiende la proximidad geográfica de los productores periurbanos. Las redes EcoSolagroecología han construido capacidades colectivas para esas proximidades y para autogestir los circuitos curtos. Durante la crisis del Covid-19, las redes crearon medios para sostener esos circuitos, atrayendo a más participantes. Além disso o FESBS ha promovido el encuadramento analitico 'proximidades' para extender y fortalecer los circuitos cortos de EcoSol.

3 Juliana Duarte de Carvalho <u>juliana.otss@gmail.com</u>
ONLINE

3 La Bocaina, Costa Verde, Brasil: circuitos cortos para defensa territorial de las comunidades tradicionales El Observatório de Territórios Sustentáveis e Saudáveis da Bocaina (OTSS) es un programa de la Fundação Oswaldo Cruz em sociedad con el Fórum de Comunidades Tradicionais de Angra, Paraty y Ubatuba (FCT).

En la región de Bocaina, las comunidades tradicionales enfrentan muchos conflictos territoriales debido a la especulación inmobiliaria, grandes emprendimientos y un turismo depredador. Al mismo tiempo, sus prácticas agrícolas tradicionales, extractivistas y pesqueras son criminalizadas por las Unidades de Conservación creadas por el Estado en sobreposición con sus territorios, impactando incisivamente el sistema cultural y la soberanía alimentaria de esos pueblos. A pesar del contexto adverso, estas poblaciones vienen resistiendo a la expropiación y la desvalorización de sus modos de vida y a través de la movilización, participación, elaboración, demanda y seguimiento de políticas públicas que puedan conciliar la conservación de la naturaleza con la permanencia de las comunidades y sus prácticas tradicionales. Para protegerse durante la pandemia Covid-19, las comunidades tradicionales decidieron suspender el Turismo de Base Comunitaria (TBC). Hubo un incremento de la agricultura y pesca tradicional; el intercambio e de semillas, plantines y productos agroecológicos entre las comunidades también se intensificó y ganó más visibilidad. Así como la generación de ingresos para las familias campesinas y pesqueras con la comercialización de la producción agroecológica y pesquera. De estas maneras, las comunidades tradicionales luchan para mantener vivas muchas prácticas, sobre todo el manejo sostenible de la naturaleza, los lazos comunitarios, los mutirões colectivos de trabajo y los intercambios. Mediante la recuperación de prácticas tradicionales más allá de la comercialización, v de la oferta externa de producción, o se elaboran estrategias contrahegemónicas basadas en las formas de vida tradicionales y en la

4 Carlos Vacaflores, Comunidad de Estudios Jaina, Tarija, Bolivia <u>elcantodelmonte@gmail.com</u> ONLINE mejora e innovación de sus técnicas desde el compromiso con el territorio y las identidades locales.

# 4 Valle Central de Tarija, Bolivia: la Asociación Bioferia difunde los circuitos cortos durante la pandemia

En América Latina los campesinos de origen indígena están sujetos a procesos de desestructuración permanentes, provenientes de la estructura colonial de la formación social de nuestros países, donde el poder descalifica persistentemente las culturas indígenas. El campesino intenta proteger su conocimiento productivo, adaptado a los procesos ecológicos del entorno local. Las mujeres buscan formas de vender productos agroecológicos directamente a los consumidores, sobre todo en las ferias; así promueven su sistema agrícola y aumentan sus ingresos. Pero estas Ferias tuvieron que parar durante la pandemia, como la asociación Bioferia en el Valle Central de Tarija. Nuestro equipo pudo coordinar con diversas comunidades del Valle Central para articular la Canasta Campesina Alantuya, un nuevo sistema de abastecimiento alimentario. Se tuvo que desarrollar capacidades colectivas para organizar el armado de canastas entre varios productores que usualmente comercializan en forma individual. Los productos campesinos fueron ofrecidos en el marco de la tienda Alantuya y la Canasta Campesina. Así, el sistema aportaba una proximidad organizacional entre los productores, como una proximidad cultural entre la ciudad y la cultura campesina tradicional. Con la normalización de la movilidad social, y la reapertura de los mercados en la ciudad de Tarija, estas comunidades dejaron de participar en la Canasta en forma orgánica, y retomaron sus estrategias de comercialización individual. Sin embargo, esta experiencia mostró el potencial para iniciativas solidarias que promueven los circuitos cortos alimentarios.

Giovanna Villani Gross QMLU g.a.gini@qmul.ac.uk IN PERSON

43. Title: Navigating
uncertainties
during forced
im/mobilities

Panel Convenor: Nuni Jorgensen Queen Mary University of London

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#### **Panel Abstract**

Any type of mobility features a variety of unknowns. Even when carefully planned, decisions about whether, how and where to move are generally taken in contexts of limited information and, often, in highly mutable circumstances. Currently, mobility regimes and environmental change have been greatly contributing to these various experiences of future unpredictability, especially for those with little economic and social capital. In this panel, we seek to explore the spatial, temporal and emotional dimensions of uncertainties arising in different stages of mobility processes, ranging from immobility to arrival and integration. Particularly, we employ the ideas of 'unsettlement',' unknown knowns' and 'unstable rules' to explore how mobile people are often governed through uncertainty and forced to live in uncertainty, at the same time as they may use mobility as a way of adapting and resisting uncertainty. To this debate, we draw on different empirical studies conducted in South America, ranging from an analysis of the displacement of Venezuelan families in Chile and Colombia; a study of the experiences of forced immobility within a traditional community in Brazil; and an exploration of the idea of 'unsettlement' among resettled refugees in Chile and Brazil. The diversity of case studies allows for an exploration of the relationships between (im)mobility and uncertainty through various lenses, against the background of a region that has been undergoing intense social, political, and environmental changes over the past decade.

# 1 Changing rules after each move: The Impact of Humanitarian Protection Visas on Family Migration

Although much has been said about family migration and reunification in the Global North, relatively less studies have focused on the case of South America. Interestingly, countries in the region are noteworthy for their

2 Giovanna Gini | Queen Mary University of London | g.a.gini@qmul.ac.uk (in-person) ONLINE

progressive family reunification legislations. States generally work under a broader definition of what a family is and sometimes extend the right to reunification to kin outside the family nucleus. Nonetheless, families seem not to have been taken into consideration in the design of the new complementary humanitarian mechanisms being adopted by different South American countries. Different from other migratory statuses, the protection permits applied by Colombia, Chile, Peru, and Ecuador towards Venezuelans do not stipulate a separate residence path through family reunification. Instead, all members of the same family apply for the same visas or permits as separate applicants. Because the policies that regulate such protection instruments have been changing so quickly, people from the same family who migrate separately might be subject to different requirements and hold distinct sets of rights. The hypothesis of the article is that this web of piecemeal policies could either lead to the emergence of mixed-status families or delay and hinder family reunification altogether. In other words, families are drawn into two types of uncertainties: irregularity or enforced waiting and separation. Using Colombia and Chile as case studies, this article draws on census, household surveys, and administrative flow data to analyse the changes in migration and family reunification patterns among Venezuelans in both countries over time, and particularly, to investigate how these changes are associated with moments when migration rules changed or were introduced.

### 2 Acting between unknowns knowns, climate change and relocation.

In October 2016 the traditional community of Caicaras, Enseada da Baleia arrived at the realization that relocation was urgent. In fact, after a cyclone hit the region of São Paulo and Paraná (Brazil), the strip of sand on Cardoso island that separates their home from the encountering of the seas was

3 Dr Marcia Vera Espinoza | Institute for Global Health and Development, Queen Margaret University | mveraespinoza@qmu.ac.uk ONLINE reduced from 12 meters to 2 meters in just one night. After that cyclone, they faced two levels of uncertainty, or in other words two unknown knowns. The first being the timing of the erosion that caused the disappearance of their homes. The second included the restrictions in movements and occupation of land which prevented the Enseada Community to easily relocate, considering that Cardoso Island is a Conversation Unit Park. Movement is underpinning by relations of power that shape where, how and when people can move. According to Catherine Brun, these power relations involve processes of inclusion and exclusion and the identification of those who belong and those who do not. In this paper, I explore the action taking in the in-between unknown knowns, navigating the process of marginalization, control, and stasis, on the one hand; and the transformation and new possibilities, on the other. Action in uncertainty that defies categorization of passive internal displacement people and at the same time claim the right of auto-determination and belonging.

# 3 Conceptualising 'unsettlement' through experiences of refugee3resettlement in South America

This paper introduces and seeks to theorise the notion of 'unsettlement' in order to understand refugees' integration experiences during the process of resettlement in South America. Drawing on the analysis of the experiences of resettlement of Colombian and Palestinian refugees in Chile and Brazil, this paper argues that 'unsettlement' can be understood as the condition by which refugees' feelings of uncertainty and instability, as a result of the experiences of displacement, extend and normalise into resettlement. Once in the receiving country, unsettlement is experienced as the result of precariousness and translocality. I am concerned with tracing the temporal and spatial dimensions — as well as the structural and emotional dimensions — of unsettlement that affect the forced displacement experience and how these take shape, extend and normalise in the resettlement country. The

		idea of 'unsettlement' has been constantly used in studies related to refugees and migrants' experiences, taking for granted that the word describes refugees' situations, processes, feelings or statuses without further conceptualisation (Wachter et al. 2015; Shrestha 2011; McKinnon 2008; Kadri 2009). Indeed, refugees' experiences are unsettled, since they are characterised by lack of stability and constant unpredictability. Nonetheless, a closer review of what it means to experience and live 'unsettled' allow us to look beyond the displacement and to understand further the linkages of some of the complex processes within the integration experience, such as uncertainty, precarity, translocality, but also agency. The analysis discussed in this paper draws on 80 semi-structured interviews with resettled refugees and other actors involved in the resettlement programme in Brazil and Chile, conducted between 2012-2015.
44. Latin American Politics and	Dr. Ken Mitchell, Monmouth University, NJ, USA (He/Him)	Panel Abstract The Covid-19 pandemic has exposed some pervasive weaknesses in
Democracy Amid	kmitchel@monmouth.edu;	democracies around the globe. Mounting health concerns, coupled with the
the Global	IN PERSON	challenge to maintain economic growth, have left states and governments
Pandemic	Dr. Sam Maynard, Monmouth	grappling with intense – and at times new – citizen demands. Latin America stands out as a venue where these challenges have been particularly severe –
	University, NJ, USA (He/Him)	in many instances leading to outright conflict in the streets (e.g., Colombia,
	smaynard@monmouth.edu IN PERSON	Brazil, and Chile). Recent midterm elections in Argentina suggest some "familiar problems" for observers of politics in the region: incumbent
	Endon	
		governments may be losing ground under conditions of crisis, with voters
		citing the need for economic relief that has yet to arrive. In Brazil, a similar
		citing the need for economic relief that has yet to arrive. In Brazil, a similar story emerges with an administration openly hostile toward poverty
		citing the need for economic relief that has yet to arrive. In Brazil, a similar

a more equitable framework for democracy. This suggests that the current moment may furnish some opportunities for reform, provided that political actors are up to the challenge. This panel invites a broad range of perspectives to debate and discuss Latin American politics, democracy, and development in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic. Specifically, it seeks to ask how have democracies responded to mounting pressures such as poverty, violence, and political exclusion in an unstable world? Moreover, how prepared are the region's traditional institutions to solve collective action problems between elites and citizens – whose interests both seem increasingly incompatible?

### Latin American Democracy and What Ails it: Revitalizing the Social Contracts Framework

Democracy, although it remains intact throughout much of Latin America, critically hangs in the balance between fragile resilience and outright decay. Across the region, this has generated a new wave of political disenchantment that has manifested in citizens' widespread dissatisfaction with democratic institutions that are designed to represent them, and the elected officials entrusted to maintain these institutions. Recent scholarship addressing this alarming trend has been overly diagnostic and insufficiently causal: attributing democratic malaise to either persistent structural barriers (such as high inequality and weak rule of law) that sit uneasily with fluctuating public opinion data, or surface-level analysis of the data itself, which scapegoats disenchanted voters for what appears to be a resurgent tolerance for authoritarianism (and a preface to democratic deconsolidation), or for demanding more than what liberal democracy is equipped to offer. In this paper, we argue alternatively that democratic resilience is not determined by the public's willingness to remain devoted to democratic norms, but instead by elites' abilities to fulfill their end of the social contract – that is, to credibly deliver on their promises to engender socioeconomic development. When

		elites fail to do this, the social ramifications lead voters to lose faith in institutional democracy and consequently search for new and often unstable forms of representation.
45. Workers and international organisations in Latin America	Convenor: Luciana Zorzoli Cardiff University, UK (she/her); Luciana Zorzoli <zorzolil@cardiff.ac.uk> IN PERSON</zorzolil@cardiff.ac.uk>	Panel Abstract The centenary celebration of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2019 inspired a wide range of contributions considering the organisation's mission, role, and history all over the world. Among them, the relationship and mutual influence between the organisation and Latin America started to be reassessed and properly acknowledged, offering a much deeper insight into the complex links developed between the region and Geneva for more than one hundred years. Along with this, the research expanded into the international connections of workers and trade unions, challenging nationally centred approaches and opening unique panoramic windows on workers' history.
	1 Norberto O. Ferreras, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazi (he/him): norbertoferreras@id.uff.br ONLINE	1 La Organización Internacional del Trabajo y las migraciones a América Latina durante el período posterior a la Segunda Guerra Mundial Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial la Organización Internacional del Trabajo tuvo que atender a una serie de demandas diferentes en la tentativa por reorganizar el mundo del trabajo en el período posterior a la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Las demandas tuvieron diferentes formas y motivaciones. Los países de América Latina tenían su propia agenda que estaba siendo discutida aún durante la contienda mundial. Los latinoamericanos estaban atravesando un proceso de industrialización autónoma y uno de los puntos más relevantes era la conformación de la mano de obra en la región. Sin trabajadores calificados o con experiencia en el sector industrial esa industrialización no podía avanzar. Por tanto, estos países colocaron en la agenda de la OIT dos temas como prioritarios: Por un lado, la calificación de la mano de obra existente en América Latina, por lo que solicitaban

2 Edward Brudney University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, US (he/him); Edward-Brudney@utc.edu IN PERSON capacitación o tratamiento especial para el trabajador indígena. El segundo tema de interés era la atracción de trabajadores industriales, principalmente trabajadores europeos experimentados. Esta cuestión nos lleva a discutir quienes eran los trabajadores solicitados, sus orígenes nacionales y las formas de atracción a partir de la colaboración de la OIT. Estas serán los temas principales que trataremos en esta presentación.

# 2 International Participation and Domestic Politics: Argentina and the ILO during the Proceso de Reorganización Nacional

At the beginning of June 1977, the International Labour Organization (ILO) inaugurated its annual meeting in Geneva where, for the first time in years, no official Argentine delegation attended. As the country with the highest rate of trade unionism and perhaps the most politically powerful labor movements in the Western Hemisphere, Argentina had long been a prominent participant at the ILO. This year, however, only a small "business delegation" made the trip across the Atlantic, and then merely to serve as informal observers rather than active participants. This absence of recognized representatives might seem just a small blip in an otherwise consistent relationship, but in fact the outcome was a product of complex and tense negotiations between Argentina's union bureaucracy and the military regime that had seized power the previous year. Just weeks before the meeting—and following months of heated debate—union leaders declared that they would not travel to Geneva, effectively scuttling the project and prompting sharp rebukes from the dictatorship. This presentation unpacks the back-and-forth that led to the final decision not to send delegates and situates that decision within the broader domestic political and social context. Where recent scholarship has analyzed the military government's relationship to the ILO, pointing to the contradictions between global labor standards and the regime's anti-worker labor laws, this 3 Luciana Zorzoli Cardiff University, UK (she/her): zorzolil@cardiff.ac.uk IN PERSON presentation inverts that dynamic to show how trade unionists, employers, and the state each attempted to use Argentina's standing vis-à-vis the ILO to their advantage back at home.

## 3 Does it matter? The ILO Committee of Freedom of Association (CFA) actions in Latin America

The debate about the importance of the ILO in Latin America (and vice versa) remerged recently, with new critical evaluations of its significance and longlasting effects challenging what Jasmien Van Daele named as a serious "geographical narrowness" (2010) in the organization history. If in the past the initial cooperation between the ILO and Latin America was almost ignored, and little attention was given to their mutual influence, the perspective is now much more encouraging (see Laura Caruso & Andrés Stagnaro, 2017; Norberto Osvaldo Ferreras et al., 2018; Norberto Osvaldo Ferreras, 2019; Fabián Herrera León & Patricio Herrera González, 2013; 2019; Pedro Daniel Weinberg, 2019 among others). Focusing on one of the key channels of that relationship, this paper will present an overview of the Committee of Freedom of Association (CFA) actions in Latin America since its creation in 1951. By doing so, it will discuss not only their effects, consequences and political significance in the region but also their importance in building the Committee's doctrine related to the range of aspects within the freedom of association and the protection of trade union rights.

4 Andres Stagnaro CONICET-UNLP, Argentina (he/him). andres.stagnaro81@gmail.com ONLINE

Personal and International relations in trade unionism. The American Federation of Labor and the attempts to consolidate of Free Trade Unionism in Argentina in the Cold

		The expansion of 'free trade unionism' after World War II was one of the ways in which the cold war was fought in Latin America. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) commitment with the State Department's foreign policy included a much more active and centered struggle against Communism at the time. The AFL founded the new foreign policy unit, the Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC) that cultivate an international network of local political and trade unions leaders' informants, most of them former communists or socialists. The main objective was to spread the American model of labor relations in what it was also called the "productivity gospel", that's the values of non-political trade unionism, labour-management cooperation, and modern working practices. In this context, American trade unions leaders took several trips to Latin America, predominantly Serafino Romualdi whom became a prominent figure of Free trade unionism.  Opposing them there was the most organized and important Federation of Trade Unions in Latin America, the Argentinian CGT along with the Mexican CTM, although due to different ideological reason both had strong nexus with their national states. The confrontation led to the AFL to challenge Argentinian trade unions capacities in the international sphere, through the support of alternative free trade unions leaders as alternative in major trade unions, and also of labor leaders displaced by the Peronism in the international arena. By tracking down Romualdi activities in the region through the analysis of his correspondence, this paper aims to reconstruct the free trade unionism network in Argentine during the Peronism.
46. Infrastructure and coloniality in Latin	chair/discussant 1 Austin Zeiderman,	Panel Abstract
America: Historical	London School of Economics and	An expanding body of geographical scholarship is approaching infrastructure
geographies of	Political Science, he/him/his	through the lenses of racial capitalism and coloniality (Chari, 2021; Cowan,
infrastructure,	a.zeiderman@lse.ac.uk	2020; Ranganathan, 2020; Curley, 2021; Enns and Bersaglio, 2020; Davies,
historical	IN PERSON	2021). These works have highlighted the constitutive role of colonialism and

geographies of theory 1		empire, its infrastructures, and its racial, gendered and class logics, in the making of the modern world and contemporary capitalism, whilst mobilis new conceptual tools and political engagements with coloniality and its endurances. In this panel, we want to bring together scholars approached the historical and contemporary geographies of infrastructure in Latin America through questions of race, coloniality, imperialism, settler colonialism, anticolonialism, decoloniality and racial capitalism. We are particularly keen in hearing from researchers who are: i. Exploring the connections between previous instances of colonial infrastructural expansing the region and current trends in infrastructural development; and/or ii. Expanding the geographies of infrastructural theory to establish dialogues across time and space between Latin American theorists and activists and contemporary infrastructural scholarship.
	1. Archie Davies, University of Sheffield, he/him/his;	Milton Santos' philosophy of technics and the geographies of infrastructure
	archie.davies@sheffield.ac.uk IN PERSON	The Brazilian geographer Milton Santos, who died 20 years ago, in 2021, famously called geography a 'philosophy of technics' (Gertel, 2017; Melgand Prouse, 2017). For Santos, technics were a great and underexplored

dimension of the production of space and nature. 'It is too well known', he wrote, 'that the principle form of relation between man and nature, or better, between man and environment, is through technics' (Santos, 1996, p.20). Analysing technics was central to Santos' concern with producing an

investigate space. Sitting between practice and theory, for Santos, technics were not just technology or techniques, but a way of approaching modes of doing which were historically and spatially specific, and which themselves transformed historical epochs and spatial formations. His conception of geography as a way of philosophising technics has been influential in

ontology of space, and of situating geography as the methodology to

3 Alejandro De Coss-Corzo, University of Bath, he/him/his; adcc20@bath.ac.uk; IN PERSON Brazilian geography (eg Tosta dos Reis, 2012), but little explored in anglophone critical geography. This paper will analyse what Santos' understanding of geography as a 'philosophy of technics' brings into view, and suggest that it could contribute novel theoretical and historical tools to critical geographies of infrastructure.

# 3 The infrastructures of coloniality: infrastructure, race, labour and state making in Lerma, Mexico:

This article explores the relation between infrastructures and coloniality in Lerma, Mexico. It does so by examining two hydraulic projects there: the 1850 project to desiccate the Lerma marshes to create new agricultural land and the 1942 project to supply Mexico City with water from these marshes, and their afterlives. Drawing on archival research and ethnographic observations, the article argues that infrastructures are productive of colonial environmental and racial logics and relations that are constitutive of the Mexican state both historically and contemporarily. I show how both hydraulic projects mobilised promises of modern development by rearticulating relations between the environment, racialised workers, and the nation-state, and how these promises live on through present-day hydraulic infrastructures. More specifically, I explore how the 1850 project mobilised a liberal notion of private property as an economic and moral good that could transform the 'atavistic' indios of Lerma into fully-fledged, productive citizens of Mexico. I then demonstrate how the 1942 project shifted colonial logics from agriculture and small land ownership towards the urbanisation of Mexico City and the creation of a mestizo labour force that could contribute towards this process of urban development. I continue by analysing how these colonial logics endure today through infrastructurally-mediated environmental relations and the forms of racialised labour that maintain them. This article contributes to scholarship that interrogates the relations between infrastructure and coloniality by theorising the role of infrastructure

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		and infrastructural labour in producing and sustaining colonial logics and relations across space and time as socio-material relations and processes.
		Debt and Counter-planning from the Seventeenth Century Mexican Kitchen In their 1975 "Counter-planning from the Kitchen", Cox and Federici articulated how the labor of women was a pervasive form of capitalist exploitation. The essay was simultaneously a critique, from the left, of the feminist movement, and a critique, from the feminist movement, of the left. base my paper on Cox and Federici's dual critique, and both "provincialize" and expand on it. I argue that we get a deeper understanding of the historical development of the capitalist system, and thus the ways it could be resisted, by engaging in a "microhistory" of its "double moulinet" as seen in the Novohispanic (Mexican) convent. In the paper, I first introduce the site of the convent and give an account of how convents became central credit institutions in the Iberian world. Second, I present the physical infrastructure of the convent's kitchen(s). Unlike the domestic kitchen that inspired 70s and 80s Global North feminists, the Novohispanic convent hosted multiple kitchens, where women from different casts and classes labored. Thus, both the internal architecture of the convent and its place in the city give us a sense of the economic, social, and power relations they forged and reinforced. Third, I turn to the work of Lucí Cavallero and Verónica Gago on feminist resistance to collective debt. Thus, on the one hand, I consider the Novohispanic convent and its kitchens as a site of emerging capitalist relations. On the other, drawing from Cavallero and Gago's work, I explore the potentials of sororal relations, and their sites of economic and social relations, to concoct political counter-planning.
47. Infrastructure and	chair/discussant	1 Paper Abstract
coloniality in Latin America: Historical	1 Austin Zeiderman,	An expanding body of geographical scholarship is approaching infrastructure through the lenses of racial capitalism and coloniality (Chari, 2021; Cowan,

geographies of
infrastructure,
historical
geographies of
theory 2

London School of Economics and Political Science, he/him/his a.zeiderman@lse.ac.uk IN PERSON

2 Matthew Aaron Richmond, London School of Economics and Political Science, he/him/his; Email: M.A.Richmond@lse.ac.uk IN PERSON 2020; Ranganathan, 2020; Curley, 2021; Enns and Bersaglio, 2020; Davies, 2021). These works have highlighted the constitutive role of colonialism and empire, its infrastructures, and its racial, gendered and class logics, in the making of the modern world and contemporary capitalism, whilst mobilising new conceptual tools and political engagements with coloniality and its endurances. In this panel, we want to bring together scholars approaching the historical and contemporary geographies of infrastructure in Latin America through questions of race, coloniality, imperialism, settler colonialism, anticolonialism, decoloniality and racial capitalism. We are particularly keen in hearing from researchers who are: Exploring the connections between previous instances of colonial infrastructural expansion in the region and current trends in infrastructural development; and/or Expanding the geographies of infrastructural theory to establish dialogues across time and space between Latin American theorists and activists and contemporary infrastructural scholarship.

2 Walling Brazil's peripheries: Porous condominiums beyond the elite citadel: This paper discusses a widespread but underexplored phenomenon in Brazilian cities: the growing presence of walls and other security infrastructures in low-income, peripheral neighborhoods. Recent years have seen the proliferation of physically bounded and internally regulated regimes of residential organization in these areas, widely referred to as "condomínios" (condominiums). In some cases this socio-material process of "walling" has emerged primarily through the ad hoc efforts of residents to remake their neighbourhoods, while in others it has been induced by construction and housing management firms contracted by the state to deliver social housing programmes. Evoking the phenomenon of elite gated communities that sharpened patterns of social and racial segregation in Brazilian cities during the 1990s, peripheral condominiums similarly seek to provide their residents with a sense of security, order and symbolic

3 Camila Saraiva, Universidade Federal do ABC | Laboratório de Estudos e Projetos Urbanos e Regionais (LEPUR), she/her/hers lacamisaraiva@gmail.com ONLINE distinction. However, based on case studies from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Porto Alegre, we argue that social conditions and norms of everyday sociability in these contexts render undermine these aims and render peripheral condominiums spatially and temporally porous. These limits to projects of self-segregation shed light on the enduring social, spatial and racial effects of coloniality in Brazilian cities.

3 Connecting the past and present of Latin American popular neighbourhoods: exploring 'slum upgrading' through questions of coloniality, imperialism and liberation:

This proposal explores the geographies of 'slum upgrading' policies from a transnational and decolonial perspective in Latin America through the cases of São Paulo, Medellín, and Buenos Aires. To this end, it will discuss both the construction in the earlier twentieth-century of informal settlements as such, as well as the processes of formalisation that ensued half a century later through slum upgrading, as being historically articulated. It argues that one of the ways in which coloniality endured, i.e. in which the spatial privileges of elites linked to colonial powers persisted after independencies, was precisely through modern urban planning, that is, through a series of norms and regulations which, imbued in technicalities, repeatedly prohibited the typical housing typologies of the poor in cities' central areas. This pushed them towards unregulated and isolated peripheries with poor infrastructure. In this context, both the resistance to removals and the persistence of squatting on well-located vacant lands for housing purposes was violently fought. From the 1960s onward, however, a virtual consensus, spanning across different realms, such as the church, academia, and international funding agencies, emerged against the destruction and forced removals of 'informal settlements'. In opposition to this, such settlements were to be improved

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and 'integrated' through infrastructure provisions and land tenure regularisations. Whereas this move towards slum upgrading was motivated by a sense of communities' emancipation, it was also mobilised by interests linked to enhancing cities' economic performance and productivity. What have been the political and spatial implications of these historical shifts? Have informal settlements' diverse cultural logic and morphology subverted the technocratic rationality of urban planning or was it the other way around? Considering that a genealogical or critical historical sensibility can help us to understand the formulation, reception, and diffusion of policies in the present (Huxley, 2013), this proposal will draw on a juxtaposition of historical narratives – whereby specific territories were first banished to be at a later point supposedly (re)integrated – to explore the geographies of 'slum upgrading' in Latin America. In the end, it seems that such governmental practice undoubtedly represents an essential step towards social justice, but which does not necessarily contribute to revert power and spatial asymmetries entrenched in cities development since colonial times.

4 Unfree labour and Militarised infrastructures: the experiences of displaced communities in the Brazilian Amazonian region: This paper will explore the experiences of displacement and unfree labour within refugees and internally displaced communities (IDPs) in the Brazilian Amazonian region. There is a deepening of global interconnectedness and its demands for low cost of labour for large-scale projects and contemporary means to 'drain' resources from the global south. Central to this has been the transnational embedding of new forms of authoritarian nationalism to govern development corridors and to access biodiverse and resource rich regions in Latin America. Emerging links between the cases of community displacement and slave labour in infrastructures projects remain underexplored in the literature. In Brazil's Amazon, the militarisation is not only an emerging phenomenon, but it also relates to persistence colonial

		legacies shaping racialised patterns of labour control, super-exploitation and dependency on the exports of commodities. This paper thus asks: how have infrastructure projects and military regulation shaped contemporary dynamics of unfree work and displacement the Brazilian Amazonia region? This work is part of an ongoing study with displaced communities that intends to provide new empirical and theoretical reflections to analyse the links between authoritarianism, infrastructure projects and unfree labour.
48. Decolonising knowledge: centring historically excluded voices in Latin American research on environmental crisis and conflict (1)	Panel Organisers: Inge Boudewijn inge.a.m.boudewijn@northumb ria.ac.uk Katy Jenkins katy.jenkins@northumbria.ac.uk IN PEROSN Sofia Zaragocin szaragocin@usfq.edu.ec ONLINE	Panel abstract A range of literature documents how indigenous, afro-descendent and otherwise marginalised groups of people in Latin America are disproportionately affected by climate-change, extractivism, environmental degradation and associated socio-environmental conflicts, as well as institutional and everyday racism and discrimination. Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted they often face increased barriers to healthcare. Many of these conditions are rooted in a long history of colonialism. Growing calls from critical geography, development studies and Latin American studies, particularly from the global South, highlight the need to decolonise research and recognise knowledges that are marginalised in Anglophone academia. This panel brings together papers exploring how decolonial approaches can provide theoretical and methodological tools for understanding and addressing the intersecting inequalities produced and exacerbated by natural resource extraction, and environmental crises in Latin America. It also discusses challenges and discomforts of doing decolonial work on environmental crisis, for global North scholars and other members of international research teams, and approaches for grappling with different positionalities and privileges within teams and projects. This is particularly pertinent in the context of working together remotely during the COVID-19 pandemic, making travel to field sites all but impossible for many scholars. The panel takes a multidisciplinary approach to exploring how the

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IN PERSON

2: Chris Hesketh Oxford Brookes. In person or virtual: in person chesketh@brookes.ac.uk IN PERSON decolonial agenda articulates with varied experiences of, and responses to, environmental crises and conflict. We bring together diverse perspectives to support efforts to situate historically excluded knowledges at the centre of research on natural resources and the environment in particular, and Latin American studies and academia more widely.

PAPER 1 Title: Fighting Cheapness: Studying Abigarramiento, ch'ixi and Natural Resource Extraction in Latin America. Presenter: Angus McNelly. Abstract: Latin America's "open veins" have long been plundered for their natural resource wealth. The imminent green translation, it appears, will extend the region's extractive frontiers ever further, with decisions made by distant government and corporations in the global North once again looming large on the continent. Currently, natural resource extraction is predicated on processes cheapening particular lives, labour, spaces, and knowledges. A prerequisite for decolonisation, I contend, is the undoing of these cheapening processes. In this paper, I seek to explore the spatial and temporal dimensions of cheapening processes in order to orientate possible future decolonial approaches to natural resource extraction as part of the green transition and to signpost some of possible pitfalls. Drawing on concepts developed in the Latin American context to capture its temporal and spatial heterogeneity – René Zavaleta's abigarramiento and Silvia Rivera's ch'ixi – I point to the importance of framing indigenous peoples and knowledges through the colonial encounter. I argue that only by seeing indigenous peoples and communities as part of modernity can we build research and political agendas that centre on and build with the historically oppressed.

PAPER 2 Title: Indigenous Resistance in the age of Extractivism: An incorporated comparison of Bolivia and Mexico. Presenter: *Chris Hesketh*. Abstract: Latin America is currently home to the largest volume of extractive

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conflicts in the world. These conflicts are intrinsically connected to the model of neo-structural, or neo-extractivist development that has been embraced throughout the continent since the early 2000s. Indigenous communities have frequently been the victims of this new model of extractive development, with their territories becoming the primary sites for the aggressive expansion of the resource frontier, generating new political conflicts. In this article, I link these conflicts to what I term the 'coloniality of space', whereby indigenous territorial forms have been theoretically elided from traditional spatial imaginaries within International Relations and concretely negated through practices within the global political economy. Indigenous modes of resistance to this process of extractive development, although taking place within different nation-state spaces are thus internally related to the broader processes of dispossession, hence the need for a method of incorporated comparison. By exploring the cartographies of Indigenous resistance and their 'everyday environmentalism', I show how this might lead to a rethinking of notions of democracy, political community, and provide the basis for an alternative political economy from below.

PAPER 3. Title: Participation and climate change from a decolonial perspective. The case of civil society in Chile. Presenter: Consuelo Biskupovic and Rosario Carmona. Abstract: Increasing scientific evidence, coupled with slow and limited progress in multilateral responses, has promoted the emergence of civil society in international climate change debates. In addition to improving climate policy, participation plays an essential role in education, facilitating the timely transformation of socio-ecological conflicts and overcoming mistrust (Beierle & Cayford 2002). Just climate empowerment requires that civil society, and especially the most vulnerable and marginalized groups, could work at the same level of decision-making

49. Decolonising knowledge: centring historically excluded voices in Latin American research on environmental crisis and conflict (2)	1: Representative from OMIASEC, Peru (names tbc);  Maria Eugenia Ulfe, PUCP, mulfe@pucp.edu.pe Victoria Chacmana, PUCP, victoria.chicmana@pucp.edu.p e Roxana Vergara, PUCP, vergara.nr@pucp.pe Jessica Honey, UEA,	processes related to climate action. In Chile, although the participation of civil society is recognized as fundamental in responses to climate change, its role has not acquired the expected relevance. This lack is because citizens have been left out of the discussions between governmental actors and scientists or experts (Urry, 2015), thus excluded from the dissemination, definition, and governance of the country's problem in the country (Hasbún-Mancilla et al., 2017). This article aims to analyze the role of civil society in the climate governance of the Chilean state from a decolonial perspective. To do this, we will first assess how the state promotes participation through its central climate strategies. We will contrast this information with the trajectories and objectives of two experiences of participation - one selforganized and the other convened by the government - based on the voices of its members. We will address the question of how institutional bureaucracies help or hinder the participation of indigenous communities and ONG in the climate change debate.  PAPER 1: Women of Influence: Exploring the Potential and Impact of Indigenous Female Community Participation and Leadership in Peru.  Presenters: Representative from OMIASEC, Peru (names tbc); Maria Eugenia Ulfe, Lisa Bunclark and Roxana Vergara, Sarah Barrow and Eylem Atakav, Karoline Pelikan. Abstract: Women play a fundamental role in food security, the preservation of biodiversity and ancestral knowledge, however these contributions often go unrecognized (Ketty Marcelo, ONAMIAP, 2018). Our women-led participatory project, involving young indigenous women community leaders from Amazonian Peru, highlights the potential and importance for them to participate actively in their communities to exercise control over their environment and natural resources. Working alongside a
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	J.Honey@uea.ac.uk ONLINE	group of Asháninka women, activist members of the NGO National Council of Indigenous Women of Peru (OMIASEC), our project asks why they remain
	OINLINE	largely excluded from community decision-making, revealing the cultural and

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Karoline Pelikan, (EmpoderArte film collective, Peru). In person or virtual: virtual or mixed: K.Pelikan@uea.ac.uk

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influence. Through this interdisciplinary project, we have sought to deepen our understanding of indigenous community leadership in the context of socio-environmental risk. The co-designed activities that have drawn on expertise in film production, anthropology, development and cultural studies and have been informed by the broader lived experience of the OMIASEC team, have revealed new forms of empowerment and resulted in a range of artefacts to be shared with stakeholders, including government, civil and corporate representatives. One of the common threads of our approach has been decolonisation, as guiding theoretical concept and methodology, inspired by the work of Varea and Zaragocin (2017). This presentation will focus on our collaborative work across continents during the global pandemic, reflecting on our efforts to reframe fieldwork as autoethnographic digital workshops that seek to disrupt power hierarchies and co-produce new knowledge, while embedding a culture of sisterhood ('hermandad') throughout the project.

2: Title: Peer researchers, oral histories and Zoom meetings: successes and discomforts of carrying out transnational decolonial research during the COVID-19 pandemic. Presenters: Inge Boudewijn, Antonia Carcelen, Hilary Francis, Juana Francis Bone, Katy Jenkins, Sofia Zaragocin. Abstract: Afrodescendant women in Esmeraldas, Ecuador, are among the most marginalised groups in the country, facing institutional and everyday racism while living in a region affected by environmental degradation from natural resource extraction and climate change. RECLAMA (Harnessing AfroEcuadorian women's heritage), is a decolonial, feminist research project, carried out as a collaboration between Ecuadorian and UK-based academics and activists. The project accompanies Afro-Ecuadorian women in Esmeraldas as they interrogate and articulate their history and heritage through oral histories and creative workshops, and was designed to work

3 Ana Gretel Echazú Böschemeier (she/her) gretigre@gmail.com, ONLINE with peer researchers. These peer researchers, young women from across Esmeraldas, successfully conducted oral history interviews with older women in their communities in the Summer of 2021, after substantial delays caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, the pandemic limited the ability of team members based in Quito and the UK to travel, placing a high burden on our partners in Esmeraldas, especially in terms of carrying out training and creative workshops. In this paper, we will discuss the process of working with peer researchers, and to what extent our methodologies enable us to centre historically excluded voices in the research project. We will also reflect on our positionalities and roles within the research team, and how these shape our participation in and contribution to decolonial, feminist, transnational research; highlighting remote work and the discomforts of discussing a field some of us have not been able to visit.

3. Title: Participatory research with community leaders towards epistemological pluralism in the Brazilian Northeast. Presenters: Ana Gretel Echazú Böschemeier, Breno da Silva Carvalho, Luan Gomes dos Santos de Oliveira, Nathalia Maíra Cabral de Medeiros. Abstract: We propose an epistemological and political exploration of the experience a participatory research with community leaders playing the role of formal fellows enrolled under the new category ADC 2 A of the National Research Council (Ordinance 500, 07/05 2021, Brazil) in the project "Good Practices for Combating COVID-19 - Translation and Preparation of Materials in the Territories". The research is based on the dialogue between anthropology, collective health and communication/translation studies. A more democratic interlocution with racialized community leaders has allowed us to go beyond the colonial understanding of epistemological extractivism. What is the role of decolonizing and reflexive translation processes in socially vulnerable bodies and territories (Krenak, 2020)? Which sensibilities about biomedical,

		ethnobiological, historical and cultural knowledge were proposed by community leaders? How has the experience of access to a formally paid scholarship impacted on the production of local knowledge? What fabrics of care (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017) and caregiving have been strengthened in this journey? Our approach starts from ethnographies of virtual encounters and the material produced in reflection workshops with scholarship leaders from indigenous communities, gypsies, fisherwomen, shellfish gatherers, waste pickers, leaders of the movement of homeless people in the states of Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba and Ceará (July 2020 to August 2021). We highlight the strategic importance of a science that cares, a production of knowledge based on regimes of care, local "cidadanias" (Aler, 2020) and searches for good life [bem viver] with community leaders during and after the pandemics.
50. Contentious Politics, Religion, and Political Distrust in Post- Revolutionary Mexico	Chair and discussant Jenny Pearce LSE, she/her j.pearce3@lse.ac.uk IN PERSON Discussant William Booth UCL, he/him: william.booth@ucl.ac.uk IN PERSON	Panel Abstract This panel seeks to examine citizens' multiple reactions to, and rejections of, Mexico's post-revolutionary state project on the basis of political and religious ideologies (or both). At the heart of the contentious politics that characterized state-citizens interactions in twentieth-century Mexico, was the deep sense of distrust that many Mexican citizens – particularly rural Catholics – harboured towards the government's capacity or willingness to support the type of nation-building project that they envisioned as legitimate. Whereas previous scholarship has centered on the ways in which the post-revolutionary state attained its hegemonic status via cultural politics or coercion, in this panel we turn our attention to the several moments of rupture or crisis that brought such hegemony into question, at least temporarily. From non-Christian Wixárika people joining the Cristero uprising against the Mexican state in the 1920s, to Catholic ranchers' ambivalent responses to government sanitary campaigns and Catholic vigilantes' crusades to end the 'infernal serpent' of Protestantism in the 1940s and 50s,

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to instances of religiously-motivated, anti-communist rebellion in the 1960s and 70s, the papers presented at this panel highlight the complex, violent, and often counter-intuitive ways in which political distrust has intersected with religious beliefs, indigenous identities, and radical ideologies throughout recent Mexican history, and which continue to resonate in Mexico's contemporary political landscape today.

1 The Non-Christian "Soldiers of Christ": Culture, Caciques and the Case of Wixárika Participation in Mexico's Cristero Rebellion Nathaniel Morris. UCL The Cristero Rebellion of 1926-30 was the most important civil conflict in postrevolutionary Mexico. Many of the rebels were ethnic mestizos who rose in defence of the Catholic Church against the anticlericalism of the revolutionary regime. But these 'Soldiers of Christ' were joined by many members of the Indigenous Wixárika people (often known as the Huichol), famous for practicing an ethnic religion far removed from orthodox Catholicism. In this paper I analyse Wixárika participation in the Cristero Rebellion, arguing that the support of non-Christian Indigenous people for the Catholic rebels was a direct response to the Revolutionary state's recent attempts to extend its influence into their previously highly-autonomous communities, which exacerbated long-standing inter-communal territorial conflicts, as well as intra-communal factional feuds rooted in the more recent violence of the Mexican Revolution (1910-20). These findings challenge romantic popular ideas of the Wixárika people as 'isolated' and 'uncorrupted' by mainsteam Mexican culture and politics; adds complexity to traditional narratives concerning the Cristero Rebellion; and ultimately sheds light on the deep contradictions of the Mexican Revolution itself.

2 A Crusade to Defend Mexico's "Authentic" Religion: Catholic Mobilization and Anti-Protestant Violence in Mid-Twentieth Century Mexico Gema

2 Gema Santamaria-Kloppe, Freiburg Institute of Advanced Studies, she/her; gemasantamaria@gmail.com Kloppe-Santamaría, Loyola University Chicago During the 1940s and 1950s, hundreds of Catholics participated in civil and uncivil forms of resistance towards what they perceived as a direct threat to Mexico's "authentic" national religion. In contrast to prior decades, the main threats were not revolutionary upheaval and socialist ideologies – although the importance of such threats did not fade away entirely. Instead, Catholics focused on a new "enemy;" namely, Protestantism and the spread of this "foreign" and "evil" religion amongst Mexicans. Driven by religious differences, intra-community conflicts, nationalist ideologies, and anti-American sentiments, Catholics expelled hundreds of Protestants from their communities, burned their homes and temples, and participated in riots, lynching, and other forms of collective violence. Although the Catholic Church had entered a new "modus vivendi" with the Mexican state after the end of the Cristero War (1926-1929), and although ecclesiastical authorities officially decried the use of violence in the name of religion, several bishops and priests encouraged Catholics to defend Catholicism through belligerent forms of religious activism. This paper seeks to examine the political, religious, and moral grounds that contributed to Catholics' legitimation of anti-Protestant violence. More so, it aims at analyzing the ways in which anti-Protestant campaigns being waged at the international and regional levels intersected with national anti-Protestant sentiments. Lastly, it seeks to explore the role of the Church hierarchy in sanctioning directly or indirectly this "crusade" to defend the Catholic faith in mid-twentieth century Mexico.

3 Thomas Rath, UCL, he/him; t.rath@ucl.ac.uk IN PERSON 3 Catholic Responses to Animal Disease Eradication in Cold War Mexico Thomas Rath, UCL This paper discusses how Catholics responded to a huge joint US-Mexican campaign to eradicate aftosa (foot and mouth disease) in Mexico from 1947-1952. Many Mexicans opposed this campaign, particularly its use of the rifle sanitario (mandatory slaughter of infected

		livestock), and they made use of Catholic cultural idioms and lay organizations to galvanize protest. At the same time, officials recognized the importance of priests as local power-brokers and, generally, managed to elicit their cooperation. Two larger points emerge: the case shows how Catholic political practises were not encased in a static tradition, but dynamic and often consciously modern in style; it also illustrates how the PRI state relied on day-to-day, unacknowledged cooperation with clergy.
51. Workers and the	Convenor:	Panel Abstract
1976 dictatorship	Luciana Zorzoli	Academic inquiries into the well-known "Proceso de Reorganizacion
in Argentina: new	Cardiff University, UK:	Nacional" in Argentina (1976-1983) experienced a grow in the last two
research	zorzolil@cardiff.ac.uk	decades, reorganizing the way in which the dictatorship was understood
	IN PERSON	while connecting the present challenges faced by the country with the
		legacies of the civil military experiment. The expansion covered many new
		aspects while reviewing those that can be considered classical ones, as the
		effects, responses, and consequences of the coup on workers and workers' organisations. The panel we are presenting here will share new research
		results from those exploring what had happened in the world of work when
		the 'Proceso' institute a state of terror to reorganise the country, relaunch
		accumulation and discipline society. The works are part or developments
		from a recent publication: Zorzoli, L. & Massano, JP (Eds) Clase obrera y
		dictadura militar en Argentina (1976-1983) Nuevos estudios sobre
		conflictividad y cambios estructurales. A ContraCorriente, North Carolina
	1 Leandro Molinaro. Consejo	University Press, US.
	Nacional de Investigaciones	
	Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET),	1 Conflictividad laboral en el AMBA en el epílogo de la última dictadura
	Universidad de Buenos Aires	cívico militar argentina (junio 1982-diciembre 1983).
	(UBA), Centro de Estudios	Este trabajo tiene como objetivo analizar las características de la
	Históricos de los Trabajadores y	conflictividad laboral en el Área Metropolitana de Buenos Aires (AMBA)
		durante el último tramo del "Proceso de Reorganización Nacional". En

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particular, nos centramos tanto en el enfrentamiento del movimiento obrero con el Estado y los sectores empresariales como en la relación entre bases y dirigencias sindicales. Acerca de la estructura de este escrito, en primer lugar, realizamos una descripción de las acciones directas impulsadas desde los lugares de trabajo mostrando sus características, el papel de la dirigencia y el rol del activismo. Sobre este último señalamos que diversas agrupaciones de izquierda y del peronismo combativo participaron de la conflictividad del período ya que mantenían inserción gremial en diferentes sitios laborales a pesar de la gran represión desatada contra ellas en los años previos. En segundo término, mostramos la respuesta del empresariado y el Estado a estos conflictos. Debido al escaso consenso social para llevar a cabo una represión sistemática, el gobierno militar utilizó como principal herramienta la ley de conciliación obligatoria con el fin de desgastar a los trabajadores en conflicto. Por último, realizamos un análisis sobre el interés particular de diversas organizaciones dirigenciales de recuperar el mando en diversas asociaciones intervenidas por el "Proceso". Sostenemos que la búsqueda para lograr este objetivo llevó a muchas de las antiguas conducciones a aislar u oponerse a luchas protagonizadas por las bases que no respondían a éstas y ponían en riesgo sus negociaciones con el gobierno militar.

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2 Análisis de las relaciones intra e internsindicales argentinas al momento de la Jornada de Protesta Nacional, primera huelga general en dictadura. La Jornada de Protesta Nacional, realizada el 27 de abril de 1979, fue la primera huelga general convocada por la dirigencia sindical argentina durante la última dictadura militar. Si bien constituyó el primer desafío abierto al régimen desde el movimiento sindical, son muy pocos los trabajos que estudien este acontecimiento específicamente. La huelga tuvo un acatamiento dispar entre las bases trabajadoras tanto en su cantidad como en su forma debido a diferentes factores. Más allá de esto, la huelga

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constituyó un acontecimiento político importante porque generó la apertura de espacios de legalidad de hecho para el movimiento obrero. La Jornada fue convocada únicamente por un sector de la dirigencia sindical -los 25mientras que otra parte, la Comisión Nacional del Trabajo, llamó a no adherir mostrando que existían diferentes posturas y estrategias dentro de la dirigencia. Este hecho, junto con la adhesión desigual de las bases, permite analizar los conflictos y relaciones de fuerza dentro del movimiento obrero. Este artículo se propone, analizando la convocatoria y realización de esta huelga, entender qué estrategias existían dentro del sindicalismo. Al estudiar la Jornada en toda su complejidad, se intentará comprobar si su convocatoria fue un elemento más en la lucha por la hegemonía de una parte del movimiento sindical. Asimismo, se buscará verificar si la convocatoria obedeció a un intento dirigencial de canalizar la protesta obrera o si la correspondencia entre objetivos y estrategias de varios sectores del sindicalismo, tanto bases como dirigencias y dirigentes intermedios, fue lo que permitió que esta convocatoria se concretara.

# 3 Industria Automotriz, Procesos de Trabajo, Conflictividades y Represión contra trabajadores en las fábricas de Fiat Córdoba en Argentina durante los años 70

En este trabajo se propone explorar la relación entre las transformaciones económicas y el proceso de reconversión en la industria automotriz argentina durante los años 70 y los conflictos desencadenados entre el capital y el trabajo que culminaron con una fuerte represión contra trabajadores y delegados gremiales de los centros fabriles más importantes del país. En esta exposición nos centraremos en el caso de las fábricas de Fiat ubicadas en la provincia de Córdoba. Partiendo de la premisa que el proceso represivo alcanzó su punto más álgido con la última dictadura (1976-1983), analizaremos las diversas formas de coerción llevadas adelante por la alianza

		militar-empresarial contra trabajadores y delegados sindicales de Materfer, Fiat Concord y Grandes Motores Diesel. Nuestra exposición se organiza en dos apartados en los cuales se incluyen aportes y perspectivas de diversos campos de estudio como la economía, la historia empresarial, la sociología del trabajo y los estudios sobre la última dictadura. En una primera parte, indagaremos sobre las bases de la reconversión de la rama automotriz en el marco de la instauración de un nuevo patrón de acumulación basado en la valorización financiera que derivaron en la conformación de un oligopolio automotriz de capital extranjero. Y, en un segundo apartado, abordaremos las principales conflictividades, los procesos de organización y lucha sindical y la participación empresarial y militar en la represión en el marco del terrorismo de estado, período en el cual se cometieron las más graves violaciones a los derechos humanos contra la clase trabajadora y el campo popular de la historia reciente de nuestro país.
52. Much more than the US 'backyard': Central America and the international history of the 1970s and 1980s	Molly Avery, LSE, she/her, m.avery@lse.ac.uk IN PERSON	Panel Abstract In the late 1970s and 1980s, Central America became one of the principal arenas of the global Cold War. In Nicaragua, the revolution of July 1979 marked the first successful armed leftist revolution since the Cuban Revolution two decades earlier. In Guatemala, the military government's genocidal campaign of the early 1980s marked the violent peak of the long-running civil war, yet by the middle of that decade the military had taken critical steps toward relinquishing control, with Guatemala 'swept up' along with several other Latin American countries in the 'Third Wave' of democratisation. Meanwhile, the Salvadoran Civil War (1979-92) left 75,000 dead and millions displaced with neighbouring Honduras playing the role of host country to thousands of refugees while simultaneously participating in the regional counterinsurgency efforts. Yet, the international history of Central America in this period has long been dominated by the characterisation of the region as the US 'backyard', an analytical trope which

obscures the connections between the isthmus and other parts of the world. Instead, this panel showcases new research demonstrating the relevance of Central American history to our understanding of the history of the Latin American transnational Right, Nicaraguan-European relations, solidarity movements, humanitarianism and much more.

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1 Bringing Central America into Latin American history: Central America-Southern Cone connections in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

All too frequently, both teaching syllabi and academic publications on Latin American history in the twentieth century scarcely mention Central America. This paper draws on wider research on the Latin American transnational Right and the Chilean and Argentine dictatorships' involvement in the civil wars in Guatemala and El Salvador to argue for the better integration of Central America into modern histories of Latin America as a whole. It will show how the impact of major events in both Central America (the Nicaraguan Revolution of 1979, the civil wars in Guatemala and El Salvador) and the Southern Cone (the outbreak of mass protest in Chile and the end of the Argentine dictatorship in 1983) reverberated across Latin America, as political actors in both subregions drew on developments elsewhere in the region as they navigated the tumultuous changes underway in this period. Just as members of the Pinochet dictatorship looked fearfully toward the Leftist insurgencies in Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador as proof of the resurgence of the regional 'subversive threat', so, just a few years later, the Guatemalan military looked to Argentina's experience of rapid, unexpected democratisation as a didactic example in their own efforts to maintain power in the face of the 'Third Wave' of democratisation's arrival in Central America.

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	3 Humanitarian Activism and Transnational Solidarity: Refugees in Honduras during the 1980s.  Refugee relief and solidarity activism are frequently viewed as separate, although sometimes related, issues. While solidarity is inherently political, humanitarian action is often seen as aspiring to the principles of impartiality, neutrality, and independence. By looking at refugee camps in Honduras during the 1980s this paper draws attention to the overlaps between these two fields. Home to refugees from Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador during this period, Honduras attracted a wide array of humanitarian actors, from faith-based such as the Mennonite Central Committee, to secular groups such as Médecins Sans Frontières, to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). All within these organisations, whether international staff or local Hondurans, brought their own distinct outlooks and politics with them to the refugee camps. Encouraged by the refugees, many saw this as an opportunity to combine their concerns over United States policy in Central America with direct action. For others however, especially those at agency headquarters and those at the UNHCR, such action, including protests, letter writing, and the offering of unwavering support to refugee demands, clashed with humanitarian principles and risked derailing the work of refugee relief. Examining these tensions and overlaps between solidarity work and humanitarianism also brings into focus the variety of actors present in 1980s Honduras, thus highlighting that country's complex role as both a place of refuge for those fleeing state violence. In person.
53. Rhythms and spatialities of work in contemporary Brazil	Panel Abstract  The geographies and temporalities of labour, labouring lives, and labour control are inextricably linked to the dynamics and crises of global capitalism, of which the ongoing pandemic is the latest example. These reconfigurations,

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if global in scope, are effected through situated processes that, in Latin America, are centrally shaped by the legacies of colonialism and the specific intersectional inequalities they engender. This panel explores the shifting geographies and temporalities of labour and labouring lives in Brazil. The ongoing transformations of neoliberalism, with continual reconfigurations of welfare regimes, have led to the growing flexibilization and precarisation of labour relations. Alongside this, mass-incarceration and the penal state have acted to "discipline the precarious fractions of the postindustrial working class" (Wacquant 2010: 1) and to reshape and entrench intersectional inequalities. More recently, the rise of digital platforms and the "gig economy" have further altered the world of labour, accelerating everyday life and reorganising geographies across multiple scales. In the new world of labour, and particularly since the pandemic, lines between labour and leisure, the work-place and the home, paid and unpaid work are increasingly blurred, whilst systems of labour control are growingly pervasive. In this panel, we reflect on the impacts of these recent transformations in contemporary Brazil by focusing on how they (re)produce and contest new geographies and temporalities of labour, labouring lives, and labour control in a Latin American context.

1 Title: Prisons, prison workers, and prisoners: shifting geographies of incarceration in Brazil, 1970-2020 Authors: Pedro Mendes Loureiro; Graham Denyer-Willis Abstract: This paper explores the spatial reconfiguration of prisons and of prison workers (carcereiros) in Brazil from 1970 until 2020, focussing on the last two decades. Based on census and administrative data, it describes three simultaneous processes: i) the exponential growth of prisons, prison workers and inmates in the country; ii) the partial convergence of incarceration rates towards high levels across Brazilian states; and iii) the interiorisation (i.e. the spreading from state capitals to smaller cities) of prisons. A political-economy reading of these trends

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proposes they comprise a neoliberal regime of perverse development, in which incarceration rates rise (mostly for black, young, males) across the country, relatively well-paid jobs are created (mostly for white males with secondary or tertiary education) and dispersed throughout the territory, and profits are continually generated for civil construction companies. We indicate how this unequal form of labour control, job creation, and profitmaking unfolded during periods of both high and low economic growth, with national and subnational governments of divergent political leanings, and throughout most of the territory. We propose this is indicative of deepseated, albeit shifting, forms of inequality in Brazil, which are an enduring legacy of colonialism. Presentation: in person

2 Title: The "forms of living" in the popular economy of Belo Horizonte, Brazil Author: Mara Noqueira Abstract: Recent criticisms of the notion of "informal economies" have led to the resurgence of the notion of "popular economies" initially formulated by Coraggio (1989). Popular economy debates recognize the plurality of economic systems while rejecting the modern telos of the "proper job". This paper engages with this tradition to investigate the socio-spatial and temporal dynamics imbued in the forms of living of street vendors in the popular economy in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. Street vendors are ignored by the country's progressive urban policy and face increasing difficulties to access workspace – vital for livelihoods – in the context of growing commodification of urban space. In 2017, the local government implemented a policy that sought to "formalize" street vendors in conjunction with an operation to "clean" the city centre, leading to the removal of street vendors operating on public spaces. The urban operation aimed at promoting the socioeconomic "inclusion" of the displaced workers by relocating them to popular shopping malls. In this paper, I argue that the operation is aimed at producing socio-spatial order and fails to "formalise"

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labour conditions. Drawing from Keith Hart's original contribution and more recent reflections on the concept of informality, I show how the attempt to impose a "bureaucratic" form to the work of street vendors disrupts their particular "forms of living". In order to do so, I explore the relationship of street vendors with time and space, analysing how the policy unsettles those arrangements without addressing key aspects of the precarity faced by this population. Presentation: in person

3 Title: Old causes, new consequences? The impacts of the pandemic crisis in the domestic work sector in Brazil Author: Louisa Acciari Abstract: This communication presents the results of two surveys conducted with the National Federation of Domestic Workers in Brazil between April 2020 and May 2021, on the impact of the crisis in the sector. The data reveals a massive social and employment crisis, with 40% of respondents having been made redundant or suspended without having access to social protection. Results also show the damage caused to the health and safety of domestic workers, in particular by the existence of co-morbidity conditions making them more vulnerable, a lack of adequate protection in the workplace and an increase in violations of their rights. I suggest that this extremely vulnerable situation creates a crisis of social reproduction, making more acute the underlying contradiction between, on the one hand, the strong demand for domestic work on the part of the middle class, and on the other hand, the precarious working and living conditions of the women who carry out this activity. This situation has been worsened by Covid-19 to the point that not only their jobs, but also their lives, are being threatened, and thereby, the entire reproductive labour process in Brazil. I will further discuss the debates around domestic work as 'essential' work during the period of lockdown, and problematize the underlying colonial relations that are at stake in the ways the pandemic crisis has been addressed by the government. Presentation: in person

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4 Title: 'Empreender Liberta'?: Entrepreneurialism, empowerment and work in a periphery of São Paulo Authors: Aiko Ikemura Amaral; Gareth A. Jones Abstract: This paper explores the recent rise of new entrepreneurial discourses from the Brazilian peripheries. Fostered by local neighbourhood associations and third-sector initiatives, and propagated through social organisations and professionalising courses, these discourses present entrepreneurialism as a potentially liberating alternative to jobs lost during the country's ongoing economic crisis while highlighting the 'social-impact' of a bourgeoning local business environment. Making a business case out of the supposedly innate and unlimited ingenuity of the poor, as well as their untapped consumer potential, this form of entrepreneurialism claims the economic agency of and for the peripheries. While professionalising courses, for instance, still rank improved employability as a desired outcome, this certain entrepreneurialism 'from below' aims at empowerment, of both individuals and their communities. Using primary and secondary xqualitative data from the community of Paraisópolis, in São Paulo, this paper proposes a reflection about this incipient phenomenon. Highlighting the parallels between this discourse and those around microcredit (see Maclean 2013), the paper will explore how this entrepreneurialism from below is challenging and or further entrenching intersectional inequalities through, for example, discourses of gender empowerment through economic empowerment. Examining the centralisation of the peripheries and peripheral subjectivities within this discourse, this paper furthermore asks how (and if) local residents see entrepreneurialism as an alternative to themselves and their communities, especially in a context of rising precarity and contrived opportunities in the labour market. Presentation: in person

54. Politics, Power and Play: Transforming territories of existence/resistanc e in the Southern Cone

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#### Panel abstract

This panel sets out to explore the ways in which cultural production – children's literature, cartoons to theatre, testimonial literature, and collective essay-writing – can be used to explore, interrogate and transform deeplyingrained imaginaries in contexts of extreme brutality and cruelty, from prison policies and militarized states to extractivist cultures and climate emergencies. These transformations, we argue, often play out at and against the borders between seemingly distinct worlds: humans and other-thanhumans, adulthood and childhood, political action and childish play, and especially in the context of the region's prisons or 'centros de tortura' (Alberto Sarlo 2021) – outside and inside. Through diverse fictional and nonfictional materials, and from a variety of theoretical perspectives, we will examine how creative practitioners and academics, operating beyond 'art worlds' (Becker 1982) and seeking to decolonise their institutions (Bhambra, Gebrial & Nisancioğlu 2018), use play, performance and collective action to reimagine, reform and transform that which is constitutive of society: social bonds, power relations, and territories of existence and resistance.

## 1. The prison window: creating community through intergenerational cocreation in an Argentinian prison.

This paper explores the creation of Cuentos hechos por niñes para niñes (Stories made for children by children), a unique book published by the cartonera collective Cuenteros verseros y poetas, which operates inside Florencio Varela prison in Buenos Aires and is run primarily by incarcerated men. Cuentos hechos por niñes para niñes is a unique book, as it was cocreated by the imprisoned members of the collective and their 'free' children. The stories were written by the children, with the adults taking on the role of editors. Firstly, the history and corpus of Cuenteros, verseros y poetas, will be contextualised with special attention to the relationship

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3 Camila González Ortiz, University of Reading, she/her c.y.gonzalezortiz@reading.ac.uk IN PERSON between the collective and childhood. The collective's work will be framed as decolonial praxis through the creation of territory, exercise of resistance and bringing together of different oppressed groups. The creative process behind the book, and the affective and relational implications it has for the families involved will then be explored. The paper will reflect on how this project of intergenerational co-creation serves to generate community between imprisoned men and their families on the outside, as a way of resisting the highly colonial and repressive prison system. As the co-participants in this creative project (Imprisoned men and their children), are largely excluded from literary and cultural creation, an analysis of their texts provides readers with opportunity for unique insight into their realities and relationships.

#### 2 Teaching the traumatic past: Zamba and memory politics for a new generation.

La asombrosa excursión de Zamba is a popular cartoon that has run several series in Argentina since its conception in 2010, exploring different aspects of the national past (and beyond) with its young audience. This paper explores Zamba's incursions into memory politics in its attempts to explain the Argentine 1976-83 dictatorship and other aspects of memory and human rights. It examines the aesthetic and narrative approaches of the relevant episodes, particularly the delicate balance of seriousness and playfulness at their heart. Finally, it examines the cross-generational dialogue these episodes seek to establish and their role within broader efforts to construct and shape collective memory.

3 Beating Around the Bush: Non-human Theatre in Manuela Infante's Vegetative State.

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Vegetative State (Estado vegetal) is a monologue written and directed by Chile-based Director Manuela Infante and performed by Chilean Actor Marcela Salinas. Throughout the performance we know two stories: the case of Manuel, a fireman who crashed his motorcycle against a tree whose roots and branches have grown out of control leaving him in a vegetative state. and the case of an old lady who buried herself in her living room along with her indoors plants. The performance suggests that the tree and indoors plants have somehow played an intentional role in both catastrophic events. Salinas performs all the characters' testimonies, building a polyphonic narrative emulating plant's behavioural pattern. This paper will explore the play's two opposite views regarding the power relations between humans and the Plantae kingdom. One, where humans and plants coexist in equalitarian terms, and the second, dystopian, in which plants organise a conspiracy to take over the world at the expense of the human race. founding an autonomous vegetative state. The paper explores how in Vegetative State convey both, philosopher Michael Marder's concept of "non-conscious intentionality of plants" (Plant-Thinking, 2013) described as "the non-cognitive, non-ideational, and non-imagistic mode of thinking proper to plants" (Marder, 2013); and neurobiologist Stefano Mancuso's research on plant neurobiology which explores signalling and communication at all levels of biological organisation, from genetics to molecules, cells and ecological communities.

## 4 Decolonizing academic writing: Reflections from the Prisoner Publishing project in Buenos Aires.

There is widespread consensus around the imperative to 'decolonise' academic practice. But what this means in practice is highly variable, ranging from empty gesture politics to the need to overturn entire institutions and traditions of thought. In this paper we reflect on recent collaborative work with grassroots publishers who disseminate the work of imprisoned people

	across Latin America. Drawing on decolonial thought from Geography, Anthropology, Education Studies and Indigenous Studies, we ask what it could mean to decolonise the practice of academic writing – and reading – in Latin American cultural studies. How can writing and researching on texts and experiences from 'centros de tortura' (Sarlo) avoid replicating unequal power relations and structural violence? How might contemporary cultural studies work against capitalist and colonial logics of extractivism and assimilation in order to create relations based on respect and responsibility (Betasamosake Simpson)? Our theorization of the ethics of decolonial writing is built principally on the practices and methods of our collaborators, and on a very particular exchange: a co-writing process in which we have collaborated with Nicolás Almeida (imprisoned in Florencio Varela, Buenos Aires), in the context of the action research project "Prisoner Publishing" (2020-21). Learning from this process, we argue that the emphasis on raising consciousness, "hacer comunidad" and "hacer territorio" offers new pathways for decolonial academic practices and modalities of writing rooted in cooperation, relation-building and "radical listening" (Kincheloe).
55. The Case for Connections:	The goal of this panel is to explore several dimensions in the levels of perceived academic stress in undergraduates across three universities in
Academic Stress in	Austin, Texas, and Mexico City, Mexico. Student mental health is an
the times of	understated public health crisis, as 55% of American undergraduates state
COVID-19 in Texas	their biggest stressor is academics. Specifically, at The University of Texas at
and Mexico City	Austin (UT), 71% of appointments at their mental health center involve student stress. Literature shows that while academic stress can be
	motivating, when left unchecked, it may be detrimental to students' overall
	health. Using primary survey data (n = 1183) and set of mixed-methods
	approaches within validated scales (such as PAS, SPSS) collected at UT, the
	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) and the Instituto
	Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), between March and August of
	2021, the presentations of this panel shed light on the crucial cultural

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differences in social network composition and utilization between the United States and Mexico, as well as emphasize different aspects of their interpersonal relationships. Some of the topics covered by the interdisciplinary group of professors, graduate and undergraduate students, will be the variety of sources of social support for students and their characterization, the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on both perceived academic stress and academic success, the interaction of physical space and academic stress (confounded by the new dynamic of virtuality during the pandemic), and the relationship between demographic variables such as income, gender, area of study and year in college, and levels of academic stress. Finally, a set of policy recommendations will be presented for school administrators, and further avenues of incoming research will be explored.

#### 1 Forging and Maintaining a Binational Partnership

The purpose of this paper is to describe the process used to forge and maintain a binational research partnership between the University of Texas at Austin and two universities in Mexico City, Mexico: Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) and Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). A three-tiered approach was used to execute the study: formal project members, patrons, and study participants. In this paper, we provide recommendations for the development of international collaborations in public health. In addition to the UT Austin researchers, students and professors from ITAM and UNAM joined the team of formal project members based on pre-existing research affinities and professor-student collaborations. The formal project members met biweekly to discuss goals and ensure that all partners benefited from the research project. The 6 Mexican student researchers provided the cultural context and linguistic abilities to write and translate culturally appropriate survey questions.

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Furthermore, they facilitated survey and focus group recruitment through snowball sampling, obtaining 785 survey responses and 80 focus group participants from their universities with a 78% attendance rate. The patrons included UT faculty who helped shape the research question and assisted in the formation of the partnership with ITAM. Key decision-makers at each university became patrons, as they plan to utilize the results to create programs that support student mental health. This partnership can serve as a model to other international studies on how to conduct research in a way that is both culturally sensitive and beneficial to all communities involved.

### 2 Exploring the Effects of Gender Identity & First-Generation Student Status on Undergraduates' Mental Health

This paper analyzes the effects of two social identity factors—gender and first-generation student status—on the perceived academic mental health of undergraduates at three universities in Austin, Texas, and Mexico City, Mexico. Sociological theory suggests that being male or having family who previously attended college are identities that can confer privilege in educational settings—thus calling attention to the academic stress of females and first-generation students. Our team sought to explore these two social identity factors within a novel context by collecting all data during the COVID-19 pandemic, which has dramatically altered the college experience for many undergraduates. We first designed, then implemented, a robust survey sampling undergraduates (n = 1,183) across all three schools; this survey included the validated Perceptions of Academic Stress Scale (PASS), the Scale for Perceived Social Support (SPSS), and questions about demographics and COVID-19. To further explore the individual and societal contexts informing survey responses, we also conducted twelve co-ed focus groups (n = 87) with a diverse student sample across the three universities. We uncovered statistically significant differences between the perceived academic stress

3 Alfonso Rojas-Alvarez, The University at Austin, he/him/his arojasa@utexas.edu IN PERSON levels experienced by male versus female respondents; insights from students in focus groups further explained these apparent gendered differences. We also found a significant relationship linking a student's first-generation status to their perceived academic stress score. Importantly, we will present exploratory findings about differences between each university, and between Texas and Mexico. Our data can be utilized by university leaders to more effectively support female and first-generation students in particular.

# 3 The intersection between physical space and academic stress, a comparison between Texas and Mexico

This paper presents an analysis of perceived academic mental health and their associations with demographic factors and those related with physical space, as three universities in Texas and Mexico City were selected to conduct a comprehensive mental health and social support survey within undergraduate students, in order to understand and address mental health intricacies that are present in an academic setting, while also mediated by the COVID-19 pandemic. To achieve this, we implemented a mixed-methods, intensive field study including semi-quantitative student survey (n=1183) which among other questions, asked students to complete the validated Perceived Academic Stress (PAS) scale, and the Scale for Perceived Social Support (SPSS), and a set of guestions about their living conditions, physical space, and the pandemic. In addition, this paper matches primary data sources, with both the Household Pulse Survey in the U.S., and the Encuesta Nacional de Hogares in Mexico, in order to compare baseline population indicators with those of undergraduate students. Exploratory results will be presented across the three universities, and their comparison to the broader secondary survey sample. Varying levels of anxiety, social support and physical space relocations were found, many of those as a consequence of

		the pandemic. Furthermore, significant associations were found between physical space variables and mental health outcomes, and Mexico/Texas divides concerning mental health. Addressing the mental health needs of the undergraduate students will require a set of policy actions by both university administrators, as well as from the health policy perspective.
56. Precarious work, precarious life in Latin American countries (1)	Mariana Prioli Cordeiro – Universidade de São Paulo (USP), Brasil mpriolicordeiro@usp.br ONLINE	Panel abstract In most Latin American countries, neoliberal policies have driven precarious working conditions for decades. The Covid-19 pandemic made this situation even worse, as the unemployment and underemployment rates raised significantly, as well as the number of people in poverty or extreme poverty. In most countries of the region, the public power was unable to deal with all the complex effects of this global crisis. Denialist politics, the opening of trade and industry ahead of time in order not to halt the economy, shortage of vaccines and safety equipment, ineffective public policies etc. were some of the elements that marked this scenario. Therefore, the pandemic led to a sanitary – but also economic and political – crisis. It has exposed long-lasting inequalities and their unique distribution in different places. We see the geopolitical relevance of the local - as different laws, regulations, resources, actions and values shape the disadvantages experienced by neighbourhoods, families and individuals. In each place, different vulnerabilities were exposed, with new groups emerging as a result of the pandemic – whether it was delivery workers with insecure jobs in Argentina or informal workers in undocumented labour in Brazil. This geopolitics exposes a need for understanding the effects of new forms of localism and economic and social inequalities produced by the pandemic. To do so, this panel will address the precarity of life and un/underemployment in Latin American countries in the context of the covid-19 pandemic. It will include both papers that discuss the various forms of precarity of work and/or life in Latin American countries and

1 Fabiana Jardim (PhD) Universidade de São Paulo (USP), Brasil <u>fajardim@usp.br</u> ONLINE papers that develop conceptual and methodological participatory approaches to research in these areas.

1 Precariousness of life under neoliberalism and the centrality of grief policies: reflections from the management of the pandemic in Brazil Fabiana A. A. Jardim (virtual) By September 2021, in Brazil, almost 600,000 people died from Covid-19 (not taking into account underreporting). The steps that led to this scale of deaths involve a management of the Sars-Cov-2 pandemic marked by omissions, denialism, misinformation strategies, attempts to prevent the adoption of admittedly effective strategies and active efforts to extend and accelerate the spread of the virus (Conectas/Cepedisa, 2021; also according to the findings of the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission on the Pandemic, conducted by the Federal Senate and still ongoing). In this communication, we will relate the set of actions adopted by the different levels of Brazilian government to public manifestations of political representatives and the traditional press. with the intention to make legible: 1) the ways in which the differential chances, by strata of the population, of becoming infected, falling ill and dying from complications of the disease were operational to normalize the high rates of contamination and deaths throughout the crisis and 2) how such normalization operated to block, or at least to limit, the possibilities of public mourning and, consequently, the grievance of the political decisions that led to the decontrol of the pandemic. The examination of the dynamics constituted throughout the health crisis in the country, we believe, contributes to the understanding of how the precariousness of life is produced in the plot that links neoliberalism, violence and the exchanges between bio and necropolitics in the configuration of contemporary states.

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2 Deprivation and the necessities of life in São Paulo city during the pandemic

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This paper presents the results of a pilot study done in three low-income communities across the city of São Paulo. Brazil, which aims to assess the true nature and extent of multidimensional poverty in Brazil, using the Consensual Approach. Data were collected via an online survey in September 2020, under pandemic lockdown restrictions. The survey was developed from earlier fieldwork with focus groups which discussed Brazilians' understandings of poverty, and what they considered to be necessary for a decent standard of living in Brazil today. The survey included questions on people's understanding of what items and activities they considered 'necessities', which no one should lack. Questions were also included about household food (in)security, basic housing conditions, asset ownership, and the availability of 'decent work'. The final sample included responses from 155 individuals across three communities. The results show consensus across the sample locations about what Brazilians consider necessary for a decent standard of living, including ownership of material items, and the capacity to participate in social activities and engage in customary obligations. Deprivation, an enforced lack of socially perceived necessities, was widespread, with high levels of food insecurity reported – not unexpected given the study location. This study identified that households with children were at particular risk of experiencing multiple deprivations. Such findings are policy-relevant, and informative for researchers interested in the relationship between poverty and precarity of life. Moreover, this pilot study demonstrates alternative ways to democratically measure poverty in Brazil.

#### 3 Identities in transit between delivery and the restaurant

At the beginning of the 21st century, two elements modified work in Argentinean gastronomy: the incorporation of delivery in fast food restaurants, ice cream shops and pizzerias; and the expansion of modern-style restaurants. In a context of unemployment, one factor was related to both events: the precarious employment of young workers. Almost two

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decades later, virtual platform companies changed delivery work: the independent "entrepreneur" replaced the informal worker and the algorithm to the boss. As in the nineties, unemployment and wage deterioration were the conditions for generating a mass of available workers in the labour market, to whom were added a significant number of immigrants from Latin American countries, immediately turned to the search for a job that would guarantee their subsistence. Factors that would not only feed the possibility of entry into delivery but also into other positions in the gastronomic sector (waiters, dishwashers, cooks), but always in a precarious employment situation, and with the circulation of workers between the two sectors. Since March 2020, with the obligatory isolation imposed by the pandemic, many restaurants and bars have closed their doors, leaving their workers unemployed, many of which have found in delivery a subsistence income. In this paper we analyse the transit of these workers through these two activities, in the city of Buenos Aires, with the aim of investigating the place of such transit in their identity constructions.

## 4 Pandemic precariousness among Brazilian entrepreneurs from urban peripheries

This exposition aims to present the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic among entrepreneurs living on São Paulo's outskirts. The paper starts from a macro perspective that seeks to point out the differential impacts of the pandemic in Brazil among the poorest, based on secondary statistical data. The research is also based on in-depth interviews with entrepreneurs who live in peripheral neighborhoods of São Paulo. In addition to the aggravation of the precariousness in which these small entrepreneurs find themselves, the aim is to discuss the importance of the mobilization of support networks acquired in this context, especially those networks created by other peripheral entrepreneurs. Thus, it is intended to discuss the limits and contradictions of

		the encounter between neoliberal rationality and a crisis of great proportions.
57. Precarious work, precarious life in Latin American countries (2)	1 Juliana Lopes da Silva (Phd student) - Universidade de São Paulo (USP), Brasil: juliana lopes@usp.br ONLINE	,
		expostos aos riscos de contágio pelo coronavírus, além da intensificação da precarização das condições de trabalho nesse contexto.

2 Felipe Tavares Paes Lopes (PhD) Universidade de Sorocaba (UNISO), Brasil: lopesftp@gmail.com ONLINE

#### 2 Comunicação, Saúde e Ideologia: uma análise (crítica) dos discursos da Folha de S. Paulo sobre o caso "Prevent Senior

O sistema brasileiro de saúde é operacionalizado por dois subsistemas, um público e gratuito, conhecido pela sigla SUS, e outro privado, dominado por operadoras de planos de saúde, de onde emergiu um escândalo sem precedentes. Trata-se da ação da Prevent Senior, uma das maiores operadoras do país, que entre março e abril de 2020, realizou um estudo sobre o uso de fármacos contra a covid-19 sem autorização de conselho de ética e total desconhecimento dos seus participantes – 636 beneficiários idosos. O estudo seria o desdobramento de um acordo entre a operadora e o Governo Bolsonaro para disseminar a cloroquina, cuja ineficácia seria demonstrada por consenso científico poucos meses depois. Neste trabalho, objetivamos compreender de que maneira esse escândalo foi discursivamente construído em matérias publicadas na Folha de S. Paulo (de 01/08 a 31/10/2021) e como elas serviram para estabelecer, sustentar e/ou desafiar relações de dominação. Para tanto, articulamos dois campos teóricos: produção de sentidos, de enfoque construcionista, que toma tal produção como uma prática social dialógica; e ideologia, na perspectiva de John B. Thompson, definida como o sentido a servico da dominação, entendida como relações de poder sistematicamente assimétricas. Assim, adotamos o referencial metodológico thompsoniano da hermenêutica de profundidade, organizando a análise em três partes: o contexto de produção, transmissão e recepção das matérias sob investigação, focalizando as relações de dominação que caracterizam esse contexto; os discursos veiculados, buscando identificar a atribuição de responsabilidade pelos problemas decorrentes do caso em questão e sobre quem são projetadas suas consequências; e síntese criativa das etapas anteriores.

	3 Mariana Prioli Cordeiro – Universidade de São Paulo (USP), Brasil mpriolicordeiro@usp.br ONLINE Jacqueline I. M. Brigagão (PhD) - Universidade de São Paulo	3 Contributions and challenges of participatory approaches for research in precarious contexts  The label "participatory approaches" encompasses different ways of doing research that have in common an emphasis on the collaborative nature of investigating. In this paper, we will present a participatory research developed in a context of intense precariousness (of work and life), focusing
	(USP): jac@usp.br ONLINE	on some of the challenges and potentialities provided by this way of investigating. More precisely, we will discuss the methodological and ethical reflections that permeated a study developed in a shelter service. The procedure was decided together with the shelter's team, as well as what would be done with the knowledge produced and what information could be published. The dialogical approach was the keynote of the whole process, allowing us to establish a relationship as horizontal as possible, and assume scientific knowledge as co-constructed. This posture allowed the research proposal to be built in a way that made sense for all involved. However, it brought a series of challenges and questionings. The decision to publish the results of the study in co-authorship with the participants, for example, allowed us to recognize local knowledge and reduce asymmetries but restricted the possibility of making certain criticisms. Furthermore, it brough a series of difficulties for its publication, elucidating the institutional barriers to the implementation of counter-hegemonic ways of doing research. The Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated the various forms of precarity faced by those living in shelters. But it also brought new challenges for participatory research since the need for social distancing restricted the possibilities of "doing together", essential for participation to happen.
58. Media at Strike! Looking Through	Karol Valderrama-Burgos She/Her	Abstract Panel

the Pandemic in Colombian Press, Television and Cinema
Cinema

Independent researcher karolvaldeb@gmail.com ONLINE

Paper 1 Elizabeth Otálvaro Vélez (She/Her)

eliotalvaro@gmail.com

María Paula Murcia Huertas
(She/Her) Editor of "Mutante"
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ONLINE

This panel explores, from a pluralistic point of view, perspectives on the effects of the global pandemic in Colombia through digital press, television and cinema, specifically delving into case studies that are in dialogue to raising public awareness of deeper issues. Beyond public health, the global pandemic has clearly unleashed different crises and a major impact on the social and political order, revealing a wider gap between classes, and insufficient or ineffective State support mechanisms. In Colombia, the economic impact of the pandemic, marked social inequalities, and polarised ideological differences within the country took people's unrest to the streets for several months in 2021, whilst living in lockdown and reaching high COVID numbers. Different sectors and countless protesters concurred in person and digitally opposing Iván Duque's government measures during COVID times, the economic decline that the global pandemic has triggered and that was further maximised through governmental policies, and the precarious or unfavourable conditions in which different social actors played their roles despite the pandemic. Expanding these concerns, on the one hand, the panel papers demonstrate how discourses of political participation, dignified working conditions, and feminisms have been (re)built during the pandemic. On the other, they raise concerns on how political, social, feminist or creative discourses that have emerged during the pandemic seem to be at risk of fading into oblivion due to the hegemonic spheres in which they struggle to remain visible or to subsist.

Paper 1: Neither Vandals nor Perfect Victims: Youngsters and Their Worthy Rage Abstract: In this investigation, we used a database of tweets published by Colombian opinion leaders during the National Strike that addressed the youth and their role in the protests, a corresponding semantic analysis, and a timeline that shows the amount of published tweets that related these variables during that period of time. This information, shared by Linterna Verde (an organisation that does discourse and conversation analysis in

Paper 2: Dr Alejandra Castaño-Echeverri (She/Her) Associate Professor in Film and Television Studies University on Nottingham Alejandra.Castano@nottingham. ac.uk IN PERSON

social media), allowed us to analyse the main representation patterns of the emerging political subject "voungsters" that circulated through Twitter accounts of opinion leaders in Colombia during the 2021 strike. In order to achieve this, this paper applies a critical analysis discourse of these tweets and compared them to the results of a collection of graphic content that shows the way in which several opinion leaders referred to youngsters during the strike, and to a press revision that allowed us to identify the correlation between social media conversation and the uprising. In our findings, we highlight the congruence between the two main opinion leaders' positions regarding the youngsters' role in the National Strike, and the way those leaders constructed, through their discourse, the category "youngsters" as a political subject in the protests. The first, in favour (celebratory, apologetic, solidary) of their non-conforming expressions and their uprising actions, matches the construction of youngsters as victims. The second, against (condemnatory, stigmatizing) of actions and expressions, matches the construction of youngsters as vandals. This binarism hid the agency of youngsters as political subjects.

Paper 2: Steering Roles of Unions in Colombia's Television Sector during the Pandemic Abstract: This study addresses the unmet need to thoroughly understand the experience of organised screen industry workers in a hostile environment for organised workers in the Colombian television industry, by focusing on their imaginaries, perceptions, and embodied experiences. The COVID pandemic exposed to the public the difficulty of working in television, and unions/guilds have played a crucial role in raising public awareness and easing some precariousness in their situation. I will look at how organised screen workers see the influence of unions/guilds on their work patterns, arrangements, and expectations regarding work models before, during, and after COVID. I use Colombia as a corrective context to the preponderance of western social science paradigms, as well as to demonstrate what labour

Paper 3: Dr Karol Valderrama-Burgos (She/Her) K.Valderrama-Burgos@qub.ac.uk - Lecturer (Education) in Spanish Queen's University Belfast ONLINE organising in exceptional precarity involves. The findings will contribute to work in progress of a wider project focused on Latin America, academic discussions on worker organization in the creative industries, and helping shape policy and industry objectives for more productive and ethical work environments.

Paper 3: Debating Feminisms in COVID Times: The unfinished case of Ellas, yo, nosotras (Landertinger Forero, 2020) Abstract: This paper focuses on one of the most recent projects developed by the Colombian filmmaker, writer, activist, and feminist Josephine Landertinger Forero: Ellas, yo, nosotras. Starting in April 2020, and still going through post-production, this documentary stresses the multiplicity of female existence as the centre of the film – as seen through its title and through the testimonies that Landertinger Forero made visible from the nearly 100 Spanish-speaking women that responded to the filmmaker's call via social media. Women from different contexts and places shared homemade recordings with insights about their experiences whilst living in lockdown (working remotely, undertaking domestic labour or working for the health care system; whilst being pregnant or in postpartum period; taking emotional or physical care of other people; whilst grieving, living in abundance or in vulnerable situations). Acknowledging the autobiographical and ethnographic nature of this project, first, we seek to examine how the documentary reflects a first person and collective process of enunciation and protest, given the complexities of women in an era of lockdowns, and in which female liberation seemed to be both in its highest peak and strongly contested. Second, we aim to interpret how the film production suggests new means of filmmaking, in which female spectators become active participants and storytellers to build memory through their use of digital media. Finally, we seek to argue how this documentary reveals problematic possibilities of change and the struggles

	that Colombian filmmakers have faced during the pandemic, within an industry that offers funding alternatives from which many have not yet benefited.
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#### **ALTERNATIVE SESSIONS**

Title of session	Description of session, eg. objectives, target audience.	Participant(s) + Institutional affiliation + pronouns
59. Cuba's Tricontinental: Narratives and Artefacts of Cold War Social Movements	The intention of this workshop is to carry out a collective, interdisciplinary visual analysis of social movement artefacts. The point of departure will be the solidarity posters produced as part of Cuba's political movement, the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL). The workshop would entail a short introduction to the materials, and then participants will be placed into groups to work with and discuss a selection of printed posters. The target audience will be historians and social scientists working with any aspect of solidarity and social movements in the Cold War period, in particular Latin American relations with the Global South. The objectives are to exchange knowledge between scholars of different disciplines, to create a dialogue between different methodological approaches to visual analysis, and to connect researchers whose work might speak to one another through the workshop theme.	Anna Grimaldi, King's College London (she/her) anna.grimaldi@kcl.ac.uk IN PERSON
60. Presentation of a	Book Presentation	David Lehmann, University of Cambridge
book: After the		adl1@cam.ac.uk
Decolonial:		IN PERSON
Ethnicity, Gender		Katerina Hatzikidi, University of Tübingen
and Social Justice		and University of Oxford, she/her
in Latin America		katerina.hatzikidi@anthro.ox.ac.uk ONLINE

61. Research
collaborations
across borders:
Challenges,
rewards, and
ethical questions

Social scientists based in global North institutions frequently form collaborations with scholars and civil society actors from Latin America. Such collaborations can offer benefits to both sides, such as providing international researchers with access to their fields and situated forms of knowledge, while offering resources and international visibility to their partners in Latin America. However, these relationships are also infused with inequalities and risks of various kinds. While research imperatives can encourage extractive research practices and even the misrepresentation of research subjects, structural inequalities in international academia can drive forms of "epistemic appropriation" (Halvorsen, 2018) that see Southern knowledges generate value principally in relation to the Western academy.

In this roundtable, organised by the Latin American Geographies Working Group (LAGWG), we explore the challenges, rewards and ethical questions raised by research collaborations. Topics discussed will include applying for and distributing research funding, use of language in research projects, research practice, and multilingual and interdisciplinary research "outputs". The roundtable will include speakers with diverse experiences of international research collaborations, including partners from both UK and Latin American academic institutions. It is aimed at social scientists currently involved in or seeking to form collaborations with Latin American partners, who wish to develop more equal and ethical forms of research practice.

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Susanne Börner, University of Birmingham and Universidade de São Paulo, she/her: <a href="mailto:s.borner@bham.ac.uk">s.borner@bham.ac.uk</a> IN PERSON

Alejandro de Coss, University of Bath,

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62. Roundtable:

"Indigenous
Mobility and
Urbanisation in
Latin America in
times of the
COVID-19
Pandemic"

While much academic attention continues to focus on Indigenous peoples in rural contexts, in many Latin American countries, most or many people self-identifying as Indigenous now live in urban centres or are affected by the urbanisation of their territories. At the same time, many Indigenous peoples are on the move, with cities representing a primary destination for them. This migration, whether it is voluntary or not, occurs both within and beyond national borders, and gives rise to a broad range of Indigenous identities in the (new) urban contexts. Faced with this situation, it is thus time for academia to raise and explore, inter alia, the following questions: what are the main challenges which Indigenous peoples face in an urban scenario? How do they articulate and defend their cultures and rights in cities? How gender, youth and indigeneity intersect in the urban realities? And what has been the impact of the pandemic on these processes? Against this background, this roundtable takes stock of the considerable Indigenous presence in urban landscapes in Latin America, as well as the transnational migration of Indigenous peoples to both the United States and Europe. We will thus focus on the implications of mobility and urbanisation for Indigenous identities and rights in times of the COVID-19 pandemic.

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Dr. Olivia Casagrande, University of Sheffield (UK) (she/her/hers): <a href="mailto:p.horn@sheffield.ac.uk">p.horn@sheffield.ac.uk</a>
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Dr. Claire Wright, Queen's University Belfast (UK) (she/her/hers): <a href="mailto:claire.wright@qub.ac.uk">claire.wright@qub.ac.uk</a>
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Dr. Alexandra Tomaselli, Eurac Research (Italy) (she/her/hers)

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63. Title: Shifting power in collaborative research and scholar activism with communities, artists and researchers in Latin America

This session builds on our first session 'Pushing the boundaries of collaborative research and scholar activism with communities. artists and researchers in Latin America before, during and after Covid-19': Participatory knowledge production, action research and scholar activism, based on shared interests, power and solidarity and aiming at producing social change and social justice (Rasch and van Drunen, 2017) are once again of increasing interest in academia and practice (Askins, 2018; Mitlin et al., 2019; Pearce, 2010). Additionally, a heightened intellectual interest in shifting traditional power imbalances in research, a growing decolonising knowledge agenda, and an increasing number of scholar-activists are pushing the boundaries of the neoliberal academy epistemologically and methodologically. Therefore, we are interested in reinvigorating principles of collaboration, education, action and reflection – with its origins in Latin America (Fals-Borda, 1987; Fals-Borda, 1996; Freire, 1997) – to co-produce knowledge and bring together recent work that applies, develops further and is curious about innovative co-production and scholar activist epistemologies and methodologies. At the same time the COVID-19 pandemic shifted and shaped the landscape of co-production, participatory, engaged and collaborative research methodologies and practices, calling into question common research practices towards developing new ideas of designing and 'doing' co-production and collaborative research (Marzi, 2021). In this second session we ask invited speakers to take part in a roundtable, engaging into a discussion with each other and the audience about the topics that are key in the abstract above. In particular, however, we want to focus on the collaborative aspect of our research and ask questions of how

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Elisabet Dueholm Rasch
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University, The Netherlands (She/her)
IN PERSON

Susanne Börner (s.borner@bham.ac.uk), School of Geography, Earth & Environmental Sciences, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom & School of Public Health, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil (She/her) IN PERSON

Floor van der Hout (<u>floor.hout@northumbria.ac.uk</u>), Centre for International Development

power is distributed in our research and how our epistemologies and methodologies account for power between collaborators and participants.	Department of Social Sciences, Northumbria University, United Kingdom (She/her) IN PERSON  Julia Zulver (julia.zulver@area.ox.ac.uk), Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma Mexico, Mexico and the Latin American Centre & Oxford School of Global and Area Studies, University of Oxford, United Kingdom (She/her) ONLINE
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64. Academic
publishing on and
with Latin
America:
Challenging
Anglophone
hegemony and
inequalities of
knowledge
production

Underpinned by histories of colonialism and powerful politicaleconomic structures. English is today hegemonic in the global production of academic knowledge. Even for widely spoken languages like Spanish and Portuguese, with their own strong academic and publishing institutions, the dominance of English can create barriers to and inequalities in the production and circulation of knowledge. This roundtable, sponsored by the Latin American Geographies Working Group, seeks to start a conversation between scholars, journals and academic institutions about the disadvantages of English hegemony in global academic publishing "in particular for Latin American studies" and what steps might be taken to mitigate it. The panellists will discuss questions of epistemic silencing and appropriation, the challenges and potential of translation in academic publishing, and practical steps that might be taken by journals, funding bodies and universities and scholars to reduce linguistic barriers to knowledge exchange on and with Latin America. The session will be of interest to all Latin Americanists, from Latin America, Anglophone countries and beyond, who are interested in the dynamics and politics of publishing across national and linguistic boundaries, and in challenging the inequalities they produce.

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65. Debating the state of International Relations in and about Latin America

The field of International Relations in and about Latin America has been in constant evolution. For one, the past years have seen a growing number of publications on Latin America in English-speaking journals. For another, Latin American IR is gradually moving from adapting external theoretical debates to the use of Latin American cases for concept and theory development. As part of these recent trends, scholars of Latin American IR have also started to engage with debates on the need for a more inclusive and less Eurocentric, Global IR, While these developments have increased the visibility of IR research on and from the region, they also contributed to further fragmenting the field, with little dialogue between IR subfields, such as comparative regionalism, international political economy, foreign policy analysis, and IR theory. This roundtable discusses the evolution and state of IR in and about Latin America and explores possibilities for building bridges among different approaches and research agendas.

Dr. Leslie Wehner + University of Bath <a href="https://www.nversity.org/les/bath.ac.uk">https://www.nversity.org/les/bath.ac.uk</a>
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Dr Brigitte Weiffen (she/her), Senior Lecturer in Comparative Politics, The Open University <a href="mailto:brigitte.weiffen@open.ac.uk">brigitte.weiffen@open.ac.uk</a> IN PERSON

Prof. Mahrukh Doctor, University of Hull, m.doctor@hull.ac.uk
IN PERSON 66. Approaching
Central Americas
multiple crises
through
immersive
poetry-reading

In the first half of the workshop, we read short poetry extracts that deal with the 'chronicity of crises' (see Vigh 2008) on the isthmus. Through an immersive, collective reading experience, participants explore the multilayered meanings of spoken words and sit with the potential "always possible menace of a space outside language" (Spivak 1993, 181). We will place particular attention to the ways in which the selected Central American poets have conveyed meaning, hereby bypassing authoritarian regimes past and present, and how everyday hardships are dealt with in their texts. After the communal reading, we invite participants to share their impressions and reflect on the poems' multilayered meanings with regards to the individual and communal hardships caused by the Covid-19 pandemic in Central America and beyond. Open questions for this second part are the importance of historical memory on past moments of suffering versus the unprecedented acceleration of late capitalism, climate change and authoritarianism contributing to increasing socio-economic inequality, migration, and violence in all its facets. This workshop is open to all interested parties, no previous knowledge of either Central America or its poetry required. Bilingual contributions welcome (English / Spanish).

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67. Workshop:
Contemporary
Brazil: the
Bolsonaro effect
and the
pandemic from a
transdisciplinary
perspective

This workshop aims at exploring the almost four years of the presidency of Jair Bolsonaro in a transdisciplinary perspective. It will discuss how Brazilian society, politics, economics, international relations, gender studies and the environment were affected by the Bolsonaro government, with a focus on the Covid-19 pandemic. In this context, the members of the workshop will discuss matters such as constitutional erosion, the broadening of inequalities, and a series of crises Brazil faces politic, economic, environmental - and analyse the coming elections.

The workshop is developed by a multidisciplinary group of early career Brazilian researchers based in Brazil and abroad. In this sense, it will give them the opportunity to share their perspectives, opinions and findings regarding the multiple changes happening in Brazil with the scientific community and beyond. It will also be a chance to call upon the attention to the situation in Brazil, highlighting the risk that the continuation of Bolsonaro's presidency represents for the country and for the international system.

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 Beyond the proposing-participants listed below, we aim	
to invite other early career academics to the debate. The	
workshop will consist of brief presentations by the participants	
and a discussion of their analysis, outcomes and methods.	

68. Approaching the PhD: The Everyday Life of Graduate Students in Latin American Studies

In this workshop led by the PILAS committee, we will provide an open, supportive space in which graduate students in Latin American studies can exchange ideas on approaching and managing the complexities of everyday life as a researcher. Building on but departing from the broader institutional focus of the PILAS workshop at the 2021 SLAS conference, 'The Changing Face of Latin American Studies for Early Career Researchers', we turn to the practical, affective, and political challenges of graduate study, many of which have been accentuated by the pandemic. In order to encourage participation, we will structure the workshop in three rotating groups, each moderated by members of the PILAS committee at different stages of graduate research. One group will focus on ways to combine research with other academic activities, such as teaching or attending and organising conferences. Another will focus on the emotional experience of the PhD, ranging from opportunities for building community to the complexities arising from the different positionalities associated with studying Latin America in the UK. The third group will allow participants to exchange approaches towards time management: we will discuss the possible benefits of taking time away from one's PhD work; the challenges arising from other commitments, such as non-academic work and care; and different methods that people use to structure their research at both short and longer-tame scales.

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69. Digital
Humanities
Roundtable
Discussion

From developing digital tools, archives, and exhibitions or using data visualisation, AI analysis and statistical analysis to elucidate topics in the humanities, to using more traditional humanities methodologies to work on the complexities of born-digital cultural products and digital cultures more generally, the Digital Humanities have increasingly challenged us to adopt innovative methodologies and tackle (significantly large amounts) of new data. For many scholars in the humanities (and social sciences), however, starting work in the field can seem overwhelming. If you don't have the technical knowledge, how do you start to build digital archives? Conversely, how should you go about studying born-digital artefacts or doing anthropological research in an online environment? This informal roundtable seeks to bring together SLAS members with experience in digital humanities or interest in learning more to share ideas, talk about projects and plans. No experience is required to attend; the curious and overwhelmed are very welcome.

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