

Abstracts

Roland **Anrup** and Janneth **Español** (Mid Sweden University, SE)

Soberanía y autonomía comunitaria frente al estado nacional y el derecho internacional

El régimen oligárquico colombiano ha dado origen a distintas formas de resistencia: las marchas campesinas y de cocaleros, los paros cívicos, los bloqueos populares reclamando servicios y otros derechos, los movimientos de resistencia urbana, el sindicalismo violentamente mermado, los maestros, los movimientos estudiantiles, los intelectuales independientes, los presos políticos, las luchas de los desplazados, de los afro-colombianos y de los indígenas. Las formas de organización que han desarrollado los desterrados incluyen la creación de comunidades de refugio y zonas humanitarias. Poblaciones enteras se han declarado “neutrales” ante la presencia de los grupos armados y han creado las llamadas *Comunidades de Paz*. Tales comunidades se han constituido bajo diferentes modalidades en varias regiones del país. Hay alrededor de cincuenta *Comunidades de Paz*. Todas rechazan el ingreso de la Fuerza Pública a sus áreas. La autonomía que reclaman las diferentes comunidades ha dado lugar a confrontaciones con el Estado colombiano que se manifiestan en el campo jurídico y político. El caso tal vez más agudo de conflicto entre la soberanía del Estado nacional y la autonomía comunitaria se da en el caso de la *Comunidad de Paz de San José de Apartadó*. La confrontación entre Comunidad Internacional y el Estado-Nación ha tomado la forma de reacciones políticas y jurídicas de aquélla ante la violación de los derechos humanos por parte de aquél. Sin embargo, en el caso bajo consideración aquí es una comunidad local que resistiendo al Estado nacional y defendiendo su autonomía eleva ante un organismo jurídico internacional sus demandas. Esta situación plantea fundamentales problemas jurídicos y políticos; en el orden jurídico el conflicto entre el derecho transnacional y el ordenamiento jurídico del Estado; en el orden político el conflicto entre la soberanía del Estado y la autonomía de la Comunidad.

Otto **Argueta** (German Institute of Global and Area Studies, DE)

Private Security in Guatemala: Explanatory Factors and the Impact on Democracy

The research focuses on the privatization process of security in Guatemala and its impact on Democracy, especially on the Rule of Law. The main research question is which political factors explain the privatization process of security in Guatemala? In addition, what is the impact on democracy, specifically on the Rule of Law? This process is researched based on four factors, which are: the continuity of mechanisms of social and security control from the

internal conflict through the transition to democracy; the process of Security Sector Reform; the demand of security and, the different responses to insecurity implemented by private security groups. Because there are different types of private security groups in a post conflict society, this research focuses on the commercial security groups (Private Security Companies) and non-commercial security groups (Security Neighborhoods Committees). The main feature of those groups is that both have public recognition and operate in the name of law and order. Nevertheless, those private security groups are part of the problem of insecurity because the state does not have the adequate controls over its actions. In 2006, the situation was markedly different: 127 registered companies, other 99 pending at the Interior Ministry. The number of guards recorded was 60 thousand and it was felt that once approved the pending Companies the number of private guards fivefold that of the Civil National Police –PNC- (18 thousand 500) because the number of private actors would be approximately 106,700. In that year, it was also considered that approximately 31 companies were operating illegal. In 2007, the PNC and the Army had 36 thousand elements. In the PNC were 20 thousand. Four thousand of which are devoted to administrative matters and 16 thousand are divided by 24-hour shifts. Daily there are 8 thousand public agents to protect a population of 12 million throughout the country. On the other hand, there are approximately 500 Neighborhoods around the country. It is clear that the privatization of security increased after the Peace Accords in 1996 as a response to the public security institutions weakness. This phenomenon is been researched into the path dependence theoretical framework and the sociology of policing. The method implemented is a process-tracing in a single-outcome study from 1982 to 2007. The research has a contrast case that is based on the situation in El Salvador. The reason is that El Salvador is considered as a successful case of Security Sector Reform and Guatemala, in contrast, is considered a failed case. Which factors explains the situation that two different processes of Security Sector Reform present one similar outcome –privatization of security-?

Örjan **Bartholdsson** (Swedish university of Agricultural Sciences, SE)

Constructing and interpreting the field of “doing good”: The impact of NGOs and media on coffee farmers and workers in Brazil

There is a constant struggle going on between the collective actors of the social field of corporate social and environmental responsibility (CSR) and on how international ethic guidelines, such as the ethic initiative of the United Nations, Global Compact, should be interpreted and practically exercised. It has long been assumed that the NGOs constitute a main driving force behind both the emergence and expansion of the field of CSR, while the

other actors mainly contribute to the mainstreaming and legitimization of the field. The NGOs struggle to expand transnational corporations (TNCs) social and environmental responsibilities as much as possible, and reinterpret these demands so that they coincide with the NGOs' overarching objectives. In order to accomplish this aim NGOs interact closely with media, drawing on concepts, notions and perspectives, which media are able to utilize in order to create narratives and features that enable them to reach as large audiences as possible. So far, there has been a lack of concrete studies that explore how both the interpretive frame of CSR and the social and environmental impacts in the South are continuously reconstructed through the struggle and dialogue between stakeholders of the companies' practices in the South. This paper focuses on how NGOs and media contribute to the reconstruction and re-interpretation of the discourse of CSR and how these actors affect the TNCs' concrete ethical discourses and activities. This aim is achieved by comparing two distinct cases which involves the same TNCs, Nestlé and Kraft Food. One case concerns import of coffee from Brazil, and the other deals with the import of cocoa from the Ivory Coast. It is argued that the corporations' behavior and the impacts on farmers and workers are entirely different in the two settings, due to the distinct aims and strategies employed by NGOs and media.

Maria Luisa **Bartolomei** (Institute of Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)
Empowerment and Rights-The role of gender and women's rights in Argentina (1970-2009).

Argentina was ruled by a succession of authoritarian "de facto" administrations, during the second half of the 20th century. This reached its zenith in 1976, when a brutal dictatorship carried out a policy of state terrorism that lasted for 7 years- until late 1983 (Barranco 2006; Bartolomei 2007). The subsequent restoration of democracy from 1983 onwards signalled a move by the feminist movement in Argentina towards a rights-based discourse. This discourse was to place particular emphasis on the important issues of women's empowerment and the meaning of citizenship (Craske & Molineux 2002).

The paper focuses on women in Argentina and their sexual rights, that is to say, sexual reproduction – the right to abortion, the right to your own body and the right to self-determination. It also focuses on political rights issues, in particular, political participation and the rights of citizens, including some social rights. Theoretically the project looks at Intersectionality as a theoretical perspective; at IrisYoung's theory on justice, politics of citizenship and differences in political mobilization; and at Nancy Fraser's approaches on recognition, redistribution and identity. Santos's concept of interlegality and the conflict

between the three levels of law, i.e. trans-national, national and local, are also used to highlight the significant impact in Argentina on women's rights.

Julio **Brehaut** (Dept. of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

Estrategias de exclusión social en ficciones peruanas contemporáneas

La exclusión social es un fenómeno común en la historia de todas las sociedades. Sin embargo, hay épocas, regiones y grupos sociales específicos en los cuales ésta práctica social adquiere una intensidad y complejidad preocupante. En la sociedad peruana, la exclusión social aparece como un fenómeno que atraviesa toda su historia dificultando y fracturando los vínculos de integración social y cultural. Hoy en día con el fenómeno de la globalización, que se presenta como un conjunto de procesos que homogenizan, y al mismo tiempo fraccionan las sociedades, reordenando las diferencias, y a veces, agudizándolas, las dinámicas de exclusión social son aún más complejas. Es así que la problemática de la exclusión social es un tema de agenda política y de debate actual en todos los campos del conocimiento, inclusive en el arte y la literatura.

La presente comunicación tiene como objetivo la reflexión sobre las dinámicas de exclusión e inclusión social representadas en un conjunto de ficciones peruanas publicadas durante los últimos treinta años. Nos interesa observar cuales son las estrategias de exclusión e inclusión social y de qué manera la exclusión social afecta a los diferentes colectivos de clase social, género, origen étnico y cultural: ¿Cómo se representan los personajes y sus escenarios? ¿Responden estas imágenes a estereotipos? ¿Cuáles son los sujetos que detentan el poder? ¿Se reiteran y fortalecen las típicas relaciones de dominación? ¿Se fortalece y legitima, en estas ficciones, un discurso colonial y excluyente?, son algunas de las preguntas que intentaremos resolver en esta lectura.

Daniel **Brombacher** (German Institute for international and Security Affairs, DE)

Transnational Games with National Players. Why insecure Spaces in Latin America are on the Rise.

Insecurity is on the rise in Latin America, namely along the transnational routes of illicit goods and services. While crime and homicide rates have recently only decreased in Colombia, in all other major transit states for drug trafficking drug consumption, money laundering, corruption and homicide rates have increased tremendously. The increase of insecurity hinders socioeconomic development, deepens inequality and creates alienation

from governments and their capacity of governance. Mexico and Venezuela are only the most notorious examples of how security and governance may be affected by the establishment of transnational crime flows through state territories. Why do transnational flows of illicit goods and services affect certain areas more than others? Areas of limited statehood offer comparative advantages to criminal actors, as the risk of falling prey to law enforcement and interdiction efforts is minimal there. Whenever criminal actors face a growing risk of public counteraction, they react flexibly by changing their areas of action. The relocation of the problem, not its solution, is the most typical effect of domestic law enforcement and interdiction efforts. A mapping of the development of coca growing and cocaine trafficking routes will underline the argument.

The relocation of illicit activities is a bigger problem than it seems at first sight. While it may be rational for a government to deter criminal actors from certain areas or even the whole national territory, the spread of those actors and illicit activities causes the proliferation of not only the security problem itself, but also of secondary problems such as corruption and violence. The spaces of struggle augment in number and territorial extension while the problem remains unsolved. A game theoretical conceptualization of the fight against transnational organized crime shows that from a collective point of view ongoing national efforts to fight organized crime will only spread insecurity while regional approaches with n involved states may be successful in fighting both insecurity and avoiding its proliferation. If spaces of limited statehood shrink through coordinated regional security governance, problems emerging through transnational criminal activities may be prevented and solved, not merely relocated.

Fernando **Camacho Padilla** (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, ES and Inst. Of Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

Solidarity for Chile through the Camera Lens: photographs from the activists' memory in Sweden, 1970-1990

This presentation examines photographic representations of different actions regarding the solidarity for Chile in Sweden between the victory of Salvador Allende in 1970 and the return of Democracy in 1990. Swedes and Chileans in Sweden and Chile mainly took this set of photographs, which have been gathered from private and public archives during the last four years. The purpose of this project is to recover both the collective and private memory of the greatest Chilean Diaspora in Europe (Sweden has the largest Chilean community in Europe) and the Swedish solidarity movement during this period. These pictures document

the places where the solidarity movement operated and furthermore identify the protagonists and also show their fears and expectations. They also present how the political activism and commitment for Chile affected their private lives and which groups were more active in accordance with their social class, gender and age. The long chronological extension of this set of images is a clearly visual history of the progress of the solidarity for Chile and helps to understand the development of the Chilean exile in Sweden. During the presentation a closer analysis of the photographs will be given as well as a deeper discussion concerning the difficulties of finding them and the problematic of their use.

Roger **Canals Vilageliu** (University of Barcelona, ES)

Images of violence/ Images for safeness

Venezuela is particularly affected by violence and insecurity. The most important religion of the country –an afro-american cult called “the cult of María Lionza”- reflects this situation and gives a very particular response to it by introducing spirits of dead

“*Malandros*” (poor delinquents from the big cities’ neighbourhoods) in the pantheon of divinities. In María Lionza’s cult, these spirits are represented in small personal images (*estampas*) that believers carry always with themselves or hide in their homes when they leave them (see picture below). These objects are supposed to scare criminals and thieves and guide believers in difficult situations linked with violence and insecurity. If *estampas* can develop this function of amulet, it is because there is a very strong relation between gods and their representations, or, more precisely, because gods “are present” in their images. The spirits of dead “*Malandros*” can also take advantage of their “interventions” in the human world: by helping human people through these small images, the souls of the “*Malandros*” –which may be “full of sins” as a consequence of their life as outlaws- can be purified. Thanks to that, María Lionza, the main goddess of the religion, could “forgive” these “impure souls” and let them occupy a higher place in the pantheon of gods.

The example of small images of dead criminals in Venezuela shows three important points: (1) The capacity of the Venezuelan society to introduce new figures in an old religious cult in order to give a response to contemporary situations of insecurity. (2) The idea of a “social forgiveness” *vis-à-vis* ancient criminals, which suggests the idea that, from the believer’s point of view, criminals are not essentially bad but become bad because of a social situation of inequality. (3) The role of commodities, and more particularly, of images in creating social relations linked with protection and safeness.

Juan Felipe **Carrillo** (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Lyon, Lab. Triangle, FR)

Exclusión social en Bogotá: una falta de reconocimiento?

Mi propuesta tiene como objetivo principal examinar la relación entre los conceptos de exclusión social y reconocimiento, basándome en la teoría del filósofo alemán Axel Honneth, tomando como objeto de análisis una población de recicladores en Bogotá. Se trata de personas que por diferentes circunstancias encontraron como único medio de subsistencia la recolección y venta de desechos reciclables, recorriendo en condiciones de extrema fragilidad gran parte de la ciudad. Por su condición de trabajo, bajos ingresos, y dificultades simbólicas y materiales, intentaré demostrar en un primer lugar porqué en un contexto como el de Bogotá, los recicladores pueden ser considerados como víctimas de exclusión social (I). Esto me permitirá introducir, en segundo lugar, una serie de entrevistas realizadas en julio de 2008, dónde más de 20 recicladores compartieron conmigo una parte de sus experiencias de vida y sus percepciones sobre su relación e interacción con otros miembros de la sociedad (II). En una tercera parte, expondré los resultados de dichas entrevistas que tenían como objetivo fundamental identificar hasta dónde y en qué condiciones la exclusión social se vive y se experimenta como una falta de reconocimiento tal y como la define Honneth (III). Una cuarta y última parte me llevará a una reflexión general sobre si la relación entre exclusión social y el reconocimiento debe ser tomada en cuenta en las políticas sociales de Bogotá y otras ciudades latinoamericanas (IV). Con esta propuesta pretendo ofrecer desde una perspectiva de filosofía política aplicada en un terreno práctico, nuevas pistas de acción en cuanto a la lucha contra la exclusión social en América Latina se refiere.

Vania **Ceccato** (KTH, Stockholm University, SE)

The geography of homicide in Sao Paulo, Brazil

The authors investigate geographical patterns of homicide in Sao Paulo, Brazil. The geography of crime in developing world cities has been an underresearched area in part because of the lack of good- quality, geocoded offence data. In the case of Sao Paulo the availability of a new digital police dataset has provided the opportunity to improve our understanding of its crime patterns. The authors report the testing of hypotheses about the spatial variation in homicide rates. This variation of homicide rates is explained by poverty, situational conditions determined by differences in land use, and processes that indicate links with the geography of drug markets and the availability of firearms.

Marcia **Dalto** (Université Paris 3, Sorbonne Nouvelle, FR)

Fears and expectations of a displaced person in Colombia

The Colombian internal displacement is an example of the attempt for a person who is forced to migrate to find a better life somewhere else.

According to official figures, there are approximately 2 million IDPs in Colombia; however, NGOs claim this number to be the double. An IDP is like an *internal refugee*: however, it differs from a *refugee* (in the traditional sense) for two reasons: he/she did not cross the border and the State is responsible for the IDP where forced migration occurs.

It is very interesting to underline the great public politics created from the public authorities to try to give an answer to the Colombian displaced persons request of integration in the new society. In front of this huge problem of humanitarian law and human rights law, it's fundamental to underline the function of the Constitutional Court, that through its jurisprudence permit to the Government to focus on this particular problem.

In order to approach the subject of Constitutions, Changes and Continuities one must try and answer the following questions: why beginning an approach to the subject starting with the Colombian case? Could the Colombian case be used as a model for countries equally affected by the same issue, such as Sudan, Turkey and so forth? What does *integration* mean in terms of inequality between to be considered a displaced person or not? Is the Colombian State able to provide effective protection for his multiethnic society? Which is the relation between the Constitutional Court jurisprudence and the public politics for displaced persons? This paper will give me the opportunity to focus on constitutional case law (along with Inter American Court) regarding IDPs' fundamental rights, underlining the importance of the *acción de tutela* (direct access to the Constitutional Curt). I integrate my fieldwork analysis therein (collected while living in Colombia, and working alongside the Human Rights Law Association and United Nations Refugee Agency), as per my joint PhD research at Trento University and Université Paris3.

Liliana **Díaz Chacón** (Inst. Latin American Studies, Stockholm University)

Feminismo y sistema político en Chile: las perspectivas de la diferencia genérica en el periodismo de Allende y la sociología de Kirkwood

Dos regímenes políticos opuestos, el gobierno de Salvador Allende (1970-1973) y la dictadura militar (1973-1989) influyen en los planteamientos del feminismo chileno.

Durante el gobierno de Allende, Isabel Allende pretende influir en las subjetividades privadas de la clase media y en la dictadura, Julieta Kirkwood orienta sus seminarios

feministas (Feminarios) a las mujeres del mundo popular, en un proyecto de construcción del feminismo/socialismo que influirá en los partidos políticos chilenos que sustentaron la lucha por la vuelta a la democracia, en 1990.

El interés de estas intelectuales por la elevación del estatuto de la mujer en Chile con proposiciones referidas a la modificación de las desigualdades de género, tanto en las estructuras como en la representación de lo masculino/femenino tiene un antecedente en la secularización del Estado chileno construida desde el S. XIX que es cuestionado en la actualidad por los resabios de la restauración conservadora generada en la dictadura de Pinochet.

Edmé **Domínguez R.** (School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg, SE)

Fear, Insecurity and Crisis: Mexico on the Verge of a New Revolution

At the end of the first decade of the new millennium Mexico lives a situation that reminds in many ways the context preceding the Mexican revolution 100 years ago. It is not only the world financial crisis' effects, it's the crisis of a political system that didn't manage to fulfill the expectations raised by the fall of the PRI era, it's the eruption of more radical social movements, a mounting middle class unrest and a war against organized drug related criminality that the present government is close to lose and that is costing more fatal victims than the Middle East crisis in recent years.

This paper will try to present this situation trying to analyze the factors lying behind the crisis and the different scenarios that may be expected in the near future.

Natalia **Ferro Sardi** (Univ. Nacional Tucumán, AR)

Cuerpo y mercado en Laura Restrepo y Angélica Gorodischer

Cada sociedad otorga sentido y valor al cuerpo: sus constituyentes, sus usos, sus correspondencias. De acuerdo a Le Breton (2006), la idea de cuerpo y la de persona son interdependientes. Conviven dos visiones opuestas del cuerpo: una lo desprecia, lo caracteriza como algo de materia diferente a la del hombre al que encarna; se trata, de poseer un cuerpo; la otra mantiene la identidad de sustancia entre el hombre y el cuerpo; se trata, entonces, de ser el cuerpo. Éstas fluctúan en un mismo individuo. La escisión entre el cuerpo y el sujeto ha facilitado la instrumentalización del cuerpo. Se cultiva el cuidado para su mejor cotización en el mercado o para su explotación.

La relación entre los cambios producidos en el mundo material y aquellos que suceden en el mundo simbólico no es unilateral. La influencia es mutua. El estudio de los fenómenos

ligados a la industria sexual así como su conexión al desarrollo descontrolado de una economía clandestina han permanecido relegados debido a la combinación de una repulsión moral y una resignada tolerancia (Agustín, 2005). Laura Agustín enumera actores sociales (doctores, abogados, meseros, agentes de viajes, intermediarios varios) sitios (restaurantes, clubes, baños privados, etc.) y productos y servicios (líneas telefónicas eróticas, juguetes, etc) que hasta ahora no han sido considerados como piezas de esta industria.

Este trabajo se propone analizar las diversas fabulaciones tejidas alrededor de la vinculación entre mercancía, cuerpo y política en las novelas *La novia oscura* de Laura Restrepo y *Fábula de la virgen y el torero* de Angélica Gorodischer. En estos textos, las marginalidades económicas traducen una economía basada en la sustitución y en la extensión. Se creen correlativos y equivalentes una serie de objetos, prácticas y servicios. Tanto el valor de uso como el de cambio son relaciones sociales, fetichizadas, no objetivas.

Maj-Lis **Follér** (School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg, SE)

The Brazilian Constitution Announces the “Right to Health for All.” Is Universal Access to AIDS Medicine a Utopia?

Brazil is among the world’s most unequal societies, but with a strong constitution. A Federal law from 1996 ensures that all patients infected with HIV, who need antiretroviral therapy (ART), should receive it free of charge from the Brazilian National Health System - SUS. This health system was established in the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, just 3 years after the end of the military dictatorship, and it is based on the constitutional principle that health is a right of the individual and that the state has the obligation of providing it to all.

The Brazilian National AIDS Program is reported as one of the foremost ‘success stories’ in the world. It combines educational programs, prevention and free universal distribution of antiretroviral therapy (ART). The different roles of the state, civil society and the pharmaceutical industry to fulfill the universal access to treatment will be scrutinized. The Brazilian AIDS governance is part of a global AIDS movement. The challenges and/or limitations for universal access to the AIDS medicine will be discussed.

Carolina **González** (Inst. Latina American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

The CTA and the Constituyente Social. New unionism - creating power from below?

This study is about the labour union organization CTA (Central de los Trabajadores de la Argentina) in Argentina. Of interest is its alternative way of organizing itself, differing from the dominating traditional labour union organization CGT at its base. Its three basic principles

are (1) labour union autonomy, (2) labour union democracy and (3) the opening to other social organizations and affiliating beyond traditional workers in the formal economy.

The labour union organization is at this moment in the forefront of building a new social and political movement with the objective to unify many different social movements and possibly at some point enjoy power in government. It speaks about striving to change the political system and create power from below, ultimately changing the Argentinean constitution. This process has been given the name *Constituyente Social*.

The interest of the study is the old left discussion between *taking* power and *creating* power. We find that the CTA, within the Constituyente Social, speaks about creating popular power from below and at the same time participates in elections for an increased institutional power. Some scholars claim that governmental power is needed in order to succeed with the desired changes. Others argue that when *taking* power in government, whether through elections or more radical forms, the so criticised structures are accepted and the change strived for is lost. Is it possible to find a combination where *taking* power does not over throw the *creation* of power from below? This apparent contradiction is explored through the case of the CTA and the creation of the Constituyente Social.

María Eugenia **González** (School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg, SE)

Cultivating Tourists: Shipibo-Konibo Art, Tourism and Culture in an Amazonian Society

In the Shipibo-Konibo native community of San Francisco (Peruvian Amazonia, Ucayali region), many families make a living on tourism, for example through the commercialisation of art with the characteristic geometric designs, *kene*. Western tourists often interpret this commercialisation as a sign of cultural degradation and lack of authenticity, believing that the geometric designs have been created only for them. The aim of this paper is to show that the creation and commercialisation of *kene* is not all about profitability but has a ‘deeper’ cultural, historical and social place in the lives of the Shipibo-Konibo. It will be argued, for example, that the act of covering an object or a person with geometric designs is an important everyday and ritual practice performed by Shipibo-Konibo individuals to make things ‘human’ or ‘cultural’ in a specific sense. To give or to sell designs to tourists is thus not only an economic act, but also part of a larger cultural or, we might say, *cultivating* project.

Sergio **Infante** (Dept. of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

El paradigma de la exclusión en las letras y el cine del Chile actual

La exclusión en América Latina nace con la Conquista y se acrecienta durante la Colonia, mediante una serie de estratificaciones sociales que, de hecho, la institucionalizan. Chile no constituye una excepción; por el contrario, en este país toda forma de exclusión se intensifica. La empecinada resistencia mapuche es, sin duda, la causa principal de este fenómeno, pues genera mecanismos de defensa fundados en la desconfianza, el rigor, el odio y el miedo hacia ese otro, salvaje, que combate el orden impuesto. Esta defensa del poder colonial incorpora y hasta hiperboliza modos diferenciadores basados en el linaje, la pureza de sangre y el dinero ya practicados en España. La movilidad social del mestizo se hace imposible, la del indio impensable. Cualquier intento de disputar en un ápice el poder establecido se reprime brutalmente. Cualquier aspiración integradora, en el plano que sea, será mal mirada. En el Chile republicano la exclusión, lejos de desaparecer, se diversificará hasta ser una práctica que se manifiesta en todos los estratos. Los cambios en sentido contrario, los que buscan la equidad, la integración y la tolerancia resultarán insuficientes, y los que implican una trasgresión mayor al orden heredado serán reprimidos a sangre y fuego. Todo esto nos permite hablar de un paradigma.

Nuestro propósito es examinar, desde una perspectiva hermenéutica, cómo se problematiza y representa el paradigma de la exclusión en el campo de las letras y del cine en el Chile de la globalización y del crecimiento sostenido. Un Chile que, sin embargo, muestra uno de los índices más altos de desigualdad social. Un Chile donde todavía persisten formas de exclusión y aun de autoexclusión masiva. Un Chile, que parafraseando a Isabel Allende, sigue siendo un pastel de milhojas de innumerables capas.

Thomas **Johnen** (Dept. of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

A Violência no romance *O Matador* de Patrícia de Melo

Nos anos 90 do século XX romances como *O matador* de Patrícia Melo e *Cidade de Deus* de Paulo Lins tematizaram a violência urbana de maneira tal, que as obras transformaram-se em grandes sucessos no público brasileiro e foram etiquetadas pelas ciências literárias como (neo) realismo-naturalismo ou até brutalismo.

Esta comunicação visa elucidar a análise subjacente que o romance *O matador* de Patrícia Melo faz do fenômeno da violência urbana.

Pablo **Lage** (Inst. Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

Participación y empoderamiento: La experiencia del movimiento de trabajadores autonomos de Lanús

The marginalized suburbs of Buenos Aires suffer from deeply-rooted clientelistic structures, promoting and chronifying citizen dependency upon the recourses provided by the clientelistic networks, inhibiting development in the neighbourhoods. These relationships of dependency are based on, and reproduce the inexistence of citizen subjectivity.

The MTD of Lanús (Movimiento de Trabajadores Desocupados – Unemployed Workers Movement) functions outside and opposed to these clientelistic structures. The MTD acts in the popular district of Montechingolo, in the municipality of Lanús, southern suburb of Buenos Aires. They are characterized by their autonomy vis-a-vis the state and political parties, as well as by a model of participation and development of self-managed initiatives which try to break with the clientelistic structures so present in the marginalized neighbourhoods. Through the experience of the MTD, this study examines how new models of participation oppose to clientelistic relations and affect the formation of citizen subjectivity.

The new models of participation promote new social relations based on horizontality and strengthen citizen networks. Self-managed initiatives, such as productive works and educational projects empower locals, in turn affecting citizen subjectivity. This may manage to confront clientelistic structure, however breaking with clientelistic *culture* surpasses the possibilities of the MTD of Lanús.

Rickard **Lalander** (Inst LatinAmerican Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

The Correa effect in the Ecuadorian Indigenous Movement: The cases of Otavalo and Cotacachi

The municipalities of Otavalo and Cotacachi in the Northern Ecuadorian Sierra have been strongholds of the indigenous political movement Pachakutik. Auki Tituaña was elected mayor of Cotacachi in 1996 and Mario Conejo of Otavalo in the year 2000, both representing Pachakutik. Although Conejo left the indigenous party in 2006 and created a new movement – Minga Intercultural-. Since 2009 he represents the political movement of President Rafael Correa; Movimiento PAIS. In Cotacachi mayor Tituaña lost the support of his principal ally in 2008, the indigenous peasant organization/UNORCAC, which in its turn has joined Movimiento PAIS before the elections of 2009. The Correa effect in the indigenous movements of the two municipalities is the main scope of the paper. The study approaches historical connections between the local indigenous actors and the Left in Ecuador, as well as more recent strategies and dilemmas of the indigenous organizations of the two cases. On the

one hand, a cooptation process (from above) can be perceived, and on the other hand the same process can be interpreted in terms of social and political alliances (from below).

Monica **Lindvall** (Save the Children, SE)

Violence in the civil society

SCS works to support children affected by organized armed violence and drug trade in Latin America, mainly in Brazil, Colombia and El Salvador. Research and advocacy together with boys and girls shows how the steady increase of violence in the civil society affect their lives. The acceptance and domination of drug trafficking within the community has encouraged employment of children and adolescent in drug trafficking and involvement in armed combat. Growing hopelessness, poor employment prospects and options for youth together with the increased desire for consumer goods are factors that draw children into organized armed violence.

It is vital to understand the changes in the civil societies affected by violence by analyzing the *role of the family* and the local understanding of what *childhood and socialization* means to the community. Furthermore to investigate how the state interacts with the civil society in implementing the rights of the child.

Current trends of state responses to violence in Latin America where children are involved tend to see children as criminals rather than victims of violence. Legal reforming to lower the age of criminal responsibility and decriminalization of drugs such as marijuana, has been discussed in Brazil. Less focus has been put on supporting children's citizenship rights, whereby boys and girls are heard and their recommendations are influencing decision making processes.

Recent research with children gives evidence that children have a lot to say, if adults are prepared to listen. Among other things, their right to better education and health is addressed. Girls and boys also address the violence and how not to get involved and their coping mechanisms. There are options to support enabling environments even within highly violence ridden communities, where children can be active partners. It is important to promote collaboration with boys and young men to address gender stereotyping and in promoting of good fatherhood role modeling.

Furthermore children address discrimination based on race as one of the root causes to violence. Children refer to discrimination because of their color or where they come from as one of the main challenges that affect their daily lives. The right to non discrimination needs to gain attention both in research and in development programs.

Save the Children Sweden have documented children's perceptions on violence, discrimination and marginalization, including their dreams and hopes, in a film from Rio de Janeiro, Mare's favela. This film is underway and should be accompanying a presentation if SCS.

Thaïs **Machado-Borges** (Inst Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

“Beneath the surface we're all alike” – Social Inequality, Bodies, and Physical Modification among Lower-income and Middle-class Brazilian Women

Brazil is a country with one of the most unequal income distributions in the world. Yet, Brazilians' preoccupation with the body and beauty is remarkably palpable and present in contemporary everyday life. The country occupies a leading position when it comes to cosmetic interventions and consumption of cosmetic products. Beautiful bodies are being produced, maintained and cared for not only by plastic surgeons but also by the work of nurses, facial- and body-therapists, hairdressers, manicurists, pedicurists, maids, sellers of beauty products and of an enormous variety of treatments that combine grooming with caring. Put in this context of explicit social inequality, the link between the production of beauty and class becomes evident. Is the production of beauty an activity superfluous to survival? By focusing on the ways lower-income women relate to and participate in the production of beautiful bodies, this paper examines the dynamics of power and status existing among Brazilian women.

Daniel **Malanski** (Dept of Journalism, Media and Communication, Stockholm University, SE)

Globalization Social Club – Westernization as a Status Raising Tool in Brazil

I propose a new interdisciplinary concept that intertwines social inequality, media exclusion, pop culture and fashion. “Globalization Social Club” exposes globalization processes to a socio critic viewpoint in countries under development- makes use of western signs, values and life style as status raising tools in class conflicting societies in order to maintain its foremost position.

Secondly, I will discuss what the media role in this process is; how paid media connects those who can afford to the Western Society in a more direct way and keeps those who cannot pay for it in “the Third World”. For this task, as for the aforementioned one, theories would be applied over Brazilian society – because of its postcolonial country characteristics, solid

media production, among others. Moreover, I will discuss how a latecomer medium, Internet, somewhat can modify this scenario through the democratization of access to foreign signs.

Several dozens of questionnaires will be applied on people who have the means to belong to the “Globalization Social Club” as well as the ones who haven’t. The results of this quantitative research will be evaluated with the ones collected from the qualitative interviews conducted with Brazilians that live abroad, in order to verify to what extent a “membership” in the *fashionable* “Globalization Social Club” has interfered in their past choices and how they see Brazilian society, when compared to other countries, in relation to globalization process and popular culture.

Philip **Malmgren** (Dept Social Anthropology, Stockholm University, SE)

Los Jarochos Verdes: Environmental anxieties, civic engagements and the Mexican state

Mexico, as many other Latin American countries, has experienced profound political and social transformations over the last decades. Due to the implementation of new political and administrative reforms; efforts of devolution have made local, and regional, political arenas more prominent.

Simultaneously, society demands for democratization, public participation and transparency have become salient. These developments have opened up new spaces for civic engagements. This paper examines such process; in particular it focuses on the relationships between public intellectuals and the Mexican state within the space of global environmentalism. The paper discusses how civic engagements and state relationships in such arena have spurred new fears and expectations among the Mexican public intellectuals. This presentation builds on ethnography from an environmental controversy over a landfill that was played out in the municipality of Xalapa, capital of Veracruz, Mexico.

Maria Clara **Medina** (School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg, SE)

The emergence of “new” ethnicities in Northwest Argentina and the State since 2001. New inequalities?

New (or “restituted”) ethnical identities have recently been legitimated by different means by the Argentinean State. However, in the Andean region in NW Argentina, only Indian “communities” with long-established and historically documented names and territories have been accepted as “authorized” actors by the State. Other ethnical groups of postcolonial origin

(i.e. mixed Indian, mestizo, etc.) lack recognition in the political debate about the regional consequences of a structural system of social inequality based on racial, class, gender, and language differences. In particular, the approaching official celebration of the Bicentennial of the Argentinean Independence stresses identity issues within a contradictory political environment which is characterized, on one hand, by the lack of social equality policies and, on the other, by the implementation of new human rights policies. The main questions to discuss here are: How do these contradictory policies relate to the emergence of new ethnic movements in Argentina since the crisis in 2001? In which ways do the Argentinean politics of culture difference connect to national security issues? How do these politics link to the unsolved land property issues in NW Argentina? Is all this just a new version of hegemonic racism? Finally, this presentation will also discuss the –so far- peripheral insertion of the “new” ethnic identities in the Argentinean official (political and academic) discourses of social legitimacy, and the complexity of roles assigned to the newly recognized Indian communities by the current “racial democracy” projects.

Virginia **Melián** (Dept Journalism, Median And communication, Stockholm University, SE)

Taking social struggles to the Internet: the case of the 'Yes to life No to the paper mills' website

The conflict over the construction of two-mega pulp mills on the border between Argentina and Uruguay has also had an online front. Tension between definitions of local, national and global are reflected upon in this presentation that draws on critical discourse analysis of the website maintained by the Asamblea Ciudadana Ambientalista de Gualeguaychú based in Argentina that has driven a social protest against the construction of two mega-pulp mills on the Uruguayan coast of the shared Uruguay river on terms of ecologic, economic and social impact over the region. How is Internet being put to use by social movements in the Southern Cone where patterns of Internet access are relatively high but where a 'digital divide' still exists and tends to reproduce other patterns of media divides?

Heidi **Moksnes** (Uppsala Centre for Sustainable Development, Uppsala University, SE)

Between rights and needs: Exercising citizenship in neo-liberal Mexico

In the highlands of Chiapas, Mexico, indigenous peoples have the last decades to a significant extent reconstituted their relationship with the Mexican government. During the corporativist federal regimes between the 1930s and 1970s, Maya peasants developed a

clientelist approach to a government offering land and resources, through various modernist, development oriented programs, in exchange for political loyalty. The last decades, indigenous organizations and communities have increasingly rejected this dependency, and instead appropriated notions of rights-based citizenship, referring to both the national constitution and international conventions in their political claims. Simultaneously, the Mexican government abandoned its former pro-poor policies for market liberalization, cut in subsidies, and a discourse pledging allegiance to liberal notions of rights and democracy.

However, in spite of their emphasis on rights-based demands, various indigenous groups in Chiapas find it hard to keep free from co-opting strategies still employed by local and federal governments, since otherwise, the only and highly limited access to resources is through independent, mainly foreign, NGOs. While some – especially the Zapatista base groups – still choose “autonomy,” focusing on principled and politicized rights demands and no-cooperation with the state, others hold that certain collaboration with the state is the only viable route to resources that are their “right.” In this paper, I compare the discussions and stances taken among different indigenous groups; the rural organization Las Abejas, recently divided over this issue, as well as immigrants to the rapidly growing city San Cristóbal de las Casas, living in *colonias* around the city center with varying degrees of autonomy in relation to the municipal administration.

Luz Paula **Parra-Rosales** (Dept Peace Studies, Bradford university, UK)

The Reinvention of Traditions to Face Insecurity: Indigenous Responses in the Costa Chica-Mountain of Guerrero, Mexico.

This paper will focus on organized indigenous responses to the lack of State capability to deal with violence and insecurity in remote and traditionally abandoned rural regions in the southeast of Mexico.

The case study of the System of Security, Justice and Reeducation in the Costa Chica-Mountain of Guerrero will be used to explore the possibilities and limits of these indigenous responses in an era of multiples national and international challenges such as the increased in drug related violence, impunity, disorganized local violence, extreme poverty, migration and diverse pressures to liberate resources for the global market.

Mariana **Paterlini** (Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, AR)

“Tucumán no se vende.” Estúdio sobre la participación y representación en una marcha de protesta

Las marchas de protesta social pueden observarse como espacios de convivencia e interacción entre sujetos sociales que se suponen reunidos para un mismo fin. Sin embargo, No ha de perderse de vista que las marchas también pueden presentarse como la puesta en escena de procesos conflictivos que las subyacen. Si se las entiende como prácticas que forman a la esfera pública, se comprende la necesidad del estudio de las distintas estrategias que utilizan los grupos participantes para representarse tanto a sí mismos, como a los demás actores que forman parte de su reclamo, sea en función de los intereses que defienden o de la adhesión u oposición que persiguen en otros sectores de la sociedad.

El presente estudio se propone dar cuenta de los recursos utilizados por los participantes de una marcha que se llevó a cabo con una periodicidad semanal entre diciembre de 2007 y abril de 2008 en la ciudad de San Miguel de Tucumán, República Argentina. Su fin manifiesto fue la derogación de la ley provincial 7990, promulgada en diciembre de 2007, que permite la venta y demolición de edificios públicos considerados parte del patrimonio histórico, cultural y arquitectónico de la provincia de Tucumán. A partir de allí, se busca desentrañar el sentido y la función que otorgan a los distintos símbolos y conceptos que componen la protesta quienes la organizan y convocan, quienes participan activamente en ella y quienes, aunque no participan, se encuentran al tanto de su existencia, apoyándola o no.

Las descripciones y conclusiones que se presentan en este trabajo se obtuvieron a partir de los métodos de observación participante, de entrevistas realizadas a distintos sujetos involucrados y del análisis de otros espacios propicios para la representación tales como sitios de Internet o artículos y declaraciones publicados en la prensa.

Carmen **Perilli** (Universidad Nacional Tucumán, AR)

Ciudades blancas, crónicas negras

Las ciudades latinoamericanas son los sueños de los conquistadores escritos, material y simbólicamente en un territorio violentado. En esos mundos ordenados y homogéneos los cuerpos de los habitantes escriben el texto de la ciudad. Me interesa leer un conjunto de **crónicas** urbanas a modo de mapa de la ciudad latinoamericana del siglo XXI, atravesada por la violencia y marcada por el miedo. En las crónicas ciudades como México, Buenos Aires, Bogotá y Caracas contienen múltiples ciudades perdidas, muchas veces invisibles. Estas urbes amenazan a la ciudad proyectada desde la racionalidad. Sus calles son el escenario de una guerra silenciosa donde el miedo y la violencia adquieren mayor intensidad. La nueva crónica latinoamericana busca modos de transmitir estos imaginarios en tiempos en los que el consumo se apodera de los sujetos, atrapados en la crisis de los proyectos urbanos. En estas

nuevas lecturas consignan la emergencia de una “narcocultura”, un espacio simbólico que dice en el cruce entre la cultura masiva y popular, que dibuja siluetas fantasmales en un espacio en el que el delito es la norma. He seleccionado cuatro crónicas: "La alfombra roja del terror narco" de Juan Villoro (México); "Narcos sin frontera" de Cristian Alarcón (Argentina); "Salsa y control" de José Duque (Venezuela) y "Don Genaro el carpintero" de José Navia (Colombia). El periodismo apela a formatos provenientes de la ficción policial, el melodrama y la música popular para tramar fábulas alejadas de la visión “mágica” de América Latina. Una nueva estructura de sentimiento surge en las calles de las ciudades latinoamericanas, un imaginario caracterizado, como señala Susana Rotker, por el miedo y el desconocimiento del otro. Capitalismo, Guerrilla y Narcotráfico son sólo algunos de los vectores de un mundo donde ser es tener.

Hannah **Pollack Sarnecki** (Dept Social Anthropology, Stockholm University, SE)

Dreams and Political awareness among *funkeiros* in Rio de Janeiro

This paper will explore the relationship between dreams and political awareness, both on individual and collective levels, in the context of *bailes funk* - funk parties - in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Funk is associated with Rio's criminal factions and criticised for being sexist. It is interpreted as the rhythm of leisure and pleasure rather than the sound of revolution and resistance. This paper will draw on ethnographic research conducted in Rio over a period of two years, during which I intermittently resided in a favela and attended innumerable *bailes*. Every weekend, hundreds of these parties are organized around the city, constituting key nodes of social life in the favelas. According to Paul Sneed (2008) *bailes* are “... charged musical spaces that join young people together (...) emotionally elevating them above the harsh conditions of their lives into a spiritual state that makes available to them the feeling of living in a better world.” Like Sneed, I believe that emotions, but also dreams, are of great importance to understand the social dynamics of *bailes*. However, my fieldwork has also drawn my attention to what seems to be a lack of shared dreams and a discrepancy between individual and collective dreams. In Brazil the black movement (*movimento negro*), as well as feminist movements, have had difficulties reaching out to people in the favelas. How is this to be understood in relation to political awareness and dreams among young people? Is the presumed lack of interest in political organizations somehow connected to the absence of shared dreams? Or can funk be seen as an alternative way of expressing resistance and dreams of a better future, and *bailes* as platforms for this?

José Luiz **Quadros de Magalhães** (UFMG/PUC-MG, BR)

Povos indígenas na América Latina: O estado plurinacional

O Estado nacional ainda é uma referência para a política contemporânea. Fundado na idéia de soberania, organização do poder, territorialidade e especialmente de nacionalidade, o Estado nacional sobrevive e é, diante da atual crise econômica e ambiental, a única solução apontada.

Entretanto, em meio à crise, a América Latina aponta algo de novo. Quando governos de todo o mundo restauram a lógica econômica do capitalismo social representado pelo Estado de bem-estar social, Bolívia e Equador trazem algo de novo para o Direito interno e internacional: o Estado plurinacional.

A novidade nesta proposição reside na superação das premissas do Estado moderno que sustenta a sociedade capitalista. O Estado moderno foi construído a partir da uniformização de comportamentos e logo de valores, a partir da identidade nacional, construída, originariamente, a partir da religião.

O Estado moderno nasceu sob a lógica da intolerância e mesmo após a sua constitucionalização, com as revoluções burguesas, o discurso da diferença veio acompanhado com a uniformização fundada na economia e na família. Ou seja, as pessoas são iguais desde que aceitem a uniformização básica fundada na família cristã e na propriedade privada.

Depois de 500 anos de dominação cultural e econômica européia, os povos indígenas conseguem construir algo novo em meio a completa mesmice: as Constituições do Equador e da Bolívia inovam ao substituírem a lógica do Estado nacional pelo Estado plurinacional, onde, em um mesmo “Estado”, possam conviver formas de sentir, viver, valores morais e familiares distintos, além de formas de produção e propriedade diversas, em uma união fundada no diálogo e na solidariedade. Em outras palavras, um Estado plurinacional que respeite organizações familiares e formas de propriedade, e logo de economia, distintas.

Tatiana **Ribeiro de Souza** (PUC-MG, Newton Paiva, BR)

Ascensão da esquerda e o processo de renovação constitucional na América do Sul

Este artigo versa sobre as transformações políticas ocorridas na América do Sul, a partir do início deste século. Pretendemos avaliar o processo recente de renovação constitucional na América do Sul, a partir da análise do atual panorama político partidário. Verifica-se na América do Sul a ascensão de governos de partidos de esquerda (tradicionais ou não) em substituição aos partidos de direita, que mantiveram a hegemonia política na segunda metade

do Séc. XX, na América do Sul. A importância dessa análise se deve às particularidades da experiência Sul Americana, onde não chegou a se consolidar um “Estado de bem-estar social”, pois antes mesmo de se aproximar do sonho do pleno emprego e da provisão social universal, as políticas Sul Americanas se curvaram aos imperativos das propostas neoliberais nas décadas de 1980 e 1990. Nosso argumento é que a ascensão majoritária de governos mais à esquerda na América de Sul se deve, em grande medida, ao fracasso das medidas neoliberais, particularmente em relação ao enfraquecimento do Estado e à falta de políticas sociais. Soma-se a esses dois fatores a falta de ambiente para uma repressão das vozes populares nos moldes das ditaduras Sul Americanas do século anterior. Quando nos referimos à ascensão de governos mais à esquerda falamos particularmente das experiências da Venezuela; Argentina; Brasil; Uruguai; Chile; Bolívia; Equador e, mais recentemente, Paraguai. Faremos a análise do panorama político, desenhado neste século, na América do Sul, considerando o bloco dos Estados onde ascenderam governos mais à esquerda, acima descritos; o bloco dos Estados conservadores, formado pela Colômbia e Peru; e separadamente o papel periférico do Suriname e das Guianas no cenário político do Continente.

Andrés **Rivarola Puntigliano** (Inst. Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

The Geopolitics of Development in Latin America

Geopolitics is generally associated to military matters or control strategies from big powers. True, but it is also the science of the relationship between state, geography, political economy and society; and not all of it stems from big powers. One element to be analyzed in the lecture is that there is a history of geopolitical thinking in periphery regions, such as Latin America. In fact, this region has a rich tradition of ‘civilian’ geopolitical thinking that will be presented. The word ‘civilian’ is used both because such ideas go far beyond military units, and because there is a connection between geopolitics and development thinking in social sciences. An argument of the lecture is that it’s here were one might also find innovative (Latin American) perspectives on how to analyze the interplay between Latin America and the World-System; particularly in the more recent twist generally known as ‘globalisation’. Furthermore, it will also be stressed that Development and Geopolitics might lead to failed outcomes, if they are not joined in a common frame of thinking.

Anders **Rudqvist** (School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg) y Roland **Anrup** (Mid Sweden University, SE)

Resistencia colombiana comunitaria: los cabildos caucanos y su guardia indígena

En el norte del departamento colombiano de Cauca más de cien mil indígenas *paeces* o *nasas* vienen librando una lucha por su cultura y sus comunidades. Los comuneros han pedido a la ONU que la guardia indígena sea declarada “agente internacional de paz”. Ya desde 1999 funcionan las guardias indígenas. La misión de la Guardia Indígena es la de preservar la integridad y autonomía del territorio, defender los derechos de los pueblos indígenas, respetar y difundir la cultura y el derecho propio, hacer valer el poder de sus autoridades y prevenir o solucionar cualquier situación que atente contra la existencia de los pueblos indígenas. La Guardia está conformada por 10 representantes de cada una de las 320 veredas para un total de 3.200 personas, a las que se pueden sumar muchas más, según las demandas del momento. Esta es una de las maneras de resistencia en la cual participa de manera voluntaria un grupo de comuneros elegidos por los habitantes de cada vereda y luego son ratificados por el cabildo de cada Resguardo. Las guardias tratan de salvaguardar los territorios de los cabildos e impedir el ingreso de los actores armados. En sus documentos programáticos *La Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte de Cauca* define claramente sus actividades como de resistencia al Estado, mientras que frente a la guerrilla establece una posición de autonomía. Reconoce que la guerrilla ha sido históricamente otra forma de resistencia al Estado y defensora de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas y le demanda respeto a su cultura y costumbres, tierras y territorios. Los cabildos indígenas han demandado del Ministerio de Defensa el retiro de la Fuerza Pública de sus territorios. Ante la negativa a aceptar sus demandas los indígenas y organizaciones campesinas han realizado marchas multitudinarias para hacer pública su situación y exigir soluciones de paz.

Débora **Rottenberg** (Dept Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

El futuro no es nuestro: exclusión, desigualdad e inseguridad en la nueva narrativa latinoamericana

En esta ponencia se analiza *El futuro no es nuestro*, antología de cuento en la que están representados 63 escritores éditos de diferentes países de Latinoamérica nacidos entre 1970 y 1981, publicada en 2008 en el sitio electrónico de la revista colombiana "Pie de Página".

Si bien resulta imposible aunar todos estos textos por sus características temáticas o formales, podemos afirmar la presencia de temas tales como la exclusión, la desigualdad y la inseguridad en varios relatos que se analizan tomando en cuenta Rojas Aravena (2008), Caldeira (1999) y Svampa (2001).

Thomas **Rådberg** (Dept of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Sahlgrenska University Hospital, SE) and Maria Clara **Medina** (School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University, SE)

Inequality and Fear. Economical, Social and Cultural Obstacles for Prevention of One of the Major Causes for Mortality among Latin American Young Women.

The two major causes of mortality among women below the age of 50 in Latin American are both preventable and related to sexual and reproductive health. Primarily, death related to pregnancy, mainly insecure abortions and, secondly, death caused by uterine cervical cancer (CC). Although abortion issues are very important to discuss, this paper will deal with the later disease in Latin America and the impact of social injustice in its prevention and treatment. Cervical cancer is a rare complication to a very common sexually transmittable viral infection. Experiences among others the Nordic countries show us that the incidence of CC can be reduced more than 50 % and the mortality by 60 to 70 %. The methods –mainly detection by cytological screening and simple treatment of the precursors of CC- are well known, simple, they do not imply high technological hospital settings and have been used since more than 40 years. Recently, newer methods as vaccination programs have been introduced but they are expensive and will give full results only after 30 to 40 years from now. Until then, mortality rates in CC will go on rising in Latin America. For the moment, about 50 women are dying every day of CC in Latin America and hence about 100 small children lose their mothers daily, with all the social and economical consequences implied. Our presentation will focus then on the discussion of some of the main social and cultural obstacles for implementation of a functional prevention program of CC in Latin American countries, such as lack of resources and information; infrastructural problems; religious influence on health policies and gender identities, etc.

Johan **Sandberg** (Lund University, SE)

Welfare Deficit of Exclusionary Development in Post-Peace Accords Guatemala'

This study applies an embedded approach to the analysis of social welfare in Guatemala. The assumption in such a study is that welfare outcomes in developing countries could be but partially explained through structural analyses on redistribution systems; i.e. a country's social welfare, tax and social policies, and labour market. Instead, comprehensive studies on social welfare should extend beyond isolated analyses on redistribution systems to assessments of overall development strategies. In particular, they should focus on exploring

the causality between welfare outcomes and the assigned role of redistribution and social welfare within development strategies, as well as the type of growth paths being pursued.

The case of Guatemala is analyzed and is shown to provide empirical evidence supporting this assumption. While insufficient and regressive redistribution systems directly reproduce welfare deficiencies such as chronic poverty, structural inequalities and socio-economic exclusion of the poor and the indigenous Guatemalans, this study finds that these outcomes are ultimately the result of the country's exclusionary development strategy. It further finds that the structural reproduction of poverty, inequalities, exclusion and inadequate social welfare is the logical result of the elite's systematic insistence on such reproduction to retain hegemonic powers. As demonstrated in this study, large landholders, business oligarchs and the intellectual elite shape the exclusionary strategy through a clientelist relationship with the executive powers and block any attempt at correcting Guatemala's inequalities and exclusion. This agent-structure power relationship is evident in the Peace Accords of 1996 that fail to address structural inequalities and exclusion; in the deliberate failure to implement the accords by consecutive governments; and in the current 'Vamos Guatemala!' development plan. Furthermore, it is evident in the reproduction of regressive and reverse redistribution systems that exclude the large majority of Guatemalans while taking from the poor and giving to the rich.

Astréia Soares (Universidade FUMEC, BR)

Between State and Society: The Efficacy of the Brazilian Policy for Refugees

Many Bolivians, Colombians, Cubans, Peruvians, and others who need to move away from their countries of origin for economic, political, or security reasons, see Brazil as a racially and culturally tolerant country, blessed with democratic stability and better economic conditions than many of its neighbors. An estimated 80,000 refugees live in Brazil, a third of which are females. However, recent surveys conducted by the United Nations (2008) have shown that only 0.1% of the Brazilian population --some 200,000 people-- comprehend what refugees are and why they have sought asylum in Brazil.

This paper aims to discuss the Brazilian policy for refugees and describe the actual living conditions refugees have encountered in the country, focusing on the specific situation of Colombian and Cuban expatriates. Official records are controversial, but it is known that Brazil has been the preferential destination of Colombians fleeing civil war. Brazilian records speak of some 1,000 refugees, while the UN estimates there are 17,000 of them, most of whom cannot speak Portuguese. Besides, the diplomatic relations between Brazil and Cuba

have been quite unique, which possibly led the American president in office to state his interest in having Brazil as a mediator in the discussions around the US embargo on Cuba.

The issue at hand poses that while Brazil has shown a certain inclination to support those suffering from persecution for race, religion, nationality, or political opinion, one must still wonder if the Brazilian formal foreign policies can be truly effective given the lack of equally efficacious programs to enhance the skills of the State's technical staff on how to deal with the challenges consequent to granting refuge and to foster the formation of a civil society based on human rights and refugee rights in particular, whether it is offered by the State, NGOs, or the media.

Niklas **Stephan** (School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg, SE)

Consumption society challenged: Brazil's landless workers' movement and the urge for another world

This paper discusses the landless workers' movement of Brazil (MST) within a global framework. Three central concepts for this discussion are: consumption, empowerment and the Gramscian concept of hegemony. In such perspective, MST is understood as a counter-hegemonic movement. In its opposing position towards the consumption driven discursive globalization process, also known as neo-liberalism, MST is in this paper seen as a participating actor in what can be understood as globalization from below. Put in relation to the concept of empowerment this paper also discusses, analyzes and problematizes strategies of MST and other civil society actors. Such analysis calls for questions regarding representation and power relations, and points out the importance of empirical research as one goes along trying to understand phenomena such as MST as well as the local and global implications they might have.

Sofie **Tornhill** (Dept Political Science, Stockholm University, SE)

Capital Visions: Contesting Progress and Work in Nicaraguan Free Trade Zones

When the *Sandinistas* (FSLN) returned to power in Nicaragua at the beginning of 2007, struggles over the political economy and national self re-presentations once again intensified. During the 16 years of FSLN's opposition, the conservative/neoliberal governments aimed to integrate the country into the globalizing economy through free trade agreements and direct foreign investment often located to the tax-exempted Free Trade Zones. On web pages and in commercials, Nicaragua was marketed as ideal for out-sourced production and the Free Trade Zones were labelled "zones of hope" in campaigns that tried to settle a link between progress

and the neoliberal agenda. The framing of foreign investment as a promise of advancement is now being disputed as FSLN revives its revolutionary origins and attempts to adjoin Latin America's "left wave". Yet, the framework of the previous governments largely remains and close ties with representatives of transnational capital, rightwing politicians and the church (manifested in the party's support for the absolute ban on abortion) cause apprehensions regarding FSLN's agenda in relation to gendered and classed power relations.

With focus on representations of the Nicaraguan Free Trade Zones, this paper aims to interrogate contested meanings of the operation of global capitalism: how is transnational capital fitted into narratives of nationhood, progress and (in)equality? In what ways are workers constructed and interpellated in order to meet or challenge the demands of global capitalism? Departing from interviews, advertisement campaigns and political speeches, it examines the "official rhetoric" on the meanings of work and the nation's position in the global division of labor in its conservative/neoliberal and Sandinista versions. Thereby it wishes to explore the positionings of (female) working class subjects in relation to the intersections between transnational circuits of production and competing discourses of national progress.

Múcio **Tosta Goncalves** (Faculdade de Estudos Administrativos, BR)

Women living in the streets of Belo Horizonte, Brazil: identity, reproduction and resistance

According to the Ministry for Social Development and Hunger Alleviation, in 2007 some 45,000 adults lived in the streets of 74 Brazilian municipalities. They inhabited sidewalks, squares, roads, parks, bridges, service stations, beaches, boats, tunnels, warehouses, abandoned buildings, alleys, dump sites, scrap yards or spent the night at hostels, shelters, support homes, or churches. This population is predominantly male and self-characterized as dark-skinned workers. The main reasons why they live in the streets are drug and alcohol abuse, unemployment, and family quarrels. A considerable portion of this population comes either from the very city where they presently live or nearby municipalities; they are not rural immigrants. In Belo Horizonte, State Capital of Minas Gerais, this population (approximately 1,000 people in 2007) had similar traits to those discussed in the national survey. Nonetheless, 41% of the women living in the streets of Belo Horizonte claim they have been living there for over five years. Many of their testimonials reveal that inequality, prejudice, and violence were founding elements both in the loss and (re) construction of their identities, pragmatic in many cases. In this sense, it is illustrative that these women have participated in the

construction of successful solidary economic endeavors and in the organization of the national movement of garbage pickers and street populations. But the way in which the resistance to the contradictions inherent to the status of being a woman living in the streets was experienced did not eliminate the fact that a part of them still wants to remain in the streets. This paper discusses some assumptions pertaining to this matter, stressing the issue of familial fragility in the generation of life in the streets and the role of the formation of new families in its reproduction.

Juan **Velásquez** (CEIFO, Stockholm University, SE)

Turning Fear into Hope: The Feminist Component of Social Urbanism in Medellin

This paper aims to introduce how feminist methods are actually used successfully to conduct a sustainable development in the city of Medellin, Colombia, which during the 1990s was known as the most dangerous city on earth. The city has recently been known for paroling “*Turning fear to hope*” with a model for sustainable development named Social Urbanism. The model encourages feminist alliances, gender and social mainstreaming as well as politics of emotions to pay the social debt and to empower stigmatised groups and suburbs within a further frame of participatory planning. The paper deals with the political context of the last remaining big war going on in the American continent. In this context the model of social urbanism is introduced to cope with the subsequent extension on the dynamics taking place in Colombian cities where internal displacement people fly from the atrocities of the war. As a big proportion of the internal displaced people are women, as well as they also are core targets of male violence the paper analyses how the feminisation of both migration and war victimization demanded feminist alliances and gender mainstreaming to relate to each other, implementing different forms of politics of emotions to conduct a more sustainable social and urban development. The paper relate the efforts implemented within the frame of such social urbanism to debates on how feminist scholars have developed theoretic tools to understand power relations like intersectionality, as well as tools for building up feminist alliances like transversal politics. Both approaches have been cardinal to conduct gender and social mainstreaming in societies around the world. But understanding how power has been mediated by the kind of politics of emotions applied to introduce Social urbanism in Medellin would establish further contributions about the role of deepening democracy as a way of conducting peace and conflict resolution policies. This can be analysed by understanding how the elected coalition that introduced social urbanism in the city since 2004 managed to reduce the high indices of lethal violence, sexism and marginalisation. By doing that the

administration contributed to revitalise the democratic system by introducing a participatory planning and an aggressive feministic policy to conduct gender mainstreaming. As such conducting such social urbanism seems to be an interesting instrument to deal with the reproduction of different forms of urban inequalities that most urbanities face today regarding discrimination along lines of place, class, gender and ethnic differences.

James **Wardally** (Inst Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, SE)

Contextualizing governance: institutional weaknesses and corruption in Grenada

The issue of governance that has been bandied around for the last few decades can be of special significance in studying Grenada's development. Any study of governance in relation to development necessarily implies the examination of institutions on which society should rely to implement the major goals of development viz. the reduction of inequality and poverty. Often in the process, however, there has been a weakening of this institutional setting as well as deflections from the development goals to the direction of corruption. In this regard, my presentation briefly surveys governance, on both an historical and contemporary perspective. Critical periods in Grenada's history are highlighted to illustrate the role of institutions and to uncover the sources and causes of that corruption with a view to finding possible solutions.

Charlotta **Widmark** (Dept Cultural Anthropology, Uppsala University, SE)

Exclusion, Marginalization and Mockery: The Cost of Participation for Women in Bolivia

In this essay I will discuss the different ways women have been excluded on the basis of gender, class and ethnicity from participating fully in Bolivian political life. During the last ten years the number of women participating in national politics on different levels in Bolivia has increased substantially due to different reforms introducing gender quotas.

Scrutinizing the process and the forms of participation available for women, the quality of the participation analyzed and questioned. Through the process of increased participation, induced by the state and encouraged by development agencies, the different forms through which women's participation has been and is resisted and contradicted in Bolivia is revealed. For the individual woman, to participate is a risky business, the cost is high and the outcome is not necessarily a positive one.

The essay is a part of an anthropological research project and the empirical bases for the essay are earlier research reports, and a number of observations of Bolivian political life and interviews made with female leaders in the Department of La Paz during 2006 and 2007.

Norbert **Wildermuth** (Dept Media Studies, University Southern Denmark, DK)

Digital Empowerment and Fear of Violence? On the Challenges Faced by a Youth-Oriented Communication Initiative in Recife, Brazil

In this paper I will propose a multi-dimensional framework that seeks to overcome some of the theoretical and conceptual shortcomings of the digital divide debate. Based on the principles of the participatory paradigm in development communication studies, this framework advocates a focus on *digital empowerment* rather than *digital inclusion*, understanding young people as subjects and actors with the (potential) ability to challenge and alter their conditions of living. The resulting perspective provides a more adequate concept to designate those ICT-facilitated processes by which “people gain new abilities and ways to participate and express themselves in a networked society” (Mäkinen, 2006: 381), I will argue.

Analytically I will apply the suggested perspective to the concrete experiences encountered in a Brazilian, community based youth project, the ETAPAS project, located in Coque, “a morada da morte” in local parlance, arguably one of the most dangerous *favelas* in Recife, Brazil. The experience of ETAPAS, which I have studied in 2008 as part of a larger research project on participatory communication and new media in Nepal and Brazil, shows that the new digital means of mediated communication can play an important role in attempts to socially include and empower young marginalized people, I will argue. However, as my case study also suggests, ICTs will not achieve their full potential without suitable attention being paid to both the wider processes of community development that they are intended to assist and to the social context within which they are implemented. The omnipresent lure and threat of gang-related criminal activities and (often deadly) violence, which shape and affect the life trajectories of male and female adolescents in many consequential ways, constitute for example major impediments to the realization of social and human developments in the studied communities (Freitas 2005). The design and implementation of an adequate media-facilitated intervention- and mobilization strategy is a challenge that exceeds by far the provision of access, the selection of the right communicative applications and the development of adequate software to be used with them, I will argue in conclusion.

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Miguel Nino **Zarazua** (Brooks World Poverty Institute, University of Manchester)

The Utility Cost of Group Lending

An important number of studies have recently examined the ability of group lending to reduce the informational costs to the lender; however, it is still unclear to what extent these costs are transferred to the borrower. We conducted a quasi-experimental study to examine the magnitude of these costs and their impacts on chronic poverty and well being in the context of urban Mexico. We find that peer monitoring, commonly used in group lending, increase the utility cost of credit to the highly mobile urban poor that, unlike in the rural context, travel long distances in search of livelihoods. These informational costs, which are exacerbated by the use of periodical repayments schedules, increase the likelihood of chronic poverty and cause significant negative effects on poor households' well being. We also find that due to the spatial dimension of monopolistic competitive markets and the extensive use of progressive lending, group lending generates *micro-rationing* leading to constrained Pareto inefficiencies. In this sense, interventions aimed at improving rigid lending technology can potentially have important long-term effects on poverty alleviation and well-being in urban areas.