

# EVENTS 2014

Centre for Latin American  
Research and Documentation



12/12/14 Who rules Mexico? Criminal violence, self-defense forces and fragmented sovereignty  
Wil Pansters, UU/RUG. Referent: Imke Harbers (UvA)

Mexico finds itself in a severe political and moral crisis, most recently because of the disappearance and probably assassination of 43 students from Ayotzinapa in the state of Guerrero, which has provoked outrage and massive protests within and outside of Mexico. The case of Guerrero demonstrated (again) the deep connections between organized crime, politics and the state. The Ayotzinapa crisis was, however, preceded by an equally deep and paradigmatic security and political crisis in the neighboring state of Michoacán where in the course of 2013 and 2014 self-defence forces emerged to fight a ruthless and deep regime of criminal sovereignty. The very existence of the self-defence forces are proof of the fragile nature of the authority and the coercive capacity of the state. Similar things could be said about other parts of Mexico, such as Tamaulipas. No wonder then that the Mexican state is now desperately attempting to claw back territorial control, political authority and hence sovereignty. So who rules Mexico.

Wil G. Pansters is head of Department of Social Sciences at University College Utrecht and professor of Social Sciences at Utrecht University. In 2008, he was appointed Professor of Latin American Studies at the University of Groningen and he is also director of the Centro de Estudios Mexicanos in Groningen. He has been a research fellow at El Colegio de México (Mexico), and the University of Oxford amongst others. In 2012, he occupied the Friedrich Katz Chair at the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez. Over the years, he has had the opportunity to do field research in Mexico, both ethnographic and historical, and he has published on political culture, regional history, democratisation and social change. Currently he focuses his research mainly on the meanings of (drugs related) violence in politics and society, and on the search of people for justice in environments of insecurity. Outside of the academic world, Wil Pansters is actively involved as speaker in debates, public lectures and in various media. His most recent book is *Violence, Coercion and State-Making in Twentieth Century Mexico. The Other Half of the Centaur* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012). In 2011 he received the Orden del Águila Azteca from the Mexican government.

## 28/11/14 CEDLA Jubilee Seminar: BRAZIL AS INNOVATOR

In recent years, Brazil has built a reputation of innovator in fields of democratic politics, social development, and sustainability. Internationally renowned scholars will critically examine some of these initiatives and discuss their outcomes so far and the challenges ahead. We welcome people from academic, governmental, private, and NGO interested in Brazil.

### Innovations for Poverty Alleviation and Social Mobility

**Marcelo Neri, Secretariat of Strategic Affairs and FGV. Keynote speaker**

Marcelo Neri is Minister of Strategic Affairs; he holds a PhD in Economics from Princeton University. His areas of research are well-being and microeconometrics. He is the founder of the Center for Social Policies at Getulio Vargas Foundation (CPS/FGV); he teaches at EPGE/FGV. He edited books on microcredit, social security, diversity, rural poverty, Bolsa Família, consumption, wellbeing perceptions, and the new middle class. He was the secretary-general of the Council of Economic and Social Development (CDES) and president of the Institute for Applied Economic Research (Ipea). He evaluated policies in more than a dozen countries and designed and implemented policies at three government levels in Brazil.

The presentation will be on the growth of social welfare in Brazil during the last twenty years and its determinants. We make an effort to update the empirical evidence up to 2014. How did growth and distribution of incomes evolve in Brazil? What is the role played by various public policies (such as income transfers, housing, technical education etcetera)? How did different groups (organized by gender, race, region etc) perform? Is Brazil becoming a middle class country? How about the middle income trap with respect to other BRICS countries? How sustainable are the observed changes? In particular, how does the access to different assets such as human, physical and social capital back up the changes in income flows? What are the perceptions and attitudes of different groups of Brazilians with respect to the evolution of the country trajectory of poverty alleviation programs and upward social mobility? What is the new agenda for social policies in the country for the next decade?

### Innovations for Citizens' Participation

**Evelina Dagnino. UNICAMP, Brazil**

Evelina Dagnino is Full Professor of Political Science at the University of Campinas, S. Paulo, Brazil. She has published extensively in several countries on democracy and citizenship, the relations between culture and politics, social movements, civil society and participation. She was a Visiting Professor at Yale University, Goteborg University, Sweden, FLACSO – Buenos Aires, and at Universidad de Costa Rica. Her last book is *Disputing Citizenship* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2014), with J. Clarke, C. Neveu and K. Cole.

Brazil has a solid international reputation for establishing innovating institutions and mechanisms for the participation of society. From the 1988 Constitution on, several of these mechanisms have been established, such as the Management Councils and the Conferences, in various areas of public policies, at the city, state and federal levels. Along with forums, public hearings, participatory city planning, and a whole array of programs that involve some kind of social control and monitoring, they compose what is today known as the "architecture of participation". Their effectiveness varies and it is deeply affected by the specific political contexts in which deliberation takes place, the political forces involved and the power correlation between them, and how conflictive are the interests at stake. Furthermore, the commitment and qualification of state representatives, the organizational density of the sectors of civil society that are represented, the technical and political qualifications of civil society's representatives, and most importantly the resources available for policy implementation, are all relevant elements bearing on the effectiveness of participatory spaces. My presentation will discuss the advances, limits and difficulties faced by citizen's participation, focusing particularly on the PT's governments at the national level.

## Innovations for Democratic Politics

Timothy Power. Oxford University, UK

Timothy J. Power is director of the Brazilian Studies Programme and a fellow of St Antony's College at the University of Oxford. An associate fellow of the Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs), he is also a former president of the Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA) and the current treasurer of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA). His articles on Brazilian politics and government have appeared in *Journal of Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Latin American Research Review*, and *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, among other outlets.

The Rise of Coalitional Politics Brazil has become well known for its bottom-up innovations in democratic governance, e.g. participatory budgeting and thematic national conferences. However, it is also an innovator in dealing with a traditional problem of Latin American democracy, which is the combination of a directly elected president with a fragmented multiparty system. Although multiparty presidentialism creates numerous disincentives for political cooperation, Brazil has responded to this by developing institutions and practices known collectively as *presidencialismo de coalizão*. Coalitional presidentialism, in which a directly elected president shares power with two or more parties represented in the legislature, has become the modal institutional format of Latin American democracy, and Brazil is correctly perceived as an innovator of this system. Brazilian political elites are largely supportive of coalitional presidentialism because it is perceived as generating political stability, but many also recognize its shortcomings in terms of democratic quality. In the mass media and in popular opinion, the latter (negative) interpretation often holds sway. In this presentation, I discuss both the advantages and disadvantages of the Brazilian response to extreme party fragmentation.

## Innovations for Positioning on the World Stage

Kjeld Jakobsen. Perseu Abramo Foundation, Brazil

Kjeld Jakobsen is Director of the Perseu Abramo Foundation and has been international advisor of the Workers Party since 2011. He works as consultant on international relations and development cooperation for the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas since June 2010 and for the Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT) since 2009. He acted as International Secretary of the Municipality of São Paulo (2003-4), member of ILO's Governing Body (2002-3), and member of the National Executive Board of the major Brazilian labor confederation Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT) (1991- 2003).

According to the track record of the main initiatives adopted by the Brazilian government during the last 12 years, we can classify it as an innovative policy. Despite adopting an independent foreign policy, which had existed under the period of substitution of importations, it was innovative compared to the past governments, including the military regime and those of the recent democratic period, regarding South-South relations, regional relations, coalition buildings and strengthen of the Brazilian diplomatic structure. This policy was linked to the government's internal initiatives, which economically challenged the neoliberal paradigm and introduced a strong social program, mainly through income transfers and more access to education. Showing that progressive economic and social policies were possible, it endowed Brazil with sufficient prestige to also introduce a progressive international agenda. The challenge now is about the continuation of this agenda in a quite hostile world against it at the moment.

## Innovations for Sustainability and Climate Governance

Anthony Hall. London School of Economics, UK

Anthony Hall is Professor of Social Policy at the London School of Economics. His research on social and environmental issues in Brazil has focused on Amazonia and the role of avoided deforestation in mitigating the impacts of climate change through REDD+ policies. His latest book is *Forests and Climate Change: The Social Dimensions of REDD in Latin America* (Edward Elgar, 2012).

Over the past two decades, Brazil has come to play an increasingly influential part in designing and implementing policies that affect global climate change. First, the country played a lead role in securing the phasing out of greenhouse gases under the Montreal Protocol and protecting the ozone layer. Second, Brazil also played a key part in international climate change negotiations under the UNFCCC and introduction of the Kyoto Protocol. Third, the country's historically high rate of deforestation has been cut by 70% since 2005, largely as a result of a federal programme of environmental controls, combining both punitive sanctions and positive incentives. Finally, Brazil has been a pioneer in promoting policies of Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) that aim to maintain standing forest for productive use as well as conservation purposes. REDD+ schemes have been developed mainly at state level by government and civil society organisations, including domestic and international NGOs. Yet vital challenges remain; such as maintaining deforestation controls, sustaining environmentally friendly supply chain policies in the private agribusiness sector, and building a legislative framework to support the scaling-up of REDD+ while overcoming numerous operational problems. Yet if these challenges can be met, Brazil could have an even more decisive and innovative future role in the global battle against climate change.

## Innovations for Public Security

Kees Koonings. UvA and UU, The Netherlands

Kees Koonings is professor of Brazilian Studies at CEDLA /University of Amsterdam and associate professor of Anthropology and Latin American Studies at Utrecht University. He has published on regional development, militarism and democracy, trade unions, participatory urban governance, and armed conflict and urban violence, especially in Brazil and Colombia. He has been a consultant to UNESCO, OECD/DAC, OAS, the Dutch government, the Dutch Trade unions and peace NGOs.

It may seem counterintuitive to suggest that Brazil has a track record of innovation regarding public security. Over the past decades, indicators of crime and violence have been consistently high for the country as a whole, and particularly in urban areas. For this reason, and against the background of earlier and not very successful efforts to improve public security in the larger cities, in 2007 the federal government launched an ambitious programme to strengthen public security within a citizenship rights framework. On paper, this programme, called PRONASCI, adopted most of the insights that scholars and practitioners had been proposing. A large amount of financial resources was allocated to the programme. Still, during the administration of Dilma Rousseff, the programme was silently buried after its main target, halving the homicide rate by 2011, was not achieved. In my presentation I will discuss the reasons why the innovative potential of PRONASCI failed to materialize. Then, I will look at a few eye-catching developments at the city level to answer the question to what extent innovative local approaches to public security have been helping to bring about the apparent improvement of public security in São Paulo (improved policing?), Rio de Janeiro (pacification?), and Recife (Pacto pela Vida?).

**BOOK LAUNCH – 17:00hs**

**Brazil under the Workers' Party Continuity and Change from Lula to Dilma**

**Edited by: Fabio de Castro, Kees Koonings & Marianne Wiesebron**

**20/11/14 The Good Life. Guatemalan Coffee, German Eggs, and the Anthropology of Wellbeing**

**Edward F Fischer, Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Center for Latin American Studies at Vanderbilt University**

While we may all want to live the good life, we differ widely on just what that entails. In this talk we will examine notions of wellbeing in the very different cultural contexts of Maya coffee farmers in Guatemala and middle-class supermarket shoppers in Germany. Looking at on-the-ground narratives of Germans' choices regarding the purchase of eggs and cars, and Guatemalans' trade in coffee and cocaine, we see how these different groups use the market in pursuit of the good life. We find that material conditions are a necessary but insufficient prerequisite of wellbeing, and uncover the important role of aspiration, opportunity, dignity, and purpose.

**14/11/14 Business groups, politics and development in Central America**

**Benedicte Bull, University of Oslo**

Politics and economic development in Central America have historically been dominated by a small number of elite-families whose fortunes originate in the agro-export sectors. The civil wars of the 1980s, economic liberalization and democratization implied significant ruptures of their activities, and led some to believe that the old family-owned business groups would be weakened. However, they still play a significant role in new alliances with transnational companies, and adjust to as well as attempt to control new political actors, including left-leaning governments. Based on a study of the economic and political strategies of the 68 most important business groups in Central America over the last decade, this lecture will address several questions: Are the dominant groups today the same as those that controlled the old agro-export economy? What strategies have they employed to survive and expand in a global economy? Do they still control politics, and if so, how? And what are the consequences for the development and democracy in the region?

**8-9/10/2014 CEDLA Jubilee Seminar: The Visible City**

This seminar aims to discuss the relationship between researchers and the Latin American city as subject and location of social-scientific research. The discussions will be guided by questions such as 'how do researchers visualise the empirical reality of today's Latin American cities? And what analytic challenges does this bring along?'

**CEDLA Jubilee Seminar: The Visible City**

**Screening 'People of the Barrio'**

**Documentary film, 1980, 52 min., Brian Moser / Caroline Moser**

**Sessions, speeches and discussions with Caroline Moser and Peter M. Ward**

**Venue: Pakhuis de Zwijger (Kleine Zaal), Piet Heinkade 181B, 1019 HC Amsterdam**

**Visibilising the Invisible City: Reflections on changing representation in research and film**  
**Keynote speech by Caroline Moser (U. of Manchester)**

A longitudinal reflection on changes in both Northern academic research and TV documentary film on cities in the Global South. This speech identifies the ways in which shifts on positionalities of urban research and film in theoretical focus, in methodology, in institutions and in funding mechanisms have come to be reflected in transforming written and visual representations of cities in the Global South. To illustrate, the speech draws on more than 40 years of urban research and to a lesser extent documentary film, particularly in Latin America, as well as from the global literature on Cities. (Organized by CEDLA)

**How to make citizens' cultural resources visible?**  
**With Caroline Moser (discussant, U. of Manchester)**

This session aims to explore John Grady's inquiry how sight and vision helps construct social organization and meaning, and how images and imagery can both inform and be used to manage social relations. The speakers address the Latin American city as subject and location of social-scientific research. Attention is paid to the relevance of visual approaches to make sense of (in)visible aspects of urban life and the dominance of the 'visible' in Latin American urban culture. (Organised by CEDLA, contributions Christien Klaufus, Arij Ouweneel, Hebe Verrest and Annelou Ypeij)

**Reading the City from Home-space: The role of dwelling practices in visualising changing urban life**  
**With Peter M. Ward (presenter, U. of Texas, Austin)**

In Latin American cities homes have frequently been considered as one of the main resources for the first generation of 'urbanisers', allowing for the accumulation of other assets over time. For the following generations however, their resourcefulness has been questioned in the light of shifting social values, weakening community ties and land scarcity. As neighbourhoods once considered 'marginal' consolidate and densify, the mobilisation of homes as a multi-dimensional resource is showing its ambiguity : on the one hand the emblem of individual rather than collective effort, on the other one of the few assets dwellers may rely on when confronted with hardship and economic difficulties. Aspirations and opportunities in urban life in general, and on the housing market in particular, differ substantially between the first settlers and the second and third generation urbanites. (Organized by IDS/UvA, contributions Michaela Hordijk and Viviana d'Auria)

### 03/10/14 Pentecostalism, crime and pacification in the peripheries of Rio de Janeiro

Carly Machado, Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro (UFRRJ)

Referent: Matthijs van de Port (VU)

Over the past six years, the State Government of Rio de Janeiro implemented as a public safety project the so-called "pacification policy". This policy was meant to be a strategic shift in the relationship of the State Police with the population, allegedly seeking to reduce the frequent violent clashes that mark everyday life in different cities of Rio de Janeiro State. Under the aegis of the idea of "pacification", different practices, discourses and institutions - both governmental and non-governmental - were articulated into governance actions toward poor, marginalized and criminalized populations of the peripheries of this state. In this presentation I intend to discuss the configuration of a complex apparatus of pacification in Rio de Janeiro that goes beyond practices exclusively belonging to the field of public security. I take as my privileged point of departure in this analysis the plot made up of religious and secular agents, and how their projects operate as "conduct of conducts" of certain groups of the population in Rio de Janeiro, and the relationship between these projects with State practices.

Carly Machado teaches Anthropology at the Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro (UFRRJ), Brazil. Carly's first degree was in Psychology (1997) and she went on to receive her M.A. in Social Psychology (2000) and her PhD in Social Sciences in 2006. During her PhD Carly Machado was a visiting student at the University of Amsterdam, in the research group of Professor Birgit Meyer. After receiving her PhD, she held a postdoctoral position at McMaster University, with Professor Jeremy Stolow. Her principal areas of research are Religion, media and technology and more recently Religion, media, politics, and the city. Carly Machado's current research project focus the issues of religion, media and politic in the peripheries of Rio de Janeiro.

### 19/09/14 Dynamics and Evolution of Violent Crime in Brazil (1996-2011):

a comparative analysis of the five Brazilian regions

José Luiz Ratton, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco. Referent: Kees Koonings (UU/CEDLA)

Homicide rates in Brazil remain at high levels, higher than 20 per 100,000 population, for over 15 years. This paper analyzes the evolution of homicides in the country since 1996, comparing the internal dynamics of the five Brazilian regions (North, Northeast, Midwest, Southeast and South) in this period and trying to discuss some of the main causal mechanisms related to these social processes. Two analysis strategies were used :

- a) a comparison of the rates of the states, capitals and metropolitan regions inside and outside the regions
- b) the collation of homicides in large and medium cities.

One interpretation of the findings is proposed, combining elements of institutional and cultural analysis of the phenomenon of violent crime in the country.

### 13/06/14 De keerzijde van het WK

Marjon van Royen. Voormalig Latijns-Amerika correspondentente NOS

Van Royen vertelt over haar ervaringen in Brazilië en de impact van het WK op dit land

Dr. Martijn Oosterbaan, Universiteit Utrecht

Antropologische reflecties op mega evenementen en stedelijk rumoer

Palloma Menezes, PhD Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Políticos in Rio de Janeiro

In hoeverre kan de pacificatie van de favela Santa Marta in Rio de Janeiro stand houden tijdens het WK?

Loeke de Waal, Journaliste. Vrouwen in de sportjournalistiek in Brazilië

### 05/06/14 CEDLA SEMINAR

#### What is the Future For Amazonia? Analysing Socio-Economic and Environmental Transformations in Amazonia

The theme of the seminar is inspired by recent developments in Amazonia that potentially will have large-scale and probably irreversible impacts on this last wilderness on earth. Amazonia is becoming a significant platform for the extraction of natural resources. Land use maps show the growing size of territories in use for mining, including small-scale gold digging, small and large scale cattle raising and agricultural production, and timber logging. These activities are supported by an inflow of foreign and domestic investments; flows of migrants; the construction of new intraregional and regional infrastructure like roads, railways, water and air transport facilities; the building of hydro-energy facilities including storage lakes and high voltage transmission lines; and the spread of service centres. Hence, amidst the largest forest on earth a new resource-based economy is being developed serviced by a web of interconnected growth poles and transport infrastructure. As a consequence of these interrelated developments, the anthropogenic pressure has been increasing and is expected to increase further, particularly in view of the improved accessibility of the area and growing world demand for commoditized natural resources.

### 28/02/2014 Bachelet y el gobierno de la Nueva Mayoría en Chile: Viejos y nuevos retos

Claudio Fuentes, Universidad Diego Portales / LAS Leiden

En esta conferencia se intentan explicar dos paradojas aparentes del caso chileno. Primero, pese al éxito socioeconómico alcanzado en los últimos 25 años, estos resultados se contraponen con un fuerte malestar social con el modelo de desarrollo. Segundo, pese a que Chile ha sido considerado un modelo de transición democrática y con alta institucionalización de partidos, vemos que la sociedad Chilena muestra bajísimos niveles de confianza en instituciones políticas y representativas.

### 21/03/2014 SEMINAR: New Winds in Latin American Drug Policies

- Latin American drug policies

Pien Metaal, Transnational Institute

- The Peruvian case

Ricardo Soberón Garrido, Centro de Investigación Drogas y Derechos Humanos (CIDDH), Lima, Peru

- The Mexican case

Jorge Hernández Tinajero, Colectivo por una Política Integral hacia las Drogas (CuPIHD)

