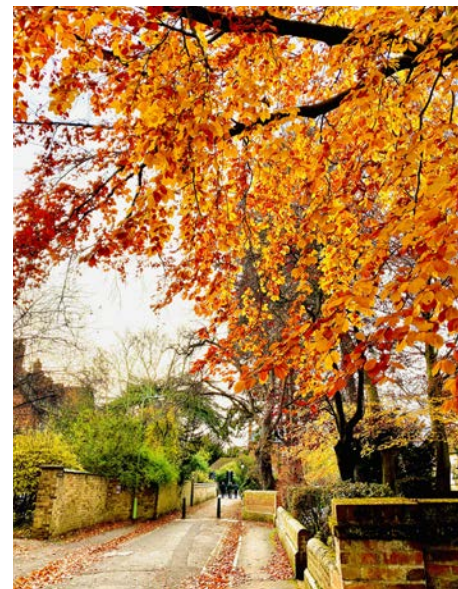


Horizontes

NEWSLETTER OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CENTRE



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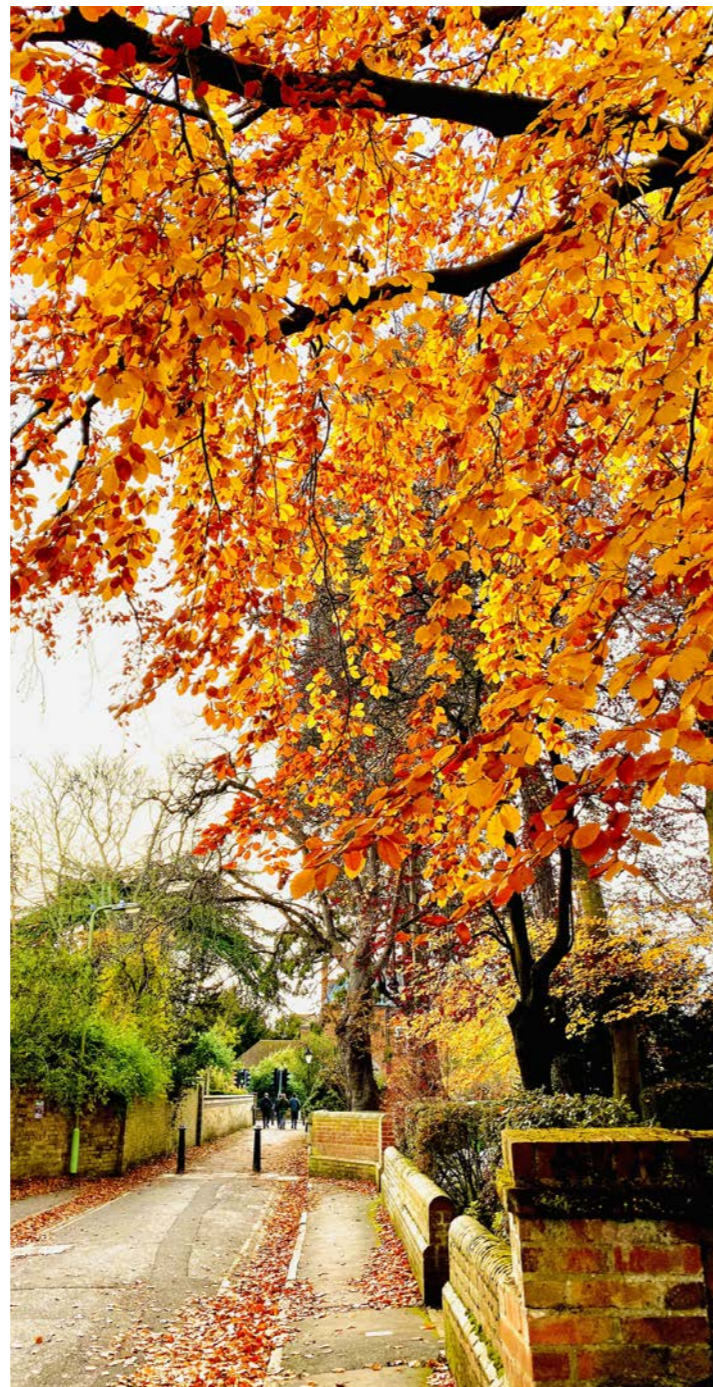


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Meet the editorial team:

Horizontes, the newsletter of the Latin American Centre, is the product of a collective effort that relied upon the editorial planning of a team of LAC students and members of academic and administrative staff: Hannah Brown, Clément Bourg, Matthias Brickel, Sabrina Escobar-Miranda, Maria Puolakkainen, Pablo Uribe-Urán, Andreza de Souza, Carlos Pérez Ricart, Lucy Driver, and Eduardo Posada-Carbó. We thank Andrew Harvey for his superb work in designing *Horizontes*.



1 Church Walk in Autumn. Photo provided by Matthias Brickel

Director's Report

What an eventful year, a year like no other! Michaelmas opened with the inaugural lecture by Rodrigo Cuberos, President of the Central Bank in Costa Rica. His talk led the way for a series of meetings on some of the most crucial topics for the region today, which continued through Hilary in a superb programme convened by Andreza and Carlos. Migration, global populism, social media, drugs, and the wave of social protests were among the subjects discussed in our main seminar every week – one of the talks on 'Mosquito-borne viruses in the Americas', on 31st January, turned out to be an early, indeed frightful encounter with the expansion of Covid-19. Similarly, our history seminar met as usual every Thursday, followed by our traditional dinner at Manos. Our Brazilian Studies Programme put together an excellent conference on informality. Other events included a memorable talk by the Argentine writer Martín Caparrós, while the visit of leading international colleagues, as members of an 'External Review', gave us an opportunity to discuss the origins and trajectory of Latin American Studies with colleagues from literature, history and the social sciences.

Then the coronavirus hit us. Suddenly we were in global lockdown, a new word in my vocabulary and, certainly, an unprecedented experience for us all.

Our Easter break was mostly devoted to discussing how best to meet the needs of our students for the successful completion of their academic year, an extraordinary enterprise coordinated by OSGA and the University, involving members of the academic, administrative and library staff. Some if not most of us were forced to adapt to the wonders of virtual meetings as 'remote teaching' entered our agendas. The librarians went out of their way to make sure that our students could have online access to as many titles as possible from their reading lists. Dave as Course Director, and Leigh as Chair of our Exam

Board, were also extremely attentive to our students' needs, as were all LAC members. As Trinity approached, faced with the prolonged confinement, we moved all our seminars online, experimenting with different formats. We examined the impact of Covid-19 through a series of round tables with speakers from across the Atlantic; historians discussed recent books in the Tertulias that took the place of the traditional seminar paper; the BSP streamed its Coffee & Science conversations through weekly YouTube sessions; our LAC-based doctoral students' network also organised weekly seminars in this burst of activity, a truly collective manifestation of defiance against the threats of a world in suspense. The LAC was more active than ever, reaching and engaging with a wider and global audience, as Lucy and Paola write in this issue.

It is important not to allow the current crisis to cast a full shadow over what was a year of achievements, full of joyful moments captured in the wonderful students' pictures and reflections that Matthias and Hannah collected for *Horizontes*. One academic highlight of the year was the visit of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, former President of Brazil, whose book *Dependency and Development* with Enzo Faletto was the subject of a main conference in Michaelmas. Students also highlight other memories of their life outside the classroom – be it during informal parties, college dinners, or sports activities. Our online mid-term reception, when we listened to Latin American music and poetry, in performances from Ouro Preto, Buenos Aires, London and Oxford was another way of keeping the spirit of our community alive in times of the pandemic.

Ours is a very special community, well established and expanding. Serving as a hub of Latin American Studies for Oxford is an integral part of our mission since the LAC's foundation more than half a century ago. Our Affiliates programme

incorporates colleagues from most departments in the Social Sciences and Humanities. Their contribution to our seminars and conferences this year has again been immense. In Michaelmas, we helped the University's International Strategy office to launch an Oxford-Latin America initiative, bringing together all the divisions of the university, aiming at further strengthening our links with the region.

We constantly benefit from the regular visit of colleagues and recognised students who spend a term or a year with us, conducting their research. We have also been privileged to hosting colleagues on their post-doctoral trajectories, who are so central to the life of the LAC. Sadly for us, they move on. It is difficult to express in this short space all the appreciation we have for the contributions that Francesca Lessa, Carlos Solar, Simon Escoffier and Carlos Pérez Ricart brought to the LAC over the past few years. They will be thoroughly missed by all.

In this unique year we have been lucky to count on a unique cohort of students. As we prepared our End of Year celebration, some of our past guest speakers offered them messages of hope and reflection which we share, in the face of a historical turning point where the world is fighting a pandemic while trying to build a more just, plural, diverse and equitable society. We trust their time at the LAC would have helped them to contribute to those and any other goals they have for their lives. We also hope that this issue of *Horizontes* will serve them to keep some of the good memories of their Oxford experience. They will always have a special place in the LAC.

Eduardo Posada-Carbó
Director, Latin American Centre

A message from Elvira

I have been working at the LAC for 31 years and I have really enjoyed being in contact with the students before, during and after their studies. As a consequence of the Covid-19 crisis, and following lockdown, I have been working from home. Ruby, my guide dog, and I haven't been able to be in contact with students in person – a shame, but I am sure all of you know that we are here ready to help you in any way we can. My message to our prospective students: I hope you will be able to join us at the Latin American Centre and have the opportunity to enjoy what it is a unique place. *And my message to our current students, including those who will be leaving us at the end of this academic year.* I hope all of you have enjoyed and continue to enjoy Oxford and that you had a productive year studying at the LAC. We will always like to hear your news. Do keep in touch.

Elvira Ryan



Elvira with James and Ruby at our opening of the academic year reception.



From left to right: Jonas von Hoffmann, DPhil student at the Department of Politics and International Relations; Hannah Brown, MSc student at the LAC; former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso; Sabrina Escobar, MSc student at the LAC; and Jonathan Madison, DPhil student at the History Faculty.

FERNANDO HENRIQUE CARDOSO ON DEPENDENCY AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE CURRENT GLOBAL CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY

On 26 November, Brazilian former President and distinguished sociologist, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, inaugurated the OSGA Forum, with a lecture on ‘Challenges and Risks to Democracy Then and Now’ at the Nissan Institute in St. Antony’s College. This event was preceded by a full day conference to mark the 50th anniversary of *Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina*, the acclaimed book co-authored by Cardoso with Enzo Faletto. The following day, Hannah Brown and Sabrina Escobar Miranda, masters’ student at the LAC, interviewed the former president of Brazil about his book with Faletto and about the current crises of democracy in the world.

The former president of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso sat patiently on the Nissan Lecture Theatre stage, looking out at the audience of eager faces waiting to hear his keynote speech on 26 November. The last time he visited Oxford was 17 years ago, when his second term as the President of Brazil was drawing to a close, Lord Christopher Patten, University Chancellor, recalled in his introduction. Since then, Lord Patten said, some have called him the best president Brazil has had, helping to stabilise an economy rife with hyperinflation and consolidate democracy in the wake of years of military dictatorship. That day, however, the Latin American Centre was not commemorating his time as a politician, but rather his illustrious career as a sociologist, epitomised in his book, “Dependency and Development in Latin America.”

President Cardoso’s speech was the inaugural lecture of the OSGA Global Forum series, and the keystone of a day-long conference called “50 Years of Dependency

and Development: Global Perspectives.” The conference, co-hosted by the Latin American Centre, the Contemporary South Asian Programme, OSGA, and the Global History of Capitalism Project at the History faculty, brought together international scholars from multiple disciplines, departments and universities to analyse the impacts of President Cardoso’s book (For an account of this conference, see article by Andrés Guiot-Isaac in this issue).

“Always when there are discussions, or celebrations, about my work, I’m happy of course,” President Cardoso said in an interview with *Horizontes* after the event. “To me, it’s a surprise the extent to which this book has been so influential across all these different countries in the world.”

When President Cardoso’s book was published, it was immediately perceived as dependista literature, but President Cardoso said he felt that this interpretation was oversimplified. His intention was to challenge



Former President Cardoso during the OSGA Forum Inaugural Lecture; next to him the Chancellor of Oxford University, Lord Patten.

the simplicity of the theory of imperialism and its tendency to generalise development across the entire Latin American region, he said. He determined that in many countries, the international influence of democracy and the beginning of globalisation created a pattern of development with dependency.

Today, globalisation has contributed to a series of democratic crises around the world, President Cardoso said.

“Globalisation is at the root of the global crises of political legitimacy undermining representative democracy,” he said. President Cardoso quickly clarified that he was not against globalisation, but that institutions need to recognise its consequences. From Europe to Latin America, the world is undergoing a broader political metamorphosis, President Cardoso pointed out. Political participation has decreased, he noted, as citizens’ distrust of politicians, the media, academics and institutions increase. The xenophobia, nationalism and populism that have arisen as a response are the necessary ingredients for a “perfect political storm.” In his hour-long speech, he tried to answer the question puzzling politicians and scholars: is there a “method to this madness”?

In his opinion, there most definitely is.

“Democracy is devoid of meaning for the growing number of people who feel, who have lost control over their personal lives and the fate of their country,” President Cardoso said.

People have increasingly felt a disconnect between themselves and their elected politicians — a disconnect that has been exacerbated by the rise of communication technology, he continued. The former president criticised political parties’ inability to adapt to society’s new interconnectedness, making the established political system seem out-of-date, out-of-touch and incapable of addressing people’s new aspirations.

Society is at a crossroads, President Cardoso observed, but the outlook is not as bleak as it appears. In places like Hong Kong and Beirut, voters have rejected well-established autocrats in favor of democracy. In Europe, many people who do not usually vote headed to the polls in recent elections. In his view, the new spaces created by globalisation are a call to reinvent representative democracy by adding the elements of participatory democracy fomented by new communication systems. Governments need to build strong institutions that safeguard democracy — capable institutions that are efficient and count on people’s trust and support.

“Democracy is not forever,” he said. “We have to cultivate democracy. Every day, we have to insist on democracy.”

Horizontes sat down with Cardoso the day after his lecture. What was particularly striking was his capacity to cover such a wide range of topics and offering insight on even the most difficult questions for a former President to answer. “Since I was young, I was trained to answer questions, and the important thing is to say what you believe and how you see the situation. As I’m 88, I have no worries about this, and I can say what I please! Of course, one has to



The Chancellor of Oxford University, Lord Patten, and Sarah Whatmore, Head of the Social Science Division, with former President Cardoso at his arrival at the Nissan Lecture Theatre.

be careful -- my role is not to criticise the President abroad, I do that enough at home.”

He laughed as we he begins to tell us more about the current state of Brazilian politics. “It was a mistake to vote for Bolsonaro, it was on grounds of fear. Fear of high levels of insecurity and of PT. Bolsonaro appealed to a sense of order, and many allied with him on this.” We enquire more about his opinion on the increasing concern of the role of the military in domestic politics; Cardoso elaborates: “the army voted for Bolsonaro because they saw him as the lesser of two evils, there was no other candidate capable of acting in their interests. Their wages have increased and of course, it’s comfortable for them to be so closely aligned with the political system, they believe they are the priests of the country and he [Bolsonaro] only reinforces this. They’re extremely bureaucratic though, they hate wars, they’re not prone to corruption. Up until now they are not encouraging authoritarianism as before.”

Perhaps a greater concern for Cardoso seems to be the way in which Evangelicalism is increasingly influencing Brazilian politics. He laments as he talks about the Brazilian foreign minister, Ernesto Araújo: “He’s crazy, he’s a fanatic.” A crazy man. “Crazy men” seems to be a reoccurring theme in our conversation with President Cardoso about contemporary Brazilian politics. “He [Araújo] believes he’s a warrior of God and he wants us to blindly side with the US on everything. Not only this, but the next generation of young people is so susceptible to the influence of evangelical figures who promote their messages through social media. The young people do not read the newspapers anymore, so they are especially influenced by this new force in Brazilian politics,” he responds when we ask him whether his views on the damaging impact of social media on democracy will change with the upcoming generation of those who do not know a life without social media. What especially seemed to worry Cardoso is how issues of poverty and

inequality can exacerbate the threat that such figures as President Bolsonaro can pose to democracy, as the gap between the rich and poor is growing, and people become increasingly desperate to find a solution to domestic issues. For Cardoso, this is a worry not only about how this will impact Brazil but also democracies globally.

He offers some optimism however, on issues such as environmentalism: “We have to listen to the young people. The young people are very active, look at how they campaign for environmentalism, politicians will listen to them eventually if they continue to push for what they care about. They need to find a way to convince them that it is more profitable to preserve it than cut it down. The biggest issue is the discourse around the Amazon, that is the most serious mistake of the government”

It is clear that Cardoso does not have a fatalistic vision for the future of democracy: “it’s about the people because in the end they [politicians] will always follow the people, the most important action everywhere and not only for Brazil is to inform the people because no political leaders know anything about anything: “Trust me I was one of them!” he laughs. It seems that for Cardoso, if people were able to escape their apathy and campaign for politicians to be more active, there is hope for a future that is different from the current wave of political tumultuousness that we seem unable to escape at the present moment. “The more that the middle classes are growing, the more press coverage, the more information, it will become better” he insists.

Hannah Brown and Sabrina Escobar, Oxford, 20 December 2019

50 years of Dependency and Development: Global Perspectives

Andrés Guiot-Isaac

The appearance of *Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina (DyD)* in 1969 marked a watershed for the social sciences in Latin America and beyond. First published in Spanish, in less than a decade the book was translated into Portuguese, Italian, French, German and English. To commemorate the golden anniversary of a book with such global resonance, the Latin American Centre hosted the international conference “50 Years of Dependency and Development: Global Perspectives” in collaboration with OSGA’s Contemporary South Asian Programme, and the Global History of Capitalism Project. The conference took place on 26 November 2019 at St Antony’s College, with the distinguished attendance of the book’s co-author and former President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

The origins of *DyD* are to be found in a Latin American intellectual tradition with a distinctively global outlook. The book’s significance lied —as Valpy Fitzgerald (QEH, Oxford) suggested— in its timely criticism of both traditional liberal economic doctrines, and the developmentalist alternative that, through Cepal’s influence, gained strength across Latin America during the post-war. Rather than a revolt against *Cepalino* developmentalism, *DyD* was —according to Margarita Fajardo (Sarah Lawrence College)— the culmination of this “world-making project.” In Cepal, the institutions’ emblematic centre-periphery economic model had come under the critical scrutiny

when the military coup in Brazil forced Cardoso to exile in Santiago in 1964. Hence, the Brazilian sociologist became a world-maker, and *DyD* embodied the paradoxical message of his world-making project; that both dependency and development were possible within a global capitalist system. Beyond Latin America, the reception of *DyD* followed different paths. Against the background of vibrant political and cultural changes, the foundation of area studies programmes in the post-1968 Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) coincided with the conformation of a transregional and multilingual dependency canon. According to Clara Ruvituso (Freie Universität Berlin), the German translation of *DyD* (1976) became the key text for the nascent Latin American studies in the FRG — and the most stolen book from her university’s Latin American Library. Since the book was considered an extension of “bourgeois economics” in the USSR, the Russian translation was not published until 2002. Yet —as Alessandro Iandolo (DPIR, Oxford) argued— top policy advisers used the book’s principles instrumentally to frame and inform USSR’s engagement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the Anglo-American world, *DyD*’s translation into English (1979) came too late for it to become the core of the dependency canon. Throughout the 1970s, Cardoso and other dependentistas attended workshops and conferences to rectify what they saw as the misleading “consumption” of dependency theory. As I tried to show in my own paper during the conference, these redemptive attempts revealed that, from the

onset, the definition of the dependency field was a contested arena.



Matthew McCartney presenting his paper, ‘Ever the Deputy: Pakistan as a Dependent Economy 1947-2019’, to his left (in the picture) Andrew Hurrell, to his right, Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Andrew Edwards and Laurence Whitehead.

The declining appeal of the book after the 1970s raises the question of its worth for studying capitalism and globalization today. In disciplines like international relations, the gradual displacement of dependency theory responded to a shift from systemic-structural to more actor-centred approaches. However, according to Andrew Hurrell (DPIR, Oxford), current re-examinations of the global have much to learn from *DyD*’s emphasis on how geopolitical structures impact class relations within specific societies. The book’s rich analytical framework —Andrew Edwards (History, Oxford) and Matthew McCartney’s (OSGA, Oxford) showed—provided useful conceptual tools and empirically verifiable hypotheses to re-examine ingrained



Former President Cardoso with the audience after his Inaugural Lecture of the OSGA Forum

Below: Eduardo Posada-Carbó, David Doyle, Diego Sánchez Ancochea, Leigh Payne, Andreza de Souza, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Andrew Baker (University of Colorado) and Timothy Power



Former President Cardoso with Margarita Fajardo, Clara Ruvituso and Andrés Guiot-Isaac.



common places, such as the American exceptionalism, and Pakistan’s perpetual reliance on international capital.

It is undeniable that *DyD*’s influence reached a peak in the mid-1970s and decayed thereafter. By the end of the century, other meta-narratives, such as the “transition to democracy” and the “End of History,” had successfully superseded dependency theory. But as Laurence Whitehead (DPIR, Oxford) reminded us, the latter was displaced but never refuted. Like all meta-narratives, *DyD*’s all-encompassing representation of social and political life is necessarily problematic, but it remains nonetheless a source of insight for younger generations seeking to address the challenges of today’s world.

Andrés Guiot-Isaac is DPhil Student at the Oxford School of Global Area Studies, OSGA. He is working on the emergence of an economic technocracy in Colombia during the postwar.

Central Banking in Times of the COVID-19 Pandemic

In October 2019, Rodrigo Cubero Brealey, President of the Central Bank of Costa Rica, opened the new academic year at the LAC with his inaugural lecture on 'A Century of Central Banking in Latin America: Lights, Shadows, and Challenges Ahead'. Two terms later, three graduate students from the Latin American Centre met with Dr. Cubero again, this time in the format of a video-call, to discuss current challenges of central banks in Latin America in relation to the global COVID-19 pandemic, as well as his personal experience during his time in Oxford.



Dr Rodrigo Cubero Brealey, President of the Central Bank of Costa Rica, delivering the Inaugural Lecture of LAC Academic year on 22 October 2019, when he addressed the theme: 'A Century of Central Banking in Latin America'

Rodrigo Cubero Brealey was appointed President of the Central Bank of Costa Rica in August 2018, after working for over 12 years at the International Monetary Fund, where he occupied several important positions. He received his DPhil in Economics from Oxford, where he was also University Lecturer for three years. He also has a postgraduate diploma in economics and an MA in international economics from Essex University, a JD in law from the Universidad de Costa Rica, and a BA in business administration from Universidad Autónoma de Centroamérica.

You did your DPhil in Economics in Oxford from 1997 to 2005, focused on the macroeconomic effects of foreign direct investments in Costa Rica. Did you already know you would like to come back to Costa Rica one day?

Yes. I always planned to come back to Costa Rica. Working on Costa Rica for my DPhil thesis was an opportunity to do something that I thought was useful for my country. I always dreamt of becoming the governor of the central bank, to be honest. This is a dream come true – as it was going to Oxford as well as working for the IMF. Also, at the time, Costa Rica was attracting a lot of foreign direct investment. There was a watershed moment when Intel, the microchip manufacturer, decided to set up a big plant in

Costa Rica. As a tax lawyer, I advised Intel on how to set up shop in Costa Rica. I realised how important FDI would be for a small economy like Costa Rica. So I decided to work on this subject for my DPhil. I deliberately chose a topic to keep me engaged with the country, because I knew that at some point, I wanted to come back.

What was the most important part of your 'Oxford experience'?

I read a lot. I strayed way outside my field of specialisation. I got the mathematical, statistical, and econometrics tools in my master's programme at Essex, but I wanted to read to become a well-rounded economist, and I did that in the first two years at Oxford. I also went to most of the lectures for the MPhil in Economics, and quite a few from the MSc in Development Economics. I also did lectures in philosophy and law: at that time, Professor Dworkin was still alive and teaching. I had done my law thesis on the philosophical foundations of freedom. Ronald Dworkin was quite a character, and an important figure in the field. One of the many advantages of Oxford is that you can take a lot of different courses, you can audit them.

As current Oxford students, we would be very interested in hearing about your experience at the LAC and Oxford in general as a student. We all have our favourite place, which one was yours?

I'm a curious person and I wanted to spend a lot of time in different libraries. I found a place in the St. Antony's library (up the stairs where the altar was), and I realised you could leave your stuff there, and people would respect it. I also spent a lot of time in the different rooms of 'the Bodleian', the highest floor of the Radcliffe Camera, and Nuffield College, where they have quite a collection for economics.

One thing I really loved was waking up in the morning and biking towards the Radcliffe Camera: with All Souls here, and Brasenose there, and the Bodleian behind you, St. Mary the Virgin in front of you. It was just overwhelming. Keep reminding yourselves of where you are and the privilege that it is to study at Oxford. I took advantage of all that.

You were a lecturer in Economics at the Latin American Centre? We are currently preparing for our exams, with Economics as one of them. What was the most rewarding experience?

I spent eight years at Oxford, five of which as a DPhil student, three of which as a hybrid, mostly working as a university lecturer [in economics], but still had the doctoral thesis on my shoulders. The most rewarding aspect of teaching was moving students from other areas of social sciences like history, political science, sociology, into economics—and getting them to like it. In the Latin American studies programme, most people do not come with economics backgrounds. Seeing how they opened up to economics and started to understand, enjoy, and engage with it: it was my main driver and reward.

In October 2019, Dr. Cubero provided deep insights into the history and development of the central banks in Latin America, while outlining a number of challenges in the coming years and decade. As most of them related to future uncertainty, we discussed arising challenges in relation to COVID-19.

What are Central Banks doing to respond to and prevent the deepening of supply and demand shocks onset by COVID-19 and the restrictions imposed in response? In particular, how does the global pandemic affect the monetary policies of Central Banks in Latin America?

We are currently living through the greatest economic crisis since the 1929 Great Depression. Latin American countries are hit first by the international dimension of the recession which affects everyone simultaneously. The steep decline in global trade and in commodity prices is hurting exports and thus incomes. Second, there is the domestic dimension, with simultaneous shocks on supply - with sanitary measures enforced to contain the pandemic restricting business operations - and demand - with decreasing incomes due to the factors mentioned above.

In this context, Latin American central banks have played a threefold role. First, they have lowered interest rates, to provide relief to economic agents (households and businesses) having to service debt with variable interest rates or to borrow funds during the crisis. Second, they have injected liquidity into the financial markets to maintain it at an



Dr. Rodrigo Cubero Brealey, President of the Central Bank of Costa Rica, interviewed by LAC MPhil students Matthias Christian Brickel, Maria Puolakkainen and Clément Bourg

appropriate level and ensure their smooth functioning. Finally, along with other financial authorities, they have relaxed prudential rules in order for banks to have enough regulatory space so that they can keep lending on softer terms.

For Latin American central banks, retaining their autonomy will be a challenge. Particularly now, in COVID-19 times, central bank pressure to finance government deficits and undertake debt monetisation is being debated. Some, such as the Bank of England, are gradually taking those steps. However, the credibility of central banks in Latin America has only been built in the last 15–20 years and is not as strong. It is key for central banks to remain autonomous, but to use that autonomy responsibly, through transparency and accountability.

Very recently, on 29 April, the IMF announced that its Executive Board approved USD 504mn in emergency assistance to Costa Rica to help address the COVID-19 pandemic. Could you please elaborate more on the motivation and the success (in your opinion) of reaching this agreement with your previous employer? What was your involvement as President of the Central Bank?

It was an interesting and smooth negotiation with the IMF, with professional teams and great leadership on both sides. Knowing how the IMF works made the process even smoother. As a result, Costa Rica secured a Rapid Financing Instrument. The approval process took one month, which is faster than usual IMF standards of about three months. In the future, we have signalled our interest to the IMF to enter into a longer-duration arrangement in order to help reignite our economy.

For a country like Costa Rica, engaging with multilateral institutions is critical to signal our credibility to the financial markets. The IMF decides to grant a loan to a country only after it has conducted a thorough assessment of the macroeconomic sustainability of the country's policy programme. In the case of Costa Rica, international financial institutions will not cover 100% of our funding needs, so we will also need to tap the financial markets.

The question of debt sustainability in emerging countries has resurfaced in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic. Beyond the obvious case of Argentina, many other countries are facing what some experts are calling a "debt wall" in the next 18 months, with several repayments due. In the case of Costa Rica, Moody's forecasts interest payments to represent 30% of government revenues in 2020. Do you foresee a potential debate on debt restructuring, or even possibly default in the case of Costa Rica, and would you welcome this debate, in light of the indicators mentioned above?

When the crisis began, Latin American governments were not in the same situation regarding available fiscal space to meet the challenge. Costa Rica, for its part, had a weak fiscal position. A fiscal reform bill had been voted in 2018 after years of discussion, but was to be enforced only in 2020. During that lapse of time, the sovereign debt of Costa Rica kept increasing.

In this challenging context, governments can take certain actions to ensure debt sustainability. One is to reduce non-essential expenditures by undertaking state reform. Another is to secure external financing with international institutions such as the IMF. They provide favourable financing terms and one additional benefit is that you limit the local crowding out of private domestic investment. Finally, governments may need to implement tax increases which should be temporary and devised so as to limit their procyclical effects.

If these measures are not enough, then there is the question of debt restructuring. Apart from the case of Argentina, it may also be inevitable for some countries of the region, for instance in the Caribbean, to have some debt restructuring in an internationally coordinated matter. Costa Rica's situation is less precarious, and we intend to implement the measures discussed above to avoid further degradation.

To conclude, what would be your final word of advice to three young students at the Latin American Centre in Oxford?

I would encourage you to make the most of your time. That means studying hard, reading as much as you can, spending time in the libraries. That also means engaging in conversation with your fellow students who all have different stories. Studying at Oxford also means you will have a lot of professional opportunities, be it in finance, government, or non-profit, so don't be shy and aim for the stars. Finally, be grateful to your loved ones for what you have received from them, and always be humble about the fact that one never knows enough.



Dr Rodrigo Cubero with LAC students, and members and friends of the LAC, at the reception following his Inaugural Lecture. Photo taken by Jonas von Hoffmann.

LATIN AMERICA IN AN AGE OF DISCONTENT

Michael Reid, Senior Editor at *The Economist*, interviewed by LAC students, Maria Maria Puolakkainen, Sabrina Escobar-Miranda, Pablo Uribe and Clément Bourg

Michael Reid, Senior Editor (Latin America and Spain) and author of the 'Bello' column at *The Economist* was one of our guest speakers at our main seminar in Hilary Term, when he spoke about Latin America in an age of discontent, commenting on the Chilean case in particular. To continue the conversation, graduate students from the LAC sat down with him on a sunny Saturday morning to discuss drivers of discontent, particularly economic drivers, but also social issues, and the perpetuating harm of the drug trade in the region.

How would you characterize Latin America in the present time?

It is a very complex and difficult time. It is an era of discontent in Latin America and in many other parts of the world. In Latin America the discontent has had three different kinds of expression. One is that in most of the recent presidential elections the opposition has won and people [have] wanted change. The days of long political cycles and popular presidents are, on the whole, over, although Mexico might be an exception. The second manifestation of that discontent is the election of populist presidents in Mexico and Brazil. One is on the left, and one on the right, but they are similar in the ways they conduct politics. The third manifestation obviously has been the extreme demonstrations we have seen in half a dozen countries over different issues to an extent, but against a general background of popular frustration.

Young people protesting in Chile in 2019 had only ever experienced democratic rule and did not have memories of the dictatorship.

How would you evaluate the importance of memory for these protests?

It is a complex question. I do think that

the relevant fact in Chile is that the current generation of young people, who are the people out on the streets, have no memory or no direct memory of the dictatorship, as they have grown up in democracy. They do not have the same kind of fears and inhibitions that their parents and grandparents had. They do not worry about 'rocking the boat' in a way. On balance, it is a positive change, despite the risks for public order it entails.

I think historical memory is a contradictory term. Memory is not the same as history as it is subjective, fallible, and individual more than collective. History is different: it is an attempt to establish what the facts were in an empirical way. It is legitimate to remember, but it is also legitimate to forget, and both are morally legitimate positions. Each society does it in different ways. There is always an impossible trilemma of peace, justice and truth, and probably you cannot have all three. Societies tend to choose in different ways

Staying with Chile, would you say that Pinochet's neoliberal economic model brought us to current grievances, or would you attribute current events to more contemporary influences?

I think Chile is very different today than it was in 1990. Obviously, it's much more democratic: Pinochet's constitution has been amended more than forty times. The signature at the bottom of the constitution is now Ricardo Lagos (social-democratic politician who served as President of Chile from 2000 to 2006). There is much more state-provided social provision than there was [previously]. Chile is much less poor and much more 'middle class' than it was in 1990. If it's the model, which model are we talking about? The model has changed. I think that Chile has economically been pretty successful.

It's been more successful than the average in Latin America.

That said, what you might call the 'market society', what Pinochet's idea was, where social provision would be primarily a source of private enterprise and private profit, I think that has not worked so well. That is particularly true of the private pension system and the healthcare system. I also think that business was left unregulated in terms of monopolies and cartels for far too long. The democratic governments over the last twenty years have addressed many of these problems. But in light of what has happened, I would have to say that it was too little too late

In your opinion, why is Latin America so unproductive?

Partly because its workforce is fairly badly educated and trained. Partly because its businesses do not face enough competition, because there is too much protectionism. Distance involves natural protectionism as well. Labour markets are rigidly segmented: the portion of the labour force that enjoys formal economies is small, whereas the [portion of] informal workers who have no rights at all, is massive. This disincentivises firing, whereas productivity involves change and that requires flexibility.

There are other factors, like the organization of large cities in Latin America, which produce most of the value-added in the economy. They are becoming increasingly dysfunctional, because of the increasing difficulty to get around in them, and workers waste enormous amounts of time [commuting]. It is more and more difficult for companies to attain the land they need to expand. Urban planning is central. There is also the lack of childcare facilities: when women have babies, they are often forced to stay at home in low productivity micro-businesses, instead of doing the job where they could add the most value to the economy.

Finally, although not unique to Latin America, so many vested interests are protected by political systems in the region. Consider the extremely protected economy of Brazil: big businesses were the recipients of huge public subsidies under Lula and Dilma Rousseff. That was socially regressive. Public spending in Brazil is not socially progressive. Dilma used the BNDES, the state development bank, which became absolutely huge, and gave away loans at less than market rate to big companies. There was no social justification for that.



Mike Reid presenting his paper at the LAC's main seminar room

Salvadorans were shocked by the recent incident where President Nayib Bukele took the military into the country's legislative assembly. Do you see an increase in the role of the armed forces across the region?

We've seen the incident you refer to in El Salvador. We've seen the Armed Forces play a role in the overthrow and resignation of Evo Morales in Bolivia. We've seen members of the Armed Forces play a prominent role in Bolsonaro's government in Brazil. We've seen a retired General in Uruguay form a new party and win 11 percent of the vote in what is probably the strongest and most consolidated democracy in Latin America and one of the strongest in the world, so that is something of a tendency.

In El Salvador, I think Bukele is a populist. Clearly, it would have been much better had he waited for the Parliamentary election, in which he would no doubt win quite a lot of support in the next Congress. However, many Salvadorans see the two-party system as a kind of entrenched establishment that doesn't want to change things.

On the whole, most armed forces in the region are not interested in taking power or going back to running their government. But the increased tendency has happened because political systems have become too disconnected, too rigid, and are not responding effectively enough to popular demands. It is a warning sign, but I think it is amber, not red.

In your opinion, what is the current reality of the relationship between the United States and Latin America?

The U.S. has historically been a very powerful presence and actor in the greater Caribbean basin. When you go further south, it's really not. We see that in how Bolsonaro had promised to move the Brazilian embassy to Jerusalem, and when he was elected, he didn't, because it's not in Brazil's interest to do so. In Central America, there is a legitimate issue of questionable aid dependency. I realize that in the Northern Triangle countries, the elites have adopted a formula of paying very

little tax, expecting the U.S. to put aid in, and allowing hundreds of thousands of migrants to leave, enter the U.S., and send back remittances. I think that's not a good way to develop your country. It's entirely legitimate for the Trump administration to question that influence.

That said, clearly, the Trump administration is not friendly toward Latin America. It does not offer anything particularly useful. U.S. protectionism is bad for Latin America, U.S. bullying is very bad for Latin America. I do think the U.S. has a legitimate right to protect its borders, and that is popular demand in the U.S., but there are ways of doing it more effectively and more decently.

There has been a resurgence of the 'war on drugs' discourse, where the U.S. has announced a new programme funnelling more money into combating the drug trade in Colombia. Can you imagine a United States that recognises its role in the drug trade as the chief source of demand for drugs, taking significant public health measures and other domestic policy steps that have an effect on the demand-side of the issue?

I think the Trump administration is taking a big step backwards, because since 1989, when George H. W. Bush had gone to Cartagena and met the presidents of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, the mantra had become 'shared responsibility'. Trump has stepped back from 'shared responsibility' into a blame game. I think that it is negative.

The Economist has long argued in favour of legalisation, not because we think it is great to take cocaine, but because we think it's a less bad public policy than prohibition, which is ineffective, and has a series of collateral damages. I think, sadly, that it is very hard to imagine democracies legalising cocaine, because you have to stand up and explain that to parents of teenage children as to why it's a good thing.

That said, I think there are ways of attempting harm reduction at all levels. On the producer side, I am thinking for instance of targeting

much more the processing, refining, and shipment of cocaine. Colombia does that much more effectively, probably, than anywhere else. It seizes about 300 tonnes a year. The problem is that the balloon effect works. You squeeze a particular trade route and they open a new one.

Do you think that legalising cocaine would target the cause of the problem? Consider financing organised crime groups: do you think they would just move onto a different substance?

They would, but cocaine is especially profitable. I do think that if one looks ahead 20-30 years, one already sees that drugs of choice vary according to fashion and innovation. A lot more synthetics are likely to dominate the market in the years ahead. Consider Chinese gangs setting up in Mexico. The landscape is constantly shifting. There is no doubt that the cocaine trade and its derivatives are a terrible problem for Latin America. It used to be an issue of production, but later also of transit. Now you have big consumer countries in Latin America such as Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, and demand is followed by organised crime. That [organised crime] is a real problem for democracy because they represent economic and military power in illegal private hands. They also represent misery for millions of poorer Latin Americans.

Do you see Brexit and the UK's "Global Britain" strategy as an opportunity for the UK to further develop its relationship with Latin American countries?

There is indeed an opportunity, the UK has already negotiated trade continuity agreements with Chile and Mexico replicating the effects of the existing relationship between the EU and those countries. However, one has to be realistic. The UK first trade partner is the EU, and this has to do with the way global value chains are organised. Distance also weighs hard as an economic factor. For these reasons, the share of Latin America in UK trade has been very low for a long time. I don't imagine it will grow very much.

To conclude this interview, if you could give one piece of advice to young journalists, what would it be?

Well, firstly, I admire the bravery of young journalists. It's increasingly hard to make a good living. I would say to them, specialise. The provision of general news is a commodity. It generates very little value. Thus, if you have specialist knowledge of any kind - whether it's about women's issues, development, democracy, healthcare, pensions, climate change, anything like that - you become much more interesting and valuable. That said, The Economist does not hire people who studied journalism in the UK, unlike in the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking world. We have people who are bright and who have a good education. Some of them will be economists. Most of them will not be and will have studied other domains. To sum up, I would aim at combining a good general education with trying to get good specialist knowledge.



INFORMALITY IN BRAZIL

A report on the 7th yearly conference of the LAC's Brazilian Studies Programme by our recognised students from Brazil.

As per LAC's yearly tradition, on 7th of February the Brazilian Studies Programme Conference took place, organised by Dr. Andreza A de Souza Santos. Informality was the key theme of a full day of activities, consisting of five interdisciplinary panels with Q&A for the ever intrigued floor of social scientists, historians and jurists. Each panel brought different approaches for the thematic, between theoretical discussions, anthropological narratives and empirical data analysis, all united by having Brazil as the main case study. The Conference

attracted more than 100 attendees, a full room to close the 2020 Oxford Brazil Week.

Keynote address Brodwyn Fischer, University of Chicago

The keynote speaker, who opened the conference, was the historian Brodwyn Fischer (University of Chicago). Her immediate question was "Does informality have a history?". The history of informal cities, she said, is entwined with the history of inequality and social movements, and it's still largely uncovered. Through exploration

of a series of historical documents mainly on the cities Rio de Janeiro and Recife's poor communities (*favelas*), Professor Fischer showed how informality exists due to the tension between public and private spheres that shapes the whole Brazil's history, since it preserves the power of individuals in all levels of society. Her lecture certainly gave food for thought.



Panel 1 (left to right): David Doyle, Martijn Koster, Andreza A. de Souza Santos, Marie Kolling, and Martijn Oosterbaan

The speakers in Panel 1, "The place of informality: locating informal practices in growing cities and shrinking economies", brought ethnographical insights to reflect on informality, regulation, and State violence in the outskirts of different Brazilian cities. Andreza A. de Souza Santos described the competition (and envy) among people working in the informal sector in Ouro Preto, a historical city that "belongs to those who don't belong to it", in the sense that tourists and students coming from elsewhere get the best of it while underprivileged locals can only afford living in peripheral areas. Though repeating 'us vs. others' narratives, residents still compete with each other to survive. Martijn Oosterbaan (Utrecht), discussing his research in the *favela* complex called "Complexo da Maré", in Rio de Janeiro, posed a reflection on space, "ghostly" and "hybrid" sovereignty, and political dynamics in a territory where presence and absence of State power alternate: "the State portrays itself as a way of equalizing space, but it hierarchizes it instead". Marie Kolling (DIIS) described an informal way of accessing credit in the peripheral area of Salvador known as "name lending", in which people with "clean names" (meaning: access to credit) lend credit cards for friends, relatives, and neighbors, acquiring debts they hope will get paid on time (lest they also end up with a "dirty name").



Panel 2 (left to right): Leigh Payne, Ezequiel González Ocantos, Octavio Ferraz, Corentin Cohen, and Jacob Blanc

Martijn Koster (Radboud), drawing from his fieldwork at *Ocupa Estelita*, proposed a framework for reflecting on precariousness, trying to come up with an understanding of popular politics that go beyond the opposition between the "defiance approach" and a "critical theory" that cherry-picks anti-system practices: popular politics do not necessarily defy or contest formal politics, but instead engage with them in unforeseeable ways.

For panel 2 "Imagining justice: selective punishments and omissions" we had Corentin Cohen (Sciences Po/CERI) introducing the justice system of the Brazilian armed group *Primeiro Comando da Capital* (PCC), created as a counter-state alliance to resist against human rights violations within the penitentiary system. The so-called "Tribunal Popular" follows PCC's tenets of "equality", in which all "brothers" are accountable and life should be preserved - both from attacks from other "brothers", the State, or unfair rulings. Through an analysis of interviews and archival research, Jacob Blanc (Edinburgh) uncovered the history of Itaipu Binational Corporation as an example of military dictatorship's policy against rights of access to land and the livelihoods of rural and indigenous people, describing how the movements for land rights at that

particular setting enabled the emergence of the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST). Octavio Ferraz (KCL) discussed the increasing understanding of access to health services as a human right and the "judicialization" of health in Brazil, showing how a combination of chronic underfunding of the Brazilian health system (SUS) and the demand for specialized treatments through civil appeals to Justice can result in an even more unequal access to health. Ezequiel Gonzales Ocantos presented a comparative analysis from the results of focus groups conducted in Peru and Brazil concerning public perceptions of the Lava Jato (Car Wash) operation and its impact in fighting corrupt practices by political actors in both countries.



Panel 3: Tim Power and Rebecca Abers

Panel 3, "Politics and self-censorship", started with Mariana Borges presenting

the gains of ethnography and historical analyses, as an inventive methodological approach for political science, to understand the political preferences focusing on the voter's choice. Bruno Bolognesi (UFPR) presented his research about right-wing political parties in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, using a comparative study on party systems to search for similitudes on them. Rebecca Abers (UnB) broke through the analyses of activism and policymaking, demonstrating that is possible to have activism inside bureaucracy. Alex Shankland (IDS) presented democratic strategies of indigenous peoples to claim for govern policies.

The Annual Conference ended with a round-table entitled "Informality in a changing political-economic system in Brazil", moderated by Andreza A de Souza Santos. Flavia Biroli (Brasilia) showed how informal labour in the domestic realm is under-paid or not paid at all and women mainly occupy informal-domestic-labour positions. Mariana Batista (Pernambuco) demonstrated how consistent are evangelical voters and parties when it comes to the drafting of conservative bills or the vetoing of progressive ones, which may ultimately naturalize the positions explained by Flavia. Gabriel Ulyseu brought data that showed the impact of the growing numbers of informal companies on the Brazilian economy and on the levels of disparity in the country's labour market, he also mentioned the informality trap, when those in the informal sector may fail to return to formal labour markets. Timothy Power showed that though informality is a very important topic in Brazil, it is hardly represented in the congress. According to Gabriel, the heterogeneity and invisibility of informality may preclude its political capital, Gabriel and Tim concluded.

This article was written by LAC recognised students: Felipe Ferreira de Oliveira Rocha (UFPE), Milena de Lima e Silva (UFSCAR), Carolina Maia (Museu Nacional UFRJ), and Haína Coelho (UFPE)



Keynote address Brodwyn Fischer, University of Chicago

Global Security Workshop, marking cooperation between the Latin American Centre and the UK Embassy in Brazil



The opening panel, Dr Andreza de Souza Santos and Ambassador Vijay Rangarajan



Security experts Adriana Abdenur and Mauricio Santoro and PhD researchers Heloísa Câmara and Gustavo Blum.

Last November, in Rio de Janeiro, the LAC teamed up with the British Embassy in Brasilia to organise an exciting international academic and policy workshop on “Global Security Challenges of the 21st Century: New Problems, Innovative Solutions”. The event, which was made possible by a generous grant from the Chevening Fund, was a forward-looking, unconventional fusion of the academic and policy worlds. The format was based on traditional academic presentations followed by interactive policy workshops, during which participants were encouraged to offer workable solutions to real policy problems. Dr Andreza A de Souza Santos, Director of the Brazilian Studies Programme, co-hosted the event alongside UK Ambassador to Brazil, Vijay Rangarajan.

The conference sought to cover worldwide and regional security concerns in conversation with academic, policy experts and young scholars from Brazil sharing groundbreaking research findings. The final panel focused specifically on new technologies and cybercrime. While the aim was to assess the issues from the perspective of Brazil and Brazilian policy-makers, the intrinsically global nature of all main current security challenges pervaded our discussions. We had intense debates, among

other topics, about the questioning, testing and reforming of the post-World War II and post-Cold War defence architecture; the Venezuelan crisis and new regional migration trends; and how to rethink transnational flows of drugs and crime. Top researchers and policy-makers in the tech field sparred over how advanced technological gadgetry can support but also erode the criminal justice system and basic human rights.

We succeeded in attracting a number of great Brazilian scholars. Professors from the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), the Brazilian War College (ESG), the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR), King’s College London and Oxford, among others, were able to network with young researchers as well as established academics and practitioners. Civil servants from the Brazilian federal government and analysts from think tanks such as the Igarapé Institute and the Technology and Society Institute (ITS) were crucial collaborators in the mini policy labs that we assembled.

On a personal note, as a former Antonian and frequent visitor to the LAC, it was a great pleasure to facilitate contacts between

Oxford and the British Embassy in Brasília, and to co-organise the conference. While I inch towards a PhD in Politics at “the other place” (sorry!), on the margins of my career in the Brazilian Foreign Service, it is always refreshing and exciting to work on building these new and experimental spaces, where we can connect thinkers and practitioners at the forefront of their fields.

Felipe Krause, MPhil Development Studies, St Antony’s College, 2001-2003



The Organisers (left to right): Flavia Salazar and Caitlin Smith (UK Embassy in Brazil), Felipe Krause, and Andreza de Souza Santos (University of Oxford)

LATIN AMERICAN GRADUATE NETWORK

Since 2014, the Latin American Centre has hosted a student-led doctoral seminar, characterised for its interdisciplinarity and for encouraging the participation of students from all University departments. Besides providing a space for intellectual engagement, the seminar has contributed to the construction of a community of students and researchers based at Oxford with a common interest in Latin America.

In the academic year of 2019-20, we (Andrés Guiot-Isaac, Emilie Curryova, Joana Perrone and Juan Neves) joined what is the current organising committee. Throughout our meetings, it became clear to us that we all wanted the seminar to be more inclusive of Masters students and that it should work as a foundation for a broader Graduate Network.

The main objective of the network is to foster a sense of community, by connecting like-minded students and organising academic and social events. Our own experience as DPhil students highlighted to us how important it was for spaces like this to be promoted and developed, especially in a university as big and decentralised as Oxford. In our last year, we had MPhil and DPhil students joining in from different departments across the university, and even hosted students from other universities.

We also had many plans for Trinity, but with the Covid-19 outbreak, organising large social gatherings suddenly was no longer an option, a situation compounded by the closure of the building in Church Walk, our natural place of reunion. Our community, which had only begun to take shape, seemed suddenly very fragile, and we quickly decided to brainstorm and discuss how to best move forward.

We then decided to move our seminar online and to expand the Network’s reach and scope. This is how we came up with a Seminar Series which was held throughout Trinity, covering a wide range of themes from identity formation, gender studies, and feminist literature to political history and political economy. Thanks to the ‘border-free’ potential of the online seminars, we had the pleasure to welcome presenters and discussants from universities in Europe, Latin America,

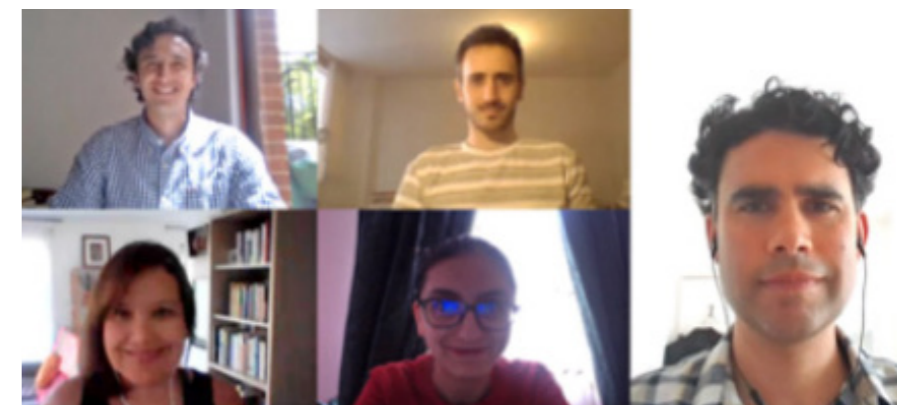
and the US, including Boston College, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Freie Universität Berlin, Universidad de los Andes and the University of Cambridge. In addition to the regular seminars, we have set up other spaces for discussion with international participation, such as our reading group on Gender and Latin America.

The online nature of the events has allowed many scholars from around the globe to join in and the Network has grown in the last few months. While we prepare for what will no doubt be a challenging year, we are very excited to welcome new students into the Network.

We can be contacted at emilie.curryova@sant.ox.ac.uk.



Participants and organizers in the seminars included (from upper left corner to the right): Professor Eduardo Posada-Carbó (Director of the LAC), Juan Neves Sarriegui (University of Oxford, organizer), Fernando Valcheff García (St Andrews University), Alan Brejnholt (Loughborough University London), Olga Velasquez Ocampo (University of Oxford), Dr Andreza de Souza Santos (University of Oxford), Dr Tania Pleitez Vela (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona), Jessica A. Fernández de Lara Harada (University of Cambridge), Micaela Moreira (Instituto de Desarrollo Económico y Social), Emilie Curryova (University of Oxford, organizer)



Below from upper left to right: Andrés Guiot Isaac (University of Oxford, organizer), Rodrigo López Martínez (University of Manchester), Professor Ben Bollig (University of Oxford), Dr Tania Pleitez Vela (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona), Nydia Cecilia Díaz Pérez (University of Los Andes)

European Area Studies Network

Professor Timothy Power, Head of OSGA, introduces the European Area Studies Network meeting at St Luke's Chapel on 31st January 2020. Present are the heads of all seven OSGA centres including LAC, the Warden of St Antony's, plus colleagues representing INALCO (Paris), GIGA (Hamburg), Charles University (Prague), Higher School of Economics (Moscow and St Petersburg), Free University of Berlin, University of Leiden, and University of Warsaw.



Transitional Justice and Corporate Responsibility at the Universidad del Pacífico

Professor Leigh Payne with colleagues at the Universidad del Pacífico in Lima, including its Rector, Felipe Portocarrero (right), after her lecture on Transitional Justice and Corporate Responsibility in November 2019. Her visit was part of the LAC agreement with the Pacifico, supported by the Rosemary Thorp Fund.



Global Populism

To mark the 50th anniversary of Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner's edited book, *Populism: Its Meaning and National Characteristics*, the LAC co-hosted a one-day conference in November 2019. Published in 1969, this was perhaps the first volume to look at populism from a 'global' perspective. The event was open by Hans-Jurgen Puhle, from Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main, with an overview of the volume in the context of the global re-emergence of populism in recent times, followed by David Gellner's (All Souls) presentation on the place of populism in Ernest Gellner's oeuvre. During the following sessions, various papers discussed the cases of the United States (Jennifer Luff (Durham), Greece (Stathis Kalivas, All Souls);

Mexico (Alan Knight), India (Louise Tillin), Africa (William Beinart) and Egypt (Walter Armbrust). The event concluded with a round table, chaired by David Doyle, examining the current phenomenon with the participation of Edward Mortimer (All Souls); Ralph Schroeder (Oxford Internet Institute), and Jan Zielonka, (St Antony').

The event was supported by the African Studies Centre (OSGA), the Rothermere American Institute and the Middle East Centre at St Antony's College.



Latin American History Seminar

Paula Alonso (George Washington University) inaugurated our History Seminar in Michaelmas Term with a paper on the history of Democracy in Argentina. Our programme in Michaelmas and Hilary terms included papers by Carrie Gibson, Dextrall Peters, Juliana Jaramillo, Juan Luis

Ossa and Pablo Picatto. Seminars in Hilary Term included papers by Klaus Gallo, Jorge Wiese, Sebastian Alvarez, Consuelo Saizar and Malcolm Deas. In Trinity Term we moved our seminars to a Tertulia format, online (see article by Lucy Driver and Paola Quevedo in this issue). In the second picture above, our seminar group enjoys our traditional dinner at Manos following the seminar paper by Malcolm Deas.



Early discussion of COVID-19 at the LAC

Andreza Aruska de Souza Santos

On the 31st of January 2020, Dr Moritz Kraemer presented in the LAC Seminar Series, organised by Dr Andreza A de Souza Santos and Dr Carlos A Perez Ricart. When I invited Moritz, in the final months of 2019, I had no idea about the pandemic that would reach us a couple of months later. Moritz prepared a presentation on Aedes borne viruses infections in the Americas, such as Zika, dengue, chikungunya and yellow fever, which are increasing across the world due to climate change and unplanned urbanization. However, on the day of his talk, COVID-19 was already a devastating reality in China and the LAC was one of the first audiences at Oxford to hear some ground-breaking analyses of the pandemic, which was still quite unknown to most of us. An expert on the use of maps and models to anticipate the spatial distribution and timing of arrival of the viruses, Moritz discussed novel emerging technologies and data from online resources. What we saw from his presentation and later by his papers and many others that emerged is that data is ever more reliable, and we also learned about disease control measures in the absence of licenced and safe vaccines, an essential knowledge of today's world. Social science approaches, Moritz said, is critical in guiding future control measures.

Moritz's research addresses questions related to the spatial spread of infectious diseases. Specifically he is concerned with the integration of epidemiological, sociological, spatial and genomic data and how novel insights can be best used to reduce the burden of infectious pathogens through effective intervention strategies. Moritz finished his DPhil in 2017 and is now a Branco Weiss Research Fellow in the Department of Zoology at the University of Oxford, an Associate of the Oxford Martin Programme on Pandemic Genomics and associate at Harvard Medical School.

BOOK LAUNCH: The Politics of Memory: Urban Cultural Heritage in Brazil

Andreza Aruska de Souza Santos

How does a nation create hegemonic narratives of the past and erase the inconveniences and embarrassments of its history? Who decides which monuments are to be created and which others must fall? In my book, I discuss how nation-states use the city fabric to showcase a past. I also discuss how memories that are not officially represented in museums, street names, and commemorations are not always forgotten but may linger in everyday stories and resurface.

On the 19th of November 2019, my book was launched at the Latin American Centre. On that occasion, I presented some of my research results, which focussed on unpacking Brazil's 20th century memory making. The creation of a sense of "Brazilianess" was instrumental for Vargas' administration. In a country with great regional, racial, gender, and economic disparities, to find a common

external enemy was a way to unify the nation. National inequalities were nuanced and downplayed by the emphasis on the colonial enemy. The early 20th century Brazil reconstructed previous centuries by retrospectively assigning meaning to colonial architecture – the creativity of Brazilian artists – and to independence movements. National heroes were created and celebrated in official parades as well as monuments. Ouro Preto is a city like no other in Brazil for my examination. The stage for Brazil's most important plot against the Portuguese, Minas Gerais Conspiracy (1789), and hailed as a UNESCO heritage site since the 1980s, I examined that city to discuss how colonial memories gained a new narrative in Republican Brazil. I also discussed how current residents in Ouro Preto, the majority black and mixed-race, have resisted narratives that exclude rather than include them. Citizens have



The author with students and academic visitors part of the Brazilian Society



A full LAC room for the Book Launch



(From the left to the Right): Elizabeth, Andreza, Sandra and Katerina

been materially excluded from the city. The historical quarters cater mainly for a temporary public of tourists because preservation also meant increasing prices and houses are unaffordable for locals. Permanent residents live in improvised houses on the slope of hills. These residents are also excluded from the narrative of the city. When focussing on the struggle against the Portuguese, Ouro Preto celebrates a Brazilian-born elite. Slaves, that were no less than 80% of the colonial population, are only represented in torture objects in museums or in religious unofficial stories in former gold mines. This exclusion means that people turn against this national monument instead of engaging with and protecting it. I turn to the final aspect of the book, how governments can make the city, which aimed for identity and inclusion, locally recognised? Participation was the answer in Ouro Preto.

In my ethnography, I narrate how participatory meetings hoped to aggregate new meanings and uses for monuments. I also discuss the limits of such encounters, which give all participants an opportunity to voice concerns, but do not equally empower people to speak up publicly. I conclude that civil opportunities wrapped

in socio-economic inequality achieve little. Silencing in meetings can be less costly than confronting established powers in town.

I discussed the results of my research with Professor Elizabeth Ewart, Oxford Anthropology; Professor Sandra Jovchelovitch, Psychology LSE, and Dr Katerina Hatzikidi, Graduate Institute of Geneva. The choice of commentators gave traction to a discussion on how history, anthropology and psychology meet to discuss how societies remember. Brazil's future requires an urgent discussion about the role of its past. When images of the past are cherry-picked but presented as a coherent and encompassing narrative, there is little space for questioning. The lack of official memory on Brazil's violence (whether on indigenous people, slaves, or during the military regime) liberates a continuous sense of injustice. In addition, the idea of Brazilians vs. Colonisers creates a false duality that can be easily re-used. Polarisation is reaching a crescendo in the country but history is hardly ever a game of victims and perpetrators. Ethnography is a powerful tool to shed light into the complexities of history. This tool is ever more needed as the future of democracy in Brazil rests on confronting a lot of its past.

The LAC goes virtual

As we approached the end of Hilary Term the Covid-19 situation was becoming more uncertain and we had to take the decision to cancel all the events we had planned for the final week of term. As we began preparing for Trinity Term, it quickly became apparent that things would not be returning to normal for some time.



'Globalization and the History of Epidemics in Latin America', was the first in our series of online round tables on the impact of Covid-19 in Latin America, with the participation of Claudia Agostoni (UNAM, Mexico), Diego Armus (Swarthmore College, USA), and Anne-Emanuelle Birn (University of Toronto, Canada), chaired by Erica Charters Oxford, UK

Undeterred, we decided to move our events online (with little knowledge at that stage of exactly what was involved in order to achieve this!), and Eduardo and academic colleagues at the LAC put together an exciting programme of seminars; a series of online round tables on the Covid-19 crisis in Latin America and weekly Latin America History seminars. The BSP also held regular 'Coffee and Science' online talks, and the Oxford Latin American Graduate Network organised a number of events.



Chico Camargo, Andreza de Souza and Jacqueline Goes de Jesus in one of the Coffee and Science online conversations.

As we're sure many can relate to, Microsoft Teams and Zoom were not platforms we had much experience of before April. Just a few months on and they are permanently open on our laptops! We were very fortunate to count on the support of TORCH (The Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities) for our first couple of events, and they gave us many useful tips.



Hilda Sabato (UBA, Buenos Aires) and Eduardo Zimmermann (San Andrés, Argentina), opened our first online Tertulia at the Latin American History Seminar.

The events this term have been a huge success; we have regularly had over one hundred people registered (far more than would ever have fitted in the LAC seminar room). Running online events has been a wonderful opportunity to engage with a wider audience and our alumni, and has allowed us to more easily invite speakers from different parts of the world.

Whilst we hope to be able to welcome people back again soon to the LAC, the current pandemic has forced us to look at new ways of doing things, and given the many benefits of virtual events we plan to continue organising them in the future. The only thing missing is the customary wine that is enjoyed at the end of the seminars at 1 Church Walk!
Lucy Driver and Paola Quevedo

LATIN AMERICAN LITERATURE IN THE TIMES OF EPIDEMICS

An interview with Olivia Vázquez-Medina

Olivia Vázquez-Medina, Associate Professor in Spanish, fellow of Wadham College and Lecturer at St Hugh's, and LAC Affiliate, talks to LAC MSc student Hannah Brown. Her research centres on modern and contemporary Spanish American fiction, with a particular interest in the historical novel, representations of the body, literary accounts of illness and medicine, and (more recently) questions of embodiment, sensory perception, affect, and emotion. She is currently working on disquietude in contemporary Spanish American fiction written by women. Dr Vázquez-Medina chaired a round table with Lina Meruane and Juan Gabriel Vásquez to discuss Latin American Literature in the Times of Epidemics, organised by the LAC in Trinity Term.

What caught your attention about the presence and use of illness as a theme in Latin American literature?

When I was writing my doctoral thesis (on representations of the body of historical characters in late 20th century Spanish American novels), I became fascinated by García Márquez's ill Bolívar in *El general en su laberinto*. I found it really interesting how GGM engaged very closely with a range of historical sources, among them Bolívar's own letters from 1830 (the year of his death) and the journal written by Alexandre Prosper Révérend, Bolívar's last doctor. While many critics saw the focus on an ill and frail Bolívar simply as a way to 'demystify' a much revered historical figure, I realised that GGM was richly interweaving many different traditions of representing disease (among them, ancient conceptions of epidemics, medieval miasma theories, and 19th century Romanticized portrayals of consumption) with historical sources such as those I mention above. I argued that, above all, he drew on a long tradition of portraying those bodies that are thought to symbolically

'incarnate' the nation to develop a link between Bolívar's own ill-health and the metaphorical lack of 'salud de la patria', in a way that was actually asserting Bolívar's importance for Colombia (and Latin America more generally), and not really 'demystifying' the historical character in that sense. I got hooked on the theme of illness thanks to this book, because I realized how richly illness can articulate a literary work's aesthetic and political dimensions (among others).

What do you think is the importance of illness as a theme in the Latin American case?

Illness is one of those themes, like love or death, that are as old as literature itself. Obviously, literary representations of disease are different across cultures and time periods and intersect with many other discourses (medical and scientific, of course, but also social, cultural, and political). Illness is itself a multi-layered category as it comprises a bodily, an emotional, a cognitive, a socio-political, and often also a spiritual dimension. Given all this, it is not surprising that it is everywhere in Latin American and other literatures, as it designates one of the most primordial human experiences. Even an author that is seen as 'cerebral' as Borges wrote about physical and psychological ailments, as well as blindness. I have worked on novels by different modern and contemporary authors who, through very different styles and approaches, focus on illness as a catalyst to explore other issues (for example racial conflict in García Márquez's *Del amor y otros demonios*; the idea of Mexican modernity in Cristina Rivera Garza's *Nadie me verá llorar*; selfhood, language, and gender politics in Lina Meruane's *Sangre en el ojo*; and environmental destruction in Samanta Schweblin's *Distancia de rescate*). These are just examples to illustrate the prevalence and importance of this theme in the recent Spanish American context, but evidently the list is far from exhaustive.

Lastly, could you tell me a little more about the representation of epidemics and pandemics in Latin American literature?

One author who is particularly 'fond' of epidemics is again García Márquez -- epidemics pop up everywhere in his novels, from the 'insomnia plague' in *Cien años de soledad*, to the chief motif of cholera in *El amor en los tiempos del cólera*. Although epidemics are often connected to a specific social and historical context in his works, in portraying them he draws on a literary imaginary that transcends the cultural specificity of Latin America (via Sophocles, Boccaccio, Defoe, and Camus, for example). A more recent example that springs to mind, particularly in the current circumstances, is a novel by Mexican writer Yuri Herrera, *La transmigración de los cuerpos* (2013), which was published only a few years after the H1N1 influenza pandemic was felt particularly strongly in Mexico. The descriptions of fear and silence in a town in lockdown, where face masks are sold-out and pharmacies shut down, make for an eerie read in the current climate. There has been very interesting scholarly work on literary representations of epidemics in Latin America. For example, the Chilean writer Lina Meruane has a fascinating study, *Viral Voyages*, on narratives of AIDS in the late 20th century.



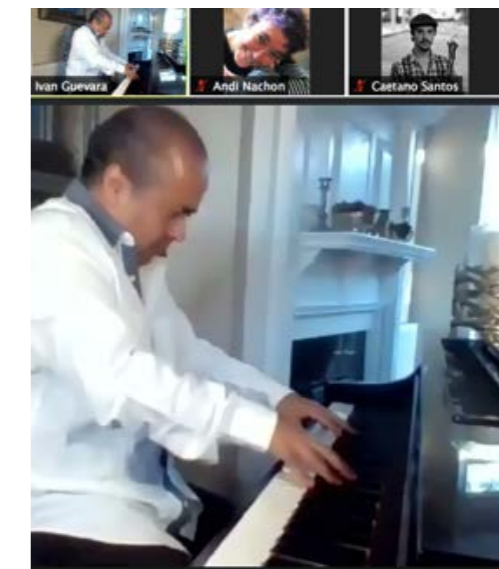
Oxford in LASA 2020

As a result of the crisis, the yearly Latin American Studies Association, LASA, conference, due to take place in Guadalajara, went virtual in May. As usual, Oxford had an important participation in the conference, as shown in the programme put together by the LAC, 'Oxford in LASA 2020'. Pictured above, participants in the workshop 'The Comeback of the Latin American Armed Forces: Continuities, Changes, and Challenges to Democratic Security Governance': Markus Hochmüller, Anais M. Passos, Mónica Serrano, Carlos Solar, Francesca Lessa, and Carlos A. Pérez Ricart.

MID-TERM RECEPTION



On 29 May, the LAC offered a 'Mid-term online reception', attended by students, members and affiliates of the Latin American Centre. During the reception, Chiquinho de Assis joined us from Ouro Preto to play Brazilian music; Andi Nachon read her poems from Buenos Aires; Ivan Guevara played the piano from London; Cateano Santos played the Brazilian bandolin from Oxford, and Maria Puolakainen, accompanied by Ifigenia Xifré Villar, both from Oxford as well, interpreted songs by Rosalía.



Ivan Guevara, from 'Classico Latino' playing the joropo 'Corrido Ilanero'.



MSc Students 2019–2020



Hannah Brown

My name is Hannah and I'm from the UK. I'm excited to be studying the MSc to develop my knowledge of the region in the hope that one day I can work in Latin America - UK diplomatic relations. My background is in International Relations, which I graduated in from King's College London. However, my interest in the region was sparked by my love of Latin American literature, which I studied at the Universidad de Granada before starting my undergraduate degree. My research focusses on Perú, a country that I have got to know and love and I am currently looking at changing migration policy towards Venezuelan migrants in Perú, focussing on the role of public opinion and the media.



Sabrina Escobar-Miranda

Even though I'm from El Salvador, my interest in studying Latin America didn't start until I moved to the U.S. to pursue my undergraduate degree in Leadership Studies and Journalism at the University of Richmond. Both courses really heightened my senses to the many social justice issues that are alive and well in El Salvador and in Latin America as a whole, and I wanted to keep learning more about the region that raised me in a post-grad environment. My research interests are varied, but I am especially keen on conducting my final dissertation on media narratives of gendered violence and femicides in the Northern Triangle, with a focus on El Salvador.



Julia Carvalho Dias Carneiro

I'm a Brazilian journalist interested in shedding light on the different facets of inequality in my country. Before coming to Oxford, I worked as BBC correspondent in Rio, reporting on the main events in Brazil for a global audience – from the World Cup and Olympics to the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff and the election of Jair Bolsonaro. But what marked me the most throughout this period was telling the stories of people in the least privileged segments of society, such as the plight of mothers raising Zika babies in poverty, the cases of children killed by stray bullets in Rio's favelas, or the breakthrough made by daughters of domestic maids that entered university through racial quotas. At the Latin American Centre, I feel that I gained a better understanding of the underlying issues related to such stories, obtaining new tools to understand the region's history and development problems, as well as its human rights challenges and its social, gender and racial inequalities. I leave with a deep sense of gratitude and a desire to always continue being a student, wherever my career takes me next.



Xue Li

Xue was born and raised in China. Before coming to Oxford, she completed her BA in International Studies with Spanish at the University of Nottingham, Ningbo, China. Her interest in Latin American Studies was aroused by her experience in an exchange programme with the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. Xue is specially interested in gender and economic issues in Brazil and Argentina. In her extracurricular time, she enjoys language learning and she has some experience in language teaching and translation as well.



Victoria Cogorno

My name is Victoria and I am a student of the MSc program from Argentina. I did my undergraduate in Humanities at Universidad de San Andrés, where I developed an interest in Latin American literature and Art but also a passion for political philosophy. I have found that philosophy can be a great theoretical framework for the construction of an innovative study of literary works and other cultural productions, and this study can be key in the understanding of a society, or a country's, cultural identity. In fact, my research is focused on a study of Argentine literature from the philosophy of bio-politics. In a world faced with an environmental crisis, it may be time to revise the stories we tell ourselves - the ones we have deemed successful and timeless - and how animal figures and nature make their appearances in them. I hope my time in Oxford will provide me with new and better tools to further my analysis of the culture back home, in Argentina.



Anna Reed

I am originally from the United States, having grown up in the state of Oklahoma. At Oxford I will be continuing my studies from my undergraduate work at Dartmouth College. I focus primarily on Bilingual and Intercultural Education for Indigenous students in Cusco, Peru. I am an Indigenous student myself, and so I am deeply committed to supporting other Indigenous peoples in Latin America. Going forward into this degree, I hope to expand upon my undergraduate studies and work with the Quechua peoples to study education.



Adriana Vitagliano

Adriana is from the United States, with a background in international affairs and consulting. During her undergraduate career, Adriana worked at the US State Department, focusing on Global Women's Issues and Education, and at Ashinaga, an education NGO in Tokyo dedicated to facilitating access to higher education for orphans. Prior to Oxford, Adriana worked as a Deals consultant within the Mergers and Acquisitions group at PwC. Adriana's current work explores the political impact of remittances within Latin America, with a particular focus on Venezuela. Adriana is an Oxford 1+1 scholar, and will be attending Oxford's Said Business School for a Masters in Business Administration in 2020. Adriana holds a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations and Public Policy from Princeton University.

MPhil Students First Year MPHILS



Victoria Bolaños

I graduated from Harvard College in Social Anthropology and Government. Living in various countries in Central America and the Caribbean sparked my interest in the region. I found these countries' different realities and cultures fascinating. During my undergraduate degree, I focused mostly on crime and violence, particularly in El Salvador. I got to explore the role religious institutions play in mitigating gang violence in the country. During my two years of the MPhil program in Latin American Studies, I hope to further my research by studying the intersection between policy making and human rights in regards to gang violence in El Salvador - specifically how these two come into play for both the victims and perpetrators of violence.



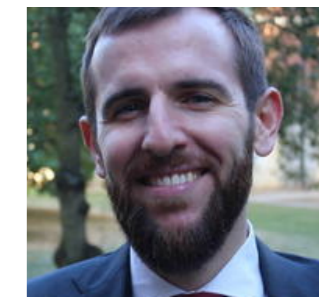
Isabella Branco

I was born in Brazil but moved quite a bit as a child, completing my undergraduate degree in History and International Relations at the University of Cincinnati in the US. Despite having been out of the country of my birth for most of my life, Brazil remains squarely within my interests and I have discovered a passion for studying the Brazilian military dictatorship ('64-'85). I am specifically interested in the politics of memory, modern issues and attitudes towards democracy and human rights placed into the context of a country with authoritarian traditions, and specifically the way this manifests in attitudes of the Brazilian middle class. After completing my MPhil, I hope to go onto a DPhil to further study this topic.



Maria Puolakkainen

I am driven by my curiosity for how the state shapes development outcomes through macroeconomic, tax, and social policies, and the upholding of the rule of law— not to forget my addiction to salsa dancing. After discovering my passion for development economics during my Philosophy, Politics, and Economics degree at Warwick, I pursued this in my econometric investigation on the impact of the natural resource curse on state capacities across Latin American countries, where I discovered high levels of variation across oil, gas, and mineral-dependent states. I spent 2018-2019 travelling and working across Latin America. Following my experience as a consultant in serving healthcare and humanitarian aid to Venezuelan migrants in a Medellín-based NGO, I feel compelled to continue working in the development sector in the future. I have also worked in the private sector in a Mergers and Acquisitions team in London, learning a great deal about corporate governance, enterprise growth strategies, and reflecting on approaches for generating economic dynamism. My first year at the Latin American Centre inspired me to question intra-state regional development inequalities in particular. In my MPhil research I am investigating the role of violent non-state actors on the provision of education and healthcare services in Colombian municipalities.



Clément Bourg

I am a postgraduate student at St Cross College, Oxford University. Born and raised in the Paris region, I completed there a Master of Science in Management at Essec Business School, and then worked for 6 years for Airbus in Munich and Toulouse. Studying Latin America is an attempt to give a new orientation to my professional life, driven by my interest in social sciences, my previous trips to the region, and my participation in the Oxford Summer School in 2018 on democratisation in Latin America. During my time at Oxford, I intend to undertake research on Colombia during the National Front period ('58-'86). Apart from the library, you can find me trying new restaurants, "refaire le monde" in the pure French tradition, or listening to old hip hop songs.



MPhil Students

First Year MPHILS



Carla Vila

Carla is from São Paulo, Brazil. She holds a BA in Public Administration from FGV EAESP Getulio Vargas Foundation and has also undertaken graduate studies in Political Science at FESPSP School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo. She has seven years of experience in Public Administration, government relations and in the non-profit sector, including work conducted in the Secretariat of Education of the State of Sao Paulo and the Secretariat of Strategic Affairs of the Presidency of Republic of Brazil. Her research focuses on the themes of nationalism, identity, utopias, and socio-political theories that are part of Brazilian Social Thought.



Matthias Brickel

Matthias is a postgraduate student at Exeter College, Oxford University, focusing on International Relations, Economics and Organised Crime in his Master's degree at the Latin American Centre. He holds a Bachelor of Arts in Business Administration and studied Finance, Economics and Foreign Trade in Germany, the United States, Mexico, and Argentina. Prior to Oxford, he held different front office roles at a global investment bank in Munich and London. Following his entrepreneurial passion, he is currently an honorary executive member of an international start-up, dedicated to foster future ties with Latin America and combat pressing issues in this region. At Oxford, Matthias would like to further develop his understanding of the influence of violence and organised crime on Latin American politics and economics, while directing his research towards a quantitative-economic analysis of illegal markets. Matthias lives out his passion for sports by training and competing with the Oxford University Triathlon Club and the Oxford University Swimming Club. His hobbies involve football, skiing, scuba diving as well as travels to exotic places and reading good books.



James Woodley

Having been born in the outskirts of Europe but grown up in the North East of England, I have always had an insatiable interest in how disparate social realities shape our identity, knowledge and understanding of the world, what we see and, similarly, how that can be so hidden through societal segregation and inequalities, phenomena I continually have striven to explore deeper. I hold a B.A. in Modern Languages (German and Spanish) from University College London, wherein my Latin American odyssey began upon enrolling at the Universidad de Chile, Facultad de Derecho for one semester. I then volunteered in the rural village of Santa María de Fé, southern Paraguay, before returning to the U.K. where I had the pleasure of engaging extensively with a plethora of bodies within London's Latin American community, such as Latin News Intelligence Research Ltd., Argentine-run Z.T.R. Radio, and the Indo-American Refugee and Migrant Organisation. Most recently, I spent the last year working at the British Embassy in Quito, Ecuador. Throughout my time here at Oxford's Latin American Centre, I aim to analyse the paradox between a strong Paraguayan elite imposing a modernisation project and the continued dominance of Guaraní identity. More broadly, I intend to challenge assumptions around power disparities of the social pyramid in contemporary Latin American society and question the heteronorm within.



Louisa Wagner

Born and raised in Germany, I completed my BA in Politics and Public Administration at the University of Konstanz. During my time interning at the German embassy in Ecuador and at a political foundation in Mexico, I developed a deep fascination with the region's distinct development trajectories and contemporary challenges, particularly towards questions concerning the rule of law, state capacity, and violence. My undergraduate degree allowed me to place my academic focus on the two-level interaction of domestic interests with countries' actions in the international arena, particularly international organisations. This further informed the writing of my dissertation analysing the influence of trade liberalisation through NAFTA on the democratisation process in Mexico. During my time at the Latin American Centre, I plan to focus my research on inequality and violence in Latin American countries whilst hopefully also learning some rowing and getting to know as many different colleges as possible.



Pablo Uribe Ruan

I was born and raised in Colombia, where I completed a double Bachelor of Arts in Law a Political Science at Universidad de Los Andes in Bogotá. After graduation, I worked with some human rights organizations and wrote about Transitional Justice, Forced Displacement, and Land Restitution for Victims in Colombia. Looking for other narratives, I decided to explore journalism in October 2015. Since then, I have covered several issues in Latin America and the world, such as presidential elections in the US, Brazil, and Venezuela, as well as criminal organizations, environment, and democracy in the region.



MPhil Students

Second Year MPHILS



Jack Pannell

Jack Pannell, a second year MPhil student, completed his BA in History at the University of Warwick. During his undergraduate studies he spent a year studying in Buenos Aires and developed a keen interest in Latin American politics. He has worked as a Research Associate and is currently a Research Fellow at the Council on Hemispheric Affairs. His research focusses on twentieth-century Mexican history, with a specific interest in the intersection of state violence and anti-drug operations. He is currently researching the history of the term 'cartel' in the United States and Mexico.



Olga Velásquez Ocampo

Olga holds a Bachelor in Law from EAFIT University in Medellín (Colombia), and a Master in Law from the Universidad de Los Andes (Colombia). She has worked as a judicial assistant for the Colombian Constitutional Court and as a legal advisor to the Colombian Ministry of Justice. Her research focuses on women mobilization in Latin America and constitutional feminism. Olga has been academic staff at Universidad de Los Andes and at EAFIT University, and a Graduate Research Resident at the Bonavero Human Rights Institute at the University of Oxford (2019-2020).



Priscilla Otero

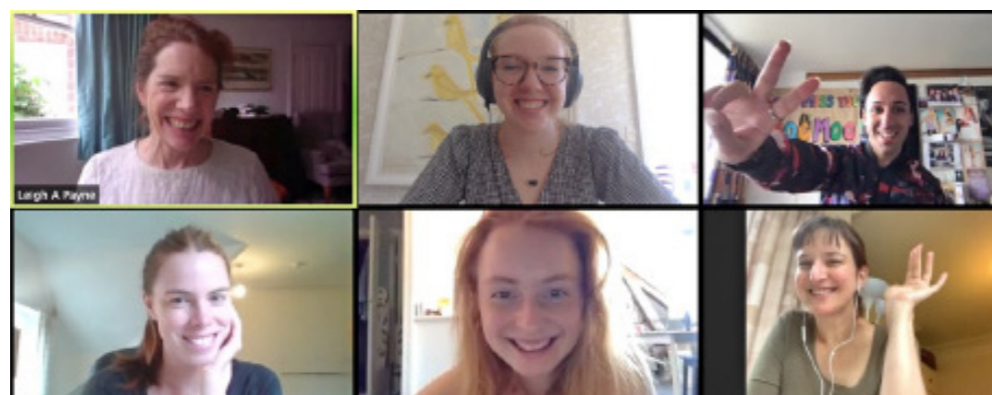
Hailing from Florida in the United States, Priscilla holds a bachelor's degree in philosophy and political science with high honor distinctions and Phi Beta Kappa. Her areas of interest in these disciplines have included international relations and globalization, foreign policy, and political, social, and moral philosophy. Currently, her main research interests are in sustainable economic development, geopolitics, post-conflict development and security, and the scope of the rule of law in relation to global affairs. Priscilla has previously gained experience in these fields by working as a research associate intern and project leader, in state cases relating to migration in the United States. In the MPhil in Latin American Studies, Priscilla plans to specialize in the affairs of Central America and the Caribbean, with an emphasis on the Dominican Republic.



Our new cohort, 2019-2020 after induction day in Michaelmas Term

LOCKDOWN REVISION CLASSES

Professor Leigh Payne and her students during their last revision class in sociology. From top left: Leigh Payne, Anna Reed, James Woodley, Carla Vila, Juliette Saetre and Julia Carneiro. In the picture below, Pablo Uribe-Urán, Julia Carneiro, Clément Bourg, Jack Panell, and Carla Vila in their last revision class for their history paper.



MPhil THESIS:

Summaries of their dissertation by our MPhil Students:

'Cartels' in Mexico: The Origins of a Categorization
Jack Panell, MPhil Student (2018-20)

My thesis traces the origins and dissemination of the term cartel in the United States and Mexico. After reading the literature on the structure of drug trafficking organizations (DTOs), it became apparent that the term was a misnomer. Mexican DTOs did not hold a monopoly on drug production, nor did they have strong vertical integration. This led me to examine how an inaccurate term was able to rise to relative ubiquity in the lexicon of the drug trade.

By using newspapers and government documents in both the U.S. and those collected on my fieldwork in Mexico City I was able to trace the origins of the term to the DEA in the late 1970s. It then did not begin to be used by the Mexican government until the early 1990s, after the supposed dismantling of the 'Guadalajara Cartel' in 1989. The thesis, then, finds that in Mexico the largest cartel in its history was a post-factum categorisation.

By drawing on the literature on securitization and bureaucratic politics, as well as postcolonial security studies, the bureaucratic origins of the term are expounded. It was a word that was adopted by the DEA and later the PGR in Mexico as a result of the specific interests and threats faced by these agencies. By showing this, the thesis not only establishes the previously unknown origins of the word, but also helps to de-essentialise the apparently stable categories of the drug trade, and encourage thinking of the language used by states in reference to the trade as politically driven.

Mobilizing as Mothers Against Violence: The case of Mothers of La Candelaria in Medellin, Colombia.
Olga Velásquez Ocampo, MPhil Student (2018-20)

My thesis examines women mobilizations against violence in Latin America. It looks at the discursive tools that are used by mothers to identify, protect, and build solidarity for their common struggle. In particular, my research analyses the mobilization strategy of the "Mothers of La Candelaria" in Medellin, Colombia. Established 20 years ago, the group was formed as a collective defending the memory of the victims of forced disappearance during the armed conflict in Colombia. Violence and religious fervour are two strands of the complex skein that shaped the history of Medellin as well as the mobilizational context of the Mothers of La Candelaria. These unique circumstances allowed the emergence of a particular kind of motherhood mobilization: 'pious motherhood', a new category developed to explain the mobilization of mothers against the backdrop of an internal armed conflict. My work inquires on why and how do the Mothers of La Candelaria use religion as their mobilization tool.

ALUMNI

FORMER STUDENTS, THEIR TIME IN OXFORD AND THEIR CURRENT PROJECTS

Natasha Fairweather
MSC 2017-18



In the summer of 2018, I was thrilled to depart Oxford with a Master of Science in Latin American Studies, graduating with Distinction and winning the Crawley Prize for my extended essay. I must admit that I never expected to spend a fourth year at Oxford doing a postgraduate degree, but taking a year to study the history and politics of a region I am truly passionate about reinvigorated my love of learning and gave me a completely different Oxford experience.

I first arrived at Oxford as a Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) undergraduate student in 2014. Before freshers' week was even halfway through (and more importantly, before our library inductions), we had been sent our first double-page reading list and asked to write a 2,000 word essay on state formation by the end of the week. It soon became clear that this was typical of Oxford - rapid pace, high expectations, and trying to cram your social life in amongst your academic commitments. Looking back, I am amazed at how far we pushed ourselves during the short 8-week terms, using the holidays to recover and catch up on extra reading and revision before doing it all over again.

Oxford is an intense and sometimes overwhelming place, but it is also the most stimulating and exciting place to spend time. In a typical week, I would debate my work in tutorials; queue outside the Oxford Union for a chance to listen to people ranging from Anna Wintour to Marine Le Pen speak; rush between boxing and cheerleading practices, college socials, and Oxford's delightful selection of historic pubs, as well as spending countless hours reading in the breath-taking Radcliffe Camera.

I am often asked why I chose Latin American Studies (I think I was one of three people on the course without Latin American roots), but during my gap year I had travelled around South America and was consistently appalled at my lack of knowledge of the region. I spent a month in Santiago, Chile but until then had never heard of Pinochet, let alone the military dictatorships and human rights crises that spread through most of the continent. Consequently, in my third year I jumped at the opportunity to take a Politics of Latin

American module and on finding out about the MSc course, made quite a spontaneous decision to apply for the one-year course.

The highlight of the MSc for me was the chance to write an extended essay, as I had never had the freedom to study and write about a topic of my choosing. I took on the task of trying to explain the liberalisation of Chile's abortion laws in 2017, inspired by my Spanish teacher in Chile, who first opened my eyes to the stark discrepancies in women's rights across the world.

Overall, my path to the MSc was quite unconventional - I spoke (at best) conversational Spanish, I was born and raised in the UK, and I had accepted a job at a strategic consulting firm for the end of the year. However, the beauty of postgraduate studies at Oxford is the diversity of people - whilst you may not share the same hobbies, or seek out the same career path, you are united by a passion for your subject and a shared intellect.

My year at the Latin American Centre will hold memories of some of the most interesting and challenging academic conversations I have had, incredibly inspiring and thoughtful tutors, and the wonderful people I had the privilege of studying with.

Since graduating, I have been working for L.E.K. Consulting in their London office and spent the last three months on secondment to a tech start-up that is developing a 3D design and collaboration platform using Virtual Reality. In terms of my next steps, I will be relocating to L.E.K.'s Boston office for 6 months in late 2020 and hopefully spending another month exploring Latin America afterwards!

Robert Cottey MSc 2016–2017



My year as an MSc student at the LAC was a truly enriching experience, both academically and personally, which far exceeded my already high expectations. The MSc course, with its naturally interdisciplinary focus, allowed me to pursue my broad academic interests spanning multiple academic subjects. Furthermore, the LAC's outstanding faculty and multinational cohort, all of whom brought their own experiences and understanding of the region to seminars, allowed for a perfect environment in which to exchange knowledge and perspectives on a fascinating region.

I came to the LAC having studied my undergraduate degree in International Relations at the University of Nottingham, with a year's spell at Mexico's Tecnológico de Monterrey. I had also previously gained work experience at the British Embassy in Costa Rica and the EU Delegation to Mexico. When considering where to study a Latin America-focused master's degree, the LAC immediately stood out to me for its

interdisciplinary ethos, academic excellence, and the quality and diverse research interests of its faculty.

As a student at the LAC, I was very impressed by the broad range of courses offered, spanning history, economics, sociology, and international relations, among other disciplines. This, in combination with a busy calendar of events, made for a varied and dynamic academic setting. Seminars from guest speakers included topics as diverse as the press in mid-20th century Mexico, Latin America's burgeoning economic ties to China, and Argentina's investment climate. The result was a rich academic environment, with the Centre's intimate seminar room providing the venue for detailed questioning and post-presentation discussions.

I chose to focus my research on contemporary Brazilian politics, while also studying the region's politics, economics, and international relations. I found the friendliness and diversity of the LAC's student body to be a particular strength, providing perspectives from different world regions and their respective academic disciplines. Outside of the LAC, I routinely discussed historical development and contemporary policy challenges with students from other area studies programmes over dinner at St Antony's, with its cosmopolitan student body and social sciences focus. This provided useful points of comparison, particularly with countries of similar levels of development in the former-USSR and South-east Asia.

After finishing at Oxford, I moved to Brussels to work for a member of the European Parliament, where I regularly wrote speeches and advocated policy positions in the transport and tourism committee. In my current role, I work as an analyst focused on the politics and security of Latin America at a political risk firm in London. This allows me to use my knowledge of the region in a commercial setting, which has been particularly interesting amid a recent increase in civil unrest and multiple political shifts across the region. Furthermore, this has helped me understand the intersection of business and politics, and how commercial organisations view and respond to the dynamic politics and economics of Latin America.

André Blackburn MSc 2017–2018

I am from the twin-island Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. In June 2018, I completed the Master of Science degree in Latin American Studies at the Latin American Centre (LAC), University of Oxford, specialising in sociology, history and international relations of Latin America. In this essay, I set out to share some of my experiences and thoughts on my time at the LAC, the University, as well as a bit on what I have been up to since graduating.

For many students, especially for first-generation (postgraduate) students of colour and for those who are not born into privilege like myself, studying at the University of Oxford can be quite daunting. From the majestic edifices, to the game-changing research taking place at the University, to the cerebral conversations that take place in and on the fringes of the classroom, everything about Oxford is intimidating. The imposter syndrome, or the feelings of inadequacy that one feels despite evident success, was a recurrent theme in my chapter at the LAC.

Fortunately, however, the University is replete with helpful support services and resources. Additionally, the LAC is also very student-centred. Therefore, when I approached the administrative staff at the LAC, explaining to them how I felt, they were tremendously supportive and wasted no time directing me to the relevant University services to get support.

The academic staff at the LAC also went beyond their duty of delivering the course outline to ensure that every student reached his/her fullest potential. One such example was the Director of the LAC (then Professor Diego Sánchez-Ancochea), who, on learning about my ambition to highlight the asymmetries between Latin America and the Caribbean, encouraged me to organise an event with the High Commissioner of Trinidad and Tobago to the United Kingdom at the LAC. This meant so much to me because it not only provided an opportunity to showcase my country to the student-body and wider University, but it also reinforced the point that although there are convergences between Latin America and the Caribbean, the region is not homogenous.

At the LAC, I found the seminars that took place during the academic year to be quite refreshing. These encounters were a bonus to degree as they allowed me to learn about many topics outside the context of a classroom, some of which were not necessarily included in the syllabus. Additionally, the seminars allowed me to come within close proximity to distinguished scholars and practitioners in the field, some of whom I had read.

In general, my experience at the LAC was positive and I found the courses to be intellectually stimulating. Furthermore, the approaches and styles of teaching were bar none, and the quality of contributions from my peers was mostly insightful and thought-provoking.

Studying at the University of Oxford comes with an incredible amount of privilege, something that I am still not quite used to. Firstly, the fact that I could access almost every book, journal article, special collection, manuscript that exists is certainly something that few students in Trinidad and Tobago can boast about. Also, having access to numerous libraries, including a specialised library at the LAC, specific to my course, undoubtedly contributed to my successful completion of the Master's degree. Not to mention, you are almost suddenly taken seriously once you mention that you are a student or an alumnus of the University.

I also had the privilege to take part in centuries-old traditions, such as donning a sub fusc, a type of academic dress that is worn to all formal University ceremonies and punting or sailing upstream and down river on the river Cherwell.

However, it would not be an accurate account if I only painted a perfect picture of the University. One of the areas that can be improved is representation of minority groups, specifically of people of colour (POC). I often ponder how different my experience might have been had I seen myself represented in the syllabus, in front of the classroom and in the student body. In this absence I found myself forging safety networks with allies and POC in order to navigate a place that did not always feel welcoming. I saw that recently

the University has taken active steps to increase enrolment of POC. This initiative must also extend to administrative and academic staff, and reading lists must also include POC.

My life changed almost immediately after I graduated in July 2018. A day after I graduated, a post I made on social media about my journey to Oxford went viral after it was shared and re-posted by thousands of people from Trinidad and Tobago. Before I could process what was happening, I was receiving invitations from the local newspapers and television programmes to do interviews about my journey to Oxford. Little did I know that what I had accomplished was far more than a Master's degree; my journey had inspired thousands of people to follow their dreams and most importantly had shown them that where you start in life, does not have to be where you remain.



After completing my studies, I stayed in the United Kingdom for 6 months, where I did an internship with a London-based Latin American Newsletter. After which, I returned to Trinidad and Tobago, after being offered a research position at a multilateral organisation that facilitates cooperation initiatives in the Caribbean and Latin America. I also take time to visit schools and speak to students to encourage them to follow their dreams.

I am eternally grateful to the LAC for the life-changing opportunity and training par excellence that I received. I would recommend applying to the MSc in Latin American studies to anyone who has interest in the region.

Paola Bruni MSc 2017–2018



I studied the MSc in Latin American Studies at the Latin American Centre (LAC) and graduated in 2018. My time at Oxford was one of the most enriching experiences of my life thus far. I applied to the LAC during my third year of Law undergraduate studies. I had always been keen on learning about Latin America in greater depth as I am originally from Venezuela but had never studied it in an academic sense. This program seemed like the perfect opportunity to learn more about the region.

Having come from a purely legal background and starting at the LAC soon after turning 21, meant I had some catching up to do. My classmates were some of the most accomplished individuals I had met, many had worked in embassies, the OAS and other renowned international organisations before coming to Oxford. It felt like I was learning something new with every conversation. My professors were top experts in their fields, some of whose research I had come across before starting the programme.

During my time at Oxford I had the opportunity to learn both inside and outside of the classroom. In class, I focussed on comparative politics and history. The programme is truly multidisciplinary, so it allows you to focus on those areas you are interested in. I focused my dissertation on international law, more specifically, transitional justice. Outside of class, I had the opportunity to attend events at the LAC, the Oxford Union and the Oxford University Law Society. Having one-on-one conversations during “Brunch with the

Ambassadors” bi-weekly and meeting a number of former Latin American presidents are just some of the many highlights of my time at the Latin American Centre.

The overall University experience is a unique one, Oxford is filled with quirks and traditions that make it distinctive. To start off, you live in a “college”, mine was St Hugh’s College. These are not your standard student accommodation; they are communities of which you are a part of, they have student self-governing bodies and act as social centres. Academic terms have names - Michaelmas, Hillary and Trinity, each lasting a period of eight weeks. At Oxford you don’t go to parties, you go to “bops”; you don’t enrol, you “matriculate” and you don’t take a year out, you “rusticate”. These are just some of the many words you become familiar with as an Oxford student. In college you have “formal hall”, routine dinners where Latin prayers are recited. Once finals come around, you wear a “subfusc” with a carnation representing your progress through exams. White for your first exam, pink for the middle ones, and red for the last. When you come out of your last exam you get “trashed” with foam and glitter before jumping in a river. These are just a few of many traditions that make going to Oxford a truly unique experience.

In terms of career, immediately after my finals, I secured a position at Dentons, a leading global law firm with a large presence in Latin America and the Caribbean. Thus, I took some time off after graduation to travel and studied independently for the New York Bar Law exam with a view to dual-qualification. I am currently being sponsored by Dentons to undertake the Legal Practice Course, the last academic stage of UK legal education before I start training with the firm in August 2020.

The LAC is a small department in which students and professors integrate into a tight-knit community. The memories and friends I made during this time are enough to last a lifetime. I am very grateful for the opportunities studying at Oxford and specifically the LAC have given me. I will always remember my time at the LAC fondly.

Gustavo Hirsch MSc 2017–18



I was on Twitter and saw this tweet on a talk by Michael Reid at the LAC and I thought how wonderful it would be if I were in Oxford to experience one of those moments that were very common to me in 2017 and 2018. The small, cosy room filled with people getting ready for another talk. Guests from other departments being welcomed by Eduardo and other Professors from the LAC, some moments of talk amongst the participants and then Eduardo starting the evening with an introduction of our guest. People would take notes and ask many questions to the distinguished speaker. After that, dinner at Manos.

My experience in Oxford was made of moments like this. I always had the feeling that I was amongst great people in a great place discussing important things. The LAC gave me the opportunity to be in such an environment. The program (I did the MSc) is planned in such a way that allows you to access the different things that Oxford has to offer. And that is different to each one of us. That, of course, includes getting to know more about Latin America, but it is much more than that. Oxford is a powerful experience.

I had never discussed the topics that we discussed at the LAC with people from neighbouring countries (I am Brazilian) or with people from other regions that cared for Latin America. This made me expand my knowledge on Latin America while amplifying my connections. The LAC stimulates the debate in courses that are actually seminars, where you are

continuously encouraged to speak in classes. I have also very nice recollections from the tutorials that took place after we wrote our essays throughout the course. I found that method of learning very beneficial: after delving into a topic, organizing the ideas in a short essay, you attend a tutorial with a Professor. Very challenging and fruitful.

I was exposed to different methodological approaches to the issues I was learning, which opened my mind to the many possibilities out there. Ways of seeing things that I did not know were possible. Both the LAC and SIAS (OSGA today) consider research methods as a priority. Seeing that, I became interested in quantitative methods and did a course at the Department for Continuing Education. It will sound obvious, but in Oxford, there are plenty of opportunities for you to learn new things.

Also, there are big conferences and events, which give you nice opportunities. In the case of Brazil, the Brazil Forum UK takes place annually and students are encouraged to participate. When a former President of my country went to Oxford to give a talk, I was invited to speak on behalf of the Oxford Latin American Society (OLAS) and to attend the dinner after the event. There are many interesting things going on in Oxford all-year-round.

I now work at a law firm in Rio de Janeiro with many clients from all over the world. The academic rigour and the presentations in seminars with to-the-point questions helped me prepare for my professional life as a lawyer. I think that the LAC provides a great opportunity for one to open their mind, think about possibilities while training and improving in important areas: the program requires much writing, speaking, and analytical reading – skills that one profit greatly.

I am very proud to be an Oxford alumnus. I helped reestablish Oxford in Brazil and feel I am part of this large community with a glorious history and present worldwide. Reflecting on my year at the LAC, I am also reminded of the beauty of Oxford. The sweet city of dreaming spires has wonderful, picturesque places, where the likes of CS Lewis and JRR Tolkien famously had animated discussions.

Jazmín Duarte Sckell MSc 2016–2017



I looked at the process of deterioration of public education through the case of the Colegio Nacional de la Capital, a public high school landmark.

As my interest towards feminism grew I also got interested in learning more about women’s history so I got particularly curious about why were women granted rights during a dictatorship, as it was my country’s case, and with this research idea in mind I applied to Oxford. I was very privileged to have access to the university, through a grant from the Paraguayan government, and have the close guidance of Prof. Eduardo Posada-Carbó, Lecturer of the History and Politics of Latin America, who supervised my master’s thesis. The overall experience, for all the professors as well as my classmates, was amazing.

Halfway through my master’s degree, through thinking more about the construction of gender during an authoritarian regime, and the links between power and the Latin American “machismo”, I became convinced of my interest in pursuing a doctorate. I prepared a proposal that I discussed with dear Prof. Leigh Payne, who works on gender, with the aim of obtaining a degree in Sociology where the subject would be more suitable within the university. I was very happy to get an offer, but unfortunately I had no scholarship that would allow me to continue in Oxford.

I went to Oxford in 2016 from Asunción to start my MSc in Latin American Studies at the Latin American Centre because I was seeking for an interdisciplinary training to look at and understand Latin American history. Coming already from an interdisciplinary background from a bachelor’s degree in Sociology and another in Communication Sciences at the Catholic University of Asunción, I was keen on applying different theoretical perspectives to social problems. Through university I became interested in a historical analysis of the phenomena, understanding the importance of knowing the process of something to fully understand our present.

A subject that particularly interests me about my country is the military dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner (1954-1989) because of the deep ramifications it had politically and culturally in my country’s society until today. I explored and researched this topic during my dissertations for both degrees but looking at different phenomena related to education in the same time period. In one I focused on the analysis of the development of an academic department within the Catholic University, which was the main space of resistance to the dictatorship. In another,

Nevertheless, not long after, I found another opportunity in Germany to work with Prof. Barbara Potthast, a very important historian who researched 19th century gender history in Paraguay. Given the professor’s experience and knowledge about my country, I was very excited about the possibility. With her support I applied for a DAAD scholarship, which I eventually earned. Today I am a doctorate student at the University of Cologne where I am working to understand the construction of hegemonic masculinity in the stronista dictatorship in Paraguay (1954-1989). I would like to contribute a bit to the understanding of the historical construction of masculinity in Latin America, which is less studied when analyzing gender, as I believe it is an important element to understand in order to achieve much needed social change. Once I have made progress in my work, I would for sure like to share it with the LAC.

FROM THE MSC TO PHD

Jaskiran Chohan
MSc, 2013–14



Growing up in the immigrant enclave of Southall, West London, I longed to study in the city of dreaming spires and to walk the same corridors as so many great thinkers. In 2012, I received an acceptance letter to read an MSc in Latin American Studies. Not only was I heading to Oxford University but I was also going to discover more about a faraway continent that had captured my imagination - a continent that I had read endlessly about but never seen.

My time at Oxford was far removed from what I had envisaged growing up. As a British Asian woman, it was confronting and challenging. I struggled with the past and present of a historic institution steeped in power and privilege, compounded by my own experiences of ignorance and racism there. In the current global debates around racial inequality, it has been cathartic to reflect on my experiences as a student and now realise as a working academic how vital it is that universities foster spaces to decolonise history and deconstruct racism and related structural inequalities. Area studies programmes, such as Latin American Studies provide unbridled opportunities to re-think colonial pasts and its contemporary ramifications.

Studying Latin American History and Politics at the LAC afforded me the time, space and expertise to think through complex issues around socio-economic inequalities, democracy and human rights. At the LAC, I encountered critical minds who helped me to question my own thinking and pushed me to grow. I came to the centre as a historian, with an interdisciplinary curiosity but the MSc gave me the opportunity to sample, practice and hone my skills in politics, sociology and political economy. I learnt to think beyond disciplinary boundaries and approaches, to

compare the styles of different tutors and in doing so, began to find my academic voice.

In addition to the inter-disciplinary training, I was given the opportunity to research a topic of my own choosing for my MSc thesis. I chose to study Colombia's history of land reform to better understand the issue of rural inequality in the country. Through wider reading for my MSc, I stumbled upon the *Zonas de Reserva Campesina* (ZRC) or Peasant Reserve Zones - Colombia's only state endorsed pro-campesino development model. Learning about the experiences of campesinos in these conflict hotspots sparked my curiosity and left me with a desire to know more about Colombia's rural world and people, which I then focused on for my PhD.

After the LAC, I undertook my PhD at the Institute of the Americas, UCL. During that time, I finally touched Latin American soil and visited Colombia. I travelled across the country, passing through the colour drenched streets of Bogotá, traversing green rolling hills in South Bolivar, along tropical rivers in the Magdalena Medio and rural villages in the mountains of Sumapaz. I studied two particular ZRCs (in Cabera and Valle del Río Cimitarra), analysing how campesino communities adapted to industrial agriculture and/or constructed alternative, socio-economically just and sustainable livelihood strategies through agroecological farming. During my fieldwork, I interviewed small farmers in remote rural areas in the country, NGOs, state institutions and politicians. LAC tutors and fellow students helped connect me to relevant people and organisations. Social science training from the LAC also laid the foundations that allowed me to put together an inter-disciplinary framework to analyse these agricultural systems in a more comprehensive way. Personally and professionally, my PhD was a transformative experience that taught me about the resilience of humankind in the most adverse circumstances of violence, conflict and loss.

The Colombian journey I began at the LAC and continued through my PhD laid the foundations for my first post-doc position, which I started earlier this year at the University of Bristol. This research project focuses on emerging tensions around conservation objectives and livelihoods in rural mountainous communities in Colombia. I hope to use my future academic work to better understand the roots and impacts of interconnected inequalities related to race, gender, class and the environment in Latin America. Seven years after my MSc, I'm no longer a student dreaming of spires but a working academic trying to build bridges in an increasingly polarised world.

Academic Visitors

Profiles of some of the academic visitors and recognised students who were at the LAC this year

Academic visitors



Flávia Biroli
Flávia Biroli, Professor of Political Science at the Institute of Political Science of the University of Brasília since 2005. Her Master (1999) and her PhD (2003) were in the area of Political History at the State University of Campinas (Unicamp), but she has since been working within the field of Political Science. She has published many books and articles about gender and democracy in Brazil; feminist political theory; and media and democracy. Her last book, *Gênero e Desigualdades: Limites da Democracia no Brasil* (São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial, 2018), analyzes different dimensions of gender inequalities discussing their connections to democratic values, practices and institutions. She is presently the president of the Brazilian Political Science Association (ABCP). Active in the public debate about gender equality in Brazil, she was part of the Civil Society Advisory Group for UN Women in Brazil (2016-17) and is currently working on projects about gender parity and political violence against women in collaboration with this organization.

and Recognised Students



Cássio Calvete
Cássio da Silva Calvete, associate professor at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) at the Faculty of Economics, Porto Alegre, Brazil and a member of the Graduate Program in Economics where he teaches the discipline of Labor Economics. He holds a degree in Economics from UFRGS, a Specialization in Labor Economics and Unionism from the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), a Master's degree in Economics from (UFRGS) and a Doctorate in Social and Labor Economics from UNICAMP. He worked at the Inter-Union Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies (DIEESE) between 1983 and 2010, served on the board of the Brazilian Association of Labor Studies between 2011 and 2017, was Head of the Economics and International Relations Department, School of Economics, UFRGS, between 2014 and 2015. He researches several aspects concerning the world of work such as unemployment, flexibility, precariousness; but his main focus is working time.



Juan Pablo Rodríguez
I graduated in sociology at the University of Chile in 2008. I hold an M.A in Social and Political Thought from the University of Birmingham (2010), and a PhD in Sociology from the University of Bristol (2018). My research is situated in the intersection of contemporary critical theories and social movements, with particular focus in the new cycle of anti-neoliberal mobilisations opened up in Chile in 2006. I am interested in how different approaches such as critical

theories, social movement studies and critical sociology can be cross-fertilized to develop a critical sociology of social movements. At the LAC I am exploring how the notions of life and territory are construed and mobilised by the pobladores, student and environmentalist movements in Chile in order to examine what role these categories play in the renewal of left organizations' repertoires of action and vocabulary.



Bruno Bolognesi
Dr. Bolognesi is a political scientist based at Federal University of Paraná, Brazil. Obtained his BA in Social Sciences, his MPhil in Political Sociology and his PhD in Political Science. From 2011 to 2012 he was a recognized student at the Latin American Centre. Today, he is the head of LAPeS - Party and Party Systems Laboratory (www.lapesufpr.com.br) and associated editor of *Revista de Sociologia e Política* (www.scielo.br/rsocp). Researching on political parties and party systems in Latin America Southern cone, Bruno has published in different journals such as *América Latina Hoy*, *Análise Social* (Lisbon), *Colombia Internacional*, *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*. He is currently investigating right wing political parties in Argentina, Brazil and Chile and, in the other hand, a comparative study on party systems throughout Latin America.



Miguel Conde
Miguel Conde is a Brazilian journalist and literary critic with a PhD in Literature and Contemporary Culture from PUC-

Rio university. His essays and reviews have appeared in academic journals and media outlets in Brazil and abroad, such as *Folha de S. Paulo*, *Literary Hub*, *Estudos de Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea* and *Letterature d'America*. He is the editor of *Quarteto Mágico* (2018), an anthology of Brazilian fantastical short-stories, and of *Marginália* (2016-2018), a book series compiling letters, diaries and other so-called "minor" works from authors like Henry James, Robert Louis Stevenson, Félix Fénéon and Antonin Artaud. He was an editor and columnist at *O Globo* newspaper, in Rio de Janeiro, and the curator for two editions of *Flip*, the international literary festival in Paraty. His research project at the LAC focuses on figures of mourning and remembrance of the dictatorial past in the books published by Ferreira Gullar during the 1980s and 1990s, as part of a broader interrogation on the cultural memory of the 1964-1985 dictatorship and the changing relations between art and politics in the years of transition to democratic rule in Brazil.



Aylin Topal
Aylin Topal is an Associate Professor of Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Middle East Technical University. She served as the Chairperson of Latin and North American Studies Program between 2010 and 2019 at the same university. Previously, she as a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University, Sociology Department (Spring 2015) and Pittsburgh University, Department European Union Center of Excellence and European Studies Center (Summer 2015). She holds a PhD in Political Science from the New School for Social Research in New York. Aylin Topal's research interests lie in the political economy of development and agrarian change. She is the author of *Boosting Competitiveness through Decentralization: A Subnational Comparison of Local Development in Mexico*, (Ashgate Publishing, 2012; Routledge 2016). She is currently working on two research projects; a book manuscript on microfinancialisation of rural development in Mexico, and a series of articles contrasting State-Business Relations in Turkey and Brazil.



Ana Elisabete de Almeida Medeiros
Ana Elisabete de Almeida Medeiros is the former Head of the Department of Theory and History of Architecture and Urbanism in the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the Universidade de Brasília, Brazil. She graduated as an architect and town planner from the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco – UFPE, obtained her DEA in Urbanism from the Institut d’Urbanisme de Grenoble, Université Pierre Mendès France IUG/UPME, Grenoble, France, and holds a PhD in Sociology from the Universidade de Brasília, UnB. She is the co-author of several books including *Brasília 50 anos, da capital a metropole*. Her areas of research have focused on cultural heritage. At the Latin American Centre – LAC, and the Brazilian Studies Program she conducted a research project exploring issues situated in the intersection of cultural heritage policies, city diplomacy and social participation in an age of urban governance.



Juan Luis Ossa
Juan Luis Ossa obtained his BA in History from the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, and his DPhil in Modern History from Oxford. He has published in different journals, and is the author of *Armies, politics and revolution. Chile, 1808-1826*. He was the director of the Centro de Estudios de Historia Política (CEHIP) at the Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez in Santiago. At the LAC, he worked on his current project on the history of democracy in Chile, contributed to the project ‘Re-imagining democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1770-1870’, and to the yearly seminar jointly organised with the CEHIP.



Miguel La Rota
Miguel Emilio La Rota, former Director for Policy and Strategy in the Colombian Prosecution Office, was an academic visitor during MT 2019. He is the co-author of three books and the author of several applied research and policy documents about criminal policy, public security, and access to justice in Colombia and Latin America. He is a lawyer and economist from the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, has a master’s degree in Public Policy from Columbia University in New York City. He completed a master’s degree in Criminology in the Center for Criminology at Oxford before his time at the LAC, where he continued working on Colombian criminology.



Juanita León
Juanita Leon, the founder and director of La Silla Vacía, an influential digital news site that covers politics in Colombia, was an academic visitor at the LAC during MT of 2019. Originally a lawyer from the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, she also has a master’s degree in journalism from Columbia University in New York. She has published several books and was a Harvard Nieman Fellow in 2006. At the LAC, she worked on her new book project about journalism and power in Colombia in the age of social media.

Recognised Students



Milena de Lima e Silva
Milena de Lima e Silva is a sociology PhD student at the Federal University of São Carlos - UFSCar (São Carlos, Brazil), with a MA in architecture and urbanism and undergraduate in social science both from the same institution, the University of São Paulo – USP. Her thesis is about Brazilian social movement’s repertoires and their contemporary political mobilization. She visited the LAC during Hilary and Trinity Term 2020, supported by the CAPES Foundation (Ministry of Education in Brazil), with the scholarship CAPES-PrInt.



Beatriz Lameira
Beatriz is a PhD student at the Faculty of Law of the University of São Paulo (FDUSP), in Brazil. She was a Recognized Student at the LAC during Michaelmas Term. Her thesis title is ‘Considerations on the Constitutional Boundaries to Judicial Behaviour: post-1988 Brazilian context analysis’. Her research focuses on the constraints imposed by the Constitution to the judicial branch in Brazil, including the limits of hermeneutic activity, legal and judicial moralism, judicial activism and the statements of the rule of law.



Haina Coelho
Haina Coelho is a political science PhD candidate at the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE), has a BA in

Political Science/International Relations at the same institution and a MA in Political Science at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG). She studies coalition presidentialism system and the Brazilian Executive branch dynamics since undergraduate. For her doctoral thesis, her main interest is the policymaking process: how the interaction of bureaucratic and partisan agents, institutional differences and government changes affect the production of policy. The provisional thesis title is ‘The invisible processes of policymaking in coalitional cabinets.’.



Lei Tian
Lei Tian is a political economist PhD candidate at Tsinghua University, in China. He holds a Bachelor Degree in Engineering Physics from Tsinghua. The main focus of his research is monetary theory, and now he is working on the relationship between the monetary system and capital accumulation in Latin America. He wants to explain how the monetary system and capital accumulation in Latin America raise inequality and economic problem such as inflation.



Felipe Rocha
Felipe Rocha is a political science PhD student at the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE). Felipe investigates the Brazilian Foreign Policy decision-making, focusing on the thematic emphases of Brazilian Presidents and Foreign Ministers from 1995 to 2018. He holds a Master’s Degree (2017) from the same institution and a Bachelor’s Degree in International Relations from the Federal University of Sergipe (UFS). His visit was supported by the CAPES Foundation (Ministry of Education in Brazil) within the new Oxford-UFPE CAPES-Print cooperation programme.

Second year of the Oxford-Museu Exchange

Carolina Maia

Almost two years have passed since a massive fire engulfed the Palácio de São Cristóvão, in Rio de Janeiro/Brazil, that used to host the premises of the oldest Brazilian scientific institution, Museu Nacional. On that night, 2nd September 2018, while irreplaceable objects burned, Brazil lost an important part of its memory and history. In the weeks that followed, the city of Rio de Janeiro mourned the loss of one of its most cherished museums, a place of science and education that has marvelled generations. Since then, the academic community of the five postgraduate programs working within Museu Nacional has struggled to keep doing research after losing our workplace, while dealing with underfunding and budget cuts that affect all federal higher education. The Postgraduate Program in Social Anthropology (PPGAS/UFRJ) was severely affected, since our library – the largest Anthropology library in Latin America – was completely consumed by the fire. The exchange program that offered a Recognized Student position at the University of Oxford, so a PhD candidate from Museu’s PPGAS could study at the Brazilian Studies Program at the Latin American Centre (LAC) and at the School of Anthropology & Museum of Ethnography (SAME), not only has showed solidarity in the face of such challenges, but also created an opportunity for strengthening ties among researchers of the two institutions.

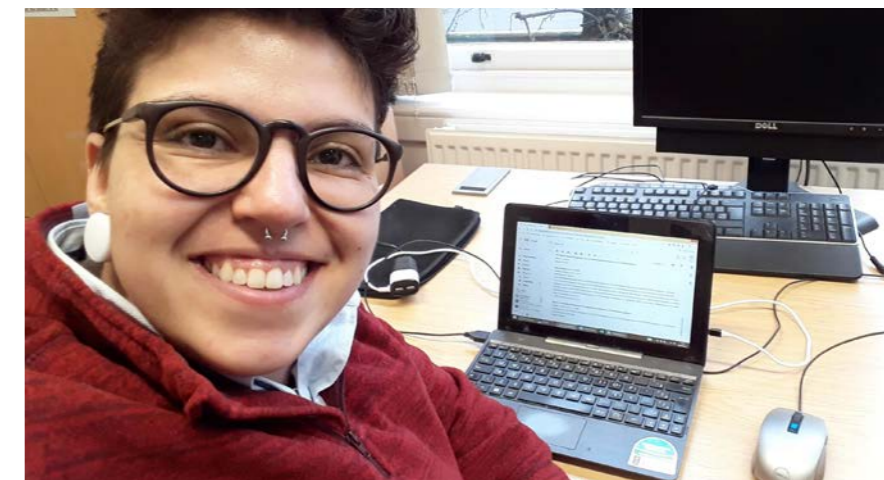
Since then, the solidarity of our peers and the relentless efforts of our community have been fundamental for trying to rebuild what we lost. The Palácio, now an archaeological site, has been carefully inspected in search of anything that may have survived the fire. Donations and crowdfunding campaigns have been extremely important for working on the recreation of our Anthropology library. As we see those efforts starting to

show their results, we can continue doing what we excel on: socially relevant research.

As the second PPGAS’s student to participate in the Oxford/Museu joint exchange program, I have been able to benefit from the University’s libraries, lectures, seminars, study groups, and the academic community both in LAC and SAME while I work on my thesis. My research focuses on ‘homemade’ assisted reproduction techniques in Brazil (especially when used by lesbian couples), the digital networks that allow semen donors and potential mothers to get in touch, and the creative efforts for making family and redefining kinship in a world that is constantly changing, along with new technological possibilities.

The COVID-19 pandemic has also showed that solidarity and collective efforts are more important now than never – and so is scientific research. Joint programs such as this are a key opportunity to participate in the construction of a strong and diverse community of researchers, and I hope I have been able so far to contribute to it by bringing not only theoretical developments from Brazil, but also the inspiration from the creative, collective responses that people I met during my fieldwork elaborate as they create new possibilities of making life happen.

Carolina Maia is a recognised student at the Latin American Centre, University of Oxford, from January 2020 to June 2020. She is co-supervised by Dr Andreza A. de Souza Santos and Professor Elizabeth Ewart. To know more about the collaboration between Oxford and the Museu, please get in touch by email: andreza.desouzasantos@lac.ox.ac.uk



Carolina Maia

Simon Altmann, an Argentine scientist in Oxford since 1953

By Juan Neves-Sarriegui

Born in Argentina in 1924, Simon Altmann came to Oxford in 1953, when he started to work as a research Assistant at the Mathematical Institute, before becoming a lecturer and a fellow in mathematical physics at Brasenose College from 1964 to 1991. Originally from Buenos Aires, he did his PhD in KCL and, after a period at the University of Buenos Aires, settled in Oxford. Following his retirement, he devoted his time to writing on mathematics, philosophy and history of art. Recently, he published 'A Tale of Three Countries' (2015), a novella exploring the politics and culture of Argentina, England, and Italy. Juan Neves-Sarriegui, DPhil candidate in History, talks to Simon Altmann about his arrival in Oxford, his earlier university career in Buenos Aires and his recent book.

When you first arrived in Oxford, were you the only Latin American in your Department?

I arrived in the Easter of 1953 to the Mathematical Institute, which had been established in December the year before, so it was very new. There were only four of us, three senior Professors, who were British, and me, the only junior member. Then another Professor and a young student arrived, Alan Tayler, who became a good friend of mine and did applied mathematics, similar to what I did. You have to picture it. The Mathematical Institute now has around 500 people working there, at least half of them are foreigners. Among Professors, I believe foreigners must be the majority.

It's interesting, because it means that in the inaugural moment of the Mathematical Institute there was an Argentinean, although there weren't nearly as many foreigners as there are today.

Not only that, but I also brought the idea of the computer to Oxford, I was the first person to use an electronic computer here. I was doing research on quantum mechanics and had to go twice a week to use the computer in Manchester.

Your book *A Tale of Three Countries* is a paraphrase of a novel by Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, which contrasts London and Paris in the context of the French Revolution. Why did you choose that title?

Precisely because it was a good title in the sense of comparing two nations – in my case I wanted to compare three – during an event that was somewhat politically tense.

How much is there of autobiography and of fiction in the book?

Everything in the book is true. But the narrative structure is false, it's an invention. The events are told in an order and a position that are not necessarily the original. But although some events are a bit extraordinary, they all happened. Except one: in the escape from the bromine incident the girl wasn't there. So, it's overall very much autobiographical.

Why did you decide to look for employment overseas?

The situation was absolutely untenable under Perón. I lost my position, you know, I was made redundant. Perón was very artful, he never sacked anybody. When he took over the university, he decided that all positions had to be renewed annually, unlike in any university in the world. So, when I went to renew my position, I couldn't do so, because I wasn't a card-holding member of his political party. In those days there were no options in science, and I was very curious, I really wanted to do science. Above all, I wanted to understand quantum mechanics because nobody taught it decently in Argentina. So, I had to go abroad.

After you were sacked from the University of Buenos Aires, you came to Oxford. How was that experience?

Well, I must explain. I was very lucky because by then I had a very good relationship with Charles Coulson, my doctoral supervisor in London. He was the one who helped me to come back to England. I could only rely on his word, I had nothing. I left everything in Argentina, and we went to Oxford with Charles' word. When I arrived, there was a position for me that Charles had already secured since it took a long time to travel, it was three weeks by ship. So, I already had support, but it was the only thing I had. I had no friends, nobody. My fellow students that had been with me in London had been dispersed.

There is a story in the book about your involvement in the establishment of the first computer in Oxford.

While I was working in Manchester, I met the famous crystallographer Dorothy Hodgkin in Oxford, who won the Nobel Prize, and she needed calculation for her research, which was what I did. So, we talked with her about the necessity of a computer institute in Oxford and a small committee of Professors was set up. It was a bit frustrating because the only ones who knew about the subject were another junior colleague and me. So, I had to intervene through Charles Coulson, my Professor. The University had received an endowment and wanted to establish the institute in Wytham,

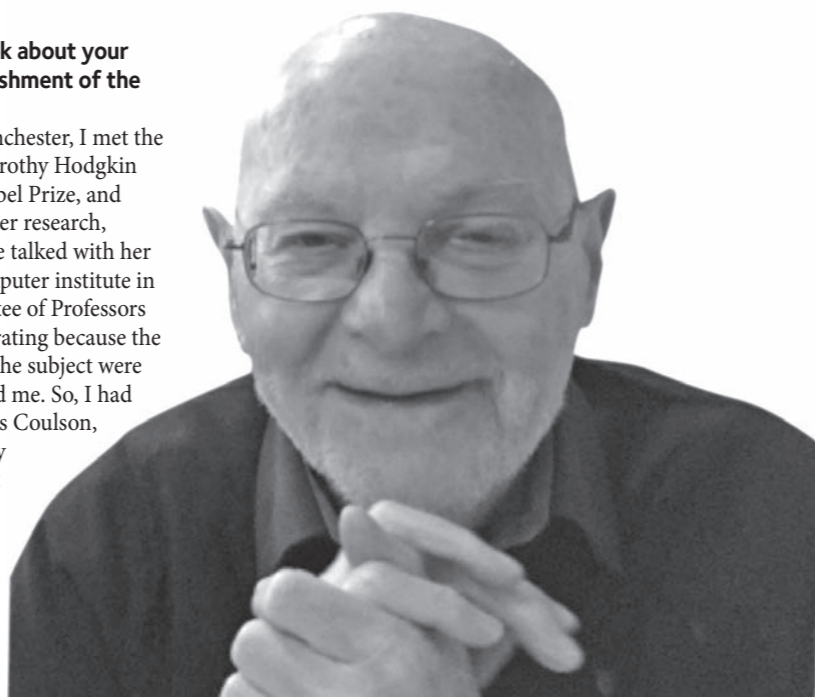
too far from the city centre, but I persuaded them that it should be located close to where the scientists were. Now it's the Oxford Department of Computer Science.

From your point of view, how did the University change over time?

The most interesting change is that it became much more international, that was great. There were two big moments, after WWII and when the Soviet Union fell. There was an Argentinean who came to the Anatomy Department in Oxford, Claudio Cuello, a research associate of César Milstein, the Argentinean Nobel Prize who was based in Cambridge.

The book also takes place, and ends, in Italy. What attracted you from Italy?

The part about Italy is quite important because it shows the good things of the Italian life, but also its difficulties, which is public administration, so poor. But there is a very clear reason why I went to Italy. I was very well in Oxford, I had been appointed fellow at Brasenose, which is a very secure position. But I only had contact with academics, and I didn't know any non-academic people. I wanted to know normal people [laugh]. But also, the air in Italy, which is more like the air in Argentina than the air in England.



Studying the Brazilian new middle class

Yan Zhou, postdoctoral researcher from Tsinghua University at the BSP talks to Andreza de Souza Santos about her project

Why did you select the LAC for your post-doc?

The LAC is a worldwide renowned centre for studies on this region. It aggregates a lot of academic resource, attracts numerous excellent scholars and promotes rigorous fundamental research, which makes it an ideal place for postdoctoral scholars to further expand their academic understanding and integrate into the Latin American studies community. Previously I did visiting research at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and University of São Paulo. I believe that the new academic experience at LAC would encourage me to explore different methodologies and open an ampler perspective on the whole region.

Can you tell us more about your previous research on Brazil?

My doctoral project was about the educational mobility of students from the so-called Brazilian "new middle class" families, especially their access to elite higher education. Middle-income stratum has been increasing significantly in Brazil since the first decade of the 21st century, accounting for nearly half of the population, and people of this stratum was defined as "new middle class" during the Labor Party government from 2003 to 2016. However, the so-called new middle class in fact still belongs to the low socioeconomic class despite certain upward mobility. The project aims to answer these questions: the Brazilian new middle class hopes to achieve further economic upward mobility, but why do they have subjective restrictions on entering elite universities when pursuing educational upward mobility? Under what circumstances can they break through this restriction and successfully enter elite colleges?

I compared the educational trajectories of 62 college students from this class, expanded Pierre Bourdieu's theory on capitals and apply it to the analysis of college choice divergence among Brazilian new middle class students.

How do you see the interest on area studies in China?

The research interests of Chinese scholars on area studies have been long concentrated on industrialized countries, such as the United States, as well as neighbouring countries in Asia. However, there has been a new trend of area studies in China since the 2010s. More scholars began to pay close attention to other developing countries, usually not only on bilateral relations, but more on the politics, economy, culture and social issues within these countries. The rising interest on area studies was not a mere result of China's economic involvement in other developing countries. China is still a developing country, and thus shares a lot of common problems. For example, my motivation of spending two and a half years in Brazil conducting fieldwork was out of the concern on increasing social inequality in China and worldwide. Some Chinese scholars were talking about avoiding the "Latin Americanization" of education, but we need to first identify the phenomenon and verify its development.

Please tell us a bit of your research agenda for the next year.

I will continue my postdoctoral research project on the recruitment of political elites in Brazil, in order to understand why and how the Brazilian "new elites" with grassroots origins managed to achieve political success despite their disadvantaged starting point. At the same time, I think it would be relevant and interesting to explore the grassroots mobilisation to combat the pandemic, especially in a comparative perspective.

What are the challenges for fieldwork and area studies amid the pandemic and how have you strategised?

The current pandemic certainly imposes big challenges on area studies, especially on indispensable fieldwork trips. Without an effective vaccine, the coronavirus would possibly further disturb our life and work. For area studies scholars, the difficulty of travelling internationally would definitely delay or restrict the research plans. Even when international travel is fully restored, there might be

health risks for conducting fieldwork. Furthermore, if the pandemic lasts for a longer time, people's behaviours and life styles might be profoundly changed, which would have an impact on our research findings.

For my beloved Brazil, the situation is certainly pretty worrying, and I need to adjust my plans accordingly. Archives, databases and secondary sources might be much more utilized in my research; I would try to schedule online interviews when necessary; and cooperation with local scholars might also be a good option. However, nothing can be compared for an area studies scholar to go to the field.

Dr Yan Zhou is a Postdoctoral Fellow at St Antony's College, with the Brazilian Studies Programme in the Latin American Centre. She is also Assistant Research Professor at the Institute for International and Area Studies of Tsinghua University.



Reflections on my time at the Latin American Centre

Carlos A. Pérez Ricart

Three years have passed since I came to the LAC as a postdoctoral fellow in the Contemporary History and Public Policy in Mexico, a shared appointment between St. Antony's College, the History Faculty and the LAC. After years in Berlin, where I had studied, I arrived at a university I knew little about. My idea of Oxford was shaped by prejudices and ignorance. However, since the very first day, the LAC turned into my new home. Colleagues, administrative staff, librarians, and students – everyone made me feel welcome.

My appointment entailed three purposes: to enhance the teaching programme of both the LAC and the History Faculty; to undertake my own research on drug policy and history of the police in Mexico 20th century; and to organise events and projects that involve scholars interested in Mexican history or public policy.

Teaching Oxford students will always be one of the highlights but also challenges of my life. It was a unique experience. Both, my undergraduate and graduate students were outstanding. All committed, obsessive readers and structured thinkers, I learned from them.

I taught and coordinated the LAC Research Methods course to both MPhil and MSc students, thought this was only mandatory for the former. I want to think that they did so because the course was useful and offered them the grounds for undertaking their own research. One of the biggest satisfactions was to accompany students in turning a vague idea into a clearly defined research question, and finally a full thesis. At the LAC I also had the opportunity to create an optional course on "State, organized crime and drug trafficking in Latin America" from scratch, a course that did not just attract students from the centre but from other units in the university.

At the History Faculty I also offered a new course on Modern Mexico History (1876–1994) focused on the process of state-building in 20th century Mexico. This was the first time a paper on Mexico was taught at the Faculty after Alan Knight's retirement back in 2013. The course, which I taught with the help of my colleague Bill Booth, was aimed at undergraduate students and was always full. The feedback was very positive. When it came to choosing a topic to focus on for their BA thesis, many of the students decided to write about the history of Mexico. This is a

clear sign that Latin American History is well received (and in demand!) among Oxford students.

In addition to my teaching activities, I had the privilege to co-convene the Latin American History Seminar with Eduardo Posada Carbo for two years, an extraordinary opportunity that allowed me to engage with a vibrant intellectual community.

I also had the opportunity to undertake my own research. Since September 2017, I have published several peer reviewed articles, most of them in international renowned journals; a few more are forthcoming or are under review. I have finished a draft and secured a contract for my book on the history of law enforcement agencies in Mexico (forthcoming 2021, Penguin Random House), and have worked towards the publication of two co-edited books; one on guns trade, and a second one on security in Latin America, to be co-edited with my LAC colleague Carlos Solar.

Further research opportunities were enhanced by grants in support of two projects: one in collaboration with the Oxford/Berlin Partnership – "The Comeback of the Latin American Armed Forces: Continuities, Changes, and Challenges to Democratic Security Governance" (with Markus Hochmüller and Marianne Braig); the other, backed by a John Fell Fund, on "The Global History of the Mexican Police" (the basis of my next book).

I was of course happy to "animate" the relationship between Oxford, Mexico and Latin America". To this aim, I organised the conference Mexico's second transition? together with Laurence Whitehead that took place at Nuffield in 2018. The following year, Mónica Serrano and I organised the International Conference Nuevas Miradas sobre ilegalidad, violencia, impunidad y derechos humanos en México at El Colegio de México in Mexico City, where more than 40 graduate students presented their research. That same year I also assisted Mónica and

Laurence in organising the conference Winding down Mexico's War on drugs which brought together a good mix of scholars and policy makers to Oxford.

Additionally, Carlos Solar and I organised the conference Security and Criminality in the Americas at St. Antony's College in 2019 with support from the Malcolm Deas Fund. Some 50 young scholars and established researchers presented their works. A second conference was supposed to take place in June 2020 but due to COVID-19 it had to be postponed.

The intellectual engagement with my colleagues and students at the LAC is what I will miss most about this place. Some of the highlights were: the reading group that I co-convened with Eduardo Posada Carbo on Norbert Elias and the Civilizing Process in Latin America, that culminated in a LASA workshop in Boston; the extraordinary papers presented by my LAC colleagues in our first workshop in Berlin on the "Comeback of the Latin American Armed forces?"; the emotion of helping to organise the Workshop Global Populism: 50 Years after?, as well as the conversations for our students with people such as Jeremy Adelman, Alan Knight and Martín Caparrós.

I am thankful to all the staff of the LAC and especially to Lucy Driver, and Elvira Ryan (and Ruby and Rex) who were always helpful and patient with me. I also want to give particular thanks to Eduardo Posada Carbo, who has been a friend, a colleague, a coworker, and mentor throughout this time.

I am about to start a new position in Mexico where I will join the Department of International Studies, at CIDE, Mexico City. I will leave Oxford, but I'll always treasure my experience here at the LAC. Finally, I want to wish the best of luck to my successor Timo Schaefer, the new postdoctoral fellow in Mexican History; Timo: you have come to a unique place, enjoy it!

Moving from the postdoc to a faculty position

Carlos Solar talks from York to Andreza de Souza Santos

Carlos Solar Lecturer at the Department of Sociology at the University of Essex and former British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the LAC (2018-2020)

When did you join the LAC, and why did you select the LAC for your BA fellowship?

Applying for the British Academy postdoc was a lengthy but rewarding process. It all started when I first got in touch with Diego Sánchez, who was the LAC's director at the time, to see whether they would act as host to my application. The LAC holds such a reputation for regional and interdisciplinary studies that it was clearly among my top options. OSGA helped out with my application to the BA which requires a lot of time mostly in getting each section right. You need to show succinctly why your research is relevant and timely. The most challenging part was to compete with over a thousand applicants. Long story short, I joined the LAC after two rounds of shortlisting. Leigh Payne was very kind to act as my mentor, and since day one she turned essential to accommodate my new duties at the LAC, including teaching the

masters and taking part in St Antony's life. Also, once Eduardo Posada Carbo took the post, he became a supporting friend and director.

Which experiences at the LAC do you highlight as essential for the career path you are now achieving?

I would start by highlighting the LAC's sense of community and its impact on how you grow as an independent scholar. One tangible example is the centre's weekly seminar. Whether you are presenting or not, you get to take home cutting-edge ideas by top scholars and practitioners. My recent publications and the forthcoming ones reflect my effort to debate some of the theories and methods I saw being so eloquently put to use in the seminar. I would also highlight our lunches at St Antony's where we discussed all matters related to Latin America. Informal chats are as valuable as formal ones.

Can you tell us more of the events you organised at the LAC?

Together with Carlos Pérez Ricart we organised an international conference on security, crime, and violence held at the LAC and St Antony's. We were sponsored by the Malcolm Deas fund and the Foreign Office through Jeremy Hobbs. We hosted over 50 scholars, young and established. We were able to help colleagues coming from the United States, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, with travel bursaries. It was a big success. At least that's the feedback we got at the pub!

Can you tell us about your next position?

I am very excited about joining the University of Essex as a Lecturer in Sociology with membership in their Centre for Criminology. I helped Leigh teaching the Sociology of Latin America module, so I feel confident to join a department different from what I trained in my doctorate which was in Politics at York. At Essex, I will be able to focus on security governance working side by side with the top criminologist in the UK. I take this as another chance to broaden my research expertise.

What would you say to early-career academics looking for a postdoc position?

Each step along your career is crucial. To land such a competitive postdoc as the British Academy you need to finish your doctorate in a good manner. I was able to get a few papers before my viva and was lucky to have a publishing contract to turn my thesis into a book right when it was time to send out the application. After your postdoc you will want to secure a job so you will need to showcase your best work again and get good recommendations letters. You need to be at top of your game and prepare accordingly. El resto es suerte.



RESEARCH ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE LAC

Carlos Pérez Ricart talks to Francesca Lessa



Francesca Lessa with judge Juan Guzmán, his wife Inés and Florencia González

Francesca Lessa, Marie Curie Fellow and expert on human rights in South America, reflects on her time at the LAC, in a conversation with Carlos Pérez Ricart.

When did you arrive to the LAC for the first time?

I first came to the LAC in February 2011, when I started working as a postdoc with Prof. Leigh Payne on her “Transitional Justice Research Collaborative” project with colleagues at the University of Minnesota. Subsequently, I secured a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Global Fellowship, of the EU Horizon 2020 research funding, to work on a new project on extraterritorial human rights violations committed in the 1970s in South America, within the so-called “Operation Condor.”

What will you miss most about the LAC?

Its collegial and community spirit. This is a very unique place in which the intellectual exchange is vibrant and permanent. The LAC is really different in this respect, due to its small size, which fosters a close interaction between students and staff.

Can you recall two or three memorable moments during your time here?

There are many, of course. But I will try to mention just three.

Undoubtedly, I will never forget the launch of my first book, *Memory and Transitional Justice in Argentina and*

Uruguay: Against Impunity, back in May 2013. Kathryn Sikkink was the discussant and Leigh Payne chaired the session. The seminar room was full! I had always been an admirer of Sikkink’s work and I was truly honoured to have her discuss my book. Leigh had played such a huge role in helping me revise the PhD thesis into a book and I could not imagine a launch without her.

Secondly, together with Leigh, we organised the screening of the documentary “The Judge and the General,” in the summer of 2013. This documentary tells the story of Chilean judge Juan Guzmán who bravely prosecuted Pinochet in Chile in the early 2000s. We were lucky to have him at the LAC: he was present at the screening and then participated in the Q&A session with the students and the public. Everyone was mesmerised that day listening to his powerful story.

Lastly, the experience of High tables at Oxford are truly one of a kind and that I will always remember!

Can you say something about your engagement in the teaching activities of our master’s programme?

The same year I arrived at the LAC, we decided with Prof. Payne to create a new optional course on “Human Rights in Latin America,” which combined the study of accountability for past human rights violations in this region that were committed during the years of the military dictatorships and civil conflicts between the 1960s and 1990s, but also

more contemporary manifestations and challenges in human rights protections, including police brutality, the role of human rights defenders, and securing economic, social, and cultural rights. The course has been very popular with students and I have always enjoyed teaching it!

Nine years are a long time! Can you identify any particular change at the LAC that you would like to mention?

There are many, of course. One of the most important ones is the widening of the optional courses for the master’s programme. Leigh and I began this trend, by offering the one of human rights, but now the curriculum is full of new and exciting courses focusing on contemporary challenges in Latin America such as, for example, drug trafficking and criminal networks, and inequalities in Latin American cities.

Francesca, any idea when you are coming back to visit us at the LAC?

I am hoping to return toward the end of next year when my second book “*The Condor Trials: Transnational Repression and Human Rights in South America*” will be published. I will be thrilled to organise another book launch at the LAC!

Rome’s First Assize Appeals Court delivering its verdict in the Italian Operation Condor trial, July 2019. Photo credit: Janaina Cesar.



Operation Condor: Policy Impact of Francesca Lessa’s Project

Francesca Lessa’s research project on “*Operation Condor: Accountability for Transnational Human Rights Violations in South America*” had noteworthy policy impact outside academia. In particular, she collaborated with lawyers involved in the Italian Operation Condor trial, which was scrutinising the murders of 38 South American citizens at the hands of Operation Condor. In 2018, Dr Lessa transmitted several new documents that she had found in archives in the US, Argentina, and Uruguay, as part of her research, and that could be useful for the appeals phase. Rome’s Assize Appeals Court later admitted these documents as evidence, considering them new and relevant for the proceedings. In July 2019, the Court overturned 18 of the 19 acquittals that had been dictated at first instance.

Furthermore, in May 2019, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights utilised Dr Lessa’s database on extraterritorial crimes committed in South America between 1969 and 1981 in deciding the Julien-Grisonas case, which regarded two Uruguayan brothers whose parents were disappeared in September 1976 in Buenos Aires by Operation Condor. In Report 56/19, the Commission held that Uruguayans accounted for half of the victims of regional repression in South America. This finding was exclusively based on Dr Lessa’s database, which comprises over 700 cases and breaks them down by nationality, crime type, and country of perpetration. No other State or agency had ever systematised this information before.



Simón Escoffier on his experience as a postdoc at the LAC

I was a Postdoctoral Research Associate at the LAC for two years, in 2018 and 2019. It was an invaluable experience, both for my career and my personal life. At the Centre, I found a vibrant scientific community in which I could rely for support and academic collaboration. In those two years, I made great friends who are also my academic colleagues. We keep in touch and continue to work together.

In those two years, I worked on a personal monograph about social mobilisation in Chile’s urban margins. This book manuscript involved revising my doctoral dissertation. I also worked on an edited volume on the Latin American right-wing together with Professor Leigh Payne and Dr Julia Zulver. Besides this, I participated in the LAC’s academic life by teaching and supervising graduate students, marking exams, organizing two workshops and regularly attending the Centre’s weekly seminar.

The close connection that the LAC has with St Antony’s College also contributed to my experience as a postdoc. St Antony’s connected me with academics from all over the world working on the most diverse global issues. My role as a College Advisor at Oxford linked me with the world of graduate students and improved my supervision and liaising skills within the university.

The LAC library at work in lockdown

Frank Egerton

When LAC was a college library, rumour has it that the then librarian used to bring her spaniel to work and that its basket was in the book lift at the back of the office. Whether or not it travelled up and down to the Basement Stack, I don't know. Since first hearing this story, I've always wished I could bring our dog, Tufty, to work - I am sure he would get on very well with Ruby. But since lockdown, he is almost always beside me in my temporary office in the spare bedroom.



Tufty

Early during lockdown, Rebeca, Sam and I set up a LAC Teams site and the transition to home working was swift and busy. Eduardo came up with the idea of course convenors nominating their top twenty ebook titles and there was a lot of work to do, identifying existing ebook editions of reading list items, setting up new ebook budgets, ordering ebooks and latterly transferring all the reading lists to ORLO. It was decided at SSG – the management group for the Social Sciences libraries – that no one from the LAC library team would be furloughed because their work was too valuable. All credit to Rebeca and Sam!

LAC wasn't due to join ORLO until 2021, and it would have been difficult in any case to make time for the work during busy terms, so adding reading lists would have been a drawn-out process. A benefit of lockdown is that all the reading lists have been completed.

Of course, LAC library routines have changed completely. For me there is now one office space – plus dog – not one office space at each of the sites where I work. No longer do I have to run from the Taylor to the Sackler for meetings or make the longer journey north to LAC twice a week. These days, I just click on the relevant channel in Teams and there I am.

Home working is flexible and that is definitely an advantage. It is not surprising that managers are talking about the way we all work never being the same again. But then a senior colleague on the European Libraries Digital Skills working group, of which I am part, is sceptical. She is a Classicist and says that people don't read enough Greek and Roman drama – if they did, they would know that human nature doesn't change. She may be right – the recent downpours have been good for our allotment but made me think again about my plan to cycle from west Oxfordshire to the city when sites start reopening.

Whatever happens, and despite the pandemic, working from home has often been surprisingly enriching. Here, Rebeca and Sam describe some of what lockdown has been like for them.

Rebeca: 'Lockdown was challenging at the beginning but very stimulating too! These difficult times have helped me to appreciate even more the beauty of small things, as well as rediscovering some traditional and simple ways of living. In particular, Yoga has helped me enormously - highly recommended! Having family abroad was a big worry for many of us. A friend sent me the accompanying picture of my village in the Basque Country during the lockdown.'

Sam: 'One of the bizarre things of this year was hearing the terrible human suffering and death caused by the COVID19 pandemic and experiencing one of the sunniest, most beautiful springs I can ever remember. The flowers flowered in greater number than normal, their colours all the more saturated by the ever-present, intense sunshine, the scents of spring were bolder. Wildlife responded so positively to the lack of human activity and would sometimes encroach on to human territory when they



would normally stay away. The air was filled with butterflies this year. It hummed with insects. Birds and other wildlife came closer. Such a beautiful, wonder-filled experience set in a devastating time.'

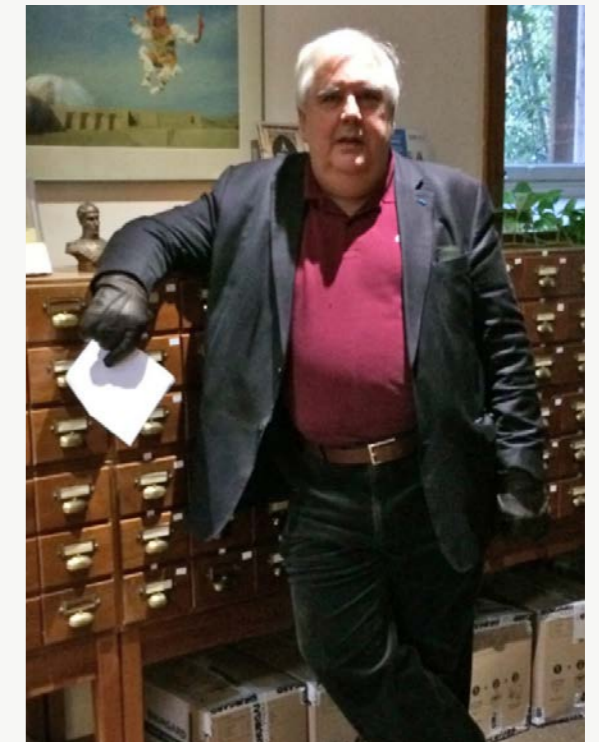
My LIBER colleague's words have a particular resonance for LAC – and other site libraries – because, as lockdown has shown, ebooks are terrific, but only as long as there is one, and as long as national rights agreements allow us to buy it. While we had a lot of successes, I have been aware of the times I've had to write the disappointing news about an ebook edition not being available.

Perhaps things will change but for the time being the print collection at LAC – and the wider Latin American collections at the BSF and Taylor Institution – remain incredibly important. On-site working is the only way to make these available. The library is also mindful of the recent SALALM resolution which urges libraries collecting in the area of Latin American Studies not to lose sight of the immense value of print publications, print publishers and print suppliers. Things will undoubtedly change but we certainly won't be there for a long while yet.

So, where next for LAC? Later in the summer we will start working on site again but it looks as if it will be some time before we are open to readers. Nevertheless, we will be planning inductions and how we welcome students in Michaelmas Term. But before then, Rebeca, Sam and I would like to wish all this year's students all the very best for the future and to thank everyone for their support and understanding as we try to work through these exceptional times.



BOOK DONATION TO THE BODLEIAN LATIN AMERICAN CENTRE LIBRARY



In view of his upcoming retirement as Professor of Latin American History and Civilization at the University of Paris Nanterre, Dr. Nikita Harwich recently completed a final donation to the Bodleian Latin American Centre Library of books and documents, particularly referring to 19th and 20th century Venezuelan history, social sciences and literature. This is the third donation of its kind that Dr. Harwich has made over the years (the other two took place in 2001 and 2014), totalling over 800 items and contributing to build up the Bodleian's collection on Venezuela as one of the best in Europe, together with the ones in Berlin and Paris, thus pursuing the worthy efforts started out years ago by Malcolm Deas. May these donations serve as an incentive for future scholars to explore the past and present of this Latin American country. A former Andrés Bello Fellow (1991-1992) and longtime friend of St. Antony's College, Dr. Harwich is a specialist in contemporary Venezuelan economic history and commodity trade. He is also an acknowledged expert on the history of chocolate – his book, *Histoire du chocolat* was first published in 2008 ; its Spanish version was published in 2018.

Three members of the LAC received OSGA Excellence Awards: Lucy Driver (LAC Administrator); Andreza de Souza Santos (Lecturer and Director of the Brazilian Studies Programme); and Francesca Lessa (Marie Skłodowska-Curie Research Fellow). The Award recognises exceptional individual contributions to the School during 2019. **Congratulations!**



Andreza de Souza Santos



Francesca Lessa



Lucy Driver

Leigh Payne received a grant from the British Academy and Newton Fund Advanced Fellowship for the project "Transitional Justice in Mexico". As part of this project, a first international workshop was held in December 2019 in Mexico City. The second was meant to be held in Oxford this summer, but was postponed due to Covid-19.

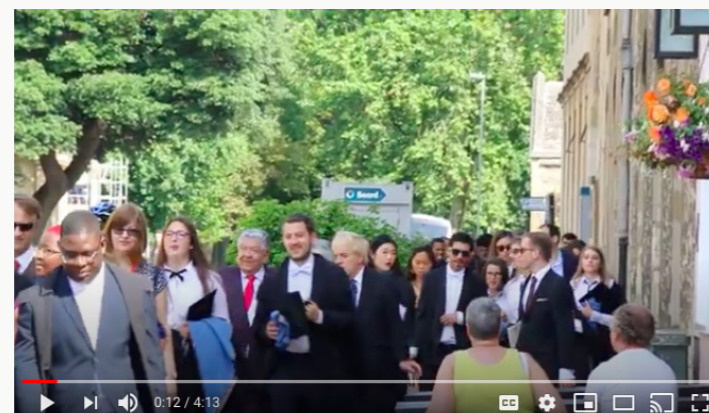
After his British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship at the LAC (2018-20), Carlos Solar has started his new post as Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Essex.

Francesca Lessa's project 'Operation Condor: Accountability for Transnational Human Rights Violations in South America' was included in the final shortlist for the University of Oxford's "Vice Chancellor's Innovation Awards 2020."

Carlos Pérez Ricart completed his Post-doctoral fellowship in the Contemporary History and Public Policy in Mexico and is now joining the Department of International Studies, at CIDE in Mexico. He will be replaced by Timo Schaefer, who holds a PhD from the University of Indiana, in the US, and is currently at the University of Toronto Mississauga.

Francesca Lessa secured a publication contract with Yale University Press for her forthcoming book *The Condor Trials: Transnational Repression and Human Rights in South America*.

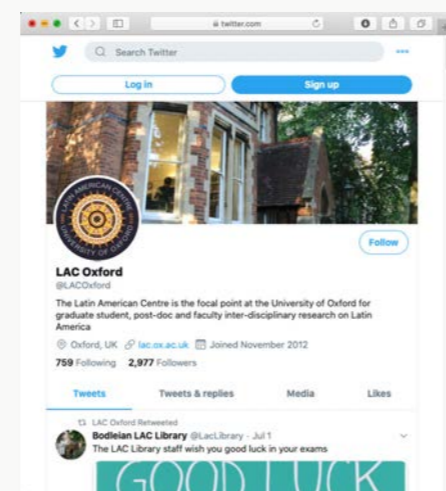
Produced by Leonore Lukschy, we launched the video 'Why study Latin American Studies in Oxford' earlier in



the academic year. Over 1200 people had watched the video at the time of producing *Horizontes*. We want to thank Leonore for such wonderful production.

The following masters and doctoral students, and LAC faculty and affiliates were allocated awards from the Malcolm Deas Fund in contribution to the development of their various research projects, their field work, and the attending and organizing of conferences: Carla Vila, Hannah Brown, Jamie Shenk, Andrés Guiot-Isaac, Samuel Riholtz, Sabine Parrish, Valentina Batiste, Juan Neves, Francesca Lessa, Andreza de Souza, María Blanco, Claire Williams and Juan Masullo. As a result of the crisis, some of the awards have been postponed.

At the time of closing the edition of *Horizontes*, the LAC's Twitter account was about to reach 3,000 followers.

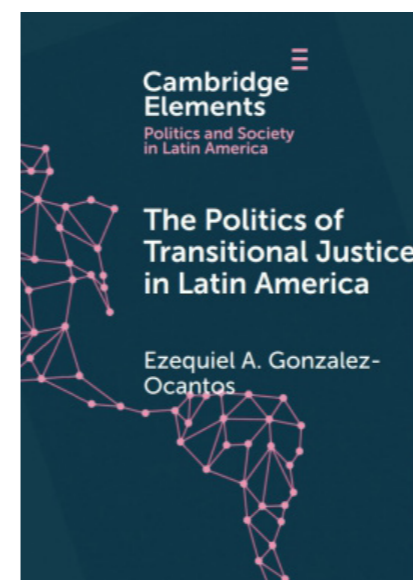


Publications

Selection of recent books and essays that reflect the work of members of the LAC community.

The Politics of Transitional Justice

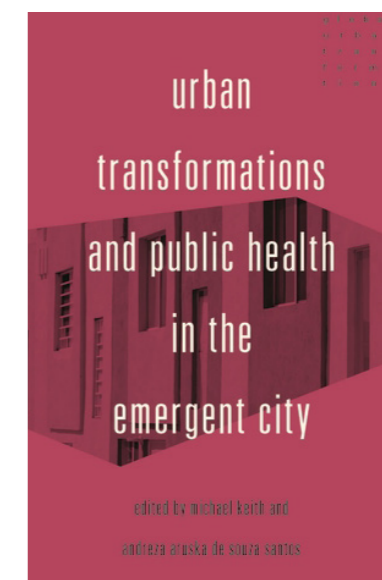
Ezequiel Gonzalez-Ocantos, *The Politics of Transitional Justice in Latin America: Power, Norms, and Capacity Building* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)



How has Latin America pioneered the field of transitional justice (TJ)? Do approaches vary across the region? This short book describes Latin American innovations in trials and truth commissions since the 1980s, and evaluates two influential models that explain variation in TJ outcomes: the Huntingtonian and Justice Cascade approaches. It argues that scholars should complement these approaches with one that recognizes the importance of state capacity building and institutional change. To translate domestic/international political pressure and human rights norms into outcomes, states must develop 'TJ capabilities'. Not only should states be willing to pursue these highly complex policies, they must also develop competent bureaucracies. The book presents a number of case studies to illustrate key points throughout.

The Emergent City and Public Health

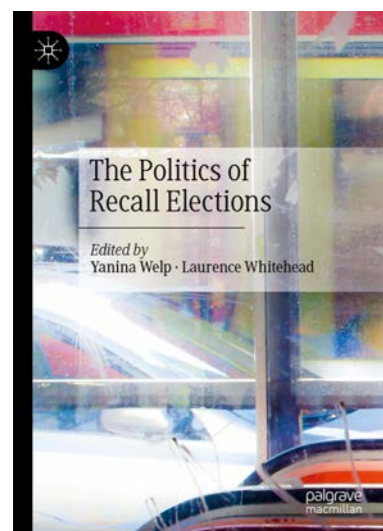
Andreza A De Souza Santos and M. Keith (eds.), *Urban transformations and public health in the emergent city* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).



The imperatives of public health shaped our understanding of the cities of the global north in the first industrial revolutions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They are doing so again today, reflecting new geographies of the urban age of the twenty-first. Emergent cities in parts of the globe experiencing most profound urban growth face major problems of economic, ecological and social sustainability when making sense of new health challenges and designing policy frameworks for public health infrastructures. The rapid evolution of complex 'systems of systems' in today's cities continually reconfigure the urban commons, reshaping how we understand urban public health, defining new problems and drawing on new data tools for analysis that work from the historical legacies and geographical variations that structure public health systems (ADS). In addition to her co-authored journal article with Leigh Payne and chapter (with Tom Hulme) noted elsewhere in this section, she also published 'Governance challenges in Latin American cities', *One Earth* (February 2020); (with Sue Iamamoto), 'The difficult legacy of mining in past and contemporary Potosí and Ouro Preto', *Journal of Latin American Geography* (December, 2019); and with William Marciel de Souza, Lewis Fletcher Buss, Darlan da Silva Candido 'Epidemiological and clinical characteristics of the early phase of the COVID-19 epidemic in Brazil', (medRxiv, pre-print, 2020).

Recall Elections

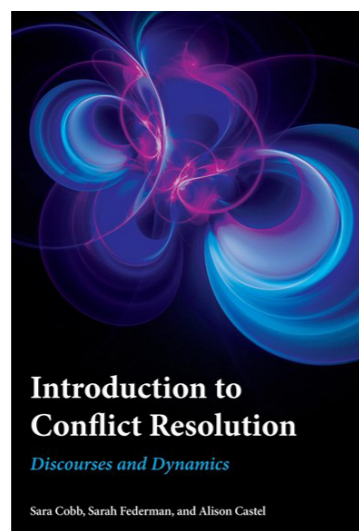
Yanina Welp and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *The Politics of Recall Elections* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2020).



This edited volume presents the first comprehensive analysis of recall processes which have spread globally since the end of the Cold War, and which are now re-configuring the political dynamics of electoral democracy. Drawing on the expertise of country experts, the book provides a coherent and theoretically informed framework for mapping and evaluating this fast-evolving phenomenon. While the existing literature on the subject has so far focused on isolated single-country studies, the collection brings recall experiments to centre stage as it relates them to current crises in the traditional variants of representative democracy. It explains why the spread of recall innovations is set to continue, and to pass a threshold from inattention to urgent engagement. The authors further provide original insights into the rationale for recall, as well as guidance on minimising the accompanying risks. Laurence Whitehead also published 'Democratisation in Chile: A Long Run Comparative Perspective', in Ursula van Beek (editor) *Democracy under Threat? A Crisis of Legitimacy* (Palgrave, 2019), and 'Regime Change', in Bertrand Badie and Leonardo Morlino, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Political Science* (2020).

Conflict Resolution

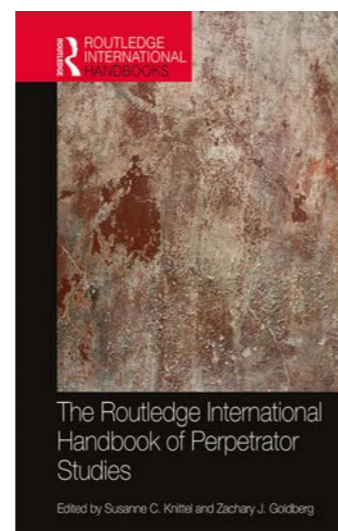
Leigh Payne, 'Contentious Coexistence', in Sara Cobb, Sarah Federman and Alison Castel, eds., *Introduction to Conflict Resolution. Discourses and Dynamics* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2020).



Leigh Payne contributed with a chapter to this introductory course text that explores the genealogy of the field of conflict resolution by examining three different epochs of the field, each one tied to the historical context and events of the day. In addition to her co-author piece with Andreza de Souza Santos, and her chapter in the *Routledge International Handbook of Perpetrator Studies* (noted elsewhere in this section), she also published 'The Political Economy of Remembering Past Violence' *The LASA Forum* (Winter 2020); 'Corporate Complicity in the Brazilian Dictatorship' in *The Brazilian Truth Commission* volume edited by Nina Schneider (Berghahn Books, 2019); and (with Gabriel Pereira), 'Complicidad económica y justicia transicional en América Latina', in J.P. Bohoslavsky, K. Fernández and S. Smart, eds., *Complicidad económica con la dictadura chilena. Un país desigual a la fuerza* (LOM, Santiago, 2019).

Perpetrators of mass killings

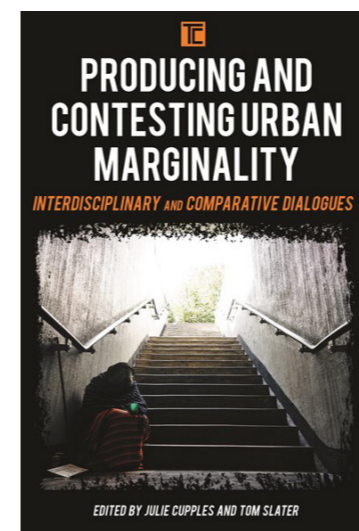
Leigh Payne, 'Unsettling Accounts: Perpetrators' Confessions in Truth Commissions', in *The Routledge International Handbook of Perpetrator Studies* (2019).



The Routledge International Handbook of Perpetrator Studies traces the growth of an important interdisciplinary field, its foundations, key debates and core concerns, as well as highlighting current and emerging issues and approaches and pointing to new directions for enquiry. With a focus on the perpetrators of mass killings, political violence and genocide, the handbook is concerned with a range of issues relating to the figure of the perpetrator, from questions of definition, typology, and conceptual analysis, to the study of motivations and group dynamics to questions of guilt and responsibility, as well as representation and memory politics. Offering an overview of the field, its essential concepts and approaches, this foundational volume presents contemporary perspectives on longstanding debates and recent contributions to the field that significantly expand the theoretical, temporal, political, and geographical discussion of perpetrators and their representation through literature, film, and art. It points to emerging areas and future trends in the field, thus providing scholars with ideas or encouragement for future research activity.

Urban marginality

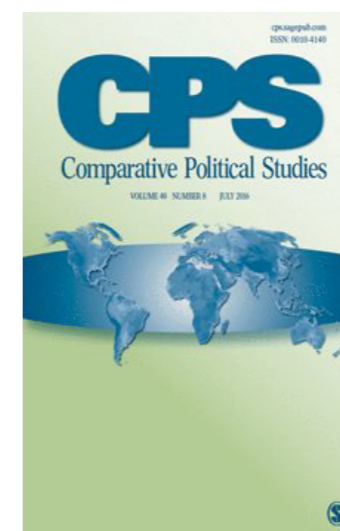
Andreza De Souza Santos and Tom Hulme, 'Cultural Marginality and Urban Place Making: the Case of Leicester and Ouro Preto', in Cupples, J. & T. Slater (eds.) *Producing and contesting urban marginality: Interdisciplinary and comparative dialogues*. Rowman & Littlefield International (2019)



In the case of Leicester, history was simplified or collapsed in order to provide a 'blank slate' for regeneration. The twilight years of the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s, when St George's was home to several counter-cultural movements, were downplayed in favour of a safer – and more established – version of the civic and industrial past. In Ouro Preto, the preservation of the historic city centre has focused on national uprisings in order to enable the creation of a simplistic version of the past in which colonisers as 'common enemy' allowed a new inclusive identity for the colonised to gain power. In allowing the culture of this past to fix meaning in the present, however, specific group identities and ethnic differences have been collapsed or ignored (ADS).

Tax morale in low Capacity states

Nestor Castañeda, David Doyle and Cassilde Schwartz, 'Opting out of the Social Contract', *Comparative Political Studies*, 53:7 (November 2019)



This article examines the individual-level determinants of tax morale in low-capacity states, specifically Latin American countries, where the social contract is often perceived as fractured. It argues that individuals in such states perceive the social contract as an agreement to which they can *opt in* or *opt out*. Those who choose to opt out prefer to substitute state-provided goods for private providers, rather than pay for public goods through taxes or free ride to receive those goods. Through a list experiment conducted in Mexico City, the authors demonstrate that willingness to evade taxes is highest when individuals have stepped outside of the social contract. More traditional indicators of reciprocity—such as socioeconomic status and perceptions of corruption—are not significant. They bolster their experimental results with observational data from 17 Latin American cities; those with access to employer-sponsored insurance are more willing to evade tax. In addition David Doyle published (with Nestor Castañeda and Cassilde Schwartz, 'Progressive Tax Policy and Informal Labor in Developing Economies,' *Governance* (2019). He is also currently working on another projects with co-authors Catherine de Vries, Katerina Tertychnaya and Hector Solaz, on the consequences of sudden drops in remittances for incumbent support. They hope to publish this work as a book at some point next year.

Right-wing backlash

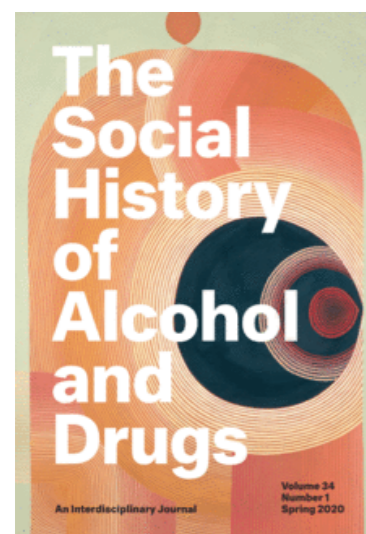
Leigh A Payne and Andreza A. De Souza Santos, 'The right-wing backlash in Latin America and Brazil', *Politics and Gender* (April 2020)



Who is entitled to have rights? This essay examines how right-wing movements attempt to prevent individuals, especially women and members of LGBT groups, from accessing equal rights through the use of terms such as "moral worth" and "family values." At the core of our discussion of the backlash against social rights in Latin America is the need to compare and contrast the case examined here with similar movements outside the region.

The DEA in Mexico

Carlos A. Pérez Ricart, “Taking the War on Drugs Down South: The Drug Enforcement Administration in Mexico (1973–1980)”, *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*, 34/1, 82–113 2020



The article offers what I think is the first systematic and comprehensive account of the activities and policies of Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agents in Mexico between 1973, the year in which the agency was founded, and 1980, the year when most of the documents related to the DEA's presence in Mexico were declassified. Most of the article draws on primary sources, including many recently declassified cables, letters, intelligence reports, and internal memorandums produced by DEA officials. While the article engages mainly with the activities of DEA agents in Mexico, the text also offers significant insights around the unintended consequences of police training programs sponsored by the DEA. In doing that, the article contributes to the broader bibliography interested in examining the intersection between human rights and drug policy. The last part of the article presents an examination of the concerns raised by journalists and activists who claimed that the DEA was fostering, or at least not hindering, human right violations in rural Mexico. (CPR). Other publications by Carlos Pérez Ricart during this academic year include: ‘The Role of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics in Mexican drug policy (1940–1968)’, *Frontera Norte, International Journal of Borders, Territories and Regions*. Vol. 31, I, 1–22 (2019), (with José Domingo Schievenini), ‘Pasado y presente de los usos medicinales del cannabis en México’, *REDES, Revista de Estudios Sociales de la Ciencia y la Tecnología*, Vol. 50, I (2020), and ‘La DEA y la emergencia del campo policial antidrogas en América Latina’ in Giovanni Molano-Cruz (ed.), *El problema de las drogas en América Latina. Nuevas lecturas, nuevas interpretaciones*, Universidad Nacional de Colombia: Bogotá, 2020)

China and the Western Hemisphere

Carlos Solar (2020) “China’s weapons transfer in the Western hemisphere.” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 43 (2), 217–244.



This article, by Carlos Solar, British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the LAC, argues that Chinese weapons deliveries have arrived in the region together with the expansion of commerce and trade routes as evidenced in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. In Latin America and the Caribbean, states seek to buy weapons in light of contentious border hot spots and intrastate rampant violence. China is a willful seller and, to accomplish this, it has developed a weapons transfer policy taking advantage of the post-hegemony of the United States. Carlos Solar also published: (2019) “Civil-military relations and human security in a post-dictatorship,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42 (3–4), 507–531; “Defence ministers and the politics of civil-military labour in Chile: a dialogue with Huntington’s The Soldier and the State,” *Contemporary Politics* 25 (4), 419–437; “Chile’s peacekeeping and the post-UN intervention scenario in Haiti,” *International Studies* 56 (4), 272–291; and, “Reassessing Chilean international security,” *International Politics* 56, 569–584. More details on his publications can be found at: www.carlossolar.com

Inequality and Commodity Booms

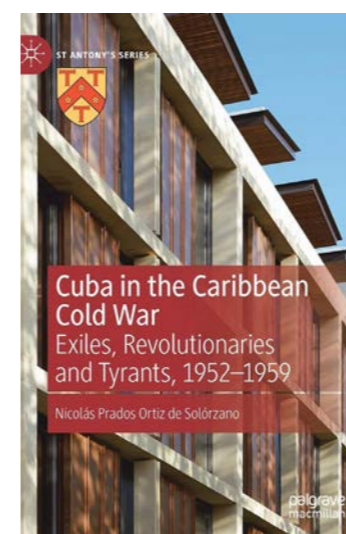
Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, “The Surprising Reduction of Inequality during a Commodity Boom: What do we Learn from Latin America?,” *Journal of Economic Policy Reform*, 2019, early view



This paper had its origins in the plenary lecture at the XVII Conference of International Economics in La Coruña in June 2016. It aims to explain a puzzle: why previous commodity booms did not coincide with a reduction in income inequality in Latin America, but the most recent boom went hand in hand with an improvement in income distribution. The paper uses a combination of primary and secondary sources to offer some answers. It highlights the role of (re)distributive policies that enlarged the impact of labour market outcomes. The paper concludes that political pressures forced governments to manage the commodity boom better than in the past but did not lead to significant transformations in the region’s elite-driven development model.

The Caribbean Cold War

Nicolás Prados Ortiz de Solórzano, *Cuba in the Caribbean Cold War. Exiles, Revolutionaries and Tyrants, 1952–1959* (Palgrave Macmillan 2020)



This book argues that during the Cuban Revolution (1952–1958), Fidel Castro, his allies, and members of the Movimiento 26 de Julio tapped into a larger network of transnational revolutionaries who sought to overthrow the region’s dictatorships. With his research in multiple archives including those in Cuba, Prados offers a new, transnational perspective on conflicts over dictatorship and democracy, which shaped the Caribbean in the decades that followed World War II. The book traces the roots of the ‘Caribbean Legion’, a transnational network of anti-dictatorial revolutionaries, before detailing how Castro and many of his allies in exile exploited this web during the struggle against Fulgencio Batista. Contacts in this network provided the Cuban revolutionaries with crucial military, financial, and diplomatic support from the democratic governments of José Figueres in Costa Rica, and Rómulo Betancourt in Venezuela, entangling the Cuban revolutionaries in a larger regional struggle between democratic regimes and military dictatorships. This transnational involvement shaped the revolutionary regime of 1959 and had far-reaching repercussions for the larger geopolitical dynamics in the region, and for the Cold War as a whole. Nicolás completed his MPhil at the Latin American Centre and is currently a DPhil student at the Faculty of History in Oxford.

Congress and Democracy in Latin America

Jorge Luengo, Eduardo Posada-Carbó and Victor Uribe-Urán, eds., ‘Between Galleries and Caricatures: The Hispano-American Legislatures and the Public Sphere, 1810–1916’ Dossier published in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, vol 56 (2019).



This ‘dossier’ examines some of the ways congresses/ parliaments in Latin America related to the public during the first hundred years after independence, looking in particular at the extent to which the role of the galleries and the press helped to democratize the legislatures in the region. Eduardo Posada-Carbó co-authored with Luis Gabriel Galán one of the articles, ‘La “barra en los congresos de Colombia y Chile, siglo XIX’. Posada-Carbó edited an additional ‘Dossier’ on ‘The History of Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1800–1870’, published by the *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* (July 2020). He also published: ‘Spanish America and US Constitutionalism in the Age of Revolutions’, in Gabriel Paquette and Gonzalo Quintero, eds., *Spain and the American Revolution. New Approaches and Perspectives* (Routledge: London and New York, 2020), and ‘De la provincia a la nación: el liderazgo de Rafael Núñez a mediados del siglo XIX’, in Jaime Bonet and Gerson Javier Pérez (editors), *20 años de estudios del Caribe Colombiano* (Banco de la República: Cartagena, 2020).

Explaining Inequality

Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, “Beyond a Single Model: Explaining Differences in Inequality within Latin America”, *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no 434, 2020.

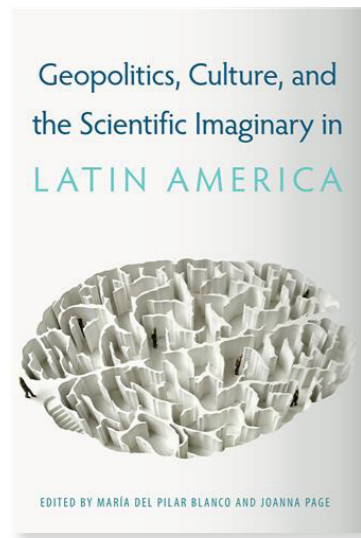


This paper was written during my stay at the Kellogg Institute of the University of Notre Dame. It explores the determinants of income inequality in Latin America over the long run, comparing it with explanations of why the whole region is unequal. The paper first shows that land inequality is useful to explain why the region is more unequal than others but does not help to account for differences within the region. Using qualitative comparative analysis, the paper then studies how political institution and actors interact with the economic structure (i.e., type of export specialization) and with the ethnic composition of the population. The paper has several findings. A low indigenous/afrodescendant population has historically been a pre-condition for low inequality. The analysis also identifies two sufficient-condition paths, both of which include the role of democracy, political equality, and a small indigenous and afrodescendant population. The first path also includes a favorable export specialization, while the second one includes the presence of leftist presidents instead. The paper calls for more explicit comparisons between our analytical models for Latin America as a whole and our explanations of between-country differences (DSA).

Publications

Culture and the Scientific Imaginary

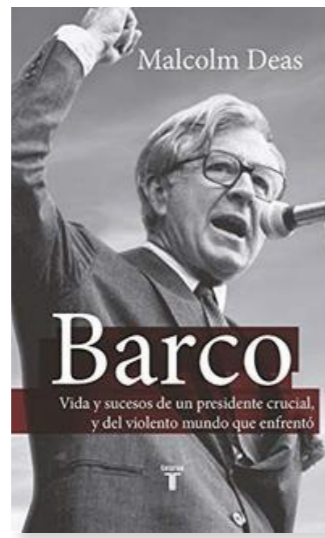
María Del Pilar Blanco and Joanna Page, eds., *Geopolitics, Culture, And The Scientific Imaginary In Latin America* (University of Florida Press, 2020).



Challenging the common view that Latin America has lagged behind Europe and North America in the global history of science, this volume reveals that the region has long been a centre for scientific innovation and imagination. It highlights the important relationship among science, politics, and culture in Latin American history. Scholars from a variety of fields including literature, sociology, and geography bring to light many of the cultural exchanges that have produced and spread scientific knowledge from the early colonial period to the present day. Among many topics, these essays describe ideas on health and anatomy in a medical text from sixteenth-century Mexico, how fossil discoveries in Patagonia inspired new interpretations of the South American landscape, and how Argentinian physicist Rolando García influenced climate change research and the field of epistemology. Through its interdisciplinary approach, *Geopolitics, Culture, and the Scientific Imaginary in Latin America* shows that such scientific advancements fuelled a series of visionary utopian projects throughout the region, as countries grappling with the legacy of colonialism sought to modernize and to build national and regional identities.

Virgilio Barco

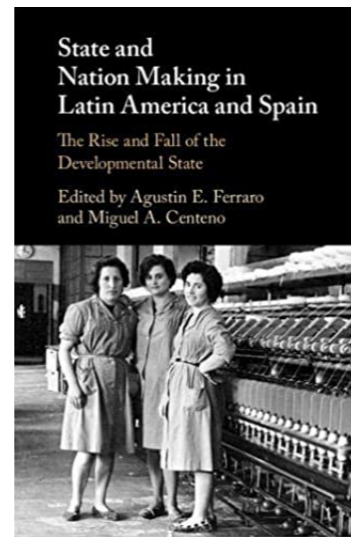
Malcolm Deas, *Barco. Vida y sucesos de un presidente crucial y del violento mundo que enfrentó* (Taurus: Bogotá, 2019).



This book examines the life and career of Virgilio Barco, president of Colombia in 1982-86: 'My biographical essays do not pretend to give a complete account of his career and his presidency [...]. After the chapter on his ancestry and youth, I explore with the aid of his correspondence and other particularly valuable local sources the provincial politics of Norte de Santander in the late 1940s, the era of the so-called violencia clásica. The other two major chapters in the book cover his time as alcalde of Bogotá and President of the republic. [...]. My discussion of his presidency attempts to show both the inherent weakness of the national government when faced with multiple threats to public order in diverse regions of the country, and the importance of Barco's refusal to contemplate any deal with the drug cartels, then at their most menacing. [...]. I hope I succeeded in awakening interest, questioning some received versions and even in exciting admiration – a feeling perhaps too rare among academics – for a remarkable statesman' (MD).

State and Nation Making

Alan Knight, 'The Mexican Developmental State, c. 1920-80', appeared as chap. 10 of Agustín E. Ferraro and Miguel Angel Centeno, eds., *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Rise and Fall of the Developmental State* (Cambridge, CUP, 2019).



This chapter provides an analysis, over two generations, of the political economy which emerged from the Mexican Revolution: first, during two decades of popular mobilization and social reform (1920-40), then through the long years of PRI rule and the 'economic miracle' (1940-80). Taking the editors' 'developmental' cue seriously, I compared Mexico to the East Asian developmental model propounded by Chalmers Johnson – a comparison which, to my surprise, worked quite well. The volume is the second in an ambitious trilogy: the first, dealt with the pre-1930 'oligarchic' state (2013); the third – on the neoliberal state – is in the pipeline. We are hoping that Peter Jackson will direct the film version (AK).

THE 2020 COHORT ON THEIR HIGHLIGHTS FROM THEIR YEAR AT OXFORD

Due to the current coronavirus crisis, many of this year's cohort saw their time at the LAC cut short. In this light, Horizontes thought it fitting to reminisce about some of their highlights from the many positive experiences they had in Oxford.

Julia Carvalho Dias Carneiro: "In February, I reached the age of 40 during my MSc. At first, I felt a bit gloomy to be away from friends and family at home and didn't feel much motivation to celebrate. But it turned out to be a memorable birthday. James and Anna brought a surprise cake to Sociology class in the morning, then our class went for a great lunch on North Parade, and the lovely Maria offered to host a party for me in her apartment. It was such a special evening. Our whole cohort was there, and it dawned on me how much our friendships had developed since the first weeks, how intimate and at ease it felt to be with everyone, and how I could rely on having a family in Oxford too."



LAC students at the end of term gathering at Carlos' place



Julia celebrating her birthday with her LAC cohort

Anna Reed: "For me, a highlight from my time in the LAC would have to be the experience of getting to explore new topics with professors and peers who are so interested in learning. It was such a supportive environment which pushed me to grow intellectually"



Anna Reed

Vicky Cogorno: "Our classes were definitely my favourite experience in general; meeting with people from so many different backgrounds with a shared interest and passion for their own research. As a student, the real learning came from my peers."



Miguel Conde, Vicky Cogorno, Clément Bourg, Matthias Brickel, Pablo Uribe-Urán, Adriana Vitagliano and Julia Carneiro

Xue Li: "The "End of term" LAC gathering at Carlos' place in Michaelmas term is one of my most memorable experiences this year. What made it special was to gather at a Professor's place and meet many warm and friendly people there, not only within LAC. I had pleasant conversations with them while drinking mulled wine, which really brought me a feeling of relaxation and a sense of belonging to the LAC."

Adriana Vitagliano: “One of my favourite experiences this past year has been growing close with my incredible classmates and professors and enjoying the unique sense of community the LAC provides, both socially and academically. I have also enjoyed the many opportunities to engage in discourse on the intersectionalities of social science with other disciplines, such as the January LAC seminar ‘Past and Future Spread of Viruses in the Americas.’ This discussion on the drivers of disease and mapping the spread of epidemics highlighted how an approach considering the linkages between epidemiology and the social sciences is critical in guiding future control measures and provided an early look at the ways in which the Covid-19 outbreak would drive the urgent need for increased interdisciplinary dialogue.”

Sabrina Escobar Miranda: “While I’ve had many amazing experiences this past year at the LAC, I think one of my highlights of this last year was interviewing former President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. It was so inspiring to hear him talk and then learn about his experiences and perspectives on a personal level, and I certainly would not have had the opportunity if I had not been a LAC student!”



Complete friendsgiving party with LAC students

Carla Vila: “It was really special and memorable that I, along with the Brazilian students of the LAC, was invited to a reception with former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, in Michaelmas Term. We were able to profit from his vast experience and opinions about contemporary Brazil in an informal and friendly environment.”

Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso with group of Brazilian students and scholars working on Brazil during a reception hosted by the LAC at Brasenose College.



James, Adriana, Maria and Julia

Hannah Brown: “Being at the LAC has been a very special experience for me, studying in one of the most beautiful cities in the UK and feeling part of, what truly felt like a family in the LAC community. It’s very hard to choose a highlight, but I would have to say that the intellectual stimulation during the course, from discussions with staff and fellow course mates. This was what made my time at Oxford precious and I can truly say that I feel that I have learnt and grown so much during this short period of time. Also, it was a pretty extraordinary experience to interview former President of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso, with Sabrina, and have such a unique and personal experience with such a grand figure of Latin America!”



Hannah and Sabrina with President Cardoso



Maria Puolakkainen: “One of my highlights of the academic year were the times that all of our LAC students came to my house for dinner parties and post-BOP after parties. From cooking a massive Thanksgiving dinner accompanied with delicious Brazilian, German, and Chinese dishes, to squeezing seven people on a sofa and enjoying late night *forró* parties go on into the small hours of the night... From Julia’s 40th birthday to the Latin American BOP at St Antony’s, the laughter and easy-going atmosphere of our group has been so special. The warmth and conviviality of our cohort has been such a source of joy and comfort throughout the tough nights in libraries and chilly English weather.”

Clément Bourg: “My year at the LAC would not have been the same without the intellectually stimulating programme of seminars featuring inspiring speakers, including two former presidents of Latin American countries.”

Isabella Branco: “Without a doubt the best part of being at the LAC this year was the constant intellectual stimulation from the seminars, classes, and even casual conversations with course-mates. So much to think about, so little time.”

James Woodley: “In addition to the extraordinarily unique and insightful seminars, this year, I have thoroughly enjoyed taking part in the Graduate Joint Consultative Committee (G.J.C.C.), allowing me to intimately engage with and facilitate dialogue between my affable peers and professors here at the Latin American Centre; in fact, the line between ‘peer’/‘professor’ and ‘close friend’ is a very fluid one”



Maria, James, Louisa and Xue

Louisa Wagner: “The exact moment is hard to pinpoint but somehow the LAC - the space as well as its people - have come to feel like a home. Similarly, the most special moments for me were the little things like breakfasts before class, spontaneous lunches with half the cohort or just quick coffees on North Parade. Even now in lockdown, window chats, online formats and the friendships that have developed keep the LAC spirit very much alive as much as we may miss being in the same place.”



Louisa and Maria at a dinner in St Antony’s



Wine reception after one of LAC’s seminar

Pablo Uribe Ruan: “There is, let us say, a certain vernacular expression of the oldest and the newest on Walton Street. I have found, riding my bike, that two buildings (the reader will know which are) contrast by their great architecture. They, however, represent two different conceptions of beauty and time. A divergent manifestation by a city as Oxford, which, permanently, live in different times; no one knows, I fear, what time is exactly on Walton St. Even we are leaving our hope in the present and the results of the tests that are taking place at the Park Road buildings, looking, always, to the future”.



Hannah, Maria, Carla, Pablo and Julia after their Matriculation

Matthias Brickel: “My first year at the LAC was a big change to my previous life and it is impossible to do it justice by cherry-picking one single moment. Though, I can state with absolute certainty that the weather was my negative highlight, my personal Murphy’s Law. I believe every single week in Oxford already brings a number of highlights, and it’s the diversity of people that made our community so vibrant, that allowed us to build such unique friendships - the ultimate highlight.”



LAC students celebrating with friends



Matthias and other LAC students in Exeter College

Victoria Bolaños Cohen: “Early on Michaelmas term, when we were still getting to know each other and figure out our way through Oxford, the LAC came together at St. Peter’s College and then go to a Latin American party together. What was so amazing about this night was not just the fun music and dancing, but the fact that the whole group had come together to have fun outside class. We were not just classmates, but family. And this would continue throughout our first year together.”

What makes the LAC even more special is how quickly it becomes your family away from home: from studying together and supporting each other through essays, presentations, and exams; to thanksgiving dinners, birthday celebrations, partying together, and planning trips as a group. It’s a family where we genuinely care about each other’s wellbeing and encourage each other to be their best version of themselves. I feel extremely lucky to be part of this family!”

Student life outside the LAC

As well as many hours spent in the University's libraries, the students of the Latin American Centre have taken part in many extracurricular activities. Here are some photos of the students enjoying themselves. Many thanks to Matthias Brickel for providing the pictures



Famous HalloQueen BOP at St Antony's: Miguel, Pablo, Victoria, Adriana, Matthias, Sabrina and Julia



LAC Students Maria and Louisa cheering for St. Antony's College Football Team during the Cupper Finals



Oxford Union Ball - James, Anna and Adriana



Maria and Pablo showing off their Salsa Skills



MPhil Student Clemént at the Linacre College BOP



LAC Master's Students at the Christmas Party (organised by Dr. Pérez Ricart and roommates)



LAC Student Matthias Brickel racing for Oxford University Triathlon Club



LAC Student Matthias leading the field with fellow Oxford Student



German Society Dinner with LAC Students Louisa, Adriana, Maria and Matthias



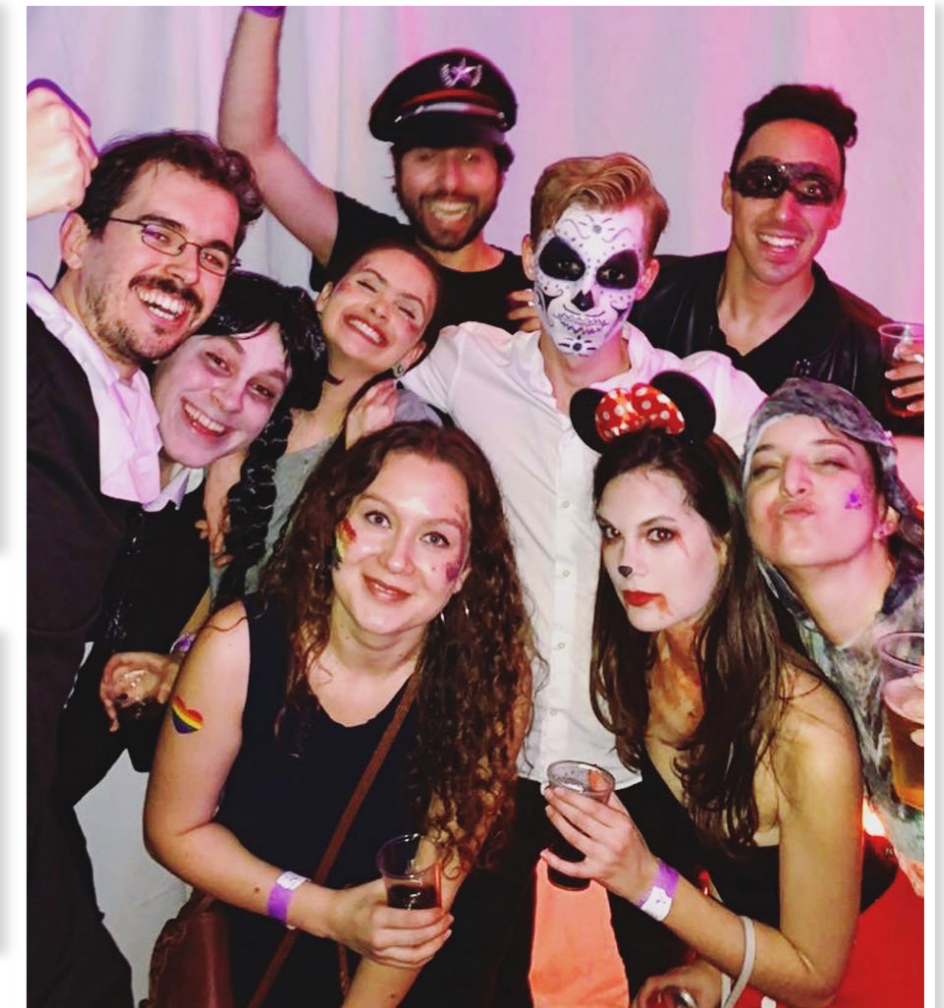
LAC Student Pablo Uribe after winning the Football Cuppers Finals with St. Antony's College



LAC Student Maria with the Salsa Dancing Society



MPhil Student Matthias after competing with Oxford University Swimming Team against Cambridge, Warwick and Oxford Brooks (200m Freestyle, 50m Freestyle, and Relay)



Halloween Party - LAC Master's and DPhil Students

Horizontes

NEWSLETTER OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CENTRE



LAC Master's Students invited to a Formal Dinner at Exeter College



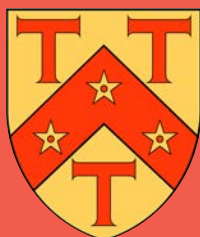
LAC Student Louisa hiding behind a book



Matriculation Day - LAC Students



Former President Cardoso with LAC student Hannah Brown



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The Ambassador from Costa Rica in the UK at the reception following the lecture of the President of the Central Bank in Costa Rica at the LAC.