

# Horizontes

NEWSLETTER OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CENTRE



Number 5, Summer 2017



UNIVERSITY OF  
OXFORD

## Meet the editorial team

*Horizontes*, the Newsletter of the Latin American Centre, was to a significant extent made possible thanks to the enthusiasm of our students: Natalie Felsen, Jamie Shenk, Laura Sánchez Tamayo, Miles Schuck, Lewin Schmitt, John Bartlett and Ana Santos Cepero, accompanied in the picture by Rebeca Otazua, Senior Library Assistant; Ananya Chatterjee, Acting Administrator; Maria Elvira Ryan, Admissions Secretary, and Tex, her trusty guide dog. Valentijn Wibaut, absent from the picture, was also part of our editorial committee.



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## Vice-President of Dominican Republic in Oxford University

By Felipe Roa-Clavijo

On 6 June 2017, Margarita Cedeño de Fernández, Vice President of the Dominican Republic, spoke on "Efforts to tackle multidimensional poverty" at the Latin American Centre. In her talk she stressed the importance of addressing poverty beyond income by using measuring methods that integrate its multiple causes. Towards this end, the Vice-President announced that by the end of June the Dominican Republic will launch its official Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) which, in her words, will be a tool for the "next generation of social policies". Finally the Vice-President encouraged students and staff to continue the collaborative work between government and academia in the efforts of achieving social justice and shared prosperity. The event was jointly organised by the Latin American Centre and the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative.

Photo credit: Maarit Kivilo

# Director's Report

Much has happened since my last report a year ago. The United Kingdom's decision to exit the European Union and the election of Donald Trump in the United States took the world by surprise, with repercussions both in Europe and the Americas. In Latin America, Dilma Rousseff's impeachment in Brazil and the Venezuelan crisis were additional reminders that we live in uncertain times.

At the Latin American Centre we tried to reflect on some of these changes during the academic year. In February, for example, the Brazilian Studies Program brought together leading researchers from Latin America, United States and Europe to make sense of Brazil's current economic and political crisis. Although the conference left us with a deep sense of pessimism, we were at least able to better understand the roots of the double crisis. In March, together with the Instituto Mora, we organized the conference "Democracy, anti-system politics and inequality in turbulent times" as part of the CAF-LAC program. The gathering in Mexico City explored the links between inequality, political discontent and the emergence of anti-system candidates, particularly in the Americas. Adam Przeworski's plenary and subsequent presentations from a diverse group of Latin Americanists allowed us to think about populisms and discontent from a comparative perspective—something we hope to continue doing in the future.

Doing justice to the many other activities we organised during 2016-17 would be an impossible task. Let me just highlight a few that were made possible by the generous contribution of various funders. In November, David Doyle organised the third CAF conference in Oxford titled "Labour Informality in Latin America: Political, Economic and Social Consequences". Honouring our multidisciplinary commitment, the conference explored the impact of informality on multiple variables, including productivity, socio-economic inequality and electoral preferences. It also gave us the opportunity to bid farewell to Enrique García, who has retired after twenty-five fabulous years as president of CAF-Development Bank of Latin America. Thanks to President García's visionary leadership, we have been able to build closer links to Latin America and to research centres in Europe, funding two scholarships every year, inviting a senior economist to Oxford and collaborating with new partners. We hope that our close collaboration with CAF continues for many years under the new president, Luis Carranza.



The contribution of many of you to the Malcolm Deas Fund supported several successful events. In November, Eduardo Posada-Carbó convened the first Malcolm Deas History Lecture. Delivered by James Robinson, it was a great opportunity to think about rebellions and violence in Colombia from a historical perspective. In January, Marcela Rios (UNDP Chile) was the plenary speaker in a successful conference on women and social movements organised by Julia Zulver. She also gave a talk at the Latin American Centre and participated in Leigh Payne's sociology class.

We also signed an exciting agreement with the Universidad del Pacífico in Lima to create the Rosemary Thorp Fund. The fund supported my trip to Lima in September and visits by the Pacífico professors Oswaldo Molina and Martín Monsalve to Oxford. The Fund—brainchild of the former President of the Pacífico and Oxford alumni Felipe Portocarrero and of the current Vice-president of that University Cynthia Sanborn—will strengthen our links to Peru through the funding of conferences and academic exchanges between the two universities.

Finally, Catalina Smulovitz, Vicepresident of the Di Tella University and an old friend of the Latin American Centre, delivered the fourth Di Tella Lecture in May. She

explored the growing political role of the Courts in Latin America and called for more research on its potential implications.

This year we continued our efforts to build closer links with alumni across the globe. In September, I attended a regional gathering of alumni in Lima organised by our former student Santiago Mariani. It was a great opportunity to explore the challenges of Peru and the whole region and to have some fun over pisco sours. In March, the Oxford alumni in Mexico hosted a nice reception for Tim Power and me. I hope to participate in more events like these ones in the future and would also encourage all the alumni to visit us in Oxford and get reacquainted with the fun and dynamism of the Latin American Centre.

Let me conclude with several thanks and one welcome. Eduardo Posada-Carbó edited once again this issue of *Horizontes*, where you can find other news about the year, including new sections on current research projects and recent publications. He was accompanied by a great team of students: Jamie Shenk, Laura Sánchez, Lewin Schmitt, Valentijn Wibaut, Ana Santos Cepero, Natalie Felsen, John Bartlett, and Miles Schuck, with the administrative support of Ananya Chatterjee. David Doyle helped with proofreading. Kiran Stallone, one of the LAC's alumni, took great photos of the reception we offered at the Universidad del Pacífico, during the Latin American Studies Association conference in Lima. I also want to thank Andrew Harvey for his superb work in the designing of *Horizontes*. I would like to finally welcome our first post-doctoral fellow in Mexican History and Public Policy, Dr Carlos Pérez Ricart. Appointed thanks to generous support from CONACYT, he will arrive in September and stay with us for the next three years. He will not only strengthen our research and teaching, but will also help us to expand our vital links with Mexico and the rest of Latin America.

**Diego Sánchez-Ancochea**  
Director, the Latin American Centre

# Understanding the Challenges of Informality in Latin America CAF – LAC

## Political, Economic and Social Dimensions III CAF-Oxford Conference



Panelists at the CAF conference from left to right, back row: José Antonio Ocampo, Carlos Ominami, Germán Ríos, Fabiana Machado, Daniel Ortega, Sonia Gontero, Timothy Power; front row: Carlota Pérez, Diego Sánchez Ancochea, Enrique García, Cecilia Rodríguez, Roxana Maurizio, Eduardo Posada-Carbó y David Doyle.

On 4 November 2016, we held the third joint conference between the Development Bank of Latin America (CAF) and the Latin America Centre, here in Oxford at the Nissan Lecture Theatre in St Antony's College. The purpose of this conference was to make sense of Latin America's sizeable informal labour market and its political, economic and social ramifications. The conference proved very popular among students, policymakers and academics and attracted a sizable audience. This year's programme was opened by Enrique García, Executive President of CAF, a particularly noteworthy opening as President García retired as head of the CAF, after many highly successful years in charge, shortly after the conference. We are delighted that President García has agreed to take up a visiting fellowship in Latin American Development at the LAC.

Over the course of the full day, and following a wonderful keynote address by José Antonio Ocampo, three panels explored the role of labour informality

for Latin America, the first of which discussed whether informality truly decreased during the years of the commodity boom. This was followed by a second panel that reflected on the political implications of labour market

informality for the region, before the third and final panel considered how government policy has evolved in response to labor market dynamics. The third CAF-LAC Conference was closed by Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Director



Group of students and the LAC acting-administrator who assisted in the organization of the conference: Gonzalo Croci, Stephen Minay, Jazmin Duarte, Ana Santos Cepero, Lewin Schmitt, Vanessa Chavez, Natalie Fensen, Valentijn Wibaut, Jamie Shenk, John Bartlett, Saskia Hoskins, and Maryhen Jiménez Morales.



DEVELOPMENT BANK  
OF LATIN AMERICA

of the University of Oxford's Latin America Centre, together with Enrique García, and culminated in the signing of the next CAF-LAC agreement, cementing the very successful cooperation and relationship between the Centre and the CAF.



CAF President, Enrique García, opening the conference, next to Roger Goodman, Head of the Social Science Division of Oxford University and Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Director of the LAC.



Keynote Speaker José Antonio Ocampo, former Director of Cepal and former Minister of Finance in Colombia.

## Roxana Maurizio, CAF Visiting Fellow 2016-17



The CAF-Oxford Visiting Fellowship in the LAC was an excellent opportunity to conduct my research about occupational turnover and

income instability in Latin America during the last decade. In particular, this research sought to estimate the intensity and direction of occupational instability and real income fluctuations; decompose total income movements into those derived from upward or downward changes; identify the different sources of real household income instability as they can originate in variations in earnings, in transitions experienced by its members between

statuses and jobs, and in non-labour income alterations; and analyse the intensity and direction of these changes between different groups of households. My stay in a centre that specialises in Latin American studies, particularly in fields such as economic development, inequality and social policy, greatly contributed to my research. Exchanges and discussions with colleagues and students were highly valuable during my visit. Additionally, this experience was very useful to familiarise myself with new approaches and methodologies used by researchers of the Centre who work on similar areas to the ones included in this study.

During my stay at the LAC, I also gave two seminars. The first, "Minimum wage and inequality in Latin America during

the 2000s", was part of the Latin American Centre Seminar Series. The second, "Labour informality in Latin America: recent trends and future challenges", was presented at the III CAF-Oxford Conference "Understanding the Challenges of Informality: Political, Economic and Social Dimensions". Finally, I had the opportunity to attend several interesting seminars of the Latin American Centre Seminar Series and Latin America History Seminar Series.

Definitively, the LAC is an excellent place to carry out multidisciplinary research about Latin America from different methodologies and perspectives.

# CAF Scholars

We are both MSc students in Latin American Studies and recipients of the CAF Scholarships. Not only has the CAF scholarship enabled us to undertake interesting research about Latin America, which would have been much more challenging in our own countries, but have also allowed us to fully take advantage of the enormously rich academic community here at Oxford. This experience has deeply influenced us by broadening our horizons and interests and allowed us to forge priceless personal and academic ties. During our time here, we have applied to continue our graduate studies, which will give us the opportunity to further deepen our knowledge. In the future, we look forward to using all these learning experiences to contribute to the development of our countries and our region.

**Laura Sánchez and Francisco Taiana**

# Oxford in LASA Lima



Daniela Campello, Tim Power and Dave Doyle with former LAC student Olga Illera

Oxford members of the current academic staff, students, alumni and former visiting fellows had a strong presence at the Latin American Studies Association conference that met in Lima in May this year. The LAC prepared a special programme with the selection of panels where the Oxford community had a visible participation, in the organization and chairing of panels and workshops, and in the presentation and discussion of papers, covering a wide range of subjects and disciplines. The LAC offered a welcoming reception at the Universidad del Pacífico, attended by members of the staff, current and former students, and friends of the Latin American Centre. (Selection of photos in the reception taken by Kiran Stallone a former LAC's student).



Former students Carla López and Mark Petersen with Janet Hamilton Petersen and Eduardo Posada-Carbó



Oswaldo Molina, Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Felipe Portocarrero, Ambassador Anwar Choudhury, Santiago Mariani and Andrea Portugal



The British Ambassador in Peru, Mr. Anwar Choudhury, addresses LAC's guests at the reception in the Universidad del Pacífico, with Felipe Portocarrero, former Rector of the Pacífico; Diego Sánchez Ancochea, LAC's Director, and former student Santiago Mariani.

## Latin American DPhil Seminar

The Latin American DPhil network in Oxford includes over 65 graduate students in the Social Sciences and the Humanities at the university. Once a term, the Latin American Centre hosts a special seminar that brings together doctoral students working on the region, who then have the opportunity to present and discuss their research. Some doctoral students from other universities, such as Cambridge, Warwick, London School of Economics and the Sorbonne, have also presented papers at the LAC DPhil Seminar. The seminar aims to strengthen the community of scholars working on Latin America in Oxford while offering doctoral students a platform to discuss their work with peers and members of the academic staff. This year the seminar was convened by Juan David Gutiérrez, a DPhil student at the Blavatnik School of Government. More information about previous and future presentations is available at LAC's website.



Julia Zulver, DPhil Sociology student, presenting her seminar paper on "High Risk Feminism in Violent Contexts: Women's Mobilisation in Latin America".

# Brazilian conference

## Brazilian Democracy from Dilma to Temer: Navigating the Crises



Seated left to right: Luis Schiumerini (Nuffield College), Anthony Pereira (King's College London), Rodrigo Rodrigues-Silveira (University of Salamanca), Lucas Novaes (Institute of Advanced Study, Toulouse). Standing at podium: Fernando Bizzarro Neto (Harvard University).

"Brazilian Democracy from Dilma to Temer: Navigating the Crises" was the title of the workshop hosted by the Brazilian Studies Programme at the Latin American Centre, on 3 February 2017. In the words of the convener, Dr. Timothy Power, the workshop offered "a moment for reflection on Brazil's emergence from economic crisis and the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff." A full schedule provided panelists, professors, and students with a space in which to discuss the sustainability of Brazil's democracy.

The day began with a keynote presentation by Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, professor of political science at the University of Pittsburgh, on Dilma Rousseff's impeachment. Of note was Professor Pérez-Liñán's characterization of impeachments as being functionally equivalent to military coups. For him, many of the factors that previously led to coups – economic crisis, corruption, popular mobilization – play a role in the impeachment of some presidents, as exhibited in the cases of Fernando Collor de Mello in 1992 and Ms. Rousseff in 2016.

A wide-ranging panel on new patterns of politics came next, where some of the academics whom Dr. Power characterized as belonging to a younger generation of Brazilianists grew up believing in and "sensitized to the idea of a globalized Brazil", presented their reflections. Focusing on the changes in the party system at national and local levels, the four panelists discussed issues of clientelism, political fragmentation, and the factors influencing the reelection of mayors.

The following panel on political economy and social policy also included

representatives of a younger generation of Brazilian scholars. While the previous panel on politics ultimately suggested that the change of presidents from Ms. Rousseff to Michel Temer would have little impact on political dynamics, these panelists emphasized that the new economic policies of the Temer administration would have a significant impact on social policy. Whereas Ms. Rousseff offered a somewhat incoherent mix of economic policies, Mr. Temer has outlined an orthodox fiscal policy that seeks to encourage foreign investor confidence in Brazil through a significant 20-year spending cap and targeted inflation control. This change in policy puts in doubt the future of social spending programs, especially with regards to pension reform.

The workshop was closed with an address by Dr. Nara Pavão (Federal University of Pernambuco) entitled "The Failures of Electoral Accountability for Corruption: Brazil and Beyond." Dr. Pavão discussed the inability of free elections in Brazil to weed out corruption amongst politicians. Issues of corruption and integrity do not seem to be an important voting criteria, since Brazilian citizens believe all their politicians to be corrupt. Their voting considerations shift to other topics and corrupt politicians are continually reelected.

While the day was positive in terms of academic and intellectual engagement on a wide variety of topics, the overall sentiment after this "moment of reflection" was mixed as panelists and guests alike attempted to work through the good and bad aspects of Brazil's current political and economic situation.

## Conference:

# Contesting Gendered Violences in Latin America



The presenters and panel chairs outside the Latin American Centre. Photo Credit: Jonas von Hoffmann (MPhil '15, DPhil '18).

On 27 January 2017, DPhil student Julia Zulver brought together 13 interdisciplinary scholars from around the world to participate in the conference, *Women's Social Movements in Contemporary Latin America: Common Trends, Intersecting Identities, Diverse Realities*. The project involved a public conference and a closed book workshop designed to examine the roles that women's social movements in Latin America have played as protagonists for change amidst macro-level transformations.

Zulver's own work focuses on women's mobilisation in high risk contexts in Latin America. She decided to arrange a programme that would use a specifically gendered lens to look at the experiences of women in the region.

A number of past and present LAC students participated in the event. Julia Zulver (MPhil '14, DPhil '18), Malu Gatto (DPhil '17), Nancy Tapias (DPhil '18), and Kiran Stallone (MSc '16) presented original research, while Gabriela Alvarez (MSc '12), Gabriel Pereira (DPhil '17), and Fiona Macauley (DPhil '97) chaired panels.

Presentations were diverse, ranging from discussions of women's reproductive rights, to women's mobilisation around issues of the environment, to women's lived realities in the context of transitions away from conflict. Participants were also able to enjoy a showing of the multimedia documentary *the Quipu Project* (which looks at forced sterilisation in Peru), presented by Dr Karen Tucker (academic consultant to the project).

Dr Kimberly Theidon gave the keynote speech, in which she discussed the regional #NiUnaMenos movement and what this means in terms of gender justice.

The event was timed to coincide with the weekly LAC lecture presented by Dr Marcela Ríos Tobar, a respected Chilean academic and international policy-maker, who discussed questions of democracy in Chile. Dr Ríos Tobar's participation was supported by the Malcolm Deas fund. During the closed book workshop the following day, it became clear that this project should in fact centre on women contesting gendered violence(s) in Latin America. Participants agreed that this contestation is unprecedented, and

merits further study. Each presentation is currently being converted into a chapter that will be included in a book.

The book will ask: how do women respond to their continued systemic exclusion from voice – especially when women are *not meant to be talking about violence, exclusion, and sexual violence*. It will look to update and re-signify the way we talk about women's strategies of contestation against gendered violence. It will adopt an *intersectional lens* to



Dr Malu Gatto (DPhil '16) presents in the panel *Democracy*. Photo Credit: Jonas von Hoffmann (MPhil '15, DPhil '18).

# Guido Di Tella Memorial Lecture



In 2013, the Latin American Centre inaugurated the Di Tella annual lecture series in memory of academic and former Argentine Minister of Foreign Relations (1991 to 1999) and LAC scholar, Guido Di Tella.



My Rafstedt (MPhil Social Anthropology, '17) presents on mobilisation around reproductive rights in Peru. Photo Credit: Jonas von Hoffmann (MPhil '15, DPhil '18).

examine the everyday forms of resistance taking place in the region, insofar as they impact women's lives based on gender, ethnicity, race, etc.

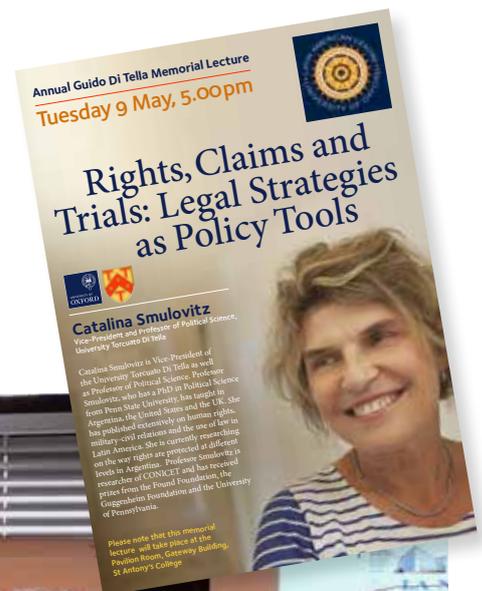
The project is supported by the John Fell Fund (under the sponsorship of Prof Leigh Payne), the Antonian Fund, and the Latin American Centre.



Democratic and Rights-Based Mobilisation. (18).

The 4th annual Guido di Tella Memorial lecture was given this academic year by Professor Catalina Smulovitz, Vice-President of the University Torcuato Di Tella in Argentina. In her lecture, Professor Smulovitz addressed the subject 'Rights, Claims and Trials: Legal Strategies as Policy Tools', looking in particular at the extent to which citizens in Latin America have been resorting to the judiciary as a way to press for the implementation of public policies. Hosted by the LAC since its inauguration, this annual lecture honours the memory of academic and former Argentine Minister of Foreign Relations (1991-1999) Guido di Tella.

The lecture was well attended, including students, current and emeritus fellows of the university, the Argentinian Ambassador to the UK, and friends of Guido and his family. This lecture was followed by a reception and a dinner at St. Antony's College.



Professor Leigh Payne introducing Professor Smulovitz

## The Oxford Latin American Society



Bernardo Pérez Orozco, president of the Oxford Mexican Society, introduces the panel discussion 'The Latin American Response to Trump', with the participation of Joaquín Villalobos, Halbert Jones, and Laurence Whitehead.

The Oxford Latin American Society (OLAS) aims to increase knowledge of Latin America among the Oxford community. As the hub of Latin American cultural, intellectual, and social activity at the university, the organization sponsors a variety of events year-round.

This year, several MSc students at the Latin American Centre held leadership positions in OLAS. The executive board planned and executed a variety of events, aimed at critically engaging with current events pertaining to the region, as well as showcasing its cultural diversity. These events included:

A panel co-sponsored by the Oxford Mexican Society examining "The Latin American Response to Trump" following the US presidential election. Panel participants included LAC affiliates Halbert Jones and Laurence Whitehead.

A discussion with Professor Olivia Vázquez-Media (Wadham College) to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *One Hundred Years of Solitude*

Multiple discussions on socio-political developments in Venezuela featuring students from and experts on the region

Latin American movie nights featuring critically acclaimed films from across the region such as *A Que Hora Ela Volta* and *Relatos Salvajes*

A classical guitar concert hosted in the historic Holywell music room featuring music from the Paraguayan repertoire

In addition to their events calendar, OLAS publishes weekly email newsletters during term time in order to inform subscribers about the latest news from Latin America, as well as relevant events in Oxford and London.

# Latin American Seminar Series



Our Latin American Seminar Series continues to thrive. Michaelmas Term this year was an opportunity, to both celebrate the publication of no less than three books written by friends and colleagues, and to hear about the latest research from top scholars based in Argentina, Brazil, the US and the UK. The series began with a very well attended and excellent presentation on labour formalization and inequality across Latin America from Roxana Maurizio, who was our 2016/2017 LAC-CAF Fellow. The second week saw Kathy Hochstetler, who had just moved to the London School of Economics, present a paper that she had written with our friend and colleague, Jazmín Sierra, on the role of the Brazilian development bank, BNDES, in South-South economic relations. In Week 3, we celebrated the launch of long-time Centre friend Cath Collin's new book on Transitional Justice, with a panel discussion that included Roddy Brett and our own Ezequiel González Ocantos. Cesar Zucco discussed his pioneering work, with Daniela Campello, on economic misattribution in Latin America in Week 4, before we hosted Lisa Baldez in Week 5, who presented an overview of her very exciting new project on human rights in the 'New Cuba'. We returned to newly published books in Week 6 for the launch of our colleague, Ezequiel González Ocantos' book on judicial change and human rights trails in Latin America, which included comments from both Pilar Domingo and Par Engstrom. Ezequiel's book was also awarded the prestigious Donna Lee Van Cott Award at the Latin American Studies Association Annual Conference in Lima in May. In Week 7, we had an excellent presentation of Sandra Botero's work on rights enforcement in Latin America, before finishing with a bang in Week 8, with the launch of the new book from our very own Director, Diego Sánchez Ancochea. Armando Barrientos and Maxine Molyneux joined Diego for the roundtable discussion on this important new book about universal social policy in Latin America.



Hilary Term was as intense and interesting. We had seminars on human rights archives in Chile (Oriana Bernasconi and Manuel Guerrero); declining representation in Chilean democracy (Marcela Ríos); 'racial democracy' in Brazil (Antonio Sergio Alfredo Guimaraes); gender and just cities (Caroline Moser); and feminism and violence (Mo Hume). Together with the African Studies and the China Centres, the LAC hosted a joint seminar on 'The impact of China in developing countries' (Ricardo Soares and Rhys Jenkins). The term closed with a seminar by Luis Schiumerini addressing the question, 'Is incumbency a blessing or curse in Latin America?'



Seminar on 'Gender transformation, asset accumulation and Latin American just cities', by Caroline Moser.



Oriana Bernasconi and Manuel Guerrero presenting their seminar paper 'Excavating the human rights archives in Chile'.

## The LAC and the Universidad del Pacífico in Perú

In July 2016 the Latin American Centre signed an agreement with the Universidad del Pacífico to create the Rosemary Thorp Fund, a fantastic opportunity to honour Rosemary's contribution to the study of Peru and to promote further between Peruvian institutions and the Latin American Centre. The Fund will support academic exchanges during the next three years as well as a conference in Oxford.

In the first year, the agreement funded our director's visit to Lima, where he delivered a lecture on social policy, participated in a class on Latin American development and discussed potential research collaborations with several academics from the University. In Hilary Term, the Economics professor Oswaldo Molina gave a talk at the LAC on technological upgrading and mining suppliers in Peru; and in Trinity Term, Martín Monsalve participated in several events, including a talk in the History Seminar.

We look forward to new exchanges in 2017-18 and have already begun exploring themes for our joint conference.



Cynthia Sanborn, Vice-President of the Universidad del Pacífico and Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Director of the LAC, after signing the agreement, with Felipe Portocarrero, Rosemary Thorp and John Crabtree.

# History Seminars in Partnerships

The Latin American History Seminar completed its fourth consecutive year, since it was launched in 2013 – it continues to run once a week (usually on Thursdays) throughout the three terms of the academic year. Parts of its success is due to important joint initiatives with the University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne (supported by the Oxford Maison Française); the Centro de Estudios de Historia Política (CEHP) of the Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez in Chile; the Universidad del Pacífico in Perú; and here in Oxford with the Rothermere American Institute, the Global History Centre, and the Sub-Faculty of Spanish. The seminar also received support from the Malcolm Deas Fund and the Carlos de Sola Fund. The Seminar Series this year was opened by Nicola Miller (UCL) and closed by Fabrice Lehoucq (North Carolina, US). The programme included seminar papers on a wide range of topics, such as Brazilian and the Inter-American Order in the 1940s, (Tom Long, Reading); Chilean Business Networks since 1873 (Matias Braun, Adolfo Ibáñez); Hobsbaum in Latin America (Leslie Bethell, King's College London, and Paulo Drinot, UCL); and the history of Medicine in the region (Claudia Agostoni, Universidad Nacional Autónoma, Mexico). Since its establishment, the seminar is followed by an informal dinner at Manos, the Greek Tavern in Walton Street, which has also proved to be an enjoyable social occasion.

## Joint seminar with the Pacífico



Martín Monsalve, professor at the Universidad del Pacífico, gave the first joint history seminar LAC-Universidad del Pacífico, examining the relationship between business groups and the military regime in Peru during the years 1968-1980.

## Joint seminar LAC-Global History Centre



The LAC-Global History Centre joint seminar in Hilary Term was given by Alan Knight on the topic 'Liberals, Peasants and Jacobins: The Mexican Revolution (1910-40) in Global Perspective.'

## Third Guerra Seminar



Genéviene Verdo (here in the photo) together with Anthony McFarlane were our guest speakers for the third François-Xavier Guerra Seminar, jointly organized by the LAC and the University of Paris I, Panthéon Sorbonne. Verdo and McFarlane examined the struggle between centralism and federalism in the early days of independence, looking at the cases of Argentina and New Granada respectively. The Guerra Seminar was launched last year to promote exchanges among historians of Latin America based both in France and the United Kingdom. Named after the late historian François-Xavier Guerra, the seminar is convened by Annick Lempérière (Paris I) and Eduardo Posada-Carbó (Oxford).

## Roger Brew Memorial Seminar



The co-director of the Banco de la República in Colombia and leading economic historian Adolfo Meisel Roca presented his research on regional inequalities in Colombia at a seminar in memory of the late Roger Brew (1947-79). Brew first read modern history as an undergraduate student of Magdalen College before completing his doctoral degree on 'The Economic Development of Antioquia, 1850-1920', was published in Spanish under the title *El desarrollo económico de Antioquia desde la independencia hasta 1920*, by the Banco de la República in 1977.

## Malcolm Deas Annual History Seminar



James Robinson, Richard Pearson Professor of Global Conflict Studies, launched the Malcolm Deas Annual Seminar in Michaelmas Term, with a talk on 'The Origins of Legal Rebellions in Colombia'. This initiative is sponsored by the Malcolm Deas Fund.

## Joint Seminar LAC-RAI



The LAC History Seminar organised several joint seminars with the Rothermere American Institute THIS YEAR, including the talk by Lara Putnam (Pittsburgh), on 'Transnational Approaches to Post-emancipation Labor Regimes and their Consequences: From Venezuela to South Africa and Trinidad to Chicago, 1870-1940.'

## Joint Seminar with the Adolfo Ibáñez University



The third annual joint seminar with the Centro de Estudios de Historia Política (CEHP) at the Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez in Chile was given by Susana Gazmuri, who talked on 'Bernardo O'Higgins, Camillus and the Republican Dictatorship, 1818-1823.'

## Joint seminar with the Maison Française



In Hilary Term, the joint seminar LAC-Maison Française hosted Rebecca Gómez from the University of Lyon, who gave a paper on the monetary policies promoted by E. Kemmerer in the Andes during the 1920s.

# Welcome to the Latin American History Seminar!

By Valentijn Wibaut

Some of the frequent participants of the Latin American History Seminar were asked to share their views, and lauded this weekly event.



Dr. Tom Long (Reading University) presenting his paper on 'Brazil and the recreation of the Inter-American order, 1944-1948'.

## Could you tell us something you like about the Latin American Centre?

**John Bartlett:** "The atmosphere at the seminars is excellent and it is very easy to contribute to discussion regardless of prior knowledge of the subject area."

**Jazmín Duarte Sckell:** "I like that the atmosphere is quite personal, there are thousands of materials regarding Latin America that can be used and people willing to help you if you need something or even only information."

**Rebeca Kritsch:** "The Latin American Centre aggregates an amazing group of people, from the staff to the participants who are not officially affiliated with the university. And the Thursday dinners at Manos after the seminars are a high point of my week. I always meet someone interesting, besides having a chance to talk at length with the speaker."

**Brian McBeth:** "Brings back many happy memories."

## What fascinates you about the history of Latin America?

**Tom Long:** "The amount of research that still needs to be done on the region."

**Margaret Mitchell:** "The development, economic, political and social, which has emerged within the separate countries, plus the linkage and relationship of each to the others."

**Robert Cottey:** "I am particularly interested in Latin America's history as it combines

various regions and cultures: Amerindian, European, African, Asian etc. Furthermore, I enjoy understanding more about the wide-ranging political projects and ideologies which have been pursued in the region. Finally, while the region may be described as 'homogeneous' (similar languages, colonial histories, contemporary problems), it is also heterogeneous in other regards, and as such I enjoy understanding the history of how and why the similarities/differences have taken place."

**Brian McBeth:** "Constant patterns of inequality, violence, and social exclusion, and the prospect of democratic systems that are unlike any other part of the world."

## Could you share with us a eureka or learning moment you have had during a history seminar at the LAC?

**Javier Jiménez Gutierrez:** "Realizing that the countries of the region are so different and yet so similar. It is a region of paradoxes, and that became very evident in most of the sessions of the seminar."

**Tom Long:** "Watching Professor Knight formulate questions that are consistently incisive and tough, but never harsh or cruel, is like attending a master class on academic exchange."

**Laura Sánchez Tamayo:** "I learned a lot during the talk about Monetary Policy in the 1920s: E. W. Kemmerer in the Andes, by Rebeca Gómez Betancourt."

**Rebeca Kritsch:** "The history seminar made me realise how little I know about other Latin American countries. Of course, I am from Brazil."

## Is there anything else you would like to share with Horizontes readers about the Latin American history seminar?

**Jazmín Duarte Sckell:** "The History Seminar also hosted a very interesting and unprecedented special edition on Paraguay. Even though it was not an eureka moment since it was about subjects I heard before, I am very pleased about the openness of the Seminar Series to host the talk and allow a special edition about my country."

**Tom Long:** "Keeping alive a Latin American History in the United Kingdom is no mean feat and Oxford has accomplished this with flying colours. Students of all disciplines should attend these seminars as a way of enhancing their experience at the LAC."

**Laura Sánchez Tamayo:** "After every seminar we leave with many new ideas and questions, and I believe that this encourages us to continue learning outside the classroom. Thanks to the seminars and the dinners at Manos we see knowledge as part of our lives, as something we can share everywhere and with anyone."

**Andrés Zambrano Bravo:** "It's great. May it live on."

# Academic Visitors 2016 - 2017

## Eloisa del Pino



Eloisa del Pino is a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Public Goods and Policies (IPP) in the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). She currently enjoys a Salvador de Madariaga Mobility Grant from the Spanish Government at the University of Oxford. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the Universidad Complutense. She has been a visiting researcher or fellow at the CNRS in Bordeaux (2004), University of Kent (2008), and University of Ottawa (2014). She was a lecturer in the URJC and the UAM (Madrid) and has taught several postgraduate courses at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, the Instituto Mora in México and the IGLOBAL in República Dominicana. Currently, she leads two research projects on the scope and political conditions of the reform of Welfare State institutions and policies during the crisis ([http://crisaut.es/?page\\_id=47&lang=en\\_GB](http://crisaut.es/?page_id=47&lang=en_GB)). She has also published on public administration and citizens' attitudes towards the State and public policies. She is the author of several chapters appearing in presses such as Oxford University Press, Routledge, Edward Elgar or Rowman & Littlefield and articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *Public Administration Review*, *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *The Journal of Social Security, Science and Public Policy* or *Reforma y Democracia*. In Spanish, she is the co-editor of a book on comparative Welfare States, *Los Estados de Bienestar en la encrucijada: políticas sociales en perspectiva comparada*. Madrid. Tecnos, already in its second edition (2016).

## Rebeca Kritsch



Rebeca Kritsch is a Brazilian journalist and writer. She holds a Master's degree from Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism and a Master in Public Administration from Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government, where she became a Lemann Fellow. Rebeca was previously a Fellow at the Reuters Foundation in Oxford. She returned to the University this academic year as a Visiting Researcher to work on the biography of Marshal Candido Rondon. Rebeca worked for 13 years as a reporter for *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo*, where she won the Esso Prize (the Brazilian equivalent of the Pulitzer Prize) for a series she wrote after sleeping in the streets of Sao Paulo for one week. At Brazil's 500th anniversary, she traveled around Brazil by car with her dog for 18 months to portray the country in a series published every Sunday in *Estado*. Later in her career, she worked with Global Health and environmental conservation, chiefly in the Amazon Rainforest. Rebeca is the author of *Redescobriendo o Brasil (Rediscovering Brazil)*, a collection of her stories, and *Butterfly Falls* (to be published), a novel written originally in English based on real facts she witnessed while working in the Amazon.

## Jesus C. Peña-Vinces



Professor Jesus C. Peña-Vinces, is a Senior Lecturer at the College of Economics and Business, at the Universidad de Sevilla. He is a PhD. in Economics and Business (University of Seville). He has been visiting scholar at the University of Houston and visiting faculty of Emerging Markets Institute at Cornell University. Also; he is a visiting professor at several universities in Latin-America. Furthermore, he has been a consultant for various regional governments of South America. Before starting his academic career, he was a businessman in the wood industry (Lima-Perú). His research is focused on Latin American economies covering topics as competitiveness (economic policy and strategy), international trade, entrepreneurship, regional development and human capital. He has published in journals of economics and business: *Economic Systems*, *Emerging Markets Finance and Trade*, *Management Decision*, *International Entrepreneurship Management Journal*, *European Business Review*, *Journal of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, among others. Additionally, is editor-in-chief for the *East Asian Journal of Business Management* and an Associate Editor for the *Journal of Distribution Science*.

## Fernando García Quero



Fernando graduated in Economics in 2007 at the University of Granada (Spain). In the same University he obtained his Master's degree in Development Studies (2009). He completed his Ph.D. in 2012 with the dissertation, "Development and Institutional Political Economy: A reinterpretation of behavior, public policy and institutional change".

He was a lecturer in the Applied Economics department for several years and since January 2017 is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow for the Andalusian Government in the Department of Economic Theory and History at the University of Granada. He is a member of the Spanish NGO "Economistas sin Fronteras", the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences-Spain (FLACSO-España) and the Red Española de Estudios del Desarrollo (REEDES).

Fernando's research attempts to demonstrate the need to go beyond conventional economic theory in order to lend realism and humanism to positive economics. However he is not merely interested in questions that would now be categorized as economic issues. His research has been mainly focused on heterodox political economy, political philosophy, well-being indicators and more currently in what some authors have referred to as "alternatives to development" (Latin America's debates on *Buen Vivir*, de-growth and post-capitalist discussions). These research interests have materialized in several peer-reviewed articles in academic journals such as *Journal of Cleaner Production*, *Ecological Economics*, *Journal of Economic Issues*, *Review of Radical Political Economics*, *Revista Venezolana de Ciencias Sociales*, among others. His recent research has been focused on the analyses of needs-based and subjective well-being in two cantons in southern Ecuador (Nabón and Pucará) and in the Spanish city of Granada. The results of both studies illustrate the importance in evaluating the success of policies within the economic, social and environmental spheres of people's lives as well as future generations.

## Natalia Satyro



Natália Guimarães Duarte Sátyro is a professor and a researcher at the Post-Graduate Program of Political Science at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. She graduated in Social Sciences at UFMG and obtained her master degree and Ph. D in Political Science, at IUPERJ, Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro. She is the coordinator of the Research Group for Public Policy on ALACIP (Latin American Association of Political Science) and co-convenor on Research Committee "Welfare State and Developing Societies" (RC39) at IPSA. Her main research area is in public policies and welfare state with special focus on Brazil and Latin America countries. This includes more specialized studies of conditional cash transfer in Brazil (Family Grant) as well as comparative studies on social welfare and social policies of the countries and Brazilian subnational levels of government.

## Svenja Flechtner



Svenja Flechtner is a Post-doc research assistant at the department of International and Institutional Economics of the European University Flensburg/Germany. Prior to her doctoral degree in economics (2016), she obtained degrees in Governance & Public Policy and Languages, Economics and Cultural Studies from the University of Passau.

Svenja's research interests focus on inequality and economic and social development. Besides her research in behavioural development economics, she has been studying and working on Latin American economies and societies. In particular, she is interested in the Dominican Republic. With Stephan Panther, she has analysed the middle-income trap from a political economy perspective, with a particular reference to Latin American countries. At the LAC, she wants to bring forward an in-depth country study of economic growth from a political economy in the Dominican Republic.

## Rolando de la Guardia Wald



Before coming to the Latin American Centre, Rolando de la Guardia Wald worked as a lecturer in history at the Florida State University campus in Panama and at Quality Leadership University - Panama. He is a founding member and spokesman of the recently established Asociación de Antropología e Historia de Panamá.

Rolando obtained a Bachelor of Arts in History and a Minor in Latin American Studies from the University of Notre Dame (Indiana, United States). Afterwards, he graduated from two postgraduate programmes at the University of Barcelona (Spain): a Master in International Relations, specialising in international organisations, and a Diploma of Advanced Studies in Latin American History. He received his Ph.D in History from University College London, after writing Panamanian Intellectuals and the Invention of a Peaceful Nation (1878-1931), a thesis on the connection between ideas and the different strategies for building national and transnational identities. His main research interests are the history of internationalism, of education, of the political and cultural representations of emotions in Latin America. At the Latin American Centre, he is studying the political, cultural and intellectual impact and legacies of the French attempt to build a canal through Panama (1880-1903).

## Studying the history of business elites in Oxford

My time at the Latin American Centre was simply fantastic. I was able to interact with a very stimulating and diverse group of scholars with common interests in Latin America, an exceptional academic community. My research benefited a lot from the many discussions I had with colleagues and students in an environment that combined a high level of professionalism with a human touch. I am already missing our dinners at Mano's following the weekly history seminar.

I made decisive advances on my research during my months in Oxford. The main objective of my visit to the Latin American Centre was to study the role of the financial system in the process of economic development, part of an ongoing research agenda. In previous work, I had considered the causes, mechanisms and effects of financial underdevelopment, primarily from a firm-level, cross-country empirical angle. During my time at Oxford I began looking at the same issues from a different perspective, namely Chile's history. At the LAC, I was able to examine the Chilean process within the wider Latin American context.

Specifically, I looked at how the changing character of the coalitions that were formed by three social groups -politicians, industrialists and bankers- helped shape Chile's financial and economic development through history. I used hand-collected data on the board composition of a large number of listed companies from 1873 to 2005 to explore the extent to which the same people, at particular periods, participated in the boards of industrial companies, banks and on public services. Different coalition configurations were identified at various moments in time. These alignments were then related to economic policies and to both aggregate and firm-level outcomes.

I reached three general conclusions. First, that the Chilean business elite has always been quite small and local. It sustains a corporate network that has been cohesive, integrative and well connected to politicians. Second, that during the last 150 years, the character of the network and its relation with politicians and financiers has been flexible enough to adapt to the deep changes in the set of investment opportunities and financing possibilities that arose from external shocks and the different conceptions of the role of the state in the economy. And lastly, that the different coalitions and the political and economic outcomes are co-determined.

## Gonzalo Butrón Prida



Gonzalo Butrón is associate professor of Modern History at the University of Cádiz (Spain). He was a LAC Academic Visitor in HT 2017, thanks to a Salvador de Madariaga Mobility Grant from the Spanish Government. He had already been a visiting researcher at the University of Oxford (History Faculty) in 2015. He holds a PhD in Modern History from University of Cadiz (1995), and has conducted extensive research on Spain's transition to Liberalism and its transnational implications. Currently, he is working in a cross-national research project on *Revolution and counterrevolution* coordinated by the University of Zaragoza (Spain). He has published several works on the Peninsular War (2014), the European impact of 1812 Spanish Constitution (2006) and the French occupation of Spain between 1823-8 (1996), as well as articles in journals such as *Ayer* (2001), *Spagna Contemporanea* (2004), *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* (2008), *Historia Constitucional* (2012) and *Historia Contemporánea* (2016).



**Matías Braun, Academic Visitor, MT 2016 and HT 2017**

# Affiliates

The LAC Affiliate programme joins together academics from across the University of Oxford doing fascinating work on the region in the social sciences and the humanities. *Horizontes* here introduces some of our affiliate members.

## Ben Bollig



Ben Bollig, Professor of Spanish American Literature and Fellow at St Catherine's College, works on the literature and culture of the Southern Cone region, with a special focus on poetry and film in Argentina. He published last year a book entitled *Politics and Public Space in Contemporary Argentine Poetry* (Palgrave Macmillan). The book focuses on the recent boom in poetry in Argentina, which has occurred despite—or perhaps because of—political and economic crisis. New works, innovative styles, and novel forms of publication are all intertwined. Perhaps most importantly, there is an integral connection between political themes, literary form, and mode of circulation in much of the best recent Argentine poetry. Professor Bollig also translates poetry, and published last year a volume of poetry by the Patagonian writer Cristian Aliaga, *The Foreign Passion/La pasión extranjera* (Influx Press). In his latest research, he is investigating two areas: crime writing from Argentina (especially works by women); and, with David M.J. Wood of UNAM, the cinematographic adaptation of poetry.

## Isabel Ruiz



Isabel Ruiz is the Official Fellow in Economics at Harris Manchester College at the University of Oxford where she teaches in the Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) and Economics and Management (E&M) programmes. She has written widely on topics related to economic development, international capital flows (foreign direct investment and workers' remittances) and international migration with an emphasis on forced migration.

Isabel's work on capital flows has aimed at understanding the macroeconomic determinants and impacts of remittances and she has published on the impact of the financial crisis on the remittances to Mexico. In another strand of her work, Isabel has explored the macroeconomic determinants and impacts of foreign direct investment in Latin America. Her current work on migration looks at labour market aspects of forced migration. She is one of the coordinators of the "Economics of Forced Migration" project and she is currently working on a project on the gender impacts of hosting refugees (funded by UNU-WIDER).

A native of Colombia, Isabel maintains a strong link and commitment with and to Latin America. She is an Oxford Associate at the Latin American Centre and she is currently one of the editors of the *Hispanic Economic Outlook*, a publication from the American Society of Hispanic Economists that showcases research by Latin American and Hispanic American economists. She is also a member of the board of trustees of Pro Mujer International, a non-profit development organization dedicated to providing women in Latin America with microfinance financial, health, and human development services.

Isabel received her doctorate degree from Western Michigan University, USA, in 2006 and an undergraduate degree from Universidad EAFIT, Medellín, Colombia.

## Laura M. Rival



Laura Rival's research interests are the development and environmental policies in Latin America, Amerindian conceptualizations of nature and society, and indigenous peoples and politics in lowland South America. An Associate Professor at Queen Elizabeth House, she is currently working on a number of inter-related projects, which together contribute to an emerging trans-disciplinary scholarship for rethinking environmental governance in Latin America. While maintaining a focus on anthropology, her research has been at the forefront of creating interdisciplinary bridges between the natural and social sciences.

Her most recent publication, *Huaorani transformations in 21st century Ecuador. Treks into the future of time* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2016) explores the changing lives of the Huaorani people of the Amazon Basin. The community of just under four thousand in Ecuador has been known to the public primarily for their historical identity as a violent society. But Laura Rival reveals the Huaorani in all their humanity and creativity through a longitudinal ethnography, bringing a deeper perspective beyond the stereotype.

As an affiliate of the LAC, she works closely with her colleague Dr Elizabeth Ewart, organising yearly events involving Amazonianist anthropologists, particularly from Brazil. She is also currently running a film series in Linacre College, focusing on ethnographic, feature and documentary films about Amazonian peoples.

## María Del Pilar Blanco



María del Pilar Blanco is Associate Professor in Spanish American Literature in the Faculty of Medieval & Modern Languages at Oxford, and Fellow in Spanish at Trinity College. At Oxford, she teaches Spanish American literature from 1810 to the present at the undergraduate and graduate levels. She was born in Guaynabo, in Puerto Rico's metropolitan area. She received her BA from the College of William & Mary in Virginia, and her MA and PhD from New York University. Prior to her arrival in Oxford in 2012, she worked at University College London, and before that, Aberystwyth University. Her first book, *Ghost-Watching American Modernity: Haunting, Landscape, and the Hemispheric Imagination* (Fordham University Press, 2012), explored the recurrence of haunting as a motif to describe the changing landscapes of the American hemisphere. She is also co-editor, with Esther Peeren (University of Amsterdam) of *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture* (Continuum, 2010), which received the PSA/ASA Award for Best Edited Collection in 2010, and *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Critical Theory* (Bloomsbury, 2013). Her current project, *Modernist Laboratories: Science and the Poetics of Progress in Spanish America, 1870-1930*, repositions Spanish American *modernismo* within the emerging vocabularies of "science" and "progress" that emerged in this 50-year period.

*'It was a true high point to see their evolution from students to researchers':*

**Jazmin Sierra,** interviewed by Lewin Schmitt



**Your work focuses on Brazil's globalization of state capitalism. In light of the recent meltdown of the more radical statist economic project in Venezuela, what do you think are necessary and sufficient conditions for large-scale state intervention to function properly?**

That is one of the most critical questions in development today. One important condition for effective state intervention is that it should be attuned to changes in the international economy. The globalization of production and investment means that policies that close off the national economy to the world are not going to work anymore. Globalization presents a special challenge for industrial policy. On the one hand, firms in developing countries may need support now more than ever. Competition on a large, global scale exposes firms to new activities, productive processes, and competitors. On the other hand, a web of international regulations limit traditional forms of state intervention, such as local content and employment requirements on foreign firms, and export subsidies. States need to find creative ways of overcoming these regulations to help firms compete in the global economy. In my work, for example, I show how governments in developing countries can help local firms invest abroad and access knowledge and technology that may not be available at home.

State intervention should also be carried out in partnership with business. State intervention is unlikely to succeed if it is designed as a top-down, isolated approach. Economists like Dani Rodrik and sociologists like Peter Evans rightly emphasize that good industrial policy should be conceived as an ongoing process of eliciting information from business on the opportunities and constraints that they perceive. An example of this comes from a deliberation council between the government of the Argentine province of Mendoza and local wine makers, which is widely credited with the resurgence of the local wine industry. Partnership between states and business should also entail that the risk is shared among the two. It makes little sense for the state to absorb most of the financial risk of a project, say through a subsidy, and reap little of its rewards. In my work, I show how the Brazilian National Development Bank not only provided loans, but also invested in the companies it supported. Any extraordinary gains made by the company could be brought back to state coffers via shareholding.

A final condition is that industrial policy should be accountable to the public. States are bound to make mistakes as they design and implement their support. But if these mistakes are the outcome of government support that was concealed from the public in the first place, we're going to see, like in Brazil,

massive backlash against state intervention in the economy. Governments need to publicly disclose information on any financial support provided to firms. And they need to go beyond this by also providing the rationale for support, clear benchmarks, for example, against similar activities in neighboring countries, and automatic triggers for withdrawing support if these benchmarks are not met.

**Next year, you will become an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. How will this affect your research focus?**

Among Notre Dame's many strengths, two stand out to me. The first is its mission to place scholarship in service to the common good. The second is its strong tradition in Latin American studies. To give a few prominent examples, Guillermo O'Donnell spent most of his academic career there and LAC's very own Timothy Power and Ezequiel González Ocantos received their PhD from Notre Dame. I hope that I can contribute to Notre Dame's existing strengths through a new research agenda that I am currently developing on how Latin American countries respond to climate change. The World Bank estimates that Latin America will be one of the regions most affected by climate change. While the potential for renewable energy is massive, carbon emissions in the region have increased 20% more than the global average in the past two decades. Transitioning towards a green economy requires that countries scale-up climate finance. My new project aims to understand how states can design policies that allow for the expansion of both public and private "green" capital.

**You're teaching the "Research Design and Qualitative Methods" course. With social sciences gravitating more and more towards data-driven, quantitative analysis, which approach do you think is better fitted for contemporary, interdisciplinary area studies?**

Contextual, in-depth knowledge, the kind that is valued and promoted by area studies, is the basis for good research. This is true regardless of whether a research projects uses qualitative or quantitative methods. We tend to associate contextual knowledge with qualitative methods, but this is a mistake. Contextual knowledge, for example, is necessary to validate a natural experiment or to implement a field experiment. A key goal of a contemporary interdisciplinary area study program should be to show how deep knowledge of a region can be the most solid foundation for all kinds of research methodologies.

**Instead of focusing on a certain subject, the LAC has a comparative, multidisciplinary approach. Where do you see the advantages—**

**and disadvantages—of educating generalists vs specialists?**

We live in the knowledge economy. And what this means is that we need to train students in a way that they can generate, process, and apply knowledge quickly and efficiently. Disciplines develop distinctive agendas, internal debates, concepts, and standards of evidence. This compartmentalization is very relevant to those of us who work within academia, but may not necessarily reflect professional experiences elsewhere. So I see many advantages to a generalist approach to education, whereby you are exposing students to how different disciplines integrate and organize knowledge into a coherent structure. But being trained as a generalist should not necessarily preclude opportunities for specialization. For example, I encourage my students to use their thesis as an opportunity to specialize in a particular topic.

**If you could give one piece of advice to students of the LAC interested in pursuing a career in academia, what would it be?**

Get out of your comfort zone as early and as often as possible. Take classes that are difficult, work with an advisor that challenges you, learn the languages and methods that will help you study questions that fascinate you, circulate your research early on at conferences and among colleagues. Research is about shared knowledge. Success in academia depends in great part on publishing peer-reviewed work. So you need to practice early on how to effectively communicate your ideas and how to address the inevitable questions and concerns that others might have about your work. These are skills that take a lot of time to build and that cannot be harnessed in isolation. So it's really important to expose yourself early on and learn how to use that exposure to strengthen your research.

**What's your most remarkable memory from the LAC?**

Reading students final research proposals for their MSc and MPhil thesis in my Research Design and Qualitative Methods course. The students came in with all kinds of exciting research ideas, from understanding perceptions regarding teenage pregnancy amongst indigenous populations in contemporary Peru, to understanding why some Latin American governments sign multiple regional trade agreements while others streamline their international economic integration. Over the course of the term, the students took their initial ideas and transformed them into full-fledged research projects. They constructed their research question, developed causal explanations, made decisions about how to define and measure their key concepts, and proposed research designs to test their hypotheses. It was a true high point to see their evolution from students to researchers.

Lewin Schmitt completed his BA in 'European Economic Studies' before joining the MSc in Latin American Studies at the LAC.

# MSc Students 2016-2017

The Latin American Centre offers a one-year masters (MSc) course. These are the MSc students of 2016-2017. It has been a pleasure having them here for the past year. We wish them well and hope that they will stay in touch.



## Natalie Felsen

I was born and raised in El Paso, Texas. I came to the Latin American Centre after completing a BA in Political Science at Columbia University, because I wanted to continue to study Latin America in comparative perspective. However, I find that the further I am from home, the more motivated I am to investigate issues particular to the US-Mexico border. My research focuses on the role of the border's socioeconomic peculiarities in facilitating the feminicides of Ciudad Juarez. When I'm not reading about Mexico, I can generally be found with coffee in hand, animatedly discussing US politics.



## Jazmin Duarte Sckell

I'm from Asunción, Paraguay. I was trained in Communication Sciences, Sociology and History and thus enjoy interdisciplinary approaches to Social Sciences. My current research is about the process of granting of civil and political rights for women in Paraguay during the military dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner in the 60s. I'm mostly fascinated by the historical explanation of social phenomena. The research topics I'm mostly involved in are authoritarianism, gender studies, human rights and education.



## Lewin Schmitt

My affection for Latin America blossomed during lengthy stays in Bolivia and Mexico after high school and during my undergraduate studies. Following my completion of a degree in "European Economic Studies" in Germany and the US, I wanted to delve deeper into the political and economic dynamics of Latin America, so I applied to the LAC. As a political economist, I focus on regional integration, corruption, and development economics. As a fan of both continents, I am also interested in the foreign affairs of the EU and Latin America and hope to contribute to mutually beneficial relations between the two regions. I'm also a staunch practitioner of all sorts of extra-curricular activities. In my free time, you can find me rowing, working with the Latin American Society, reviewing papers for St Antony's International Review, playing chess, basketball and guitar, or travelling around Europe.



## John Bartlett

I am a tragic Colombophile and clumsy but enthusiastic salsista. Having studied Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Bristol - taking in a whirlwind exchange visit to UNICAMP, São Paulo, followed by the 2014 World Cup - I moved to Colombia to try my hand at journalism before beginning the MSc programme at the LAC. This stint laid the foundations for my extended essay, a psephological study of participation in the 2016 Peace Referendum. A solitary appearance for the Colombian national cricket team was an unexpected detour along the way - although I am now hoping to follow the university season by appearing at the South American Cricket Championships in Buenos Aires in October.



## Javier Jimenez Gutierrez

I am a Mexican lawyer with a law degree from Mexico's National University (UNAM, 1994) and an LL.M. from the Harvard Law School (1995). I have a strong practice in energy law and during the past few years I took part in a public debate in my country regarding changes in the energy sector. For me, this triggered a newfound interest in public policy, so after 20 years of legal practice, I decided to go back to studying. I came to Oxford to take a new look at Mexico and Latin America. My purpose is to analyze how it is that we are designing and implementing public policy in our countries. I have found the LAC at Oxford to be an ideal place for this kind of research. The multidisciplinary focus and the high quality of both the academic staff and my fellow students have given me a new perspective on many of the issues facing my country and the region.



## Valentijn Wibaut

I was born and raised in Amsterdam. After completing high school I left for Bolivia, and classic—I fell in love with a Latina. Thus, I continued to travel back and forth between the Netherlands and Santa Cruz de la Sierra while I was doing my undergrad in Maastricht. On exchange at the PUC in Santiago de Chile I took courses on Latin American revolutions, and the international relations of the continent. It was fascinating, and I applied to the LAC to go on studying Latin America. Now I focus on the conditions that induce governments to sign regional trade agreements, looking at Mexico and Brazil in more detail. A good part of my spare time is appropriated by my dog Paco, but I also do judo, beer, and travelling.



## Jamie Shenk

I'm originally from California, but spent the last few years studying on the East Coast of the U.S. where I graduated from Princeton University with a B.A. in History. I first got interested in Latin American history in high school, but I fell in love with Colombia while spending three months conducting research there for my undergraduate thesis on the intersection between the peace process and drug policy in the early 1980s. My extended essay takes my previous research into the contemporary era, as I examine Colombian drug policy in the context of the Havana Peace Accords. Outside of the classroom, I'm a member of the Oxford University Volleyball Club (go dark blue!) and an events manager for the Oxford Transitional Justice Research Group.



## Robert Cottey

Born in Gloucester and raised in rural Norfolk, I first became interested in Latin America while studying a B.A. in International Relations at the University of Nottingham. After enjoying a year as an honorary gringo at Tec de Monterrey in Mexico, I returned to the UK to write my dissertation on variable anti-Americanism across the region. Coming to the LAC after completing internships in Costa Rica and Mexico, I am now focusing on coalition formation and management in Brazil. When I'm not chatting about Mexican politics or encouraging Alan Partridge references, you'll most likely find me battling away for St Antony's FC, playing squash, or longing for tacos al pastor and horchata.



### **Nathalia Passarinho**

I am a Brazilian journalist, specialized in covering politics. After graduating in Media Studies, in Brasilia, I started working as a reporter in Brazil's main television channel and news website, covering the president, the Supreme Court and the National Congress. I have always been very much interested in politics and economics of Latin America, and felt that a year of immersion studying these topics would help me develop a more analytical and systemic view of the crisis Brazil is facing today. I am specifically interested in studying coalition presidentialism, judicial activism and the impact of religion in the public sphere. My current research explores the role of the Judiciary and the Legislative in promoting changes regarding secular issues, such as abortion and same-sex marriage.



### **Laura Sanchez Tamayo**

I am a Colombian diplomat interested in complementing public policy with academic research. After studying a BA in International Relations at the University of Rosario, in Bogotá, and completing a Certificate in Political Studies at Sciences Po Bordeaux, I decided to join the Diplomatic Career. In love with my country and inspired by the peace process in Colombia, I want to learn more about peacebuilding and reconciliation, to find ways of restoring trust and hope in my country. Outside the classroom, I work at the Changing Character of War, a research project about the security challenges in the transition from war to peace in Colombia. In my spare time, I enjoy reading novels, watching films and drinking tea.



### **Gonzalo Croci**

Throughout my life, I've been lucky to live in 10 countries around the world and to work in the private and public sectors as well as within international organizations. Previously, I graduated in International Relations and I have completed a Masters in International Management and a Master in Public Policies (MPP) at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin. My main interests are security and education policies in addition to political parties and social movements in Latin America.



### **Francisco A. Taiana LLorente**

I am a historian from Buenos Aires, aspiring novelist, philosophy enthusiast, polo player, scuba diver, and social activist. My current research at the LAC explores Sino-Argentine relations since the Cold War, mostly involved in are authoritarianism, gender studies, human rights and education.



### **Olivia Maisel**

I grew up between Belgium and England and first became interested in Latin America through a Europaia Arts Festival which focused on Brazil. I then went on to pursue a degree in Spanish, Portuguese and Brazilian studies at King's College London which allowed me to live in Rio de Janeiro for my year abroad, cementing my love for the country. During my time in Rio, I lived with an extended Brazilian family and immersed myself completely in Brazilian culture. The women in the family were a dominant force so I saw and heard first-hand what it meant to be a woman living in Brazil; this inspired me to focus on gender issues for my undergraduate dissertation. I am continuing my research at the LAC, and my extended essay addresses gender-based violence in Rio and its developmental effects on the country.



### **Miles Schuck**

I am from New York City. I studied at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania where I majored in History and Spanish. In my third year, I studied in Granada, Spain, which ignited my passion for the Spanish language, and then worked at the Uruguayan Consulate in New York as a local imperialist during the following summer. When I returned to university I focused more on Latin American history and politics. After a year working following my graduation, I decided to come to Oxford to continue my studies at the Latin American Centre.



### **Alice Jeffers**

Originally from Surrey, I spent my undergraduate years studying History at Warwick with a brief interlude in Madrid. While at Warwick I turned my interest in Latin America, initially inspired by travels to the region, into an academic pursuit with particular focus on Mexico and the history of the narcotics trade in the region. My current research continues this fascination with Mexico but takes a different course focusing on the reporting of enforced disappearances. In my spare time you will find me either shouting or being shouted at on a river, competing for St Antony's Boat Club as a rower and cox



### **Ana Santos Cepero**

Originally from Madrid, I moved to London with my family as a teenager and have lived there (for the most part) since. I first became interested in the region, after taking a 'Latin American Politics' module as part of my undergraduate studies in International Relations at Queen Mary university. Upon graduating, I worked at an international human rights NGO in Madrid. I also spent three months volunteering in a school in Nicaragua, which made me further develop my interest in the region. My current research explores the relationship between social movements and the Evo Morales government in Bolivia. In my spare time, I like to travel and meet new people.

# MPhil Students 2016–2018

## SECOND YEAR MPHILS



### Alison Walsh

I am a second year MPhil student at St Anne's, where I completed my undergraduate degree in French and Spanish in 2015. Originally from Bury, north Manchester, I first became interested in Latin America through the literature of the country, and spent six months in Bolivia and Peru on my year abroad in 2014. In my spare time, I enjoy rowing and coxing for my college as well as running and cycling. I am also one of the organisers of the Sir Robert Taylor Society modern languages outreach conference in Oxford. I really like maps, and coffee, and my thesis features lots of both.

My thesis focuses on coffee production in the Yungas area of Bolivia, which is better known for being mountainous, beautiful, and full of coca. I'm looking to bring a fresh perspective to studies of this topic: rather than focusing on the politics of Bolivia, its relations with the US or the impact of coca production, I'm using an aid-centred angle that seeks to locate agency with the producers rather than those who design aid projects, showing that it is the farmers themselves who determine whether a project succeeds or fails.



### Vanessa Chaves

I was born in Costa Rica where I finished my studies in Journalism in 2008. My first steps as a reporter were in a financial newspaper. In 2011, I decided to continue my academic formation with a Master of Arts in the Role of the Media in International Conflicts at the University for Peace. Following this, I worked in a Central American television channel as a news producer and anchor. Moreover, I am also highly interested in negotiation strategies surrounding disputes and therefore, conflict management and peace building methods in Latin American countries.

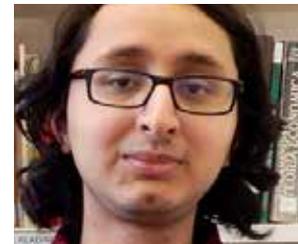
More than two years have passed since the president of Costa Rica, Luis Guillermo Solís, began his mandate. After these first two years, politicians, journalists, business leaders and academics in Costa Rica agree on the one predominant characteristic of his administration: it is inconsistent. My thesis aims to explain that the inconsistency in the political communication was caused mainly by the combination of the following factors: lack of clear policies, inexperience in public service, heterogeneous political affiliation of the cabinet, lack of communication strategy and strong opposition from the official party congressmen towards the government. Acknowledging that the communication capabilities of any government have been widely identified in the literature as a crucial element to meet the objectives of the state and respond to the needs of the population, with this project I want to leave a small contribution regarding how to improve coherent political communication.



### Javier Amate Exposito

A Spaniard with a Mexican heart, I came to the Latin American Centre after completing my undergraduate courses in History and Art History in the CEU San Pablo University, in Madrid. Although I find Latin America to be an amazing reality, I am particularly interested in Mexico, especially its contemporary history and politics. In line with this passion, my research is focused on the Mexican transition to democracy during the late 20th Century. After completing my studies, I expect to work in the field of the relations between Spain and Latin America.

My research project seeks to shed some new light on the transition to democracy that took place in Mexico during the last years of the XX century. More specifically, I'm looking at the importance that a group of politicians, popularly known as "the technocrats", had in the process of political change. These men and women, under the leadership of presidents Carlos Salinas and Ernesto Zedillo, are known for their role in the radical transformation of the Mexican economy. However, their implication in the political transformation is less clear. In my thesis, as a historian, I will try to document and clarify such implication in the democratic process.



### Andrés Zambrano Bravo

Half Colombian, half Mexican, but born in New York City (and barely avoiding cultural confusion), I came to the LAC after majoring in International Relations and Film at the University of St Andrews in Scotland. In my spare time, I run a record label (which just recently put out its first release), produce music and collect tons of absurdly damaged records nobody really cares about.

My MPhil thesis investigates the reduction of homicides in Colombia. I am particularly fascinated by this idea of a "continuity" of violence in Colombia, a theoretical concept which posits that violence has been endemic to Colombia. Through contrasting the cases of Bogota and Cali, my current research investigates both the successes and failures of violence reduction policies in both cities, focusing on both new governance policies and arrangements of armed groups have worked (or not worked in the case of Cali) to reduce violence in Colombia. My thesis aims to explore how both cities tackled violence while understanding the reasons behind the critical decline in violence we have seen in Colombia in the last 30 years.

## FIRST YEAR MPHILS



### Saskia Hoskins

'I'm half-British and half Polish, though given recent events, I currently lean more towards my Polish side. I studied History at Mansfield College for undergraduate before completing an MSc in Development Studies at SOAS. My current research focuses on conceptualisations of pregnancy amongst indigenous adolescents in Peru, which follows on from field research I conducted earlier in 2015 in Huaraz, in the Ancash region. I currently work for Mango, an NGO based in Oxford, as well as for a research council based in the British Academy and lastly (and less excitingly) in a cafe based in the Somertown Leisure centre. In the future, I hope to work as a researcher in international development, particularly in sexual and reproductive rights'



### Daniel Cuty

I was born in Quito, Ecuador. After a long journey of unexpected, but mostly desirable, events I arrived in England three years ago. I am a social anthropologist with special interest in visual and political anthropology. My main curiosity lies in understanding the different factors that shape cultures and the determinant role of political power in this dynamic. My current research analyses the interaction between social movements and pink tide governments. I am studying the evolution and fragmentation of the indigenous movement in Ecuador. I want to understand the social outcomes that take place when different types of rationalities enter in conflict. In the case of the Andes, this could be translated into the constant friction between modernity and ancestral knowledge. I strongly believe that active engagement of civil society can generate changes and strong outcomes in the social reality that people experience. When I am not doing research, I narrow my attention in collecting stories and knowing characters that can potentially become interesting documentaries or short films.

# Research Notes

## from teaching staff

### The Brazilian Legislative Survey, 2017



Cesar Zucco and Timothy Power meet with Congressional staff in Brasília, 15 April 2017. Visible in the background is the legislative chamber of the lower house, designed by Oscar Niemeyer (1907-2012).

In April 2017, Timothy J. Power (director of the Brazilian Studies Programme) and Cesar Zucco Jr., now at the Fundação Gétúlio Vargas in Rio de Janeiro, began fieldwork on the 8th wave of the Brazilian Legislative Survey (BLS). The BLS is quadrennial survey of Brazil's National Congress that has been conducted in each of the parliaments elected since the country's transition to democracy. This survey was initiated by Timothy Power in 1990 for his doctoral research at the University of Notre Dame. It was replicated by Power in 1993, 1997, 2001, and 2005. In 2009, Cesar Zucco joined the project as Co-Principal Investigator. Over the years, the project has received support from diverse sources such as the John Fell OUP Research Fund and Santander Universities UK. The 8th wave of the BLS will complete fieldwork in August 2017.

The BLS is a survey of political elites that aims to reach each and every member of both houses of the National Congress. Currently, there are 513 federal deputies (lower house) and 81 senators (upper house) for a universe of 594 federal legislators. The BLS survey questions consistently cover democracy, ideology, institutional design, public policy preferences, and international relations. Occasionally, the survey incorporates one-off thematic or conjunctural questions, or

replicates questions from global polling initiatives such as the World Values Survey.

Between 1990 and 2013, the BLS received 1145 completed questionnaires from 890 different Brazilian legislators. The most important output of the surveys has been the quantitative measurement of left-right ideology in Brazil, both of parties and of individual politicians. Each politician rates themselves, their party, and all other parties on a scale where 1 is left and 10 is right. Of the 890 unique respondents of the BLS through 2013, some 183 legislators (21%) have participated in more than one wave of the surveys. By using these legislators to link the survey results through time, Power and Zucco are able to cope with the problem of the changing meaning of left-right ideology across three decades. These "ideology scores" have proven very influential in the scholarly literature on Brazilian politics and government, and have been used in close to one hundred scholarly publications. A recent example is an article by Christian Arnold (former Departmental Lecturer at LAC), David Doyle (Associate Professor in Latin American Politics, St Hugh's College), and Nina Wiesehomeier (IE School of International Relations, Madrid), entitled "Presidents, Policy Compromise, and Legislative Success," which appeared in the *Journal of Politics*, volume 79 (2017).

After completing the 7th wave of the BLS in 2013, Power received support from the John Fell OUP Research Fund to unify all waves of the BLS into a single integrated data file and codebook, subsequently archived in a public data repository. The dataset and codebook have been publicly archived at the Dataverse repository of Cesar Zucco Jr.: <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/bls>

In April 2017, Power and Zucco visited Brasília to meet with congressional leaders, party whips and legislative staff in both houses. They were assisted by LAC MSc student Nathália Passarinho, a journalist who previously covered the Chamber of Deputies for the G1 website in Brazil. Together with two other local research assistants, they began the laborious process of contacting nearly 600 congressional offices one by one. In 2017, for the first time, legislators will be able to use an online survey platform to respond to the questionnaire using computers, tablets and smartphones. The data should be available by the end of the year, and Power and Zucco plan to co-author several articles in 2017-2018 while Zucco is a visiting researcher at Nuffield College.

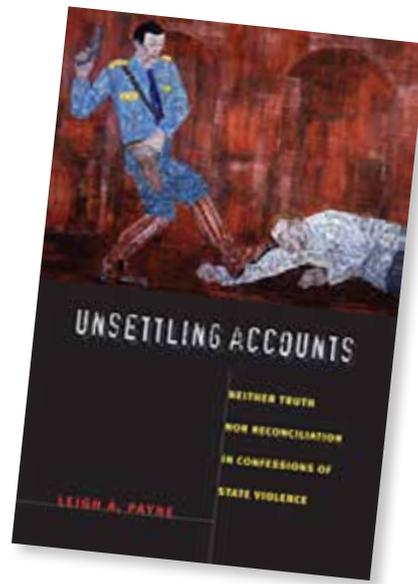
# Research Notes from teaching staff

## Left Unsettled

Leigh Payne

During my sabbatical in 2016 I began a new research project, a sequel to my book *Unsettling Accounts: Neither truth nor reconciliation in state perpetrators' confessions* (Duke University Press, 2009). In that book I developed a performative approach (i.e., analysis of the script, actor and acting, staging, timing, and audience) to confessions to violence made by state perpetrators in truth commissions, trials, and the media in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and South Africa. I argued that these confessional performances did not settle accounts with the past, or bring reconciliation as the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) had imagined. Instead, an unsettling occurred. The confessions broke – or unsettled -- the silence surrounding authoritarian state violence. The stories of atrocity they revealed were unsettling. And they unsettled audiences of victims, fellow perpetrators, and by-standers who challenged the accounts of perpetrators as distorted versions of the truth, partial truths, denial, or lies. The book argues that conflict and not reconciliation emerged from this process. But the kind of conflict – what I call “contentious coexistence” – is not necessarily anti-democratic. On the contrary, the public engagement put core democratic values of political participation, expression, and contestation into practice. Against the call for gag orders by political theorists Stephen Holmes and Bruce Ackerman, this project approaches confessional performances drawing on concepts from the deliberative democracy approaches of Jane Mansbridge, Iris Marion Young, and Sheila Benhabib, and the agonistic approach of Chantal Mouffe.

The new project asks the question: what happens when members of the armed left make confessions to past violence? Do the same processes of democratic debate over ideas and contentious coexistence emerge? What the research has revealed so far is that these confessions are more likely to face suppression by other actors on the left and the human rights community than generate a democratic debate over the past. This makes sense in contexts where those suspected of left-wing activity paid a heavy price imposed by the authoritarian



regime's repressive apparatus: kidnapping, arbitrary detention, torture, death, and disappearance. It may also prove to be expedient in vulnerable transitions, where those leftist groups that are disarming may need a clear, controlled, and cohesive narrative about past violations to be able to participate in the post-conflict political process. While silencing such confessions may be instrumental, this project explores the normative human rights dimensions of gag orders on the left. It aims to understand when confessions on the left can contribute to building a human rights culture in the aftermath of politically polarized violence. The project is tentatively titled “Left Unsettled.”

In the first phase of the research I have explored the confessions to violence carried out by two members of guerrilla movements in the pre 1976 Argentine coup. Claudia Hilb, is currently a Sociology professor at the University of Buenos Aires. As a student, she was involved in the armed left FAR and PRT movements. Ricardo Leis, who died in 2014, was a philosophy professor in Brazil who had been a high-ranking leader in the left-wing Peronist Montonero guerrilla movement. Both confessions share three characteristics: (1) to make visible the terrorist acts committed by the armed left before the coup; (2) to challenge the justification of that violence as the only means to achieve the ends of social justice, an attitude that they see as persistent and dangerously appealing; and (3) to question a one-sided justice and memory project that only condemns the violence committed by the enemy, rather than building a human rights culture that condemns all human rights violations. Because of the silencing they faced, we would have to conclude that they failed at their efforts.

The project will analyze the confessions by other left-wing groups in Latin America to explore when the script, actor and acting, timing, staging or audience response might deliver the kind of performance that fortifies the human rights culture even on a deeply fragmented political foundation.

## Universalism and inequality in Latin America and beyond

Diego Sánchez-Ancochea

Inequality remains one of the main challenges in Latin America. Although multiple labour and fiscal reforms are required to improve income distribution, creating universal social policies is particularly important. These policies—which provide a majority of the population with similar generous benefits—can contribute to more equity, while simultaneously promoting more dynamic economies.

In our recent book (briefly presented in another section of *Horizontes*), Juliana Martínez Franzoni (University of Costa Rica) and I explored the determinants of universal social policies in the South through a comparison of two Latin American countries (Costa Rica and Uruguay), one African (Mauritius) and one Asian (South Korea). The book highlights the role of the policy architectures (that is, the combination of instruments that dictate who access what, why and how) and identifies the actors and processes that shape those architectures over the long run. One take away message from the book is that policymakers should find ways to unify as many components of the policy architecture as possible. For example, they need to make sure that everyone has access to the same health care facilities, even if they do it through different programs.

Juliana and I are now studying the extent to which Latin American countries have moved towards more universal and less segmented services in the areas of healthcare, pensions and early education and childcare since 2000. We evaluate

comparative performance levels and identify the successful cases after the decade of the commodity boom and progressive politics. Additionally, we are interested in difference in trajectories across policy sectors. To do so, we undertake separate cluster analyses of three dimensions (coverage, generosity, including quality, and equity) for each of the three policy realms. This assessment of the recent past constitutes a necessary first step before exploring the political, social and economic determinants of the expansionary phase of social policy in Latin America—analysis we also hope to do in the future.

Our joint work is also considering other areas of social policy, gender inequalities and economic change in contemporary Latin America. For example, we are interested in understanding how political and social actors—including feminist movements—have framed universal social policies through a case study of recent debates on early education and childcare in Uruguay. We are also comparing labour and social incorporation of women of different social strata in recent years. In the next year, I am also planning to explore some of the links between different kinds of inequalities in Latin America. A large body of literature in political economy assumes that political and economic inequalities go together: powerful economic elites control institutions and thus reinforce their wealth over time. Yet is that necessarily the case in Latin America? Are the countries with higher Gini coefficients also the ones with less inclusive democracies? And do they have more exclusionary social policies? Although still at a very early stage, this project aims to answer this question by comparing how countries cluster in the three dimensions of inequality: political, social and economic. In many ways, this project builds on a recent book chapter (“The Political Economy of Inequality at the Top in Chile”), which studied the links between income distribution and the concentration of power.

## Labour Informality, Remittances, Presidential Speeches

David Doyle

I am currently working on three major research projects. The first of these projects is a joint endeavour with two colleagues at UCL, Néstor Castañeda Angarita and Cassilde Schwartz, and focuses on labour informality across Latin America. In some Latin American countries, informal workers now comprise over half (if not more) of the labour force. Recent work has begun to highlight the centrality of informal labour for electoral and redistributive outcomes across the region but we still know very little however, about the individual preferences of informal workers, relative to salaried workers, particularly regarding taxation and spending. In this project, we wish to determine whether informal workers have clear preferences for tax relative to other workers, and whether they make a tax versus spending trade-off, and how these dynamics might shape government policy in states with many informal workers. Informal workers often exist at the margins of the state, and understanding the attitudes of these groups towards tax, and public goods, relates directly to state capacity and the validity of the social contract. Our project is supported by a grant from the British Academy and in this first stage, we are currently fielding large nationally representative survey experiments in both Mexico and Colombia to elicit preferences with regards tax compliance and the tax versus spending trade off. The second part of the project will extend these survey experiments to other countries while the third part, will focus on the macro-level implications of these dynamics.

I am also working on a monograph on the role of remittances on political preferences and government policy across Latin America, which builds on a paper I recently published in the *American Political Science Review*. In 2015, worldwide remittances exceeded US\$601 billion, and for some Latin American countries, notably the small Central American states, these cash transfers now exceed all foreign direct investment, overseas development assistance and portfolio capital flows and they penetrate large swathes of the electorate. I would like to know how financial remittances, as a person-to-person direct cash transfer, might shape the preferences of those that receive them. I suggest that remittances, due to their insurance and consumption function, are increasing support among recipients for policies traditionally associated with the political right, e.g. free trade, lower tax. In countries heavily reliant on remittances, this effect may shape electoral outcomes and government policy and even alter the axis of political competition. I am also exploring the political effect of remittances in other contexts through joint work with Catherine de Vries, Hector Solaz (both at Essex) and Katerina Tertychnaya (Oxford).

The third major strand of my research involves a project, nearing its end, on the speeches of Latin American executives, with Nina Wiesehomeier (IE School of International Relations) and Christian Arnold (Cardiff University). We have collected the annual state of the union addresses for over 75 Latin American presidents, across 13 countries and between 1978 and 2015, and we use computational text analysis to model the political positions of these executives according to these speeches. From a theoretical perspective, we have been exploring how Latin American presidents might shift their general policy, and economic, signals in response to legislative dynamics and pressure from international capital markets. Some of this work was published earlier this year in the *Journal of Politics*.



Michelle Bachelet, President of Chile

# Research Notes

## from teaching staff

### Latin America in the Global History of Democracy

Eduardo Posada-Carbó

Historians of democracy usually leave out Latin America and the Caribbean from their enquiries. Yet the expansion of the suffrage in the region during the first half of the nineteenth-century had few parallels in the world. Of course democracy is not just about elections. If the idea of equality is incorporated into its notion beyond the vote, then the abolition of slavery in Haiti ought to be at least registered as a significant landmark in any history of democracy that doesn't restrict its scope to Europe and the United States.

Over the last two decades my research has evolved from its initial concern with elections to a wider history of democracy in the region following its first century of independence. This project has three main components. Firstly, I have continued working on the history of elections. With Andrew Robertson, a historian of the US based at CUNY, New York, we are co-editing the *Oxford Handbook of Revolutionary Elections in the Americas, 1800-1910* (forthcoming OUP, 2018), where we invited a group of historians and social scientists to examine key electoral episodes in Latin America, the United States and Canada.

Secondly, inspired by the Oxford-based project 'Re-imagining Democracy', directed by Joanna Innes (Somerville College) and Mark Philp (Warwick), I have become interested in studying the changing conceptions of democracy since the second half of the eighteenth-century, and the practices that were associated with the various definitions of the term during the nineteenth-century. With support from the John Fell and Sanderson Funds, we organized the conference 'Re-Imagining Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1770s-1870s', that took place at the LAC in March this year. We also ran a series of reading groups around the topic that have proved intellectually stimulating.

Finally, together with colleagues in other European countries and in the Americas, I have helped to organise a network of historians and social scientists interested in the history of parliaments. Against the traditional view that still identifies the history of nineteenth-century Latin America with caudillos, we focus our attention on congresses as central protagonists in the political life of the region. We have organised a series of panels at various conferences in LASA, the International Commission for the Study of Parliaments and the Association of Historians of Latin America in Europe (AHILA). A 'dossier' devoted to the history of congresses in the region, with contributors from our network, will be published this summer in the academic journal *Parliaments, Estates and Representations*.

I am trying to integrate all these three dimensions into a wider research programme, tentatively called 'Latin America in the Global History of Democracy'.



Front page of *La Democracia*, newspaper published in Cartagena, 1 April 1849.

### The Cold War and Mexico's "Perfect Dictatorship"

Halbert Jones

My research interests centre upon the role played by international factors in the consolidation of the post-revolutionary Mexican state. While many scholars have focused primarily on domestic actors and interest groups in their analysis of this process, I believe that events that took place outside of the country's borders played a significant part in facilitating the development – and the survival – of the stable political system that the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) dominated for decades. Having carried out extensive research, and published a monograph, on the way in which World War II contributed to an expansion of the powers of the Mexican presidency, I have more recently sought to explore the extent to which the geopolitical realities of the Cold War helped the PRI regime to marginalize, silence, and repress its critics during the years after 1945. Specifically, I have been developing a long-term research project on the history of a controversial anti-subversion law in force between 1941 and 1970, highlighting the connection between the East-West international tensions of the postwar years and the Mexican government's use of this legal provision against opposition figures that it deemed threats to public order. Article 145 of the Federal Penal Code, which outlawed acts of "social dissolution," is especially interesting because it was introduced during the Second World War ostensibly to protect the country from spies and saboteurs acting as agents of the Axis. President Manuel Avila Camacho secured legislative approval of the article in October 1941 by pointing to the debilitating effects of subversive propaganda in European countries that had subsequently fallen to German forces and by warning that the totalitarian powers might launch a similarly destabilizing campaign in Mexico. During the postwar period, however, the provision was used against a different kind of alleged foreign threat: supposedly communist-inspired activists and agitators. Thus, the Mexican government took advantage of one set



of international conditions to enact legislation that greatly expanded its ability to move against its opponents, and as the international situation evolved, the regime adapted, using its laws against “social dissolution” to confront a new “external” threat. In practice, Article 145 served as a useful way for PRI administrations to intimidate and punish those who objected to their increasingly conservative, authoritarian tendencies. Among those accused of and jailed for “spreading ideas, programs, or norms of action of foreign governments that disrupt public order or affect the sovereignty of the Mexican state” were prominent leftist artists and intellectuals, activists who cited evidence of electoral fraud, and union leaders who sought to maintain their independence from the regime.

When Mexican students mobilized in 1968 to call for reform, the repeal of Article 145 was among their principal demands. Although the administration of President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz used violence to repress the student movement that year, the government did remove the clause from the books in 1970 in an effort to bring a generation that was becoming estranged from the ruling party back into the fold of the PRI regime. While legislation proscribing acts of “social dissolution” thus disappeared, the origins of Article 145 and its use during the 29 years that it was in force reveal much about the connections between international conditions and the endurance of single-party rule in Mexico. Having collected a significant amount of material in Mexican archives on the legislative debates over the “social dissolution” clause, on cases in which the provision was applied, and on the criticism that the legislation attracted from civil society, my study of the history of Article 145 will, I hope, provide a valuable new perspective on the bases of authoritarianism in twentieth-century Mexico.

## Studying Political Elites in Peru

John Crabtree

My research activities over the last two years have been focused on the writing of a book on Peru’s political elites and the way they shape the policy-making agenda. The book, ‘Peru: Power Elites and Political Capture’, published by Zed Books, was co-authored by Francisco Durand from the Catholic University in Lima. (Reviewed elsewhere in Horizontes).

For my part, the book draws on a number of inter-related areas of research which I have conducted in recent years. These include (i) notions of social and political inequality, and in particular inequality in access to political decision-making; (ii) the growth of extractive industries in the Andean countries and their impact on both the economy, the environment and society; (iii) the proliferation of social movements along with their various claims; and (iv) the implications of the collapse of political parties in Peru and with them channels of representation. The last of these was the subject of my PhD thesis.

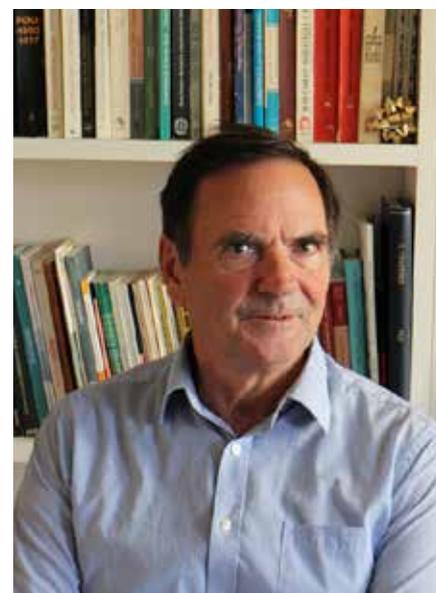
Writing the book involved research into the theme of ‘political capture’ and the literature surrounding it. To this end, I organised a conference at Oxford Brookes University in 2014 which brought together specialists from a range of countries, including those from Eastern Europe, the former Soviet republics of Central Asia, Africa and Latin America. This provided valuable comparative insights as well as helping to define ways (both legal and illegal) in which elites manage to secure political control of the policy-making agenda.

I spent a three-month period in early 2017 in Peru working on a Spanish language version of the book, due to be published in Lima in July 2017 by a consortium made up by the Universidad del Pacífico, the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP). My visit coincided with the annual conference of the Latin American Studies Association,

held in Lima, at which I took part in a panel on Peruvian foreign policy.

In 2014, I published a book co-authored with Ann Chaplin on social movements in Bolivia, entitled ‘Bolivia: Processes of Change’. This was the result of a six-month research visit to that country and involved interviews with more than 120 people in all nine of Bolivia’s departments. The book sought to highlight how those involved in social movements had benefitted (or not) from the policies pursued by the Morales administration since 2006. It highlighted the differences between different regions of the country and the way these reflect widely varied social, economic and political contexts.

In February 2017, I published an article entitled ‘How Far Have Indigenous Rights Advanced in Bolivia?’ in the journal *Current History* (Volume 116, No. 787).



# News

## from the LAC Library

Frank Egerton, LAC Librarian

An exciting conference took place at the Weston during summer 2016. The conference focused on the Bodleian's five pre-Hispanic and early Mesoamerican manuscripts, including the Roll of the New Fire and was entitled, Mesoamerican manuscripts: new scientific approaches and interpretations. I'm delighted to say that recordings of the conference are now available as a series of podcasts: <https://livestream.com/oxuni/MesoamericanManuscripts>.

I was really pleased that the College arranged for the repainting of the Main Library and Seminar Room and for the replacement of the curtains with blinds – as well as for the installation of new blinds in the Stack. This work was generous, is much appreciated and make the library spaces so much more welcoming and pleasant to work in.

This year, we have received two donations: A collection of Ecuadorian books, mostly published by the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, which was given to us by Enrique Ayala Mora;

A donation from emeritus fellow, Alan Angell, comprising material relating to the Presidential and Congressional elections in Chile in 2005 and 2009. The donation consists of contemporary press cuttings, analysis of the election results, interviews with the candidates and opinion pieces. The material has been boxed and individual items have been listed on



SOLO: [http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP\\_OX:oxfaleph020767099](http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph020767099);  
[http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP\\_OX:oxfaleph020772402](http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph020772402). Last summer, a subscription to the annual public opinion survey database Latinobarómetro was taken out and was well received by academic colleagues. The data for most years is publically available. The subscription relates to the data for the last available year. Members of the University can access the full database via OxLIP+.

The Michaelmas Term library committee meeting (LAHSCLiPS) was held at the Weston Library's Visiting Scholars' Centre and featured a talk on the Bodleian Libraries' Visiting Fellows Programme

by Dr Alexandra Franklin. The Latin American Centre and the LAC Library have subsequently started to draw the fellowship programme to the attention of potential visiting scholars who are interested in working with the wealth of Special Collections material held by the Bodleian Libraries in the field of Latin American Studies and History. For more information, see: [www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/lac/news/bodleian-libraries-visiting-fellows-programme-for-research-using-special-collections](http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/lac/news/bodleian-libraries-visiting-fellows-programme-for-research-using-special-collections).

My Bodleian Libraries roles changed on 1st October 2016 because of a restructuring in the Humanities Libraries and I extended my LAC responsibilities to include the Latin American History collections. As a result, the remit of the library committee now covers both Latin American Social Sciences and History.

Further afield, I was elected to membership of the council of LASA's Scholarly Communications and Research Section at the LASA congress in Peru this spring (sadly, in absentia) and I look forward to publishing the work of the section in the UK.

Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues Rebeca Otazua and Sam Truman for all their hard work during the past year.



# Book Reviews

Selection of recent books on Latin America published by scholars working in Oxford University

## Las fuerzas del orden

Malcolm Deas, *Las fuerzas del orden y once ensayos de historia de Colombia y las Américas* (Bogotá, Taurus, 2017).

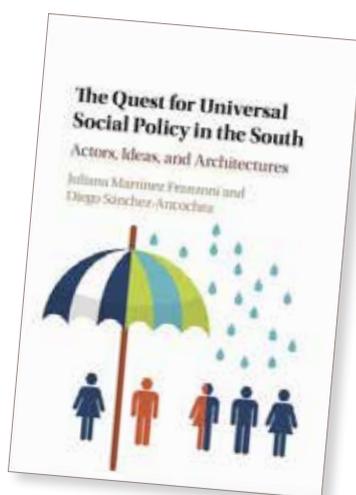


Taurus, part of Penguin Random House, Bogotá, has recently published *Las Fuerzas del orden*, a second collection of essays on Colombian and American history by Malcolm Deas. The essays are on a range of themes: the history of the Colombian armed forces and of recruiting, the memoirs of the generals in the war of a Thousand Days, 1899-1902, the presence or absence of imperialism in Colombia, regional economic history, the importance or unimportance of civil war in the country's progress, the post-1945 arrival of the notion of underdevelopment and the emergence of professional economists, the history of elections in Venezuela, the character and qualities of the *prócer* Francisco de Miranda, the contrasting frontier writings of the Bostonian Francis Parkman and the Argentine Lucio V. Mansilla, and the ceremonies and speeches attending the exhumation and reburial in 1904-5 of the bones of Jorge Isaacs, the immortal author of *María*.

The same editorial has republished in an expanded edition *Intercambios violentos*, his reflections on violence and on recent conflict, and announces for appearance in July the fourth edition of his first collection of Colombian essays, *Del poder y la gramática*.

## Universal Social Policy in the South

Juliana Martínez Franzoni and Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, *The Quest for Universal Social Policy in the South: Actors, Ideas and Architectures* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).



Our book explores how countries can promote universal social policies, which are defined by high coverage, high generosity and equity among all citizens. To do so, we undertake a comparative analysis of Costa Rica, Mauritius, South Korea, and Uruguay, and a detailed historical account of Costa Rica's successful trajectory. Our analysis recognizes the role of democracy and progressive parties as pre-conditions for delivering universalism. However, the observation of left-wing parties under democratic regimes expanding different types of social policy suggests there are missing links between democratic institutions and universalism.

We identify two of those missing links. The first are different types of policy architecture—i.e. the combination of instruments that define who access to what benefits, and how. In the short run, the more unified these instruments are, the more we expect universal results to be. In the long run, policy architectures create a set of opportunities and constraints for further (positive and negative) change. The second factor is the presence of state actors capable of promoting unified architectures through the adaptation of international ideas.

## Elites and Political Capture in Peru

John Crabtree and Francisco Durand, *Peru: Power Elites and Political Capture* (Zed Books, 2017)



The authors seek to provide a scholarly, yet accessible book on the mechanisms by which Peru's business elites have managed to dominate the policy-making agenda over the past quarter century. A modest price tag (£19.99) is designed to attract the non-specialist reader.

We use the term 'political capture' to describe the way in which business groups, empowered by economic liberalisation in the 1990s under President Fujimori and the subsequent commodity-driven 'super-cycle', managed to ensure policy continuity and fend off challenges from the left within the political system. Peru, unlike many countries in Latin America, conspicuously avoided the so-called 'pink tide' by which the policies associated with the Washington Consensus were, to varying degrees, challenged. In Peru, left-wing parties were effectively marginalised and social movements remained fragmented and localised.

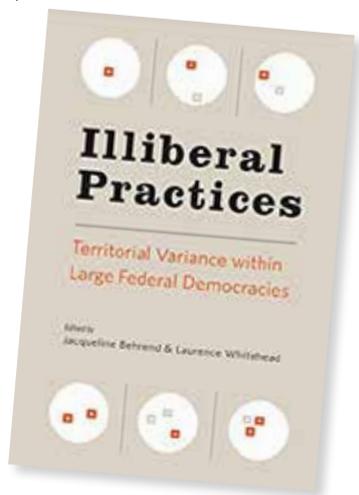
'Political capture' has been used as a term to describe the way in which illegal or corrupt influences have managed to gain the upper hand in a range of countries across the developing world. In Latin America, Mexico and Colombia have been cited. Here we use it to show how patterns of legitimate influence are wielded, although illicit interests (e.g. drug mafias) are still a powerful force. The scandals involving Brazilian construction firms using bribery at the highest levels of government to secure contracts show that the boundary between legal and illegal influence is often a narrow one.

The book seeks to put Peru's recent experience in context. The first chapter involves a wide ranging discussion of political capture in developed as well as developing countries, not least in the United States. The second involves a description of how economic elites have managed to maintain political influence almost without interruption since the time of independence, the exception being the reforming military government of General Velasco in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

# Book Reviews

## Illiberal practices

Jacqueline Behrend and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Illiberal Practices. Territorial Variance within Large Federal Democracies* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016).



*Illiberal Practices: Territorial Variance within Large Federal Democracies* builds on a growing literature in comparative politics that focuses on subnational political processes. The volume offers comparative studies of subnational democracy in six of the world's largest federations and illuminates the causes and consequences of uneven democratic development within countries. Within subunits of a democratic federation, lasting political practices that restrict choice, limit debate, and exclude or distort democratic participation have been analyzed in recent scholarship as subnational authoritarianism. *Illiberal Practices* makes the case that subnational units in democratic countries are more likely to operate by means of illiberal structures and practices than as fully authoritarian regimes.

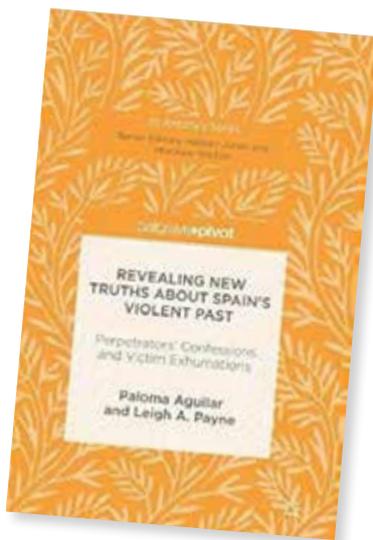
The contributors to this volume look at six very large federal democracies which between them encompass half the total world population of those living under nationally "democratic" systems of government. These are also six democratic federations with notably varied political responsiveness to citizen demands. They include older democracies such as the United States and India, as well as countries that democratized at the end of the Cold War, such as Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Russia. The cases show that territorial unevenness is not exclusive to new democracies and the inclusion of countries that have been democratic for a longer period of time allows us to analyze how they overcame or failed to overcome territorial variability.

But this book is not confined to the past. It also develops a framework of possible pathways toward through which illiberal structures and practices at the subnational level may be challenged and modified.

Jacqueline Behrend and Laurence Whitehead, from their Blog post for JHUP

## Memory and re-democratization

Leigh A Payne and Paloma Aguilar *Revealing New Truths about Spain's Violent Past: Perpetrators' Confessions and Victim Exhumations* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, St Antony's College series, 2016).



The book draws on Payne's earlier book on Latin American confessions (*Unsettling Accounts*) and Aguilar's previous work on the Spanish transition. The authors consider the differences in the type of perpetrators' confessions and the responses to them in Latin America and Spain. At the time Latin American countries began their transitions from authoritarian rule, Spain's earlier process was viewed as a model, specifically the foundation of a stable democracy was built on a broad amnesty for violations of past human rights abuses. Only recently, and long after most Latin American countries began to break with this model of re-democratization, the foundation has also begun to crack in Spain. Perpetrators' confessions have upset the silence. Exhumations of mass graves have unburied new truths. The book considers how this recent transformation has occurred, examining how truth and memory processes are neither linear nor inexorable.

## History of Colombia

*Colombia. La búsqueda de la democracia, 1960-2000* (dirigido por Eduardo Posada-Carbó; coordinado por Jorge Orlando Melo), Taurus, 2016.



This publication completes the five volume History of Colombia, 1808-2000, under the general editorship of Eduardo Posada-Carbó, sponsored by the Mapfre Foundation. Volume 5 covers the period 1960-2000, and includes, like the rest of the collection, chapters on the Politics, Economics, Society, International Relations, and Culture of Colombia, respectively written by Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, Miguel Urrutia, Alejandro Gaviria, Rodrigo Pardo and Jorge Orlando Melo – the latter also coordinated the edition of the volume. The five volume history of Colombia forms part of a larger project on the history of Latin America, Spain and Portugal covering the same period and themes. The collection on Colombia is accompanied by an additional volume, *Colombia a través de la fotografía, 1842-2010*, a history of Colombia through the history of photographs selected by Malcolm Deas, with texts by Malcolm Deas and Eduardo Posada-Carbó.

## Roca and Argentina

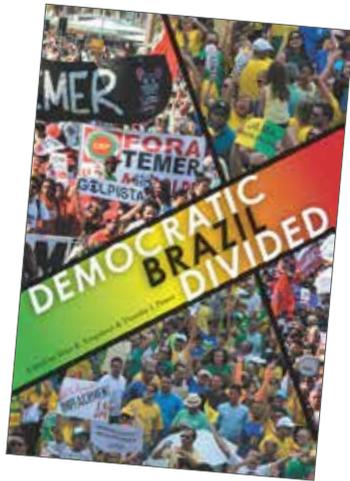
Francisco A. Taiana, *Julio Argentino Roca: Un lugar incómodo en el pensamiento nacional* (Centro Cultural de la Cooperación and Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2017).

Gen. Roca, military commander and two-time President, holds to this day an unusually central and controversial role in Argentina's history. His key role in the consolidation of the modern Argentine state has enabled his supporters to praise him as one of the country's greatest statesmen, while his detractors signal him as the "Chief Oligarch" and condemn his expedition against the Patagonian tribes as an act of genocide. By centering on the awkward manner in which nationalist historians have struggled throughout the years to settle a definitive place for Roca in their constellation of Argentina's heroes and demons, this book sheds some light not only on the ambivalence and complexities of this historical character but also on the tumultuous journey that his memory has undergone throughout the twentieth century.



## Brazil divided

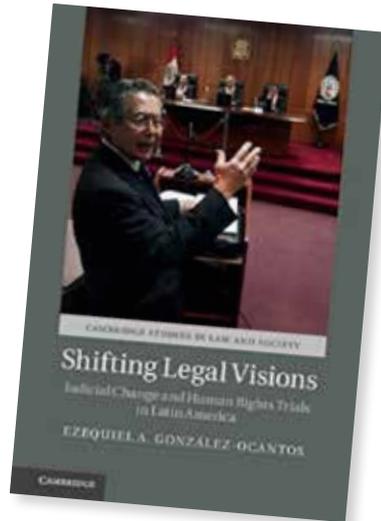
Peter R. Kingstone and Timothy J. Power, eds., *Democratic Brazil Divided* (University of Pittsburgh Press, July 2017).



The milestone of 30 years of democracy should have been a time of celebration for Brazil, as it marked a newfound global prominence, over a decade of rising economic prosperity, and stable party politics under the rule of the widely admired PT (Workers' Party). Instead, beginning in 2013 the country descended into protest, economic crisis, impeachment, and deep political division. *Democratic Brazil Divided*, co-edited by Peter R. Kingstone (King's College London) and Timothy J. Power (Director, Brazilian Studies Programme) offers a comprehensive portrayal of long-standing problems that contributed to the emergence of the current crisis and offers insights into the ways Brazilian democracy has coped with persistent challenges. The volume, the third in a series from editors Kingstone and Power, brings together noted scholars to assess party politics, corruption, the new 'middle classes', human rights, economic policy-making, the origins of protest, education and accountability, and social and environmental policy. Contributors include Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, Oswaldo E. do Amaral, Leslie Elliott Armijo, Sean W. Burges, Jean Daudelin, Benjamin Goldfrank, Fernando Guarnieri, Kathryn Hochstetler, Wendy Hunter, Marcus André Melo, Alfredo Saad-Filho, Natasha Borges Sugiyama, Matthew M. Taylor, and Brian Wampler.

## Shifting Legal Visions: Judicial Change and Human Rights Trials in Latin America

Ezequiel González-Ocanto, Professorial Fellow of Nuffield College and Affiliate Member of the Latin American Centre, received the Dona Lee Van Cott Best Book Award in LASA Lima.



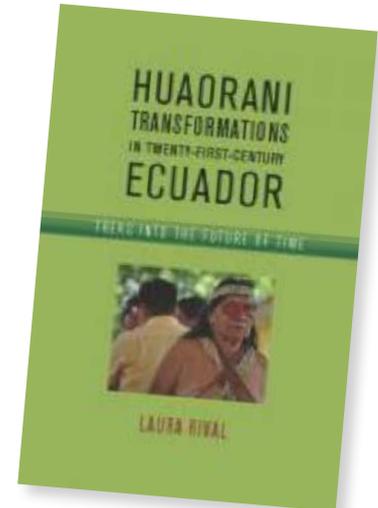
*Shifting Legal Visions: Judicial Change and Human Rights Trials in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press) the recent book by Ezequiel González Ocanto was awarded the Donna Lee Van Cott Best Book prize in the Political Institutions Section by the Latin American Studies Association in the Lima Congress last May. This is what the jury said about his book:

“We believe this book stands out for several reasons. The question that guides the book is both theoretically novel and substantively relevant. Ezequiel develops a theory of change in the prevailing legal culture from one in which positivism and formalism determine the Court's rulings to one in which the values of international human rights take preeminence. Substantively, the book's topic is of the utmost importance. Conservative ideologies are quite common in the region and the protection of human rights is a subject that requires further investigation and explanation. Why do some countries respect their citizens' human rights more so than others? What are the causal factors that explain the change in the way justice is conceived in a given country? These questions have real importance for real people in Latin America.

Ezequiel's book is also impressive because of its commitment to offer convincing and abundant empirical evidences. Methodologically, the book is very solid. Researchers and students alike will surely benefit from the way in which the in-depth case studies of Argentina, Peru and Mexico are presented. The Argentine and Peruvian cases are positive ones—cases in which the change in judicial culture took place— and the Mexican case is negative—no change—. The richness of the data and the rigor of the analysis is extremely valuable.”

## Huaorani transformations

Laura Rival, *Huaorani transformations in 21st century Ecuador* (University of Arizona Press, 2016)



*Huaorani transformations in 21st century Ecuador* is the product of twenty-five years of on-going ethnographic research. The introduction starts with an ethnography of very recent events, including events on which I had never written before. My use of anthropological concepts and approaches, including the notion of hunter-gatherer society, is heavily coloured by what I have learned over the years from the Huaorani perspective. The book is divided in three parts: I- Among Forest Beings; II- In the Longhouse; III- In the Midst of Enemies. Each part comprises three chapters, and each part is introduced by an overview pointing to the main connections between the chapters it comprises. As they trek, gather, hunt, and tend plants in their own ways, living as they do in the midst of enemies, among forest beings, and in their longhouses, the Huaorani know that they affect the forest, and that the forest affects them in return. Bay, one of my closest Huaorani companions while living in QuehueireOno said one day during a village assembly: “Our land is the forest. It is full of beauty. It is our home to walk and to trek through. But the oil company has come to live in our home. We must find an answer to the question: What life do the Huaorani want to live?” Bay asked this question exactly 26 years ago. Today, his daughters and sons-in-law, grandchildren and nephews, and all the Huaorani men, women, youths, and children with a home along the QuehueireOno river are asking themselves the same question. Oil prospection has resumed and a world-known ecotourist project ended. What alternative ways of life are there today, and how will Huaorani people exercise their political choice? How will the forest society transform?

# Former students, their time in Oxford and their current projects

Interviews with Jamie Shenk

## Interview with Francisco Lloreda, DPhil 2010

**Jamie Shenk: Why did you decide to come and study at Oxford?**

I was Minister of National Education in Colombia when I decided to apply for an MSc in Public Policies in Latin America. I studied law as an undergraduate, had completed an MPA from Columbia University and was interested in doing additional research on youth violence and education. The right place was Oxford because of its tutorial educational model, which fitted in very well with the type of research I was looking after working for government. And I had the privilege of having Malcolm Deas as my tutor.

**Could you describe your experience of being a student at the Latin American Centre?**

The LAC became a second home. It was not only a nice place for lectures on the region but to look for professors who had their offices there and in most of the cases welcomed students without previous appointment. I enjoyed very much looking for books on different topics on a small

room with mobile stacks, and finding someone to whom I could speak in Spanish beside my peers. It was then, and I believe it's still today, a gentle anchor to one's roots, history and culture.

**You have served in a number of different roles in the Colombia's public sector, serving in positions as different as Minister of Education in Former President Andrés Pastrana's administration, High Presidential Advisor for Public Safety under Juan Manuel Santos and part of Colombia's team at the International Court of Justice. Is there anything in particular that has helped you transition between roles?**

Love for learning. I was not an expert in education when I was appointed Minister. Soon I realized that President Pastrana was not looking for an expert but for a public manager, someone who could learn quickly, identify what was working well and wrong, and who could apply common sense and make decisions. Most of the policies we introduced then are still in place, seventeen years after. Government is about making decisions. When I was appointed High Presidential Advisor the story was different. I had read a great deal about violence in Colombia. That's why, when I finished my Msc thesis on "youth violence and education" I decided to go for a DPhil. I did not intend to become an academic although I enjoy teaching, but was curious and wanted to learn. I decided to do my doctoral research on public policies for reducing violent crime, examining the role of the youth. Some years after my DPhil, when I was working as Colombian Ambassador to The Hague, President Santos found out that I had done research on violence and asked me to return to Bogotá to be the High Presidential Advisor for Public Safety. In this case, there was a clear relationship between what I studied at Oxford and what I was asked to do.

**Can you tell us a little bit about your work now as President of the Asociación Colombiana de Petróleos? (Colombian Association of Oil & Gas Companies)**

**What is the most interesting and challenging part about your current role?**

Oil and gas is part of everyone's life. We are literally surrounded by goods made up of by products of oil and oil and gas have changed the life of many people around the world. If it were not for oil, life, as we know it today, would not exist. Sometimes we take oil and gas for granted, but we owe oil and gas a lot. In the case of Colombia almost 25% of the national tax revenues now come from oil and gas companies. That does not mean that Colombia is a large oil producer because it is not, but it is an important resource which have contributed to improve the quality of life of many Colombians – recent reductions in inequality and extreme poverty are to some extent the result of programmes financed by resources from the oil and gas industry. Therefore working for the trade association that represent some of the most important companies in Colombia is not only a privilege but a very interesting job. I have come to the conclusion that if the oil and gas businesses do well, Colombia does well.

**What advice would you give to graduating students starting out on their career path?**

Life is a constant search. Sometimes we panic trying to find out what we are good at and what we like doing. It helps if both coincide and if we have a specific talent. But there are so many things to learn about out there in the world that one should not worry so much about finding one's own road too soon. Life is not a race, it's about living, about enjoying what one is doing. This is easy to say and difficult to apply because we live in a constant hurry.

**Any final thoughts or advice you would like to share?**

I envy all those who are at Oxford and at the Latin American Centre. You are privileged.



# Paula Alonso, DPhil Politics 1992

Paula applied to Oxford, encouraged by her mentor in Argentina, Ezequiel Gallo, who completed his DPhil at St Antony's College in 1970. One aspect that attracted her to this program was the freedom to combine her interests in politics with her passion for history. During her interview she explained, "I think my interest in politics was the result of the context in which I became a young adult in Argentina during the last dictatorship and the transition to democracy. We all did politics, we all discussed politics, so the study of politics became a natural choice for me." At Oxford Paula found a great tutor and advisor in Malcolm Deas, who taught her how to translate archival work into original thinking, and how to conceptualize and write her doctoral thesis. "The meetings in his office had this great mixture of

intellectual challenge and humour," she remembered. "This doesn't mean that these meetings were easy! Malcolm was very important for my intellectual formation." Paula also credits other LAC members, such as Alan Angell, Rosemary Thorp, Lawrence Whitehead and later on Alan Knight, for generating the intellectual exchange that helped her to place her research interests in a broader regional context. In this sense, the many seminars organized by the LAC were truly important. Many students doing their MPhils or DPhils on the region at the time became long-lasting friends and colleagues.

Paula Alonso is now the Director of the Latin American and Hemispheric Studies Program, and Associate Professor of History and International Affairs at The George Washington

University, in Washington D.C. Her research focuses on the political history of Latin America, specializing on Argentina. Her publications include two authored books, two edited books and several articles, book chapters and commentaries on political institutions, electoral practices, print culture and historiography. She is currently working on a Concise History of Argentina to be published by Cambridge University Press. Her academic career has spanned three countries: the UK (at the Universities of Bristol and Warwick), followed by a position as Assistant and then Associate Professor at the Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina, before moving to the US. She was the Peggy Rockefeller Visiting Scholar at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University and a Visiting Professor at the Universities of Maryland, Virginia and Johns Hopkins. Her research has been funded by the Leverhulme Trust, Fundación Antorchas and the CONICET.

During her interview, Paula underlined how her time at Oxford prepared her very well for her academic career. "The way that the education at Oxford is (un) structured, where there is such rigour and such a focus on your writing and on your thinking, [it] trains you to tackle almost any intellectual challenge." She also emphasized that her experience at the LAC has inspired how she approaches her current position as Director of an interdisciplinary Program on Latin America. The Program is fortunate to have the support of two Deans, Reuben Brigety II and Ben Vinson III, who strongly believe in the value of regional studies, and she also counts on the collaboration of great faculty. Paula stressed that her experience at the LAC served her as a great model of how to foster a learning community, which she considers the most important element of any successful program that aims to generate scholars and professional practitioners that go on to have a significant impact on Latin America.



# Elizabeth Joyce,

MPhil 1993, DPhil 1997



For Elizabeth Joyce, current Head of Station for the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee, her time at the Latin American Centre was an important stepping-stone for a career in international public policy. “If I had not had the master’s and the DPhil from the LAC, I wouldn’t be doing this now.”

Before coming to the LAC, Elizabeth had already embarked on a professional life focused Latin America as head of publications at the Instituto de Relaciones Europeo-Latinoamericanas (IRELA) in Madrid. But after deciding that she wanted to more substantive work in the field, Elizabeth decided that the MPhil would be a good way to move forward. Her decision to come to Oxford was heavily influenced by encouragement from then-deputy director of IRELA, Andrew Crawley, who had completed his MPhil in Latin American Studies and DPhil in Modern History at St. Antony’s college. “I really went to Oxford because of him and his recommendation,” she explained.

Once at Oxford, Elizabeth found a fulfilling and engaging intellectual community. She felt “privileged to be there at the time,” as her course of study coincided with many seminal events in Latin American history,

from the negotiations for NAFTA and MERCOSUR, to peace processes in Central America. Elizabeth found inspiration in her course-mates working on “cutting-edge issues” like transitional justice. Meanwhile, her own research, conducted under the supervision of Malcolm Deas, on international drug control put her at the forefront of an emerging academic field.

After finishing her DPhil, Elizabeth spent a year at Georgetown University on a Fulbright scholarship before returning to IRELA. When IRELA’s mandate ended in the late 1990s, she found that her dissertation topic helped her land a job at the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). In her current role at the UN’s Counter-Terrorism Committee, Elizabeth is in charge of managing assessment work of counter-terrorism programs and policies in the Asia-Pacific and Americas regions. Her team has visited over 120 countries in order to understand how governments implement a wide range of counterterrorism measures. She has been personally involved in 35 of those assessments, and finds that work to be especially rewarding. “I really feel like we are helping to make a difference,” especially when the job involves giving technical assistance to help countries improve their regime.

Finally, Elizabeth’s advice to students interested in a career in public policy reveals how important she views her time at the LAC. If students can equip themselves with strong qualifications and an expertise in an expanding area of public policy, she explains, they can give themselves a leg up in the field. A degree at the LAC is a great first step to do so!

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**Jamie Shenk completed her BA in Princeton University before joining the MSC in Latin American Studies at the LAC**

## FROM THE LAC’S MASTERS TO

### The management of mineral resources



In 2011, I completed a master programme at the LAC with a dissertation about rural development in Colombia under the supervision of professor Diego Sánchez-Ancochea. More specifically, my research focused on the conditions required by smallholder’s agricultural cooperatives to develop successfully and how the State could contribute to their consolidation. I argued that the State could play a facilitating role to “midwife” the formation and development of self-reliant grassroots organizations. After I finished my master programme I went back to Colombia and worked for the national government for almost 2 years. I had the opportunity to learn about other policy challenges in rural areas. I was especially interested on the local effects of extracting non-renewable natural resources. To understand the topic, I read about the natural resource curse and started to think about potential research questions to apply for a DPhil programme at Oxford. I wanted to conduct a research that would allow me to explore how the subnational governments managed oil and mineral fiscal windfalls. I was accepted at the Blavatnik School of Government and started a DPhil in public policy in October 2014. Since then I have been exploring the quality of public investment management of Colombian municipalities and the political determinants of the variance in the performance of oil rich regions through a mixed methods approach. I now work under the co-supervision of Diego Sánchez-Ancochea and Paul Collier. I have kept a close relationship with the LAC and since 2015 I coordinate LAC’s DPhil research seminar.

**Juan David Gutiérrez, DPhil student at the Blavatnik School of Government**

## Understanding the opposition in electoral autocracies



I started the MPhil at the LAC in 2013 and decided to transition to the DPhil in Politics straight after. As a Venezuelan born political scientist, I was mostly interested in understanding what had happened to the party system that had been one of the most stable in Latin America and possibly in other parts of the world after its collapse during the 80s and 90s. I began to look at opposition parties and how they managed to increase their competitiveness in a political system that was profoundly changed by former President Hugo Chávez. With Chavismo Venezuela stopped being a democracy and moved to electoral authoritarianism. For me, it was -and still is- puzzling to understand how opponents adapt and respond to such dramatic changes, which is why I decided to move on to the DPhil to broaden the project. My doctoral thesis seeks to understand the behaviour of opposition parties in electoral autocracies more broadly. Specifically, it aims at explaining why and under what circumstances opponents decide to coordinate to oust incumbents. I am looking beyond the Venezuelan case to try and see if other historical cases in Latin America, for example Mexico under the PRI, help us establish parallels to create general expectations of opposition behaviour.

Having started the MPhil at the LAC was the best step to enter the DPhil programme. Not only was I taught by engaging and exceptionally smart professors, but I also had the chance to meet worldwide renowned guest speakers and make great friends. Additionally, I was lucky enough to start working with Dave Doyle, who continues to be my supervisor and to whom I owe incredible support and advice throughout these years. The two years of work at the LAC definitely shaped my way of thinking about the history, politics and economics of Latin America and it certainly reinforced my passion for doing research. I am happy to see that even after changing departments, I am still a frequent visitor of the LAC and friends of many at 1 Church Walk.

**Maryhen Jimenez Morales, DPhil Student at the Department of Politics and International Relations**

## Julia Zulver, MPhil 2014

Julia's first became interested in Latin America while studying abroad in the Mexican city of Cuernavaca. After graduating from Queen's University with a B.A. in politics and development, Julia was initially unsure of her next steps. The Latin American Centre's MPhil program, with its strong fieldwork component, proved the answer. After completing her MPhil in 2014, Julia moved to Colombia to begin an internship with the Centre for Reproductive Rights and teach a course at the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*. A year in, she decided to return to research. She explained that she had set up her MPhil thesis to allow for a smooth transition into a DPhil program. With her MPhil supervisor, Leigh Payne, on board for her DPhil project, she knew Oxford was the right place to continue her studies.

Julia's current research focuses on high-risk feminism in the social mobilization of displaced women's groups in Colombia. She describes high-risk feminism, a framework that she developed, as "the idea that in these high-risk situations, whether or not they call themselves feminists, certain women use feminist ideals to shape their social mobilization." Specifically, Julia hopes to answer why women living in violent contexts choose to mobilize and demand their rights, even when they face extreme danger doing so. So far, she has worked with the *Liga de Mujeres Desplazadas* in the city of Turbaco on the Caribbean coast, and *Afromupaz*, a group in Usme, a locality of Bogotá.

When asked what the biggest challenge in her research has been thus far, Julia identified different issues associated with each of the two groups she has worked with. While working with the women in Turbaco, she sometimes found it complicated to balance her position as a researcher with her friendly relationship with the women she was studying. Conducting interviews with women in Usme has posed different challenges. "The women are very private, and because they've been re-victimized so many times, they're reticent to talk to strangers." As a result, she realizes that her research process may take a bit longer in Bogotá.

Despite these difficulties, when I asked Julia what the highlight of her experience thus far has been, she smiled and replied "It's all a highlight!" In particular she cited meeting the people she works with—participants, interviewees, and women working in the *Unidad para las Víctimas*, the *Defensoría del Pueblo*, and other state institutions—as one of the best things about her work.

As our interview came to a close, I asked Julia what advice she would give to current students at the LAC. "Make time for having fun and enjoying Oxford and enjoying the people you're with," she answered. "Take advantage of the people you study with. Hang out with them, make friends with them... Everyone has such different opinions and experiences and you can learn so much from each other."

**Julia Zulver interviewed by Jamie Shenk**



# Students in Action

As well as spending copious hours in the various Oxford University libraries, the students of the Latin American Centre have enjoyed various extracurricular activities.



Full Blue Jamie soars above her team mates on her way to a decisive victory against Cambridge in the annual volleyball Varsity volleyball match.



Paco, Valentijn's dog, has been adopted as an unofficial LAC mascot. He is walked regularly by students and helps clean the floor at LAC parties.



Rob, Francisco and co-captain John pose before a 3-2 win for St Antony's College - the first of many late victories in their "Great Escape" from relegation.



Valentijn and a friend head out to sea.

Jazz was part of the Foxes football team which narrowly lost in their Cuppers final.





Francisco proved himself to be surprisingly good at ten-pin bowling, a useful fallback should his career in Argentine politics not go according to plan.



Nathalia, Natalie and Valentijn play out a fiercely competitive tennis match.

A number of LAC students have tried their hand at punting throughout the year with varying degrees of success.



Lewin casts a sideways glance as he delights a full house at St Antony's open mic night with a selection of Latino covers.



Javier looks on impressed as Miles runs one of his weekly golfing masterclasses.



Francisco turns 24.

# Horizontes

NEWSLETTER OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CENTRE



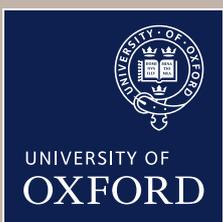
CAF – Students at dinner



Our students have been actively involved in the Oxford Latin American Society: from the left: Lewin Schmitt, IT/Communications Officer; Ana Santos - PR Officer; Gonzalo Croci, Co-President; Natalie Felsen, IT/Communications Officer; Dan Cuty, Cultural Affairs Representative; and John Bartlett, Events Officer



LAC students before the St Hugh's ball.



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