

Horizontes

NEWSLETTER OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CENTRE



Number 7, Summer 2019



Christmas lunch at St Hugh's

LAC Christmas lunch at St Hugh's College. From left: Simón Escoffier, Francesca Lessa, Carlos Solar, Frank Egerton, Aimee Crane, Samantha Truman, Lucy Driver with baby Alice, Elvira Ryan, Rebeca Otazua, Eduardo Posada-Carbo, Halbert Jones, David Doyle, Leigh Payne and Andreza de Souza.



Meet the editorial team:

Horizontes, the newsletter of the Latin American Centre, is the product of a collective effort that relied upon the editorial planning of a team of LAC students and members of academic and administrative staff: Moshe Ben Amo Yeger, Zoe Bouras, Ana Laura Martin Akroyd, Carlos Pérez Ricart, Andreza de Souza, Aimee Crane and Eduardo Posada-Carbó. Daniel Barker Flores, former MSc student at the LAC, helped us with proof reading. We thank Andrew Harvey for his superb work in designing Horizontes.



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Elvira and Ruby

I have been working here for 30 years now, but for the last few years I have been working part-time in admissions for OSGA, and part time at the LAC. For years I have been travelling to work by train, accompanied by my guide-dog Tex, who unfortunately had to retire in November 2018. In February 2019 I was joined by Ruby, my new companion.

Ruby is an amazing dog who loves working and is very well behaved. When at home, Ruby is like a shadow following me everywhere. She loves being spoilt, but if given the chance she will steal food. When free in the park, if Ruby sees other dogs playing with balls she can't resist taking them away, as she finds them more fun than her own. Ruby loves water and the muddier the better. At times it can get to the point that she is no longer a white dog, but a sort of black/grey colour with a little bit of white on her. I love her to bits anyway.

THE LATIN AMERICAN CENTRE: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

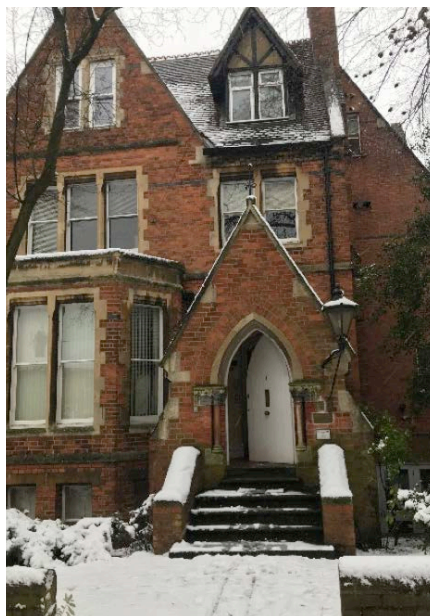
My first memories of Oxford take me back to 1981, when I joined the MPhil in Latin American Studies to read politics and literature. As it turned out, I ended up focusing on history and economics, completing a degree which offered a superb interdisciplinary approach to understanding the region. The course also allowed me, as a Colombian originally trained in law, to expand my intellectual horizons while learning about Latin America in ways that were then not possible in my own country.

Much has changed since then, including the growth of masters' degrees in Latin American Studies in many countries in the region. But our masters' degrees are still unique, providing an extraordinary opportunity for students to immerse themselves in the systematic examination of an area of the world and, through doing so, engage with some of the most pressing challenges faced by humankind today.

Oxford's interest in Latin America preceded the establishment of the Latin American Centre in 1963. However, since the foundation of the LAC, the University can pride itself of having developed a set of programmes to encourage teaching and research on the region, whose successes are highly praised and recognised worldwide.

Our first commitment in the LAC is to our students pursuing MPhil and MSc degrees in Latin American Studies. While their duration varies (two academic years for the former, and one for the latter), both offer students the possibility of gaining regional expertise through a wide range of disciplines – politics, economics, sociology, international relations, history and anthropology. Both allow students to develop research projects on subjects of their individual interest, and, particularly in the case of the MPhil, to do field work in the region. Our MSc can also be combined with the MBA at the Oxford Said Business School, both together forming a relatively new programme which for us further emphasizes the need to connect with other programmes in the university.

The advantages of Area Studies (Latin America in our case) are many, including the opportunity to acquire the range of skills and methods expected from any interdisciplinary degree. Above all, our degrees equip students with the necessary tools to develop their future careers in a wide range of fields. As registered in our alumni section in *Horizontes* (current and previous issues), LAC former students have gone on to work in the private sector, in the ministry of foreign affairs of their respective countries, in prominent international institutions, in journalism, and in NGOs dealing with issues relating to sustainable development and human rights. Many of our students also continue to pursue academic careers – as illustrated in the testimonies published here.



Of course, a solid masters' programme, such as the one offered at the LAC, can only be possible with a specialised teaching staff devoted to the study and research on the region; with a strong Library collection that provides the necessary material for proper scholarship; and with a supportive administrative team.

As some of the following pages in *Horizontes* show, the work of our academic staff, reflected in their publications and the conferences they help to organize, cover key topics for the development of Latin America: security and crime, universal welfare systems, populism and inequality, human rights, historical urban sites, history of democracy They also cover most countries in the region: Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Argentina, Perú, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, sometimes individually, sometimes comparatively, either with other Latin American countries or with countries elsewhere. Our students, teachers and researchers have at their disposal a unique specialised collection of books and documents, part of the magnificent Bodleian Library, whose team at the LAC provide so much support to our community.

Our masters' programmes are strongly backed by an array of seminars and conferences, on both contemporary and historical subjects.

In October, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, Luis Almagro, inaugurated our academic year with a special lecture on the Venezuelan crisis. The LAC hosted other leading figures from the region, including former President of Colombia and Nobel Peace Laureate Juan Manuel Santos; the current Vice-President of Bolivia, Alvaro García Linera; Ricardo Hausmann, Director of the Harvard Centre for International Development; and Ingrid Betancourt, a former Colombian senator who suffered long years of captivity at the hands of the FARC guerrillas. Our main seminar series included informal round tables on highly pertinent issues such as fake news, British business in Latin America, the gender gap in the region, Brazilian elections, the Pacific Alliance; it also included more specialised research seminars on cybersecurity, authoritarian parties, populism and philanthropy. Our Latin American History seminar, which meets weekly every term of the year, hosts junior and senior scholars from the UK, Europe and the Americas.

Director's Report continued

Some of our events are possible thanks to the support of other units within the University and other institutions elsewhere. This academic year we held joint seminars and conferences with the Rothermere American Institute, the Sub-Faculty of Spanish, Nuffield College and the Bonavero Institute of Human Rights in Oxford. We continued to run successful programmes with the Pacífico University in Perú and Adolfo Ibáñez in Chile. Together with the CRAMLI (University of Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne), and with the support of the Oxford Maison Française, we held two further sessions of our Guerra Seminar, launched in 2013. New initiatives led to joint seminars with Canning House, the Fundación Fiel in Buenos Aires, the Inter-American Development Bank, Princeton University, and the Spanish Foundation San Millán de la Cogolla.

All these activities are also motivated by a deep understanding that we at the LAC are part of a wider community. Indeed, we serve as the central hub for Latin American Studies across the University. The LAC hosts a DPhil seminar every term that brings together doctoral

students working on the region from a variety of disciplines, including students from the recently launched DPhil in Area Studies. When we were visited by the Secretary General of the OAS, former President Santos and a delegation from the IDB, we hosted meetings for them with a significant number of colleagues from the Social Sciences and the Humanities, which were excellent opportunities to showcase Oxford's strengths in Latin American Studies. A similar meeting with colleagues from the Freie Universität Berlin and the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institute, held in Michaelmas Term, was aimed at advancing University plans to forge stronger links with Berlin.

Over the past five decades, the LAC community has been substantially enlarged by the constant influx of visiting scholars and recognised students who enrich so many aspects of our academic life. We value their time with us – which is full of fond memories. In his lecture remembering Guido di Tella, a regular visitor and dear friend of the LAC, Gerardo della Paolera, another old and dear friend, offered a moving speech that brought our community together.

Moreover, our alumni are an important source of inspiration and strength – their generosity, particularly through the Malcolm Deas Fund, serves to support a wide range of activities.

As another academic year comes to a close, we wish the best of luck to our students who have completed their masters's degrees, and to those who will be doing field work over the summer. Their contribution to our programme has once again been splendid. We hope this issue of *Horizontes* serve as a memorable record of their time in Oxford. As we start preparations to welcoming our new cohort next year, our issue of *Horizontes* should also give us an opportunity to reflect on the mission of the Latin American Centre. We belong to a department that is naturally at the forefront of any effort to enhance the university's presence in the globalised world. The tradition of Latin American Studies is a valuable asset that will serve Oxford well as it consolidates its global leadership as a bastion of education and research excellence.

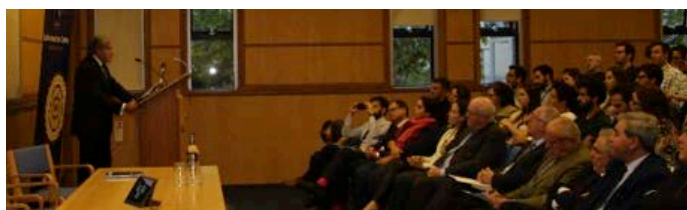
Eduardo Posada-Carbo
Director, Latin American Centre



Front row from left: Carlos Solar, Maria Blanco, Olivia Vazquez-Medina, Maryhen Jimenez, Luis Almagro, Carlos Vargas, Sebastian Alvarez, Carlos Pérez Ricart, Hal Jones, Leigh Payne, Ezequiel Gonzalez. Back, from left: Eduardo Posada-Carbo, Claire Williams, Llewelyn Morgan, Laurence Whitehead, Christopher McKenna, Simon Escoffier, David Doyle, Matthew Amengual.

The Secretary General of the Organisation of American States Inaugurates the Academic Year at the LAC

Luis Almagro, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, inaugurated the LAC's academic year with a special lecture on 'The OAS, Democracy and the Venezuelan Crisis'. The lecture took place at the Nissan Lecture Theatre in St Antony's College, on 9 October 2019. This was the first time that a Secretary General of the OAS offered a public address in Oxford. During his visit, Almagro held an informal conversation with our students at the LAC about his role in the OAS. He also held an informal working lunch at Brasenose College with a select group of academic fellows, who gave presentations on the range of work relating to Latin America carried out at Oxford.



The General Secretary of the OAS, delivering his inaugural address at the Nissan Lecture Theatre of St Antony's College.



Working lunch. 'Oxford and Latin America' with Almagro at the Medieval Kitchen in Brasenose College

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN BERLIN AND OXFORD

On 8 November, the LAC organised the workshop "Latin American Studies in Oxford and Berlin: A conversation". The meeting took place at the Old Library in Brasenose College, and was convened with the aim of encouraging discussion over the state of Latin American Studies in Berlin and Oxford, as well as to exploring future avenues of collaboration. On that occasion, Barbara Göbel (Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin), Stefan Rinke (Freie Universität Berlin), Timothy Power (OSGA, Oxford) and Andrew Hurrell (DPIR, Oxford), alongside a diverse group of Oxford fellows, discussed the prospects and challenges facing Latin American Studies in Oxford and beyond. Oxford participants came from various disciplines across the university, and from a number of different colleges. Participants included: Jan Boesten, Emily Curryyova, David Doyle, Andreza de Souza Santos, Frank Egerton, Louise Fawcett, Ezequiel González Ocampo, Andrés M. Guiot Isaac, Carlos F. Grigsby, Pekka Hämäläinen, Halbert Jones, Giuseppe Marcocci, Carlos A. Pérez Ricart, Joana Perrone, Eduardo Posada-Carbó, Carlos Solar, Laura Rival, Olivia Vazquez-Medina and John Watts.

The conversation took place at a time when the relationship between Oxford and Berlin is becoming ever stronger. At the end of 2017 Oxford signed a memorandum of understanding for a strategic research partnership with the four institutions within the Berlin University Alliance: Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Technische Universität Berlin and the Charité – Universitätsmedizin Berlin. The ultimate goal of the partnership is to bring researchers together to explore new ideas and develop more substantive research proposals.



Timothy Power, Andrew Hurrell, Laura Rival and Hal Jones, among the participants in the workshop.



The conversation continued over lunch at the Medieval Kitchen in Brasenose College. From the left: Emilie Curryyova (St Antony's), Giuseppe Marcocci (Exeter), Carlos Solar (LAC), Olivia Vasquez (Wadham), Stefan Rinke ((Freie Universität Berlin), Carlos Grigsby (Spanish American Literature), Andres Guiot Isaac (Area Studies), Laura Rival (Linacre), Ezequiel Gonzalez-Ocanto (Nuffield), Timothy Power (Head of OSGA), Andreza De Souza (LAC), Jan Boesten (Nuffield), Eduardo Posada-Carbo (LAC/ Brasenose) and Barbara Göbel (Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin).

Venezuela, Brazil, Women and other themes at the LAC Main Seminar series

Zoe Bouras, LAC MSc student

The Latin American Center's 'Latin American Seminar Series' continued to draw the LAC community together this year with presentations from scholars and statesmen alike. The series included a wide range of topics that addressed both the current political moment, studying topics such as the election of Bolsonaro in Brazil and the Venezuelan crisis, as well as "everyday" issues in the region, such as the role of women, international diplomacy, and violence.

The year kicked off with the Michaelmas Term inaugural lecture from Dr. Luis Almagro, the Secretary General of the Organization of American states, who discussed the crisis in Venezuela. Dr. Almagro's analysis of how to move forward was complemented by the week 7 Hilary Term lecture, "Venezuela: from collapse to recovery", delivered by former Venezuelan minister for planning Ricardo Haussman.

Another recurring topic in the 2018-2019 seminar series was women's issues, beginning in Michaelmas Term with a round table discussion on the gender gap. The discussion featured Cheryl Doss, Oxford economics professor in international development; Isabella Ruiz, Oxford associate professor of economics; and Maria Cavalcanti, President and CEO of non-profit Pro Mujer. The round table, which allowed listeners to view the gender gap and role of women in the region through a distinct set of lenses, was followed in Hilary term by a presentation from Leda Pérez, lecturer at the Universidad del Pacífico in Lima, Peru. Her presentation, titled "Women, precarious work and development questions: Lessons from research on 'care' work in Peru," focused on the situations and difficult choices faced by many female domestic workers in Peru.

Brazil was also discussed on several occasions in this year's seminar series, with topics ranging from the recent election to the crisis of 'missing people' in Brazil. Michaelmas Term featured two seminars focused on Brazil, one in second week from Gabriel Ulyseas of Jesus College, which looked into the effects that economic shocks have on crime, and a round table in week 5 in which the LAC's Timothy Power, Professor Fiona Macaulay, and former Brazilian Minister of Social Development Tereza Campello unpacked the 2018 Presidential election of right-wing populist Jair Bolsonaro. In Hilary, Graham Denyer Willis shared his research on the "missing people" in Sao Paulo, Brazil,



Ricardo Haussman, Director of the Harvard's Center for International Development, gave a lecture on 'Venezuela: from collapse to recovery'. Left: Maryhen Jimenez, Oxford, DPhil Student.

in a presentation titled "Politics Gone Missing", and the Brazilian Studies Program Conference keynote speech was delivered at St. Antony's college on February 15th by Raquel Dodge, the Prosecutor General of Brazil.

Part of the success of the seminar series at the LAC is its ability to foster discussion around a number of pressing and engaging topics from across the region. That said, some of the topics and discussions at the LAC do not always fall into clear groups or themes. This year, for example, two such round table discussions took place in Michaelmas Term;

one discussing "soft power" and cultural diplomacy, the other focusing on UK business in Latin America. In addition to these round tables, the LAC hosted a presentation on research into the relationship between the people and mining firms of Peru, by Matthew Amengual; a presentation on cyber security throughout Latin America by the LAC's very own Carlos Solar; and a talk with Ingrid Betancourt- the Colombian-French politician, author, and former FARC hostage- who discussed her time in captivity and gave her opinions about the role of the FARC in Colombia following the signing of the peace accords.



Alexander Betts, Leopold Muller Professor of Forced Migration and International Affairs in Oxford, addressing the LAC at a round table on the Venezuela migration crisis which took place in Trinity Term. Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva, Director of the DPhil in Migration Studies (to his right) also contributed to this round table.

Alvaro García Linera, Bolivian Vice President, in Oxford

In a year in which he is seeking re-election as Bolivia's vice-president, Alvaro García Linera might well have used his visit to the Latin American Centre to trumpet his government's not inconsiderable achievements since it first took office in 2006. Instead, he offered a wide-ranging account of long-range development – economic, social and political – since the 1952 revolution.

This was his second visit to Oxford having been here some six years ago, and his lecture was well attended with students keen to hear what a Marxist-inspired policy maker would say about his practical experiences in office. Bolivia, of course, stands out as one of the more successful and long-lasting experiences of Latin America's 'pink tide'.

One of the most intriguing parts of his talk was the issue of social change in recent years and the way in which the rural population of Bolivia had shrunk proportionately to the total, and how the country's social structure had changed in the last two decades with the growth of a middle-income sector. Traditionally, Bolivia has been one of Latin America's poorest and most rural countries. This, García Linera argued, is changing rapidly. According to his figures, middle-income groups now constitute 62% of the population (as opposed to 35% in 2005), a fact that raises questions about the ability of the ruling Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) to sustain its voter support, originally strongest among the rural poor.

It was perhaps unfortunate that the breadth of his topic and the mass of quantitative material he presented left little time for questions and discussion. Dinner afterwards at Saint Hugh's, however, provided scope for some searching questions on topics such as Bolivia's response to extractivism, the Morales administration's attitude to issues like roadbuilding in the Amazon jungle while respecting indigenous rights, and its currently highly polemical position with respect to term limits.

John Crabtree



Vice-President García Linera with Oxford DPhil student Floren Villanueva Scrafton at the dinner offered by the LAC and the British Embassy in Bolivia at St Hugh's College, following his lecture. In addition to Oxford students and teachers, the event was attended by a specialists on Bolivia from other universities, including Andrew Canessa (Essex), Jean Paul Faguet (LSE), Sian Lazar (Cambridge), and Kate Maclean. Jeff Glekin, British Ambassador to Bolivia, also attended the event.

Mexico's second transition?

In July 2018 Andrés Manuel López Obrador won the presidential election in Mexico. His election has brought high expectations, as well as some concerns.

While his supporters maintain that the victory of López Obrador should be described as "a second transition" in Mexican politics (after the defeat of the PRI in 2000), his opponents believe that López Obrador is only raising unrealistic expectations.

With the aim of discussing recent political events in Mexico, Laurence Whitehead and Carlos A. Pérez Ricart organised a



Dinner at Nuffield College following the conference

one-day seminar on Mexican politics on the 3rd of October 2018. During the seminar, scholars and leading policy makers from Mexico and the United Kingdom explored the state of affairs of Mexican politics and debated the challenges the new government

faces. Discussions focused on three main issues: (sub)national democracy, security and foreign policy. The seminar took place at Nuffield College and was made possible due to the support of the Latin American Centre and Nuffield College.

Juan Manuel Santos in Oxford

By Felipe Roa-Clavijo, Researcher and Global Policy Network Lead.
Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative

Photos by Greg Smolonski



At the end of 'Port of destiny' in the Nissan Lecture Theatre - front row, from left: Paola Napoli, Nestor Osorio (then the Colombian Ambassador in the UK), Martin Carizosa, Monica Puerto, Alan Angell, Leonardo Gill Correa Santos and Virginia Rocha; at the back, from left: Frank Egerton, Jessica Doyle, Michael Philbin, and Bernardo Abreu de Medeiros.

The Latin American Centre (LAC) and the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) co-organised two public events with the former President of Colombia and Nobel Peace Laureate, Juan Manuel Santos, in Michaelmas and Trinity term.

Taking place at the Nissan auditorium of St Antony's College, the Michaelmas Term event was the screening of "Port of Destiny", a film that depicts President Santos' path to peace in Colombia featuring interviews with Bill Clinton and Tony Blair, among others. A Q&A session with President Santos followed the screening chaired by Professor Eduardo Posada-Carbó.

In Trinity Term at the Amersi Foundation Lecture Room of Brasenose College, the LAC and OPHI co-organised a discussion on President Santos' new book *La Batalla por la Paz* ('The battle for peace'). Launched earlier in 2019, the book provides an account of the challenges of leading a peace process that many in Colombia and around the world thought would never succeed and outlines the challenges for sustaining peace in the future.

Two former international advisors to the Colombian peace process joined the book discussion and provided further insights and reflections: Jonathan Powell, Tony Blair's Chief of Staff (1997-2007) and the UK government's negotiator with Northern Ireland; and Joaquin Villalobos, former Salvadorian guerrilla

commander and international security advisor.

These public events with Colombia's former head of state enriched the dialogue and academic debates not only



Former President Santos answering questions about 'Port of destiny'



Professor Roger Goodman, Warden of St Antony's College, welcoming former President Santos at the Nissan Lecture Theatre.

for the Latin American and Development Studies communities, but also for the academic community interested in policymaking, governance and leadership. Students, researchers, staff and the academic community at large attended all events.

During his time in Oxford, President Santos also gave a distinguished public lecture at the Sheldonian Theatre and was interviewed in conversation at the Blavatnik School of Government chaired by OPHI director Sabina Alkire.

President Santos has a three-year Visiting Professorship with the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative and the Department of International Development. He is currently writing about the Colombian experience of multidimensional poverty measurement and reduction, and is collaborating with various projects at the University of Oxford.



Former President Santos discussing his new book *La batalla por la paz* at the Amersi Foundation Lecture Room in Brasenose College



Former President Santos with our MSc students Jack Pannell, Anna Michieletto and Hamish Richardson.

Governing the unruly:

Scholars and practitioners debated security and criminality in the Americas



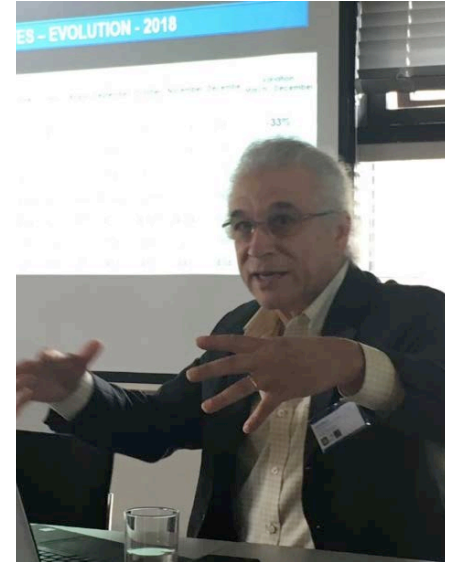
Participants to the conference on security and crime in the Americas hosted at the LAC in June 2019.

In early June, LAC members Carlos Pérez Ricart and Carlos Solar, hosted an international academic conference on security and criminality in the Americas. This successful event brought together over 50 young and established academics, civil society members, and policymakers from Europe, the United States, and Latin America to discuss. Participants discussed topical issues including the militarisation of security, the wave of criminal violence in Central America and the state of policing and public security policies, looking at case studies from Chile to Mexico. Scholars came from prestigious universities including Chicago, Berkeley, KCL, Illinois, Purdue, PUC Rio, GIGA, York, ITAM, Georgia State, and CUNY, among many others. The conference was an opportunity to strengthen links between the LAC staff and the Foreign Office, the London-based think-tank International Institute for Strategic Studies, and the consultancy firm, Oxford Analytica. Among the scholars leading the debate were David Mares (UC San Diego), Monica Serrano (Colegio de Mexico), Wil Pansters (Utrecht University), Annette Idler, Alan Knight, and Andreza de Souza Santos (Oxford), Jose Miguel Cruz (Florida International University), Antonio Sampaio (IISS), Ben Smith (Warwick),

and Spencer Chainey (UCL). The event also drew insight from local perspectives, as participants included Salvador Caro, former chief of police in Guadalajara, Miguel La Rota previously at the office of the general prosecutor in Colombia, and Robert Malengrau from UMRio. Young scholars from Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Trinidad and Tobago received small travel awards thanks to contributions from the Malcom Deas Fund and the Foreign Office.



Shane Prince from the University of West Indies at Saint Augustine and conference organisers Carlos Pérez Ricart and Carlos Solar.



David Mares from the University of California, San Diego.



From the left: Vanja Grujic from University of Brasilia, Markus Hochmüller from Free University Berlin and a visiting fellow at the LAC, Desiree Reder from GIGA- Hamburg, and Nat Morris, UCL.

The politics of backlash in Brazil



Backlash in social rights: Keynote by Cristovam Buarque

On February 15th, we had the opportunity to attend the Brazilian Studies Programme Annual Conference, organised by Dr Andreza A de Souza Santos. It was an intense day of discussion on Brazil, bringing together a broad range of different perspectives. Some of the main themes throughout discussions included the state of Brazilian democratic institutions and the backlash against social rights, topics which were addressed by scholars from different social science backgrounds. The conference proved yet again that interdisciplinarity is crucial to understanding the complex dynamics unfolding in Brazilian politics and society.

The Conference consisted of three panels. The first one, entitled “Politics from Below”, included Andreza A. de Souza Santos (Oxford), Gabriel Feltran (UFSCAR), and Sergio Costa (Free University of Berlin) and was moderated by Idalina Baptista (Oxford). The speakers presented interesting ethnographic and empirical research on participatory politics and how it affects citizens, urban violence and illicit economies in Brazil, and the Pink Tide in contrast to the present resurgence of the right.

These thoughts paved the way for the next panel, where debate centred on how the social rights of the Brazilian people had recently been affected. This panel was titled “Politics of Backlash”. Carolina Matos (City University of London), Flavia Biroli (University of Brasília), and David Lehmann (University of Cambridge) discussed gender, the role of media, and social movements in Brazil, moderated by Simon Escoffier (Oxford). We then moved to Brazilian Institutions. For this, Fiona Macaulay (University of Bradford), Katherine Bersch (Davidson College), and Timothy Power (Oxford) gave stimulating talks on “Legislative and Judicial Oversight”, with David Doyle (Oxford) acting as the moderator. Bersch presented evidence on state capacity in Brazil while Macaulay discussed possible causes for Jair Bolsonaro’s election as President and how institutions function in the backlash against social rights. Tim Power shared some thoughts on how political institutions may contribute to the fragmentation of interests and the party system. Eventually, Tim explained,

excessive power sharing can favour the rise of personalistic candidates and populist political platforms. The conference was closed with the keynote of Cristovam Buarque, Professor and former Senator in Brazil, who summarized the discussion, with Tim as moderator. Buarque connected the previous talks to the role of education, and emphasized the importance of education to Brazil’s development.

As to whether Brazil’s political institutions can curtail the backlash in social rights, the speakers were more or less in agreement in their diagnosis, but disagreed on any single cause or solution. Participants placed emphasis on public education reforms, urban neglect as the origin of social imbalances and violence, protection and support measures



Simon Escoffier, Flavia Biroli, Carolina Matos, David Lehmann

for underrepresented racial and social minorities, women rights and empowerment, as well as the institutional changes necessary to adjust to the new realities and interests of Brazilian society. Beyond its complexity, the speakers agreed that any solution to the present political crisis and social erosion must involve different areas of knowledge. Eventually, it should also be a platform where different social actors can have a say and share their opinion.

Written by Virginia Rocha, Leonardo Gill Correa Santos, Bernardo Abreu de Medeiros, Cristiana Maglia. They are PhD recognised students at the LAC, 2019.



Sergio Costa, Gabriel Feltran, Andreza de Souza Santos, Idalina Baptista

IDB Seminars in Oxford

The LAC hosted two joint seminars with the Inter-American Development Bank this academic year. In Michaelmas Term, we welcomed Dr Alejandro Izquierdo, Chief Economist at the IDB Research Department, and Dr Carola Pessino, Principal Specialist in the Bank's Fiscal and Municipal Management Division, who presented their publication *Better Spending for Better Lives: How Latin America and the Caribbean Can Do More with Less*. During their visit, the LAC also hosted a 'Conversation with the IDB: Oxford and Latin America'. After presentations on the work of the IDB by Drs Izquierdo and Pessino, a group of Oxford colleagues presented 'briefs' on several subjects: 'The Lac 50 years and Beyond' (Laurence Whitehead), 'Economic Development and Informality' (Gabriel Ulyssea), 'Immigration' (Isabel Ruiz), 'Human Rights' (Leigh Payne), 'State Capacity and Security' (Carlos Perez Ricart), 'Democracy', (David Doyle).

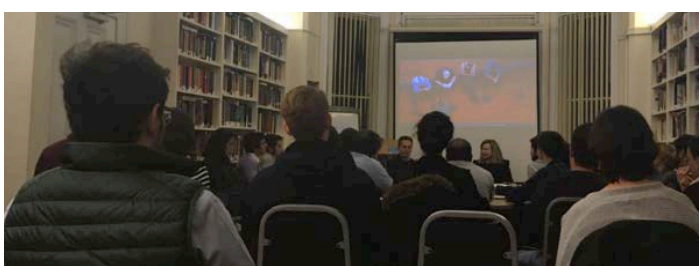
In Trinity Term, the LAC welcomed Dr Andrew Powell, Principal Advisor at the IDB Research Department, who presented the most recent macroeconomic report of the bank: *Building Opportunities for Growth in a Challenging World*. Dr. Adolfo Meisel-Roca, former co-director of the Colombian Central Bank and current Rector at the Universidad del Norte in Barranquilla, and Dr Alejandra Irigoin, Associate Professor at the London School of Economics, joined the seminar as discussants.



From left: Andrew Powell, Adolfo Meisel Roca and Alejandra Irigoin at the IDB seminar in the Pavillion, St Antony's College



Dr Pessino with Dr Andreza de Souza following dinner at Brasenose College



Drs Izquierdo and Pessino presenting their publication at our main seminar.

Ingrid Betancourt at the LAC

On Friday, January 18th, Ingrid Betancourt, famous Colombian-French politician and former captive of the Colombian FARC, visited the Latin American Center as part of the LAC Seminar Series. In her discussion style presentation, entitled "Personal Reflections on the FARC," Betancourt recounted aspects of her experience as a FARC hostage from 2002-2008; gave profiles of different FARC leaders including Manuel Marulanda and Raúl Reyes; discussed the unique position and attitudes of women within the organization; and offered her expectations and understanding of the FARC now that the organization has transitioned into mainstream electoral politics following the peace agreement. (Moshe Ben Hamo Yeger writes).



Ingrid Betancourt and David Doyle, convener of our seminar series in Hilary Term



The audience as the guest speaker enters our main seminar room

VIIth Guerra Seminar



Pauline Bilot and Nat Morris at the VIIth Guerra Seminar in the LAC. Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, Brian McBeth and Alan Knight among the audience.



At the informal traditional dinner in Manos, following the seminar

Pauline Bilot (Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne) and Nat Morris (UCL) were our guest speakers at the VIIth Guerra Seminar, an event launched in 2016 to honour the memory of the late historian FX Guerra (1942-2012). Their respective papers dealt with the subject of rural judicial administration. Co-organized by the LAC, the University of Paris 1, Panthéon Sorbonne, with the support of the Oxford Maison Francaise, the seminar takes place twice a year. The Guerra Seminar encourages regular academic exchanges between fellow historians of Latin America based in the United Kingdom and France. The VIth Guerra Seminar took place in Paris in November, with contributions by Andreza de Souza Santos and Serge Ollivier

The Latin American History Seminar

Views from DPhil Students in Modern History

It was once said that history students become historians through a process of osmosis, rather than textbooks, with research seminars being the environment where this learning takes place. Our weekly history seminar very much lives up to this maxim. By watching other researchers discuss their findings, methods and challenges, we get to have a taste of what lies ahead, and be exposed to new ideas on how to approach our own research. For this reason, watching early career researchers present their work is always particularly encouraging, as well as being one of the best ways of keeping up to date with the many fields of Latin American history. In many ways the bulk of this experience does not happen during the paper presentations themselves, but in the subsequent group discussions, always followed by our dinner social. These group discussions demonstrate that much of our ideas are developed collectively, sharing experiences and advice – or enthusiastically partaking in historiographical polemics.

Andre Jockyman Roithmann,

Over the last six years, the Latin American History Seminar (LAHS) has become an obligatory point of reference for anyone in Oxford interested in the history of Latin America. As happens with many History Seminars, the LAHS takes place outside the Faculty building, in keeping with Oxford's tradition of decentralisation. I began to attend the seminar three years ago, when I was a History Master's student researching for my dissertation on British and South American international relations in the nineteenth century. Out of the rich set of research seminars organised by faculty convenors, the LAHS programme became the most appealing option for my line of study. What I encountered there, however, did more than resonate with my research interests, paving the way for my subsequent enrolment in the History DPhil. In my opinion, the LAHS is characterised not only by the presentation of original research papers, but by a strong emphasis on open historical debate. As a graduate student, it represents an educational practice that one does not encounter very frequently. Discussing specific historiographical problems and formulating adequate questions are skills that cannot be taken for granted. As with any other skill, they

have to be trained and developed over time; the LAHS offers a very suitable setting in which this development can take place. As a history seminar based in an Area Studies department, the LAHS encourages interdisciplinary dialogue and brings together scholars from different backgrounds. Perhaps more importantly, it generates a safe environment where students from different course programmes can be in contact and interact with senior academics, creating through the process these very interactions a meaningful pedagogical experience.

Juan I. Neves

Oxford's Latin American Centre's history seminar provides unique insights on a wide range of issues that will prove valuable to any historian whatever their discipline may be. As a DPhil student writing a thesis about Brazil and the United States, I have been pleasantly surprised by how applicable the lectures at the LAC history seminar have been. In much of my experience, Brazil has been an afterthought for Latin American departments while the global perspectives on Latin America have been virtually non-existent. The exact opposite holds true for the LAC history seminar. The depth of the seminars owes to the incredible well versed speakers that the seminar attracts. Not only has the seminar directly focused on Brazil on multiple occasions, many speakers focusing on another country have written about Brazil in the past or are extremely familiar with Brazilian history as well. Global perspectives are also the result of a judicious choice of excellent speakers. From a seminar on Latin American perspectives on World War I to a recent joint seminar with the Rothermere American Institute that focused on American perspectives on Latin American independence the history seminar provides a wealth of opportunities for a wide range of history students. Having attended a wide range of seminars during my time at Oxford, I can confidently say that the LAC history seminar is the most generally applicable that I have experienced. I would encourage history students from all disciplines and all regional focuses to take a closer look at the LAC seminar as I am confident that they will find something that will provide them with a valuable opportunity to widen their perspective on their own topic.

Jonathan Madison



From left: Carlos Solar, Andre Jockyman, Brian McBeth, Olga Velasquez Ocampo, Juan Nevez, Karen Racine, Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, Tony McFarlane, Jonathan Lee and Luis Vargas.



Di Tella Memorial Lecture and The Argentine Economy



Fernando Navajas, Hildegard Ahumada and Carlos Winograd at the seminar on the Argentina Economy in The Pavilion Room, St Antony's College.



Gerardo della Paolera



Carlos Winograd and Hildegard Ahumada

Gerardo della Paolera, founding Rector of the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella (1990-2001), and currently the Executive Director at Fundación Bunge y Born in Buenos Aires, gave the Guido di Tella Memorial Lecture at the Latin American Centre on 17 May this year. 'A Renaissance Man in the Pampas: Guido Di Tella: Entrepreneur, Scholar, Philanthropist and Statesman' was the title of his address, where he offered a portrait of Guido di Tella's extraordinary life and achievements. As part of this special occasion the LAC also co-organised, together with the Fundación Fiel in Argentina, a seminar on the Argentine Economy with contributions from Fernando Navajas (Fundación Fiel) and Carlos Winograd (Paris School of Economics), in a session chaired by Hildegard Ahumada (Universidad di Tella, Buenos Aires). These events were followed by a reception and a dinner at St Antony's College.

Joint Seminar with the Rothermere American Institute

Caitlin Fitz, from Northwestern University in the USA, was our guest speaker at a joint seminar with the Rothermere American Institute on week 8 of Trinity Term. In her presentation, partly based on her recent book, *Our Sister Republics*, she examined the extent to which events in Latin America might have impacted developments in the US. She looked in particular at how Latin American Independence was perceived in the US during the first decades of the nineteenth century. She also looked at how the news about the abolition of slavery in Spanish America was followed by US abolitionists. Since 2014, the LAC and the RAI have organised over 20 joint seminars.



At the Manos terrace, after the seminar. From left: Hal Jones (RAI, Director), Graciela Iglesias-Rogers, Jonathan Lee, Mónica Puerto, Martín Carrizosa, Eduardo Posada-Carbo, John Dew, Juan Neves, Caitlin Fitz and Konstantin Dierks.

Malcolm Deas Annual History Seminar

Margarita Garrido gave the third Malcolm Deas Annual History Seminar on 2 May, when she presented a paper on the Comunero Rebellion in New Granada. Following the Seminar, a group of the attendees joined our traditional informal dinner at Manos, the Greek Tavern in Walton Street. From the right: Antony McFarlane, Margarita Garrido, John Dew, Victor-Urbe-Uran, Carlos Pérez Ricart, Jorge Orlando Melo, Katherine Rios, Eduardo Posada Carbó, Louise Fawcett, Rocio Londoño, Malcolm Deas, Graciela Iglesias-Rogers and Ana María Otero.



Chile conference on Public Policy



From left: Nicholas Barr (Professor of Public Economics at LSE), Luis Vargas Faulbaum (DPhil Candidate in International Development, University of Oxford), Claudia Sanhueza (Director of the Center for Economics and Social Policy, Universidad Mayor (Chile)), Rodrigo Valdés (Former Minister of Finance and Associate Professor of the School of Government at Pontifical Catholic University of Chile), and Pablo Gonzalez (CEO at ILC Investments in Chile).

A group of 8 graduate students at LSE, Oxford and Cambridge organized a conference on Public Policy in Chile that took place in Trinity Term. Early coordination began in October 2018, with the idea of building a bridge for the analysis of public policies between Chile and the UK. This conference aimed to examine different red-tape areas of public policy, bringing together people from academia, policy-makers and students to address the main conference question: what country do we want to be?

The main supporters of the initiative were the LSE School of Public Policy and Oxford's Blavatnik School of

Government. Also, the Chilean Construction Chamber, Luksic Scholars and Arauco actively sponsored this event. Our academic partners included the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile's School of Government, the Centre for Economics and Social Policy at the Universidad Mayor, and the University of Oxford's Latin American Centre.

The Chile Conference primarily discussed seven policy areas: the future of the labour market and the fourth industrial revolution, the pension system, impact investing, taxation, social protection and poverty alleviation, urban governance, and criminal law. The two-

day event took place both in London and Oxford on May 24th and 25th. Among the policymakers, academics, graduate students, and private-sector representatives who came, there were 31 panellists, 17 of which were women. On the first day, there were around 85 attendees, with closer to 100 for the second day at the Blavatnik School of Government.

The conference was a great opportunity to hear insights into different policy areas in Chile, but it also allowed panellists and the participants to make connections and get to know each other. We are now organising the production of different materials related to the conference, such as policy briefs and the conference proceedings, which will be published by the School of Government at the Pontifical Catholic University. I believe that in creating a forum for senior academics and policymakers to exchange ideas alongside early career researchers, we met our goals for this conference, as this sort of event occurs all too infrequently in Chile. Indeed, the success of this conference was in encouraging high-level panellists to debate Chile's future public policy challenges, looking beyond the short-term debates surrounding existing policy and reform.

Luis Vargas Faulbaum

How Do Political Elites Influence Policymaking and What Can Civil Society Actors Do?

This international conference was organised by Marcela Torres (FLACSO Mexico) and it looked at the different mechanisms by which elites influence policy and state-making in the Americas (Latin America and the US). Other academics participating in the conference were Janine Wedel

(Mason University), Francisco Valdez Ugalde (FLACSO México), Gisela Zaremberg (FLACSO Mexico) and Rachel Nadelman (Accountability Research Center American University, Washington DC).



Latinos and Spanglish in the US

Ilan Stavans, Lewis-Sebring Professor of Humanities and Latin American and Latino Culture in Amherst College, USA, visited Oxford in November 2018, when he participated in two events co-organised by the LAC, the Rothermere American Institute and the Sub-Faculty of Spanish.

Interview by Moshe Ben Hamo, LAC MSc Student

Can you briefly describe what your research is about?

I have evolved in the last couple of decades in a number of different directions. Originally my field of interest was Latin American literature, particularly contemporary literature (XIX-XX century). I did my PhD in Columbia and the topic was the Mexican detective novel. Over time I have explored different paths: Jewish Latin America is a topic of interest to me; the history of the Spanish language; different Languages that are spoken in Latin America, including Spanglish. All these different fields, while nurturing one another, have enabled me to explore different aspects of culture in the broadest sense of the term at this global time. Maybe the key element here is migration, and how it reconfigures, from language to culture to national and individual identity.

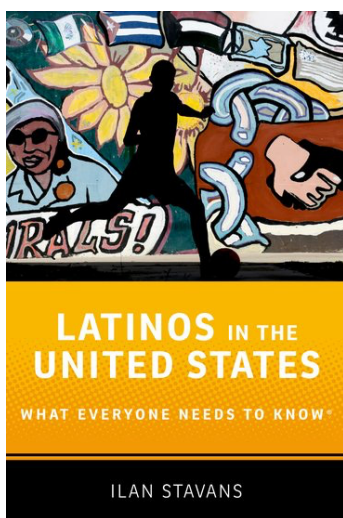
Your talk yesterday was mostly about the Latino experience in the United States. Can you tell us about the differences between Latinos and other minority groups in the United States?

The difference is a complex one. Latinos have followed a path that is not like most other immigrant groups from the beginning of the republic to the present. Because of the closeness to the place that is called home, because of the demographic density, because of the diversity of the national backgrounds, this group is dissimilar to other national groups. That means that the patterns of assimilation are at once unique and standard. In the lecture yesterday I attempted to explore one of the measures of success which is the entrance to the middle class. The main argument is that the arrival to the mainstream has been much slower compared to other groups and it has been done by Latinos in their own terms, meaning there is a kind of resistance and reservation to the embrace of American culture, and the creation of a new unique mestizo culture that is part Anglo, part Hispanic, that creates new paradigms. My argument is that in shaping itself, that Mestizo culture is announcing new ways of seeing the

United States and Latin America as a whole.

Can you elaborate on the relationship between assimilation, integration to the middle class, and language?

The standard pattern is that an immigrant group's entering to the 'melting pot' is measured by the degree to which the particular group give up their immigrant language. With Latinos this has not happened, they have not given up their language entirely because of a number of factors: proximity to the place called home, the frequency with which the immigration keeps on repeating itself, the fact that these communities have all sorts of different origins, etc. Instead, Spanish has become the unofficial language, the second language of the United States. However, this language remains alive in a kind of hybrid fashion, which could be considered, according to some, as Spanglish.



On that note, what is Spanglish?

I think Spanglish is the most interesting linguistic phenomenon that has happened certainly in the Hispanic world today, maybe in the entire world. Every single imperial language (Portuguese, French, and English) borrows words from others and gives words to other languages. So, there are often edges or borders where the imperial language exists in a back

and forth – for example *Portugol and Franglais*. And that generally happens when the two cultures come together.

But in the case of Latinos in the U.S. —60 million and counting— the border has travelled with them. You don't have to be at the U.S.-Mexican border, you can be in a city as far away as the border with Canada, and that back and forth has not shrunk but has expanded. I think it is very easy to reject it and think that the speakers are poorly educated, but that is a very paternalistic approach. I think that language is a way of expanding one's universe and if millions of people use a word or a particular structure that is what ends up prevailing. My view is that Spanglish has evolved in such a way that it really is a new language.

Do you think Spanglish will ever become an established language?

I don't know if it's going to... depending on what we call an established language. I do think there will come a time when Spanglish will receive international prizes, and where a speaker of Spanish or English will need to have a Spanglish text translated into Spanish or English to be understood.

Why do you think translating *El Quijote* into Spanglish caused such a backlash to the extent that you received death threats?

I think there are two reasons. One is that we think of language in very innocent ways. People take language very personally and when you try to alter the integrity of a language, people will react, sometime, furiously. And the second is that every single normalized and standardized language has its own canon at its center; Shakespeare in English, Goethe in German, Flaubert in French, and of course in Spanish it is *El Quijote*. So by translating it, I was aware that I would go to the very heart of what Spanish culture was. But I think every culture deserves its *Quijote*, and I wanted us Spanglish speakers to have our own *Quijote*, that why I did it. There is no change in culture —there is no change in general— that doesn't come with some discomfort.



MSc Students 2018–2019



Moshe Ben Hamo Yeger

I was born in Jerusalem, but lived in Mexico for most of my life. My academic background is in Politics and International Relations. Before coming to Oxford, I worked for the Mexican government and different think tanks in Mexico and Geneva. My main research is the intersection between criminal violence and politics in Latin America, with a particular focus on Mexico. I am also interested in electoral and judicial politics in the region. So far I am really enjoying my time here at Oxford in spite of the crazy weather!



Zoe Bouras

Zoe is from central Illinois, and completed her undergraduate degree in political science and international relations. Her interest in Latin America emerged from her time living in Arequipa, Peru as a Rotary Youth Exchange student in 2012. As an undergraduate Zoe became interested in populism and political trust, and she plans to use her extended essay as a way to expand on these interests in the Latin American context. In her free time, Zoe is involved in the Oxford University Mountaineering Society and can be found rock climbing.



Charles Defries

I was born and raised in Hangzhou, I am originally from London, but have been based in Oxford since starting an undergraduate degree there in French and Spanish. I first visited Latin America in 2014 before beginning university on a trip to Córdoba, Argentina, which encouraged me to take an interest in the region's rich history, and led to me specialising in the Argentine author Jorge Luis Borges and Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez for my Final Honour School in Spanish. This foundation in literature helped me touch upon several topics I am studying during the MSc in Latin American Studies. I have a particular interest in the economic upturn and urban development in Medellín, Colombia, where I lived during my year abroad. It was during this time that I discovered that I have Peruvian ancestry, and family living in Colombia, whom I had the chance to meet!



Jessica Doyle

I recently graduated from Columbia University, with a major in Latin American and Caribbean Studies and I am now on my path to my MSc in Latin American Studies at the University of Oxford. I am originally from Brazil and my academic experience in the US has made me passionate about taking an interdisciplinary approach to deepen my understanding of social, political, economic and environmental issues in my home country and use this knowledge to help shape public policies and promote sustainable development. My research interests range from studying the effects of global economic and political trends on the natural environment of the region and how society has reacted to them to exploring whether it is possible to balance economic development of interior areas with environmental preservation. My goal as a scholar, in short, is to understand how governmental decisions and social mobilization have altered the fate of frontier regions and resulting environmental degradation.



Ana Laura Martin Akroyd

Born in London, I grew up in Switzerland but later returned to complete my BA in History at the University of Warwick. Being Brazilian, Latin America has always played a major part in my life and I love going back to travel. My undergraduate degree allowed me to take a greater academic focus in the region, with my dissertation analysing rising violence in Brazil throughout the democratic transition. My current research focuses on police violence and lynchings in the context of an expanding democratic citizenship.



Anna Michieletto

I am both British and Italian, and although I was raised in Italy, came in contact with Spanish culture as I have family from there. I did my undergraduate at Warwick University, studying PPE. In my third year I had the chance to take modules in Latin American politics and fomented my pre-existing interest in the region. I am particularly interested in the relations between countries in the region, and the hemisphere more widely, as well as alternative policy implementation, particularly in the fields of counter-narcotic efforts and environmental protection. I am currently also serving as the Vice President of the Oxford Latin American Society, which allows me to engage with the region beyond an academic setting.



Robin Pearson

Hi everyone, my name is Robin Pearson and I am studying the MSc Latin American Studies at Oxford. I am originally from Norwich, but moved down to Exeter to study my undergraduate degree in History. During this, I took a year abroad in Salamanca, Spain, where I developed an interest in Latin American affairs. More specifically, I am interested in the role of China in development and governance in Latin America, which is something I am hoping to pursue at Oxford. Outside of the classroom, I enjoy socialising in my college, as well as playing squash and football for the St Hugh's graduate teams.



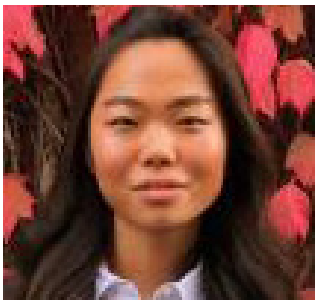
Michael Philbin

Michael is from the United States, with a background in economics and financial markets. During his first two summers at University, Michael worked at the State Department in Puerto Rico, as well as Fondo Esperanza, a microfinance institute in Santiago, Chile. Prior to Oxford, Michael worked as a trader at JP Morgan and most recently managed the US Treasuries and Foreign Exchange trading books at Och-Ziff Capital Management. Michael's aim is to work in Latin American economic development, with a focus on enhancing current economic tools to promote growth and combat inflation in the region. Michael is a Pershing Square Scholar, and will be attending Oxford's Saïd Business School for a Master's in Business Administration in 2019. Michael holds a Bachelor of Arts in Economics from Harvard University.



Hamish Richardson

Born and raised in the UK, I completed my undergraduate degree at the University of Bath studying Politics and International Relations. Having lived in Medellín, Colombia, in the third year of my undergraduate degree, I fell in love with the country and the region. Writing my undergraduate dissertation on contemporary Colombian paramilitarism, I hope to build on this research at Oxford. I'm an enthusiastic amateur chef and optimistic Chelsea fan.



Carina Uchida

I am a Brazilian-Japanese national, grew up in São Paulo, and completed my undergraduate in International Relations at King's College London. My research interests include transitional justice processes in post-civil war arenas in Latin America, and as an avid International Relations theorist, interested in critical disruptions of human security, post-colonial spaces and gendered experiences of international politics. Aside from my personal background, working at the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and editing for the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy allowed me to delve deeper into Latin America's complex gender relations. In particular, I hope to look at wartime sexual violence in the aftermath of the Peruvian internal conflict. In my free time I've made an effort to explore Oxford's coffee/pub culture and give college rowing a go.



Alexander Vivona

I attended university and worked in local politics in San Diego, California. Through my academic and professional experiences, I explored the bi-lateral relationship between the United States and Mexico. During my undergraduate studies, I primarily focused on how U.S. immigration policies affect migration from Mexico to the United States. While working in local politics, I explored the economic relationship between San Diego and Tijuana. I decided to pursue an MSc in Latin American Studies to develop a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between Latin America and the United States. I am currently applying to law school and plan to begin in the fall of 2019.



Anya Wasserman

I was born in Russia but raised in a small, suburban town in New Jersey. Finding any reason to escape, I studied abroad in Villa Dolores, Argentina during the summer of my freshman year of high school. I fell in love with the food, culture, and language, and vowed to find a reason to return. For university, I attended King's College London to read International Relations. There, I took classes in law and Latin American history, and began to develop an affinity towards Paraguay, a landlocked nation in central South America. Focusing my dissertation on indigenous rights, transnational companies, and the Colorado government, I traveled to the Chaco and conducted research on the Mennonite and local communities. Before returning to New York, I wanted to further my studies in Latin American law, sociology and economics, so I chose to pursue my MSc in the Latin American Centre. I aspire to be a lawyer to advance a pro-human rights agenda confronting climate change, forced displacement and lack of education in marginalized communities.



MPhil Students

First Year MPHILS



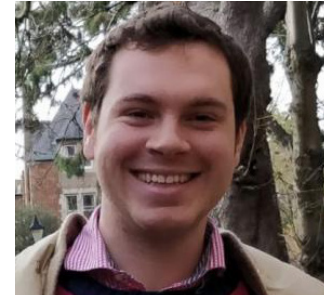
Priscilla Otero

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



Olga Velasquez Ocampo

Olga Patricia Velásquez Ocampo Holds a Bachelor in Law from EAFIT University in Medellín and a Master's Degree in the same area of studies from the Universidad de Los Andes, Colombia. She has worked as a judicial assistant for the Colombian Constitutional Court and as a legal advisor to the Colombian Ministry of Justice. Her research focuses on law and gender, transitional justice, and constitutional design. She has been academic staff at Universidad de Los Andes and at EAFIT University.



Jack Pannell

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

Second Year MPHILS



Samuel Leon

I was born and raised in Mexico City. I am a graduate of Politics and Public Administration of the Universidad Iberoamericana. I have an extensive career in the public sector; I have worked in the Mexican federal government's social security sector, as an advisor for the Mexican Senate on two occasions, in the tourism sector, and in the Federal Electricity Commission (Mexico's former publicly-owned electricity monopoly). I have also had experience as a public security and energy analyst in Mexico's non-governmental sector. In my free time, I love to run and practise boxing. I am a huge fan of cinema, modern art, a foodie and an avid concert goer. I am looking forward to doing my research on Mexico's energy sector or the challenges the country is facing regarding public security, and I am deeply interested in how academic research can influence public policy.



Nicolas Prados

I was born and raised in Madrid, Spain, before moving to the UK to do my undergraduate in History and Film Studies at Sussex University. It was when I was doing my dissertation in my final year that I turned towards Latin American history, and the revolutionary Caribbean in the 1950s in particular. After graduating I moved to Mexico City looking for work and a change of pace from peaceful Brighton. I worked as a journalist there for around 2 years, returning to the UK for a year in order to attend film school. I applied to the Latin American Centre to further explore the complex networks and relationships that bounded revolutionary exiles in the Caribbean during the 1940s and 50s.



Juliana Tappe Ortiz

I have a background in International Relations and Politics. In the past few years, I have worked as a researcher at different think tanks in Santiago de Chile, Medellín, Hamburg, Cape Town and Rio de Janeiro. My research focuses on comparative area studies concerning peace and conflict studies. In particular, I am interested in political leaders' individual impact on peace processes and the power of psychology in politics. In my free time I love going to the theatre and hiking in the mountains of Colombia and Germany.

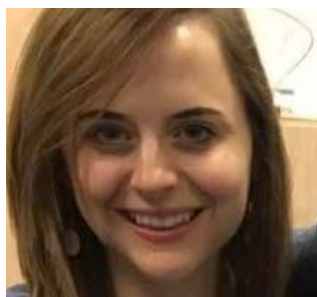
DPhil Students in Area Studies

In 2018, the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies launched its DPhil programme. Our DPhil students working on Latin America offer a summary of their projects below:



Joana Perrone

My thesis is provisionally titled “Economy and embodiment: a new theory for analysing femicide in Brazil” and is being done under the supervision of Prof Leigh Payne. It looks at the role of the contemporary Brazilian state in relation to femicide in the country. Through an analysis emphasising discursive aspects surrounding questions of victimhood, ‘grievability’ and political violence, my research explores the gender dimensions of bio and necropolitics within the Brazilian context. The LAC has been incredible in helping me develop my project, particularly through the library, which offers a wide variety of literature that is crucial to my work, but also by organising many events that involve topics such as Brazilian politics, gender and violence in Latin America.



Emily Curryova

My DPhil thesis is entitled “Political Leadership and Democratization in Argentina: Raúl Alfonsín and Carlos Menem, 1983-1999”. The project seeks to understand the role of political actors’ beliefs in the processes of democratization in Argentina by looking at how ideas and beliefs are formed, shaped and developed by two key Argentine political leaders during the transition to democracy. The Latin American Centre has been a great source of inspiration for my work. The library, which offers an impressive collection of literature, and the vibrant community and network of the Centre have all contributed to my positive experience as a DPhil candidate in Latin America Studies.



Andrés Guiot Isaac

My doctoral thesis studies the emergence and formation of an economic technocracy in Colombia during the changing national and global context of the post-World War II period. From a historical perspective, I inquire how economic expertise became embedded in the administration of the state and how economic education and analysis transformed public deliberation about how to govern the polity. While I focus on the Colombian case, I also engage with broader conceptual discussions in the social sciences that problematize the transfer of decision-making power to experts (technocrats) in modern societies and its implications for democracy, with a particular emphasis on Latin America.

The Latin American Center has offered me a place to develop and broaden my research interests. The expansive collection of bibliographical materials at the LAC’s library has provided me access to valuable resources for my thesis. The two weekly seminars at the LAC, one on Latin American history and the other on contemporary issues, have exposed me to stimulating high-level scholarly and policy discussions that have allowed me to grow as a scholar and as a political subject. The LAC DPhil seminar provided me a space to present my progress and receive feedback from panellists and senior colleagues. More importantly, in the LAC I have found a welcoming community of DPhil students, post-doctoral fellows and professors from different disciplinary backgrounds that has constantly challenged me to critically approach my research subject, as well as the most pressing issues of the region.



Andrés Guiot Isaac, Andre Jockyman, Carlos Pérez Ricart, Juan Neves and Emily Curryova at the Victoria after our last seminar of the academic year.

Brazilian doctoral students at the LAC

Leonardo Gill Correia Santos



My experience in Oxford as a recognised student could not have been any better for my education. At the Latin American Centre, I was warmly welcomed by the academic staff and professors. I was thrilled by the quality of the participants in the weekly main seminars during the two terms I was there.

I was granted a scholarship by a program designed to give Brazilian researchers international exposure, organised by CAPES, the federal agency for post-graduate students in Brazil. The aim of the program is to allow PhD candidates to develop their theses abroad; my aim was to improve the theoretical argument of my thesis. In Oxford, I was under the supervision of Prof. Tim Power, who has a large expertise in the area of presidentialism and government management. My research is about the effects of coalition governments on public opinion, and I stayed in close contact with Tim to discuss the progress of my research. I am very thankful for his time and all the suggestions he made (as well as his patience).

I tried to coordinate my weekly schedule to allow me to spend quality time at one of the Bodleian libraries, attend different lectures, and participate in the LAC seminars. I even had the opportunity to present an initial version of my analysis to some of the researchers at Oxford. In the end, the most challenging thing about Oxford was time management. There are so many things happening at the same time, and weighing-up one activity against others can be very difficult. Each term is a big rush of eight weeks, but the outcome is always positive.

Despite the limited time I spent in Oxford, I was able to meet fascinating people and motivated academics, and I am still in contact with some good friends. Ultimately, it was also a great time for me and my family, and we got to enjoy many fantastic moments together while we were there.

Cristiana Maglia



Cristiana Maglia is a political science PhD student at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), in Brazil. She holds a Master's Degree in Political Science and a Bachelor's Degree in International Relations, both from UFRGS. She was a Recognised Student at the Latin American Centre under the supervision of Prof. Timothy Power. Awarded a scholarship from the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel of the Brazilian government, she was in Oxford for two terms, between October 2018 and March 2019.

She dedicated her time at LAC to improve her thesis, entitled "New right-wing Parties in Brazil: Legislation, The Electoral Market and Political Ideology", supervised by Prof. Paulo Peres (UFRGS). The main focus of her research is the relation between ideology and political system fragmentation, focusing on right-wing parties in Brazil, between 1990 and 2018. During her time in Oxford, she was able to develop and present a framework on the Brazilian electoral market, considering the interactions among voters, parties and politicians. She also engaged with the academic community of LAC, participating in different lectures, courses and seminars. Her main research interests are Political Parties, Ideology, Institutionalism, and Paradigms in Political Science.

Bernardo Abreu de Medeiros



Bernardo Abreu de Medeiros is a tenured researcher at the Department of State, Institutions and Democracy, part of Brazil's Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA) in Rio de Janeiro. He holds a Master's in Theory of State and Constitutional Law from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) and is a specialist in Legal Argumentation from the University of Alicante, Spain. He has experience in the area of Law and Public Policy, with a specific focus on constitutional designs and comparative accountability institutions.

He was a recognised student at the Latin American Centre in Oxford under the supervision of Professor Timothy Power for two terms, as part of his PhD in Public Policy, Strategy and Development at Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), Brazil.

His doctoral research seeks to analyse the institutional arrangement that structures the system of bureaucratic controls as designed by the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988, with particular emphasis on the Federal Audit Court (TCU) and the supposed asymmetries, dysfunctions and pathologies of its performance. During his stay in Oxford, he advanced his research into the relation between institutions of accountability and 'New Public Management', and its deployments on accountability deficits and overloads. He also worked on the construction of qualitative and quantitative indicators for measuring the performance of accountability institutions.

Currently, he continues his studies as a visiting researcher at the Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics, Sciences Po.

Virginia Rocha



I am currently a PhD Candidate in Political Science (2016-2020) at the Federal University of Pernambuco (Recife, Brazil), where I also attained both my MA (2015) and BA (2012) degrees in Political Science. From November 2018 to April 2019, I was a recognised student at the Latin American Centre (LAC), working under the supervision of Prof. Timothy Power and supported by the Brazilian government's CAPES scholarship. During my time at the LAC, I aimed to further advance and develop my dissertation research on public sector transparency in Brazilian municipalities. My main goal is to understand the incentives for municipal authorities to commit to the implementation of the federal Access to Information Act. Throughout my stay at the University of Oxford, I benefitted immensely from the LAC's vibrant and diverse academic environment, taking part in seminars, conferences, and courses which provided multidisciplinary debates on timely and relevant Latin American issues, particularly those relating to Brazil. I also took part in great discussions with my supervisor and colleagues during workshops about our research projects. These opportunities were always accompanied by the welcoming and professional disposition of the LAC's staff and the excellent infrastructure that it, and the University of Oxford as a whole, provided for the greater advancement of my research and my general training as a scholar. I had high expectations for my stay, and Oxford exceeded all of them.

FROM MPhil TO PHD

Marta-Laura Suska MPhil (2009–11)

In 2009 I arrived in Oxford to start a Master's program at the LAC after graduating with a Bachelor's degree in Germany. I wanted to focus on Brazilian Studies under the guidance of Timothy Power, but my weak English skills almost prevented me from joining the program as I struggled to achieve the required TOEFL test score. When I finally received the acceptance letter and a scholarship from the DAAD, I was filled with pride and joy but also intimidated by the grandeur of this historical city.

I was born in Poland, grew up in Greece and Germany, and temporarily moved to Brazil when I was seventeen (no, my parents were not diplomats). Before Oxford, I interned for an NGO in Rio de Janeiro, evaluating the NGO's impact in favelas, prisons, and mental health institutes. It was during that time that I got trapped in a shootout between drug traffickers and the police, an experience that motivated me to study the Brazilian police.

The two years I spent at the LAC and as social secretary for St. Cross College were filled with challenges, visions, and incredible experiences on an academic and personal level. My biggest embarrassment was showing up at the wrong exam. I was flustered, my cape was drenched from the rain, and in the end, I almost failed the exam in Brazilian politics – my supposed expertise. . . . My professors, mainly Tim Power and Leigh Payne, explored different methodologies and research approaches with me, which eventually lead me to the discipline of Anthropology. A year later, after conducting months of intensive fieldwork with the Pacification Police Units in Rio de Janeiro, I turned in a thesis I was genuinely proud of. It was the warmth of the LAC and the St. Cross College community that helped me not feel out of place, and overcome doubt.

The support and the interdisciplinary emphasis of the LAC are, in my opinion, the most valuable resources offered to students. These features enable a rich discourse, and helps teach students to move confidently between different scholarly frameworks, be it political science, sociology, history, economy, or anthropology. I am very thankful to Leigh Payne, who motivated me to pursue a Ph.D. in the United States. I believe that my time at Oxford gave me the strength and determination to push through my advisor's death, tasking fieldwork, and a tough academic job market. In 2018, I graduated with a Ph.D. in Anthropology and started my dream job as a tenure track Assistant Professor at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York City. The MPhil became the starting point for my career that I would have never considered possible if not for the LAC.



Interview with Christopher Ballinas (DPhil in Politics)

by Moshe Ben Hamo



Christopher Ballinas (in the centre with a tie), with the participants in the seminar 'Mexico and its New Human Rights Foreign Policy', that took place on February 29th.

Can you tell me about your experience here in Oxford?

I started here as a DPhil student in Politics. In my first year, I remember, Allan Angel was the head of the LAC. I was working more on government than on Latin America, but Allan told me that we should draw on my government experience (I worked as a bureaucrat in the central government of Mexico) and share it with students. So, I started doing some tutoring and in the end Allan convinced me to focus more on Latin America, rather than maintaining my more general approach to government. Most of my DPhil and research I did here, at the LAC, so it's great to come back.

What did you do when you finished your time at Oxford?

When I finished my DPhil I was offered a permanent position as a tutor in the department of Politics. I stayed for 4 more years, at Hertford College. Then I was offered a job in the Mexican government. At that time, we were planning to do a massive project of political reform, and the person in charge of the Ministry of the Interior offered me the chance to return and lead this effort. I decided to come back and ever since I have been in Mexico.

Your trajectory has been in government but also in academia. Can you tell us about how you combine the two?

It is difficult time-wise, but in Mexico this is very common. You have to be

really clever about how you use your time. Besides my job in government, I am also a professor of public policy in the *Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México* (ITAM). I try to apply what I learn in government in class and vice versa.

Can you tell me about your current job under the new administration in Mexico?

From December 2018, I was appointed Director General for Human Rights and Democracy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I am in charge of the foreign affairs policy on human rights. There has been a lot of criticism of Mexico in relation to human rights, so what we are trying to do is to use and recognize high-level international standards on human rights and bring them down to Mexico.

Can you share with us something in particular that you remember from your time here?

I was very active when I was here, not only researching but also socially, particularly in sport. I represented one of the martial arts teams of Oxford and I remember beating Cambridge for 5 of the 8 years I was here, which was very rewarding. Secondly, I made a lot of friends here. And you don't even know that you are going to find these people later. I remember doing research downstairs, in the basement, with my colleagues, and now two of them have become ministers in their respective countries. It's really funny because you never know where you are going to end up.

Laura Sánchez Tamayo

MSc 2016–2017

My year as an MSc student at the LAC in 2016 was a memorable experience. I came to the LAC to learn about Colombia and Latin America and left with knowledge far beyond what I originally envisaged. I majored in International Relations from Rosario University in Bogotá, pursued a diploma in Political Studies in Sciences Po Bordeaux, and worked for two years in the Diplomatic Service, before joining the LAC.

I had a great time at the LAC. The Centre was a big family and it was wonderful to be surrounded by my friends, the professors, the LAC staff and Tex. The quality of lectures and seminars was amazing, always motivating me to explore new topics and ideas. I valued the fact that there was room for feedback and constructive criticism during the tutorials. This was helpful because I learned to analyse issues from different perspectives and keep an open mind.

My time at Oxford was super exciting. I took part in many interesting societies, attended talks, conferences, volunteered with the Oxford Hub, and worked as a research assistant at the Changing Character of War Centre. I also discovered that I was very good at punting and made friends from all over the world at St Antony's.



After finishing the MSc, I went back to Colombia to work for a year at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the leader of the Victims' Law implementation group. It was a challenging and rewarding job that allowed me to use my critical thinking skills developed in the MSc to design strategic law implementation plans and to carry out research to overcome barriers to access to the victims reparations programs.

During this time, I also pursued a post-graduate diploma in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding at Javeriana University, which gave me the opportunity to learn about the peacebuilding and reconciliation practices from the local experts.

Then, I was assigned to the Colombian Embassy in The Hague, Netherlands and have been working for the last 10 months as representative to the International Criminal Court, and as a liaison with International Organizations and NGOs working on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law. To continue learning about transitional justice, peace building and reconciliation, I recently joined the ICC Study Group on Governance, which fosters dialogue with states about the victim's participation at the International Criminal Court.

Adriana Unzueta

MSc 2017–2018



My name is Adriana Unzueta and I am originally from Bolivia. Last July I graduated from the MSc in Latin American Studies. I decided to do this program because I wanted to shift my career and learn more about the region. Although I am originally from Latin America, I had been living in Europe and the United States for the 7 years prior to moving to Oxford.

I have always been passionate about water issues, so my plan after graduation was to move back to Latin American and work in the Water and Sanitation Sector. Fortunately, that is exactly how my plans worked out, only with a longer stay in Oxford and a 3 month stop in Asia. After graduation, I worked as a research volunteer for Professor Thomas Hale, who is based at the Blavatnik School of Government. I researched into Latin American countries for his policy-oriented project "Stepping up climate action at home: how local governments, the private sector, and civil society can work domestically to help deliver Nationally Determined Contributions and raise ambition." The final policy brief was made available for the Global Climate Action Summit and was presented at Climate Week in late September 2018. Simultaneously, I was working as a research analyst at Global Water Intelligence, a private company in Oxford that works on water research. After that, I moved to Cambodia. There, I worked on a research project at WaterSHED, an

Jonas von Hoffmann

MPHIL, 2013–2015

NGO that focuses on strengthening the market for water, sanitation, and hygiene to make it more sustainable, inclusive, and efficient.

Since the beginning of this year, I have been working as a project coordinator at Natura Foundation Bolivia. My main role is to transform the Water-sharing model (*Acuerdos Recíprocos por Agua*), used by the foundation for over 16 years, from a donor-sponsored charity to a business model that requires no philanthropic funding and is thus more sustainable. Working on the implementation of projects in rural Bolivia has been challenging and, naturally, very different from the academic environment of Oxford. Nonetheless, I get to use many of the skills and knowledge that I acquired at the LAC whilst exploring and learning about my region.

My experience at the LAC was better than I expected. Academically, it is very enriching and multidisciplinary. You can audit any class and participate in all the weekly seminars, which cover a variety of topics from across the region. Personally, what I enjoyed most about my time at the LAC was all the great people that I met. As it is a small department, students are able to interact with each other, with the staff and with the professors frequently. Hence, it is easier to build closer links and that makes the LAC feel like a big diverse family.

When I came to the LAC to start my MPhil in 2013, there were zero countries in the world with legalized marijuana. That same year Uruguay legally regulated cannabis from seed to smoke. Having previously studied the failures of punitive drug prohibition in Latin America, I was immediately drawn to this daring experiment with alternative drug policy. Besides, Uruguay's reform was puzzling. Contrary to concurrent changes north of the Rio Grande, legalization was unpopular at the estuary of the *Rio de la Plata*. The question why Uruguay, nonetheless, legalized marijuana became the topic of my master's dissertation.

To learn more about it, I undertook fieldwork in Uruguay between the first and second year of the MPhil. Despite occasionally bemoaning the fact I was spending the European summer in the Southern hemisphere's winter, I never regretted my choice of Uruguay. Politicians, state officials, activists and other stake holders welcomed me with open arms, answered my questions, and invariably shared a *mate*.

In part, to explore to what degree cannabis reform was the result of the country's exceptionalism –another instance of “*como Uruguay no hay*,” I broadened the scope of my investigation for my doctoral research to compare and contrast cannabis reform efforts in Uruguay, Chile and Mexico.

When I started my DPhil in Politics in 2015, Chile seemed the most-probable candidate to follow Uruguay. With a vibrant cannabis reform movement and the highest levels of marijuana consumption and support for legalization in the region, a reform bill had just passed the lower house of Congress. With its high levels of drug-related violence, low levels of elite or mass support for change, and, multiple unsuccessful reform initiatives, Mexico, on the other hand, seemed like a hopeless case. Yet, at the time of writing, the

Mexican Supreme Court has made the home cultivation of cannabis legal, and the country's new government intends to pass comprehensive cannabis legislation by the end of the year. In contrast, reform attempts have been repeatedly frustrated in Chile.

My doctoral research attempts to make sense of this variation in reform outcomes across Latin America by tracing these reform processes, scrutinizing the roles of distinct actors, assessing their strategies and tactics, and paying close attention to their discursive moves. While I study the specific case of marijuana legalization, my general aim is to better understand the politics of policy change, its dynamics and determinants, how pro-reform actors can get decision makers on their side, and, ultimately, why reform efforts often fail but sometimes succeed.

Throughout my time in Oxford, the LAC has not only been a “home away from home,” but whenever away on fieldwork, its network and contacts have been immensely helpful in opening doors and providing assistance. Both formally and informally, I have received invaluable criticism, feedback and advice from the members of the LAC. Finally, I have met some of my best Oxford friends at the LAC. For this, and much more, I am eternally grateful to the LAC.



Mark Dieringer

MPHIL, 1982–84

I can still remember my first tutorial: “What did the Mexican Revolution do for the peasants?” As with most tutorials, it involved a simple question with a far less simple answer. This went something along the lines of “not a lot, it was not much of a revolution”, which then raised the questions; “so, what was it then, and what did it accomplish?” The most interesting part of the tutorial, however, came later when I mentioned that I was going to London that evening for some Mexican food, to which my tutor replied, “Isn’t that nothing more than peasant food?” Once again, a simple question with a complex answer had been posed, and another lively discussion followed.

Life at college started easy enough. The food at St Antony’s was known to be relatively good, and it turned out that this was the case. The LAC was located conveniently nearby. I was rowing for the nascent college boat club and my pool and table tennis skills were advancing rapidly. But I was taken aback when I learned that items from the college cellar could be included in one’s battels, something I subsequently had to hide from my sponsors. I was very pleased that most of the books I needed could be accessed at the lower level of the Radcliffe Camera. The lower level had wonderful lighting, looked out to All Souls, was right next to “stacks”, and was much warmer than the upper levels. It was by far the best reading space in Oxford.

By the second year, I was well adjusted to college life. I was one of five young scholars who met every Thursday evening to “exchange ideas” across Woodstock Road at the White Horse, one of England’s lesser pubs, which sadly is no longer there. I was happy running though Wytham Woods every other day and it had become known that I was the man to beat at pool and table tennis.

One of my most memorable tutorials was with another professor and concerned the Latin American Wars of Independence, with particular emphasis on “el gran libertador”, Simón Bolívar. The topic concerned the endless marching and fighting through the



jungles of what was to become Gran Colombia, and whether the struggle was just for glory’s sake. After three hours of riveting exposé of what kind of men these soldiers were and the hardship they endured, my professor ascended a ladder to the top shelf of his library and unsheathed the largest bayoneted musket I had ever seen. Watching him awkwardly lunging about with the weapon in what were relatively close quarters, I suddenly realised he was, whether consciously or not, providing a perfect illustration of the point he had been making for the past three hours. It was not just for glory, but for the territory and, in my particular case, staying away from the end of a bayonet.

I left St Antony’s to join an investment bank in the City, beginning a long

career in the financial markets that has taken me to several countries. Most recently, I have been managing money for a large Swiss pension fund. Before leaving St Antony’s, I spoke to the first professor cited above about my intended career plans. He asked me, “Why, isn’t investment banking nothing more than buying cheap and selling dear?” Here was another excellent tutorial topic and a question I always ask job candidates. The problem is, what often seems too high and risky to the majority generally goes higher, and what seems low and cheap generally goes lower. Financial markets have fascinated me since the first day I stepped onto a bank trading-floor. People often ask if I have been able to apply anything I learned while at St Antony’s. The short answer is: yes, the ability to think critically. Success in financial markets is about analysis, not forecasting. There are no easy right or wrong answers. Markets are in a constant state of uncertainty and flux and money is made by discounting the obvious and betting on the unexpected, what Bastiat referred to as “That which is seen and what is not seen”.

I wish to express my gratitude to St Antony’s and the LAC for providing an intellectually tolerant yet robust environment in which to study. In particular, I will always remember Malcolm Deas for his support. The first time I heard Malcolm speak was at a weekly lecture series in 1982 in the old building. The topic was photography in nineteenth century Colombia. It became apparent to me then that the empathy he feels towards his subjects largely explains why he is such an important historian.

Working on transnational illegal markets

My time at the Latin American Centre (LAC) could not have been more intense. The University of Oxford and its Colleges, museums and libraries already provide plenty of inspiration to any scholar. Nevertheless, in the LAC I found that there was still more on offer. Weekly courses and seminars bring together students, academics, activists and public officials from across Latin America. In addition to its packed public programme, the LAC has a focused academic project and an extremely motivated team to keep it going. Young international talents and experienced professionals work together to address some of the most acute problems in Latin America, such as inequalities and social conflicts.

I will never forget two of the most enriching events from my stay in the LAC: the 2019 Brazil Program Seminar, coordinated by Andreza A. de Souza Santos, and the Security and Criminality Conference in the Americas, organized by Carlos Solar and Carlos A. Pérez Ricart. In both cases, the debates were central to my own intellectual activity, as expressed in the work I produced during my stay. In my six months attached to the LAC I had the opportunity to deliver the manuscript of my next book (Entangled City, Manchester University Press, forthcoming) and co-edited a Special Issue on transnational illegal markets (<https://jied.lse.ac.uk>). I was also able to present my research results in 6 European countries, strengthening the ties between Latin American and European universities. These months have been a privileged intellectual experience, for which I am immensely grateful. Congratulations to the LAC for its excellent job! It has been inspiring!

Gabriel Feltran

Gabriel Feltran is a professor at the Department of Sociology of UFSCar, São Carlos, SP, Brazil and research Director of the Center for Metropolitan Studies (CEM). He was a visiting academic at the LAC from January to June 2019 under the Brazilian Studies Programme, directed by Dr Andreza A de Souza Santos.



David Lehmann and Gabriel Feltran during the launch of Lehmann's book 'The Prism of Race' 2018.

Time to think

By Juanita León



Being a political journalist in Colombia (or México, Venezuela or Brazil for that matter) means that you don't have much time to think about what you do. All your mental energy goes into trying to understand and convey the everyday deluge of events that you are covering. That's why being an Academic Visitor at Oxford this year has been such a rewarding experience: it has provided me with more perspective on current trends in the relationship between journalism and politics.

I have spent this year going over the coverage of La Silla Vacía, the political news site that I founded 10 years ago, and reading into academic discussions to develop a more comprehensive picture of how social media has changed politics and political journalism in Colombia.

The internet has disrupted politics and journalism all over the world. Nonetheless, it has been interesting to think about it from a local perspective, and consider it in dialogue with international events.

When we created La Silla Vacía in 2009, Facebook had launched in Spanish only months before. Just one year later, this platform had a tremendous impact in the 2010 presidential elections when "La Ola Verde" propelled independent candidate Antanas Mockus to the second round of voting, defying the political establishment. Mockus was successful on the internet for precisely the same reasons that he failed on TV. His crowd-sourced 2.0 campaign, which followed in the footsteps of Obama's in 2008, proved that in the era of the internet, politics as usual would no longer be sufficient for electoral success.

Juan Manuel Santos managed to learn this lesson in time to be elected President, but then had to come to terms with the fact that the newspaper, TV and radio directors with whom he had long shared a close relationship only dominated part of the public conversation. From Twitter, his predecessor turned rival Álvaro Uribe mounted a highly effective opposition campaign, using this platform to communicate hourly with his more than 4 million followers.

With Whatsapp, things have changed even more drastically, since a big chunk of the political conversation has now gone under the radar of the media and politicians. For example, in his recent visit to Oxford, ex-president Santos blamed fake news circulated via Whatsapp for his defeat in the plebiscite over the peace deal.

Social media has also provoked deep changes in Colombian journalism. In the last decade, social media not only went from being a distribution channel for traditional media outlets to being (in many cases) its agenda-setter, but it has also undermined the traditional media's authority as the gatekeepers of information. Now there is no gate to keep! On top of that, journalists are being held accountable not only for what they publish, but also for what they don't publish, as the recent scandal of Semana magazine showed, when it became public that it had withheld for three months an investigation into the Army- eventually published by The New York Times.

Having had the time in Oxford to read about and better understand these transformations, to discuss them with colleagues, and to consider what they mean for me as media director, and for La Silla Vacía, has been a great privilege. I hope to be able to share these ideas in more depth once I publish my book next year.

Studying Chinese and Japanese investors in Latin America

Alfredo Arahuetes, Professor of Applied Economics at ICADE and Senior Research Fellow at Royal Institute Elcano, Madrid, was Academic Visitor at the LAC during 2018.

Interview by Carlos A. Pérez Ricart

You are about to leave Oxford after one year. Can I ask you, why you decided to come here in the first place?

The Latin American Centre has enormous international prestige in Latin America and Europe. I know many great scholars who spent time here at the LAC and talked to me about how much they enjoyed their time here. All of them agreed that I would benefit from the vibrant community at the Centre.

I wanted to come here for a long time, but I couldn't due to family and professional duties. Finally, after nine years as dean of the Faculty of Economic and Business Sciences ICADE, I decided not to delay my sabbatical any longer. My year at the LAC provided me with the opportunity to relaunch my academic research.

What is your research about?

I work on Foreign Direct Investment in Latin America from the perspective of the investors. In particular, I examine the case of Chinese and Japanese investors in the region.

Did you have contact with scholars at Oxford beyond the LAC?

Of course. I had amazing conversations with scholars at the Department of Economics, a centre with many experts dedicated to examining Foreign Direct Investment. In particular, Anthony Venables, Director of the Centre for the Analysis of Resource Rich Economies.

I tried to attend as many seminars and conferences across the University as possible. I had to schedule my calendar very carefully in order not to miss anything!

I understand that you benefited immensely from the collections at the Bodleian libraries. Did you find anything particularly relevant for your research?

Absolutely. The Bodleian has everything you need. From old working papers to cutting edge electronic publications. I want to highlight the incredible databases only available for research centres, which have seemingly unlimited resources. I



had access to all of them at the libraries. In one sentence: the Bodleian provides you with unlimited access to the world of knowledge.

Finally, what do you take to Spain from the LAC?

A tremendous experience. The experience was great in terms of my research but also allowed me to learn more about the work of colleagues all-around the world. At the LAC, I want to highlight the History Seminar on Thursdays. The Seminar provided me with a fresh approach to History. The Seminars had such an impact on me that I am thinking about reinventing myself as a Professor of Economic History. A direct consequence of my time in Oxford!

Finally, something that will last forever is the friendship and fraternity of my colleagues at the LAC. This will stay with me forever.



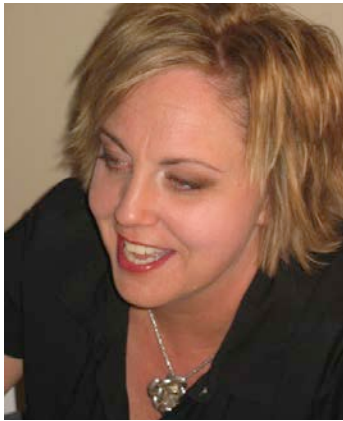
Markus Hochmüller: Armed Forces and Democracy

Markus Hochmüller is a Postdoctoral Fellow of the German Academic Exchange Service at the Latin American Centre. He holds a PhD in Political Science from Freie Universität Berlin, where he works as an Associate Lecturer and an Associated Researcher at the Postgraduate Program for Research on Inequalities and Sustainable Development in the Andean Region. His research looks at security, state and peacebuilding, development, and democratic governance in Latin America. In his PhD thesis he analysed transnational security governance reforms in post-war Guatemala. Here at Oxford, he works on a research project with Carlos A. Pérez Ricart that analyses the role of the Latin American armed forces in domestic security and the implications of the militarization of the war on drugs and crime for democratic governance, public security, rule of law, and human rights in the region.

James Loxton: Parties after Authoritarianism



James Loxton is a Lecturer in Comparative Politics in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney in Australia. He holds a PhD in Government from Harvard University, and has been a Visiting Fellow at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame.



Karin Racine: Studying the Latin Americans in Great Britain in the 1820s

My time as a Visiting Research Fellow at the Latin American Centre was productive and beneficial. Over the course of three months, I consulted several UK archives, including: the Bodleian Library, the Codrington Library of All Souls College, the British Library, the Wellcome Library for the History of Science and Medicine, Westminster City Archives, and St John's College Library at Cambridge University. I transcribed nearly a thousand documents and took several thousand digital photographs for use in future research. In the course of reading these sources, I discovered a murder mystery which is now the subject of a new article in progress. At Oxford, I focused particularly on the very large collections of papers relating to the Romantic Hispanists Robert Southey and Richard Heber.

I attended the Latin American Seminars in Michaelmas term 2018 and appreciated the chance to present an early version of an article on the various members of the Latin American royalty that passed through Great Britain in the 1820s. I am grateful for the chance to have met so many brilliant scholars and students while at the LAC, and to have discussed my work and theirs both in the regular seminar and in the informal dinners afterward.

Karen Racine is Professor of Latin American History at the University of Guelph in Canada.

He studies authoritarian regimes, democratisation, and political parties. Much of his research to date has focused on “authoritarian successor parties”—parties that emerge from authoritarian regimes, but that operate after a transition to democracy. He is the co-editor of *Life after Dictatorship: Authoritarian Successor Parties Worldwide* (2018, Cambridge University Press) and *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America* (2016, Cambridge University Press).

He is currently completing work on his monograph, *Conservative Party-Building in Latin America: Authoritarian Inheritance and Counterrevolutionary Struggle*. The book compares successful and failed attempts at conservative party-building in the region between 1978 and 2010, and seeks to explain why the cases that performed best under democracy all, paradoxically, shared roots in former authoritarian regimes.

During his time at the LAC, he has also begun a new research collaboration with Prof. Timothy Power on “authoritarian diasporas,” or the propensity in some new democracies for former authoritarian officials to disperse widely across the political system rather than remain concentrated in one or two authoritarian successor parties. They are co-organising a research workshop on this topic at Oxford for October 2019.

Oxford–Museu Exchange

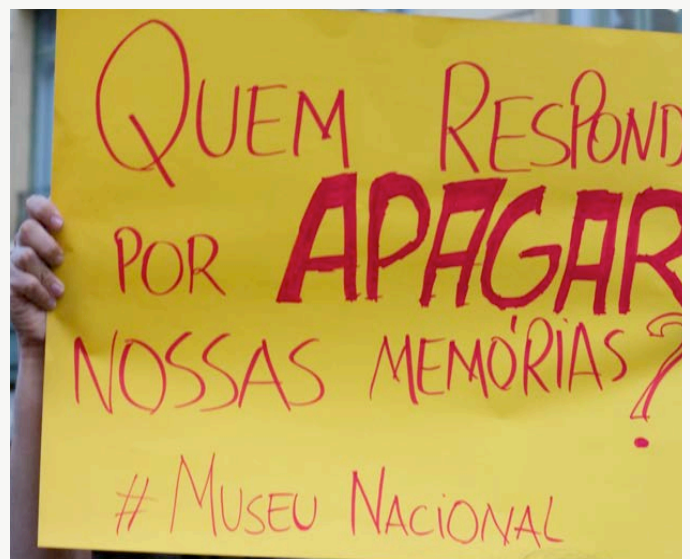
Jeferson Scabio

On the evening of the second of September 2018, the Museu Nacional, the oldest Brazilian institution of its kind, burnt down as a result of successive decades of neglect by the country's authorities. Documents and artefacts fundamental to the history of Brazil, including many relating to the history of the country's indigenous and black populations, and collections reflecting Brazil's rich biodiversity, were reduced to ashes in a matter of hours— an immeasurable loss for Brazilians and for humanity as a whole. That loss is not just about a dead past, but about our future: when we lost the record of what we were, we lost a part of what we could become.

As a gesture of solidarity and in recognition of the Museu's importance, the University of Oxford— in an initiative led by the Brazilian Studies Programme at the Latin American Centre (LAC) and in collaboration with the School of Anthropology & Museum of Ethnography (SAME)— offered a recognized student position to a PhD candidate of the Programa de Pós Graduação em Antropologia Social (PPGAS) from the Museu Nacional. I applied and was selected for this opportunity, given that, as a consequence of the tragic fire, the PPGAS has lost its library (one of the biggest anthropology libraries in Latin America) and is functioning precariously without any basic infrastructure.

Over the last two years, I have carried out ethnographic research with social movements from Rio de Janeiro's slums, focusing on state policies and the forms of action taken by these movements. Now, at the stage of writing-up my findings, I came to Oxford to profit from contact with lectures, seminars, the academic community, and the University libraries, in the hope that my work may be a small but significant step on the long path to reinventing what the fire has devoured.

Jeferson Scabio is a recognised student at the Latin American Centre, University of Oxford, from January 2019 to June 2019. He is co-supervised by Dr Andreza A. de Souza Santos and Professor Elizabeth Ewart. To know more about the collaboration between Oxford and the Museu, please get in touch by email: andreza.desouzasantos@lac.ox.ac.uk



The Latin American Debt Crisis of 1982



From left, Eduardo Posada Carbó, Catherine Schenk (St Hilda's College), Chris McKenna (Brasenose), Rory Miller (Liverpool), Laurence Mussio (BMO Financial Group), Sebastian Alvarez (St Hilda's), James Hollis (Faculty of History, Oxford), Seung Woo Kim (Graduate Institute, Geneva), Martin Monsalve Zanatti (LAC), Enrique de la Rosa Ramos (King's College, London), Claudia Kedar (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Ivan Luzardo (London School of Economics), Andrea Binder (Cambridge), Edoardo Altamura (Graduate Institute Geneva, Lund University)

Former bankers, businesspeople and scholars exchanged ideas about the financial and business history of Latin America in the 1970s and 1980, at a colloquium that took place on 26-27 April in St Hilda's College. The discussion covered a wide range of topics that included: the behavior of banks, international organizations and governments prior to 1982; the effects of the debt crisis and the response of governments in Latin America; the way business sectors in Latin America coped with the uncertainties caused

by changing government policies, inflation, and recession; the impact on European and North American banks, and their attempts to negotiate with Latin American governments and the role played by international financial institutions. The aim of the colloquium was to discuss how analysis of the past could have an impact on the creation of contemporary economic policies and in the management of risk.

The colloquium was organized by Sebastian Alvarez (St Hilda's College,

University of Oxford), Rory Miller (University of Liverpool), Martín Monsalve Zanatti (Universidad del Pacífico and LAC, University of Oxford) and Edoardo Altamura (Graduate Institute Geneva, Lund University). This event was sponsored by St Hilda's College, the UPIER project, The Malcom Deas Fund – St Antony's College and the Latin American Centre, the University of Liverpool Management School, and the Global History of Capitalism Project.

Working on the history of Peruvian business history at the Bodleian



My experience as an Academic Visitor at the University of Oxford's Latin American Centre (LAC) has been very productive. It has allowed me to pursue my research into the development of

Peruvian business systems between 1890-2010, and the mechanisms for technology transfer and the development of the Peruvian patent system between 1896 and 1930.

The study of Latin American economic development and business groups has a long history in the United Kingdom, particularly at the LAC. This has helped my research in two ways. Firstly, it has allowed me to situate the case of Peru

in both the Latin American and global context. Secondly, I have been able to use the LAC and Bodleian libraries to access a number of key primary sources.

Moreover, I have been able to access new primary sources in the Bodleian Library Special Collection, including correspondence between the first representative of 'The Peruvian Corporation', Clinton Dawkins, and Alfred Milner. In addition, the Marconi Archives have been useful for my research on technology and patents. My stay in Oxford has also allowed me to visit other archives, including 'Unilever Art, Archives and Record Management'. These sources have been key to my current research and future work, and I am particularly grateful to Rory Miller for his suggestions and insight in this regard.

In addition, the LAC offers visiting researchers two key opportunities to interact with Latin Americanists in Oxford, the United Kingdom and Europe. These are the Latin American Seminar and the Latin American History Seminar. Both allow Academic Visitors to meet distinguished Latin Americanists and have interdisciplinary discussion of recent research. In addition, at the Latin American History Seminar I was able to share the results of my research into patents and technology transfer in Peru at the start of the 20th century.

The LAC also facilitates links with other researchers in Oxford and the United Kingdom and joint projects on topics related to Latin American business and economic history. A good example was the Colloquium on the Latin American Debt Crisis of 1982. This was organised by Sebastián Alvarez, St. Hilda's College, with help from Rory Miller, University of Liverpool; C. Edoardo Altamura, Graduate Institute, Geneva and Lund University; and myself, representing the Universidad del Pacífico, Lima. A key benefit of this colloquium was the opportunity for academics and students to interact with David Thomas (Lloyds Bank), Kent Atkinson (Lloyds Banks) y Antonio Celia (Promigas). It is testimony to the LAC's ability to facilitate such links that this event received support from The UPIER project, St Hilda's College; The Malcom-Daes Fund - St Antony's College and the Latin American Centre; the Global History of Capitalism Project; and the University of Liverpool Management School.

In summary, my time as a Visiting Academic at the LAC has been extremely productive in allowing me to interact with the academic community and develop my research. I am grateful to everyone at the LAC.

Martin Monsalve Zanatti
Academic Visitor, 2018-19

Carlos Pérez Ricart interviews Martín Carrizosa, Academic Visitor at St. Antony's College.

Martin Carrizosa is a founding partner of Philippi, Prietocarrizosa, Ferrero DU & Uría, a leading Latin American law firm with offices in Colombia, Chile and Perú. Has also led the Pacific Alliance Business Council and remains an active board member of different companies and non-for-profit organizations.

Q: After many years of work at both the public and private sectors you decided to “reinvent” yourself and spend one year at St. Antony's College. You could have chosen another destination; however, you decided to come here. What were you looking at Oxford for and what did you end up finding here?

A: Having spent thirty years building a successful regional law firm in South America I wanted to pursue my longstanding desire of delving into an academic project. Oxford was the perfect option, as it is a top-ranked academic institution that offers the necessary freedom, the required tools, and the permanent interaction with a global community of people of all ages and walks of life. I found more than what I expected: a high quality and diverse group of peers and friends, and a new network of contacts.

Q: You are an Academic Visitor at St. Antony's College. However, you have been a regular to both the LAC History Seminar and the regular LAC Seminar. Why?

A: My knowledge of the LAC existed prior to my coming to Oxford. The center is well known internationally for its work on a wide range of issues relating to the region. Naturally, upon my arrival, I connected with its Director and some of its fellows and started attending their weekly seminars. I have found these seminars to be relevant and insightful, as well as a vehicle through which to connect with members of the Latin American community.

Q: Can you recall one or two events that you especially enjoyed during your time at the LAC?

A: My first and last seminars are perhaps the most memorable. The first, at the beginning of the academic year, when the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, Mr. Luis Almagro, discussed the Venezuelan crisis. And of course, the one on the Pacific Alliance that I had the privilege to chair with the presence of four distinguished diplomats from its member states, Colombia, Chile, México and Perú. Another memorable moment was when former Colombian President and Peace Nobel Prize Laureate Juan Manuel Santos visited the LAC and shared his experiences on peacebuilding.

Q: Do you plan to stay connected to the LAC? If so, how?

A: Yes. I am committed to supporting the LAC going forward by looking into fund raising opportunities and also by connecting the center with Latin American leaders from both the public and private sectors.



Martin Carrizosa, chairing the round table on the Pacific Alliance that took place at the LAC on 7 June. To his left, Julio Méndez Olave and Vicente Echandia, representing the embassies of Chile and Colombia; to his right, Oswaldo del Aguila and Juan Carlos Lombardo, representing the embassies of Peru and Mexico, respectively

Laura Bernal-Bermúdez's DPhil thesis recognized in LASA



Laura Bernal-Bermúdez at the Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá

Laura Bernal-Bermudez, a former DPhil student of Professor Leigh Payne, was awarded an Honourable Mention as part of the Oxfam America/LASA Martin Diskin Dissertation Award at the LASA congress in Boston. This award recognises the work of junior academics committed to the creative combination of activism and scholarship. Laura's thesis, "The Power of Business and the Power of People: Understanding Remedy and Business Accountability for Human Rights Violations - Colombia 1970-2014" explores the role of economic actors in the atrocities of the armed conflict in Colombia, and the factors that explain the prosecution and convictions of these actors by Colombian Courts. While it was to be expected to see businesses involved in violence in Colombia - which is rich in natural resources and where armed conflict has permeated society - the puzzle was to see Colombia as a leader in the region (and indeed the world) in terms of convictions for corporate complicity. The thesis uses two of the most comprehensive datasets on business involvement in human rights violations (the Corporations and Human Rights Database and the Corporate Accountability and Transitional Justice database), that the author helped create, to suggest that an explanation of access to justice for these cases needs to go beyond an obstacle centred approach, and move to an agency centred approach. The thesis argues that the change of relative power of the claimants (the people) and the defendants (business) explains the outcomes in the courts. While an increase in the power of the people is necessary to secure judicialisation and remedy, these results are only possible when they face an economic actor with reduced veto power. Laura has worked closely with civil society organizations in Colombia and with the recently created Truth Commission to support their work to secure victims' rights to truth, justice, reparations and guarantees of non-repetition.

OXFORD IN LASA BOSTON 2019

Carlos A. Pérez Ricart

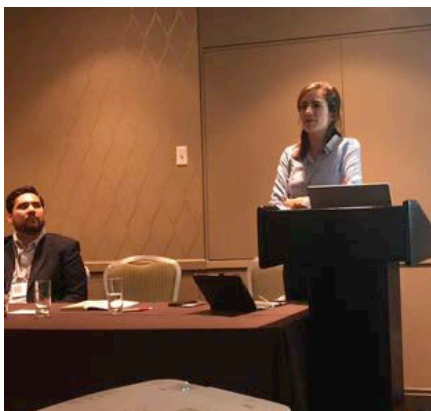
Once again, Oxford researchers gathered to take part in the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) conference, the most important meeting of Latinamericanists worldwide. This year, the conference took place in Boston, in the US.

The title of this year's conference was "Nuestra América: Justice and Inclusion", a message to promote a hemispheric vision of justice and inclusion in an era when global politics is too often built around walls and securing borders, and not in the name of fostering social justice and democracy. This is not just a slogan: from next year onwards, LASA will continue to meet outside of the US until a significant shift occurs in the climate for immigrants and international visitors and scholars.

The LAC produced a programme with a selection of 49 panels, workshops and roundtables where Oxford students, alumni, members of academic staff, and current and former visiting fellows participated. The range of topics covered was impressive, testament to the interdisciplinarity of the research done at the LAC.

One highlight of the programme was the roundtable organised by our researcher Francesca Lessa on "Académicos y académicas en riesgo en América Latina"

From Hawk to Dove



Juliana Tappe Ortiz, MPhil student at the LAC, presenting her paper 'From hawk to praised dove: Juan Manuel Santos' trajectory from defence minister to peace negotiator in Colombia'.



Maryhen Jimenez, DPhil Student in Oxford, presenting her paper 'Repression and opposition strategies in autocracies: Evidence from Mexico and Venezuela.

– a space to discuss and find solutions to the hazardous conditions that researchers face when working in Latin America. The session was attended by dozens of researchers who shared experiences and tried to find ways to overcome common problems.

It was particularly nice to hear current and former students of the LAC presenting their work at the conference. So, for instance, our MPhil student Juliana Tappé organised a panel where she presented her research on the

political trajectory of president Juan Manuel Santos, and Jonas von Hoffmann chaired and organized a panel on Policy Reform in Uruguay. Other former students of the LAC like Julia M. Zulver, Maryhen Jiménez and Jamie Shenk also participated actively in the LASA programme with outstanding papers.

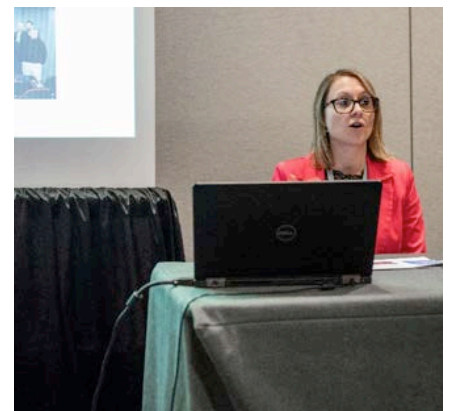
Overall, LASA 2019 offered us four great days with which to learn about and discuss the research of our colleagues and friends. We look forward to attending next year's conference in Guadalajara, Mexico!

In Fenway Park



Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Leigh Payne, Eduardo Posada-Carbó and Tim Power at the reception offered by the Kellogg Institute in Fenway Park

Operacion Cóndor



Francesca Lessa, organiser of the round table on Operation Condor: New Facts and Analysis about the Alliance that Internationalized Military Repression. Other participants included Jo-Marie Burt, George Mason University; John Dinges, Columbia University; Peter R Kornbluh, National Security Archive; Carlos Osorio, The National Security Archive, and Melisa S Slatman, Universidad de Buenos Aires.



Notes from Research

Populism and Inequality

In March of this year, David Doyle, together with Saskia Ruth (GIGA) and Kirk Hawkins (BYU), collaborated with the *The Guardian*, as part of their larger project on “The New Populism”, and examined the consequences of populism for several economic policies and liberal democratic institutions. They focused specifically on the consequences of populists in government, using the Global Populism Database (40-country version for Team Populism/*The Guardian*), which measures the level of populism for chief executives across different world regions.

They reported a somewhat surprising negative association between populism and economic inequality. The data suggested that populists have overseen reductions in overall market inequality and disposable income inequality. As a whole, this means that populists (and particularly left populists when compared with left-leaning non-populists) seem to be good at reducing market inequality (and overall levels of disposable income inequality). When they dug into the data however, it became apparent that these populists were not educating inequality as a consequence of progressive fiscal policies; that is, they are not significantly reducing income inequality via taxes and welfare transfers.

In a nutshell, this means that their effect on inequality is via another mechanism. What this is, is very hard to say. It may have nothing to do with merit or the policies these populists are implementing – it could simply be driven by luck. A lot of the reduction in inequality occurred under left-leaning populists in Latin America who came to power amidst a massive commodity boom. So the results should be taken with a healthy dose of caution.

Moreover, although populists often come into power denouncing political corruption, they fail to reduce levels of corruption once they are in office. Concerning the association between populism and liberal democratic institutions, they found that populism has a significant negative association with most of them, including press freedom, horizontal accountability (“checks and balances”), and election quality. Nevertheless, it is associated with increasing voter turnout, suggesting that populism may improve democratic participation. Note that against expectations, they find very little association between these outcomes and the ideological leanings of chief executives.

Narratives of Violence on the Colombian Armed Left

On 7 June 2019 Juliana Tappe Ortiz and Leigh Payne organized a one day workshop on Narratives of Violence on the Colombian Armed Left. Each participant selected a testimonial text from the FARC and the M-19 to discuss how taking responsibility for past violence by the armed left could contribute to advancing a stronger human rights and democratic culture in Colombia. In addition to the two organizers, analysis was also presented by Juanita León, Andrei Gómez Suárez, and Gwen Burnyeat. In addition to informing Professor Payne’s forthcoming book project on *Left Unsettled*, the contributors are discussing a possible follow-up publication. The workshop was supported by the Malcolm Deas Fund.



On 7 March 2019, *The Guardian* published an article on Bolivia by Oliver Balch, on in their series *The New Populism*. See <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/07/how-a-populist-president-helped-bolivias-poor-but-built-himself-a-palace>

Norbert Elias and the Civilizing Process: a reading group and a promising journey

One of the most rewarding experiences during my time at the LAC has been co-organising the reading group “Norbert Elias and the Civilizing Process” with Eduardo Posada Carbó during the Academic Year 2018/2019.

Neither Eduardo nor I are experts on Elias, but we have tried to engage with his work and examine the possibilities of applying his theories to the Latin American context.

The reading group convened eight times during Michaelmas and Trinity Term attracting around 25 participants from different backgrounds. There was no need to attend all the sessions, but participants were expected to cover the assigned readings for the sessions they attended. It was particularly rewarding to see the presence of current and former LAC students.

All eight sessions were led by different scholars whose academic research relates in some way or another to the work of Norbert Elias or the broader topic of violence. In a given session, the guest speaker would open with a general reflection on the selected reading (normally an original text by Elias), which was then followed by an hour of round-table discussion.

The first two sessions were led by Andrew Linklater (University of Aberystwyth) and Stephen Mennell (University College Dublin). While the former has engaged with the link between Elias and IR theory, the latter is the general editor of the collected works of Elias in English, which are being published in 18 volumes by UCD Press. With a strong focus on Elias’s theories, both sessions paved the way for the following meetings.

Session three was led by Stathis Kalyvas (All Souls). We discussed his book *The Logics of Violence in Civil War* published back in 2000. Sessions four and five were led by two professors emeriti of the LAC: Alan Knight and Malcolm Deas. Session six was about the history of sports in Latin America and was led by Matthew Brown (University of Bristol). For the discussion, we drew on *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, one of Elias’ later books. Finally, we ended our Reading Group with a fascinating discussion with Ian Loader (All Souls), author of the book *Civilizing Security*.

The Reading Group was meant not only to strengthen our knowledge of Elias’s writings but to prepare ourselves for the workshop “The Civilizing Process in Colombia” that took place on the 3rd and 4th of May at Brasenose College. On this occasion, Eduardo Posada Carbó invited a selected group of scholars working on Colombia. The objective of the workshop was to examine the recent experience in Colombia from a long-term historical perspective. Its final purpose was to identify a potential research agenda for the study of what Norbert Elias referred to as the ‘civilizing process’ – a set of transformations in social structures and human behaviour that help to control war and civil conflict.

The highlight of the workshop was Tico Brown’s public lecture titled “Close encounters of civilization with barbarism: The Colombians, especially during la Violencia at mid-twentieth century” held at the Latin American Centre. Margarita Garrido, another participant in the workshop, also held a public lecture at the Latin America Centre. The rest of the workshop was closed to the public, but open to those who participated in the reading group.



Malcolm Deas opened the ‘Civilizing Process in Colombia’ workshop that took place in the Old Library of Brasenose College on 3-4 May. To his right, Juanita León, Andrew Linklater, Andreza de Souza, Herbert Braun, and Jorge Orlando Melo. At the back, Matthew Brown, Juliana Tappe Ortiz and Miguel La Rota. The workshop was closed with a talk by the Colombian historian Jorge Orlando Melo, and some concluding remarks by Andrew Linklater (Aberystwyth).



Participants in the workshop ‘The civilizing process in Latin America’ that took place in the LASA congress in Boston. From left in the front row: Andre Jockyman, Jamie Shenk, Kiran Stallone, Juan Neves, Victor Uribe-Uran, Monica Serrano, Eduardo Zimmermann, José Antonio Aguilar, and Paula Alonso.

We ended the academic year with a final workshop on the “Civilizing Process” at the Latin American Society Association (LASA) Conference in Boston, U.S. On that occasion, Ana María Otero (Universidad de los Andes) and myself presented brief papers on possible ways of applying Elias’s approaches to our own research. It was a great opportunity to expand our research group to scholars from all over the world. We all agree that it is worth both the time and effort to develop a research agenda based on the work of Elias.

Carlos A. Pérez Ricart

A year at the Kellogg Institute

Diego Sanchez-Ancochea



After three great years as director of the Latin American Center, I spent this last academic year at the Kellogg Institute (University of Notre Dame) with my family. I followed the steps of my colleagues Eduardo Posada-Carbó and Leigh Payne, who were fellows there years ago, and Tim Power, who did his PhD at Notre Dame. The ten months abroad were a great experience for the whole family. The Kellogg Institute is a really friendly place, and all the staff are focused on making researchers' lives as easy as possible. This year's fellows were also an impressive group, including both academics and practitioners/politicians working on a diverse set of issues such as state and non-state violence in Venezuela, the strategy of the economic elites in Argentina and Chile, the determinants of the financial crises in Europe, and the role of social movements in fighting inequality.

The sabbatical gave me the opportunity to finish several papers and work on two new projects. The first one explores the determinants of income in Latin America over the long run. I use qualitative comparative analysis—a methodology I learnt to use while at Notre Dame—to study how key political

forces interact with economic structure, as well as with race and ethnicity, to explain why some Latin American countries are (slightly) less unequal than others. I presented preliminary work on this topic at the Universities of Chicago, Denver and Richmond as well as with LASA and at the Kellogg Institute. After concluding the first paper, I now want to do historical case studies focused on three or four cases, including Chile and Uruguay.

The second project has been even more exciting for me. I have completed two thirds of a book that draws on the Latin American experience to explain the costs of inequality across the world. The book is aimed at students and the general public, thus demanding a kind of writing I have seldom done before. Using historical examples from different countries, I show how inequality has hampered economic growth and contributed to a lack of good jobs. Inequality has also been one of the drivers of weak institutions and the emergence of anti-system politics for decades in Latin America. The poor and the middle class have tended to distrust traditional political parties, gravitating towards leaders who

identify clear enemies and promise rapid gains. Inequality has had high social costs, from violence to low levels of interpersonal and institutional trust. Latin America thus provides a disturbing image of what the future may hold in other parts of the world. While other Latin Americanists may find my story a little too simplistic and my discussion of the whole region problematic, I hope the book can be informative to citizens in countries like India, Spain or the United States.

Additionally, I had the chance to co-organize a conference titled *Democracy and Inequality in the Americas* with three colleagues: Victoria Paniagua—a great junior academic working on international political economy—Ben Phillips—co-founder of the Fighting Inequality Alliance and an inspiring social campaigner—and Raymond Offenheiser—the former president of Oxfam America, now at Notre Dame. We hope to continue our joint efforts on inequality in the future with more events, hopefully including some at the LAC and at the Oxford Department of International Development.

The rest of the family also enjoyed the year in Indiana tremendously. My oldest daughter Silvia was a freshman in High School where she played basketball, met great friends and was fascinated (and appalled) by the challenge of race relations. My youngest daughter Maya enjoyed coming to Notre Dame women's basketball with me. And my wife Rosa completed a MSc in Development Management with the Open University. She would have loved to extend her student life for longer... but it was time to go back to Oxford and see all our friends and colleagues there and at the LAC.

MPHIL THESIS:

Summaries of their dissertation by our MPhil Students:

From Hawk to Dove? Juan Manuel Santos' transition from hard-line defence minister to peace-promoting president
Juliana Tappe Ortiz

Much has been written on why states go to war. However, less has been written about why states make peace. This is particularly the case for long-standing conflicts in which the opposing leaders hold seemingly irreconcilable positions. For over half a century, Colombia has been entangled in a bitter conflict between the government and different guerrilla movements. In 2012, after months of secret talks, President Juan Manuel Santos initiated formal peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC. He signed an agreement in 2016, and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. However, Santos did not always appear as a promoter of peace. Before his presidency, he was a hard-line defence minister under President Álvaro Uribe, leading the heaviest attacks against the FARC in Colombian history. It is unknown how his transition – from hawk to dove – can be interpreted. This thesis argues that Santos never transitioned from hawk to dove. He was a pragmatist with a strong predisposition towards negotiations who understood that weakening the FARC was a necessary step at the time. However, this did not change that he was convinced that only a political dialogue would finally lead to peace.

A Caribbean Revolution: The Caribbean Legion, Fidel Castro and the exiled revolutionary network, 1952-1959.
Nicolás Prados

In my thesis I set out to explore the support that Fidel Castro and his Movimiento 26 de Julio (M26/7) received from abroad during their struggle against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. In doing so, I discovered that during the 1950s there was a solid transnational network of support for anti-dictatorial revolutionaries which went under the name of the Caribbean Legion. Mainly exiles fleeing from the Dominican, Nicaraguan, Venezuelan, Guatemalan and Spanish dictatorships, the members of the Caribbean Legion network played a key role in supplying the Cuban rebels with military equipment, funds, diplomatic support and propaganda material. The exiles acted as smugglers, military instructors, messengers, spies and recruits, with the hope that victory in Cuba would ensure future campaigns against the dictatorships in their respective homelands. Indeed, Castro's success in 1959 was followed by invasions of the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and some failed attempts against the Spanish and Portuguese dictatorships. This thesis aims to shed light on a Latin American "cold war of its own", which occurred parallel to the US-Soviet struggles and which shaped the region during the first decades following World War II.

The New Criminal Market: Explaining the Growth of Mexico's Fuel Trafficking Phenomenon
Samuel León Sáez

My MPhil research explores the origins and growth of a new black market that has positioned itself as one of the most important criminal enterprises in Mexico: fuel theft and trafficking. Since 2011 fuel trafficking in Mexico started growing at an uncontrollable rate. Between 2013 – 2018 more than 100 million barrels were stolen from Petróleos Mexicanos' refineries, storage and distribution terminals and pipelines. According to the Mexican federal government in the period among 2016 and 2018 the economic losses for the Mexican state amounted to \$7.5 billion dollars, almost the total cost of the new refinery to be built by the Obrador administration. What these figures reflect is that fuel theft and trafficking has become the main black market for Mexico's criminal networks, overtaking other criminal enterprises like human trafficking or drug smuggling in importance. Official documents and journalistic accounts point out to the existence of three types of criminal actors in Mexico's fuel theft market: large criminal macro-networks, specialized criminal networks and criminal gangs. They vary in their capabilities and objectives, which differ based on their level of organization and internal cohesion; their territorial operational capacity, use of violence, weaponry, possession of professional equipment for fuel extraction, access to specialized vehicles and whether or not they are involved in other criminal endeavours. My research aims to explain how this black market began and develop the factors that sustained its recent explosive growth which are:

Co-optation of authorities and other grey actors: PEMEX workers, officials and businessmen. The sustained increase that hydrocarbon prices have shown in Mexico for more than a decade. Fragmentation of criminal networks and illicit market diversification. The objective of my research is to explain how these variables jointly contributed to making fuel theft and trafficking one of the prevalent criminal markets in Mexico.



Nicolás Prados and Samuel León, after completing their last written exam.

Meeting with judges and prosecutors

The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) on 8 February 2019 the Latin American Centre together with the Bonavero Institute of Human Rights and the Argentinean human rights organization ANDHES held a closed door meeting in Spanish with seventeen judges and prosecutors from Latin America. The purpose of the meeting was a knowledge exchange across borders. Legal practitioners working on human rights accountability for economic actors during dictatorships and armed conflicts

from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Peru met to discuss strategies to best defend victims of human rights violations using international norms incorporated into domestic frameworks. Some of those present have faced setbacks, threats, and intimidation owing to the controversial nature of their work in the current anti-rights environment in parts of Latin America. The in-person exchange, followed by the creation of a digital network, and the development of guidelines to prosecute economic

actors has provided support and technical expertise to enhance human rights practice in the region. From the Latin American Centre, Leigh Payne, Gabriel Pereira, Laura Bernal-Bermúdez, and Francesca Lessa organized and participated in the event.

THE LAC, OXFORD AND LATIN AMERICA

A conversation with Isabel Ruiz, Associate Professor of Political Economy, at the University of Oxford, where she is also Director of Studies in Economics at the Department for Continuing Education (OUDCE). Isabel is an official Fellow of Kellogg College and an associate member of the Department of Economics, the Oxford Department of International Development (ODID) and the Latin American Centre (LAC) at the University.

Horizontes (by Dr Andreza de Souza Santos): What do you think the LAC represents for the University?

I: The LAC plays a very important role for the university because it is the place where all the research about Latin America comes together, it brings together people from all parts of the university interested in and working on Latin American issues. The LAC is an excellent source of knowledge and expertise not only on contemporary Latin America but also its history. Its interdisciplinarity allows for fantastic dialogue a stimulating exchange of ideas.

Horizontes: Do you think people from Latin America know about the LAC across the University?

I: They do know about the LAC. That is what is nice about the LAC, it is a hub for all things related to Latin America. The LAC has an active role in reaching out to those interested in the region, which is very important. The students in other Departments for example, when they want to know about a specific country in Latin America, they start with the LAC. In my case, I have a research interest, as well as a personal interest, in following up on up-to date research and in keeping informed about what is going on in Latin America. The LAC is what allows me to do that. It also makes me feel closer to home. Even if I do not attend all seminars, I receive the emails, know what is going on, who is coming, the topics of conversations, etc.

Horizontes: Can you tell us a moment when the LAC was very instrumental for your career?

I: Yes, when I came to Oxford in 2009-2010, I was invited to a LAC panel to share my research on remittances. I met other people with related work on Latin America which was great. Through the LAC I also met many people from other departments that I would never had met

otherwise. The LAC was important for my research and also gave me personal connections. Over the years, the LAC has also supported some of my initiatives in terms of research: their members have truly gone out of their way to help me in developing those initiatives.

Horizontes: Can you give us an example of any LAC event that particularly stands out for you?

I: The LAC has brought very prominent scholars from Latin America to Oxford. President Santos's visit was great and it created more awareness about Colombia and all the progress that's been made. Ricardo Hausmann's recent visit to discuss the Venezuela crisis was also very

important in raising awareness about a very important issue. As an economist, I always enjoy James Robinson's presentations and lectures. It is very hard to just point to any one specific event. The LAC is very dynamic and maintains a great on-going research agenda of interesting and important seminars and talks.

Isabel recently chaired the round table "The Gender Gap in Latin America" which took place during the Michaelmas Term 2018. She is an active affiliated faculty member at the LAC, and joined its Management Committee in Trinity Term 2019.



Isabel Ruiz, chairing the seminar 'The Gender Gap in Latin America'. Right: Cheryl Doss (International Development); Left: Maria Cavalcanti (CEO, Promujer).

Our Library Team on their last 10 years

Frank Egerton, Rebeca Otazua and Sam Truman



Frank Egerton, Rebeca Otazua and Sam Truman

Frank

As our library team approaches its tenth anniversary, we thought this would be a good time to look at the things that have happened since we first began working at LAC.

I started a little before Rebeca and Sam in autumn 2007 when I was appointed senior library assistant. In those days there was no online borrowing – loans were recorded on paper slips that were stored in cardboard index files (as was the norm in libraries across the University until this century). There was no wifi, the website was rudimentary and tweeting was the sound of birds in the garden. Furthermore, following the retirement of the Centre's long-standing librarian, Ruth Hodges, the library was managed by the Taylor Institution's Librarian-in-Charge.

I left in 2008 but returned when, a year later, a new librarian position was created and the LAC library joined the Social Sciences Division. I advertised for a team and was soon joined by Rebeca and Sam.

Rebeca

I started in December 2009, a few months before Sam.

Our focus in those days was to ensure the provision of books for the courses run in the Centre and to improve communications with readers, fellows and the Centre.

After working closely with academics to obtain reading lists, we bought duplicate copies and introduced a shorter loan period for core readings, which has since been very popular among the students.

The update of the library website, creation of various LibGuides on relevant subjects and the library Bulletin have

contributed enormously to improving our communications. We have also embraced social media, so now we have more tweets than the ones, always delightful, coming from the Centre's garden.

We introduced our annual LAC Library skills workshop in 2012 (originally held in the Law Library training room) and since then it has proved to be very helpful for new students who, in recent years, bring their laptops to the reading room and work through the induction exercises.

When I started I found a very different library with an uncatalogued pre-1991 collection. Since then we have catalogued retrospectively many books and grey literature boxes, and have sent less used titles to the Bodleian Book Storage Facility to create space for new ones. Valuable donated collections have been added to the online catalogue, SOLO, to make them visible to our research community.

All these achievements wouldn't be possible without a close-knit team that took the opportunity to shape a library with a great potential.

Sam

A crucial thing we've achieved during our ten years together is to retain the library's links with St Antony's, despite our evolution from college area studies library to member of the Bodleian Libraries, with their University-wide ethos and shared services.

Being part of the Bodleian group brings advantages, of course, including the photocopying and scanning system (the system this superseded was hopelessly stuck in the 1990s), Electronic Legal Deposit, the SOLO catalogue (now with its new user interface), the ORA repository – the

University's research archive – and improved access to the wealth of available databases that results from the upgraded online index, Databases A-Z. All of these innovations, plus many more, seek to ensure that everyone at Oxford has the best resources possible with which to pursue their academic interests.

All of these features strengthen our library and exist alongside our own excellent collection of books, journals and e-resources – thus combining the best on offer from the Bodleian Libraries with our niche college library character; which at the same time reflects the strong input of world-class LAC fellows past and present and the administrative staff. For any library user jaded by reading books, we even host many of the seminars and conferences organised by the Centre – not many libraries can bring about edification in such a varied way!

Frank

Thank you Rebeca and Sam for perspectives on the last ten years! – and thank you for all the hard work you have done during that period.

As we look to the future – to further work on the Rosemary Thorp archive, to taking part in the new Humanities research fair in the autumn, and even to greater provision of ebooks (complimenting not replacing print books, of course) – I hope that our readers continue to enjoy using our reading rooms and collections. I think it is a wonderful thing to have a Centre library – it gives focus and brings a dimension to the building that it would be hard to imagine existing in rooms without books.

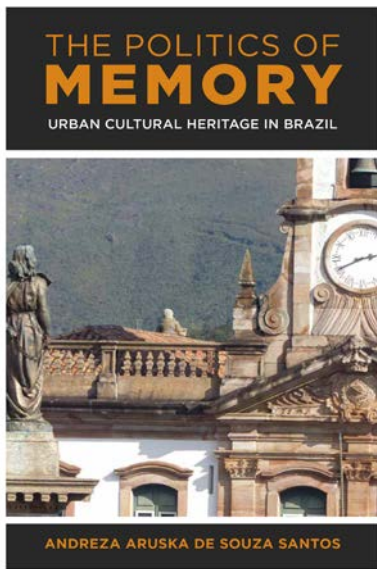
It and the lovely welcoming Centre are also terrific places to work! A final thank you to Eduardo, Elvira and our other LAC colleagues for making the Bodleian team feel so welcome.

Publications

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

The politics of memory

Andreza A de Souza Santos, *The Politics of Memory Urban Cultural Heritage in Brazil*, (Published by Rowman & Littlefield International)

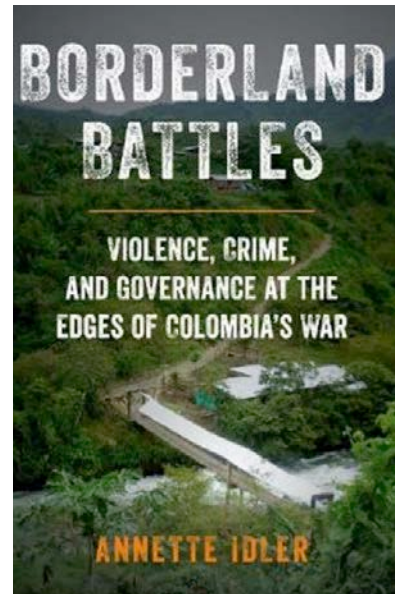


Who decides which stories about a city are remembered? How do interpretations of the past shape a city's present and future? In my forthcoming book (2019), I discuss notions of power and national identity by examining how nation-states negotiate the preservation of urban spaces and how a city interprets, resists, and consents to the functions and meanings that it has inherited and that it reinvents for itself. Looking at the Brazilian city of Ouro Preto, hailed as a National Monument (1930) and as one of the first generations of UNESCO World Heritage Sites (1980), I provide a detailed analysis of the expectations, results, and subsequent conflicts in the preservation and management of Ouro Preto's urban heritage. In the process, I attend to the hierarchies of educational attainment, geographic dynamics, racial tensions, and socio-economic disparities that the city embodies. Drawing on recent scholarship concerning the narratives and aesthetics of public objects, I show that there is no possible consensus among residents and experts regarding the role of cultural heritage and its management. There are multiple and often competing views, needs, and desires among the types of people who use the city – permanent residents, politicians, students, and tourists. These differences naturally impact perceptions of history, aesthetics, and preservation. Preserving the sensorial and visual aesthetic of Ouro Preto as a heritage site also competes with the call to foster an inclusive urban infrastructure that adequately satisfies the needs of contemporary everyday living. In this puzzling and often paradoxical context, where everyone and everything are interconnected, I discuss the importance of a perspective that empowers diverse voices, as preservation requires widespread participation to reach flexible compromises.

Andreza De Souza Santos

Governing borderlands

Annette Idler, *Borderland Battles: Violence, Crime, and Governance at the Edges of Colombia's War* (Oxford University Press, 2019)

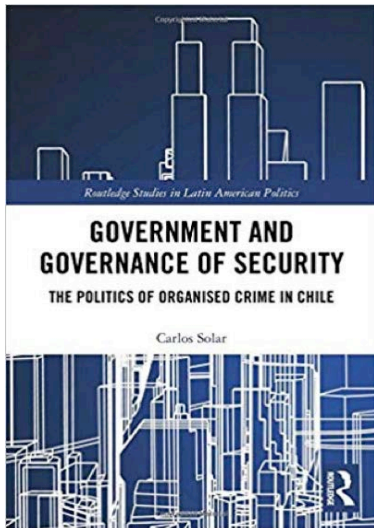


Borderlands are like a magnifying glass on some of the world's most entrenched security challenges. In unstable regions, border areas attract violent non-state groups ranging from rebels and paramilitaries to criminal organizations who exploit central government neglect. These groups compete for territorial control, cooperate in illicit cross-border activities, and provide a substitute for the governance functions usually associated with the state. Drawing on extensive fieldwork with more than six hundred interviews in and on the shared borderlands of Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela—where conflict is rife and crime thrives—this book provides exclusive first-hand insights into these war-torn spaces. It reveals how dynamic interactions among violent non-state groups produce a complex security landscape with ramifications for order and governance both locally and beyond. These interactions create not only physical violence but also less visible forms of insecurity. When groups fight each other, community members are exposed to violence but can choose to follow the rules imposed by the opposing actors. Unstable, short-term arrangements among violent non-state groups fuel mistrust and uncertainty among communities, eroding their social fabric. Where violent non-state groups engage in relatively stable, long-term arrangements, “shadow citizenship” arises: a mutually reinforcing relationship between violent non-state groups that provide public goods and services, and communities that consent to their illicit authority. Contrary to state-centric views that consider borderlands to be uniformly violent spaces, the transnational borderland lens adopted in the book demonstrates how the geography and political economy of these borderlands intensify these multifaceted security impacts.

Publications

Security and Organised Crime

Carlos Solar, *Government and Governance of Security: The Politics of Organised Crime in Chile* (New York: Routledge, 2018)



At a time when Latin America is experiencing societal unrest from human rights violations, corruption and weak institutions *Government and Governance of Security* offers an insightful understanding for the modern steering of crime policies. Using Chile as a case study, the book delivers an untold account of the trade-offs between political, judicial and policing institutions put in practice to confront organised crime since the country's redemocratisation.

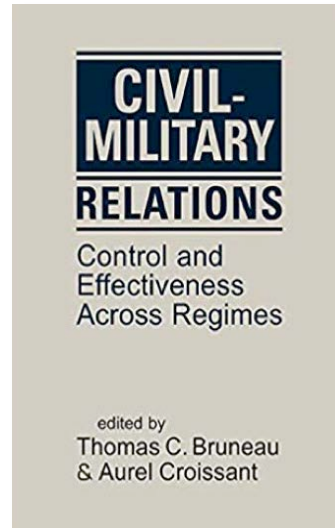
In an effort to encompass the academic fields of political science, public policy and criminology, Carlos Solar, British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the LAC, challenges the current orthodoxies for understanding security and the promotion of the rule of law in developing states. His research aptly illuminates the practicalities of present-day governance and investigates how networks of institutions are formed and sustained across time and, subsequently, how these actors deal with issues of policy consensus and cooperation. To unveil the uniqueness of this on-the-ground action, the analysis is based on an extensive revision of public documents, legislation, media accounts and interviews conducted by the author with the key policy makers and officials dealing with crimes including drug-trafficking, money laundering and human smuggling.

Government and Governance of Security will be of interest to scholars of Latin American studies, security and governance and development.

More details and reviews at <https://www.routledge.com/Government-and-Governance-of-Security-The-Politics-of-Organised-Crime/Solar/p/book/9781138064843>

Civil-Military Relations

Thomas C. Bruneau and Aurel Croissant, editors, *Civil-Military Relations: Control and Effectiveness Across Regimes* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2019)



How does civilian control affect military effectiveness? Can a balance be achieved between the two? In-country experts address these questions through a set of rich comparative case studies. Covering the spectrum from democracies to authoritarian regimes, they explore the nexus of control and effectiveness to reveal its importance for national security and the legitimacy of both political order and the military institution.

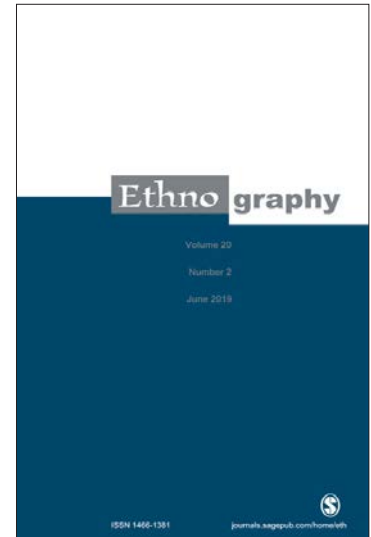
“This carefully conceived collection focuses on an important, but often overlooked, aspect of civil-military relations: military effectiveness. Insightful and informative ... the chapters form a cohesive whole. Those interested in military politics, from the novice student to the seasoned expert, will find the book useful and thought provoking.” —Zoltan Barany, University of Texas at Austin.

Carlos Solar, British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the LAC, collaborated in this volume with a chapter entitled, “Chile: Defense Governance and Democratic Consolidation”.

https://www.riener.com/title/Civil_Military_Relations_Control_and_Effectiveness_Across_Regimes

Mining negotiations

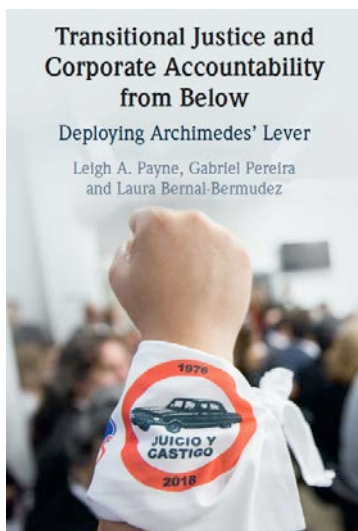
Andreza A de Souza Santos, “Trading time and space: grassroots negotiations in a Brazilian mining district”, *Ethnography* (2019).



In this paper Andreza De Souza Santos discusses how participatory governance has been used not only to direct public budget and policy priorities, but also to offer democratic pathways for negotiations over permits for businesses such as mining. Focusing on notions of time, Andreza looked at policy-meetings between a mining company, the affected community in the district of Miguel Burnier, Brazil, and the mediators between them – members of a municipal council for cultural heritage. Using ethnographic data, she investigated whether participatory councils could abridge temporalities and offer a compromise: while the company involved offered improvements in quality of life in an uncertain future and the council needed to preserve local cultural heritage, residents suffered from pressing problems in the present, including depopulation, pollution, and unemployment. This paper shows that participation may not solve residents' socio-economic problems efficiently, for these same problems affected their ability to voice concerns and wait for compensation.

Corporate Accountability

Leigh A Payne, Gabriel Pereira and Laura Bernal-Bermúdez, *Corporate Accountability and Transitional Justice: Deploying Archimedes' Lever* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).



Together with long-term co-author and colleague Juliana Martínez Franzoni, Diego Sánchez-Ancochea published two articles that explore changes in social policy in Latin America during the recent commodity boom. “Undoing Segmentation? Latin American Health Care Policy during the Economic Boom” (published in *Social Policy & Administration*) defines segmentation based on a threefold policy output comprising coverage, generosity and equity, and evaluates changes in health care during the 2000s. Using cluster analysis, the paper demonstrates that some countries like Colombia and Peru reduced segmentation significantly, while others improved less. “Overcoming Segmentation in Social Policy? Comparing New Early Education and Childcare Efforts in Costa Rica and Uruguay” (in *Bulletin of Latin American Research*) compares the implementation of Early Child Education and Care policies in Costa Rica and Uruguay. The paper shows that Uruguay advanced more decisively towards universalism thanks to more commitment from policymakers and more pressures from social movements. Additionally, this year Juliana Martínez Franzoni and Diego Sánchez-Ancochea published the book *La búsqueda de una política social universal en el Sur: Actores, ideas y arquitecturas*—the Spanish translation of their 2016 book.

Operacion Condor

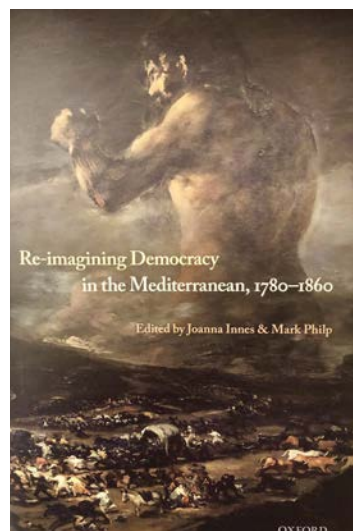
Francesca Lessa, “Operation Condor on Trial: Justice for Transnational Human Rights Crimes in South America” *Journal of Latin American Studies* (November 2018) : <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X18000767>



Dr Francesca Lessa, Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the Latin American Centre, has been conducting a research project on Operation Condor since 2015. Her article in the JLAS discusses a momentous verdict delivered by a federal court in Argentina in 2016, which convicted 15 defendants of kidnapping and torture- committed against over 100 victims of Operation Condor- and of *asociación ilícita* (meaning ‘illicit association’, or conspiracy to commit a criminal offence) in connection with these offences. Operation Condor was the codename given to a continent-wide covert operation devised in the 1970s by South American regimes to eliminate hundreds of left-wing activists across the region. The Operation Condor verdict of 2016 broke new ground for human rights and transitional justice, due to its innovative focus on transnational crimes and for holding state agents accountable for extraterritorial human rights violations. By analysing this pioneering case, the article brings the question of cross-border crimes into academic debate. As borders become more porous, scholars and practitioners can no longer afford to side-line the topic of accountability for transnational crimes.

Re-Imagining Democracy

Joanna Innes and Mark Philp, eds., *Re-Imagining Democracy in the Mediterranean, 1780-1860* (Oxford University Press, 2018)



Eduardo Posada-Carbó co-authored (with Mark Philp) a chapter for this book, the outcome of a three year project led by Joanna Innes and Mark Philp and sponsored by the Leverhulme Trust. In their chapter, Philp and Posada-Carbó examine the connections between liberalism and democracy in Southern Europe from the 1790s to the 1860s. This is the second volume of the ‘Re-imagining democracy project’, the first, *Re-Imagining Democracy in the Age of Revolution. America, France, Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850*, was published by Oxford University Press in 2013. The project is now focusing on Latin America and the Caribbean.



Finn Lowery (1990–2019)



Finn Lowery, a former MSc student at the LAC, sadly passed away in New Zealand earlier this year.

Born in Auckland on 1 October 1990, Finn joined the Latin American Centre as a Rhodes Scholar in October 2017 and successfully completed his MSc in Latin American Studies with Distinction. Finn completed a Bachelor of Laws with BA Hons at the University of Auckland in 2016, when he was awarded the Auckland District Law Society's prize for being the top law undergraduate; the Faculty of Law Dean's Academic Excellence Award and a Senior Scholar Award. In 2014 he was one of three outstanding young New Zealanders selected for the prestigious Rhodes scholarship to undertake postgraduate study at the University of Oxford. Finn not only excelled in his studies but also in sport: he played water polo for the New Zealand National Team.

Before coming to Oxford, Finn worked for the New Zealand Public Defence Service, a job that, in his own words, he found 'constantly challenging and interesting but it also enabled [... him] to reflect on critical dimensions of the law: whom it affects, how it promotes societal interests, and how this might be done better'.

Finn was a popular student at the Latin American Centre, highly esteemed by all. 'Finn was a brilliant student', remembers Professor Diego Sanchez-Ancochea, who taught him economics and supervised his extended essay: 'thoughtful, hard-working and eager to learn. Every meeting with him was a pleasure because he brought new insights and raised new questions. Much more importantly, Finn was a

great person: kind, interested in others and passionate about social change'. His extended essay on the role of Costa Rica's Supreme Court in social policy was awarded a distinction mark. 'Ever engaged. Challenging conventional wisdom. Provoking us all to think differently, newly, freshly', remembered Professor Leigh Payne, who taught him the course on the Sociology of Latin America (see note by Professor Payne). 'I had the privilege to share many early-morning breakfasts with Finn', remembered Adriana Unzueta, one of his fellow students at the LAC, where, over a cup of coffee at Barefoot (his favourite coffee shop in Oxford), we would sit for hours and just talk about life. During all those talks I couldn't help but develop respect and admiration for him not just because he was a caring friend but also because he was a genuinely kind human-being. He will certainly be missed'.

Finn was an excellent citizen of our community – fully participating in all our academic and social events, with his joyful and inspiring personality. He will always have a special place in the memories of us all at the LAC.

Our Latin American Kiwi By Adriana Unzueta

"Why are you, a New Zealander, studying Latin American studies?" That was the question that everyone asked Finn. What they did not know is that he had first-rate Latin dancing skills and spoke perfect Spanish.

Finn was an intelligent, gracious and enthusiastic person, who saw the humanity in every person and the good in every situation. He was incredibly humble despite being a distinguished scholar and athlete. He championed the underdog, always willing to go out of his way to help others, because he truly cared.

In class, we would always admire his command of the room, and outside the classroom we would admire what a fun and kind person he was. We would always joke that in 2019 we all aspired to be like Finn. Although he never intended it, he lived his life in a way that encouraged and inspired many of us.

He treated everyone the same- regardless of the position they held in society- and he focused on inclusion and unity. He was responsible for organizing many activities that brought us together: Our first formal dinner together as a LAC cohort was at his college, Exeter. After that, he was responsible for organizing several memorable events, including dinners and board-game nights.

Finn enjoyed the little things in life; walks in the park, a warm cup of coffee, or a simple picnic in Port Meadow. Despite only having known him such a short time, we all agree that he was a man of immense warmth, humility, and generosity, always brightening everyone's day with his infectious smile. We



Finn with the majority of his LAC cohort for 2017-18.

will always remember that smile, the way he connected to people and his love for his wife, Rebecca.

During the Thanksgiving dinner that Finn organized last year, he asked us to express what we were most thankful for in Oxford. Although his first answer was “free coffee at the Middle Eastern Centre” (inside joke), he also held that he cherished all the new friendships that he had made. Well Finn, we certainly appreciated your friendship. You touched the hearts of everyone you met. You will always be part of the LAC family and you will be dearly missed by us all.

From Professor Leigh Payne

On the very first day of the Sociology of Latin America class, Finn told me that he had never thought he would be at all interested in the class. He just showed up to see what it was about. And he stayed. And I am so happy he did. Ever engaged. Challenging conventional wisdom. Provoking us all to think differently, newly, freshly. Maybe the last time I saw him, he invited me to a dinner at Exeter. We talked about the future, beyond the MSc, beyond Oxford. That intelligence, so full of sparkle and life. That smiling face, so full of excitement for life. The only words that come to me to express my sorrow at this enormous loss are not mine. Let Mario Benedetti (A Roque) say it:

sobre todo llegaste temprano
demasiado temprano
a una muerte que no era la tuya
y que a esta altura no sabrá que hacer
con
tanta
vida.



Ezequiel Gallo (1934–2018)

In the early days of the Latin American Centre, the mid 1960s, we had a good number of students from Argentina, and among them was Ezequiel, historian, accompanied by his wife Francis Korn, anthropologist and historian, and their small son Klaus, a future historian. In the atmosphere of almost limitless ignorance about the region that then prevailed in British academia, and which it seems to me has not diminished all that much, all of us meant to be teaching – Raymond Carr, myself, Alan Angell – were anxious to learn from our students, and among my first recollections of Ezequiel is the memory of how much I learnt from him, particularly a sense of proportion, of measure in judgement. But I also learnt effortlessly about Argentina, its nineteenth century history, Sarmiento, Mansilla, Roca, the Roca-Runciman treaty – then a subject of frequent debate in the Centre – Perón, Frondizi In Buenos Aires later he was my guide to restaurants and bookshops – Platero, the Libreria Colonial of the eccentric Uruguayan anarchist Washington Luis, the even more eccentric Fernández Blanco, inserting his impossible prices with a gold pencil, who believed that the world was run by Margaret Thatcher according to instructions encoded in Galsworthy’s Forsyte Saga – Ezequiel delighted in all these things. We agreed that Buenos Aires at that time had the finest waiters in the world, men with the gravity and distinction of cabinet ministers or senior medics. We even idly planned a book of photographs, *Los meseros de la capital*. One of his stories was his asking one of these imposing figures what had become of a younger recruit, and his receiving the reply “Ah, fulano, le faltaba vocación.”

Interest shifts: at that time there was much Cuba in the air, as later there was to be much Allende and Chile ... through all these enthusiasms and traumas, not least those of his own country, Ezequiel maintained balance and curiosity: though the stereotype of the Argentine is of someone not particularly curious about the rest of Latin America, Ezequiel in no way fitted it. He could find fascination in the histories of Chile, Bolivia, or Colombia, in the analysis of their similarities and differences, and he was an acute and amusing observer of the characters and foibles of the string of visitors then passing through the Centre. He had a great sense of fun.

That should not distract from his seriousness as a historian. A student in Oxford of Max Hartwell, Ezequiel had strong liberal principles – he was exceptionally well-read in political philosophy – and methodological rigour. (With the support of Guido di Tella he was instrumental in acquiring Max’s library for the Instituto di Tella) His own work will certainly endure, as will that he did in collaboration with his friends and colleagues Roberto Cortes Conde and Natalio Botana. His link with Oxford was unbroken. It lives on in Francis and in Klaus, and in the memories of the life-long friends he made here.

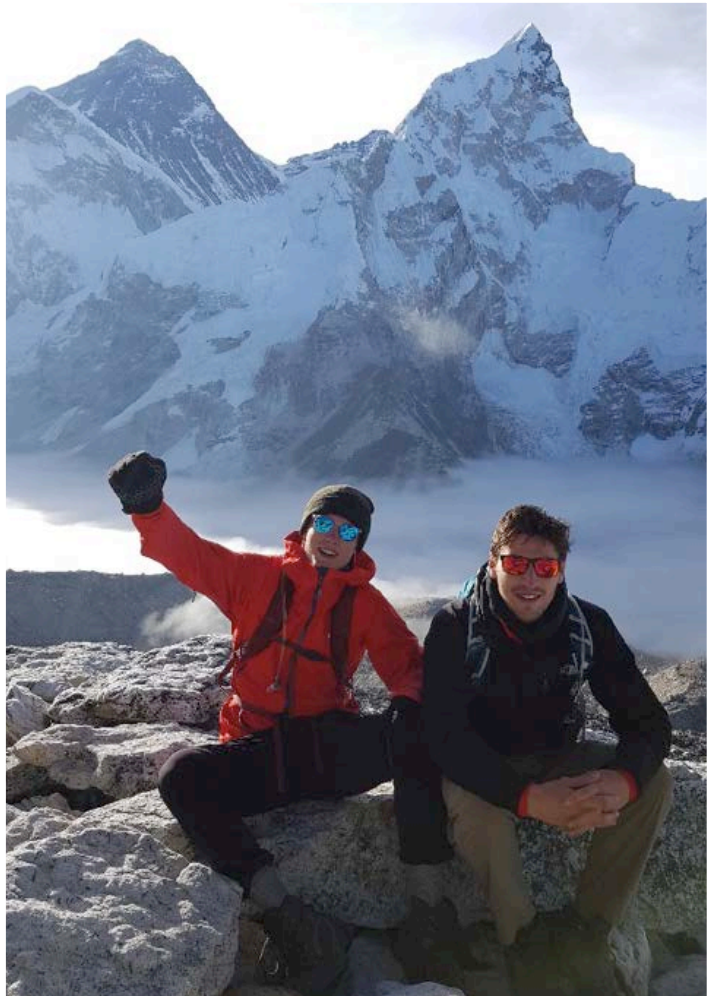
Malcolm Deas, Emeritus Fellow, the LAC and St. Antony’s College

Student life outside the LAC

As well as many hours spent in the University's libraries, the students of the Latin American Centre have taken part in many extracurricular activities. Here are some photos of the students enjoying themselves.



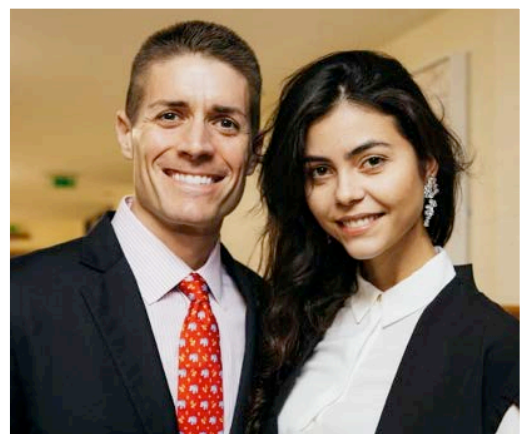
Hamish Richardson completing a triathlon in November 2018



Hamish Richardson in front of Mount Everest at Mt Everest Base Camp a month before arriving in Oxford.



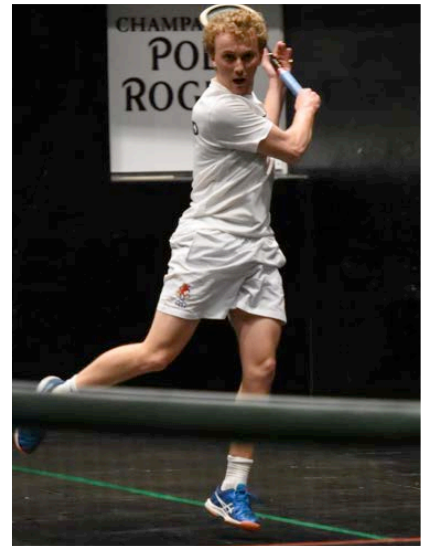
St. Antony's Boat Club (SABC) celebrates the end of the academic year at their annual boat club formal dinner. Carine Uchida in the middle



Jessica M. Doyle with her husband, Michael Doyle, at the Celebration of Sport Guest Night Dinner at Kellogg College. Five time Olympian Rower Frances Houghton MBE gave the after dinner speech.



St. Antony's Boat Club (SABC) crew competing in bumps racing during Summer Vllls



Charles Defries hitting a shot during his singles game on 2nd March 2019 at the MCC real tennis club at Lord's cricket ground. Real tennis, also called court tennis or royal tennis, is one racket sport that is descended from and almost identical to the medieval tennis game jeu de paume ("game of the palm"). Played since the Middle Ages, it is the game from which lawn tennis is derived, and is now played at approximately 43 courts in the world. It has been played at Oxford since the club was founded in 1595, and the university's fourth oldest varsity match, having been in continuous competition since 1859.



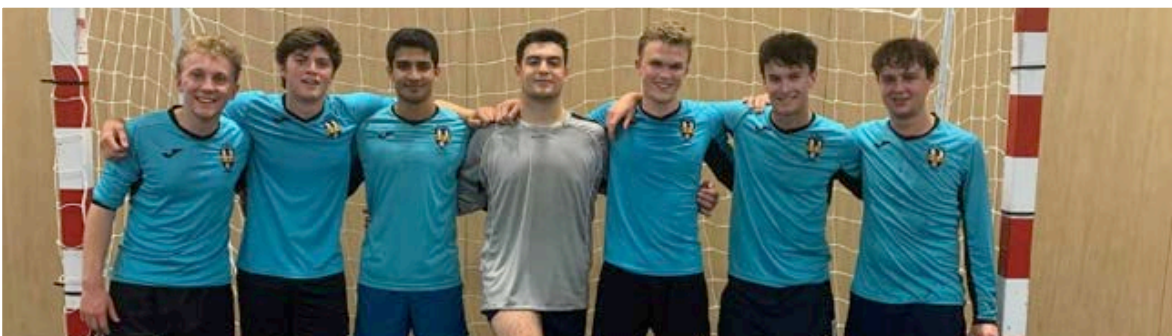
The Oxford University real tennis men's blues team are awarded the trophy after winning the 2019 Varsity match beating Cambridge 5-1 (Charles Defries second from the left).



SABC W1 crew after four days of racing at the Summer Vllls regatta



St. Antony's Touch Rugby team after their win against Hertford College for the annual touch rugby coppers tournament. Carina Uchida (top left) and Hamish Richardson (bottom right).



St Hilda's 5 a side coppers team, runners up in the 2019 University 5 a side tournament.

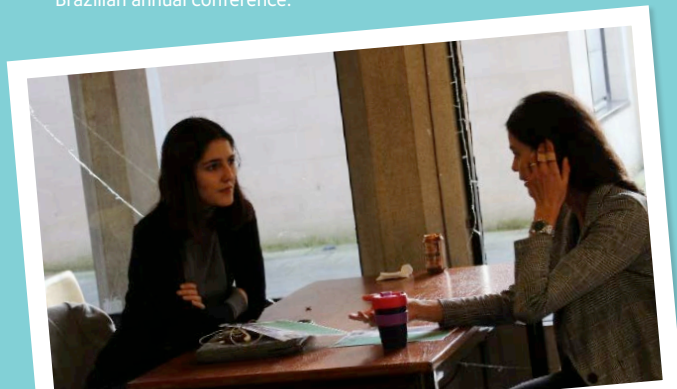
Horizontes

NEWSLETTER OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CENTRE

Our students Ana Laura Martin Akroyd and Jessica Doyle, MSc students, during the break of our Brazilian annual conference.



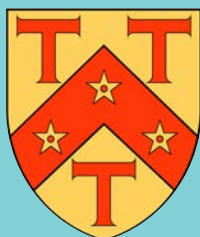
Dr David Doyle addressing the students during their first induction day at the LAC.



The Secretary General of the Organization of American, Luis Almagro, States meeting LAC students during their first week in Oxford



Tim Power and Andreza de Souza with our doctoral recognised students from Brazil, Leonardo Gill Correia Santos, Cristina Maglia, Bernardo Abreu de Medeiros and Virginia Rocha



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