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LLILAS BENSON LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES AND COLLECTIONS | THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

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LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections is a partnership of the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies (LLILAS) and the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection. Our mission is to generate knowledge about Latin America and US Latina/o communities, and to deepen mutual understanding across the Americas through teaching, collections, outreach, research, and scholarly exchange. Find out more at llilasbenson.utexas.edu.

Read *Portal* online at llilasbensonmagazine.org.

FROM THE DIRECTOR

We are enjoying an extended spring in Austin this year, with abundant rains and cool temperatures that have brought a vibrant season of Texas wildflowers and balmy outdoor time before our long hot season begins.

As usual, our academic year has been hectic and productive. I write this during the week of graduation, as we have proudly seen our student Anthony Dest earn his doctoral hood, and celebrated others earning dual master's, master's, and bachelor's degrees. Our continuing MA and PhD students have performed exceptionally well this year, as evinced by LLILAS students winning the "triple crown" of prestigious academic fellowships: the internationally competitive Social Science Research Council (SSRC) grant, awarded to PhD candidate Fátima Valdivia, an author in this issue; and two of the university's most competitive graduate fellowships—the continuing and "thematic" scholarships, the former won by Ana Braconnier and Adriana Linares, and the latter by Rony Castillo. Our undergraduate program continues to grow and thrive; once again, a LLILAS Benson senior, Eva Howard, has been named as Dean's Distinguished Graduate, a rare honor that makes us enormously proud. All of this points to the fact that our program, which combines rigorous scholarship with social engagement, has a positive impact on our students, our university, and on communities beyond our campus.

One of our proudest institutional accomplishments this year is that LLILAS Benson has successfully, at long last, been able to match the initial $10 million gift that Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long gave in support of Latin American Studies at The University of Texas at Austin in 2000. Longtime readers will remember that it was this gift that precipitated the institute's name change from ILAS to LLILAS. It was the Longs' gift, along with the synergies that came about from the 2011 merger between LLILAS and the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, that helped make LLILAS Benson the internationally recognized organization it is today. Our boast that "We are the best Latin American Studies program in the nation and the best Latin American library in the world" is not just Texas hyperbole—it's simply the truth! And it is thanks to the support of all our affiliates, institutional and research partners, students, visiting scholars, alumni, donors, and our many LLILAS Benson friends and allies that we continue to better our best.

Despite these many points of light, we have not lost sight of our raison d'être, Latin America. The crisis in Venezuela, the hard turn to right-wing populism in Brazil and to left-wing populism in Mexico, and, above all, the tragic situation of Central American migrants on our southern border, all draw our work, our eyes, and our hearts southward. But as Latin America faces challenges, it makes the work of LLILAS Benson all the more legible and important. Whether it's holding a community *foro urgente* about Brazil's new political climate, hosting a public lecture with former heads of state Sergio Ramírez (Nicaragua) and Luis Guillermo Solís (Costa Rica), or sending students to interpret for Maya-language speakers in ICE detention centers, we continue to seek out new ways that LLILAS Benson can be both visible and impactful in the world beyond the university.

In this issue, we proudly showcase the research of Latin Americanist scholars in our program and at UT Austin, along with the work of two recent visiting scholars. Their topics span a range of themes and historical periods. Alan Covey reexamines the Inca Atahuallpa's sixteenth-century encounter with Pizarro at Cajamarca, Peru. Fátima Valdivia writes of her ongoing research about the effects of drug trafficking on indigenous self-determination in Tarahumara, Mexico. Just as Valdivia points to the ecological disruptions of drug trafficking in the Mexican region she studies, Tinker Visiting Professor Beatriz Bustos writes about another disruptive and problematic industry, albeit a government-funded one associated with modernization: Chilean salmon. Art historian Gabriela Siracusano, the Tinker visitor this spring, shares a fascinating look at the material study of colonial and contemporary South American artworks in an interview with *Portal* editor Susanna Sharpe, who also reports on faculty and staff. Articles by Alvaro Céspedes on Mexican deportees from the US rebuilding their lives in Mexico City, Joshua Reason on reconceptualizing trans-centered research in Bahia, Brazil, and Ricardo Castro on the role of journalists in preserving collective memory, exemplify the thematic and regional breadth of the Latin Americanist scholarship that we promote.

Archival work is on display in this issue as well. Adrian Johnson, librarian for Caribbean Studies at the Benson Collection, gives us a peek at the recently acquired Caridad Blanco collection of Cuban comic books. This issue's alumni feature is brought to us by Luis Zapata, whose encyclopedic knowledge of metal and rock music, and its Latinx and Native American contributors, is on full display.

Surely, this issue contains something for everyone. I trust you will enjoy it!

Saludos cordiales,

Virginia Garrard

Virginia Garrard, Director
LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections

So Close Yet So Far

How a Group of Deportees Is Building Rapport in Mexico City

by ALVARO CÉSPEDES

ANA LAURA LÓPEZ, 43, was about to board a plane from Chicago to Mexico City on September 30, 2016. She remembers the date clearly, as her life would never be the same again.

"I never thought this was going to happen to me," said López, sitting on a couch in a small studio in Colonia Guerrero, a middle-class neighborhood in downtown Mexico City.

After migrating to the US from Mexico City, she had been living, working, and studying in the United States for the last sixteen years as an undocumented immigrant. She settled in Chicago, where she met her current partner and had three children.

Ana Laura López founded Deportados Unidos en la Lucha after being deported from the United States in 2016. Here, she stands in the main workshop and office, located in downtown Mexico City.

López saw an opportunity to request legal documentation in order to start the process of becoming an American citizen. She was told that she had to do that from Mexico. "I wanted to set my papers straight," she said. "I had no criminal background, not even a parking ticket in sixteen years. I was always very careful about this, as it was always my dream to become an American citizen. It still is," she added.

Just as she was about to board her plane, two immigration officers blocked her way. They asked her to follow them into a separate room, where, "very quickly," she had her fingerprints scanned, was asked to sign some papers that she did not read carefully, and was escorted back to the plane.

"I thought they were going to take me to some detention center, but they took me to the same airplane," she said. "I felt so ashamed, everyone kept staring at me," she added, tears falling from her eyes.

López is one of the more than 240,000 people who were deported from the United States in 2016.[1] Of those deportees, more than 60 percent were Mexican citizens, but only a tiny fraction of them ended up in Mexico City, an urban center that has not historically been linked with immigrants returning from the United States.

During the flight, López read the paper she had just signed, and only then did she realize that she had signed her own deportation. "I felt so stupid," she said. "It's like I turned myself in and even paid for my own plane ticket to get deported." She spent the journey back to her hometown feeling homesick, confused, and alone.

In Search of Community

Since arriving in Mexico that morning in 2016, López has worked to build a community of support and kinship with the growing number of deportees from the United States. In Mexico City, a

Photos by Juan Sarquis

Gustavo Lavariega operates the *pulpo* at the workshop in la Guerrero neighborhood, Mexico City.

place far away from the US border, she noticed a lack of sense of community with her fellow deportees—and learned that she was far from the only one.

The Ministry of Labor of Mexico City has been working to make the capital a "more hospitable, inclusive, and safe" city for deportees, according to a recent publication.[2] Local authorities have pushed forward programs to place these individuals in jobs, offering workshops, and deportees can receive a small amount of unemployement insurance upon arrival.

It was in one of these workshops that López started meeting others in her situation, most of them male. Along with some of them, López founded Deportados Unidos en la Lucha[3] (Deportees United in Struggle) in December 2016. It is a collective that was created to help deportees find their way back into a country that many of them don't feel connected with, having left it so long ago. López and her colleagues offer temporary shelter, a support network, and access to documentation, legal representation, and healthcare to newly arrived deportees in Mexico City.

The collective found its main source of funding through serendipity. After attending a workshop offered by the Labor Ministry of Mexico City, López and other deportees learned to master the technique of serigraphy—printing designs on textiles. She and her colleagues were new to this craft, but thought that it could be useful to get their message out. They started to print and sell t-shirts, bags, and mugs under the name Deportados Brand. This is now the main source of income keeping the support group and temporary shelter running.

At the Deportados Brand workshop, Gustavo Lavariega, deported from Washington in 2014, stands in the back. He operates "the octopus (*el pulpo*)," the wooden machine that the collective uses to print their clothing. He had never used one of these machines before joining Deportados Unidos en la Lucha, but is now experienced with its operation.

Lavariega had been painting houses in the US for seventeen years. He was just about to open his own construction paint business in early 2014, when one day, he walked out of his house and there were three ICE vehicles waiting to detain him.

Upon arriving in Mexico City, where he was born and raised, Lavariega also felt alone and confused, but the community that López created has helped him feel a little better. "This collective is my family now. It's my home, and I like to learn new things every day here, always trying to become a better person," he says, while López stands by him and smiles.

A New Episode in a Long Journey of Activism

Deportados Unidos en la Lucha is only López's latest effort in a long career of trying to help others in vulnerable situations. In Chicago, she was an active member of her community, volunteering, organizing, and teaching other immigrants about their labor rights while working for Arise Chicago,[4] a local nonprofit organization that focuses on labor rights advocacy.

After being fired from a company in which she tried to unionize her fellow workers, López quickly developed her potential as an organizer at Arise. She was frequently invited to workshops,

Diego de María at his serigraphy workshop in downtown Mexico City.

conferences, and meetings around town. López focused on organizing women around their labor rights and teaching them community leadership skills. "That was a really nice time. I was very happy," she said.

She believes her work as an activist in the United States is what ultimately got her deported.

"After I started to organize political campaigns with congressmen, some ordinances were passed. I contributed in the fight for paid sick leave and the raising of the minimum wage," she said proudly.

By this time, López had begun appearing in the media, with interviews on TV and in local newspapers in the city. She believes that this is why the immigration officers were waiting for her at the plane. "Why me? This never happens. It all looks like it was because of my activist work," she said.

However, López had tried to enter the United States illegally in 2001 and was caught by immigration authorities at the Tijuana-Otay border. This record of a previous deportation was used against her when she was stopped at the airport in 2016.

Building Community through Serigraphy

Back in her hometown of Mexico City, López knew that she had to contribute to her community in some way. Working as an activist in Chicago, she "learned the importance of feeling that we are together," said López.

In one of the serigraphy workshops, she met Diego de María, 37. He had recently been deported from Dalton, Georgia, where he had also been living and working as an undocumented immigrant for sixteen years. He was driving with his six-year-old son one afternoon when he was stopped by a police officer and was found to be driving without a license. Four months later, he was sent back to Mexico City.

He had not been acquainted with serigraphy, either. Never having graduated from middle school, de María had been working for different factories in the carpet industry in Dalton. In Mexico, he quickly picked up serigraphy and started his own brand, F*ck la Migra.[5] He now sells his shirts and stickers online. With these earnings, he partly pays for the lawyer who is helping him regain custody of his son, who, like Lavariega's and López's children, is still in the United States.

De María thinks that the community building started by Ana Laura López is important. "This support network is what keeps us alive here. We have started crowdfunding campaigns to help each other in cases that are similar to mine," he said. He has also joined López in her activist work. "When the [Central American] migrant caravan arrived here, we were there, supporting and helping those people on their way to the US," he added.

United by a shared history of having lived in the United States, López, Lavariega, de María, and many others continue to work and support each other in Mexico City. They sell their clothing, offer guidance and legal counseling to those who arrive feeling lost, just like they did some years ago, and they work to find ways to return to the United States to be reunited with their families and friends.

Their stories are different, but they share the yearning for a country that feels close and yet far, and the family they were forced to leave behind.

"We all live the American dream differently," said López. "Mine was to have a house with a backyard and a family. I like that stereotype, which was one that I could never imagine in Mexico," she added, before staying quiet for some time. ✹

Alvaro Céspedes is a Mexican journalist who recently graduated with a dual master's degree in Journalism and Latin American Studies from The University of Texas at Austin. His journalistic works focus on stories related to the intersection between immigration, social justice, and culture. In the United States, he has done freelance work for outlets like NACLA, Texas Observer and Texas Standard. In Mexico, he has worked with Gatopardo, Letras Libres, and Vice. He believes in the power of words as a means for change.

Notes

1. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Fiscal Year 2016 ICE Enforcement and Removal Operations Report. Available at ice.gov/sites /default/files/documents/Report/2016/removal-stats-2016.pdf.
2. Netzahualcóyotl Bustamante Santín, ed. *Programas Sociales para Población Migrante en la Ciudad de México: Identificación de Buenas Prácticas y Recomendaciones en Materia de Incerción Laboral*. Mexico: Secretaría de Trabajo y Fomento al Empleo del Gobierno de la Ciudad de México, Oficina de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo para México y Cuba, October 2018.
3. Deportados Unidos en la Lucha and Deportados Brand can be found online at faceook.com/deportadosunidos and facebook.com/dbserigrafia, respectively.
4. Visit arisechicago.org.
5. See facebook.com/fcklamigra.

STUDENT RESEARCH

Reconceptualizing Trans-Centered Research in 21st-Century Brazil

by JOSHUA REASON

FOR DAY OF THE DEAD LAST YEAR, toward the end of my Fulbright research in Salvador da Bahia, I attended "Elas Não Morreram" (They Did Not Die), a drag show commemorating the five-year anniversary of Coletivo das Liliths, an LGBTQI[1] theater collective I had become acquainted with over the past year. The celebration was held in a bar and cultural space on Rua Carlos Gomes, a historically LGBTT[2] street in the center of Salvador that, due to ongoing gentrification, has attracted a contingent of conservative residents seeking to displace the dissident bodies that have created home there. In light of the persistent acts of anti-LGBTT terror perpetrated by these residents, "Elas Não Morreram" served as both a celebration and a corrective, asserting that despite all that has happened to us, both inside and outside of that space, we have not perished, and will not perish.

Following an opening by the Indigenous artist collective Aldeia came a performance by Kaysha Kutnner, a Black drag queen and comedian. Her set consisted of several lip syncs interspersed with monologues poking fun at people in the crowd and Brazilian life in general. One of my favorite parts of the performance was her response to Jair Bolsonaro's policy regarding the right to bear arms. Kaysha expressed her enthusiastic support for his decree, claiming that we would finally have the means to protect ourselves from anti-LGBTT violence. She proceeded to simulate how this newfound expression of LGBTT rights would play out, miming the removal of firearms from her wig, leg, and various orifices of her body to protect herself from the *machistas* (whom she evoked throughout her monologue). While we were all aware that Bolsonaro's policy was not meant to protect us, her defiant performance of the LGBTT possibilities of the policy had everyone in the space crying with laughter. Kaysha followed up her monologue perfectly by lip syncing Linn da Quebrada's "Bixa Preta," a song that advocates self-defense and demands respect for Black LGBTT folk from the favela, particularly Black femmes, trans, and *travesti*[3] individuals.

Toward the end of her performance, Kaysha posed a serious yet necessary intervention in the space: she forced us to take a moment to recognize that we would not be there if it were not for the "*bichas afeminadas, sapatonas, trans, e travestis*"[4] who are so unapologetically themselves and who, despite violence from both inside and outside of the LGBTT community, continue to carve out space for us to be ourselves. As she continued her intervention, she noticed me sitting in the front, and pointed out that these populations of the LGBTT community make it possible for me to have my eyebrow piercing. And Kaysha was absolutely right! We were in that bar, literally maintained by the financial and affective labor of a butch lesbian and her femme wife, but also sustained by the

Promotional art by Jana Belo for "Elas Não Morreram" (2018).

Activist, teacher, and *mãe de santo* Thiffany Odara, holding the trans flag in preparation for the march organized by Casarão da Diversidade (2018).

cultural production of Black and Indigenous LGBTT performance collectives and individuals such as herself, precisely because they committed themselves to being so relentlessly and resiliently themselves. By singling me out for my eyebrow piercing, Kaysha also reminded us that this affective and cultural labor is not limited to the space of the bar, but is present in our aesthetic choices and expressions of sexual liberation and unbound gender presentation in our daily lives. This intervention has since become the foundation on which I am writing my thesis, which explores how Black LGBTT geographies are shaped by their cultural, affective, and sexual contributions to the urban landscape, a structuring of space which I refer to as *geographies of desire*.

This essay is a call to rethink how *travesti*, as a gender identity and embodied experience, is used to speak to and of trans bodies in Salvador, often obscuring other trans identities in the process (i.e., *transgênero* and transsexual). This is not to say that the term *travesti* has outlived its usefulness, but rather that non-normative gender identifications are deployed haphazardly, both in scholarship and everyday life, in ways that further pathologize trans bodies and normalize new codifications of gender difference. *Travesti*, like many other nonbinary terms for gender identity, has multiple meanings that are highly dependent on the person you speak to. While many Brazilians and Brazilianist scholars have come to understand *travestis* as "not-quite-women" who participate in sex work, this definition does not encapsulate the fluidity and variability of *travesti* experiences. For example, all except for one of the people I interviewed during my fieldwork who identified as *travestis* also identified as trans women. In these cases, *travesti* was evoked as an economic, political, and temporal marker that referred to their current or former participation in sex work, as well as their illegibility as women. This reflects a larger politics of gender authenticity in Salvador; if you cannot pass for cisgender[5] or are not *operado/a*,[6] people will call you a *travesti* (or lesbian, in the case of trans men). Holding multiple gender identifications (*travesti* and trans women) displaces several myths that haunt trans Bahians: (1) that *travesti* and trans woman are antithetical, mutually exclusive identifications; (2) that *travesti* is less authentic/human/beautiful than trans woman; and (3) that the transition from *travesti* to trans woman is marked by hormonal therapy, plastic surgery, and the removal of one's penis.

In Black LGBTT activist spaces, the trans community has worked to dismantle the idea that some trans identities are more authentic or human than others. Organizations like TransBatuKada, De Transs Pra Frente, and Casarão da Diversidade bring together *transgêneros*, *transsexuais*, and *travestis*, along with other parts of the LGBTT spectrum, to assert the mutual humanity of all members of the trans community. For example, on Brazilian Independence Day, Casarão da Diversidade, a government-funded organization that provides workshops and health services to the LGBTT community, held a march to honor *travestis* and *putas*.[7] A true embodiment of the trans-feminist saying "support your sisters, not just your cisters," the march brought together people who, regardless of their identification(s), saw their humanity as tied to that of cis-women sex workers and *travestis*. The fact that this march took place on Brazilian Independence Day and occupied the Largo Terreiro de Jesus, a square in the historic center of Pelourinho, is also significant. Due to the physical violence enacted on both Black and trans bodies during the reign of the Portuguese empire, and, more recently, sanitization projects of the 1980s following Pelourinho's designation as a UNESCO world heritage site, the march was as much about valorizing sex work and dissident bodies as it was about citizenship, anti-imperialism, and decoloniality. This march is but one example of how the obsession with categorizing trans bodies in both research and daily life detracts from the breadth and complexity of trans political activism.

In order for trans research in Brazil to become trans-centered, to not reproduce the insistence on naming and categorizing trans bodies based on their cis-legibility, we must commit ourselves to research practices that honor the diversity of trans experiences. First, and most simply, we must refer to people not only using the pronouns and identifications they prefer, but with a deep understanding of what those terms mean both to that person and within Brazilian society writ large. The ramifications of the myths I outlined above, specifically their use as justifications for transphobic violence, are too great to be taken lightly. Second, trans-centered

Photos by Joshua Reason

research must be about more than humanizing trans people. While it is important to counteract the idea that trans people are inherently ugly, monstrous, or deceptive, an insistence on humanization bolsters the divisions between trans and *travesti*. To suggest that certain trans gender identities are more legitimate or beautiful than others is to say that certain trans bodies are okay to brutalize because they are inauthentic, disgusting, and/or potentially violent. In essence, trans research that is driven by a need to humanize subconsciously fuels the all-consuming fire that is transphobic violence. It is what allows people, both inside and outside the LGBTT community, to say that *travestis* give trans people a bad name, even though it is precisely their positioning as lesser-than that allows for cis-passing trans folk to be more (though by no means "completely") accepted in Brazilian society. As many scholars of Black Queer Studies and Black Feminist Studies have noted, the acceptance of some dissident bodies often comes at the price of others, particularly those who are low-income, Black/Indigenous, disabled, or femme.

Finally, trans-centered research must consider the possibility of trans lives speaking beyond the constitution of gender and sexuality. What would it mean to theorize anti-imperialism, decoloniality, prison reform, anti-capitalism, and other topics of contemporary importance from the perspective(s) of trans Brazilians? What possibilities open up when we consider trans livelihoods as not locally or temporally fixed, but influenced by and in conversation with global structures of power since the age of Empire? In my thesis project, I argue that the ways in which Black LGBTT bodies are read and differentiated in public space has everything to do with whether or not they look, act, or exist in desired ways, and that recognizing this particularity is essential to modifying the social, economic, and political landscape of Salvador to be more accepting of Black LGBTT Bahians.

Ranella Marcia holds a sign that reads, "For trans lives, for trans names, for empowerment, independence, no more death" (2018).

Much like the march organized by Casarão da Diversidade, Black LGBTT activist and artistic collectives in Salvador are already doing the necessary scholarly and cultural work to talk back to the harmful logics that continue to pathologize trans bodies in Brazil. However, as someone who is not Brazilian or trans, but of the African diaspora and in community with many Black trans folk, I am increasingly concerned by how non-Brazilian and non-Bahian researchers hold onto the notion of Bahia as a place of inherent sexual and gender deviance. While I would love to believe in Salvador as a queer- and trans-friendly city, and am invested in the project of truly making it so, this notion is inextricably linked to the ongoing, at times non-consensual, consumption of Black LGBTT bodies via sex tourism and daily encounters that reaffirm their violability and assumed sexual availability. This essay is a call for us, regardless of our personal identifications or research areas, to see the consequences of characterizing Bahia as a place of indulgence in Black culture, sexual liberation, and freedom of gender expression without attending to the lives that make it so. Advocating for a trans-centered approach to research in Brazil is my way of gesturing toward a future in which Salvador can truly become a space of liberatory potential for Black LGBTT Bahians. I hope that this moment, made possible by the affective, intellectual, cultural, and sexual labor of Black LGBTT Bahians, will lead to a series of future moments in which we all continue to reflect upon and act to honor the dissident bodies that have made it possible to be who we are today. ✷

Joshua Reason is a master's student at LLILAS and portfolio student in the Women's and Gender Studies LGBTQ Studies program. Their research explores the effects of urban planning and institutional memory on Black LGBTT geographies in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil. In dialogue with Black (queer) scholars throughout the African Diaspora in the Americas, Joshua shows the resonance of Black LGBTT pain and joy across space, time, and culture.

Notes

1. In the most recent promotional materials for the collective, they have opted to use LGBTQI to describe the members of the collective. That said, I will be using LGBTT throughout the rest of the essay.
2. LGBTT stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and *travesti*.
3. *Travesti* is a term used in Brazil and other Latin American countries for people who were assigned male at birth, but identify with a feminine gender identity. Not all *travestis* consider themselves women, but most refer to themselves and other *travestis* in the feminine.
4. Translation: femmes, butches, trans, and *travestis*.
5. A person who identifies with the gender they were assigned at birth.
6. A trans person who has not had surgical alterations to their breasts or private parts (e.g., sex reassignment surgery or a mastectomy).
7. *Putas*, or whores, is a derogatory term for cis-women sex workers that has been reclaimed by that community.

Reading between the Lines at Cajamarca

by R. ALAN COVEY

ON NOVEMBER 16, 1532, the Spanish *conquistador* Francisco Pizarro seized a powerful lord named Atahuallpa during a surprise attack in the highland Inca city of Cajamarca. Despite the cautious interpretations of modern historians like William Prescott and John Hemming—who treat Cajamarca as an important moment in the drawn-out conquest of Peru—popular English-language accounts have come to assume an exaggerated stance. The most prominent of these is Jared Diamond's 1997 publication *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, a book that has sold millions of copies in dozens of languages. Diamond treats Atahuallpa's capture as a battle of world-changing significance, evidence of modern Europe's unstoppable momentum toward global dominance. He presents the encounter at Cajamarca to demonstrate advantages that Pizarro's *conquistadores* supposedly held over Atahuallpa and his Inca army. This view is bolstered by the book's cover art—a vivid nineteenth-century English painting of Atahuallpa's capture.

Obviously, reducing world history to a snapshot—or a Victorian-era painting—presents interpretive hazards. Foremost of these is the risk of turning European conquest myths into factoids: widely repeated statements thought to be true, but not checked for their accuracy. A brief look at the story of Cajamarca shows how details and interpretations changed as Spaniards and other Europeans pondered the significance of their empire-building efforts.

Perhaps the most important misconception about Cajamarca is that it was a battle; it was actually the violent betrayal of ongoing diplomatic efforts between the Incas and Spaniards. Pizarro and Atahuallpa sent messages back and forth as the Spaniards ventured into the Andean highlands toward Cajamarca. When he arrived, Pizarro sent his cavalry to Atahuallpa's camp, which was set up a few miles outside the Inca city. The Spaniards presented gifts, along with Pizarro's offer to fight for Atahuallpa against his enemies. Atahuallpa agreed to meet Pizarro the following day, and he offered the Spaniards maize beer, an Inca sign that the strangers were his subjects.

Atahuallpa went to Cajamarca the following day to confirm this relationship by meeting Pizarro face-to-face. He did not send armed troops into the city ahead of him, but instead rode in an ornate litter, accompanied by an unarmed bodyguard that sang praise songs as they cleared rocks and grass from the narrow causeway that served as a processional route into the city. Atahuallpa proceeded majestically toward a trap that the Spaniards had begun to set in Cajamarca as soon as they arrived there. While their compatriots were in Atahuallpa's camp, declaring Pizarro's warm regards and offers of military aid, the Spaniards in Cajamarca placed their artillery on a ceremonial platform in the plaza, and hid mounted troops in the buildings that surrounded it. The Spaniards passed the night prepared for an Inca surprise attack, so frightened that one witness recalled men wetting themselves from sheer terror. They remained in position for the entire day of November 16, as their gunners relayed information on the Inca approach, which they watched from the plaza.

Atahuallpa finally entered Cajamarca in the late afternoon, accompanied by several other prominent lords who also rode in litters. Although some in their retinue carried slings, the battle-hardened veterans who formed the core of Atahuallpa's army were not among them. Many were still in the Inca camp, waiting for their turn to join the long procession as it slowly crossed the causeway and entered Cajamarca's streets. When Atahuallpa reached the center of the plaza, the Spaniards were nowhere to be seen. Thinking they might have fled, he sent people into the nearby buildings, where they found the foreigners hidden. Atahuallpa summoned them forth—a power that Inca rulers had over their subjects—and demanded compensation for the plunder and lives the Spaniards had taken as they rode through Inca lands to Cajamarca.

Finally, the Spaniards sent out Vicente de Valverde, a Dominican friar who was the last religious man left on the expedition. Valverde approached Atahuallpa's litter with a religious book, and through interpreters said some words about the Catholic religion. After Atahuallpa repudiated the authority of the sacred book, Valverde

retreated and Pizarro called out the signal to attack. Spanish firearms boomed as mounted horsemen poured out of the buildings and into the plaza, attacking the unprepared ceremonial bodyguard. Pizarro proceeded with his infantry toward Atahuallpa's litter, and the Spaniards hacked at the litter-bearers until the platform toppled and Pizarro was able to seize Atahuallpa. He pulled his valuable prisoner to safety as the other Spaniards proceeded to massacre the Incas who could not escape the plaza.

A Noble Hostage-Taking

In that moment, the Spaniards did not mistake their hostage-taking for the conquest of an empire. The knightly tradition of medieval Iberia had long emphasized taking noble prisoners on the battlefield and forcing them to pay lavish ransoms to regain their freedom. This was a tactic that Pizarro's men knew from ballads of ancient heroes like El Cid. It was also a strategy that had recently proven effective in Europe: Spanish forces captured King Francis I at Pavia in 1525, and Pope Clement VII surrendered to Habsburg soldiers during the 1527 sack of Rome. These events led to political concessions and significant payoffs, after which the king and pope were freed. Pizarro quickly came to a similar arrangement with Atahuallpa: in exchange for his freedom, the prisoner would fill a large room with gold, and two more with silver. Meanwhile, the Spaniards allowed Atahuallpa to assemble his court within the palace at Cajamarca, and to act as the Inca ruler. After the agreed-upon ransom was assembled, the Spaniards claimed that Atahuallpa was conspiring with his military commanders to attack them. With little evidence to substantiate this, they held a hasty trial and executed their noble prisoner. Instead of claiming the Inca world for Spain, Pizarro immediately selected an Inca prince to take Atahuallpa's place as Inca.

Even if the Spaniards had thought that the Inca ruler was an absolute monarch whose capture signified the permanent conquest of his empire, they knew before reaching Cajamarca that Atahuallpa was not the legitimate Inca ruler. The earliest eyewitness accounts clearly show that Pizarro learned from coastal lords and Inca messengers that Atahuallpa's brother, Huascar, was the acknowledged Inca who ruled in Cuzco.[1] Atahuallpa was a military governor in the frontier province of Quito, and although he told the Spaniards that Huascar had attacked him unjustly, he had no legitimate claim to the Inca title. Atahuallpa's captains had just defeated Huascar and captured him near Cuzco, and the Spaniards

Image courtesy of Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum

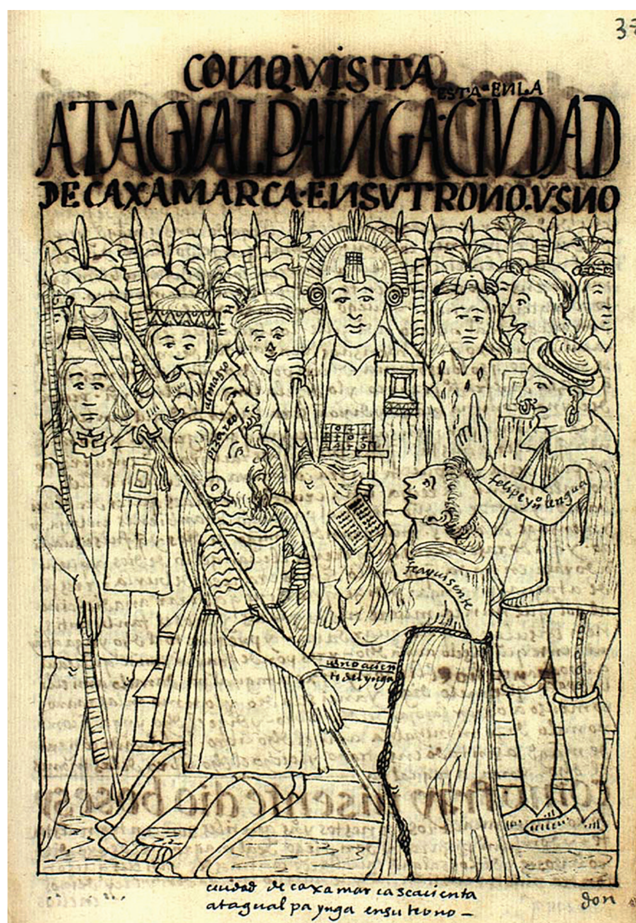
John Everett Millais (1846), *Pizarro Seizing the Inca of Peru*. As a 16-year-old, Millais was inspired to paint the scene after reading an English description of the event. The painting appears on the cover of Diamond's *Guns, Germs, and Steel*.

were eager to meet with the Inca sovereign to determine their next move. When he learned that Atahuallpa's men had murdered Huascar on the road to Cajamarca, Pizarro found it convenient to treat the captive Atahuallpa as if he were the Inca, even as he began to build alliances with other would-be Inca rulers.

This is an important point, because Pizarro was contractually bound to seek out native rulers peacefully, present them with an account of Spain's Catholic mission in the Americas, and attempt to win their support. In 1529, Charles V approved the colonization of Peru by only 250 Spaniards, expecting that the highly developed Inca civilization would make it easy to establish Spanish towns and Catholic missionaries. Pizarro chose to seek out Atahuallpa at Cajamarca after he already knew that the warlord was a tyrant who had carried out atrocities against many of the coastal valleys that the *conquistadores* passed through. Pizarro must have understood that he could not come to meaningful terms with someone who was not a legitimate sovereign.

Reading between the lines of the eyewitness accounts of Cajamarca, it is clear that the Spaniards who were there understood that they had not won a decisive battle or conquered an empire. They used the appearance of diplomatic negotiations to lure a rebel warlord into an ambush, and after taking him hostage, they used him to collect treasure for themselves. They then executed Atahuallpa so that they could crown an Inca prince who was acceptable to the imperial nobility.

Woodcut from *Relación verdadera de la conquista del Perú* (1534), by Pizarro's secretary, Francisco de Xerez. The artist had no knowledge of Peru, so Cajamarca resembles a European castle, and there is a clear contrast between the well-dressed Spaniards and the almost naked Incas.



Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's portrayal of Cajamarca, in which Pizarro kneels before Atahuallpa, who is enthroned on the ceremonial platform at the city center.

Left, image courtesy of John Carter Brown Library, Brown University; *right*, image courtesy of Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 4º, f. 384 [386] (1615)

Evolving Meanings for Cajamarca

Given these facts, how did we come to accept the misrepresentation of Cajamarca as a world-changing battle? To get a better perspective, we can look at how European writers and artists depicted the event in the century that followed. Early eyewitness chronicles emphasized two powerful claims: Pizarro was faithfully spreading Christianity, and was representing the sovereign interests of Charles V. In fact, Vicente de Valverde was the only religious man still with Pizarro at Cajamarca; the others had died or returned to Panama to protest Pizarro's poor leadership. The 1534 woodcut that first depicted Cajamarca empasized missionary work among uncivilized natives, completely contradicting descriptions of Inca civilization. In fact, the Spaniards struggled to convert native Andeans, undermining their imperial claims in Peru. Over time, Protestants established their own American colonies, and by the 1600s, Spanish writers found themselves treating Pizarro's survival at Cajamarca as the miraculous evidence of God's support for Catholic empire-building—not the decisive conquest of the Incas.

The claim that Pizarro was at Cajamarca to serve Charles V was patently false. Pizarro repeatedly violated the terms of royal contract to colonize Peru. He sailed from Spain without royal permission, and with fewer men than specified. He took a different route to Panama, where he recruited the wrong sort of men, leaving for

Image of Atahuallpa's capture in a pitched battle by the Dutch artist Theodor de Bry (1597).

Image courtesy of John Carter Brown Library, Brown University

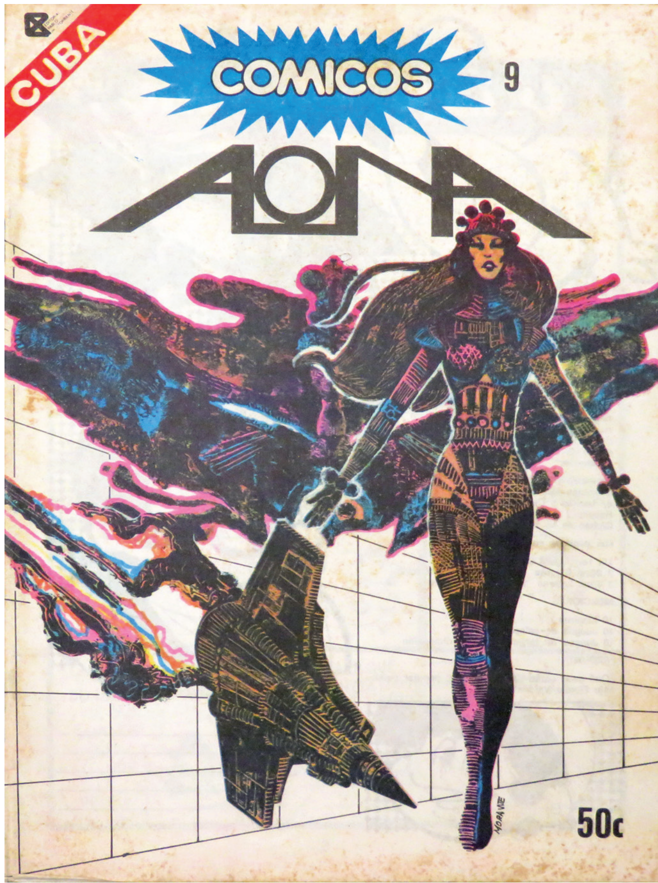
Peru after the agreed-on date for settling his colony. Pizarro failed to settle a Spanish town in the coastal city of Tumbez. Instead of setting up multiple coastal settlements and forts that would generate revenue from mining and agriculture, he went into the Andean highlands in search of Atahuallpa. The unlikely success of the ambush at Cajamarca made the Crown more likely to forgive these lapses, especially after the *conquistadores* were dead and royal officials governed the central Andes. Spanish rulers found it convenient to regard Atahuallpa as having been a sovereign ruler, and by the 1700s they claimed that Charles V was his direct heir in Peru.

Over time, Spaniards retrospectively interpreted the significance of Cajamarca, recasting it into a great battle that advanced Spanish sovereignty and Catholic conversion. After Spain's American colonies gained independence in the 1820s, the growth of other colonial empires made the narrative of Cajamarca compelling to Europeans and Americans. Spanish sovereignty readily conveyed claims of the superiority of Western civilization, and Pizarro's miraculous survival illustrated the dominance of the technologies and philosophies emerging from the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment. Consciously or not, Jared Diamond's representation of the myth of Cajamarca raised the event from a nineteenth-century example of European ascendancy to a contemporary metaphor for the advent of modern Western dominance. Today, the story of Cajamarca mistakenly contrasts Western "civilization" with the societies of indigenous people it has too often destroyed, exploited, and marginalized. Historians will continue to work to set the record straight.

R. Alan Covey is professor in the Department of Anthropology at The University of Texas at Austin. His research explores the development and organization of ancient empires, with a particular focus on the Incas of Andean South America. His most recent book is The Inca Apocalypse*, forthcoming from Oxford University Press in 2020.*

Note

1. Anonymous (attributed to Cristóbal de Mena), *La conquista del Perú* (Seville, 1534); Francisco de Xerez, *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú* (Seville, 1534).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REVISTA MENSUAL 20¢
¡MALDITOS "PANCHOS"! NOS TIENEN MUY BIEN RODEADOS, MARÍA SILVIA!
¡ELPIDIO VALDÉS! ¡RÍNDASE!
¡AH, Y TENEMOS UN CAÑÓN, PARA QUE LO SEPA!
SABEMOS QUE ESTÁ CON HERIDOS Y NO SE PUEDE ESCAPAR... JÁ JÁ JÁ JÁ JÁ
¡CÁSPITA! TREMENDO LÍO PARA ELPIDIO VALDÉS!
SIGUE EN LA PÁGINA CENTRAL
Recuerda:
Si andas limpio y arreglado serás siempre bien tratado.
Al llegar a algún lugar, lo primero es saludar.
¡VIVA EL SEGUNDO CONGRESO!
¡Cómo flotan las banderas! Fusil y machete vibran prendidos en el emblema del Congreso Comunista.
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Cuba's Revolutionary Comics

The Caridad Blanco Collection of Historietas Cubanas

by ADRIAN JOHNSON

COMIC BOOKS, originally created as entertainment for children, were long relegated to dime-store magazine racks, children's bookshelves, and the cheap bin at used bookstores. While sales of comics today are struggling, in recent years they have come to occupy a more important place in our culture than most readers in the last century could have ever dreamed. More comics today are written for adults than are written for children. Comic book superheroes are the hottest commodity in Hollywood. And scholarly focus on popular culture production like comics continues to expand.

The Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection has collected Latin American and US Latinx comic books for decades. But a recent acquisition, the Caridad Blanco Collection of Cuban Comic Books / Historietas Cubanas, containing over 750 comic books and newspaper cartoon inserts, documents the history of graphic art and humor in Cuba, focusing especially on the decades following Fidel Castro's 1959 revolution.

Graphic humor developed in Cuba, as in much of the West, with newspaper strips and satirical political cartoons, starting in the late nineteenth century. A strong culture of graphic art also developed in the form of trading cards, begining with tobacco cards, and expanding in the twentieth century to collectible cards included with different food products. This tradition continued through the revolution and still remained popular for Cuban children through the end of the twentieth century. Comic books began appearing in Cuba in the early twentieth century, but were primarily Spanish-language translations of Disney and superhero comics popular in the United States at the time. With the triumph of Fidel Castro's revolution in 1959, comic books abruptly found a new purpose and strong official support.

Cover of *Zig Zag*, August 8, 1959 (artist unknown). A Cuban peasant looks at Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and US president Dwight D. Eisenhower, and tries to figure out which one would be the better ally.

Selections from Caridad Blanco Collection, images courtesy of Benson Latin American Collection

As the new government developed revolutionary ideals, graphic art, along with other popular art forms, was quickly put to the service of building a revolutionary nationalist consciousness. This coincided with a movement throughout Latin America focused on distinguishing national cultures and identities from those of the United States. In Cuba, US comics were quickly replaced by Cuban comics, written and drawn by Cuban artists, with uniquely Cuban themes.

Revolutionary Storylines

Stories took a swift revolutionary stance, urging readers to work to become the new socialist man, an identity characterized by devotion to work, individual contribution, and involvement in collective efforts. Comics told stories of the heroes of the revolution and the Cuban Independence movement, exemplified by the most popular comic book character in Cuba, Elpidio Valdés, a colonel with the peasant Mambi army fighting for liberation from Spain in the 1890s. Alongside these larger-than-life hero characters, stories focused on ordinary Cuban citizens, each doing their part to improve the quality of life for themselves and their neighbors. Protagonists are humble, don't lie to their family or friends, they take care of themselves physically and emotionally, and always contribute to community projects. When characters make decisions counter to the revolutionary ideal, everyone comes together to get them back on track. Comics without overtly political messages at the least featured public service announcements with similar messages sprinkled among the stories.

Cover of *C Linea: Revista Latinoamericana de Estudio de la Historieta* 1 (1): 1973. Image from the comic "El Endure" by Mario Ponce.

As Supertiñosa launches a "devastating attack" on Cuba with other North American comic book heroes, the well-known Pucho jumps onto the page with scissors and resolves the problem. Virgilio Martínez Gainza, *Historietas Supertiñosa* (Editorial Pablo de la Torriente, February 1988).

A common theme of Cuban comics is anti-imperialism. Authors did not shy away from portraying the United States as a money-addicted, racist society obsessed with overthrowing communism. Supertiñosa, for example, is a US-style superhero who works with Superman, Dick Tracy, the Lone Ranger, Captain America, and others to overthrow *los rojos* (the reds) in Cuba. Other comics focus on historical imperialism, such as the character Yari, an indigenous Taíno constantly struggling (and triumphing) against the Spanish *conquistadores*. Portrayal of Afro-Cubans stands in stark contrast to common US portrayals (and absences) of African Americans during the 1960s and 1970s.

Graphic Art and Artists under the Embargo

While many of the Cuban comics feature artistic styles similar to comics universally, multiple factors led to distinctive and unique graphic art. Cuba's revolutionary government strongly and actively

supported the arts. The nation was small and highly literate, with granular, if sometimes forced, participation in building a revolutionary society. Opposition to the United States and the embargo remained high among those artists who stayed in Cuba, especially in the first decade. Finally, artists had to be creative and inventive simply due to lack of materials like paint and paper, resulting from the embargo. All of these factors set Cuban graphic art apart from contemporary trends elsewhere the world. This collection encapsulates and documents these uniquely Cuban trends from the 1960s onward.

The collection's namesake, Caridad Blanco de la Cruz, is a curator at the Centro de Desarrollo de las Artes Visuales (Center for the Development of the Visual Arts) in Havana. Comic books and graphic art and humor are a lifelong passion. She is a graphic art scholar, has published articles and books on the topic, and created numerous exhibitions spotlighting Cuban comic book artists in Cuba and in Europe. Her most recent book, published in April 2019, is *Los flujos de la imagen: Una década de animación independiente en Cuba (2003–2013)*. Blanco has collected comic books throughout her life, resulting in a collection carefully curated to reflect the most important themes, artists, characters, publishers, and newspaper inserts of the last sixty years. One of her lifelong goals has been to elevate graphic humor in Cuba to the status of a fine art, worthy of serious consideration in the art world and the scholarly universe. This collection will be a treasure trove for scholars of literature, art, public relations, history, political science, African diaspora studies, Latin American studies, and much more. ✹

Adrian Johnson is librarian for Caribbean Studies and head of user services at the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection.

Related Collections

Cuban Comic Books and Graphic Fiction Collection (1952–2017)
Cuban comic books, graphic novels, zines, and other graphic fiction.
https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00504/lac-00504.html

Puerto Rican Popular Culture Print Materials Collection (1974–2015)
Comic books, zines, cartoneras, and other popular culture and graphic fiction materials from Puerto Rico.
https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00505/lac-00505.html

Libros Latinos Latino Comics Collection (1992–2005)
Comic books, zines, graphic novels, posters, and ephemera acquired from San Francisco–based bookseller Libros Latinos.
https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00338/lac-00338.html

Spanish *conquistadores* send their hunting falcon to attack native Cuban parrots, and Yari, an indigenous Taíno, protects them by shooting the falcon with an arrow. Roberto Alfonso Cruz, *Yari* (Casa Editora Abril, 2005).

A Matter of Perspective

Violence, Victims, and the Quest for Dignity in Memory

by RICARDO CASTRO AGUDELO

COUNT TO FOUR. One number per second.

One . . . Two . . . Three . . . Fo . . .

Nearly four seconds. That's how long it took for the Monaco building to collapse amidst a slow-rising cloud of gray dust on February 22, 2019, in Medellín, Colombia. The Monaco, an eight-story concrete building in one of the city's wealthiest neighborhoods, was once the bunker/home for narco kingpin Pablo Escobar and his family. That's before it was abandoned after Escobar's rivals detonated a powerful car bomb in the vicinity in 1988.

To demolish the building—with its three now-abandoned elevators, tennis courts, swimming pool, sauna, and twelve apartments—the team commissioned for the job deployed 275 kilograms of a dynamite-like explosive. The scope of the operation persuaded local authorities to evacuate over a thousand people from the surrounding area. Nearby, on the grounds of an exclusive country club, the mayor of Medellín, Federico Gutiérrez, had organized a viewing party of sorts. Fifteen hundred spectators, including over 300 of Escobar's victims, gathered to witness the demolition. The president of Colombia, Iván Duque Márquez, was also in attendance. "I believe this event signifies the defeat of the culture of illegality and the triumph of legality. It means that history will not be written orbiting around victimizers," Duque said, before mentioning the victims of narco-terrorism. "Today, with their memory in our hearts, we know their sacrifice for Colombia was not in vain. I hope that everyone who comes to visit the monument in honor of the victims sees how Colombia is over that horrible night of the Medellín cartel and how a creative, innovative society has now been built." The event, which local media described as "historic," was also televised.

The demolition of the infamous building was part of *Medellín abraza su historia* (Medellín embraces its history), a wide-ranging campaign promoted by the local government to pay homage to the 46,000 victims felled by the narco war against the state between 1983 and 1994. The building had become one of many visible and undying scars of the city's (and Colombia's) recent past, when Escobar's cartel declared an all-out war against the country's institutions, making Medellín one of the most violent cities in the world. The building, for years neglected in its abandonment, started gaining notoriety as a result of a newfound international interest in drug baron stories: best-sellers, dramatizations, movies, the Netflix-produced Narcos. Today, Escobar's face is stamped and sold on any surface, from t-shirts to coffee mugs. The growing memorabilia industry around the cartel has also manifested itself via narco tours, which take foreigners to important sites of the drug war history in Colombia. Of course, the Monaco building

A mural welcomes visitors to Barrio Pablo Escobar in Medellín, Colombia, with the slogan “Aquí se respira paz” (Here, one breathes peace) (November 2018).

Souvenirs with the image of Pablo Escobar (November 2018).

Tourists pose in front of Edificio Mónaco in Medellín days before its demolition (February 2019).

Top, photo by DPA Picture Alliance / Alamy Stock Photo; *bottom left*, photo by Daniel Romero / VWPics / Alamy Stock Photo; *bottom right*, photo by SOPA Images Limited / Alamy Stock Photo

was one of the highlights, a premium spot for tone-deaf tourists to show off on social media. This celebratory approach to the life of a killer who caused so much pain persuaded the city officials to act. These acts of remembrance, centered on the thousands of victims of narco-fueled violence, have helped to counter what some perceive as an idolization of criminals and thugs.

Journalism and Remembrance

Minutes after the building collapsed, two thousand miles to the north, in Austin, Texas, Patricia Nieto started talking about remembrance. A soft-spoken journalist, teacher, and writer from Colombia, Nieto was just starting her career when the cartel's challenge was boiling. The kinds of stories she suddenly found herself reporting were hard to prepare for: bombings, extortion, and kidnappings amidst a rarefied atmosphere of omnipresent fear. She addressed a diverse audience of faculty, students, and fellow journalists gathered at the Benson Latin American Collection on the University of Texas at Austin campus, where the 2019 Lozano Long Conference was under way. The conference—titled Journalism under Siege—focused on the multifaceted perils journalism and its practitioners face when reporting in Latin America.

Experts from the journalism field from around the continent shared their thoughts and experiences over the three-day span of the event. Nieto was featured in a panel discussion, "Journalism, Memory, and the Search for Justice," alongside human rights attorney and UT professor Ariel Dulitzky, a leading expert on the inter-American human rights system, and Marcela Turati, a courageous Mexican journalist-turned-war-reporter. Nieto began her talk about memory by reading a short autobiographical account of the first time she saw a dead body, at age twenty-two. She visited Medellín's morgue two days after a car bomb had exploded in the city's bullfighting rink, where a crowd was gathered. She was there to report on any unclaimed bodies left by the explosion when she saw up-close the body of an unidentified twenty-year-old male. A woman—his sister—told her his story and his name. He was a locksmith and an amateur soccer player who ended up selling crisps on the streets of the city. "She gave back a first name and a last name to he who was silenced as a John Doe." Nieto saw the sister's aching hurt, looking at the body of her brother as she cried, cursed, and asked for explanations. "When I saw her embrace the dead body, I saw that she had begun to understand the fate of her younger brother."

Nieto recalled going back to the newsroom sobbing, unable to make sense of her editor's instructions or of the cold TV news headlines. "I wanted to go back to the boy and cover him at least with a blanket," she said. Years later, she reread the piece she'd written, looking for his name. She was shocked to find she had omitted this detail from her writing, and she felt the dead weight of guilt. "I found I was not only incapable of covering his exposed body with a blanket; I had also denied him his name, and in doing so, I contributed to his second death, which is oblivion."

"I HAD ALSO DENIED HIM HIS NAME, AND IN DOING SO, I CONTRIBUTED TO HIS SECOND DEATH, WHICH IS OBLIVION."

"We Must Make the Past Newsworthy"

Journalism traditionally has been an urgent job that focuses on the ever-changing present—the "first rough draft of history," as famously described by publisher Phillip L. Graham. In conflict-ridden societies, novel journalism practices have emerged out of the overlap of traditional reporting focused on the present, and the exploration of the past for the building of collective memories. The present is no longer the exclusive source of news. In Nieto's words, "we make the past newsworthy." Journalists who deal with memory travel back in time to the places where stories were previously reported. The passage of time allows them to question their own methods and to reinterpret past events. It allows them to analyze how stories were reported, then to identify and, hopefully, fill in the blanks with the information needed to understand that which seemed incomprehensible at the time. In this traveling back, journalists themselves become primary sources for the stories.

When reporting on the missing, the dead, the victims, journalists face a challenge for which they haven't been trained. Exploring how past violence has been reported allows them to revisit communities that have survived traumatic events and to explore the consequences. Actions once reported on the spot, eclipsed by the ceaseless news cycle and likely forgotten, have had an impact over the years on the people who suffered them directly: the downtrodden inhabitants of rural towns to whom media tends to pay attention only when tragedies occur. The work of Nieto, Turati, and others shows how journalists are indispensable for preservation of memory in times of conflict, as they seek the facts, scenes, and narratives beyond what is broadcast by official sources of information. It is in these interstices between the official narratives and the unknown victims that journalism executes its urgent political role—as a practice to search for stories and a methodology to rescue them from being forgotten. Therein lies the danger: journalists committed to these pursuits have to be resilient. They must face the precariousness of a field increasingly under threat by budget cuts and the depletion of resources.

Nieto's own experience is telling about the ways in which journalists shift their methods when reporting on the past, when one must realize that sources of information are also victims. As such, they have a political status demanding a different approach. They want to be heard. In these scenarios, practices like collaborative journalism have the potential to rescue stories from silence and prevent such horrors from reoccurring. "There is a lot that exceeds the cold description of who said what and under what circumstances." The retelling of past events without the pressure of a deadline or of being the first to "break the story" changes the way stories are reported, researched, and told. Journalists who cover violence during conflict play a role they didn't bargain for. Inadvertently or not, they revitalize the field and the political implications of reporting about citizens rather than those with power.

The rewards might be less tangible, but more lingering. Naming the horror, exposing the grief, silence, and uncertainty of those

who have been hurt and ignored has been shown to be a vital factor in societies struggling for reconciliation. Shining a light on victims could help shift paradigms of societies that commodify the faces of their cold-blooded killers. The unrelenting pursuit of truth, however uncomfortable in the short term, could prevent the next criminal-highlight-tour industry and the decades-late efforts to bury the past under the rubble. ✹

Ricardo Castro Agudelo (Bogotá, 1985) is a PhD student in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at The University of Texas at Austin. He holds a degree in literature and a master's in journalism. His research interests focus on creative nonfiction and narratives of violence.

THE 2019 LOZANO LONG CONFERENCE, *"Journalism under Siege: A Collective Reflection," held in February 2019, highlighted the collective efforts of notable Latin American journalists to protect their work and report on the region's most pressing social, cultural, economic, and political problems. The conference was co-organized by faculty members Gabriela Polit (Spanish and Portuguese) and Javier Auyero (Sociology), with co-sponsorship from the Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas.*

2020 LOZANO LONG CONFERENCE | February 19–20

Black Women's Intellectual Contributions to the Americas

Black women from Latin America have made significant theoretical and philosophical interventions across the region from the Conquest period forward. Employing a multidisciplinary, transnational perspective, this conference will rethink the role that Black women's thought and praxis have played in defining the sociopolitical and cultural landscape of the Americas for the past four hundred years, centering the experiences of Black women in Latin America and the movement of Black women throughout the Americas via migration, transit, and cultural flows. By locating Black women as agents of theory, movement, politics, and culture, this conversation will recast Black women as theorizers and transnational agents of change.

Photo courtesy of Noticias Caracol

Banners on the Monaco building evoke memories of violence during the Escobar era.

Interview

Gabriela Siracusano

Art historian Gabriela Siracusano studies the material dimension of artistic production in artworks from the sixteenth century to the present. An internationally known and highly sought-after scholar, she is director of the Research Center for Art, Materiality, and Culture at the Instituto sobre Arte y Cultura "Dr. Norberto Griffa," at Universidad Nacional Tres de Febrero in Buenos Aires, and a career researcher at the National Scientific and Research Council of Argentina, CONICET. In this interview with Portal *editor Susanna Sharpe, Siracusano discusses her work.*

You ended up becoming an expert in South American colonial art in a circuitous way. Let's begin with the story of how you got there.

I've always been interested in the intersections, dialogues, and also discussions and disagreements between the world of art and that of science. That led me in 1990, as a graduate student, to start a research project on the Argentine concrete artists of the 1940s and 50s and their particular appropriation of the scientific ideas associated with quantum physics. After five years of work, and having written almost half of my thesis, I felt something was wrong: there were no more questions aroused inside me on that topic. This was definitely bad, as I understand that in order to do research, you need a question, a problem, and, mostly importantly, desire, libido. So I decided to take a turn in my career: I "flew back" to Early Modern times, to the moment when the crystallization of the modern scientific paradigm took place. Thanks to my adviser, Dr. José Emilio Burucúa, who listened to my needs, I was able to examine a large number of Spanish South American images that were being conserved and restored within a project developed by Argentina's National Academy of Fine Arts and the Antorchas Foundation. There were chemists working on the materials in those images. And here came the questions, the problems, the desire! After almost twenty years, I still feel I made the right decision.

Many people outside of the art world are not familiar with the term *materiality*. How do you explain it to the curious reader, and how does it guide your research and understanding of art?

Working with artistic materiality implies emphasizing a dimension of the artwork that in itself collaborates and builds its meaning, beyond its iconographic significance. To investigate the materiality of a piece is to identify its components, examine the aesthetic choices of its author, understand the cultural practices that were involved in their development, while recognizing the horizon of knowledge around it. Interdisciplinary work is fundamental for this type of venture: the result of a chemical analysis of pigments, for example, does not offer all its informative potential if it is not contrasted with written, oral, and visual sources that contribute to turning that chemical result into a historical and cultural source. Now, I don't always mean scientific studies when I talk about studying the material dimension of a work of art. It is something much broader: It means paying attention to the footprints and marks

Anonymous. *Virgen del Milagro* (Virgin of the Miracle). Salta, Argentina. c. 1690. Cathedral of Salta.

Virgen del Milagro, Cathedral of Salta (detail).

Photos by Gabriela Siracusano

that past uses have left upon the work, something that often goes unnoticed by many researchers and that allows us to trace the life of that object, its biography.

Your collaboration with scholars in other disciplines is fundamental to your work. Can you share an example of how you and members of your interdisciplinary team complement each other's knowledge?

The work of the traditional art historian is usually very lonely. All of the information we process from our study in archives, libraries, and in public and private collections is done in absolute solitude most of the time. Somehow this gives us some illusion of control over what we investigate . . . But in turn it imposes a great challenge—to identify whether the methods and the theoretical criteria we have chosen are the correct ones, since nobody will discuss anything with us, at least until we put our findings to the test in an academic-scientific medium.

Interdisciplinary research is the best thing that ever happened to me in my academic life. To submit our gaze and our conclusions to that of those who do not share our training or our theoretical-methodological assumptions is an experience as exciting as it is motivating. It forces us to question our own preconceptions daily, to challenge ourselves about certain concepts so normalized that we no longer notice that they are precisely that: acquired concepts. I like to think of it as a map on which multiple paths connect the artwork with the laboratory, the library, and the archive, and with the artist, in the case of contemporary works. The path is not always the same, and therein lies the richness of this kind of approach: it is not always linear and is sometimes contradictory.

Once, my team performed a material study, in public, on a Jesuit Guaraní sculpture from the Schenone Collection, which was housed at the Centro MATERIA of the National University of Tres de Febrero (UNTREF). We used an X-ray fluorescence analyzer, a noninvasive tool that identifies the elemental composition of a piece of art in real time. As the first results began to appear, one of the art historians began to look in a Jesuit manual for an artistic recipe that could coincide with our results. The full dimension of these results only became possible when both sources—material and textual—were put into dialogue. When the analysis of a microscopic sample taken from a Latin American work of art coincides to a high degree with the technique described by a recipe in a European handbook, this is an indicator that the handbook not only circulated in the American territory but was also read and its teachings applied actively in studios. Thus we see the imprint of the praxis of the past from the application of what I like to call an archaeology of making. My chemist colleague, Dr. Marta Maier, and I have been promoting this interdisciplinary dialogue for more than twenty years. The result is Centro MATERIA, which, under our direction, combines research carried out by a team of art historians, chemists, and conservationists. It is a dream come true.

One of the questions that drives your work is about the meaning of images and objects to people. How does your approach to art reveal this meaning?

In recent years, I have conducted research on certain South American religious images created during the Viceroyalty (mid-sixteenth

Virgen del Milagro, Cathedral of Salta (detail).

century to early nineteenth century), many of them still in use today for practices of devotion. To work scientifically on the materiality of a sacred or miraculous image of enormous significance to the faithful—a statue that is dressed and taken out for processions, for example—forces us, as art historians, into a situation that is very different from work on a piece that is not currently used by religious devotees. First of all, there is the obstacle of access, as such objects are jealously guarded by the people who take care of them, dress them, and decorate them. That first contact with these caretakers is fundamental to understand the symbolic dimension of the images and the links that are established between the objects and the people who venerate them. Achieving this first step, direct contact with the "sacred matter," implies knowing and reflecting on something that the Christian doctrine itself was interested in sustaining from its first councils, that is, that the images should not be venerated for what they are (wood, gold, silver, etc.) but for what they represent. But in practice, this formula does not always govern the ways in which people establish their connection to the image. In fact, matter is powerful, so much so that touching these figures, or simply holding onto some of their materiality, is enough for the devotees. Over the years, I have witnessed how the swabs and cottons used by restorers for cleaning religious objects have disappeared, or were requested by a parishioner as a way of saving at least something of the object's sacred matter.

Likewise, it is fascinating to search for the traces of devotion within the materiality of these images. The sculpture of the Virgin

Anonymous. Detail of an angel, *Holy Trinity*. Guaraní Jesuit Mission of Trinidad. Eighteenth century. Museo de La Plata, Province of Buenos Aires.

of the Miracle of Salta (Argentina) is a case in point. Cracks that are visible in the polychromy of her neck are evidence of the movement to which she is subjected in each procession, as well as the weight of her beautiful crown. Small incisions in her chest are testimony of jewels fastened long ago by her loving devotees. To consider these cultural practices from an anthropology of matter perspective contributes to our understanding not only of the history of an object's creation but also of its function over time.

Interdisciplinary work on Antonio Berni's *Pesadilla de los injustos* (The Nightmare of the Unjust, 1981). Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.

Work on Berni's *Pesadilla de los injustos* (detail).

In studying colonial art of the Andes, there are inescapable questions of where Indigenous artists are involved, versus European or Creole artists. How do these questions figure in your research?

One of the themes that comes up in the interdisciplinary study of a material source is that of originality. The copy-versus-original dichotomy is the axis that has guided a great part of the history of Spanish American art. From a first reading that regarded works produced during the Viceroyalty period as mere copies of European models, the pendulum swung to include an all-out search to identify any indigenous trace present in a work, with these traces adding value. This approach resembled a dissection in which indigenous traces could presumably be separated from features that were not indigenous, as if this were possible. In my opinion, neither of the two positions resolves the conflict. Cultural productions such as those created in America during Spanish domination are the result of a network of desires, needs, and impositions, but also of negotiations, accommodations, adaptations, and genuine appropriations. No one remained immune to that reality. In many cases, what we find when we analyze these objects is the imprint of the encounter of diverse traditions, of collective work, where the name, the mark of authorship, did not have the same presence as it did in Europe. The Virgin of Copacabana (Bolivia) is an excellent example. The polychromy of this image reveals a combination of technical and aesthetic decisions coming from both the European and American traditions: we see the Spanish *estofado* technique, with its mixture gold and pigments, as well as the presence of local pigments that were of profound significance for the native population.

Your work has taken a new direction lately, into modern and contemporary art.

The main objective of Centro MATERIA is to promote research on the artistic materiality not only of the colonial period but of all epochs. Thus, I supported the creation of a "Materioteca" of modern and contemporary Argentinian art—a large repository, both real and virtual, of the materials that make up the works created by the artists in the collection, that describes the degree of relevance and agency that every material choice has for each one of them. It is a monumental, long-range project, but we're slowly making progress. It is the only large collection on this subject, an aspect of the artistic endeavor that art historians do not generally record. The first project involved looking at the materiality of Antonio Berni, one of the artists most studied in our field. We initiated a series called "Matter of Dialogue," which will include conversations with artists, critics, conservators, curators, art historians, and others. The more we know about this oft-forgotten dimension of art, the more we will be able to advance an integral view of art and art-making, and learn more about the aesthetic choices that go into this work. ✹

Gabriela Siracusano was Tinker Visiting Professor at LLILAS during spring 2019, co-sponsored by the Blanton Museum of Art. During her visit, she taught a course on the visual material culture of colonial Andean art and presented talks on her research.

Salmon Production in Chile
The Making of a Commodity Region

by BEATRIZ BUSTOS

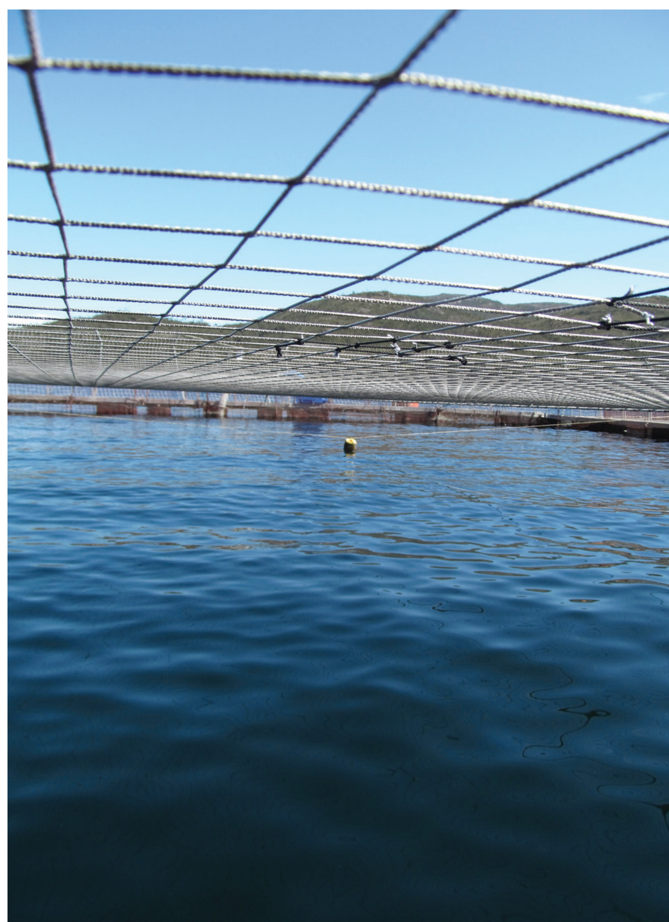
CHILE IS A COUNTRY COMMONLY KNOWN for its turbulent political past and its economic achievements over the last twenty years. Neoliberal policies such as privatization and deregulation have been implemented there under the premise that open and free access to global markets through commodity exports will lead the country to development. The result of these policies looks promising. As reported by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Chile's macroeconomic indicators are in some regards comparable with those of other industrialized countries, and the government actively promotes industries of the extractive economy as key for foreign investment.

Historically known for its copper, Chile today continues as a global leader in copper production, and is the top global fruit exporter from the southern hemisphere. Chile is also among the top ten producers of wood and fish, particularly salmon. Yet the ecological and social effects of this export-oriented strategy are at the core of recent social upheaval that is challenging the country's democratic present. A case that illustrates these tensions, and the effects on rural livelihoods, is the salmon industry in the Los Lagos region.

Chilean Salmon in the World

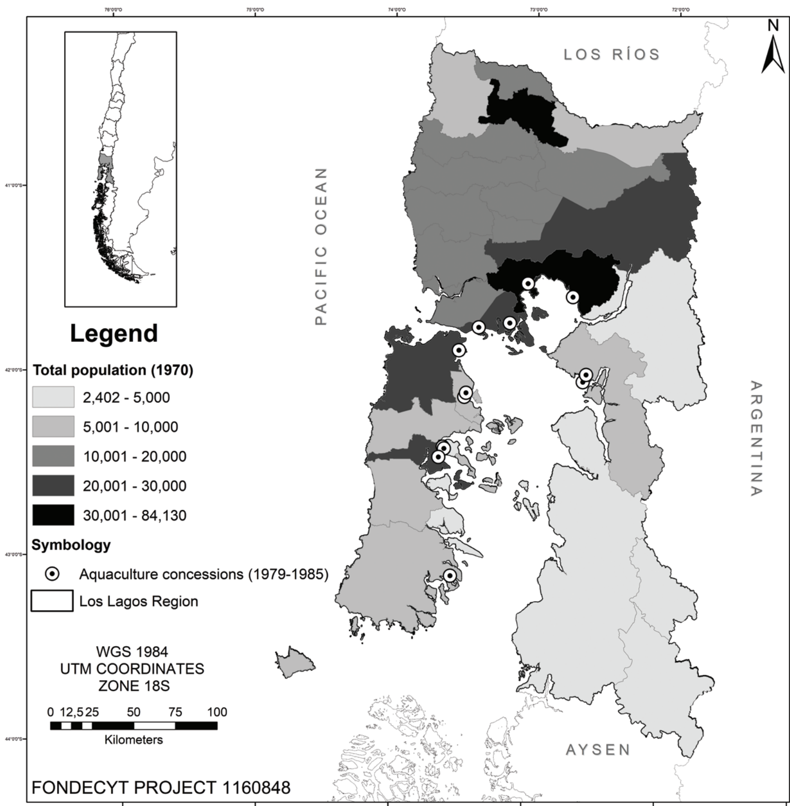
Salmon is Chile's fifth main export, and Chile ranks second in the world for salmon production after Norway, with its fish reaching markets in Japan, Europe, and the United States. The three types of salmon produced in Chile—Atlantic, coho, and trout—were introduced by a public-private partnership that has transformed the regional economies of Los Lagos, Aysén, and Magallanes in the south of the country. When the industry started forty years ago, salmon did not exist in the wild, yet it was argued that the country was a paradise for salmon due to the existence of ecosystemic conditions required to foster production, as well as the availability of cheap labor.

The evolution of the salmon industry in Chile is nothing short of revolutionary. In less than twenty years, it took over the Los Lagos region and moved from being an industry of 100 percent small, national firms, to a concentration of fewer than thirty firms with important transnational capital presence from Norway, Japan, and the United States. The creation of this industry required labor and technology, and transformed whole landscapes in service of the production of one commodity. These territorial transformations, in turn, affected other activities, such as artisanal fisheries, mussel growing, and subsistence agriculture, and their ecosystems.

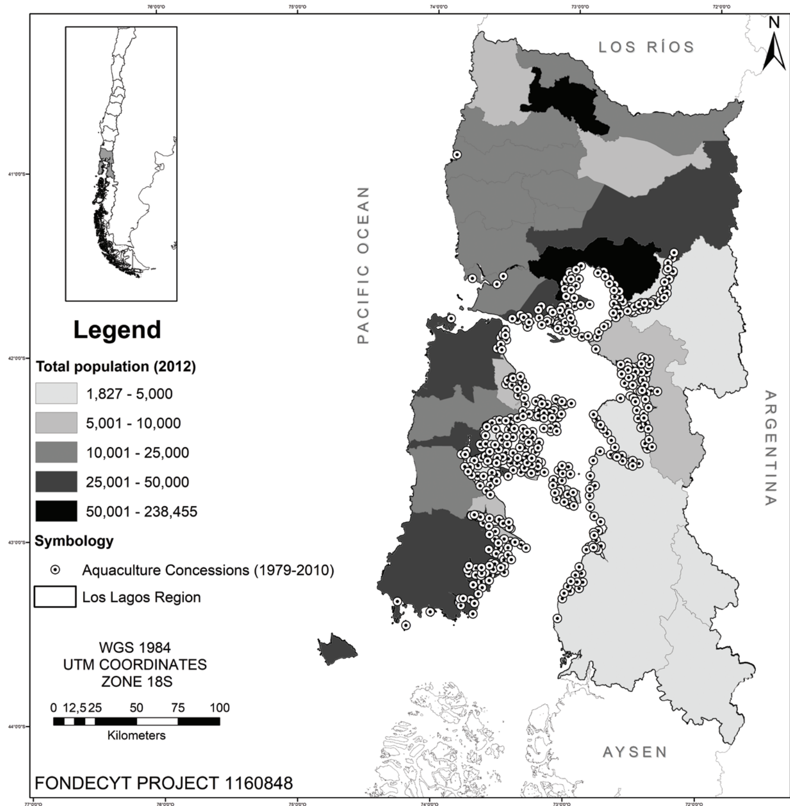


Salmon farm in Los Lagos.

Photo by Beatriz Bustos



Aquaculture concessions (1979–1985) and population (1970), Los Lagos region.



Aquaculture concessions, salmon neighborhoods, and population (2012), Los Lagos region.

Maps by Beatriz Bustos

The pair of maps at left show how the landscape of Los Lagos was transformed due to the influence and actions of the salmon industry. Specifically, they illustrate the evolution of salmon concessions and the way in which they took over the territory—both marine and terrestrial—of Los Lagos. As the industry became the main economic activity of the region, important cultural and social transformations took place as well: increased intra-regional migration, explosive and unplanned development of urban centers, concentration of services in the regional capital, the introduction of credit and wage salaries to the lower-income segment of the rural population, and, importantly, a redirection of state policies toward strengthening the industry as opposed to keeping it in check. To sum up, Los Lagos became richer in material terms, but the distribution of that wealth, and its long-term impact, is a subject of public debate.

Is Bigger Always Better? The Salmon Industry's Effects on Local Communities

The industry has been quick to frame its presence and expansion in the region in terms that evoke modernization. In interviews, industry representatives convey a sense of accomplishment, pride, and the self-image of pioneers who have made a heroic gesture. Most of them are college graduates from other cities who came to Los Lagos to work for the industry and stayed. Their pride is based on the sense that they have built a global industry from scratch, with ingenuity and hard work. As opposed to the copper industry—which has always been there—salmon was made to work by these professionals. The narrative thus dismisses preexisting economies and activities as "nonproductive," "rural," and "folkloric," while salmon brought the modern world to the region.

On the other hand, for the communities of the region, the story is much more nuanced. People voice a sense of spatial disruption, of invasion and expulsion, but also of inevitability. In short, rural inhabitants wanted and embraced the promise of modernization brought by the salmon industry, the access to material well-being associated with contract jobs, the construction of public infrastructure needed to host a larger population.

More interestingly, the salmon industry fit well with preexisting economic practices in the region. For example, there is the notion of "fevers" that is used to explain historically local economic cycles: Locals were used to moving from one nature-based commodity to the next, and were at ease with the flexibility this entailed. The abundance of nature meant there was always something new to move to after the last bust. The salmon industry took the idea of farming, with its cycles of sowing and

harvest, from the agricultural tradition. Artisanal fisheries contributed the understanding of currents and sea life involved in salmon production. Yet the industry transformed local mobility practices by creating conditions for locals to stay in one job and one place. This was considered both a cost and a benefit: more women were able to enter the labor force; men were able to stay home, changing gender dynamics; and the consistent paycheck at the end of the month allowed people access to material goods, while they stopped relying on community work for help.

Since its origins, the salmon industry has periodically suffered environmental problems. The first recorded algae bloom to affect the industry occurred in 1988. Since then, there has been a steady increase in the presence of pathogens in both the fish and the waters they inhabit. During the first decade of the new millennium, several salmon escape events caused health and ecological concerns. But the decade ended with the biggest crisis to date—outbreaks of the infectious salmon anemia (ISA) virus (2008–2010), which caused nearly 50 percent mortality in fish farms and significant financial losses, triggering new regulations and industry restructuring.

Spatial and Ecological Fixes for the Chilean Salmon Industry

New regulations implemented in 2010 were aimed at addressing the main effects of the ISA crisis, but not its root causes. As such, their purpose was to organize and coordinate production to achieve containment in case of a new outbreak. This translated into three spatial fixes—that is, solutions addressing the spatial challenges created by the industry's mode of production: first, the freezing of aquaculture concessions in the Los Lagos region to secure control of existing producers and manage the level of production; second, the establishment of aquaculture "neighborhoods" that would force coordination among producers in the same group of concessions; third, authorization of farming concessions in the southern regions of Aysén and Magallanes.

Ecologically, the fixes involved two levels. At the level of the fish, the measures aimed to prevent salmon from catching diseases by establishing lower density levels per farm, implementing health management practices that included the use of antibiotics, and introducing genetic modifications to increase salmon resistance. At the level of the ecosystem, the regulations called for mandatory rest periods during the growth stage after each harvest to allow time for ecosystems to recover, and for a mandatory shift of the pisciculture stage to closed pool systems. Currently, firms are exploring offshore and land-based growing stages to minimize the ecological impact on the sea.

Despite the institutional changes that were implemented to address the crises, the ecological contradictions associated with salmon production remain. This is because the purpose of the reforms was to secure the continuity of the industry and not to mitigate its ecological impact. This is important because spatial and ecological solutions are deeply connected in the building of a landscape of accumulation that replicates more traditional extractive industries, such as mining.

Photo by Paulo Oliveira / Alamy Stock Photo

Salmon swimming inside sea cages.

Cage salmon farm in southern Chile.

Photo by MARCELODLT / Shutterstock

Which is why when, in 2016, an algae bloom occurred, the industry once again faced significant losses (85,000 tons of salmon died, causing net losses over $US100 million). The 2016 algae bloom was actually two consecutive events: the first, in January–February, killed the salmon; the second, in March–April, was a more familiar and frequent algae known as red tide. This one affected fishermen because the government responded with a prohibition against fishing and shellfish harvesting.

Community reaction was fierce. Fishing communities held the government and the salmon industry responsible for the disasters, blaming the unusual power and spread of the red tide on mismanagement of salmon mortalities from the first event, in the coastal area of the Chiloé archipelago. During eighteen days, community members led massive protests, limiting access to the main island of Chiloé and causing public disruption. The grievances at the core of the protests centered on the way in which the industry and the state have interacted with this territory.

Challenges Moving Forward

In the ten years between the ISA and the algae bloom crises, the Chilean salmon industry focused on spatial remedies in order to continue production, but the ecological ramifications of the industry continue to be an obstacle, and policy responses from the state have increased social unrest against the industry and the government. As such, there is a need for sustainable and sound policies that integrate economic and environmental considerations into a coherent, locally based development project.

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Dando cargo. A Rarámuri man is inducted as a local authority.

Indigenous Self-Determination and Drug Trafficking in Mexico's Tarahumara Region

by FÁTIMA VALDIVIA

IN OCTOBER 2018, Julián Carrillo Martínez, an indigenous Rarámuri defender, was killed in his community of Coloradas de la Virgen, located in the municipality of Guadalupe y Calvo, in the northern state of Chihuahua, Mexico. Together with his community, Julián had actively defended indigenous Rarámuri lands and forests against dispossession by different actors, members of drug-trafficking organizations among them.

Julián's murder is the tip of the iceberg. Every day, indigenous people in the Tarahumara region face acts of racial violence that affect their land, their natural resources, and their lives. These include the imposition of extractive projects such as logging, mining, and tourism, and the implementation of public policies that serve to erase the indigenous population as political subjects, treating them instead as if they were children. Drug trafficking has been part of this assault for the last twenty years or more, a powerful phenomenon that solidifies the ` position of the region's mestizo[1] men while dispossessing indigenous people.

EVERY DAY, INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN THE TARAHUMARA REGION FACE ACTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE THAT AFFECT THEIR LAND, THEIR NATURAL RESOURCES, AND THEIR LIVES.

In what follows, I explain briefly how Rarámuri self-determination is being challenged and transformed by drug-trafficking groups. These observations are based on my nine years' experience working in the region as a lawyer[2] and researcher in support of Rarámuri territorial rights. I do not suggest that Rarámuri communities can be represented in a monolithic or heterogeneous way, as their experiences are diverse and not identical. But I do bring to light the criticism of academic colleagues with respect to the effects of drug trafficking on indigenous communities in Tarahumara, and offer my limited experience and knowledge as a tool to support the indigenous struggle for survivance.[3]

General Context of the Tarahumara Region

Chihuahua State is territorially the largest state in Mexico, with over 3 million inhabitants. According to the most recent population census by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (2015), approximately 11.8 percent of Chihuahua's population belongs to one of four indigenous groups: Rarámuri, Ódami, Makurawe, and O'oba. The Rarámuri, or Tarahumara, group is the largest, and this is why the part of the Sierra Madre Occidental that crosses Chihuahua is known as the Sierra Tarahumara (Tarahumara Mountain).

The Tarahumara region is huge, but scarce in natural and economic resources. Drug-cultivating activities began in the late 1960s with marijuana and poppy. Drug seeding soon became the source of alternative income for the mestizo population in the old mining districts. Nowadays, considering the lack of opportunities, it is the most important source of income, not only for mestizos, but also for a large number of Rarámuri, Ódami, and Makurawe families.

The production and traffic of stimulant plants has led to competition for scarce water resources in the area, a constant

Photos courtesy of Centro de Capacitación y Defensa de los Derechos Humanos e Indígenas A.C.

environment of violence, and militarization of the region since 1970. The first permanent garrison with 150 soldiers was established in the municipality of Guachochi, one of the main Rarámuri centers, as part of the Task Force Mars XX (Condor Operation). In 2008, as part of the War on Drugs in Mexico, the security program known as Operativo Conjunto Chihuahua was implemented. The operation has increased police presence in the region and has triggered violence, with more than 2,000 people killed per year in trafficking-related deaths, of which almost 75 percent were young men between the ages of 15 and 29.

Violence perpetrated by traffickers has recently caused the forced displacement of indigenous communities and the death of

Rarámuri community assembly meeting, San Luis de Majimachi.

Community meeting in Pitorreal.

indigenous defenders, who confront traffickers' predatory activities. These events have been documented and denounced, mainly by journalists, in written and electronic media.

Rarámuri Self-Determination in Tarahumara

Although some of the Rarámuri population lives in urban centers in Chihuahua, such as the capital, most of them inhabit the Mountain. There, they exercise religious, social, political, and economic jurisdiction in different geographical areas commonly called communities, ranches, or villages.[4] The highest Rarámuri authority is the assembly, composed of all the Rarámuri people who attend community meetings, which are usually held every Sunday. Through the assembly, Rarámuri people nominate religious and political representatives, who keep the communitarian order and resolve internal conflicts through communitarian trials. In most communities, the highest representative body (usually three people) is the Siriame, but it is the assembly that is responsible for making decisions on any issue that involves the Rarámuri community.

Rarámuri authorities must exercise their jurisdiction in a fragmented territory, among competing sources of authority and power—the Rarámuri organization, the state, the *ejido*,[5] and, now, the drug-trafficking groups. This overlapping of multiple authorities in the same space is problematic, and is racially and economically hierarchical. The state and the drug traffickers (led by mestizo men) compete for control at the top, in certain spheres becoming one and the same. Second in command is the mestizo ejidal organization. In last place is the Rarámuri government.

Most Rarámuri communities do not have control of their land due to a lack of legal protection of indigenous lands and, in some cases, lack of the existence of land titles. After the agrarian reform of the Mexican Revolution, the post-revolutionary government imposed the *ejido* to protect communal land. While this was an important revolutionary achievement, in the case of Tarahumara, the *ejido* is not in agreement with Rarámuri social and territorial organization, as it only the land rights of so-called *ejidatarios*, who are always older than 18 and usually men. In addition, the *ejido* brought about territorial redistribution in line with government criteria, creating a new form of territorial authority that historically has been monopolized by mestizos.

Women from the community of Bawinokachi visit government offices in Chihuahua City to demand protection from illegal logging.

The racial hierarchy in Tarahumara, along with the vulnerability of the Rarámuri people in relation to the legal ownership of their land, leads to several kinds of dispossession. These include overexploitation of the forest by the *ejidos* and, more recently, by organized crime; the imposition of extractive projects such as mining and pipelines; and cultural exploitation, such as tourism. These projects are supported by the ideology of modernity and economic progress, and are sometimes validated through biased legal proceedings and manipulation of Rarárumi with misinformation and economic gifts.

Faced with racism and dispossession, Rarámuri communities are implementing strategies of resistance and survivance (Vizenor, 2008), creating physical and temporal spaces of autonomy that reaffirm and transform their identity (always changing, contradictory, and complex). This involves tending to the community through festivities, spiritual ceremonies, and community games; protecting and preserving their language; and other activities that are more difficult for the outside observer to describe.

Rarámuri survivance has allowed for success in other strategies of resistance, such as legal defense of the territory. Currently, at least five Rarámuri communities have been granted trials against the state of Chihuahua and several mestizo individuals in response to the imposition of construction projects involving an airport, a pipeline, and tourism infrastructure, as well as overexploitation of the forest. Rarámuri have won some of these cases, yet are still fighting for the effective enforcement of their legal victories.

Today, however, the context is more complex, because Rarámuri communities are not just fighting and negotiating with the state and the *ejido*, but also with drug-trafficking organizations. Traffickers are redefining the territory through the demarcation of *plazas del narco*, areas dedicated to the production and traffic of drugs, and through other methods of social control and economic exploitation.

Drug Trafficking as a New Source of Dispossession and Social Control

In parts of the Tarahumara region, drug-trafficking groups, led by mestizo men, have seized much of the fertile land to plant marijuana and poppy, while also monopolizing the few sources of irrigation. This is affecting the Rarámuri economy, as it is mainly based on subsistence sowing of corn, potatoes, and beans. In most cases, traffickers are also exploiting the Rarámuri population as a source of low-cost hard labor during sowing, harvesting, and poppy scoring.[6]

Recently, activities associated with drug trafficking are also causing deforestation. As mentioned earlier, the indigenous community of Coloradas de la Virgen has taken legal measures to defended its land and forest against logging, which was historically carried out by mestizo *caciques* and now involves alliances with traffickers. Mexican authorities had denied legal recognition of indigenous landownership until October 2019, when the agrarian court finally recognized indigenous property. Two days after this judicial decision, members of the drug-trafficking group that controls the area killed Julián Carrillo, one of the main land defenders.

Bawinokachi is another, smaller community where, since March 2019, a group of Rarámuri women has struggled against one trafficking group's illegal logging and occupation of their land. Despite several complaints, state authorities have not been able to stop the logging or punish the perpetrators. Traffickers have retaliated, subjecting Rarámuri women in the community to sexual violence and

threats. The women are still fighting, in alliance with the Centro de Capacitación y Defensa de los Derechos Humanos Indígenas (Center for Training and Defense of Indigenous Human Rights, CECADDHI), the nonprofit organization where I work as a lawyer and researcher.

Traffickers are also taking social control into their own hands, taking over the operation of *ejidos* and activities of the local authorities. They decide who holds public office, and they are establishing new forms of justice parallel to that of the state. In some indigenous communities, this control means the dismantling of gangs, overseeing the clandestine sale of alcohol, and regulating the activities of the civil and indigenous authorities. Some traffickers are requesting jurisdiction to try and punish cases of homicide and rape. Indigenous authorities are, of course, overwhelmed by this situation, and the extreme use of violence by traffickers has caused the forced displacement of entire communities.

My Questions, My Commitment

The emergence of criminal organizations on the socio-political scene challenges the concept of the nation-state as the primary expression of sovereign power in the modern era (Hansen & Stepputat, 2006). The ability of such groups to exercise social control disrupts the traditional concept of sovereignty as an essential and unique quality of the state (Bonilla, 2017), and instead posits sovereignty as an always tentative form of authority linked with colonial contexts and grounded in violence (Hansen & Stepputat, 2006). Some authors suggest that drug-trafficking organizations not only provide new modes of economic production but also new de facto types of power (Hansen & Stepputat, 2006; Saldaña-Portillo, 2016). Is this happening in Tarahumara? Can drug trafficking seriously be considered a source of sovereignty? What is the future of indigenous self-determination in this context? These are the question I am trying to resolve through my doctoral research.

What I can say so far is that drug traffickers in Tarahumara, functioning as private armed forces, are creating new sources of governance imposed by fear, and are legitimized by the inefficiency of state institutions or by their alliance and complicity. This situation is challenging traditional concepts of indigenous self-determination and resistance.

A *yumare* ceremony in the community of Wetosachi.

My commitments as an academic, and more so as an ally of these communities, are as follows: first, as a lawyer, to continue supporting the struggles of these indigenous communities; second, as a researcher, to deepen the analysis of the relationship between drug trafficking, the state, and indigenous self-determination. I hope that this analysis brings a different focus to the political and legal approaches to drug trafficking, and that it serves to emphasize the emotional, legal, economic, and political struggles that indigenous populations are facing in order to continue building their history.

Fátima Valdivia is a PhD candidate at the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies (LLILAS). A social anthropologist and attorney, she spent close to nine years working as an activist scholar and legal adviser to indigenous communities in the Tarahumara region.

Notes

1. *Mestizaje* in Mexico, a racial project that started in the 1920s, posited the mestizo (a person of mixed European and indigenous ancestry) as the basis of Mexican society to the detriment of the indigenous and black populations. *Mestizaje* asserts that the nation must be ordered according to a hierarchy predicated on mestizo rule over indigenous people, their land, and their resources.
2. I am co-founder of Centro de Capacitación y Defensa de los Derechos Humanos e Indígenas A.C. (CECADDHI), a nongovernmental organization focused on the collective defense of indigenous rights.
3. "Survivance," according to Vizenor (2008), refers the indigenous capacity to keep living and making history, not just resisting.
4. These denominations do not have a clear definition in the common vocabulary of the inhabitants. Normally, large population centers are referred to as villages or communities, while smaller spaces, inhabited by few families, are known as *ranchos*.
5. The *ejido* is a legal concept that protects collective land tenure in Mexico.
6. Poppy scoring is a labor-intensive process that involves scratching the plant's seed pods to extract opium latex.

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Louder Than Hell: The Rise of Latinx and Native American Metal

by LUIS ZAPATA

When the mode of the music changes, the walls of the city shake.

—Allen Ginsberg, paraphrasing Plato

ROCK 'N' ROLL has been the soundtrack of youth rebellion for almost eight decades. It is one of the United States' most powerful cultural exports to the world. It may seem cliché to say rock 'n' roll is not just about music, but the moment it gripped a postwar generation of American teenagers, its anthems became words to live by—and future generations would never be the same.

Kids questioned the establishment and decided they did not need to follow parental rules and expectations. They stopped accepting the status quo, and their outside-the-box thinking contributed to accelerated technological advancement. Talented Latinx and Indigenous musicians who crossed cultural boundaries played a big role in the rise of rock 'n' roll, and all that came with it.

When I was a teenager in the 1980s in an extremely violent Peru, rock's metal subgenre provided some of us with shelter, pride, inspiration, and empowerment. It was one type of music that was so loud and powerful that it shielded me from the sounds of the violence going on outside in the streets. More than thirty years later, these musicians are still my heroes. But the tribal essence of Latinx in the metal lifestyle has not been understood properly by social scientists because its story has not yet been told.[1]

Technology: One Step Ahead of Your Parents

If country music arrived on horses and blues chugged in on trains, rock 'n' roll came drag-racing on eight cylinders and roaring on motorcycles. But it spread via tiny transistor radios, which could be muffled under a pillow to allow clandestine listening to Wolfman Jack's border-radio blasts, Alan "Moondog" Freed's rock 'n' roll dance parties out of Cleveland and New York City, and the jives of Dr. Hepcat (real name: Albert Lavada Durst) in Austin, Texas. Before the transistor, radio listening was a family affair; generations congregated around a large piece of furniture and developed musical tastes together.

I like to think that Marlon Brando gave birth to rock 'n' roll in the 1953 movie *The Wild One*. When his character is asked, "Hey Johnny, what are you rebelling against?," he answers "Whaddya got?" The more passionate, proletariat sector of 1950s youth gave birth to traditional rock culture just as the first hits of Latinx rock 'n' roll appeared. Cuban mambo (the favorite music of zoot-suited pachucos), jump blues (loved by greasers), and African-American rhythms were combined to create the 1958 hit "Tequila," recorded by the Champs.

Latin participation in rock 'n' roll occurred from the beginning with Richie Valens, Chris Montez, and Little Julian Herrera

Legendary rock guitarist Link Wray performs at The Showplace in Dover, NJ, November 1978.

(actually a Jewish Hungarian runaway adopted by a Latino family who had a No. 1 hit while impersonating a Latin rock 'n' roll singer), as urban planning dictated home loans based on skin color, mixing Blacks, Latinx, and Jews in the same geographical areas.

In 1958, Link Wray, a Shawnee, had a hit with "Rumble," the only instrumental song that has ever been banned from the radio.[2] E Street Band guitarist Steven Van Zandt said of its raw, angry sound, "Link Wray wrote the anthem for juvenile delinquency." (There was no self-respecting high school cafeteria in America where at least a food fight didn't break out when "Rumble" came up on the speakers.) The ferocity in the strumming and use of power chords, distorted signal, and driving drumming in the song would have a substantial impact on guitarists Jimmy Page, Jeff Beck, Pete Townsend, as well as Iggy Pop. This influence would be felt for generations.

In the 1960s, popular music took at least two marked directions in sound and sensibility: one was the folk-oriented "wooden" acoustic music of artists such as Bob Dylan, Richie Havens, Atahualpa Yupanqui, and Victor Jara; the other was the electric-charged sound of the British Invasion, delivered by the Beatles, the Kinks, and African-American guitar god Jimi Hendrix, who gained fame after moving to England. Hendrix, who also claimed Cherokee heritage, expanded the language of guitar and immortalized himself with the instrumental anti-war hymn "Machine Gun" and his version of "The Star-Spangled Banner," performed at Woodstock in 1969. In both the Jimi Hendrix Experience and his Band of Gypsys, Hendrix incorporated beats reminiscent of traditional Native American drumming.

One of the British invaders' major innovations was the notion that rock 'n' roll no longer needed the roll; it could just rock. The distinction is later expressed in the sound of Led Zeppelin, Humble Pie, The Who, and Black Sabbath. Most rock historians credit Black Sabbath with the birth of heavy metal, characterized by dark lyrics, extremely loud, distorted guitars, and anti-establishment messages. When the band formed in Birmingham, England, that city was still in ruins from World War II. This was the new, angry, industrial sound of the people.

KISS receives its star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. *From left*: Ace Frehley, Paul Stanley, Peter Criss, and Gene Simmons.

Twisted Sister in concert. *From left*: Jay Jay French, Eddie Ojeda, and Mark "The Animal" Mendoza.

Left, photo by Bruce Alan Bennett / Shutterstock; *top right*, photo by Featureflash / Shutterstock; *bottom right*, photo by oorka / Shutterstock

Let There Be Sound

Latinx and Native American musicians are present at the beginning of some very significant eras of loud rock, and have contributed to rock's evolution. Generational renewal has kept alive a music to which critics would tend to attribute only shock value, making it a sixty-plus-year sound institution. Furthermore, metal has evolved into cultural reformulation by going against canonical establishment, finding echo in conquered populations around the world.

Metallica bassist Robert Trujillo.

Photo by Fabio Diena / Shutterstock

In the 1970s, war-painted New Yorker Ace Frehley, whose mother was Cherokee, became the quintessential heavy metal guitarist for the band KISS, selling millions of albums and tickets around the world and influencing countless loud rockers. Indigenous heritage was even more apparent in Southern hard-rock band Blackfoot, in which all but one original member had Native American blood.

Although they sold millions of records and concert tickets, heavy metal acts were heard mainly on college radio for years. Commercial radio actively avoided metal, particularly shying away from bands like WASP, led by the politically outspoken, often controversial Blackfoot Blackie Lawless. But in November of 1983, the album Mental Health, by Quiet Riot, a Los Angeles band including Cuban-born bassist Rodolfo Maximiliano Sarzo Lavieille Grande Ruiz Payret y Chaumont—aka Rudy Sarzo—and Mexican-born lead guitarist Carlos Cavazo, displaced the Police's *Synchronicity* album from the No. 1 position on the Billboard Top 200 album chart, and the single "Cum on Feel the Noize" became the first heavy-metal song to reach the top five of the Billboard Hot 100. Sarzo went on to perform with Ozzy Osbourne, Whitesnake, Dio, Blue Öyster Cult, and many others.

Following Quiet Riot's success, many metal bands came into the mainstream market, including Twisted Sister, with Nuyorican singer-guitarist Eddie Ojeda. The band scored hits with songs about teenage rebellion, which drew condemnation from then-Senate wife Tipper Gore. In a congressional hearing, vocalist Dee Snider testified brilliantly against Gore's censorship efforts.

Notable Latinx metal players also include Cuban Juan Croucier, RATT's bassist; Mexican-American Roberto Agustín Miguel Santiago Samuel Pérez de la Santa Concepción Trujillo Veracruz Bautista—aka Robert Trujillo—bassist for Suicidal Tendencies and Metallica; Bon Jovi drummer Héctor Juan Samuel "Tico" Torres, whose parents emigrated from Cuba; and Slayer's Chilean-born bassist-vocalist Tom Araya and Cuban-born drummer Dave Lombardo.

Most of the top metal bands of the eighties, including AC/DC, Ozzy Osbourne, Whitesnake, Queen, and Iron Maiden, played Rock in Rio, one of the largest rock festivals in history, which debuted in 1985 as a ten-day event for which an entire City of Rock was built just outside of Rio de Janeiro. It attracted 1.5 million attendees, and has since been held in Lisbon, Madrid, and Las Vegas. Iron Maiden, Scorpions, Megadeth, and Sepultura (founded by Brazilian brothers Max and Igor Cavalera) will all headline at Rock in Rio VIII in fall 2019.

Louder Than Hell

As a kid in Peru, I already loved the Beatles and Santana, Teen Tops, and others. But I felt I needed something wilder, louder, faster, meaner than that. I hoped that this type of music existed somewhere but certainly it did not on the airwaves of a nationalist military government. And then my mother bought me KISS's *Alive!*—the double live album. I was ten years old. That was the sound. Older kids hated KISS. You fought for their honor in the schoolyard. They prepared you for what was going to come up later on in life.

One of the most politically outspoken and influential bands in the world, Rage Against the Machine, fronted by Mexican-American

vocalist Zack de la Rocha, was known for mixing rap and metal, and for supporting political efforts such as the Salvadoran Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN).

In their most extreme expressions, death and black metal embrace more radical subjects and social commentary. Mexican death-metal band Brujería, formed in 1989, originally included Dino Cazares, Raymond Herrera, and Jello Biafra; Cazares and Herrera later formed Fear Factory. Brujería's members use nicknames and sing about Satanism, sex, and drug trafficking. Tampa, Florida, developed a strong death-metal scene in the mid-eighties with iconic bands Cannibal Corpse, Deicide, and Morbid Angel. Salvadoran-born drummer Pete Sandoval of Terrorizer and Morbid Angel is known as "the father of blast beat"—a rapid-fire drumming style played with two bass drums, reminiscent of a semi-automatic weapon. It's the signature beat of death- and black-metal bands.

Black metal likely began in New Castle, England, with Venom, an openly anti-Christian outfit, and was adopted by Scandinavian kids disgusted with the Catholic church's pedophilia scandal. Similar philosophies have taken root in Latin American and Native American metal scenes, giving rise to the Indigenous black metal and "Rez metal" genres. Heard mostly on Navajo reservations, Rez metal is an angry and dark, yet powerful, expression of longing for cultural respect and survival. (As I write this, I am listening to the late drummer Randy Castillo, whose parents were Chickasaw; he played with Ozzy Osbourne, Lita Ford, Motley Crüe, and other heavy-metal icons.)

The most successful Indigenous metal band is Cemican, from Guadalajara. Cemican means "all the life" in Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, spoken today by over 2 million people. ("Indigenous" refers to the subgenre of metal, not the musicians' ethnicity.) Using pre-Columbian instruments and Nahuatl names and lyrics, they have played the world's biggest metal festivals, including France's Hell Fest and Germany's Wacken Open Air.

In a historical sense, metal and punk remain the most extreme cultural variations of rock. I would even venture that just as African Americans have preserved Gospel through various genres, including rock 'n' roll, Native Americans are protecting some of their traditions using hard rock. Rudy Sarzo and Carlos Cavazo moved metal from underground to mainstream, and gave fuel to metal capitals like San Antonio and Los Angeles. Rock 'n' roll has attended its own funeral at least four times that I am aware of. And in all those times, what saved the music and kept the flame alive were the loud rockers. The ones with the warrior mentality. Latinx and Native American musicians contributed to the innovation of the time. And I am happy to help tell their story. ✹

Randy Castillo.

Rudy Sarzo at the *God Bless Ozzy Osbourne* premiere (2011).

Luis Zapata was born in Lima, Peru. He earned his bachelor's and master's degrees from The University of Texas at Austin. Working in the music industry since 1994, Luis spent time at record labels, ranging from blues to metal. He introduced Rock en Español to Central Texas, creating the Latino Rock Alliance. He owns specialeventslive.com, which entertains over half-a-million people in the Texas Hill Country yearly. He welcomes any comments at rocklectures.com.

Notes

1. José Ignacio López Ramírez Gaston and Giuseppe Risica Carella, *Espíritu del metal. La Conformación de la Escena Metalera Peruana (1981–1992)* (Sonidos Latentes, 2018).
2. George Lipsitz, "Cruising around the Historical Bloc: Postmoderism and Popular Music in East Los Angeles," *Cultural Crtique*, no. 5, Modernity and Modernism, Postmodernity and Postmodernism (Winter 1986–1987): 157–77. Available at jstor.org /stable/1354360?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

Left, photo by Christina Gallegos / iStock; *right*, photo by s_bukley / Shutterstock

Photo courtesy of Cemican

Cemican. *From left*: Xaman Ek (rituals, dance, pre-Columbian instruments), Mazatecpatl (pre-Columbian instruments), Tecuhtli (guitar/vocals), Tlipoca (drums), Ocelot (bass/backing vocals), and Yei Tochtli (pre-Columbian instruments). Costumes are interpretive.

by SUSANNA SHARPE

STEPHANIE LEUTERT

Stephanie Leutert is not afraid to make a cold call and she does not shy away from difficult questions. If she wants to learn more about an issue, she will often pick up the phone to ask an expert. These qualities, along with a deep sense of justice and humanity, have led her to research areas that straddle borders, governments, agencies, and issues.

An expert on migration in Central America, Mexico, and the United States, Leutert came to the University of Texas at Austin in summer 2016 to work as a policy research fellow at the Richard Strauss Center for International Security and Law. In spring 2017, she led a group of master's students to Mexico City to meet with government officials and civil society representatives in conjunction with a policy research class at the LBJ School of Public Affairs taught by César Martínez. By fall 2017, Leutert had been named director of the Mexico Security Initiative, a project within that Strauss Center that gathers research on public security and migration in the region.

In the almost two years since she took the reins at the Mexico Security Initiative, Leutert has become a sought-after expert on migration through Mexico. In fall 2018, she was invited to contribute her expertise to the *New York Times*, which published her op-ed titled "Trump Has It Backward: Many Migrants Are Victims of Crime" (Sept. 18, 2018). (Leutert was selected as a winner of the LLILAS Benson Mexico Center op-ed award for this piece.) She has been invaluable at the LBJ School, teaching the Policy Research Project capstone class, a yearlong, hands-on seminar for master's and doctoral students that assigns the class to a client.

In its first year, the class partnered with Mexican Federal Police (Policía Federal) and a nongovernmental organization named Sin Fronteras that provides legal services to refugees in Mexico City. The resulting study by the student researchers yielded a series of recommendations, including (1) ways for the Federal Police to create accountability for officers who committed crimes; (2) methods to develop better dialogue with local officials and civil society; (3) suggestions on separating the dual mandate of the Federal Police, which is to protect migrants and also to assist in their apprehension.

For the 2018–19 term, the Policy Research Project worked with FM4 (Forma Migratoria 4), a civil society organization in Guadalajara, Mexico. The group gets its name from the concept that Mexico's three categories for migrants (called *formas*) are insufficient, and that a fourth category should be added—*paso libre* (free passage). "*Paso libre* means that migrants from elsewhere should be able to be in Mexico legally and not hide in the shadows," Leutert explains. FM4 works with state and federal agencies, provides humanitarian assistance to migrants, and has organized a network of migrant shelters across Mexico.

In their research with FM4, Leutert's Policy Research Project students focused on four topics that affect migrants in Mexico: (1) challenges for refugee integration in Mexico; (2) evaluation of Mexico's migratory detention system; (3) challenges for unaccompanied minors in access to protection; and (4) the problematic legacy of Programa Frontera Sur (Southern Border Program, launched July 2014), which paid lip service to protecting migrants who enter Mexico from the south, but in reality has led to increased human rights violations of migrants.

Each of these four areas was addressed by teams of students in a separate sixty-page report at the end of the academic year.

In 2019–20, the class will look at migrant caravans and how Mexico addresses them, as well as challenges on the US–Mexico border.

Leutert's current research takes on a grim topic. She is focusing on migrant deaths in Brooks County, Texas, the most dangerous county in the United States for migrants. She explains that the Customs and Border Patrol checkpoint is located in Brooks, which means that in order to avoid it, migrants walk through arid ranch land, putting themselves at great risk of dying from exposure, heat exhaustion, dehydration, and hyper- or hypothermia.

More than 650 bodies have been recovered in Brooks County over the last ten years. Leutert is working to create a database that gathers as much information as possible on the dead, and then tries to piece together details about each person, in hopes of preserving their stories and, if possible, their identity. She has been helped in this project by county sheriff Urbino "Benny" Martinez, whom she met when she picked up the phone and cold-called him.

Photo by Juan Figueroa

Over the long term, Leutert plans to do more work examining the effects of US policies on the US–Mexico border. For example, she wants to collect more data and conduct fieldwork on the intersection of phenomena that play a role in migration, such as climate change and its effects on crops and people's livelihoods.

Wherever her area of focus ends up being, Leutert will most assuredly bring her keen analytical mind and deep sense of humanity to the questions at hand.

SANDRO SESSAREGO

We don't often stop to think about why we speak the way we speak, or how some of our linguistic habits came to be. But this is one of the things linguists like Sandro Sessarego pay great attention to. Sessarego (pronounced seh-SAH-re-go), associate professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, focuses on the habits of speech that set apart some Afrodescendant communities in the Spanish-speaking Americas.

Sessarego specializes in Afro-Hispanic varieties, the languages that developed in Latin America from the contact of African languages and Spanish in colonial times. A contact language results when the speakers of more than one language come together and develop ways of communicating with one another. There are different types of contact languages. For example, creole languages develop among speakers of mutually unintelligible languages. As such, they show "intense processes of contact-induced language restructuring," says Sessarego. There are only two Spanish Creoles in Latin America: Papiamentu, spoken in the Dutch Caribbean islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao; and Palenquero, spoken in San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia, by descendants of a maroon community established by people who escaped slavery. These creoles diverge quite significantly from Spanish, so that neither of these languages is intelligible to a Spanish speaker.

Most Afro-Hispanic varieties, in contrast, are mutually intelligible with Spanish, yet they display a set of linguistic phenomena that make them highly interesting to scholars. Sessarego explains that these features are commonly seen in advanced second-language varieties of Spanish. For example, there is use of the pronoun where it would be dropped in most dialects of standard Spanish (*Yo voy a la casa* vs. *Voy a la casa*), and lack of gender and number agreement across the noun phrase (*mucho persona simpático* vs. *muchas personas simpáticas*). But the speakers of these Afro-Hispanic languages, who number in the thousands, are not second-language speakers. The languages they speak have been passed down for many generations.

In 2011, Sessarego published *Introducción al idioma afroboliviano: Una conversación con el awicho Manuel Barra*. This book takes a close look at Afro-Bolivian with a dual purpose: to provide a context

Photo by Juan Figueroa

of how Afro-Hispanic languages developed, and to describe the features of Afro-Bolivian in detail through various types of linguistic analysis (the book comes with a CD). Central to the book are transcribed interviews with *awicho* Manuel Barra, the eldest speaker of the language, who lives in the community of Tocaña, Nor Yungas, Departamento de la Paz, Bolivia. (Sessarego explains that *awicho* comes from the indigenous Aymara language, in which *awicha* means grandparent. Afro-Bolivians use *awicho* to refer to an elder man.)

Sessarego's transcription of his conversations with Barra represents the first document published entirely in the Afro-Bolivian language. Beyond its linguistic value, Sessarego points to the document's significance as "an authentic and important example of what was and is the life of the Afro-Bolivian people, an ethnic group that has been exploited and segregated for centuries simply because of their skin color."

Sessarego emphasizes the importance of his study beyond the academic. For him, it was a way of "giving back to the community, spreading awareness, and taking stigma away" in a community where speakers of the language have been made to feel shame. The book's publication led to visibility and legitimacy for Afro-Bolivian, including the launch of a radio show on Afro-Bolivian Spanish and language policy. "This and other publications have led many members of the local community to take a new look at their traditional language, previously regarded by some as a sort of embarrassing 'broken Spanish,'" says Sessarego. "Luckily, the local attitudes toward this variety have greatly changed. Afro-Bolivians have recently created the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Afroboliviano with the aim of promoting and revitalizing their language, which is now perceived as a symbol of cultural and ethnic pride."

In studying Afro-Hispanic languages and their speakers, Sessarego also looks at the cultural and social history of Black enslaved people, and the plantation societies in which they lived. He obtained law degrees in Italy and Spain in order to explore more deeply the role of legal status in the development of these societies. The legacies of Roman law versus Spanish law affected populations in different ways. The sixth-century *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the main Roman legal text dealing with slaves, held that slaves had no legal personhood. Later, the *Siete Partidas* of King Alfonso X (El Sabio, r. 1252–1284) would depart from that, conferring personhood and many associated rights on slaves in thirteenth-century Spain. These included the right to accumulate property, to accuse someone in court, to (Christian) education, to marriage, and to keeping the children of a marriage.

The Spanish colonies applied the legal framework of the *Siete Partidas* to Black slaves in the Americas, in contrast to the Dutch, for example, who applied a legal system much closer to ancient Roman law to regulate slavery. Sessarego points out

that in places where Spanish law applied, we see the development of Afro-Hispanic dialects, while in contrast, Papiamentu and Palenquero, the only two Latin American Spanish-based creoles, are spoken in places where Spanish law never applied. For slaves in Spanish territories, the ability to buy freedom led to Black people's integration into the larger society, including learning Spanish. In combatting the sin of fornication, Catholicism also played a role in keeping Black enslaved families together, helping solidify Afro-Hispanic languages.

Sessarego writes and publishes on Afro-Hispanic languages and slavery in the Americas. In his latest book, *Language Contact and the Making of an Afro-Hispanic Vernacular: Variation and Change in the Colombian Chocó* (2019), he explores how different legal systems helped shape the relations between blacks and whites in the Americas, and the Afro-European contact language varieties that developed out of such scenarios.

PALOMA DÍAZ-LOBOS

Paloma Díaz-Lobos has made her mark on LLILAS Benson in a variety of job titles. Yet even her recent appointment as Associate Director of Programs only hints at the work that Díaz-Lobos accomplishes in the space of an academic year, or a semester, or even, perhaps, in a single day. From conceiving and planning scholarly events large and small, to organizing meetings and participating as a nonvoting member of the LLILAS Benson Executive Committee, to managing interns, maintaining LLILAS's significant social media presence, and usually being available to troubleshoot a situation or crack a great joke, she is imprescindible—an essential member of the LLILAS Benson staff.

"I have occupied six different offices at LLILAS," says Díaz-Lobos at the desk of her current office, a surprisingly calm space, dimly lit, with walls painted in a soothing sage-green. She arrived at the Institute of Latin American Studies—the storied ILAS—in 2001, during the semester when the institute changed its name to LLILAS in honor of a substantial gift from Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long.

In her early days at LLILAS, Díaz-Lobos managed the institute's Center for Latin American Social Policy (CLASPO), which existed alongside several other centers devoted to environmental policy and indigenous languages (the still-active Center for Indigenous Languages of Latin America, or CILLA). The institute's scholarly events were mostly driven by Mexico and Brazil, she explains, in contrast to the present, with events, such as the *foro urgente*, that focus on any area or issue in urgent need of attention, and conferences and lectures whose themes and geographical focus are driven by faculty expertise.

Díaz-Lobos's path to her current job included managing the LLILAS Mexico Center and serving as assistant to Director Bryan Roberts. Along the way, she gathered the knowledge and expertise necessary to begin running the institute's scholarly programming in 2009. Not content to be heavily invested solely in LLILAS Benson, Díaz-Lobos is social media coordinator for the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), secretary-treasurer for the Executive Council of the Center Directors Section of LASA, and serves on the Executive Committee of the Consortium of Latin American Studies Programs (CLASP).

"I never met a person with a doctoral degree and had no connection to academia," says Díaz-Lobos of her childhood in Valparaíso, Chile. "I grew up in a pre-globalized world, with geographical barriers, and under a dictatorship." But her family were supporters of Salvador Allende, and this informed her critical view of the United States. She earned a master's in international education and worked both at the Servicio Nacional de la Mujer and at the Secretaría General del Gobierno in Chile. "I never planned to live in the US or to learn English," she says.

That would all change during carnaval in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, where she met a US-American named Raúl Madrid, to whom she has been married for 26 years. (Madrid is a professor in the Department of Government at UT Austin.)

Along with energy and heart, Díaz-Lobos brings institutional memory to her work at LLILAS. She has witnessed the organic growth of programs, the birth of the partnership between LLILAS and the Benson Latin American Collection, and has learned to be philosophical about institutional change: "Don't be too attached; go with the flow and be flexible," she advises.

Some of her proudest accomplishments are the LLILAS intern program; her creation of the graduate student network to combat the silos that develop in academia; the annual Austin Lecture on Contemporary Mexico; and the Lozano Long Conference, which in its inaugural year featured Ricardo Lagos (Chilean president from 2000 to 2006), and subsequently hosted Eva Longoria for a Latino Studies–themed conference.

But for all her investment in LLILAS Benson as an institution, and her passion about serving in various Latin American Studies organizations, Díaz-Lobos doesn't hide the rebel at her core. She loves social media, she says, because it is "people taking control of the narrative, which forces us out of our comfort zone." And because attention to social justice and human rights are at the core of LLILAS Benson student programs and scholarship, the outspoken supporter of Dreamers and Gun-Free UT has ended up right where she belongs. ✸

Photo by Jennifer Mailloux

Cover Photographer: Adeloyá Magnoni

Clockwise from upper left: Yawôs, women Candomblé initiates greeting the ground; Orixá Oxalá, father of all Orixás, lord of peace; Orixá Nanã, mistress of life and death, who molded the human body out of clay; Bebê Yawô de Oxum, an infant initiate for Orixá Oxum; Logun Edé rests his head in the lap of his mother, Oxum. Photos © Adeloyá Magnoni.

ADELOYÁ MAGNONI is a photographer-activist who uses an anthropological lens to give voice and visibility to diverse sexualities, genders, Afro-religious traditions, social identities, and ethnicities. She is a practitioner of Candomblé—a daughter of Exu and Yansã—bisexual, antiracist, and an intersectional feminist. She believes in photography as a portal that is accessible to all, independent of language, and she uses it as a means of mobilizing empathy through art.

Her public exhibitions have centered on two important themes: honoring the lives of trans and *travesti* people, and documenting Candomblé rituals. Her images have been exhibited in Brazil, Uruguay, and, most recently, Italy.

Magnoni became a Candomblé initiate in 2017 and intensified her photographic work in the sacred space of the *terreiro* (candomblé religious house). The result is *Travessia Okàn: Um Mergulho no Candomblé da Bahia* (Okàn Crossing: Diving into the Candomblé of Bahia, August 2019), a book that explores Magnoni's relationship with the religion through her art. In photographing and writing about the Orixás—Candomblé deities—Magnoni seeks to fulfill a mission: to transform outsiders' attitudes toward Candomblé beyond the racist and exotifying gaze.

Follow on Instagram: @adeloyamagnoni
Buy the book: www.oyaeditora.com.br

On the cover: *Adjá*. The late Mãe Tieta de Yemanjá holds an *adjá*, a metal bell-like instrument used to help the Candomblé medium enter a trance state, and to guide Orixás. Salvador da Bahia. © Adeloyá Magnoni.

THE NETTIE LEE BENSON LATIN AMERICAN COLLECTION will celebrate its centennial in 2021. Drs. Adriana Pacheco Roldán and Fernando Macías Garza have made a generous donation to establish the Benson Centennial Endowment. Friends of LLILAS Benson are invited to join in the giving to sustain this treasured collection for generations to come.

Visit **links.utexas.edu/cgvixza** or contact Jessica Diaz at **jydiaz@austin.utexas.edu** to learn more.