# CALL FOR PAPERS



### **LASA2024**

# Reaction and Resistance: Imagining Possible Futures in the Americas

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Countervailing trends of reaction and resistance are evident in the Americas today. Declining support for democratic values and institutions and resurging authoritarianism, the rise of extremist right-wing movements and parties, and economic inequality and insecurity, aggravated by the pandemic, are generating anxiety and fear. At the same time, grassroots efforts to strengthen rights, promote more inclusive political and economic systems, and roll back the legacies of colonialism, combined with the return of progressive governments in many countries in the region, spark hope that new futures are possible. Exploring these countervailing trends will be the focus of the next International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, which will take place June 11-15, 2024 in Bogota, Colombia. Academics, practitioners, and activists are encouraged to participate with their reflections and analyses of the forces of reaction that are generating apprehension about the future, and the collective forms of resistance and progressive social change that let us dare to dream of new futures based on equality, justice, and inclusion.

Regressive trends are evident across the Americas. We have seen the rise of right-wing populists such as Nayib Bukele in El Salvador and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil; democratic backsliding from Guatemala to Peru; and hardening authoritarian regimes such as that of Ortega-Murillo in Nicaragua. Right-wing

ideologies are on the rise as well, from protofascist movements to groups promoting "culture wars" tropes such as "gender ideology." These movements, which are often transnational in nature, are fundamentally shaping the way local politics are playing out in many parts of the region. At the same time, the pandemic laid bare the deep inequalities, faltering public services, enduring racial hierarchies, and systemic violence that characterize the Americas. We are still evaluating the long-term impact of the devastation wrought by COVID-19 and how it is reshaping our way of thinking about work, well-being, and the organization of our social and political orders. The climate crisis and the ongoing exploitation of natural resources without regard for the impact on indigenous communities and the environment is also a cause of anxiety about the future of the Americas.

By contrast, several countries in the Americas have seen progressive governments come into office, and in others, broad-based social movements are demanding democratic deepening and the construction of more inclusive, just societies. Examples include Chile, where social movements have demanded changes in the political and economic system inherited from the Pinochet dictatorship and a leftist, "millennial" president is promising to implement sweeping reforms, and Brazil, where Lula's return to the presidency raises hopes that the democratic backsliding and other



regressive policies, including the devastation of the Amazon, can be reverted. In Peru, mass social movements, with indigenous communities taking the lead, are challenging a system that has historically excluded their voices and interests; while in Colombia, after decades of civil conflict, a former guerrilla and an Afro-Colombian woman were elected to lead the nation on a platform of progressive social change and consolidation of the peace process. Across the region, women continue to demand bodily autonomy and reproductive rights, winning important gains in places such as Argentina and Mexico. Indigenous peoples from Chile to Brazil to Central America are organizing to protect their land, the environment, and their cultural autonomy. These collective forms of resistance, combined with progressive political movements at the national level in many countries in the region, are helping to articulate new ways of imagining possible paths toward progressive political, social and economic change and the construction of new models of governance that are more inclusive and representative, and that prioritize human dignity and well-being.

In this context of heightened anxiety about the state of our world and raised expectations for progressive change, we invite proposals from academics, practitioners and activists that reflect on these questions. How are collective forms of resistance and progressive forces for change imagining new futures for the Americas? How do we understand the countervailing trends in the region, including democratic backsliding, the rise of authoritarian populism, continued inequality and the climate crisis? How do we as academics, activists and practitioners contribute with knowledge production, collaborative research and other interventions towards challenging these regressive trends and building new, progressive futures in the region? We hope that this LASA Congress in Colombia, where a new government is trying to implement a progressive political platform with the backing of diverse social movements, will be a space for productive reflection about these countervailing trends and the challenges and hopes they present for imagining possible futures in the Americas.

### **NEW TRACKS FOR LASA2024**

### The Alt-Right in Latin America and the World

Latin America's right-wing resurgence parallels dynamics playing out elsewhere in the world, from Turkey to Hungary to the United States. Ultraconservative groups railing against "gender ideology" and "cultural Marxism," and promoting polarizing visions of "us" versus "them" have gained traction in institutional politics as well as at the societal level. While there are global inspirations for the rise of the Latin American alt-right, it is also very much a home-grown phenomenon, a response to recent historical developments such as the rise of "Pink Tide" governments and drawing from older colonial legacies of Christianity, patriarchy, and racialized concepts such as hispanidad.

Today's right-wing politics, embodied by El Salvador's President Nayib Bukele, former Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, and also-rans in Colombia and Chile, Rofolfo Hernandez and José Antonio Kast, have a marked populist and putatively anti-elitist rhetoric. These leaders are savvy about social media, engage in revanchist cultural politics, and are well-networked internationally. While these politicians participate in democratic elections and often succeed in them, they

generally lack a serious commitment to democratic norms and institutions, and once in power often use democratic institutions to concentrate power and weaken democracy from within, and are closely allied to the military, and sometimes paramilitary groups, to advance their agenda. The right has also promoted a "culture wars" approach to politics, for example through its embrace of so-called gender ideology, which claims that reforms benefiting women and LGBTQI people, such as reproductive rights and same-sex marriage, are the result of an imposed system of beliefs that threaten "Christian values" and corrupts society.

This special track invites proposals that address this "new" Latin American right from multiple disciplinary perspectives to help us better understand the nature, objectives, and impact of the contemporary right in its political, economic, social and cultural manifestations. What animates the rise in right-wing ideologies and political movements in the Americas? What types of threats does the alt-right pose to democracy and to broader understandings of rights in the region? What role do international ties play in supporting the right in the Americas and how do these ties drive right-wing politics? How does the right today express itself



in culture and to what extent is cultural and social activism important to the right? What role do ties to the military and paramilitary groups play in advancing the right's agenda?

# Despojos y desplazamientos: violencias, extractivismo y economías ilegales en zonas rurales e indígenas

En contraste con las reformas agrarias que se dieron en varios países de Latinoamérica el siglo pasado, hoy una de las características del capitalismo tardío en la región es la acumulación de tierras, sea para cultivos o para la exploración y explotación para minería e hidrocarburos que se logra vía el desplazamiento, frecuentemente violento, de las comunidades indígenas y rurales de sus territorios. Mientras la población indígena representa el 4% de la población mundial, representa un tercio del total de defensores del medio ambiente asesinados en todo el planeta. Los conflictos por las industrias extractivas y las invasiones territoriales son una de las principales causas de violencia contra las comunidades indígenas y rurales. Entre 2017 y 2021, hubo 2109 casos de comunidades afectadas por las industrias extractivas y sus actividades asociadas en Perú, Colombia, México, Guatemala y Honduras. La situación más crítica se da en Colombia, donde 117 líderes indígenas han sido asesinados entre 2012 y 2020. En México y Centroamérica, comunidades indígenas y rurales han sido despojadas de sus tierras tanto por las industrias extractivas como por grandes proyectos hidroeléctricos y agroindustriales mientras que activistas medioambientales y líderes comunitarios han sido criminalizados y asesinados. Ante ellos se levantan ejemplos de resistencia importantes, como es el de Máxima Acuña, de Cajamarca, Perú, quien lleva adelante una lucha titánica contra el proyecto minero Yanacocha para evitar su avance en territorios de lagunas e impedir también que sus tierras sean expropiadas. En el caso colombiano, la Ley de víctimas y restitución de tierras del 2011 es un intento de brindar reparaciones integrales a familias que perdieron seres queridos, que fueron despojadas de sus tierras y desplazadas de sus comunidades.

A su vez van creciendo las economías ilícitas, que también producen expulsiones y despojos de tierras y territorios en gran parte del continente americano. La violencia de traficantes de madera, drogas, y de personas es parte de una cotidianidad que se ve poco, pero que obliga, sobre todo, a comunidades indígenas a abandonar sus lugares de origen. El avance de estas economías ilegales agudiza

otras problemáticas como el cambio climático, que genera desplazamientos y movilidad de personas por fenómenos medioambientales como deslizamientos de tierras, sequías y contaminación de suelos y personas. En Colombia, los despojos también se dieron por el avance de la guerrilla y del Ejército, los grupos paramilitares y el narcotráfico, y los fenómenos naturales. En Perú la minería ilegal ha ocasionado deforestación y despojos; la contaminación por hidrocarburo ha provocado también que ciertos grupos, sobre todo indígenas, se recluyan y organicen para luchar por sus derechos. También es importante pensar desde la gran producción de monocultivos, como la palma aceitera, que trae consigo deforestación y expropiaciones de tierras en Centroamérica, Colombia, Bolivia, Brasil, México y Perú.

Este track especial invita las propuestas de académicos y activistas que investigan y/o trabajan sobre la problemática de desplazamiento y despojo de la población indígena y rural de sus tierras y territorios, y las resistencias colectivas que han emergido para contrarrestar estas violencias. ¿Qué efectos está teniendo hoy la actuación del capitalismo tardío en relación a las comunidades indígenas y rurales en las Américas? ¿Cómo entender el entramado de actores que buscan controlar los recursos naturales, entre ellos, poderosas empresas transnacionales, grupos delictivos violentos y autoridades corruptas? ¿Cómo entendemos estas dinámicas de desplazamiento y despojo, de pérdidas y de mundos en ruinas, que consolidan hegemonías de ciertos grupos de poder, mientras subalternizan y silencian a otros? ¿Cómo se están organizando las comunidades ante estas violencias?

### Impunity: past and present

In systems based on rule of law, there are a set of rules and norms codified in law; all persons are subject to and equal before the law; and an independent judicial system exists to uphold the law and investigate and prosecute violations of the law. In systems based on impunity, there is no punishment—and no expectation of punishment—for grave crimes, including human rights violations, grand corruption, and arbitrary deployment of state power. Impunity is the exercise of power without accountability. With no accountability, arbitrary rule becomes the norm, the space for civil society shrivels, and corruption and criminal networks flourish.



This program track aims to draw attention to the persistent problem of impunity and weak rule of law in Latin America. Even as Latin America has made important strides in holding heads of state accountable for serious crimes, including grand corruption, abuse of authority, and crimes against humanity, impunity remains a central feature of life in much of the region. In addition, in many countries the legal system is becoming a tool used by powerful reactionary elites to attack and immobilize individuals and groups working for progressive social change, a practice often referred to as "lawfare." This includes environmental activists, indigenous and Afrodescendant leaders, journalists, and human rights defenders. In some countries, these tactics are being deployed against independent judicial operators as

The persistence of impunity also presents fundamental challenges for addressing present-day violence and organized crime in Latin America. Throughout the region, there is near-total impunity for gender-based violence and femicides; for police violence, especially against racialized indigenous and Afro-descendant populations; as well as organized crime, including white-collar crime, such as the massive Odebrecht corruption scandal. Impunity breeds more violence, more corruption, and more organized crime.

This track invites scholars, practitioners and activists to present proposals exploring both the enduring problem of impunity in the Americas as well as efforts to combat impunity and consolidate rule of law, past and present. We are particularly interested in proposals exploring the *links* between past and present crime and impunity.

### Colombia: Current challenges, possible futures

The 2022 electoral victory of Gustavo Petro and Francia Márquez marks the first time Colombians have elected a leftist as president and an Afro-Colombian woman as vice president. Riding a wave of mass social discontent and protest over inequality and politics "as usual," Petro and Márquez emphasized social justice, racial equality, environmental protection and consolidating the peace. Despite persisting and new challenges, their victory is encouraging Colombians to imagine a new future for their country.

With the policy of "total peace," Petro and Marquez are seeking to fulfill the promises of the 2016 peace accord signed with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and to reach new agreements with other armed and drug-trafficking groups. Colombia, however, remains a country in conflict, with armed groups engaging in new forms of violence, ongoing massacres in the countryside, and targeted killing of community leaders. In this fraught context, the country continues to debate how to redress the grievances of victims of the conflict, the question of whose memories matter, and how to write a history of decades of violence.

In this context of high expectations, Colombia confronts other old and new challenges. Profound socio-economic inequalities and racial and ethnic exclusion persist. Diverse armed groups and drug trafficking organizations continue to operate throughout the country. Colombia, like many other countries, is also struggling to address the profound environmental challenges of our time, including the transition to a non-carbon economy, threats to biodiversity, deforestation and water contamination. With 80 percent of the population living in urban areas, Colombia's cities play a key role in tackling many of these challenges, from improvements to transportation and infrastructure, to specific policies dealing with crime and violence. Colombia is also vexed with a massive influx of people from neighboring Venezuela and from smuggling networks that move migrants from around the globe through northern Colombia on their path northward.

Amidst these challenges, Colombia's social movements have remained vibrant despite years of entrenched state, paramilitary and insurgent violence. Human rights organizations, LGBTQI movements, peasant federations, and urban social movements are actively engaged in political life in Colombia. Especially notable are Colombia's indigenous and Afro-Colombian social movements, which have played a key role in highlighting the ways violence has impacted their communities as well as historic patterns of marginalization and exclusion for which they are demanding redress. Another positive trend is the flourishing of cultural production in Colombia, which extends the country's rich traditions in literature and visual arts. The visual arts and other forms of cultural production are making rich contributions to ongoing debates about the country's recent past and efforts to consolidate peace. Historically underrepresented groups are increasingly visible in the country's artistic and cultural production.

This track invites proposals from scholars, students, community leaders and activists, from any disciplinary or transdisciplinary perspective, that address the present challenges facing Colombia as



well as contemporary debates in history, literature, and the arts. How is the Petro administration shaping Colombia? How are the center and right reacting to these changes? What are the prospects for broadening and deepening the advances made with the FARC peace process? How do changes in the conflict and crime environment affect the life of Colombians? How are social movements and the government seeking to address the concerns of Afro-Colombians, indigenous communities, and other historically marginalized groups? What are the major environmental challenges facing Colombia and how are Colombians dealing with them? What are the major urban challenges facing Colombia and what policies are urban governments and communities adopting in response? What role do the social sciences and the humanities play in post-conflict Colombia, particularly in relation to the question of how to write the narrative of the recent past and how to teach the recent past in schools and universities? What is happening today with Colombia's social movements? What new directions are emerging in Colombia's cultural production? How is cultural production supported, and how do these different forms of support shape the content and meaning of the arts in Colombia?

### Resistencias colectivas, futuros imaginados en las Américas

Desde la historia política y la teoría poscolonial, autores como James Scott, Ranajit Guha, Gayatri Spivak han conceptualizado y descrito formas de resistencia frente a opresiones y violencias diferentes. Estas prácticas de resistencia tienen formas diversas e involucran la participación de grupos que no pertenecen a los centros y dinámicas de poder, pero que construyen su agencia y agentividad como modos de acción capaces de imaginar un cambio en el sentido de las cosas.

En los últimos años se han producido una serie de estallidos sociales en diferentes países latinoamericanos, especialmente del sur. Estas grandes protestas colocan importantes temas en agenda, como por ejemplo que las transiciones a la democracia no han sido plenas. El estallido social en Chile en 2019, por ejemplo, cuestionó el sistema político y económico heredado por Pinochet, resumido en el slogan "no son 30 pesos, son 30 años". En Colombia, las movilizaciones sociales que estallaron en el 2021 en respuesta a las reformas económicas también evolucionaron en críticas al incumplimiento de los acuerdos de paz

y a los actores de la guerra, así como a un sistema político que excluye a las poblaciones indígenas y afroamericanas. En Perú, desde diciembre del 2022, vienen produciéndose importantes manifestaciones en diferentes regiones reclamando una mayor representación indígena en la toma de decisiones en la nación. En estos y otros casos se aprecia cómo mujeres, jóvenes, escolares, y personas indígenas imaginan la posibilidad de cambiar las formas de hacer política para obtener mayor representación política, dignidad y bienestar para ellas, ellos y sus comunidades.

Otras formas de resistencias colectivas se vislumbran en las Américas. Las feministas han realizado movilizaciones creativas para denunciar el feminicidio y la violencia sexual, y para garantizar los derechos reproductivos de las mujeres. Frente a la agobiante impunidad por la práctica de la desaparición forzada, las madres buscadoras en México y las de los falsos-positivos en Colombia han emprendido sus propias búsquedas para lo cual han desarrollado conocimientos y técnicas para encontrar algún vestigio de sus familiares desaparecidos, desafiando de esta manera el poder del Estado y las narrativas hegemónicas y negacionistas sobre la práctica de la desaparición forzada. En el 2022 hubo una serie de paros en Panamá por el alza del costo de la canasta familiar, las medicinas y la gasolina en la que se unieron una serie importante de organizaciones gremiales e indígenas para presionar por una mesa de diálogo que tuvo importantes resultados para la ciudadanía. La población mapuche de Argentina y Chile mantiene sus saberes para poder enseñar a las nuevas generaciones sus territorios y costumbres. ¿Cómo pueden comprenderse estas prácticas? ¿Qué nos dicen sobre los sistemas políticos latinoamericanos? ¿Cómo coadyuvan a pensar colectivamente en otras formas de gobierno?

Este track especial invita a académicos y activistas a presentar propuestas que puedan describir y analizar las diferentes formas de resistencias colectivas latinoamericanas, para ayudarnos entender cómo estas se relacionan y retan al poder hegemónico y cómo contribuyen a pensar de forma colectiva, a imaginar —y construir— los futuros compartidos.



You are invited to submit a paper or panel proposal addressing either the congress theme or any topic related to the program tracks. LASA also invites requests for travel grants from paper presenters who qualify. Visit the LASA website for eligibility criteria. All proposals for papers, panels, and travel grants must be submitted to the LASA Secretariat via the online proposal system by September 15, 2023, at 5 p.m. (ET).

Proposal forms and instructions will be available on the LASA website: https://lasaweb.org. No submissions by regular mail will be accepted. A confirmation email will be immediately sent once the proposal is submitted successfully. Otherwise, contact the LASA Secretariat before the deadline for confirmation to lasa@lasaweb.org. All participants will be required to preregister for the Congress.

### **Permanent Tracks**

The 2018-2019 Executive Council decided to work to ensure that each congress maintains a set of permanent tracks. To this end, an exhaustive analysis of the existing tracks since 1991 (221 in total) and the number of proposals received. The criterion has been to consolidate, homogenize and expand these tracks in order to offer a permanent space that represents the thematic diversity represented throughout the membership. The 221 tracks found were discussed in several stages by the full Executive Council and by a subcommittee appointed by the Executive Council. Initially, the 221 axes were reduced to 43, and finally to 32.

This year, the Executive Council has decided to review and add new tracks, with particular attention to literature, which receives a large number of proposals each year.

The Executive Council or a subcommittee appointed by the Executive Council will periodically evaluate new areas proposed by the program committee to determine their permanence in the list of core tracks.

### **New Tracks for Each Congress**

The Program Committee will have the opportunity to propose specific tracks that it deems relevant within the framework of its programming. For LASA2024, the theme chosen by the Committee invites us to reflect on the countervailing trends existing vin the Americas today. On the one hand, the anxiety generated by the rise of repressive tendencies, social inequalities and the climate crisis, as well as the exploitation of natural resources. On the other hand, the hope for change with the coming to power of progressive governments in several countries, with social

movements demanding more democratic, fair, and inclusive societies, and with indigenous communities fighting for their rights, their culture, and the protection of their lands and the environment.

### **Session Creation Guidelines**

One of the main goals for LASA's Congress is to enable the highest level of intellectual exchange from the social sciences and the humanities about Latin America and the Caribbean. An important condition to achieve this goal is ensuring that each of our congress sessions incorporates important degrees of **diversity** along several criteria. These include diverse institutional affiliations of panel participants, region where they are based, disciplinary, career stage, and gender diversity. Not all of these criteria can be present in each and all sessions but, where possible, they should be observed when organizing them.

A session constituted by presenters from the same institution is likely to get a low ranking or rejected. A minimum of **two institutions** should be represented in each session, and preferably more. Even when a session is focused on a single country, it may be possible to find diversity among presenters in terms of the countries in which they are based. Such diversity could add a different perspective on the same country. Having in the same session scholars in different stages of their careers, from graduate students to junior and senior scholars, can promote productive intellectual networks and possibilities for mentorship. Gender diversity should be easy to attain in an association in which women make up more than half of its membership.



### **Program Agenda**

Select the most appropriate topic for your proposal from the list below and enter it in the designated space in the submission system. You may submit only one topic. Send your correspondence to the LASA Secretariat only.

#### PERMANENT TRACKS

Agrarian and Food Studies

Archives, Libraries and Digital

Scholarship

Art, Music and Performance

**Studies** 

Biopolitics and Biopower

Childhood and Youth Studies

Civil Societies and Social

Movements

Culture, Power and Political

Subjectivities

Democratization and Political

**Process** 

Economics and Political Economy

Education

Environment, Nature and Climate

Change

Film Studies

Feminism and Gender Studies

Health and Well-being

History and Archaeology

Human Rights and Memory

Indigenous Languages and

Literature

Indigenous Peoples and

Afro-descendants: Epistemologies

and Knowledge

International Relations /

**Global Studies** 

**Labor Studies** 

Language and Linguistics

Latinx Studies

Law and Justice

Literature Studies: Colonial/

19th century

Literature Studies: 20th/21st

centuries

Literature and Culture

Mass Media and Popular Culture

Migration and Refugees

Otros Saberes and Alternative

Methods

Political Institutions

Public and Social Policies

Race and Ethnicities

Religion, Politics and Society

Sexualities and LGBTI Studies

**Urban Studies** 

Security and Violence

#### **NEW FOR LASA2024**

La extrema derecha en América Latina y el mundo

Despojos y desplazamientos: violencias, extractivismo y economías ilegales en zonas rurales e indígenas

Impunidades: pasados y presentes

Colombia: desafíos actuales y futuros posibles

Resistencias colectivas, futuros imaginados en las Américas

## THE DEADLINE FOR THE SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS IS **SEPTEMBER 15, 2023 AT 5 P.M. (ET)**