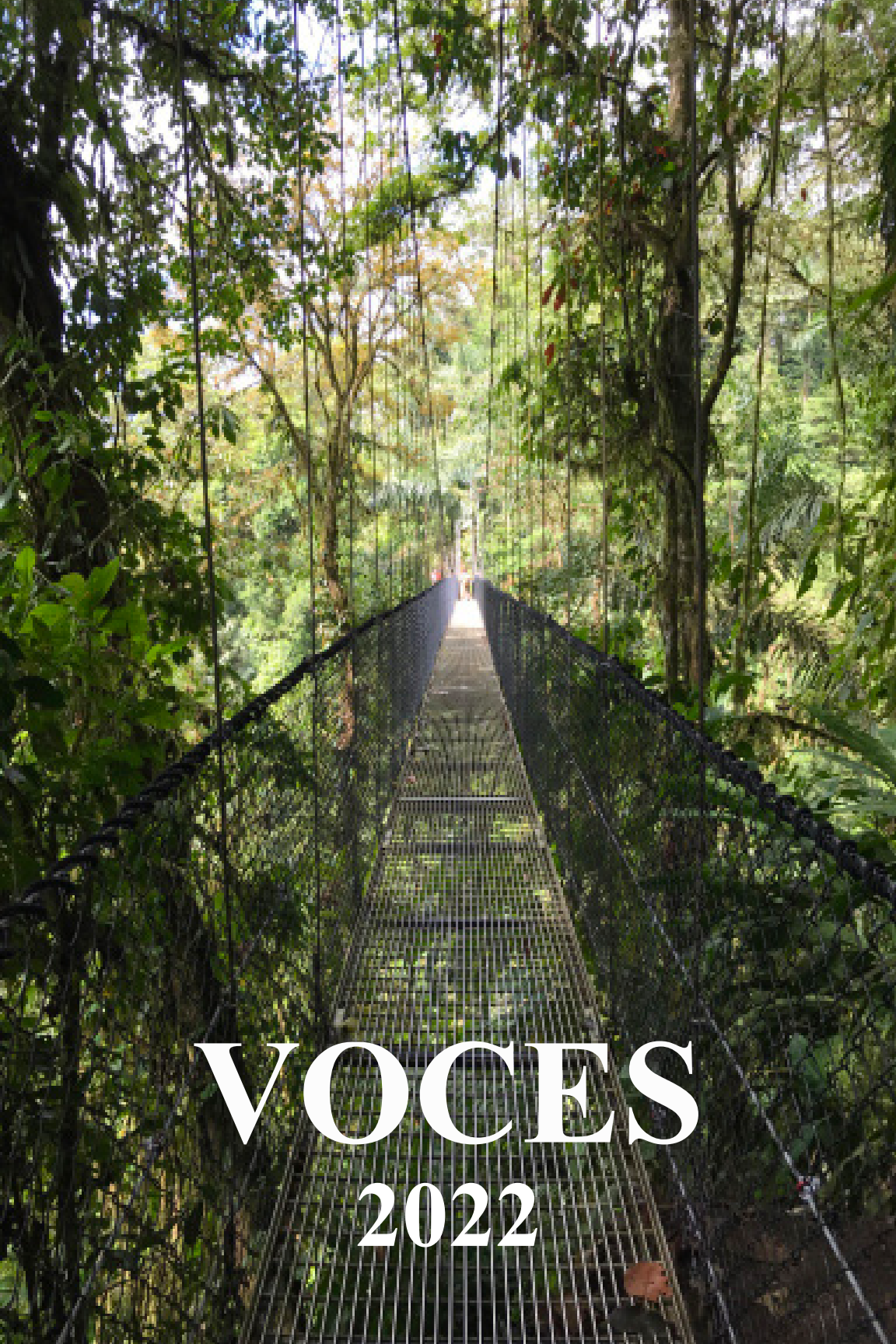

VOCES

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Acknowledgments

Editors

Juliana Castañeda
Abigail Brewer

Photographs

John Vincent Vitulli (cover photo)
Julian Felipe Coy Arias (back photo)

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Author Biographies

Rathuja Sivasubramanian is a fourth-year student finishing her honors Hispanic Studies degree with a minor in Russian language. She is an avid reader and a language enthusiast. As shown by her essays, she is interested in Afro-Latinx studies and wishes to keep exploring topics, such as colonialism, the colonial legacy, discourses of race and anticolonial actions. She is passionate about her studies and looks forward to pursuing her education in this field to expand her knowledge.

Victoria Aponte is a third-year student in Honours Political Science with a double-minor in History and Social Entrepreneurship. Originally from Venezuela, she has focused on learning more about Latin American history and politics ever since she moved to Canada. She is particularly interested in social movements, authoritarianism, and populism. When Victoria is not writing essays, you can find her watching movies or recording podcasts.

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Madelyn Evans is a fourth-year student from Connecticut, finishing her Honours Political Science degree with a double minor in Arabic and Hispanic Studies. After McGill, she will be pursuing a career in international human rights law. She spent the previous semester on exchange in Spain, where she conducted research for her thesis on the use of language as a mobilizing factor in separatist and statehood movements. In her free time, she enjoys photography, traveling, yoga, and exploring art museums around Montreal.

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Emilia Dominguez is a third-year student at McGill, pursuing a double major in Political Science and Latin American Studies. Upon graduating, she hopes to continue studying Latin American politics from within the region. Her focus is contemporary social movements led by and for marginalized communities.

Ines Amigorena is a second-year student at McGill, pursuing a Joint Honours degree in History and Latin American studies. She is particularly interested in social and cultural aspects of encounters between colonizers

and Indigenous peoples in the Americas. After completing her degree, she hopes to work in Latin America and continue in academia, with the goal to incorporate Indigenous oral traditions and other epistemologies to the field of history.

Grace Farran is graduating with a degree in Anthropology and minors in Hispanic Studies and Neo-Hellenic Studies, and her interests primarily lie in religion and migration. She plans to spend some time abroad traveling, working, and practicing languages before returning to her studies.

Juliana Castañeda is graduating with a double major in Sociology and Hispanic Studies and a minor in Religious Studies. She enjoys reading and traveling around the world as a way of learning about different cultures, societies and time-periods. She hopes to focus her work and research on literature, religion, and education.

Artist Biographies

John Vincent Vitulli is a fourth year Hispanic Studies Major, minoring in Social Entrepreneurship, from Montreal. After completing his studies, he aspires to work in the non-profit sector and on policy issues related to education.

Julian Felipe Coy Arias is graduating from Honours in Economics student with a minor in Managing for Sustainability at McGill University. Coming from Colombia, he has found interest in pursuing a career in sustainable development. He intends to do a masters in Economics and work for the development of the LATAM region. He is a fanatic of ethical ecotourism, salsa dancing and dark chocolate.

Juan Arévalo graduated from McGill in 2021 with a major in Latin American Studies and minor concentrations in Italian and German Studies. He is currently pursuing a Master in Conference Interpreting at York University. Originally from Guatemala City, Guatemala, he is also a Canadian citizen and has called Montreal home since 2013. He is passionate about foreign languages, cultures and travelling. He hopes to work as a language interpreter and with cases related to immigrant and refugee rights in the future.

Albert Ghitescu, born in Montreal out of Romanian parents, is a fourth year Political Science Major and minoring in Economics and Hispanic studies. He enjoys travel, art, photography, architecture and language learning. In the future, Albert hopes to pursue a career that combines his various interests.

Charlie Hassett is a second year BA student majoring in Latin American & Caribbean Studies. Originally from London UK, he decided to dedicate himself to exploring and studying Latin America after having the opportunity to live and work in Chilean Patagonia in 2017. His main areas of interest are photography, journalism, and history.

Preface

VOCES es un compendio de trabajos sobre América Latina que busca transmitir, desde diferentes ámbitos, el carácter de un continente tan diverso, multicultural y fascinante como lo es Latinoamérica. De esta manera, dicho compendio incluye perspectivas tanto políticas como históricas y sociales, así como análisis literarios y teatrales, presentando distintas facetas a través de las cuales podemos internarnos en esta rica cultura latinoamericana e hispana. Todos los trabajos que se verán a continuación han sido escritos por estudiantes de McGill. Nosotros, CLASHSA, la Asociación de estudios hispánicos, latinoamericanos y caribeños, esperamos que disfruten de la lectura.

VOCES is a compendium of works about Latin America that seeks to transmit, through distinct areas, the character of such a diverse, multicultural and fascinating continent as Latin America. VOCES includes political, historical and social perspectives as well as literary and theatrical analyses, presenting distinct aspects through which we can perceive the rich Latin American and Hispanic culture. All the essays have been written by McGill students. We, CLASHSA, the Caribbean and Latin American Studies and Hispanic Studies Association, hope you enjoy the reading.

VOCES est une combinaison de travaux qui cherche transmettre, à travers différents cadres, le caractère d'un continent divers, multiculturel et fascinant comme l'Amérique Latine. VOCES comprend des perspectives politiques, historiques, sociales, et aussi des analyses littéraires et théâtrales, en présentant des différentes facettes de la riche culture latino-américaine et hispanique. Touts les travails ont été écrits pour étudiants de l'Université McGill. Nous sommes CLASHSHA, l'association des études des Caraïbes et l'Amérique Latine et études hispaniques, et nous vous souhaitons beaucoup de plaisir lors de la lecture de VOCES.

VOCES é um compêndio de obras sobre a América Latina que busca transmitir, a partir de diferentes campos, o caráter de um continente tão diverso, multicultural e fascinante como a América Latina. Desse modo, o referido compêndio inclui perspectivas políticas, históricas e sociais, bem como análises literárias e teatrais, apresentando diferentes facetas pelas quais podemos entrar nesta rica cultura latino-americana e hispânica. Todos os artigos a serem vistos abaixo foram escritos por alunos da McGill. Nós, CLASHSA, a Associação de Estudos Hispânicos, Latino-Americanos e Caribenhos, esperamos que você goste de ler.

Letter From the Editors

Dear readers,

The 2022 edition of VOCES has been a joy to work on as we've moved back to more normal conditions and had a mix of digital and physical expertise to draw from in order to create the journal. It is a celebration of our return to campus to meeting new and familiar faces and to the importance of our programs being together once more.

In this edition of VOCES, we are pleased to present to you a collection of papers on topics ranging from digital activism about femicide to Conceição Evaristo's redefinition of the black woman in her poems to the power of Picasso's art as a political symbol. We received submissions in both English and Spanish, and are happy to be publishing a balanced number of papers in both languages.

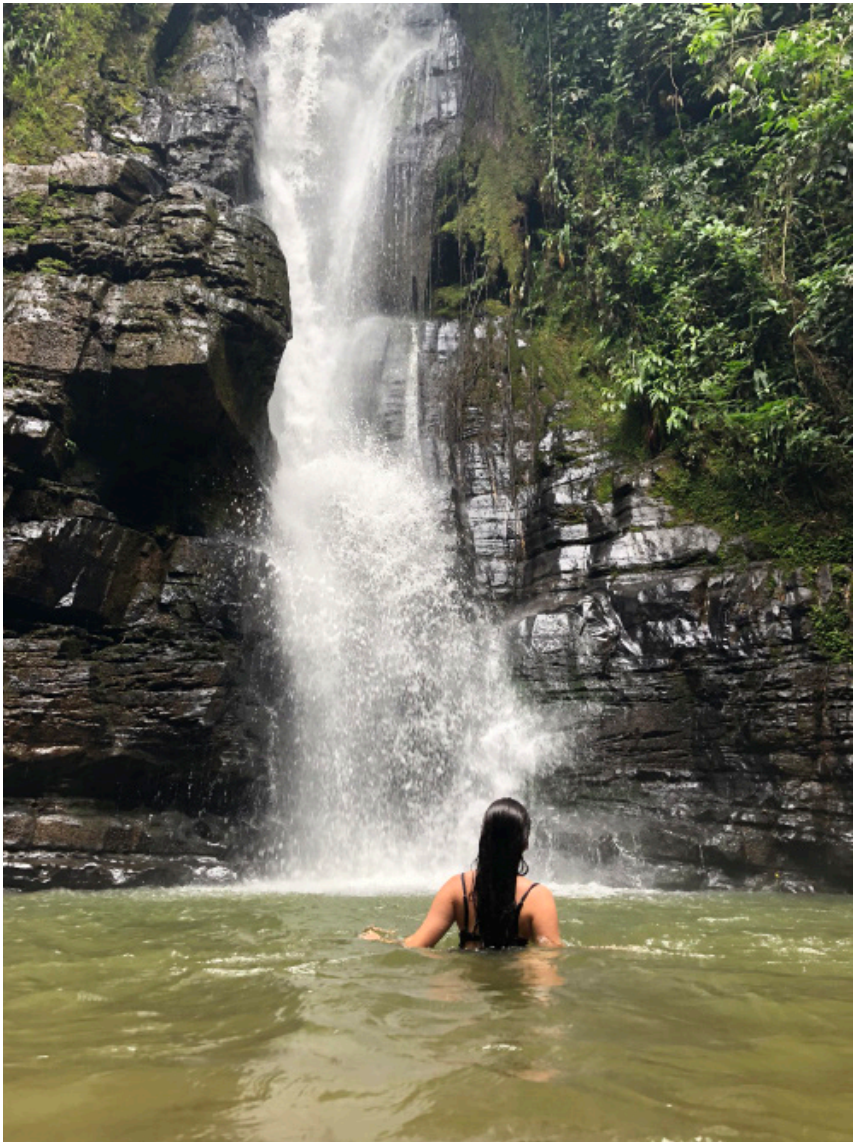
The accompanying artworks were also submitted by members of the McGill community, and we are grateful for the colour and symbolism that they add to each work.

We hope that our authors' works will help bring attention to new ideas and interpretations regarding literature, art, gender, race, and political events in the Hispanic world.

Thank you for your readership.
We hope that you enjoy the 2022 edition of VOCES!

Sincerely your editors,

Juliana Castañeda & Abigail Brewer



Fuente de vida | Julian Felipe Coy Arias

Antevejo. Antecipo. Antes-vivo: La redefinición de la mujer negra en los poemas de Conceição Evaristo

Rathuja Sivasubramaniam

Brasil tiene un legado colonial importante de esclavitud, de sistema de castas, de opresión, de violación y de discriminación, pero el país no siempre lo ha enfrentado de cara. Encontró distintas maneras para mantener el sistema de relaciones raciales conforme a los intereses de élites blancas. Telles destaca los varios papeles cambiantes que tuvieron el mestizaje en la imagen nacional— siempre favoreciendo el blanqueamiento de la población (24). El mestizaje es un aparato que silencia las desigualdades raciales. Los mitos nacionales, tal como la democracia racial, sirvieron y todavía sirven como "ideological discourses of modernity that attempt to give a hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged, histories of nations, races, communities, people" (Bhabha 245). Por ello, producciones contrahegemónicas por grupos marginados intervienen y desestabilizan sistemas de poder y de saber totalizadores (233). Entre ellas, se encuentra las obras de la poeta afrobrasileña Conceição Evaristo. Al núcleo de su material literario se halla la experiencia de la diáspora negra. La poeta centraliza las vivencias de las afrobrasileñas al retratar experiencias particulares o colectivas con base en las memorias histórica y ancestral. En sus poemas, Evaristo emplea la perspectiva intra-céntrica para recuperar y restablecer las raíces culturales en la narrativa histórica. En última instancia, la reescritura de la historia permite redefinir la identidad de la mujer negra con el fin de recontextualizar su posición en la realidad contemporánea de Brasil.

Antes de empezar el análisis de los poemas, es importante contextualizar el rol de la autoría en la conservación del legado colonial dado que siguió viviendo a través de la autoría y la autoridad. En su conferencia, Adichie subraya la importancia de la relación entre el poder y la forma de narrar, es decir quién narra, cómo y cuándo se narra la historia (9:50). En el área literario, las herencias africanas e indígenas son temas abordados por individuos que ocupan posiciones dominantes en la sociedad racialmente estratificada. Los autores presentan el espacio de marginación, del "otro", como sitio de dominación (hooks 343). Siendo así, la autoría es una extensión de las relaciones del poder colonial. La imitación verbal de esta posición por bell hooks refleja este acercamiento al marginado:

> No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice. Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing you, I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still colonizer, the speaking subject, and you are now at the center of my talk. (343)

Los autores de estatua privilegiada pueden perpetuar la invisibilización y el silencio de la experiencia marginada. Las élites blancas

moldean las realidades de los oprimidos para generar una concepción de la nación que les acomode a ellas. En una entrevista, Evaristo confía que "é como se um negro no tivesse o direito de criar [ou] de falar de suas próprias histórias" ("Escrevivência" 2:27-2:37). En pocas palabras, la autoría desde el centro ha sido una manera de extender el poder colonial al configurar la experiencia marginada con el fin de sostener la perpetuación de la hegemonía social.

Un ejemplo de esta dinámica de poder colonial ocurre en el discurso nacional de la democracia racial elaborado por Gilberto Freyre en Casa Grande e Senzala (1933). Este mito invade la identidad, la vida y la cultura brasileñas y se manifiesta como legitimación del racismo (Afolabi 23). Aunque aborda la formación de una nación igualitaria, el nosotros usado a lo largo de la obra se refiere al hombre blanco de élite, así estableciendo el hombre blanco como "the quintessential subject of national belonging" (Caldwell 56). Este mito dominó el pensamiento racial en el país por alrededor de cuarenta años y sugirió que el Brasil no padecía del racismo de que adolece el resto del mundo (Telles 33). Al cambiar el mestizaje en atributo positivo de la nación, el concepto se convirtió en herramienta para justificar el "mestizaje constructivo" (Skidmore y Telles citado por Cleveland 23). Procuró el sostén para la continuación del blanqueamiento y de la discriminación sin tener que reconocerla puesto que el racismo se introdujo como celebración de la herencia africana. Freyre suaviza la asimilación, expresando que "From their first contact with women of color, they [the Portuguese colonizers] mingled with them and procreated mestizo sons…" (11). Esta cita distorsiona la violación de las mujeres, concibiéndola como evento social para concordar con los objetivos homogeneizadores de la nación y, más que todo, las élites blancas. En sumo, la obra de Freyre ejemplifica el papel de la autoría de élite en borrar, silenciar e invisibilizar la experiencia negra en la historia del país.

La autoría desde la perspectiva dominante presenta otro peligro alarmante: la propagación de una historia única (Adichie). La autora nigeriana Adichie comparte, "So that is how to create a single story; show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become" (9:15-9:27). La historia única es peligrosa porque encasilla la vida y perpetúa la violencia. Esto es el caso en Brasil— las repetidas reiteraciones del mestizaje desde la posición del poder han creado una visión definitiva de la mujer negra. En particular, cristalizan la asociación de la negrura a la suciedad, la melancolía y la fatalidad dentro de la sociedad (Gonçalves 168). Significados desfavorables impuestos sobre las mujeres negras les impiden de salir del círculo vicioso de la pobreza aún con educación. Por ejemplo, aunque mujeres negras realizan las inversiones más sustanciales para sus educaciones, reciben lo menos a cambio y sufren la tasa de desempleo más alta (Bento citado por Caldwell 71). Para regresar a Freyre, su análisis de la historia colonial naturaliza la cosificación sexual de las afrobrasileñas y las inmortaliza como domésticas en el discurso nacional (55). Por ello, la historia única es perjudicial a la imagen de la mujer negra y su doble condición, lo cual hace un llamamiento a la redefinición de la colectividad negra en Brasil.

En cambio, Conceição Evaristo emplea su perspectiva intra-céntrica para revertir estas representaciones y, simultáneamente, reconstruir

su identidad de mujer negra. El texto nace desde adentro de la diáspora negra y asume la marginación como instrumento de resistencia. Lo que realmente pasa no es lo que el blanco ve, sino la manera en la cual se vive la experiencia desde el punto de vista interior (Duncan). En otras palabras, el lugar desde el cual se narra la historia cambia. Esta perspectiva es una herramienta fundamental en la recuperación de las raíces culturales porque convierte la mujer negra en sujeto independiente con sus propias identidad, historia y visión del mundo en vez de ser definido según su divergencia del ideal asimilador de la nación. Como resultado, la mujer negra encuentra agencia al reconocer su subjetividad como legítimo y suficiente para relatar su historia. Igualmente, el punto de vista interior permite la reivindicación de su lugar en la narrativa brasileña. Este fin es importante porque las experiencias individuales de las mujeres negras en Brasil están descritas en términos de "having or not having a "place" (lugar), "knowing your place" (observe qual que é o seu lugar), and "putting yourself in your place" (põe-se no seu lugar)" (52). Así pues, por medio de rescribir la historia, la mujer negra determina su posición en el país. En este ensayo se examinará las diferentes maneras por las cuales Evaristo utiliza su perspectiva intra-céntrica para redefinir la mujer negra con el apoyo de las vivencias de la diáspora africana, la memoria histórica y la herencia ancestral.

Para empezar, en "Do Fogo Que Em Mim Arde" la voz poética asume la autoría, rechazando la cosificación de la mujer negra que fue normalizada debido a las representaciones anteriores. El poema trata de la reivindicación de su imagen que, en reiteradas ocasiones, fue moldeada según la perspectiva exterior. Desde el principio toma la palabra para insistir sobre su autoría, declarando, "Sim, eu trago fogo, / o outro, / não aquele que te apraz" (Evaristo 1-3). Primero, la voz poética robustece su perspectiva intra-céntrica en la falta de ambigüedad con que presenta el material. Las palabras "Sim" y "não" hacen ostensible su postura sin dejar espacio a la vaguedad. Esta firmeza contrasta con otros autores afrodescendientes, tal como Machado de Assis, cuya ambigüedad—una amnesia intencional—es una forma de negar y evitar el dilema racial (Afolabi 23). Entonces, la transparencia instantánea de Evaristo no sólo empodera su voz y le da autoridad, sino también representa una ruptura con la invisibilización y la negación. Segundo, la voz poética no busca complacer con el recipiente del poema. Dice que el fuego que ella lleva adentro de sí mismo está "incendiando até às cinzas / o desejo-desenho que fazes de mim" (Evaristo, "Do Fogo Que Em Mim Arde" 7-8). En estos versos, se rehúsa a dejar al poder colonial de modelar su persona con formas tradicionales de exotización y/o de cosificación. Así pues, la escritura se convierte en herramienta para vocear su perspectiva con el objetivo de recuperar y negociar la identidad y humanidad de la mujer negra.

En lugar de dejarse ser representada por lentes exteriores, la voz poética afirma el papel central que desempeñan sus vivencias para apoyar su autoría en cuanto a su historia. En primer lugar, el poema se basa en el fuego, lo cual es símbolo de no sólo su experiencia como mujer negra, sino también la experiencia de la colectividad negra. La voz poética describe el fuego así: "aquele que me faz, / e que molda a dura pena / de minha escrita" (12-14). La voz lírica es producto de este fuego de las

vivencias que transcienden el tiempo y el espacio. Es decir, el fuego representa la resistencia en contra la injusticia de sus antepasados y es ésta que guía su escritura. Por ello, el texto llega a ser un terreno para seguir esta herencia. En segundo lugar, la voz lírica usa este fuego para redefinirse:

> É este o fogo,
> o meu, o que me arde
> e cunha a minha face
> na letra-desenho
> do auto-retrato meu. (14-18)

En estos versos, la voz poética reclama su experiencia negra para poder redefinir su identidad según sus vivencias en vez de los deseos de los previos autores. El uso del artículo posesivo "o meu" asevera que sus experiencias le pertenecen a ella y no al extranjero que intenta representarlas; o sea, no se las puede extraer. Como dice Pessoa de Castro con respecto a la escritura afrobrasileña, la poeta pretende "rescue the image of the Afro-Brazilian woman from the folkloric arena and plot in which she has been subjected as an absent protagonist" (citado por Afolabi 81). Además de reivindicar su derecho para escribir sobre ella misma, así usando el poema para redefinirse, la voz poética demuestra que puede ser protagonista sin exotización deshumanizante. Por ende, este poema refleja la reivindicación de sus experiencias personales para poder relatarlas y reformular su identidad ella misma a través de su autorretrato.

De modo similar, en el poema de verso libre "Eu-Mulher," la voz poética usa la perspectiva intra-céntrica para deshacer convenciones sociales y estereotipos raciales, así redefiniendo el papel de la mujer en la narrativa histórica. Según Afolabi, la voz lírica se convierte en la mujer universal dotada de poderes y atributos visionarios además de reproductivas (82), una representación que diverge de la historia enfocada sobre el hombre. Por ejemplo, cuando declara "Antevejo. / Antecipo. / Antes-vivo," (Evaristo 12-14), la voz poética se convierte en sujeto universal al servir como puente entre el pasado, el presente y el futuro. Asimismo, la universalidad posibilita la inclusión de las voces subordinadas por siglos y una revisión de la representación de la mujer en la historia. Las imágenes en el poema señalan el papel indispensable de la mujer que "inaugura a vida" (Evaristo, "Eu-Mulher" 9). El título puede sugerir a través del guion que sin la mujer—la que genera la vida, no existe el individuo. Sin embargo, en esencia, el uso de Eu-mulher afirma la perspectiva intra-céntrica y destaca que la voz poética resalta su agencia por medio de asumir su subjetividad. Los últimos versos del poema reflejan la redefinición de la mujer como matriz al centro que genera vida y fuerza:

> Antes – agora – o que há de vir.
> Eu fêmea-matriz.
> Eu-mulher
> abrigo da semente
> moto-contínuo
> do mundo. (15-20)

La imagen de la semilla que sólo florece gracias a su portadora, así como la de producir la fuerza que permite al mundo de girar, son recuerdos constantes de la vida (Gonçalves 171) que destacan la centralidad del papel de la mujer. Entonces, en el poema, la voz poética rescata la experiencia de la mujer de lo escondido para revelarla bajo nueva luz como creadora de la vida. Aunque la voz lírica enfatice la importancia de la mujer, no se niega la existencia de la sociedad patriarcal que sigue limitando la subjetividad y la independencia de la mujer. En los primeros versos, la voz poética es el objeto directo, o sea la receptora, de lo que ocurre. Dice, "Uma gota de leite / me escorre entre os seios" (Evaristo, "Eu-Mulher" 1-2). El uso de artículos definidos en vez de "mis" como en senos, piernas (4) y boca (6) sugiere que su cuerpo no le pertenece; el cuerpo en relación con el mundo material masculino todavía no ha roto sus cadenas. Asimismo, la voz poética reconoce que el mundo permanece en manos masculinas, lo cual se nota en el silencio que impregna el poema (Gonçalves 171). Por ejemplo, murmura, "Em baixa voz / violento os tímpanos do mundo" (Evaristo, "Eu-Mulher" 10-11). Estos versos demuestran que la voz de la mujer sigue siendo silenciada por el mundo puesto que su voz no puede alcanzar todo su potencial (Gonçalves 171). Pues, la perspectiva intra-céntrica de la mujer permite revelar las dinámicas de poder que existen e impiden su potencial.

No obstante, esta interpretación permanece superficial porque, tras un examen más minucioso , Evaristo elige poner el énfasis sobre los logros de la mujer negra. En el verso citado en el párrafo anterior, la voz poética destaca la potencia de su voz. Si con voz baja logra violar los tímpanos del mundo, ¿qué puede cumplir su voz en todo su esplendor? La voz poética de Evaristo reconoce el mundo patriarcal como algo que ha obstaculizado el pleno potencial de la mujer, pero, en su revisión de la historia oficial desde la perspectiva de la mujer, pone de relieve que prospera a pesar de las limitaciones impuestas por la masculinidad. La voz poética no borra los rastros dejados por las mujeres— aún con las manos atadas, las mujeres han encontrado y siguen encontrando maneras de luchar. Como lo señala Afolabi, la identidad femenina viabiliza posibilidades y habilidades y es así que la mujer descubre su fuerza, o sea, a través de la resistencia ante la injusticia (83). En pocas palabras, "Eu-Mulher" emplea la perspectiva intra-céntrica para recuperar el legado de la resistencia con el propósito de recontextualizar su lugar negado en la narrativa histórica.

En "Meu Corpo Igual," la voz lírica reconcilia con su identidad por medio de subvertir el poder colonial a través de su autoría. A lo largo del poema, se realiza una transformación del ser desde una posición subordinada hacia una de control (Gonçalves 179). La voz lírica busca su identidad en la misma "escuridão da noite" (Evaristo, "Meu Corpo Igual" 1) que le ha agarrado su identidad (Gonçalves 179), lo cual propulsa una revisión de la narrativa histórica. Es decir, Evaristo revierte la situación al resignificar la noche que fue usada en contra las mujeres negras. Los primeros versos dicen, "Na escuridão da noite / meu corpo igual / fere perigos" (Evaristo, "Meu Corpo Igual" 1-3), mientras que, en la segunda estrofa, la voz lírica empieza así:

Na escuridão igual
meu corpo noite
abre vulcânico
a pele étnica
que me reveste. (6-10)

Entre las dos estrofas, hay una inversión de las palabras "noite" e "igual". En su libro, Boyce-Davies nota que, en la escritura por mujeres negra, "The words name, stand alone, relate, reduce themselves and build as they speak critically, signify, oppose dominance" (121). Las palabras siempre están transformándose para adquirir nuevos significados bajo la perspectiva intra-céntrica. La inversión ejemplifica el uso de las palabras para oponerse a la dominación del poder colonial. Es decir, la voz poética transforma la noche que era representativa de su invisibilización y su silenciamiento para hallar su "pele étnica", o sea su identidad negra. El aparato que fue usado para imponer una hegemonía social se convierte en herramienta para la mujer negra en su reconciliación con su identidad. Entonces, la rescritura de la historia por medio de la subversión del poder colonial le da agencia a la mujer negra y le permite articular su propia experiencia. Por ende, la autoría es una herramienta para subvertir el poder colonial, así como encontrar su identidad negra al revisar la representación de la mujer en la historia.

Además, mediante sus memorias ancestrales, la voz poética se redefine. Con respecto a la ancestralidad, Afolabi la percibe como "an embodiment of resilient, resourceful, imaginative, adaptive, and progressive force [that] has sustained African peoples throughout their turbulent engagement with Western modernity beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing through the present" (198). De acuerdo con esta interpretación, las memorias ancestrales en los poemas de Evaristo son un pozo de inspiración que ilumina el camino hacia adelante. En "Meu Corpo Igual," la perspectiva desde adentro posibilita acceder a la resistencia de la colectividad negra, lo cual le da las herramientas necesarias para formar y comunicar sus esperanzas y sus sueños como individuo. Por ejemplo, termina la primera estrofa con "assobios e tantãs" (Evaristo 5), los cuales sirven como transición de empoderamiento para cumplir su subversión verbal del poder colonial en la segunda estrofa. Esta referencia a los tambores de los rituales africanos refleja que los orígenes procuren la fuerza y sirven como agente de resistencia para que la protagonista pueda orientarse en su búsqueda. Así pues, la ancestralidad llega a ser una fuente que posibilita el empoderamiento de los afrodescendientes gracias a su conexión intemporal.

De igual manera, la memoria histórica de la experiencia de los afrodescendientes refleja su resistencia— la que se usa por la voz poética para encontrar su propia liberación. Acerca de la historia, Afolabi dice que "the present is not an ahistorical or decontextualized event, but a continuation of a concrete and meaningful past" (196). El pasado— preludio del presente— es recurso de resistencia para los descendientes. En los últimos versos, apunta hacia la cultura de los cimarrones cuando dice, "aquilombando esperanças / na escuridão da noite" (Evaristo, "Meu Corpo Igual" 16-17). Como lo dice Gonçalves, hay un regreso al pasado

con la referencia al quilombo, a la esclavitud, pero la lucha está internalizada ahora (179). La voz poética busca ubicarse porque el lugar de la afrobrasileña siempre está cuestionado, pues es central situarse para poder cambiar su imagen. Siendo así, se refiere a la resistencia de los cimarrones para encontrar su identidad presente que es, realmente, una extensión de sus antepasados. El retorno a las raíces culturales permite reconciliar con su pasado y su presente a fin de forjar otro mañana. Por lo tanto, la voz poética usa la resistencia del pasado para encontrar su liberación.

De manera semejante, el poema "Vozes-Mulheres" usa el silencio que forma parte de la experiencia de la mujer negra para recuperar las voces de los antepasados, así recuperando sus experiencias. En particular, la perspectiva intra-céntrica transmite su historia a través del silencio y/o la voz baja. En este poema, la voz poética usa el silencio para relatar las vivencias de su madre, su abuela en el exilio, y ella misma. Su hija llega a ser el símbolo del pasado, del presente y del futuro (Gonçalves 177), así representando las historias de todas las afrobrasileñas. En general, en el Brasil contemporáneo, la experiencia del racismo se hace en el silencio o el disfraz. Sin embargo, el silencio que ocupa cada salto de línea en este poema refleja una superación del aparato del silencio. Soares Fonseca indica que, al dar espacio al silencio en la escritura, el reprimido está liberado y se compone nuevas historias (citado por Gonçalves 171). En el poema, cada mención de las voces sigue con el silencio de un salto de línea y, después, con el eco. En concreto, la voz poética empieza diciendo, "A voz de minha bisavó / ecoou criança" (Evaristo, "Vozes-Mulheres" 1-2); luego, continúa relatando, "A voz de minha mãe / ecoou baixinho revolta" (9-10) y así sucesivamente. El eco del silencio enfatiza la potencia de sus voces, así dándoles agencia. La representación del silencio no es una redención—es una reivindicación y legitimación de las experiencias de la colectividad negra que, a menudo, tuvieron lugar en el silencio.

Asimismo, se usa la perspectiva intra-céntrica para acceder a la memoria histórica y deshacer estereotipos para redefinir la mujer negra como resistente. Como se ha indicado anteriormente, la mujer negra está asociada a significados peyorativos como la fatalidad y el dolor. Aunque Evaristo reconozca la historia brutal de la esclavitud y sus repercusiones, no pretende limitar la mujer negra a este legado colonial. La voz colectiva rechaza ordenes preestablecidas. La hija, al consolidar todas las experiencias anteriores porque "recolhe em si / as vozes mudas caladas / engasgadas nas gargantas" (23-25), encuentra en su voz "a fala a ato" (28). Para la hija, la resistencia de las mujeres y sus vivencias forman parte de su fuerza para actuar. El reconocimiento de esta parte de la historia—que el mito nacional borra— propulsa una revisión de la representación de las mujeres afrobrasileñas también. Según Lara, durante el periodo colonial, el color de la piel era un "symbolic marker of social difference" que fue "directly associated with the condition that separated freedom from slavery" (citado por Caldwell 53). Evaristo manipula esta idea en su poema. Es decir, es justamente a través de la resistencia de sus antepasadas que la hija encuentra la libertad. La voz poética concluye, "Na voz de minha filha / se fará ouvir a ressonância / o eco da vida-liberdade" (Evaristo, "Vozes-Mulheres" 30-32). El eco de la infancia perdida de su bisabuela, de la revuelta a voz baja de su abuela, de los versos perplejos de su madre

— es la experiencia negra que le construye el camino hacia la libertad. Pues, este poema cambia la definición de la mujer negra para destacar la resistencia que ha legado a las generaciones futuras.

Los poemas de Conceição Evaristo ponen de manifiesto las experiencias de las afrobrasileñas para reivindicar las raíces culturales arrebatadas y generar una revisión crítica de la historia oficial. El punto de vista intra-céntrico desafía nociones de representación, de autoría y de formas de narrar preestablecidas. Al basarse en las experiencias individuales y colectivas, la memoria y lo cotidiano, las "escrevivências" de Evaristo llaman la atención a la importancia de la perspectiva interior para revelar las fallas en los discursos hegemónicos. La revisión de la historia desde esta perspectiva reconfigura el papel de las afrobrasileñas no sólo en el pasado, sino también en el presente, así cambiando su imagen. Posibilita la redefinición de la mujer negra que, como individuo marginado, desplazado y diaspórico, ha sido invisibilizada y, simultáneamente, sobredeterminada, convertida en algo estereotípico o sintomático (Bhabha 339). Evaristo restablece la mujer negra en la historia 'oficial' como matriz. En esencia, sus poemas se convierten en espacio para la afirmación de la identidad resistente y de la humanidad de la mujer negra. Por fin, cuando la poeta dice que "escrever é uma forma de sangrar" ("Escrevivência" 23:00), nos recuerda que le queda a Brasil un largo camino para desmantelar su legado colonial, pero sólo quisiera mencionar a la luz de esta cita que cambios culturales siempre preceden cambios políticos.

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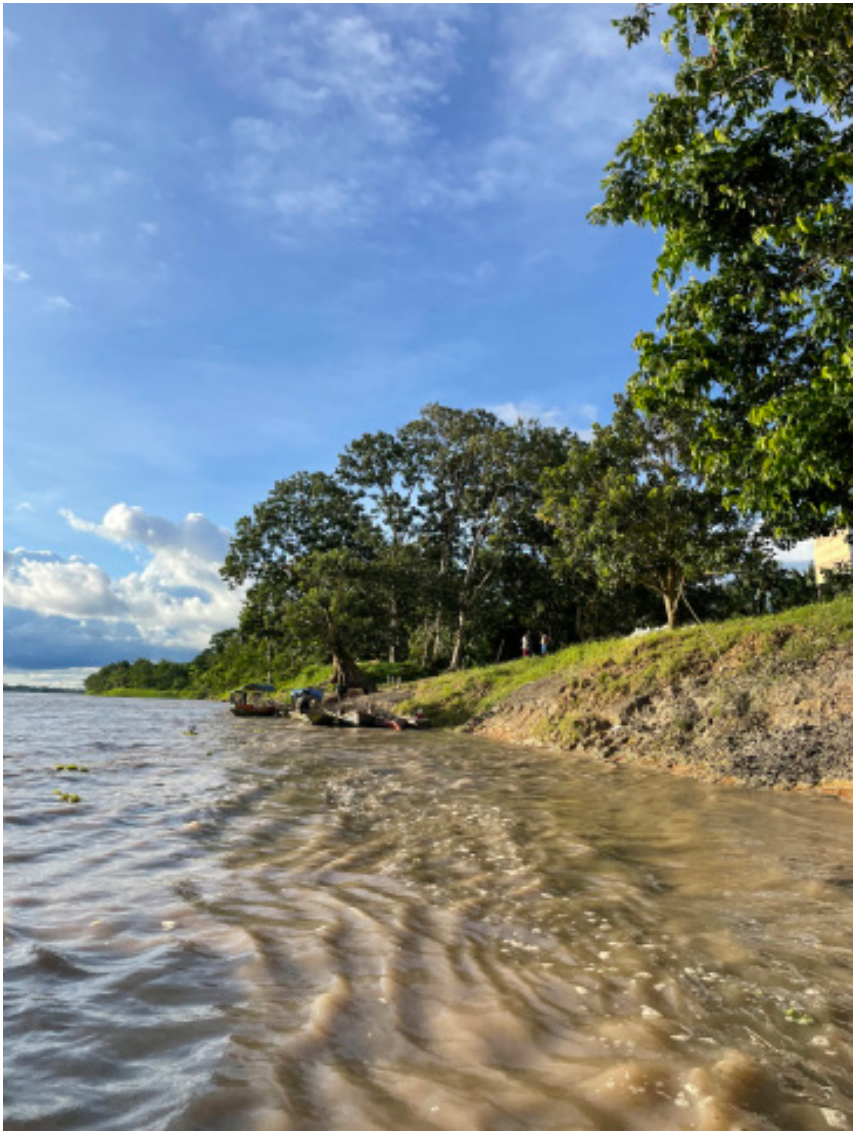

Puerto Nariño | Juan Arévalo

A la búsqueda de un rostro perdido: La función de la narración en Los cuatro espejos (1973) por Quince Duncan

Rathuja Sivasubramaniam

Mientras que Centroamérica estuvo en las garras de agitación política, la imagen de Costa Rica se distinguió de la región por sus apariencias de excepcionalismo—de pura vida. La exaltación de la paz se convirtió en una cualidad nacional y construyó el camino hacia en un ideal homogéneo: el tico (Harvey-Kattou 14). Los ticos siguen abrazando ciertas características que, según ellos, les distinguen de los "otros", tales como ser "pacíficos, democráticos, blancos, cultos" (Cuevas Molina citado por Harvey-Kattou 13). Esta narrativa de una herencia europea común, así como de una sociedad igualitaria, ha sido desafiada por producciones contrahegemónicas a partir del boom cultural de los años setenta (Harvey-Kattou 15). Entre ellas se encuentra la novela afrorealista Los cuatro espejos (1973) por Quince Duncan. Por medio de ofrecer una visión intrínseca—desde el punto de vista de adentro de las comunidades, el autor afrocostarricense rescata la herencia antillana despojada y echa luz sobre los grupos marginados que no se identifican con la norma idealizada. En Los cuatro espejos, Duncan instrumentaliza los dos narradores para, en última instancia, recuperar y reestablecer la herencia africana negada en la cultura costarricense de la corriente dominante.

En esencia, Los cuatro espejos presenta la búsqueda de la identidad de Charles McForbes, un hombre costarricense con herencia antillana. Viviendo en la capital con su esposa blanca, su matrimonio propicia su asimilación dentro de la sociedad elite de San José, así convenciéndole que es blanco. Después de asistir a un coloquio sobre las minorías raciales de Costa Rica, el protagonista no consigue ver su rostro en el espejo aparte de la blancura de sus ojos y dientes. El regreso a sus orígenes—la "tierra negra" de Estrada (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap. 8)—le permite al protagonista enfrentar su negación, su amnesia, así como la eurofilia y la etnofobia que el racismo del centro le ha legado. Por medio de recuerdos intergeneracionales e históricas, McForbes llega a aceptar sus raíces y asumir su diversidad cultural. La aceptación de todas las raíces culturales es clave. Como dice Frantz Fanon, "Le noir qui veut blanchir sa race est aussi malheureux que celui qui prêche la haine du Blanc" (24). Pues, la conclusión de la búsqueda de McForbes refleja una superación del legado colonial de una jerarquía social racialmente estratificada. En consonancia con el afrorealismo, la consolidación de las tensiones étnicas corresponde a la "gran riqueza" de la nación en vez de ser una amenaza a la unidad nacional (Duncan, "El afrorealismo").

Para relatar este viaje espiritual, Duncan emplea dos narradores con funciones distintas: el narrador en primera persona y el narrador omnisciente. La yuxtaposición de los dos narradores genera una visión más amplia de las interacciones de distintos grupos con un sistema social que les favorece. No obstante, tras un examen más atento, el empleo de los dos narradores crea un "unrelenting and structural doubling of codes, of systems, beliefs, meanings, languages, and personae" que le permite al autor de representar y moverse entre sistemas antagonistas sin expresar una realidad claramente objetiva (Sommer 320). En el caso de Duncan,

la instrumentalización de los dos narradores crea una estructura doble que permite incluir en la búsqueda identitaria una pluralidad de conciencias sin la limitación de un marco de tiempo lineal. La dimensión polifónica—es decir, cuando las voces de los personajes se liberan del control de la voz del autor y/o del narrador (Buchanan)—se convierte en herramienta para desafiar el mito nacional del excepcionalísimo. Así pues, Duncan desestabiliza el mito nacional al representar el país a través de una diversidad de voces. Este ensayo pretende examinar la estructura doble por el cual los dos narradores operan para revelar tensiones en el sistema social y recuperar la herencia africana negada por la ideología dominante del país.

Para empezar, la forma no lineal de narrar posibilita una desestabilización de la idea de una identidad fija y crea el espacio para que el protagonista rescate su herencia negada. El contexto no lineal se hace por medio de la alternación de los dos narradores en la primera parte y, en la segunda, a través de la memoria de la primera persona. Según Mosby, el marco no lineal de la trama encarna una ruptura entre el tiempo y el espacio, lo cual refleja la fragmentación del protagonista (Place, Language, and Identity 135). Con esta interpretación, sólo quisiera añadir que los fragmentos no buscan oponerse, sino complementarse, y es así que McForbes encuentra su salvación como ser independiente. Los saltos temporales entre el pasado y la condición presente del protagonista reflejan el flujo constante que existe entre las vivencias. Mientras que McForbes está caminando en San José, él medita, "Hay calles que llevamos irreversiblemente. Descienden hacia cualquier sitio, a cualquier sitio mal oliente, a cualquier acequia" (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap. 1). Este pasaje demuestra que la memoria transciende el tiempo y el espacio para seguir influyendo la perspectiva del individuo, destacando la importancia de los orígenes. Mosby añade que las escenas retrospectivas conectan experiencias incongruentes de tiempos diferentes (Quince Duncan 76), así sugiriendo que la identidad adquiere sentido a través de la interacción entre el pasado y el presente. La no-linealidad en la forma de narrar destaca la fluidez de la identidad y viabiliza el rescate de la herencia.

Asimismo, la narración entreteje dos espinas paralelas—la del Valle Central y la de la provincia que existe en las periferias, Limón—para reflejar la coexistencia de dos sistemas de códigos y de creencias sin darle preferencia a uno. La construcción de la novela sobre paralelos entre dos espacios a través de los dos narradores en la primera parte y el narrador de la primera persona en la segunda le permite a Duncan de ir más allá del mito nacional que sugiere que "Pour le noir, il n'y a qu'un destin. Et il est blanc" (Fanon 26). Duncan explora la cultura antillana de la costa y la cultura vallecentrista para celebrar la diversidad de perspectivas en lugar de exaltar una cosmovisión al precio de invalidar otra. Por ejemplo, cuando Lorena fue atacada por un espectro blanco después de una maldición (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap. 2), ni el médico del centro ni los remedios sugeridos por el obeahman de Estrada tienen éxito en salvar su vida. A mi parecer, al representar las dos lógicas simultáneamente sin concordar con una, Duncan destaca la pluralidad de perspectivas que componen el país, reconociendo la legitimidad y las fallas de las dos. Entonces, estas construcciones narrativas en dos espacios contribuyen a un nuevo entendimiento de la herencia africana que se presenta al

mismo nivel que la cultura de la corriente dominante.

Adicionalmente, el narrador de la primera persona es una estructura doble en sí mismo que posibilita el movimiento entre dos identidades raciales supuestamente antagonistas: lo blanco y lo negro. McForbes es descendiente de tercera generación de los inmigrantes originarios de las Antillas y como ciudadano del centro además de tener esposa blanca. Él internaliza las actitudes dualísticas de la ideología dominante al atarles a los significantes raciales significados que exaltan la blancura y degradan la negrura. Por un lado, la negrura se exhibe como significante de crueldad, corrupción y malevolencia (Mosby, Quince Duncan 101). Tan pronto como ve su rostro negro en el espejo, él se pone a gritar y golpea "a un cargador sin quererlo" (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap.1). Al sugerir que no quería comportarse así, él concibe su negrura como exterior a él como si invadiera su blancura; la herencia africana saca lo peor de él porque la significa así. Por otro lado, la blancura se introduce como mejora y significa la elevación de la estatua social. Cuando describe a su esposa, él pone énfasis en su herencia europea, diciendo que "era de porte galano, elegancia griega, grandes ojos y un ligero rasgo germánico" sin mencionar a su madre guanacasteca (cap. 1). La blancura de Ester le hace creer que "[ha] ganado bastante con el matrimonio" (cap. 1). Pues, la perspectiva de la primera persona crea una estructura de tira y afloja que contrasta la blancura del ideal homogéneo y la herencia africana denigrada.

McForbes, de esa forma, se convierte en instrumento para revelar las tensiones raciales que existen en el país, así como la asimilación que es el eje transversal entre las identidades étnico-cultural (Rivera 132). Cuando piensa en las emociones evocadas por el coloquio sobre las minorías raciales, McForbes las equivale a "otro tipo de muerte. Tal vez la más degradante de todas, porque era una muerte pasiva, inútil" (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap. 1). El despertar de sus recuerdos se compara a una muerte porque la negrura se presenta como peligro a su humanidad (Rivera 144). Asimismo, su herencia se presenta como algo exterior a él— no la considera como suya y le atribuye una connotación negativa al reconocer su recuerdo como "degradante." De modo parecido, al no ver su rostro negro en el espejo, McForbes demuestra la disyunción que siente entre su nueva identidad vallecentrista y su cuerpo negro que no está conforme a ésta. Sólo percibe la blancura de sus dientes y sus ojos, así reflejando su negación total de sus orígenes. La amnesia de sus raíces culturales se cristaliza en el momento que ve su cara de nuevo en el espejo y dice, "¡Había un rostro negro! Quebré el espejo" (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap. 1). El uso de "un" en vez de "mi" amplifica su sorpresa ante su negrura y su aflicción revela su olvido de sus orígenes limonenses. En síntesis, Duncan instrumentaliza esta doble identidad para demostrar el proceso de asimilación que genera el mito nacional sobre el individuo marginado del mismo país.

Por consiguiente, los sistemas antagonistas se cumulan en una pérdida de una identidad independiente y en una imposibilidad de racionalizar. En primer lugar, McForbes describe repetidas veces toda la situación como absurda, lo cual demuestra que no puede comprender su asimilación. Un ejemplo ocurre cuando dice que "resultaba absurda [su] repentina mutación" en hombre negro (cap.1). Puesto que el protagonista

está convenciendo que es blanco, la absurdidad refleja su incapacidad de darle sentido a sus orígenes. Como resultado, McForbes pierde su brújula interna y busca a complacer con el lector, así mostrando de nuevo su inseguridad. A lo largo de su monólogo, él enfatiza lo "cursi" en lo que dice y retoma sus palabras. La revisión constante de sus palabras es una obsesión para él que refleja las consecuencias del efecto de tira y aloja de la doble identidad sobre el individuo. De manera similar, él rompe la cuarta pared y extiende su confusión al lector, diciendo, "¿Debía haberlo dicho así desde el primer momento" (cap.1)? El narrador de la primera persona ilustra su incertitud ante su posición en el centro y, simultáneamente, las periferias al buscar las respuestas en el lector. La mirada externa es lo que le orienta. Por fin, a la cúspide de su crisis identitaria, el narrador de la primera persona se marca por una inhabilidad de posicionarse y destaca la importancia que él atribuye a la mirada externa.

El narrador omnisciente que rompe con el presente al regresar en el pasado representa, en cambio, la voz de la razón de McForbes para contrastar con el McForbes asimilado del presente. Primero, el narrador echa luz sobre su capacidad de pensar y procesar la información por sí mismo. Por ejemplo, a lo largo del capítulo, McForbes resalta lo abstracto y lo concreto de situaciones (cap.2), así demostrando que, antes de su asimilación, el protagonista no dependía de la perspectiva de "la gente" para hacer frente a la realidad (cap.1). Segundo, él tiene su propio entendimiento de la condición de los negros. Él afirma que "eso de que 'los oprimen' es sólo una parte del asunto: era cierto también que el negro se oprimía sólo" (cap.2). Esta perspectiva del pasado contrasta con su estado del presente y llega a ser clave para su búsqueda identitaria. Es decir, los obstáculos que le impiden en el presente, más que todo, son su colonialismo internalizado y el complejo de inferioridad. Entonces, al regresar en el pasado, el narrador omnisciente recupera su voz crítica que construye el camino para su búsqueda identitaria.

Además de estos roles, se añade una dimensión polifónica a la novela, lo cual es fundamental para combatir la perspectiva unilateral del mito nacional. En su conferencia, Adichie resalta el peligro de la historia única, sosteniendo que "that is how to create a single story; show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become" (9:15-9:27). La historia única originándose de San José sólo muestra y repite una faceta del país. También, la historia única genera una historia única de los márgenes, es decir todos los que divergen de la norma. La historia única generada por el centro que se basa en la exclusión perpetúa una visión negativa del 'otro' dándole marcadores sociales negativos. Por ejemplo, en el centro, se asume que "todo negro limonense, por ser de herencia antillana inglesa, habla mal el español" (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap. 1). A fuerza de ser repetido, este estereotipo llega a ser una asunción común. Estas narrativas permiten a la cultura de la posición dominante de encontrar su oposición en la exclusión (Harvey-Kattou 21). Sin embargo, al usar su narrador omnisciente para agregar una dimensión polifónica, Duncan da espacio a todas las voces para expresarse, así rechazando la delineación física de la imagen nacional que privilegia la harmonía al precio de excluir. Es decir, resalta la importancia de cada sujeto en narrar su propia experiencia, lo cual desestabiliza la noción de que es el centro que tiene el derecho de definir.

Por lo tanto, la dimensión polifónica es una herramienta fundamental en deshacer la centralidad de la posición dominante y recuperar la herencia antillana negada.

Un ejemplo de la polifonía ocurre en la yuxtaposición de las historias de Lorena y de Ester que refleja la humanidad de las dos mujeres de McForbes al reconocer la legitimidad de sus vivencias. Las dos esposas representan el contraste entre la mujer negra y la mujer blanca, así ubicándose en los extremos del proceso de blanqueamiento del protagonista (Rivera 134). Por un lado, aunque el capítulo desde la perspectiva de Lorena está narrado por el narrador omnisciente, el uso del flujo de conciencia y del monólogo interior para narrar sus memorias y sus experiencias le permite adquirir una voz independiente. Por ejemplo, para narrar sus alucinaciones en el hospital, pensando en su niño arrebatado, se dice, "El río Matina surgió de pronto en medio del salón, aunque nadie más lo veía. El río Matina estaba allí, desbordándose, inundando toda la región; y ella lo veía, y nadie más lo veía, y el que ella lo viera, bastaba […] aguas abajo... aguas abajo" (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap. 5). En esta cita, la singularidad del punto de vista de Lorena está legitimada porque es suficiente para validar la experiencia, aunque no sea lo que el narrador ve. Por otra parte, en el capítulo siguiente, la voz de Ester está representada por narrar desde su perspectiva. Cuando ella conoce a McForbes por la primera vez, el narrador dice, "Charles sonrió, sus dientes, fila de mármol destellando luz, llamaron la atención de Ester. Era la primera vez que veía en un negro algo que valiera la pena" (cap. 6). El énfasis sobre los dientes no es objetivo— adquiere su significado de "profunda humanidad" (cap.6) a través de la subjetividad de Ester. En pocas palabras, al ser herramienta para la polifonía, el narrador omnisciente representa todos los individuos sobre la misma plataforma para destacar la pluralidad de voces que componen la identidad costarricense.

Además, la polifonía le permite al protagonista rescatar su memoria histórica al representar voces de otras épocas también, particularmente los antepasados de McForbes. Al colmo de la historia de la familia se encuentra el abuelo que logró prosperar. Él dice, "Son gente de color, nunca se olviden eso […] El negro, desde Noé fue condenado por Dios a sufrir. Va a sufrir siempre: aléjense de ellos lo más posible. Hay que ir blanqueando, esa es la solución: hay que ir blanqueando" (cap. 8). Esta perspectiva es diferente porque no supone que lo blanco es mejor— sugiere que es una manera de evitar el sufrimiento. No obstante, el abuelo reconoce los orígenes y subraya la importancia de acordarse. En contraste, su padre le enseña que tiene agarrarse a su negrura para poder sobrevivir. Es decir, su padre "tuvo que vivir entre los negros y aprender a actuar como ellos para sobrevivir" (cap.8). Entonces, la negrura se ve como instrumento de supervivencia en la historia. Sin embargo, al fin y al cabo, la memoria persiste. McForbes dice, "Mi familia, pues, no tuvo los aires, pero conservó los sueños. Todos los sueños menos uno: el de negar nuestra negritud" (cap.8). La asunción de la negrura es consistente a través de la memoria intergeneracional. Pues, por medio de la polifonía, McForbes recupera la memoria histórica de resistencia que había reprimido.

Igualmente, la segunda parte de la novela narrada enteramente por la primera persona le permite al protagonista de reconocer su

herencia antillana gracias a su viaje a Limón, una provincia cuyo espacio está marcado históricamente. Al viajar por el tren, el medio de transportación está cargado con la historia de sus antepasados, lo cual le permite acceder a su memoria histórica. La migración significante de los antillanos en 1872 fue por razón de la construcción del ferrocaril transcontinental desde San José a Puerto Limón (Mosby, Place, Language, and Identity 2). La trayectoria le permite cuestionar su asimilación al ponerse en contacto con su cultura antillana y empieza a deshacer las connotaciones negativas asociadas a la negrura. Él reflexiona, "Blancas eran las manos que arrullaron muchas de mis noches. Negras las manos que quisieron destruirme. Aunque... aunque... ni Lorena ni Ruth eran blancas. Pucha, ni Victoria tampoco. Carajo, ni doña Clarita, ni el presumido de Clif, ni Jakel..." (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap. 8). El recuerdo de sus orígenes le apunta hacia las contribuciones de las mujeres negras en su vida.

Finalmente, él termina su viaje, afirmando, "ellos son mi pueblo: son los míos" (cap. 9). En contraste al comienzo, McForbes usa artículos posesivos para reclamar su negrura y su herencia arrebatada. Entonces, por medio de explorar su perspectiva intra-céntrica silenciada anteriormente, el narrador de la primera persona asume la herencia antillana que compone su identidad. Finalmente, la combinación del reconocimiento de la pluralidad en vez de una norma exclusiva, así como la recuperación de su memoria ancestral, posibilita la aceptación de sus raíces culturales. Al regresar a Estrada, McForbes conecta de nuevo con sus orígenes y, en vez de atar a la negrura los significados negativos del principio, él destaca la resistencia de sus antepasados ante el poder homogeneizador: "Pucha carajo, uno tiene que reconocer todo eso para poder vivir […] hay que pensar en las largas horas de trabajo con el agua al cuello, y los precios que bajan y suben, y las picaduras de insectos y todo eso. Carajo, y todo eso" (cap.8). Él enfatiza los años de aguante que han contribuido a su posición presente. Por lo tanto, su herencia antillana ya no es estigmatizada. Sin embargo, tampoco está exaltada como superior. Según Mosby, al quedarse con Ester al final, "they symbolically connect the geographic and cultural divide between Limón and San José" (Quince Duncan 103). La aceptación de sus raíces se cristaliza en la última oración cuando termina, afirmando, "Al entrar en casa fui directamente al baño para mirar mi rostro en el espejo. Una sonrisa profunda iluminó el color de mi piel" (Duncan, Los cuatro espejos cap. 11). En contraste a anteriormente, la finalidad de esta afirmación muestra que el protagonista no depende de la aprobación de la mirada externa. Encuentra una profunda seguridad en su identidad. Asimismo, sus dientes se disocian de la idea del blanqueamiento; en vez de eso, son complementarios a su negrura y echan luz sobre su herencia. Pues, gracias a la instrumentalización de la narración, el protagonista llega a trascender el ideal homogéneo que le restringió al principio de su búsqueda

En Los cuatro espejos (1973), Duncan instrumenta.liza sus dos narradores para entretejer capas de sistemas distintos y de conciencias diversas que demuestran la pluralidad de voces que componen la sociedad costarricense. En última instancia, esta representación posibilita un enfrentamiento de la negación de los descendientes antillanos dentro de la sociedad costarricense. Esta novela que forma parte del boom cultural es una poderosa producción

contrahegemónica que desafía el discurso homogeneizador de la corriente dominante. Adicionalmente, al nivel individual, posibilita la superación del complejo de inferioridad que les ha legado el colonialismo a los grupos marginados. El trabajo de las voces resistentes frente a la historia 'oficial' no ha sido en vano. En 2014, el Artículo Uno de la constitución declara por primera vez que Costa Rica es "multiétnica y pluricultural" (Sequeira citado por Harvey-Kattou 18). La imagen nacional ya no se respalda en un binario entre el tico y el "otro". Aunque hoy día los costarricenses siguen exaltando su excepcionalísimo, el reconocimiento de la diversidad cultural es un primer paso hacia una sociedad verdaderamente igualitaria tal como lo sugiere el viaje espiritual de Charles McForbes.

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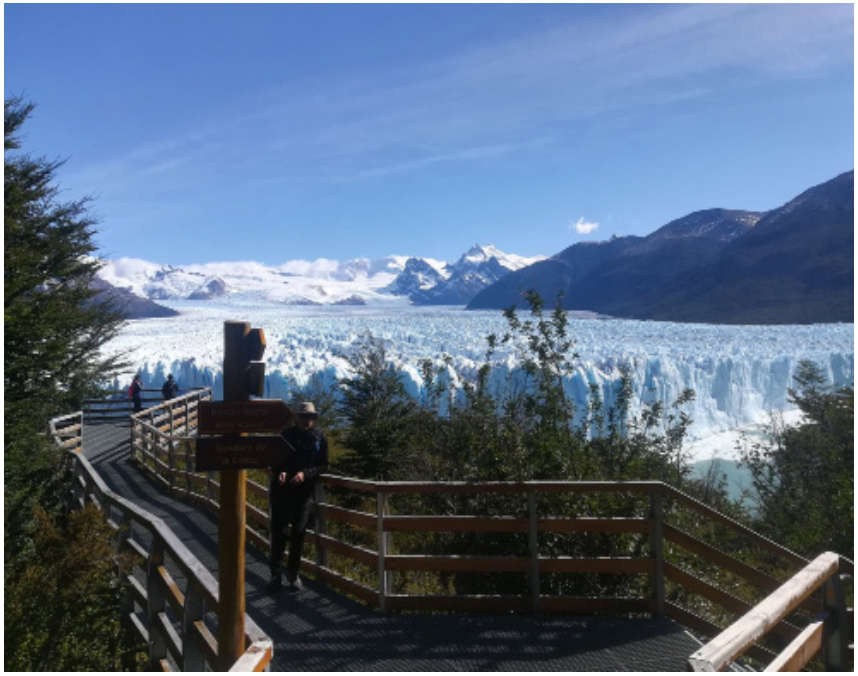

Avanzando | Ines Amigorena

Motherhood and Genetics: How the Madres and the Abuelas of Plaza de Mayo Became Pioneers in the Pursuit of Truth

Victoria Aponte

In the 1970s the Argentine Military Junta justified spreading terror to defend the state from so-called "subversives" which they astutely defined as anyone spreading ideas contrary to Western and Christian civilization.[1] In other words, anybody could be a target. The state became a specialist in the forced disappearances of hundreds of people, known as Desaparecidos.[2] During this dark time, nobody could have predicted that a group of housewives walking in circles around the Plaza the Mayo in Buenos Aires, would become beacons of light in the pursuit of the truth.

The housewives were divided into two groups and they both played a pioneering role in the pursuit of truth by creating new strategies and tools of activism. The Madres de Plaza de Mayo was a group of mothers whose children had been disappeared by the state[3] and in response, transformed their private lives into a public and political statement. On the other hand, the Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo was created by mothers of pregnant women who had been kidnapped,[4] and they combined scientific advancement with identity claims. Both groups of women were driven by the pursuit of the truth and in this process, they contributed to a new model of activism for seeking the truth.

The Madres went on a journey that transformed them from domestic housewives into public political actors. Marta Velazquez was a diplomat's wife whose daughter and son in-law were kidnapped by the Military Junta. One night, they broke into their home, ransacked their house and their bodies were never found.[5] This story is repeated among many of the members from the Madres de Plaza de Mayo. The group was composed exclusively of women, mostly working-class mothers whose children were Desaparecidos. While a few of them had jobs, they saw themselves as housewives before anything else, and none of them had been politically active before the military coup in 1976.[6] In other words, these were women that had been raised to take care of their children, who were suddenly missing, and ignored by the State.

The silence found after people went missing drove the mothers to take a more prominent and public role in the pursuit of the truth. It began when a few mothers gathered on a Thursday afternoon in 1977 in front of the presidential palace and eventually, the marches became a daily ritual in which more and more women demanded the truth from the State.[7] For many going to the Plaza became a need, as the only control they had was demanding the truth about their children's disappearance. Marta recounts how her husband and sons were unable to find information about her missing daughter. They searched information from the State, the church, the army, and from their own social circle. Frustrated and without any answers, Marta joined the Madres at the Plaza.[8] The same follows for many of the women, who used the losses of their children as a guiding force in their pursuit of truth. They turned their domestic and private struggles into a public and political statement which generated a strong bond between all the women in the group.

Demanding the truth about the Desaparecidos became the sole glue that kept the whole group together for years. After detailing her first encounter with the police, Marta says that "without realizing it, I started to struggle and work with the Mothers, and the group started to develop, to unify, to fight, and without any planning to confront the dictatorship."[9] In fact, they didn't allow ideology to flourish in the group as the only goal was finding the truth about their children.When they faced repression, it gave them more courage to speak up.[10] During the 11th FIFA World Cup in mid-1978, Argentina became a focus of international media, and the dictatorship used this opportunity to distract the population from the terror regime. Yet, the Madres would not allow the chants of soccer fans to silence their struggle. They took this opportunity to speak to the foreign press and gained an international presence.[11] By showing up to the Plaza every day and embracing their shared struggle as mothers of missing children, the Madres made motherhood a political tool to always demand the truth from the state.

In the return of democracy to Argentina, the Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo became pioneers of their own in the pursuit of truth through the implementation of genetics. They began searching for their grandchildren's identity by battling unlawful adoptions until the mid-1990s when their missing grandchildren became adults. They were then forced to change their strategy which led them to the field of genetics.[12] One morning in 1979, Estela Barnes de Carlotto, the acting president of the Abuelas, read a newspaper article about a paternity issue solved by a blood sample. This lit a spark in the Abuelas who had been under pressure to "provid[e] undeniable proof" of their grandchildren.[13]

In the absence of their children, the Abuelas began to question what their role could be in genetics. After establishing contacts across the word, they learned that they could establish kinship ties to their grandchildren based on different genetic markers. This initiative was implemented in 1983, after the creation of the Comisión Nacional Sobre la Desaparición de Personas (CONADEP). However, the Abuelas did not stop there. As science progressed, so did their ideas. They started with genetic markers, moved to skeletal remains, later to the matching of the mitochondrial DNA and, nowadays they use DNA from skin, nails or liver, to identify their grandchildren.[14] In other words, through combining genetics with identity claims, they revolutionized tactics to pursue the truth.

The impact of the Abuelas' implementation of genetics to make claims about identity and thus, of truth, challenged the domestic law in Argentina and human rights at an international level. The Abuelas pressured President Alfoncín to create a blood bank, which took genetic testing to identify children of the Desaparecidos to a larger scale. This altered Argentinean domestic law in 1989, when a law was implemented which forced Argentine judges to accept the result of blood analyses as evidence in court cases and gave legal recognition to the blood bank.[15] In the same year, again pushed by the Abuelas, the Argentine government and the United Nations developed a new right: "the preservation of the identity of a child." According to the Abuelas, every child has a right to

their identity, because this allows them to know the truth and this in itself, is a form of justice.[16] The undeniable drive and brilliance of the Abuelas led to changes in domestic politics in Argentine and human rights across the globe in the pursuit of truth.

The journey of the Madres and the Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo is a story of loss, drive, and innovation, but most importantly, about the pursuit of truth. This brave group of women who came from humble backgrounds created new paradigms and strategies of activism in the search for the truth about their loved ones. The Madres' embrace of motherhood as a political statement into the public sphere crushed any attempt from the state to silence them. In the same vein, the Abuelas' drive and innovation helped them identify genetics as a key tool for identity claims, leading to changes in domestic and international law. Today, every child that is born in a hospital in the province of Buenos Aires has their blood recorded in the blood bank.[17] In this way, the mission of the Madres and the Abuelas will live forever, as the country is forced every day to recognize the dark past of the Desaparecidos. In the words of Marta Velazquez: "They have taken the best of our young people, and that cannot be forgotten, that has to be remembered always. This marvelous sacrifice of youth has to remain forever in our memories."[18] Thanks to the blood blank and their contributions to new models of activism and identity claims, neither the women from Plaza de Mayo nor their disappeared children will ever be forgotten.

Notes

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5. Maria and Matthew Posner. “Testimonies of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, 1996” in Sources for Latin America in the Modern World, ed. (Nicola Foote. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 274.
6. Navarro, “The Personal is Political,” 249.
7. Suero, “Breakthrough DNA,” 525.
8. Posner, “Testimonies of the Mothers,” 276-277.
9. Posner, “Testimonies of the Mothers,” 277.
10. Posner, “Testimonies of the Mothers,” 277-279.
11. Ailín Bullentini, “The international press and the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo | Papelitos.” Accessed November 14, 2021.http://papelitos.com.ar/nota/la-prensa-internacional-y-las-madres-de-plaza-de-mayo.
12. Suero, “Breakthrough DNA,” 254 – 265.
13. Suero, “Breakthrough DNA,” 530.
14. Suero, “Breakthrough DNA,” 531 – 543.
15. Ibid.
16. Suero, “Breakthrough DNA,” 535-539.
17. Suero, “Breakthrough DNA,”539.
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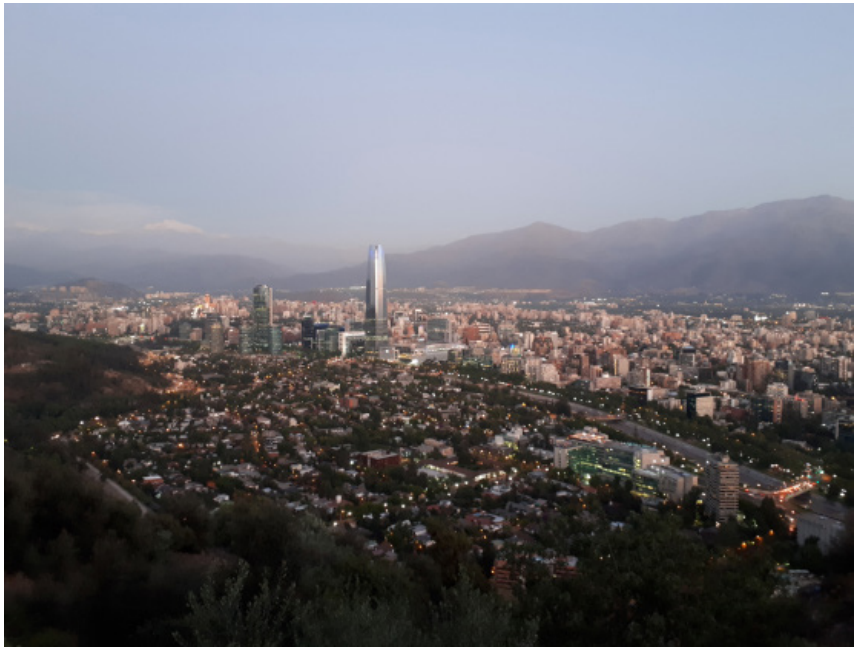

Santiago de Chile | Albert Ghitescu

Smart Cities in Latin America: Lessons Learned from the Chilean Context

Mollee Albinger

Thesis

The case of Santiago de Chile provides an instructive example of how "Smart City" interventions are not a magic bullet solution for urban challenges such as efficiency, inequality, and government accountability, and would be more effective if they centered people over technology.

Thematic Introduction

Internet technologies, in their seemingly endless growth and potential for constant innovation, are understandably glorified in the world today. The rapid growth of the web and the Internet of Things is staggering. The grandeur of these technologies seems to evoke all-encompassing statements such as how, as reported by Jill Lepore, the Internet Archive claims to provide "Universal Access to All Knowledge". This optimistic sentiment of a "digital utopian" outlook sees the internet as equalizing and democratizing, never mind the fact that there is no guaranteed universal access to Wi-Fi, computers, or even education for how to read the material in the Internet Archive (Lepore, Jill). Overreaching statements about the importance of the internet also plague the business world, seen in the recent piece "Give Amazon and Facebook a Seat at the United Nations" by Ben Schott for Bloomberg. The internet can be viewed as both a vehicle for absolute equality and an avenue for extreme corporate power. Regardless of which perspective is closer to the truth, clearly the internet has massive influence and power. Internet technologies can appear to be a magic bullet solution across many sectors. In the context of these grand perspectives, caution is needed when creating policies that utilize internet technologies because as Ricardo Gomez points out, "information technologies are not positive or negative in themselves; neither are they neutral" (2).

Background Information

The mainstream international development paradigm views the internet in this overreaching, magic bullet solution, manner. Internet technologies are seen as a panacea for solving a range of development issues. The increasingly popular development concept of "Smart Cities" falls victim to this biased view of internet technologies. Paula Jirón defines the smart city concept as "a technology-driven form of urbanisation" (605). The Inter-American Development Bank suggests that "[s]mart cities are a great way to stimulate social and economic growth" that "optimize service delivery to citizens" and "transform the city" (Amar Flórez, Dario, 31). Smart Cities emphasize the use of "e governance" which refers to "the use by the governments of information and communication technologies (ICTs), and particularly the Internet" in order to achieve "more credible, efficient, inclusive and innovative" governance (OECD et al., 37). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development suggests the implementation of digital technologies as a blanket solution to many challenges facing Latin American cities (OECD et al., 21). Any solution that appears this simple and far reaching should be met with some skepticism.

The Latin American City from the Perspective of the International Development Machine

The dominant international development paradigm views the Latin American city to be plagued by poor planning and security problems that inhibit investment and economic growth (Ezquiaga Arquitectura, Sociedad y Territorio S.L., 5). These discourses seek to make cities more "efficient" and are bothered by sprawling slum settlements that do not easily fit into the clean grid of city planning (Ezquiaga Arquitectura, Sociedad y Territorio S.L., 7). This development paradigm views the Latin American city as inefficient and disorganized and seeks to streamline solutions to these problems with technological interventions (OECD et al., 45).

Critique

The Case of Santiago

The capital city of Chile, Santiago, has been ranked as the top Smart City in Latin America (Irazábal, Clara, and Paola Jirón, 511). With the largest public transit system in the region and integrated e government service provision, Santiago has been praised as a "success story" by dominant international development actors (Chastain, Andra B.) (Smith, Matthew L., 82). The smart city concept appears to be a good match for Santiago in terms of its emphasis on efficiency, which aligns well with the neoliberal urban planning paradigm that has been dominant in Chile since the 1990s (Vergara-Perucich, Francisco, and Camillo Boano, 5).

Efficiency

Smart cities emphasize the use of technology to increase efficiency (Irazábal, Clara, and Paola Jirón., 508). Transport is an area of particular focus for improving efficiency in Latin American cities because of safety concerns and long commute times due to urban sprawl (Ezquiaga Arquitectura, Sociedad y Territorio S.L, 13). The smart city approach to increasing efficiency of transportation would suggest the integration of technology. In order to integrate new technologies into cities, public-private partnerships are frequently utilized in Latin American smart cities where governments contract with tech companies (Irazábal, Clara, and Paola Jirón., 508). In this sense, "increasing efficiency" is synonymous with further integrating the private sector in city planning. The case study of traffic lights in Santiago de Chile exemplifies the setbacks of being overly dependent on the private sector for perceived efficiency (Irazábal, Clara, and Paola Jirón., 514). In Santiago, the two tech companies contracted for traffic lights have made their systems incompatible with one another, causing problems with coordinating the lights (Irazábal, Clara, and Paola Jirón., 514). This incompatibility puts the city in a position of needing to choose to replace functional technology because of their dependence on the tech companies (Irazábal, Clara, and Paola Jirón., 514). In this example, all in the name of implementing technology to increase efficiency, the city was forced by the tech companies it had contracted with to make expensive and avoidable changes.

This example also demonstrates how smart city programs depend heavily on contracting with internet technology businesses. Smart cities bring corporations further into public policy, which can also raise questions about the influence of big tech companies on governance. If efficient city design can be seen as a business opportunity, this can put cities in a position to be overly reliant on corporations.

Another example of how smart city interventions made in the name of efficiency can have unintended consequences that actually decrease efficiency can be seen in an e governance initiative in Chile. "Chile Compra" is an online platform created by the Chilean government for streamlining public sector purchases (Smith, Matthew L., 85). This platform is seen as successful for bringing in more suppliers and reducing transaction costs (Smith, Matthew L., 86). However, the straightforward and simple design of ChileCompra, perceived to be good for efficiency, has caused a "movement away from a more personal purchaser-supplier relationship based on reputation and a history of past interactions to a more anonymous online relationship" (Smith, Matthew L., 86). This impersonalization of purchasing has made "it more difficult for the procurement officer to judge the bids, and sometimes results in poor service or product delivery" because of incomplete information in this online platform (Smith, Matthew L., 86).

In these two examples from the Chilean case, it can be seen that by seeking improved "efficiency", contracting out to private tech companies and streamlining to simple online sites, cities lose the human element from these sectors in a way that makes problem solving more difficult. While these measures may be seen as advancing the modernization of Santiago as a smart city, they create new challenges.

To provide a counterexample to the impersonal Smart City interventions of contracting with tech companies and e governance in Santiago, a people-centered approach to improving transport and mobility can be seen in Rio de Janeiro. As reported by Aarian Marshall, "Both Microsoft and Google projects have partnered with community groups and volunteers, who walk the streets" of Rio's favela neighborhoods "and enter the locations of local businesses and institutions into their smartphones". These volunteers have been able to "persuade local gang leaders to allow the project" (Marshall, Aarian). The Rio example differs from the Santiago case in that citizens are included in a participatory way for the implementation of the technology. By centering local people in technological intervention, the intervention is better suited to its local context. People are able to walk where Google's street view cars cannot drive, and these volunteers have the social capital necessary to make this project happen in their communications with gang leaders. Mapping the favelas is not a challenge that can be contracted out to a private company and be solved with the power of technology, it is a locally specific challenge that needs context specific knowledge.

In this example, it can be seen how ensuring that an intervention is people-centered makes it work better. In contrast to the impersonalization in the e governance example, this intervention relies on local peoples' relationships in their community for making this intervention work. Here in the Rio example, people and their decision-making processes are not seen as inefficient, but as an asset. Paula Jirón critiques the smart city

approach in its "alluring possibility of improving urban management through the technologisation of the city, without the need to involve many actors" (605). By simplifying tasks that used to involve more human decision making, smart city initiatives appear to streamline government services to be faster and more efficient. In this streamlining, a human touch is lost. In order for smart city initiatives to be impactful in Latin America, they must consider local people, not just private companies applying technological upgrades to address complex urban challenges.

Government Accountability

The smart city approach favors moving government services online, which is thought to improve efficiency, transparency, and accountability (OECD et al., 38). While e governance initiatives have successfully decreased wait times for services in Latin American smart cities, they may not deliver on the other goal of accountability (OECD et al., 38).

While moving government processes to an online format may help document these processes and improve transparency, this doesn't necessarily create new avenues for accountability. In Matthew Smith's study, two e governance platforms in Chile are analyzed. While this study found that these platforms did streamline government service provision to be faster and more transparent, it also found that "it is not clear that this transparency is linked to effective accountability mechanisms." (Smith, Matthew L., 84). Simply moving a government service to an online format doesn't automatically empower citizens with more tools to hold their governments accountable. If a government can be corrupt in person, it can also be corrupt online.

Assuming that citizens only need access to a Wi-Fi connection and a computer in order to participate disregards many other questions of access. Across Latin America, citizens have had varying experiences with histories of government censorship, dictatorships, and political disappearances that will change how citizens feel about interacting with the government online. It is naïve of development agencies to suggest that the same smart city programs will solve issues uniformly across the region. The Latin American experience of a smart city will vary greatly by regional context.

Social Context

Santiago also presents an example of how inequality prevents the full benefits of smart city interventions to be realized. Paula Jirón critiques smart city interventions in Santiago which "portray a certain image or narrative of alleviating perceived symptoms of inequality and other key social problems, along with their most visible urban expressions, such as socio-economic segregation, crime or perceived crime and urban decay" (603). Jirón considers many smart city interventions to be largely superficial, and not diverging from the neoliberal urban planning seen in Santiago in recent history (602). Jirón uses the example of "Paseo Bandera" to demonstrate this critique (609). Hailed as a successful smart city intervention, Paseo Bandera is a public transportation intervention

that transformed a downtown corridor used for parking into a pedestrian walkway (Jirón, Paola, et al., 609). This walkway incorporates flashy public art and high-tech accessories that attract tourists for Instagrammable photos (Jirón, Paola, et al., 611). While this intervention has been perceived as successful, local people interviewed have commented that some of the technology features are only helpful to tourists and not the people who actually live near the Paseo (Jirón, Paola, et al., 614). Here, a smart city intervention has been funded and touted as successful, even though it may bring little tangible benefit to the people who live in Santiago. This intervention serves as an example of how smart city interventions may not be designed to benefit the people in the city who most need support.

Efficient public transit is a cornerstone of smart city strategy. Santiago's Metro system has "seen an increase in fares of almost 100 percent in 12 years" and is "one of the most expensive in Latin America" (Garnham, Juan, and Nicolas Alonso). Sparked by an increase in fares for Santiago's Metro, protests in 2019 demonstrated how Chileans are angered by inequality (Chastain, Andra B). If improvements to public transit come at great expense to low-income Chileans, this benefit of smart city technology will only be realized by the wealthy. The government responded to protests by "sending military into the streets, arresting thousands of protesters, and criminalizing dissent," raising other concerns about the right to free assembly in this smart city (Chastain, Andra B). In the context of full access to rights for citizens who wish to air grievances, it is unclear if smart city technology will empower these people or make it easier for the government to repress this dissent.

Concerns over surveillance and privacy can also be raised with the implementation of smart city strategies. In the case of Santiago, smart city interventions have "involved the installation of sensors, including security cameras and Smart lighting systems" that "provide remote data upon which to base the operation of public lighting" (Jirón, Paola, et al., 607). This intervention aligns with Jirón's critique that suggests smart city interventions focus on superficial changes that address urban decay and perception of crime (603). Additionally, in the case of e governance, citizens are asked to give more and more data to their government online (Smith, Matthew L., 89). When governments have more information via surveillance and e governance, this expands their sphere of control over the citizenry. Smith points out that e governance can "expand the power of the state" (Smith, Matthew L., 89).

Derechos Digitales, an organization that advocates for digital rights in Latin America, published a list of demands for Santiago and its smart city policies. The demands pay particular attention to the installation of surveillance cameras as a part of smart city development. The report demands that the government create "un marco normativo general que sistematice el uso de la televigilancia para distintas funciones" because "usos de vigilancia desarrollados en espacios públicos comprometen en algún grado el ejercicio de derechos fundamentales como ha quedado en evidencia en las manifestaciones sociales" (Garay, Vladimir., 13). In the context of recent protests, Chileans are concerned about their right to free expression and public assembly, and how smart city technologies will influence policing and justice.

Conclusion

The smart city concept glorifies technology as a magic bullet solution for a range of urban challenges.Paula Jiróncritiques this view by pointing out that smart city initiatives in Santiago are "little more than a continuation and evolution of the neoliberal urban model" that already exists (601). Smart city initiatives certainly hold potential for addressing urban challenges in Latin America, but there should be skepticism at the notion that throwing technology at complex social challenges can bring Latin American cities into a hyper-modern utopia. In order for technology to be applied usefully for urban development in Santiago, people need to be put in the center of the interventions. The notion that technology can be a neutral intervention that streamlines urban problems to efficient solutions ignores the concept "that technology can embed political values" (Smith, Matthew L., 90). The smart cities approach promoted by mainstream international development organizations is compromised in its blindness to local contexts in Latin American cities and should integrate more people centered solutions.

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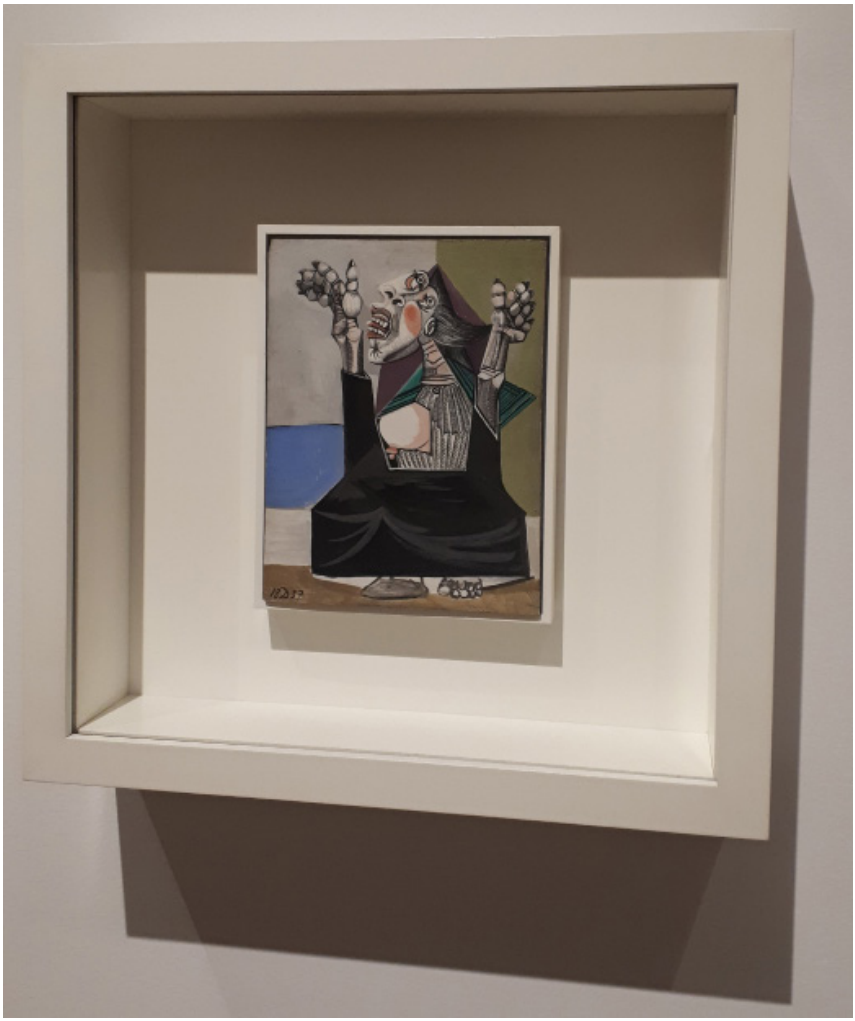

Picasso | Albert Ghitescu

“Repensar Guernica”: El poder del arte de Picasso como símbolo político

Madelyn Evans

Introducción

En 2018, Alain Vircondelet afirmó, “Picasso no pretendía crear un cuadro sobre Guernica y la masacre que allí tuvo lugar, sino que pretendía crear un cuadro sobre cada guerra y sufrimiento. En el arte, cuando surge la idea, el contexto desaparece” (Fondations). Hoy, 84 años desde el bombardeo de la ciudad española de Guernica, la tragedia sigue presente en la conciencia de la población española y del mundo por igual. El papel de Pablo Picasso en el uso de su obra maestra para colocar la condena del crimen de guerra en el ojo público demuestra el papel que juega el arte en la política. Este ensayo examina cómo la pintura Guernica fue un encargo con una fuerte connotación política en el contexto de la Guerra Civil española, las motivaciones de Picasso para crearla, y las implicaciones políticas de devolver la pintura a España después de la transición del país a la democracia. De manera más general, este ensayo evalúa el papel del Guernica como símbolo de protesta política global. El principal argumento de este ensayo, por lo tanto, es que el Guernica ofrece una poderosa retórica como símbolo político, tanto para la historia nacional de España, como para movimientos sociopolíticos más amplios que protestan contra la injusticia y por la paz.

El trasfondo de la relación de Picasso con la Guerra Civil española

El 17 de julio de 1936 comenzó en España una sangrienta guerra civil que opuso al gobierno del Frente Popular de izquierda de la Segunda República a un levantamiento militar nacionalista de derecha (Julian). En respuesta a la guerra civil, el gobierno español encargó a Picasso la creación de un gran mural para el Pabellón Español en la Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne de París de 1937, con el fin de exponer los horrores del conflicto al resto de Europa y buscar ayuda internacional (Museo Reina Sofia). El gobierno español quiso utilizar el Pabellón como un instrumento de propaganda política que reflejara el caos en el país, y por ello se apoyó en algunos de los artistas e intelectuales más importantes del país para transmitir el conflicto.

El 26 de abril de 1937, la Legión Cóndor Alemana y la Fuerza Aérea Legionaria Italiana al mando del General Francisco Franco, lanzaron bombas incendiarias sobre la localidad vasca de Guernica. Fue un ataque diurno a un enclave no militar con una población civil compuesta principalmente por mujeres y niños (Museo Reina Sofia). Veinticinco bombarderos lanzaron cien mil libras de explosivos sobre la ciudad, reduciéndola a escombros, y los aviones de combate también mataron a civiles indefensos que intentaban huir. Como resultado del devastador ataque, el setenta por ciento de la ciudad fue destruida y un tercio de la población resultó herida o muerta (Robinson). La ciudad no tenía ningún valor militar estratégico, pero era una misión

diseñada para probar una nueva táctica de bombardeo para intimidar y aterrorizar a la resistencia (Robinson). El bombardeo también tenía el propósito de enviar un mensaje al pueblo vasco por ponerse del lado del gobierno republicano contra el general Franco y la Falange, el ala española del movimiento fascista (Escalona). Al escuchar los informes del bombardeo, Picasso decidió centrarse en Guernica como símbolo de la guerra para su obra. A pesar de la realidad que inspiró la pintura, puesto que fue encargada por el gobierno republicano español, el Guernica se puede pensar como una espada de doble filo: es tanto una herramienta de propaganda como una flagrante condena de la política (Fondations).

La obra ha sido descrita como la "respuesta visual" de Picasso, y "su memorial a la brutal masacre" (Robinson). En 1937, en una discusión sobre su obra, Picasso dejó clara su posición política en la guerra, afirmando:

> The Spanish struggle is the fight of reaction against the people, against freedom. My whole life as an artist has been nothing more than a continuous struggle against reaction and the death of art… In the panel on which I am working which I shall call Guernica, and in all my recent works of art, I clearly express my abhorrence of the military caste which has sunk Spain in an ocean of pain and death (Leighten 41).

De hecho, a Picasso le disgustó el conflicto armado durante toda su vida y estuvo implicado políticamente mucho antes de la Guerra Civil española (Morris and Grunenberg 103). Los sentimientos antibélicos de Picasso se remontan a la Guerra Hispanoamericana por Cuba en la década de 1890, cuando exigió la liberación de los presos políticos y la amnistía para los exiliados antimilitaristas tras las agitaciones de 1898 provocadas por la disolución del Imperio español (Leighten 36). En 1944, Picasso se unió al Partido Comunista Francés (PCF), junto con muchos otros de sus amigos artistas surrealistas, y continuó apoyando causas políticas durante las décadas de 1950 y 1960 hasta su muerte (Morris and Grunenberg 103). Durante muchos años, después del final de la Guerra Civil española, Picasso fue visto como un enemigo político del régimen franquista. Esto se debe especialmente a su afiliación al Partido Comunista Francés, que coincidió con la ocupación alemana y posterior liberación de París (Tusell). Sólo con el tiempo fue aceptanda su significación artística porque el régimen reconoció que Picasso era su pintor más internacional.

Implicaciones políticas del regreso del Guernica a España

El Guernica como símbolo a favor de la libertad, la democracia y en contra de la guerra también es evidente en la forma en que Picasso depositó la pintura. En 1939, Picasso depositó el Guernica y otras obras en el Museum of Modern Art de Nueva York para proteger y conservar de forma segura la pintura lejos de un continente inmerso en la Segunda Guerra Mundial. En 1968, el Régimen de Franco expresó su interés en que el Guernica llegará a España ("Guernica Timeline"). Sin embargo, Picasso se negó a permitir esto hasta que el pueblo español volviera a disfrutar de una república. En 1970, el artista dejó clara su

posición con respecto a la pintura, reafirmando que "este pertenecía al pueblo español y le sería entregado una vez recuperara las libertades que le habían sido arrebatadas" ("Guernica según Picasso"). Más tarde, exigió que se asegurara también el restablecimiento de "las libertades públicas y las instituciones democráticas" para trasladar el Guernica a España ("Guernica Timeline"). Franco murió en 1975 y fue sucedido como líder español por el rey Juan Carlos I, quien inmediatamente inició un traslado a la democracia (History.com Editors). España pidió entonces la devolución del Guernica, pero los herederos de Picasso se opusieron, cuestionando las credenciales democráticas de España.

El Guernica fue finalmente devuelto a España en 1981, ocho años después de la muerte de Picasso, y fue celebrado como un respaldo moral a la joven democracia española (History.com Editors). Sin embargo, las precauciones tomadas para la llegada del cuadro a Madrid revelan también implicaciones políticas más amplias. Cuando el Guernica llegó a Madrid, estaba fuertemente custodiado, debido a su proximidad al parlamento español, que había sido escenario de un fallido golpe militar contra el rey Carlos en febrero de 1981 (History.com Editors). El cuadro se exhibió detrás de una gruesa capa de vidrio a prueba de valas y requirió alta seguridad para los visitantes, debido a la amenaza de terrorismo contra la obra altamente politizada.

La colocación del Guernica en El Prado en 1981 y luego en el Museo Reina Sofía de Madrid en 1992 fue una decisión que provocó una gran polémica en España. Varios grupos, en particular los nacionalistas vascos, se opusieron enérgicamente a la exposición permanente del Guernica en Madrid. Guernica es una ciudad vasca, por lo que los vascos consideran la pintura como un símbolo nacional ("Spain, Basque in Conflict over Picasso's Guernica"). Desde la inauguración en 1997 del Museo Guggenheim Bilbao, los nacionalistas vascos han estado pidiendo la transferencia de la pintura allí, pero el gobierno español dijo que la pintura estaba en muy mal estado para moverla. Mientras que muchos ven el Guernica como un duro símbolo de la tragedia de la guerra, los nacionalistas vascos argumentan que el Guernica es un símbolo localista que también puede interpretarse como "simbolizando la resistencia vasca a la dictadura de Franco de 1939-75, que oprimió el idioma y la cultura vasca" ("Spain, Basque in Conflict over Picasso's Guernica"). Joseba Zubia, portavoz del Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV), explicaba que "Igual su valor estético no es excesivo, salvo porque lo pintó Picasso, pero su valor político es incalculable para nosotros" (Galán). Otro miembro del PNV, Javier Maqueda, añadía, "Y el valor emocional... No hay casa en Euskadi que no tenga una reproducción" (Galán). De modo que, si bien la pintura puede haber sido encargada inicialmente por una razón diferente, las tensiones entre las autoridades españolas y vascas revelan cómo las obras de arte políticas pueden ser adoptadas como símbolo de diferentes maneras para diferentes grupos. Un símbolo de paz y libertad para algunos, las interpretaciones y reclamos nacionalistas de Guernica del País Vasco añaden un nivel adicional a la importancia política de la pintura, subrayando la capacidad de la pintura para expresar, visualizar y conectar diferentes procesos históricos y políticos.

Guernica como símbolo de protesta política más amplio

Las implicaciones políticas y el simbolismo del Guernica se extienden mucho más allá de las fronteras de España. El Guernica se ha convertido progresivamente en "icono por la paz empleado de manera recurrente desde ámbitos no institucionales y desde espacios no solo artísticos sino también de protesta, en movilizaciones colectivas y a través de geografías dispersas" ("Símbolo político"). Al evitar en su cuadro cualquier alusión directa al bombardeo de Guernica, Picasso sentaba las bases para un icono capaz de representar todas las violencias, capaz de unir varias historias sin anular ninguna. Esto ha permitido que la pintura se convierta en un símbolo universal y poderoso que advierte a la humanidad contra el sufrimiento y la devastación de la guerra. Es más, la imagen de Guernica ha sido recuperada como protesta contra la injusticia y por la paz. El cuadro ha sido evocado en luchas en torno a los derechos civiles y humanos, en la denuncia de las estructuras racistas y patriarcales y contra los intereses económicos.

En la década de 1970, el Guernica se convirtió en un emblema de las protestas contra la guerra, específicamente ganando impulso como ícono político en respuesta a la Guerra de Vietnam (Fondations). La Art Workers' Coalition (AWC), una asociación que tenía como objetivo crear un cambio en el campo del arte y era políticamente activa en los derechos civiles y las manifestaciones contra la guerra, utilizó el Guernica en sus carteles en las décadas de 1960 y 1970 (Baranik). Un póster realizado por el artista y escritor Rudolf Baranik tenía la frase "Stop the war in Vietnam now! [¡Detened la guerra en Vietnam ahora!]", junto con un detalle de un hombre asesinado en el mural de Picasso (Baranik). En 1970, después de la Masacre de My Lai en Vietnam en 1968, los activistas pacifistas de la Art Workers' Coalition exigieron en una carta abierta que Picasso retirara la obra del Museo de Arte Moderno de Nueva York, para hablar en contra de la guerra y para desencadenar el alcance del potencial político de la pintura y su enorme resonancia mediática (Selvin). Además de servir como símbolo de protesta durante la Guerra de Vietnam, el simbolismo del Guernica ha sido evocado como un icono político que los ciudadanos eligen para expresar sus quejas en protestas en Siria, China, Japón, Tailandia, Palestina, los Estados Unidos, Europa y en Barcelona como parte del movimiento independentista catalán (Kopper 445).

En los años más recientes, el mural de Picasso se ha relacionado estrechamente con la guerra liderada por Estados Unidos en Irak. Una reproducción del Guernica en la forma de un tapiz cuelga en la entrada del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas, como un duro recordatorio para los actores mundiales del horror de la guerra (Fondations). El mensaje es tan fuerte que Colin Powel, ex secretario de Estado de Estados Unidos, lo tuvo cubierto en 2003 cuando dio una conferencia de prensa sobre la invasión de Irak (Escalona). El mural de cuerpos mutilados y rostros distorsionados en el Guernica habría planteado demasiada ironía como telón de fondo para que Powell estuviera hablando de armas de destrucción masiva frente a él. Es evidente que el simbolismo político de la pintura resuena con otros movimientos de protesta que se extienden más allá de España.

Conclusión

Desde que empezó como una pieza encargada por el gobierno republicano español, el Guernica siempre ha estado fuertemente ligada a la política. Motivado por sus creencias contra la guerra y en pro de la democracia, Picasso sirvió como un agente de influencia a través de su arte. El Guernica se ha convertido en un símbolo universal de protesta política contra la guerra, contra el sufrimiento, y por la paz, y su relevancia para las luchas políticas globales más amplias solo ha crecido a lo largo de los años. Las narrativas de la pintura también se han aplicado al movimiento nacional vasco, demostrando la capacidad de la pintura para expresar y conectar diferentes procesos históricos y políticos. Para concluir, el Guernica de Picasso ha servido como un símbolo político poderoso y duradero que ofrece una narrativa universal con su simbolismo contra la violencia y por la justicia y la paz.

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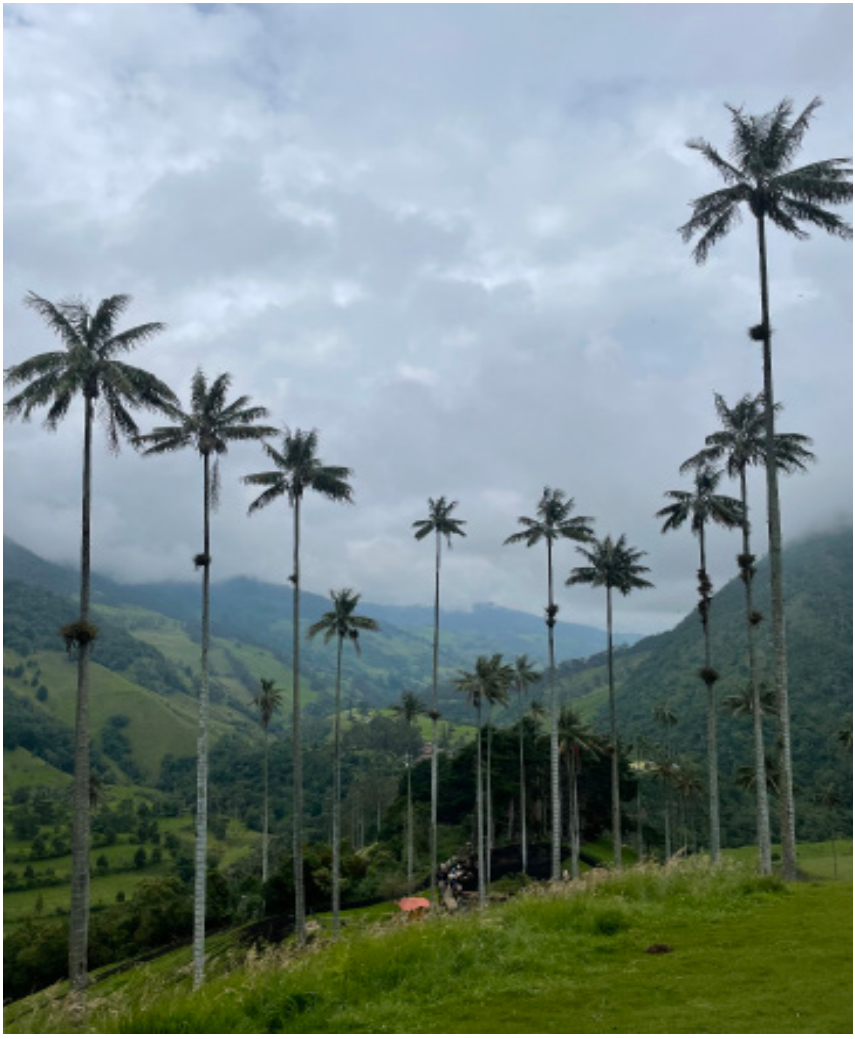

Cocora | Juan Arévalo

Impact of Extraction Projects on Indigenous Communities: The Case of the Orinoco Mining Arc in Venezuela

José Hernandez

Governments oftentimes aim to increase income and generate gains by promoting extraction projects in rural territories. Nevertheless, these projects usually carry deep unintended consequences for local populations and their lands. This is the case of the Orinoco Mining Arc plan in Venezuela, a project implemented by Nicolas Maduro's government as a response to the falling oil prices (virtually the country's only exportable product), in an area representing over 12.2% of national territory (Capdevilla 2018), which has brought deep social, economic and ecological impact to a region containing over 198 indigenous communities (Ebus and Martinelli 2021) for the need of short term economic gain. In this paper, we will analyze the main consequences of extraction projects by reviewing the case study of the Orinoco Mining Arc project on the different indigenous communities of the Bolivar and Amazonas states in Venezuela. To do this, we will first explain the relationship between the state and the indigenous communities before the project's start to understand the nature of its implementation, and later we will discuss the consequences of the project on the communities.

First, it is important to understand the details of the extraction project. In 2016 the Venezuelan government, led by Nicolas Maduro, announced the implementation of an extraction project with the goal of expanding their extractive industry to the territories south of the Orinoco, Venezuela's longest river. The "Arco Minero del Orinoco" (Orinoco Mining Arc in English), as the government calls the predefined territory, would seek to attract 135 companies from around the world to exploit minerals such as gold, coltan, iron ore, and diamonds, over an area of 110,000 square kilometers, an area representing more than 12% of the country (Alès 2018). Nevertheless, the arc also contains protected forest areas and is home to more than a dozen indigenous nations (Warao, Enepa, Hoti, Pume, Mapoyo, Arawak, Kariña, Piaroa, Pemón, Yekuana, Sanema, and Akawayo) which were directly affected by the government's plans (Rosales 2017). However, despite the numerous protected areas, illegal mining has existed in forms of small-scale extraction in the demarcated area for decades. Thus, after the plan was announced, the government stated that it was a way to move from the more destructive illegal mining into one "more in harmony with nature" supervised by the state, which would also allow the government to obtain economic benefits from the current illegal mining camps (Alès 2018). Instead, according to Alès (2018), the mining operations have been significantly expanded and, in turn, the damage to both the environment and the indigenous groups have escalated.

Before the Orinoco Mining Arc's (OMA) implementation was formally announced, there was already opposition to the plan. Even before the 2016 implementation decree was issued, the Venezuelan government had already announced their intention to begin large-scale extraction to the

south of the Orinoco river as early as 2011 (Alès 2018). The indigenous organization of Amazonas, knowing the kind of ethnocidal threat this kind of project could pose from their previous experience with illegal mining, launched their first petition to the government requesting them to review their plans in the area. As the government continued moving forward with their plans, the indigenous organization continued releasing communiques appealing for the national government to stop their plan for the Arc and protesting the lack of consultation with any of the indigenous ethnic groups living in the zone (Capdevilla 2018). The main reaction by the government towards their protests was to form a "presidential council for indigenous peoples" in 2014, where all representatives were appointed by the president and, according to Alès (2018), did not have any real say about the mining plans. It is important to mention that the government's actions were against state laws and international conventions ratified by the Venezuelan state (Rosales 2017) which require previous consultation in any affected areas in indigenous territory, something which was restated by the indigenous organization in their response towards the official implementation decree in 2016 (Alès 2018). All in all, from the first communique in 2011 to the latest one in 2016, the indigenous organizations in the country launched in total 15 public announcements rejecting the OMA project (Rosales 2017), with all their objections being ignored by the national government (Capdevilla 2018). This situation escalated into more violent responses by some indigenous groups in different mining camps, which oftentimes culminated in the assassinations of indigenous leaders (Rosales 2017).

It is thus clear that from the beginning there was a strong opposition from the indigenous groups which the government knew about and yet, still decided to move on with their plans. Instead, the government seemed to double down on their stance and displayed their authoritarianism by forbidding any kind of protest against the mining arc project. According to executive decree N 2.248 in the 2016 approval order of the "strategic economic development zone," any unions, indigenous communities or interested parties were banned from protesting the project which was allegedly justified due to being in the "general interest" of the country (Rosales 2017). As phrased by Capdevilla (2018), this decree effectively criminalizes any anti-mining resistance by the very people who are most affected by this scheme, and raises questions about the worth of a project in which the constitutional rights of a group to their ancestral lands are repressed for the "wellness of general population." In fact, according to the author, this mining plan is just a short-term and short-sighted maneuver to gain quick income without regard of the irreversible socio-environmental destruction that it is causing. Coupled with the lack of indigenous consultation, this portrays a sense of paternalism in which the government disregards the needs of their citizens for their own sense of advancement and priorities. Simply put, a type of "state development from above" which has oftentimes been observed in similar projects around the world.

The state reaction towards the protests and discontent of the indigenous people might not come as a surprise knowing the history of extraction projects around the world. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that the Venezuelan context is very particular in terms of indigenous political awareness and participation. In 1999, when the current ruling political party came into power, the government of Hugo Chavez (President Maduro's predecessor) took positive steps by recognizing indigenous rights in the new constitution, whereas in the previous one there was only a single article governing indigenous issues. This was followed up by allowing indigenous representatives in the assembly and later in 2005 by doing an initial demarcation of indigenous territories and land. During that time, indigenous people received a great level of visibility, some of them reaching important political positions such as mayors, governors and ministers (Alès 2018). Nevertheless, while the importance of these achievements is recognized by Alès (2018), the author also puts into question the extent to which these laws were actually respected when developing the OMA scheme, as well as highlighting some ulterior motives for the government's inclusion campaign. Recognizing the significant unity in the indigenous movement, Chavez's government created a Ministry for Indigenous Peoples in 2007, for which the head was designated by Chavez himself without consultation with the indigenous community. Alès (2018) notes that this began a process in which divisions started to emerge within indigenous groups, with an example being the late mobilization against government mining plans in 2011 due to widespread attachment towards Chavez's figure, as well as the support of some indigenous leaders for the project. Furthermore, after 2005 there seemed to be less frequent examples of advancement in terms of indigenous rights, such as the rights to lands that were initially promised to indigenous groups, since only 15% of their traditionally occupied territory is demarcated in the constitution and now more than 20 years have passed in which the government has failed to demarcate the rest of their territory (Capdevilla 2018, Ebus and Martinelli 2021). Even before mining in the region involved state participation, the government showed little interest in protecting indigenous land from illegal miners, despite this being required by constitutional laws, as shown by the examples of numerous Garimpeiros invasions in Yanomami territory (Alès 2018). It seems that the government showed an initial effort to develop indigenous representation and rights in the country which allowed them to gain more control over an important sector of the indigenous community. This control was useful when the OMA project was initially being developed, while later the government hypocrisy was evidenced when they broke several of the indigenous rights which they included in the constitution, such as the rights to territory and prior consultation, when implementing the project in the mining arc (Briceño-León and Perdomo 2019).

Government authoritarianism to implement a project without the consent of the affected community has already been discussed, but what usually leads these kinds of projects to consequences of devastating

magnitude is the capacity of the developer to impose their ideas despite the resistance of the people living there. In Venezuela, this was first seen through the political inability of the indigenous communities to respond to the implementation decrees due to the absence of influential institutions to represent them, while later, this lack of capacity to resist was much clearer when the communities where either forced to participate in the project or eliminated after confronting government officials. As was mentioned before, long before the project was officially announced there were already small-scale mining camps in the OMA region that were run by paramilitary groups and illegal miners, but also by indigenous groups themselves. Law enforcing authorities always benefited in an informal way from the artisanal miner and armed groups in these illegal sites, but since the government's OMA project announcement, these alliances have been formalized and irregular mining carried out by criminal organizations has increased under the supervision of the Venezuelan military (Rosales 2019). This expansion has also increased cases of abuse, sexual assault, torture and assassination of indigenous people in the OMA region both by state and non-state armed groups (Ebus and Martinelli 2021) and have increased the risk of an indigenous ethnocide in the region (Capdevilla 2018). Dispossession of land for the mining arc has been common, as it has happened with the Pemon Indians in Ikabaru, while there have also been reported cases of genocide by state forces of natives who resisted to concede their territories, as it happened to the Inga population in the Amazon (Briceño-León and Perdomo 2019). Members of the different ethnic groups, including children (Briceño-León and Perdomo 2019) have also been recruited to perform hard labor for the foreign armed groups (Alès 2018), with some of them even forced to work in the mining sites (Ebus and Martinelli 2021), either by extortion, or by need due to increasing poverty caused by deteriorating life conditions. Indigenous workers have also begun to suffer health-related consequences from the use of highly contaminant substances (e.g. mercury) in the mining sites (Rosales 2017). There are also reported cases of kidnapping and exploitation of indigenous girls moved to other territories to be prostituted (Briceño-León and Perdomo 2019). Nevertheless, the situation might get worse. Due to the increasing number of stakeholders such as the military, state security forces, FARC dissidents and syndicates interested in gold mining, non-state armed groups are growing due to the schemes between state and non-state groups. These "fragile alliances" often fight for control, and as result, the government is at risk of losing their weak hold in the region (Bonet 2020), which could lead to a situation of higher anarchy.

Predictably, after the government's decision to stimulate mining in the Orinoco Arc, the intensity of mining activity increased in territories which were previously protected (Alès 2018). This also expanded the negative impact of mining in the zone, which has resulted in several environmental and social consequences. Open mining requires large and irreversible processes of deforestation which put the huge reserves and natural assets in both the Bolivar and Amazonas state in danger.

Furthermore, the government favors extracting gold, which uses strong chemicals such as cyanide and mercury which produce high levels of contamination in both soil and water, which is particularly worrisome taking into account that the entire Venezuelan area south of the Orinoco river is the country's most important source of fresh water, and thus water levels are expected to drop with the continued implementation of this project (Capdevilla 2018). Recent studies have also shown that despite worrying levels of mercury contamination in the 1990s, they are now worse than ever recorded (Ebus and Martinelli 2021). These effects are most strongly felt by indigenous people living in the zone. The chemicals (such as mercury) used during extraction have significantly poisoned food resources and riverine biodiversity. This has made agriculture more demanding and produced fish contamination in the region (Ebus and Martinelli 2021) which has forced communities to move to new lands. Ultimately, the destruction of their territories has increased the poverty and lack of food of the Orinoco Arc area's native communities, some of which are subject to extreme deprivation (Briceño-León and Perdomo 2019). It should also be remarked that at no point has the government conducted an environmental impact assessment, something which breaks constitutional law (Rosales 2017).

The mining activity has also brought important changes in terms of the social structures and livelihoods of the indigenous communities. The government's promotion of mineral extraction in indigenous lands has created an influx of mafias dedicated to mining which have brought different social issues (Briceño-León and Perdomo 2019). Apart from being forced into mining or for paramilitary purposes either by will or necessity, the natives are also sexually solicited in exchange for resources like food and money (Alès 2018), which has created a market for prostitution in the region, therefore further increasing the spread of sexually transmissible diseases such as HIV. The same influx of population has brought other infectious diseases and at the same time has turned the region into a "brewing place" for illnesses (e.g. malaria and diphtheria) which have been exported to other parts on the country and have turn the project into a national health risk (Briceño-León and Perdomo 2019). Drug trafficking and alcohol has also been introduced by these foreign criminal groups into the native societies (Alès 2018), leading to increase in alcohol and drug consumption according to a recent study (Briceño-León and Perdomo 2019). Furthermore, the deterioration of living conditions (e.g. increased poverty, reduced health and loss of land) coupled with the influence of other cultures have incorporated more violent practices in the upbringing and punishment of children and other violent situations between members of a community (Briceño-León and Perdomo 2019). As an example, the author cites the replacement of the indigenous beverage "chicha" with stronger forms of alcoholic beverages, which seems to be connected with an increase in year-round cases of violence within the members of indigenous groups. These violent situations have also been stimulated by division between the community of members concerning the support towards the extraction project, between members who are against it and others who protect the miners for access to short term goods (Alès 2018).

The case of state-sanctioned mineral extraction in the Orinoco Mining Arc shows the deep consequences that a development project can have on different communities and their territories. The Venezuelan government decided to prioritize short term gain and their own concept of general wellness, despite numerous protests from Indigenous communities in the country. They then exercised their authority to implement a project which has caused devastating and sometimes irreversible social, economic, and environmental consequences for the indigenous communities and their ancestral lands, negatively impacting their livelihoods and social dynamics and putting different groups at risk of ethnic genocide.

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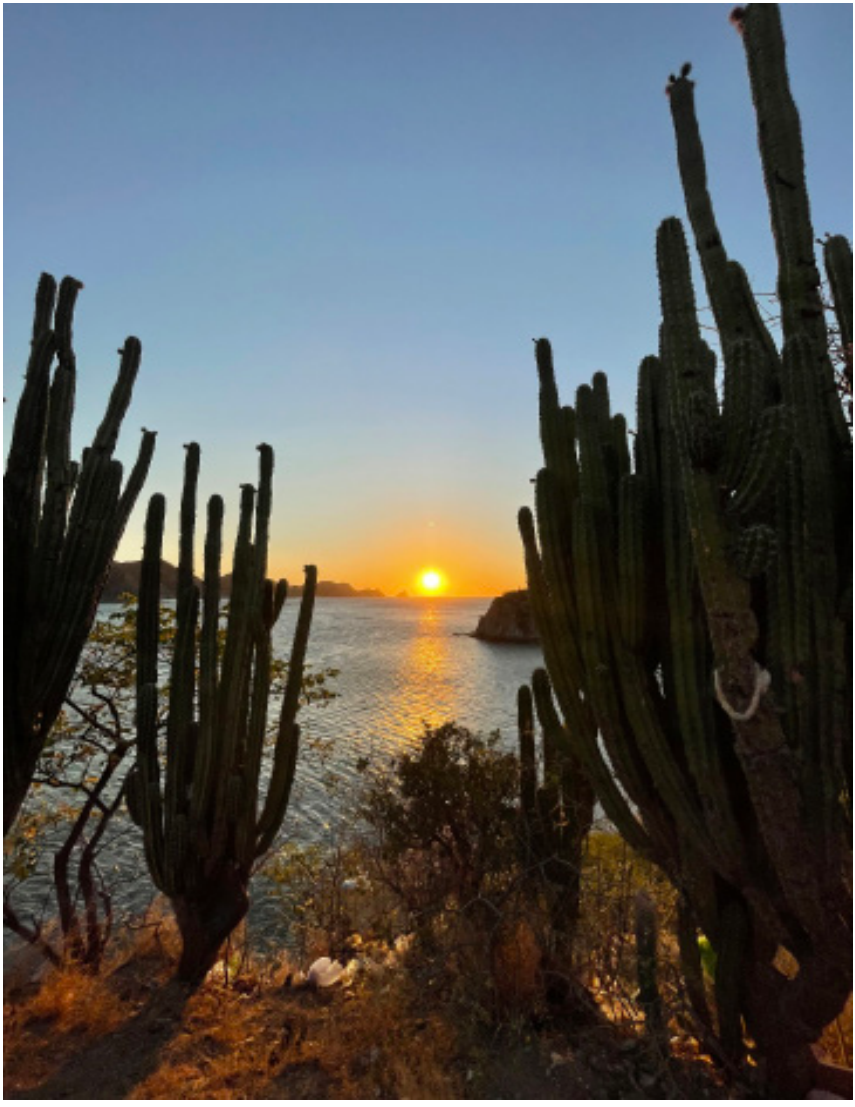

Taganga | Juan Arévalo

#NiUnaMás: Weaponizing Multi-Media and Music to Fight Against Femicide

Emilia Dominguez

Gender-based violence has been prevalent throughout history, with social conflict and societal change often using women's bodies as a battleground. In Latin America, particularly in Mexico, gender-based violence has been quite common, with between 10 and 11 women dying every day of femicides in the country.[1] In 1993, the first cases of what became known as femicidio (or feminicidio) emerged in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico when women's bodies were found dumped outside of the city.[2] In response, Ni Una Más emerged as a diverse, nonviolent campaign established in Mexico to call for state efforts to prevent further violence and investigations into previous crimes. The origin of the slogan "¡Ni una más!" is attributed to Susana Chávez, a Mexican activist and poet against the femicides of Ciudad Juárez and who was murdered in 2011.[3] By demanding their right to stay safe and remain alive, women have produced a "conciencia colectiva" to demand justice in the face of this extreme violence in Mexico.[4] These stories are a powerful instrument because by placing them in a public space, they promote action and bring together women to fight for change in their society.[5] The actions of Ni Una Más activists have raised awareness internationally about the global issue of femicide and have influenced the public agenda for women's rights. Therefore, Ni Una Más publicly presents visual art, music, and technology to raise awareness of and take action against femicide at the national and international levels.

Jill Radford and Diana Russell (2006) brought forth the first characterization of femicide, stating that it is the murder of a woman because she is a woman, as gender is the cause of this form of violence.[6] The Ley General de Acceso de las Mujeres a una Vida Libre de Violencia in Mexico refers to feminicidal violence as an extreme form of gendered violence against women, violating their human rights in both public and private spheres.[7] The law also makes reference to "conductas misóginas" and the possibility of homicide and other forms of violence against women.[8] While a milestone in the history of women in Mexico and in global women's rights, this law has not done much for the enforceability of justice in cases of gender-based violence and the perpetrators of these crimes often go unpunished.[9] Since 1994, NGOs and women's organizations in Ciudad Juárez and across Mexico have directly questioned state authorities surrounding the punishment of the guilty, but institutions rarely listen to their demands nor treat them with the respect they deserve.[10] There is minimal trust in the police in Mexico, with 65% of Mexican respondents reporting little or no confidence in the police.[11] Investigations into violence have been intentionally compromised and evidence has been mishandled or lost.[12] In fact, oftentimes authorities present femicides as suicides in their investigations, which has led to the common slogan at feminist marches, "No Fue Suicidio. Fue Feminicidio."[13]

There are a variety of reasons for the increase in violence against women, whether it is because of a culture of violence connected to drug traffickers and other criminal gangs or domestic violence. Femicide can

even be considered "an extreme form of domestic violence that kills women" because of the statistic that a high percentage of femicides are committed by an intimate partner or male family member, and occur in the victim's home.[14] There are also links between poverty, gender inequality and violence against women, with low-income and marginalized communities often restricting women by traditional attitudes.[15] The increase may also be connected to women's empowerment, as some consider stepping outside of the domestic sphere a subversive action which may instigate violent actions.[16] As a result of this, this gender-based violence has created an environment of fear that has been weaponized as a form of social control to prevent them from participating in the public sphere, further subordinating them.

Moreover, Wright makes reference to the dominant discourse of the "public woman" in Mexico, which is often connected to sex work and social decay, and which is often weaponized in discussions surrounding femicide.[17] One of the earliest examples of this discourse of the "public women" to disregard the very real problem of femicide was in a 1999 interview with the then-spokesperson for the Ciudad Juárez Maquiladora Association. In response to being asked why the violence was occurring, the spokesperson responded: "Where were these young ladies when they were last seen?" he queried. "Were they drinking? Were they partying? Were they on a dark street?"[18] Public women, those who act in opposition to gendered norms, are claimed to not represent a legitimate victim of violence because she caused her own problems by her immoral activities.[19] State actors or any person who wishes to repress the realities of the problem of femicide therefore claim that this 'public woman' "has no right to justice because she is not a justifiable (meaning innocent) victim."[20] This concept draws upon common, global ideas that women who occupy public spaces are to be considered suspicious and female sexuality is dangerous making it all the more powerful for victim-blaming.[21] Ni Una Más actually confronts these claims by exposing the hypocrisy and complicity of the state in the violence. They argue that regardless of their public or private lives, these are innocent women who deserve justice, and have found various public ways to push this message.[22]

Visual Art Installations

In addition to the protest movements launched by families of femicide victims, the increased propensity of femicides in Mexico has given rise to various forms of cultural responses by activist-artists. These cultural responses often take the form of public displays of visual art, aiming to fight against the repression of femicide in public cultural memory at both a domestic and international level and in turn, to call for appropriate, effective policies to end gender-based violence.

One of the most common, and famous, ways that the Ni Una Más visual art has manifested is through the symbolic cross, often pink or alongside a pink background or image in efforts to call attention to the unresolved murders across the country.[23] Starting in the 1990s, victims' mothers painted telephone poles across Juárez in pink, with a black cross which was intended to symbolize the lost lives of their daughters.[24] Rosa-Linda Fregoso explains that these crosses were "silent witnesses to symbolic and experiential instances of violence."[25] These crosses

became one of the first instances of activists re-claiming public space for the fight against femicides. These actions were repressed by state officials, with the mayor of Juárez banning them and police, local media, and business leaders repeatedly telling mothers that they should abstain from "creating scandal in the streets" if they ever want to see their daughters alive again and because they are threatening the "economic viability of the city."[26] Heiskanen calls these collective actions of mothers of victims of femicide "acts of defiance" since they represent the mothers' refusal to give in to the symbolic and physical violence by reclaiming public space.[27] There have also been crosses erected across Juárez and the country, representing the importance of keeping the memory of those murdered alive and to challenge the city, state, nation, and international community's complicity.[28] These actions "shape the [country's] landscape through the ongoing display of memorial objects" because, despite the state's efforts to erase representations of femicide, they keep the collective memory alive.[29]

On International Women's Day in 2021, the Mexican federal government put up a 3-meter barrier around the Palacio Nacional to prevent violence and vandalism. This move provoked strong resentment and anger on the part of feminist and human rights defenders and exacerbated their frustration at the purported lack of action taken by the President Lopez Obrador.[30] This wall became a "Muro de Memoria" where activists wrote out the names of the victims of femicide and gender-based violence in the country to bring awareness to their stories. This is just another example of the use of visual art installations that emphasize the importance of never forgetting these women and fighting to give them justice.

Another piece that is worth noting is Andrea Marshall's "The Rice Bath Diptych," representing a fictional femicide of Maria Gonzales who was making a mole poblano dish for her husband, who in turn, killed her.[31] The work contrasts the before, a confident young woman with a cigarette in her mouth blatantly defying traditional notions of femininity, with the after, her naked, bloody body lying still in a bathtub. As Heikenan points out, there is no real explanation about the events that took place; just as with femicides, one cannot know what truly happened to the woman. Referring generally to the artwork at the exhibit, Marshall explains that "art forces you to look at something you haven't seen before or that you have closed your eyes to [...] It causes a reaction."[32] This is certainly the case with this work as Marshall hoped to "evoke an emotional reaction of shock and sadness," like she feels towards the femicides in Juárez.[33] Especially considering the repression and ignorance of the violent acts against women in the country, and around the world, strong emotions of shock and disgust may provoke personal and private reflections or actions.

Fig 1. Andrea Marshall, The Rice Bath Diptych.

Far too often, femicide victims are referred to as numbers, rather than by their names and personal stories. Because of this, the artists of the 2010 exhibit "Ni Una Más, Not One More: The Juárez Murders" in Philadelphia, U.S.A., aimed to "reinstate the women's identities from anonymity and [...] restore their individuality and humanity."[34] For example. Lise Bjørne Linnert's piece "Desconocida, Unknown, Ukjent" is an international community art project that was established in response to the Juárez murders in 2006 and is an 8-by-30-foot wall covered in names of femicide victims in Juárez.[35] The artist asked participants to embroider each name on a white small cotton label and purposefully made reference to the geographic and cultural context by hiding the Mexican national anthem in Morse code throughout the layout.[36] Linnert explains that this embroidery gives individuals back their names and identities.[37] This piece also asks participants to engage in a "collective politico-artistic process" by adding their own style to the label and by embroidering the word 'unknown' in their own language.[38] By doing this, one is able to connect their own experiences and acknowledge their situatedness in the situation, giving the participants the ability to learn about and reflect on that woman's life and the broader context of gendered violence.

Fig 2. Lise Bjørne Linnert, Desconocida, Unknown, Ukjent. 2010.

Multi-Media Campaigns

Over the past decade, there has been an expansion of virtual social networks and an increase in the use of applications that allow for the presence, participation and interaction of individuals or groups worldwide.[39] One of the most prominent techniques that #NiUnaMás utilizes in order to get their message across to both domestic and international audiences is the use of technology, particularly music, social media, and video campaigns. These new ways of communication broaden the voice and channels for the diffusion of demands and allow for people to learn from new voices.

#NiUnaMenos, for instance, is one of the most powerful labels/hashtags in denouncing violence against women in Argentina, where the movement emerged, but also in other countries of the region and even in Europe.[40] The hashtag #NiUnaMás has the highest percentage of use in Mexico,[41] with 1.1k videos on YouTube and 395K posts on Instagram with the hashtag, as of June 6, 2021. These hashtags raise awareness about recent femicides, emphasize statistics on their frequency, and can be used to share personal stories. Viral videos that center women and their experiences have also been common and effective for the Ni Una Más movement. For instance, CINU México's video that was created by Initiativa Spotlight en México on the importance of the #NiUnaMás movement demonstrates how visual, musical and informative components can raise awareness for the cause, such as through strong statements such as Lulú Barrera's "En México, hay leyes pero no hay justicia."[42]

This video also calls attention to the machista culture that enables these violent acts to occur, with Barrera reiterating that states must not only just add new laws but that justice entails changing "las mentes y las voluntades de las personas que atienden a las mujeres todos los días en las instituciones."[43] Using a variety of mediums (rap, images, videos and proclamations) races, and ages, this video reiterates the importance of women's voices, "Soy Cecilia Suárez y esta es mi voz,"[44] and reclaiming female bodies and narratives, "No somos números, somos seres humanos."[45]

Ni Una Más often makes use of Latin American songs with feminist lyrics that are able to reach virtual social communities and younger audiences with their messages.[46] Music and videos are the two mediums that are most used artistically by young women as they have become the most common mode of expression to amplify their cause to a broader audience, especially by addressing the younger public in a manner that is familiar.[47] Music becomes the universal language by which artists can reach across borders to promote their message. This has been well-utilized by Ni Una Más as feminist musicians have created various songs and accompanying videos that raise awareness about femicides and emphasize the collective strength of women. For instance, the song Gritemos Juntas, performed by a group of women on Mexican actress Geraldine Galván's YouTube channel, criticizes the machismo in Mexican society and makes emotional appeals to their audience. They emphasize the exasperation women feel at constantly being told that this violence is normalized and they declare that being a woman includes being strong enough to fight against violence. One of their lyrics, for example, exclaims "Gritemos Juntas por las que hoy ya no están / Por los sueños que ya no podrán lograr.[48] These women want to speak out for the voices and dreams that have been silenced. Within the video, they show clips of protests and art installations that #NiUnaMás activists have created in order to align their music and message with the movement. They also use emotional appeals, referencing children begging for their mothers to return and showing instances where the musicians were overcome by their emotions. Overall, the message of this song demonstrates that these women will not stop fighting for justice and that they have power together, juntas, to make a difference.

Conclusion

The Ni Una Más movement has become quite powerful in its actions to fight against femicide, reaching domestic and international audiences. The harmful socio-political narratives that often negate the experiences of and justice for victims of femicide are challenged by the variety of strategies imposed by activists. From visual art to music videos to hashtags, Ni Una Más has been able to reach audiences around the world to raise awareness of the increased femicides and has put pressure on the Mexican government to implement more effective policies and investigate prior crimes. The movement will continue to grow, especially given the constantly developing technology that allows for #NiUnaMás activism to be amplified around the world.

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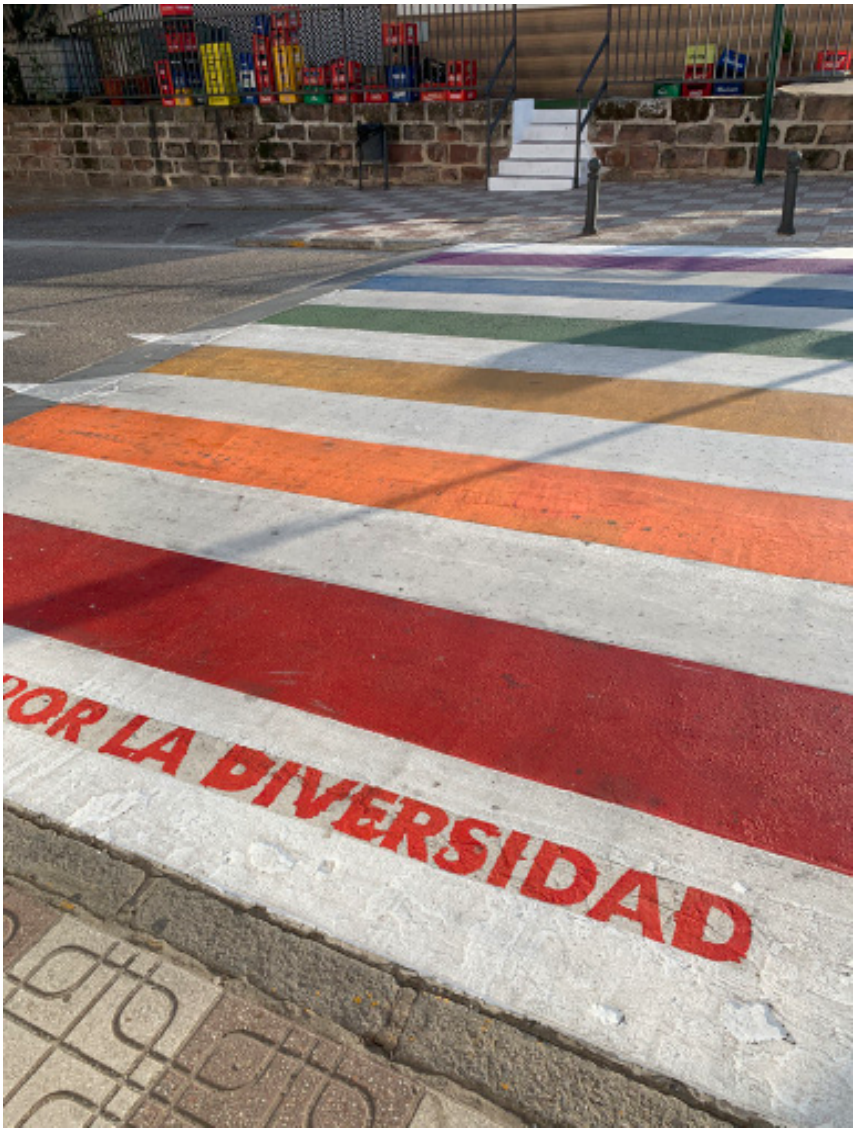

Representación | John Vincent Vitulli

Cyberspace and Latin American Lesbians

Emilia Dominguez

The legal situation of lesbians in Latin America has significantly improved over the last twenty years, with some countries legally recognizing homosexual relationships and legislating equal marriage rights in places like Mexico City and Argentina (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet" 168). Twelve countries, including Mexico, Chile, and Peru, have outlawed discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, while some (such as Cuba and Brazil) have some laws or constitutional reworkings that ban discrimination on the basis of gender expression or identity (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet" 168). It has also become easier to publicly come out as LGBTQ+ in the region, as seen through various out queer politicians, the development of gay neighbourhoods, cafés, and beaches, and increased representation in Latin American television and film. Given the region's fascination with soccer, it is also interesting to note that lesbians have their own "fulbito" games in Peru and an indoor soccer tournament in Mexico City (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet" 168-169). However, there are still many obstacles for the LGBTQ+ community; in particular, discrimination against lesbians has often taken the form of "social denigration" and physical violence, including the murders of lovers who held hands in public and legislators considering public funding for 'conversion therapy' (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 790-791). Lesbian groups have also found it quite difficult to develop and maintain physical counterpublic spaces. The Peruvian "Grupo de Autoconciencia de Lesbianas Feministas" (GALF), for instance, lost its meeting space when a local cafe closed, and the upkeep of a permanent space for a group in Mexico was too costly (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet" 171).

Exclusion and invisibility have been common for lesbians in Latin America, as "to be a lesbian [means] to be condemned to silence, self-marginalization and, solitude" (Csömyei and Palumbo as quoted in Jitsuya and Sevilla, 9). Chetcuti-Osorovitz explains how the invisibility of lesbianism even extends to the academic sphere, where there is "un punto ciego a día de hoy" (155). She also notes that this invisibility is also found in media and cultural productions, with rare or incomplete representations. She articulates that, on Google, the term "lesbian" on Google almost entirely results in pornographic material meant for a heterosexual male audience, rather than the variety of cafes, shops, and articles on marriage and adoption that emerges when looking up "gay" (Chetcuti-Osorovitz, 156). In response to the lesbophobia that they encountered within the Leftist, labour, socialist, feminist and gay rights organizations, lesbian activists developed an "alternative" and "oppositional" counterpublic that reformulated representations of and issues pertaining to lesbians in the digital space (Serna, 54). Therefore, lesbian internet practices in Latin America reflect the need for visibility, bringing their demands out to larger publics. Digital spaces and technologies, including websites, digital art and digital storytelling, have helped Latin American lesbians develop safe communities, subvert traditional oppressive representations and make their experiences visible in the public space.

Websites/Listservs

While other communities do construct counterpublics, there is a distinct relevance for lesbian and other queer communities; LGBTQ+ people need safe places to explore their identity and build community. A study comparing LGBT websites in the US, Germany, China and Japan discovered that "there is no other forum in which so many people of so many different backgrounds have safely disclosed, and felt comfortable disclosing, their sexual identities" (Heinz et al. as quoted in Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 796). Cyberspace became a "virtual lifeline" in the face of discrimination, building connections and expressing ideas online (Stein as quoted in Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space," 796). When the Internet first began to circulate, email and websites were two of the many ways that lesbians could break their offline isolation (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet"). RIMA founders and developers of the Argentine lesbian feminist distribution list Safo Piensa, Gabby de Cicco and Irene Ocampo, state that the Internet became "quite a resource for women who have trouble finding each other" in the places they were located (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet" 173-174). With access to information and support on these websites, some lesbians are even coming out online before they do offline (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet" 172-173). Another benefit of the Internet is that it allows for some form of anonymity, where those who are not ready to come out yet can learn and interact safely. For instance, the Madres Lesbianas note that some lesbians did not feel comfortable writing using regular mail (which provided their home address) but with email, they did not have to reveal who they were (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet" 109). However, it also makes invisibility persist in public space.

Websites developed by lesbians have also importantly supplied readers with current information about LGBTQ+ politics, including information that would otherwise not be reported or is difficult to find. As Friedman says, news about LGBTQ+ politics reminds lesbians of common problems within the broader community and offers ways to get involved ("Lesbians in (cyber)space"). Um Outro Olhar, for instance, publishes Brazilian lesbian groups' events and important information about readers' rights while LeS VOZ, the online counterpart of the Mexico City-based magazine, advertises political and cultural events (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 801). GALF's website has a virtual documentation center with pdf versions of various analytical, often scholarly articles, as well as their online lesbian feminist magazine that also includes important articles (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 801). Um Outro Olhar also has sections on LGBTQ+ symbols, culture and tourism, while Safo Piensa includes sapphic writings by local women and well-known writers. Another way that the digital space has built community is through Um Outro Olhar's column that allows lesbian couples to announce their registrations as a "stable [civil] union" alongside a photo (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 802).

Websites often also build communities within one's region or country. For instance, Um Outro Olhar is written in Portuguese and therefore directed at Brazilian lesbians. Nearly all of its links are to Brazilian

LGBTQ+ organizations and its drop-down menu for registration includes Brazilian states, rather than other countries (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 806). LeS VOZ also assumes a national audience, with an annotated list of Mexican LGBTQ+ and feminist organizations that are mostly physical space (limiting its usefulness to Mexicans), but differs in that, because of its proximity to the United States, there are various links to US organizations rather than regional lesbian organizations (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 806). On the other hand, while Safo Piensa mainly centers on Argentina, there is coverage of and hyperlinks to regional issues and organizations demonstrating how its distinct online foundations focuses on prioritizing building virtual communities that cross intraregional boundaries (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 806). Moreover, GALF's content points to a regional, or even international, audience as the article database provides work from Latin America and elsewhere (translated) and its electronic journal, "Labia," is intended for at least the whole region (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 807).

As these websites and listservs were portrayed as safe and private spaces, many Latin American lesbian groups were careful to take control over their online services by setting some boundaries for participation. While maintaining privacy online is difficult, many of these organizations wanted to ensure that lesbians who were not comfortable revealing their identities were safe to engage in these spaces. Safo Piensa implemented safety measures, following some users' anger at being "observed" by those who only read, not participate, by "instituting a more inquisitive registration process" (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet" 174-175). This screening included requiring potential subscribers to provide their name and self-identification, how they heard about the list and why they wished to subscribe, among other questions about their involvement in efforts to institute similar relations and responsibilities to the offline world (Friedman, "Interpreting the Internet" 175). Some important limitations to this process, however, could include the frequency of transphobia and biphobia in lesbian spaces that could restrict their entry if there were particularly exclusionary moderators, as well as make some closeted lesbians uncomfortable with including that much information. Regardless, these measures are difficult to successfully implement in any online community and the efforts that these lesbians make to create safe online spaces speaks to the community-building aspects of the lesbian cyberspace.

Friedman notes the frequent use of electronic distribution lists as a tool for political work and building community ("Lesbians in (cyber) space"). These lists regularly transmit news and events to subscribers allowing organizations to disseminate information directly in a timely manner. LeS VOZ, for instance, sends its bimonthly electronic bulletin to 900 subscribers, (Friedman "Lesbians in (cyber)space"). Some lesbian organizations are also restricted by political and resource limitations, and so these distribution lists make it feasible to reach more supporters. For the Mexico City-based Lesbians in Collective group that believed they were being surveilled by the government because of their involvement in radical political movements and The Closet of Sor Juana that faced a lack of resources, turning to the less expensive, widely accessible

electronic distribution lists was incredibly important to get information out (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 802-803). Friedman explains that these websites and distribution lists for lesbian organizations enable "few individuals [to] provide many others with space for reflection, connection, education and mobilization" (emphasis added, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 803).

Furthermore, Nicholus' study of the Arraia do GAMI examines "ephemeral sociospatial practices," including the digital space, that queer women utilize to build community during these parties (240-241). The Affirmative Group of Independent Women (GAMI) promotes sexual diversity and gender equality in Natal, Rio Grande do Norte through political activism, community programs and annual events like the Arraia (Nicholus). Arraias demonstrate the common scholarly sentiment that online social networking is a medium that allows lesbians to develop alternative geographies, linking individuals all over the place (Nicholus). With 1,721 Facebook followers as of December 2021, GAMI relies on 'word of mouth' and social networking to "create and define ephemeral social spaces for LGBT+ women" (Nicholus, 248). Another prominent way that GAMI has used social networking is by collaboratively documenting the visual elements of the arraia through posting photos onto their public Facebook page, merging physical and virtual spaces, and commemorating them (Nicholus, 250). This allows GAMI's work to be shown to a broader public and for individuals to interact with the events (liking, tagging or commenting) even if they were not physically at the event further developing this community formation.

Digital Art and Video Storytelling

Lesbian artists have challenged dominant cultural institutions that have perpetuated the invisibility of their community through organizing their own art spaces and demanding inclusion. In particular, Alma López's digital art, digital storytelling technologies and Cuevas' video production have allowed Latina lesbians to narrate their own stories and include their experiences in the public space.

Alma López's digital art demonstrates instances where lesbians have been able to represent their experiences as women, lesbians, and Mexicans/Chicanas. Cooper states that Chicana and Mexicana cultural production has long been limited by the politics or cultural criticism of the time, including the Chicano movement which disallowed the representation of women's sexuality. However, by the 1980s, Chicanas like Gloria Anzaldúa and Yolanda López began to re-envision their identities in terms of race, class, gender, and sexuality as reflected in their art and literature (Cooper). López, a queer Chicana feminist artist, deploys various lesbian symbols digitally juxtaposed with traditional cultural images and ideas to reach a wide audience (Cooper). One of López's most well-known works, the digital collage print "Lupe and Sirena in Love (1999) centers La Virgen de Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico and the embodiment of the 'saintly' part of the virgin/whore dichotomy influencing Mexican (and Chicano) perceptions of women (Cooper, 76). Feminist writers and artists have been re-conceiving La Virgen for decades, with López's portrayal being one of the most controversial.

Serna declares that the most radical reconceptualizations of La Virgen de Guadalupe are those that sexualize her, or even further, queer her, "evoking her symbol to signal a resacralization of women's sexual bodies, or alternately, of lesbian love and eroticism" (60).

In this digital image, rather than clasping her hands together in prayer, La Virgen is holding Sirena in a loving embrace with her hands placed on and eyes directed at her nude torso. Along with the title signifying their loving relationship, this sensual representation of lesbianism portrays a sexually aware, lesbian Virgen de Guadalupe that directly challenges cultural expectations for this iconic figure and women more broadly. Cooper notes that juxtaposing this traditional cultural icon with female lesbian sexuality "is an artistic technique of inclusion [...] of honoring the Mexican and Chicana/o heritage" and the contemporary Chicana lesbian identity (81). The shock value of this piece may be necessary to capture the attention of those who have disregarded the community in hopes of prompting visibility of the lesbian community. Further, López purposefully chose the symbol of the Viceroy butterfly because it is one that is not poisonous like the Monarch butterfly, but rather it "pretends to be something it is not just to be able to exist" paralleling some queer experiences (as quoted in Cooper, 79). She also says that the Viceroy mirrors "intersecting histories of being different" whether it is being perceived as criminals or economic burdens for being Latine or as "perverted or deviant" by homophobic attitudes within Latine communities (as quoted in Cooper, 79). López views Latine lesbians as "vulnerable Viceroy butterflies" who are just trying to survive in the face of harmful perceptions from both outside and inside their communities (as quoted in Cooper, 79). Moreover, digital technologies enabled López to include historical references to U.S. imperialism and anti-immigrant narratives alongside this butterfly and the two queer women. This technology allows movements for the liberation of the body and queer desire to be intertwined with Chicanx struggles for decolonization and immigrant rights (Serna).

As for video storytelling, digital technologies give Latin American lesbians the agency to speak about and create artwork about their own experiences in the public space. In their project, "Let's Talk About Sex: Digital Storytelling for Puerto Rican Latina Youth," Fiddian-Green et al., used digital storytelling as part of a culture-centred approach that helped these youth develop visual narratives that encourage young women to voice their own stories. The dominant discourses surrounding the sexuality of Puerto Rican Latina youth often excludes the prominent intersections of race, class, ethnicity, and gender, operating on the basis of "one-size-fits-all" (Fiddian-Green et al., 1093). Current approaches to sexual health assume homogeneity and heteronormativity, ignoring the different cultural and contextual histories that Latinas experience and that impact health (Fiddian-Green et al.). Dalia, a lesbian, noted that the "sexual silencing" of queer identities is predominant in the school system and that the heteronormative sexual health education left her wanting to learn more about her own potential experiences but not feeling safe to ask for or access this information. She also used the digital stories to discuss her experiences of bullying and physical violence in school because of being a lesbian. Monica, also a lesbian, talked about how she had limited support from her family and had no queer friends,

and so turned to social media, whether on Instagram and Facebook or through a YouTube video series on a young lesbian couple, for her social support system. These online connections made her "feel like [she is] not the only one who feels that," reiterating the idea that social media has curated digital spaces that help lesbians find some form of community (Fiddian-Green et al., 1100). Fiddian-Green et al.,'s article describes how Monica's digital story transposes multisensory elements to highlight critical elements in the story, such as a smiling selfie with her voiceover narration confidently declaring that "I'm not shy to admit that I like girls" or an image of a chain-link fence with her voiceover discussing her difficult relationship with her family as a result of her sexuality (Fiddian-Green et al., 1100).

The digital stories are first-person visual narratives, using digital imagery, audio recordings, music and text to transform traditionally silenced personal experiences into active documentation of their realities. The format of digitalstories makes them easily accessible to communities in a way that textual narratives are not as they are the "outcomes of multisensory contexts, encounters, and engagements" (Pink as quoted in Fiddian-Green et al., 1101). Researchers, community members and storytellers themselves can interpret and experience these stories on multiple levels, becoming valuable case studies that can inspire collective social action (Fiddian-Green et al.). These digital stories also become "tools of engagement" that facilitate discussion and further action to challenge dominant discourses by having the ability to be shown in various group settings, like community forums, academic conferences, and with health and social service providers (Fiddian-Green et al., 1101).

Similarly, Gutiérrez declares that the most important driving force behind the "explosion of female video artists in Mexico in recent years" is the desire to challenge rigid representations of women's diverse realities (105). Video cameras and editing equipment have become relatively easy and less costly to acquire, leading to an increase in access to necessary resources. In Mexico, the development of video as a medium for expressing current concerns has also benefited Indigenous people and other marginalized communities, with its use growing steadily since the 1970s (Gutiérrez). Ximena Cuevas, one of Mexico's most important producers in this format, has been a part of this growth, using a variety of digital video strategies to critique the corruption in Mexican institutions and reimagine sexual and gendered subjects (Gutiérrez). Cuevas has found that video is "an intimate medium," especially during postproduction as this is where she can edit various layers of Mexican culture more effectively, "as a sort of collage" (Gutiérrez, 105-106). Gutiérrez declares that video art "is a perfect medium for Cuevas to delve into her personal and intimate feelings as they relate to her sexual identity," while also allowing her to explore the myths that permeate contemporary Mexican society (106). Many of Cuevas' videos use these technologies to represent lesbian desire by challenging prevailing discourses surrounding sexualities in Mexican culture in a less confrontational manner (Gutiérrez). Instead, she uses parody, irony and performance to subvert these representations, in particular in Medias mentiras (1995).

One of Cuevas' first critiques in this video is of the institution of the middle-class family as she inserts lesbian symbolism and figures into the Mexican image of "the perfect family" (Gutiérrez, 107-108).

Cuevas deconstructs the family, gendered roles, notions of femininity and mass media by "a deliberate and ironic layering and juxtaposing of images" made possible through digital technologies (Gutiérrez, 106). She includes, whether consciously or not, a suggestively queer line by "Mexico's premier abuelita figure" and rumoured lesbian, Sara Garcia, that allows Cuevas to insert herself as a video artist into the tradition of Mexican, sapphic artists and perhaps subverts the traditional Mexican cultural production (Gutiérrez, 108). She also presents her own love interest "tú" demonstrating domestic life together, therefore placing herself as a lesbian in this Mexican middle-class family. While this does increase lesbian visibility, that is not the sole purpose of this film. Rather, Cuevas is creating 'counterimages' that contradict dominant representations of lesbians as "perverse and sexually amoral" (Gutiérrez, 109). In this piece, Cuevas' alienation from the state and culture of contemporary Mexico leads her to seek solace in her female companion. She subverts the lesbian female body by making stable female relationships visible and, by moving intimate moments out of the private sphere, she "inserts a lesbian subjectivity into the spatial frame of her video and of Mexico City" (Gutiérrez, 110).

Conclusion

There are some concerns about this virtual community-building, with some claiming that these spaces "may further entrench separation from the heterosexual world (or from each other)" serving as a place to replicate differences rather than fostering communication (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 797). Friedman disagrees, claiming that not only is it not the main source of lesbian isolation, but these online spaces are also necessary because of the difficulties of organizing in the region. Moreover, it is important to note that the majority of the population in the region does not have regular entry into cyberspace nor digital literacy to facilitate this entry, limiting who has access to these spaces. While there may be some internet cafés or community organizations that offer basic skills training, this may require outing oneself in the real world. Another common criticism of using cyberspace in Latin America for lesbian visibility and activism is that of the limits of national and regional perspectives. Language can be another one of these barriers, with many Spanish-language sites making it more difficult for Brazilian lesbians to access and vice-versa. While Um OutroOlhar's national focus is understandable, it does show the limitation of regional networks as it does not link to nor is it linked by any major websites analyzed here (807). While GALF has been working to translate its electronic magazine into Portuguese, this is only the beginning of necessary efforts. Lastly, regional connections on the main websites for lesbians in Latin America often erase Central American and Andean countries, making it difficult to hear from certain important perspectives and limiting the building of such communities (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 807-808). The founders of the Argentine Autonomous Feminist Lesbian Mothers group have been actively trying to digitally distribute information to reach isolated women across the region to fix this gap (Friedman, "Lesbians in (cyber)space" 798).

Regardless, the contributions of the Internet to the lesbian community far outweigh any potential complications, as it is irrefutable that the current level of lesbian visibility and community in Latin America would be impossible without the virtual space. Cyberspace has given lesbians the ability to reconfigure their realities and build a space that challenges dominant narratives and treatment of their community. Through websites and their accompanying developments, and digital cultural production, cyberspace has become a safe place for Latin American lesbians to build community.

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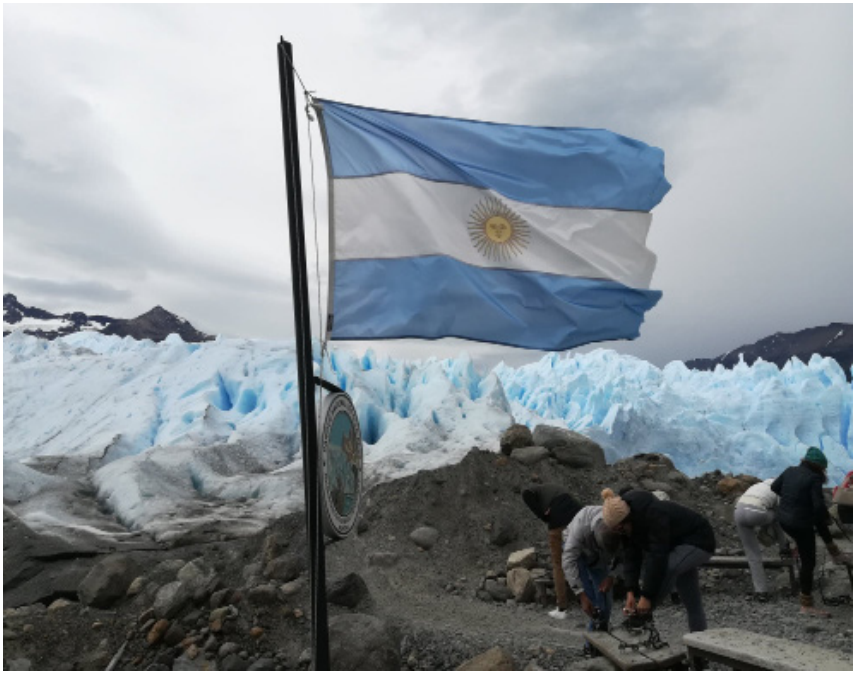

La conquista del glaciar | Ines Amigorena

"Una constante defensora de los derechos humanos": Mercedes Sosa's Political Impact During the Military Dictatorship in Argentina, 1976-1983

Ines Amigorena

In the first four years of rule of the military junta led by Jorge Videla in Argentina, 264,753 citizens, close to one percent of its population, left the country. The exiled population was overwhelmingly composed of politically active intellectual and cultural elites, most of whom had to leave following threats, censorship, and "interrogation" by the junta for allegedly spreading leftist ideas. In Mercedes Sosa's case, by forcing her into exile, the government marked her as a political threat to the regime, presumably because of her participation in founding of the Nuevo Cancionero Movement, and the explicitly social and political content of the songs she performed. By 1976, Sosa had a uniquely powerful political voice and was a unifying figure and in Argentina, reaching both rural and urban, working class and privileged audiences around the country. During her time of exile in Europe, Sosa raised awareness about human rights violations committed by the government in her homeland. In this period, Sosa became a symbol of opposition to authoritarianism and advocate for human rights, a role she would embrace till her death in 2009.

Haydée Mercedes Sosa was born in 1935 in San Miguel de Tucuman in a working-class family of both European and Indigenous heritage. In the early 1960's, after recording her first album, she followed her first husband, Oscar Matus, to Mendoza, integrating a group of politically minded folksingers. In their 1963 Manifest, the Nuevo Cancionero Movement, as they came to be known, claimed its aim was to combine "traditional song forms with sophisticated poetry and an emphasis on social themes"[1]. They spread optimistic messages of a "wide road to freedom"[2]. For most members of the movement, including Sosa, militancy was a non-negotiable component of music, as evidenced by their mass joining of the Argentine Communist Party: for the Nuevo Cancioneros, "the song must be militant, or it does not exist as a song"[3]. Sosa does not escape this trend, as reflected in her album La Voz de la Zafra (1962), a collection of songs about the rural working-class, and her performance at Communist rallies, such as a 1968 concert in support of oil workers on strike.

The songs of the Nuevo Cancioneros were not only political in their content, but the folk genre adopted by the movement, although reminiscent of North American Folk Revival movements of the same period, was a way of asserting a national identity and breaking away from the foreign hegemony of pop-rock[4]. Artists incorporated local instruments and rhythms in their music, and wrote lyrics about the struggle of the pueblo, giving agency to the poor but also attracting an urban middle-class audience "interested in a cosmopolitan version of Argentine nationalism"[5]. In any case, politicized folk music articulated a nationwide anti-colonial identity, not only in Argentina[6], but in most of Latin America, as the Nuevo Cancionero movement had counterparts in Chile and Brazil, most notably.

These intellectual and political singers aimed to serve as guides for the poor, "supporting them and helping to awaken them to consciousness"[7] and they used their performances as political rallies, thus permanently attaching their person and music to their political stances. Per example, in 1976, in the early days of the military dictatorship, Sosa was detained and questioned by the police for more than twenty hours after she decided to perform forbidden songs at a concert. Three hundred and fifty members of the public were arrested as well that night. After coming back from exile in 1982, Sosa decided to organize a series of shows in Buenos Aires, braving death threats she had been receiving throughout the dictatorship. She said, "scheduling those shows was a way for us to push against the games of the dictatorship"[8] at a time where it was very much still risky. These instances make it clear that in Sosa's case, the sole act of singing certain songs in front of an audience was a political stance, and was perceived as such by both her public and the government, making her a highly politicized figure.

Sosa jumped out in the musical scene of her time because she found herself at the crossroads of social categories which were not often represented in the industry, she was, in Matthew Karush's words, "an opinionated, politicized, and proud indigenous woman"[9]. Accounts of journalists having interviewed her through the years indicated that Mercedes Sosa was not an overtly political person offstage[10]. Post exile, she never publicly supported any political party and even during her years as a member of the Communist Party, she never did more than spreading its message through song[11]. This being said, the military junta marked her a political figure early on by disallowing protest songs on her albums and restricting her appearances on stage, radio, or television. In 1974, she was officially blacklisted by the government. The songs she performed usually being mimetic, they reflected her stances, and Mercedes the woman was disallowed along with Mercedes the artist.

Sosa's indigeneity was also an important factor of her success and influence both in Argentina and abroad. From the late 1960's onwards, Sosa began to emphasize her Indigenous heritage, both aesthetically (wearing a poncho, simple hairstyles, and no makeup on stage) and musically (with songs such as "Canción del derrumbe indio" and accompanying herself with the traditional bombo). This branding of herself helped Sosa branch out of her political bubble to more mainstream and conservative audiences, in both Buenos Aires and Europe, who ignored the political contents of her music. These cosmopolitan listeners were attracted by the "power of the primitive, folk cultures of the Americas", emphasizing her authenticity, sincerity and passion[12]. This interpretation of her music and persona helped her reach a broader audience, becoming especially well-known in France with the release of the Misa Criolla in 1964. It is only once she had been established as a unifying national figure in Argentina that she started to advocate for further Latin American unity, following the Nuevo Cancionero credo[13].

Sosa fought to stay in Argentina as long as possible under the military regime, but after being arrested at a concert, receiving death threats, and being censored to an extent which made it impossible for her to perform publicly, she resigned to go into exile[14]. This sentiment of defeat shone through in the music she released during her years in

Spain and France, the hopeful and utopic themes from her earlier music being replaced by ones of heartbreak, melancholy, and disorientation[15]. Although stylistically it was a time of transformation for Sosa's music, where her repertoire was forced to become more international[16], her songs were overwhelmingly still about Argentina, with titles betraying her homesickness ("Volveré siempre a San Juan", "Pampas del Sur", "Cuando me acuerdo de mi país"). By performing songs which addressed issues from home, Sosa spread awareness about the atrocities committed by the military junta on the old continent and was able to speak up in a way her compatriots who had stayed could not[17].

When she came back to Argentina, briefly in 1982 and permanently in 1984, now known as 'La Negra' (nickname meaning worker or poor), Sosa was welcomed as a source of national pride in Argentina. Producer Daniel Grinbank describes the palpable excitement of the public who greeted her with a five-minute-long standing ovation: "era una Mercedes enorme, frente a un pueblo que la había extrañado mucho". What started out as two shows with no advertising (because of obvious risks involved) ended as thirteen sold-out shows, because of word of mouth. The recording of one of the concerts, released as the album Mercedes Sosa en Argentina, sold hundreds of thousands of copies nationally[18].

After the end of the dictatorship, Sosa's political role shifted to the one of "a broadly popular figure able to bring together disparate communities in the name of building a socially just, democratic society"[19]. She expressed explicitly her belief that everyone, including her, was to participate in the maintaining of democracy[20]. In the following decades and in accordance with her human rights advocacy, she stood in opposition to neoliberal president Carlos Menem and in support of the social reforms of the Kirchner presidencies[21], but expressing worry about the power of oligarchies during Cristina Kirchner's tenure, confirming her image as being forever laced with politics, even in democratic times.

It is also in last decades of the 20th century that Sosa focused on extending her influence to broader Latin America and encouraging a continental solidarity which would erase borders, eventually becoming known as the "voz de América". She undertook more continental tours, collaborating with Chico Buarque, Milton Nascimiento, Pavarotti, Shakira, Joan Baez, or Sting, and many more artists from all corners of the continent. She became a mother figure to not only the young musicians she helped bring into the public eye, but to the Argentinian people as a whole. In newspapers, she was often compared to the Inca deity Pachamama, and musician Paz Martinez said he had "lost his mother again" attending her funeral[22].

Her decades of meaningful presence on the international scene were reflected by the homages paid to her following her death on October 4th, 2009. A day of national mourning was declared federally, extended to three days in her home province of Tucuman. Political and cultural leaders attended the ceremony at the Argentine House of Congress, among them the presidential couple, Diego Maradona, and the president of Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo. Additionally, there were several blocks of queue formed by Argentines who wanted to say their goodbyes to 'La Negra'. The Venezuelan, Brazilian, Chilean, Ecuadorean, and Bolivian governments expressed their condolences publicly and the event was covered in European, North and South American newspapers.

Sosa was only one of the many persecuted musicians in the era of military dictatorship in the Southern-most part of Latin America, which indicates popular culture was broadly used as a political weapon. Music, art, literature, or poetry have been important tools of political and social struggle throughout Latin America's history of oppression, distinguishing the continent as having a united identity and "soul".

Notes

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12. Karush, Musicians in Transit, p.158-160.
13. Spira, “The Case of Mercedes Sosa”, p.131.
14. Matria, “Mercedes, la comunista”.
15. Spira, “The Case of Mercedes Sosa”, p.134.
16. Rohter, “Mercedes Sosa: A Voice of Hope”.
17. Victor Heredia quoted in “Palabras que brotan el corazon”, Pagina /12, October 5th, 2009.
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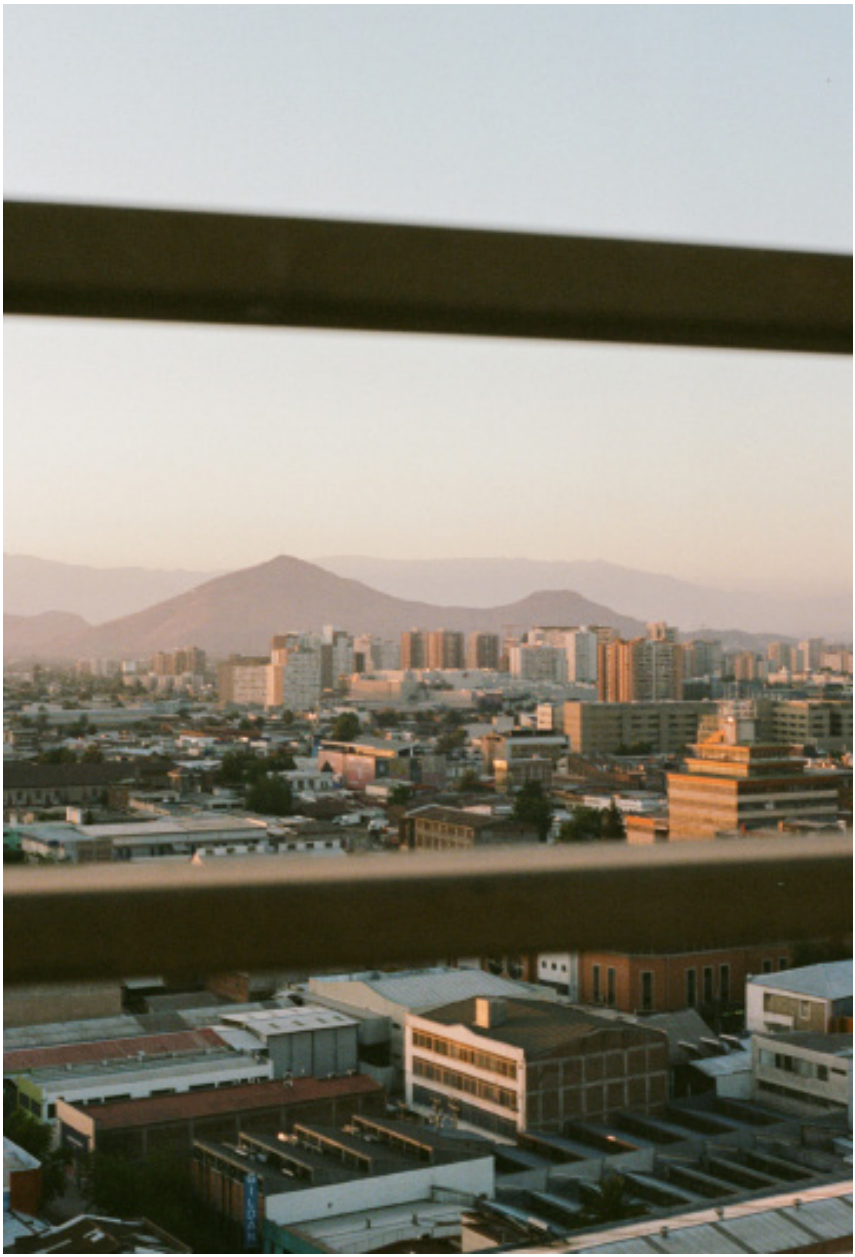

Santiago de Chile skyline | Charlie Hassett

Homemaking at Animitas: Confronting Trauma and Crossing Boundaries at the Edge of This World

Grace Farran

Is there something wrong? Is there something I should do? / WHAT DO YOU WANT! / You (whoever you are) ask me to dance with the dead. Your dead, my dead, all the dead / Lined up on these roads, and not only the ones marked here.
-Rebecca M. Kennerly, "Dancing with the Dead"

Introduction

Objects have distinct effects on different people. One's disposition is bound to determine one's interaction with the object, even if the object itself bears much affective power (Ahmed 2010). It is with this understanding of the interactions between people and objects that I approach roadside shrines that commemorate lives violently lost. Individuals unconnected to the place or unfamiliar with the dead memorialized there may still find themselves overcome with emotion when encountering a shrine. Robert Bednar describes these shrines as "powerfully affective to most, but in unpredictable, undetermined, and uncontained ways, and in different ways to different people" (Bednar 2013, 343). A particularly vivid memory of mine prompted my interest in the unpredictable affects these shrines create. About a decade ago, my aunt drove as I sat in the back seat of her car, staring out of the window at the Lebanese mountainscape. We passed a shrine to the Virgin Mary that was perched on the concrete barrier keeping the travelers on the winding road from the steep drop off of the mountain. The shrine was small, colorful, and adorned with fresh flowers. Next to it, a hole in the barrier indicated a fatal accident. My heart fell into my stomach and my chest tightened as I, for one moment, mourned the life, or lives, of those lost there. The municipality's inability to repair its infrastructure coupled with this manifestation of grief for loved ones created and sustained this memory of the unknown dead.

This brief encounter prompted my exploration of the affective qualities of roadside shrines and of the nature of people's relationships with them. I have never known the people whose shrines I encountered, and I have never encountered them for more than a few seconds on the roadside, but the just sight of them has affected me. To explore further this phenomenon, I go beyond the shrines that I have encountered in North America and the Mediterranean to study the roadside shrines of Chile, a country which I have never visited and to which I have no familial ties. Through literature on the subject, I seek to gain a better understanding of the affective powers of these roadside shrines and the sustained meaning they hold for their devotees.

Shrines marking violent death within Chile are known as *animitas*, directly translated as "little souls." Already, its name suggests it is more than the representation of a memory or the marking of an event. *Animitas*, in purpose and practice, are active agents in Chilean 'folk' Catholicism and are present throughout the country's land and cityscapes. Through the discussion of these little shrines which proliferate throughout the country, I explore their purposes and meanings to the families

of the deceased, as well as to the believers and devotees of *animitas*. In connecting the practices of construction and maintenance of, and devotion to, *animitas*, I determine them as sites of both homemaking and boundary crossing, both of which Thomas Tweed (2008) outlines in his definition of religion. These qualities indicate that these shrines are profoundly religious objects with the potential for a variety of purposes. Primarily, however, they are sites of trauma. When writing of them, I grant *animitas* the agency which their devotees afford them; the interactions between a devotee and an *animita* are just that, inter-actions. Each party's performance and state is contingent on the other's. The *animita*'s affective capabilities have great impacts on its devotees, while the *animita* depends on devotees for its physical state.

Chile's Little Souls

While one may find shrines memorializing the dead in much of the Christian world and beyond, *animitas* and their counterparts are set apart as products of syncretism between European Catholicism and Indigenous Andean cosmologies, specifically those of the Quechua, Aymara, and Mapuche. The form and nature of the shrines are said to be Catholic descendants of Andean apachetas, sacred rock piles where souls reside, able to grant or deny people's requests (Hermans 2010, 23). It is in this act of dwelling where *animitas* deviate from the institution of the Catholic Church. According to popular Chilean Catholic belief, an untimely, violent death disturbs the soul and traps it in this world. An *animita* serves to put it at ease, to give it a home. Alex Mellado Larraín eloquently describes violent death in Chilean popular Catholicism as such:

> [The soul] detaches itself from the body in a serene manner, freed from anguish, but when that does not occur and death is associated with pain, sorrow and distress become tied to the place of departure as long as the sins of the penitent soul remain unpurged, "the stranded soul rounds the site of the remains, wanders also around its blood, residues of its real and symbolic attachment to life. These cry out for justice and as involuntary offerings of expiation, they ask to be respected, appealing to natural shock in the face of the loss" (Lira 2009, as cited by Mellado Larraín 2020, 2).

Frequently constructed by family members of the deceased, *animitas* are often built to resemble houses, and they vary in style and material, dependent on the region and time period of its construction (Ojeda Ledesma 2011, 82).

Now that the soul is at rest, the *animita* serves as more than a reminder of the person who it inhabited, more than an assistance in mourning. The *animita* can grant favors to those who ask them of it. Known as muertos milagrosos, or the miraculous dead, *animitas* have the ability to grant favors to the living, perform miracles, and have the potential to reach folk saint status if particularly miraculous or popular (Ojeda Ledesma 2013, 49). Shrines with similar functions appear throughout Latin America under many different names depending on the region. Examples of regional names are capillitas, almas, and tumbitas (Ojeda Ledesma 2013, 49). Chile shares its colloquial word for them only with

neighboring Peru (Burchardt 2015, 2). Yet, Gonzalo Lautaro Ojeda Ledesma notes a particular attachment to *animitas* on the part of Chileans, a national capability to relate to them. The relationships between Chileans and *animitas* makes it so that, among the thousands to be found throughout the country, each animita is distinguishable from others (Ojeda Ledesma 2013, 55).

As such, these the miraculous dead have earned the special attention of their country's scholars (see, for example, Ojeda Ledesma, Benavente 2011, Salas Astrain 1992, and Mellado Larraín 2020) and have become subjects of national concern (Benavente 2011, 133). One can find roadside shrines throughout the country, whether along highways, in villages, or in cities. These shrines tend to be more concentrated in poorer areas and have devotees from marginalized communities. However, Ojeda Ledesma cautions that one cannot restrict the veneration of *animitas* to the poor. He attributes higher concentration in poor sectors not only to higher rates of violent death in these areas but also to low governmental presence. The greater governmental presence in wealthier areas often considers *animitas* superstitious visual and spatial disruptions, and therefore as entities to be regulated or removed (Ojeda Ledesma 2013, 53). However, I do not restrict Chilean folk Catholicism to the practices and beliefs of disenfranchised Chileans, but rather as a religiosity that permeates all sectors of society.

Animitas, while initially often cared for by the family or community of the deceased, can grow in popularity to accumulate a wider following and achieve folk saint status (Urrutia Steinert and Valenzuela Carvallo 2019). These *animitas* are particularly miraculous. While the *animita* takes on the role of the folk saint in a similar sense to other folk saints in Latin America, veneration of the miraculous dead never happens at the tomb, or wherever the body is placed. Rather, veneration of these souls takes place at the site of death, where the *animita* is constructed, and where the soul dwells. The body of the deceased is unimportant to the sainthood of *animitas*. The body is lifeless and useless, decayed, whereas the lingering soul is receptive. In addition, I did not come across documentation of shrines to *animitas*-turned-folk-saints existing apart from the *animitas* themselves. It is unlikely that devotees of La Niña Hermosa – a young girl who died in a motor crash and whose *animita* has accumulated thousands of offerings over the past two decades, often in the form of stuffed animals – have pictures or shrines of her in their homes, although they stop at her shrine on the side of the highway to leave her offerings (Urrutia Steinert and Valenzuela Carvallo 2019, 458). But it is the manner of death that makes the soul of the deceased miraculous, as previously described. The unjust and violent deaths of these people render them innocent (Ojeda Ledesma 2013, 53), and therefore eternally pure.

The Animita as a Traumascape

One builds an *animita* for the soul which lingers at the site, but also because of the trauma that the violent incident caused for the soul and for the family of the deceased. Borrowing the term 'traumascape' from Catherine Ann Collins and Alexandra Opie, who cite Maria Turmarkin in their discussion of roadside shrines in the United States, I apply it to

animitas. They define a 'traumascape' as a place which conjures up the agony and violence – the trauma – of the event which took place at that site (Collins and Opie 2010, 109). As roadside shrines are constructed only in the case of death of the victim, Collins and Opie claim that the traumascapes of such sites serve not to evoke the suffering of the victims, but of victims' loved ones, and to allow them to work through the trauma of the victims' violent deaths. These scholars claim that, for people who loved the victim, "time seems to replay itself and the experiences of loss are continually re-experienced" at the roadside shrine (Collins and Opie 2010, 110). Presence at this site causes confrontation with events of the past. Applied to the Chilean context, this definition of traumascape lacks in scope. First, it is not only the place which has agency, as Collins and Opie suggest. The structure of the *animita* itself and the soul that dwells inside of it have agency and affect the soul's loved ones. Second, when speaking of *animitas*, one cannot limit their overwhelming effects on friends and family. The assertion of the authors that to a stranger of the victim, such a shrine, "is not a traumascape; it is a largely empty, albeit acknowledged, memorial site" (Collins and Opie 2010, 111) is false in many instances. One must expand the definition of trauma and of traumascapes to include *animitas*, which undoubtedly are objects that force the confrontation of past pain and suffering.

The *animita* is situated in place and in memory and serves both the living and the dead, yet its potential to grant favors indicates that it is malleable as an actor. Antonia Benavente notes that to most, *animitas* tend to be anonymous, perhaps not always in name, but often in biography. Benavente writes, "in the way that its figure is imperceptible for the majority of people, its history is forgotten and its memory given to locals and relatives, devotees of a space that has been created to be sacred and to remain so, to the extent that it is others who give meaning to the place" (Benavente 2011, 132; my translation). An *animita*'s individuality, marked by its structure and the objects, images, and photographs leaning against it, is notable, but does not indicate general knowledge or care for the deceased's true story. The true story of the *animita* may be preserved in some instances better than others, but it is not the truth that preserves and takes care of an *animita*. Rather, it is the meaning and stories endowed to it, as well as its miracles, that allow the site to remain sacred. As Ricardo Salas Astrain argues, the *animita* is a "mysterious victim" whose impact on its followers varies greatly (Salas Astrain 1992, 85; my translation). Those souls which are miraculous enough to become folk saints are preserved and cared for by those who Benavente calls the "anonymous faithful" (Benavente 2011, 133; my translation). The *animita* serves its anonymous faithful through granted favors, and the anonymous faithful serve their *animita* through maintenance, care, and offerings. Indeed, its preservation is dependent on the care it receives at the hands of the living.

I argue that the *animita* serves as a proxy traumascape for its anonymous faithful. Granting the anonymous faithful the power to maintain an *animita* well, as well as endowing them with a disposition to be affected by the *animita*, allows for the inclusion of the sites of 'mysterious' *animitas* within the definition of traumascapes. Pairing together the 'anonymous faithful' and the concept of 'traumascapes,'

animitas intrinsically have the power to grant favors, perform miracles, and mediate between a devotee and God. The anonymity which is often an aspect of both sides of these relationships allows for varied experiences and diverse devotees. The *animita* is malleable to the needs of its devotees, who return its favors with thanks, gifts, and attention (Graziano 2016).

The pairing of these two concepts leads to questions of what brings people to *animitas*. It is here where trauma, not necessarily related to the *animita* itself, plays a significant role. As mentioned, one more commonly finds *animitas* in poor areas as opposed to relatively wealthy ones (Ojeda Ledesma 2013, 53). Salas Astrain takes the *animita* and analyzes its popularity in such sectors of society. The profound inhumanity of public, violent deaths of innocents necessitates a memorialization apart from the out-of-sight burial in a cemetery (Salas Astrain 1992, 184). Therefore, the sainthood that can develop after death, according to him, is unique in its symbolism and its effect on devotees. He describes it poignantly as such:

> The symbolism of the dead, which remembers a certain sector of society, cannot be identified solely with a sense of new life which is more fraternal and hopeful than this one. The symbolism is also a sign and certainty that such violence does not end there. As such, the tragic death is the expression of a society that does not allow for escape…The only thing that matters is the power the animita has to endure and to compensate, symbolically and ritually, for the life of the devotee, in a world marked by violence (Salas Astrain 1992, 189-190; my translation).

Salas Astrain paints a bleak picture of the conditions needed for an *animita* to receive good care and to accrue numerous devotees. To lean on the innocent victims of violent deaths for a reprieve is to cope with the devotees' world which is "marked by violence" (Salas Astrain 1992, 190). Coloring this world as inescapable marks individuals within it as destined for tragedy, in the same vein as the victims commemorated on the roadsides. The *animita* as an agent used for coping, healing, or protection indicates that it can evoke traumatic memories for people who are unaware of what precise tragedy occurred at the site and do not know the deceased. To attempt to heal from trauma is to confront it. While the devotee does not know the story of the dwelling soul and the site of its death is not the site of the devotee's trauma, the shrine allows for the devotee to confront his or her own trauma, evoked by the violent death of a mysterious innocent. Thus, the *animita* is a traumascape, which holds distinct meanings for each devotee. There is no limit, then, to the amount of trauma which may be confronted at each site.

The Animita as Religious

Scholars describe *animitas* as disruptions to the landscape and as private memorials which occupy public land (Mellado Larraín 2020; Urrutia Steinert and Valenzuela Carvallo 2019). Acknowledging the disruption, shock, and curiosity that roadside shrines can cause in an observer, I argue that this interruption to the coherent landscape contributes to

the *animita'*s role as a religious object and that the animita itself fits well into the definition of religion, and by extension the religious, proposed by Thomas Tweed. He offers this definition: "Religions are confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and suprahuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries" (Tweed 2008, 54). With two short sentences, Tweed attempts to encompass the entirety of religion anywhere, to include all of the exceptions and take into account all of the criticisms that have been thrown at the term. I adopt aspects of this definition to demonstrate the breadth of *animitas*' functions and affects. Tweed argues that the religious can facilitate dwelling and crossing; that is, that there are static and kinetic aspects to religion (Tweed 2008, 73). The *animita* is an object of "suprahuman" force within the Chilean Catholic tradition that embodies the religious.

First, I address the *animita* as a dwelling. This aspect of the *animita* is perhaps most concretely linked to Tweed's discussion of religion. He writes that through religion, homemaking occurs (Tweed 2008, 82). Homemaking happens for two parties in the case of an *animita*. First, the people who construct the *animita* give the restless soul a home. The structure settles the soul and attaches it to the site where it departed from the body. The other party who makes a home at the site is the loved one, or the devotee. The loved one can return to this permanent structure for comfort, for mourning, or for prayer. But this dwelling, while seemingly permanent, is contingent on the devotee's maintenance of the site (Benavente 2011, 135). If neglected, it deteriorates. The constant potential of decay is a key aspect to Tweed's use of the word 'dwelling.' It suggests an impermanence. The dwelling is temporary, always with the potential for movement(Tweed 2008, 58).

Crossing, Tweed's opposing criterion for the religious, occurs constantly at *animitas* when devotees are present. Movement happens through the mediation of the *animita* and within the individual state of the devotee. Tweed's concepts of transforming and transporting traditions describe the crossings that occur at *animitas*. The former concept "imagine[s] the ultimate horizon as a personal or social limit" and "religious crossing as a change in condition," whereas the latter concept "imagine[s] that horizon as a boundary between this world and the next" (Tweed 2008, 152). At the site of the *animita*, both transformation and transportation occur in the same place. Personal religious transformations occur through the petitioning of the soul that dwells in the *animita*. The favors asked of it, no matter how mundane, have the potential to transform lives when granted. Favors asked may be understood as this "horizon" that is attainable most realistically with miraculous assistance. The transportation occurs precisely through the mediation of the *animita*. The nature of the deceased's death and its position afford it a power over the lives of its devotees. The victim of public violence dwells neither with the people of this world, nor with the more fortunate souls granted access to the next one by the nature of their 'natural' deaths. The *animita*, then, marks "the boundary between this world and the next" (Tweed 2008, 152). It lingers in liminality. Here I introduce aspects of Victor Turner's communitas, as Turner notes the peculiarity of liminal states, and references the "permanent" liminality found in Christianity (Turner and Abrahams 1995, 109). The permanent liminality of the *animita*, its position on the edge of this

world, is the site of transformation and transportation, with an equalizing power among its devotees.

However, the most glaring aspect of Tweed's definition which relates to the roadside shrine is the confrontation of suffering. The profundity of grief and hardships addressed at these sites is personal for the devotee. It is here where the affective powers of the *animita* are the most intense. The confrontation of trauma through the building of and attendance to the *animita* facilitates healing and copes with pain. As one may find these structures throughout the country, their ubiquity presents opportunity for the confrontation of personal suffering for anyone who crossed paths with the *animita* whose affective power is moving enough to make him or her stop and have a meaningful encounter with the deceased. As Salas Astrain writes about the *animita*, "we do not go to it, we find it" (Salas Astrain 1992, 184; my translation). The meeting of a devotee and an *animita*, or of a passerby and an animita, is an encounter with the potential to confront the individual's greatest suffering and personal trauma.

Tweed's description of religion as, "organic-cultural flows" is the final aspect of his definition of religion that I address. One can understand *animitas* precisely as these flows. While they may disrupt the eye and the heart, and while they may stray from the teachings of institutional Catholicism, they are indeed organic-cultural flows. The building of homes and the veneration of souls which were violently ripped from their bodies is an organic - that is, unforced - reaction to what we often think of as inorganic (i.e. cruel, inhuman) realities of both the death which occurred at the site of the *animita* and of the lives of those who devote themselves to the soul (Salas Astrain 1992). While the *animita* may provide a source of personal stability for the individual or the family of the individual devotee, the memorialization of the dead through *animitas* and the handling of trauma through its veneration is collective in the sense that it is a cultural approach to coping and to memory. As Macarena Gómez-Barris writes, "culture and memory are both terrains where meaning is constantly under negotiation, and it is through culture that shared meaning of memory is given salience" (Gómez-Barris 2008, 4). The memories and experiences addressed at the *animita* vary from person to person, but there is a shared cultural sensibility among the Chileans who meaningfully engage with these little souls that endows them with the value they have throughout the country.

Conclusion

The *animita* occupies a uniquely strange place among the people in the realm of the religious. It truly dwells on the edge of this world. Disposed to help, or not to help, the people stuck in this world for now, the animita is itself stuck at the site of death. A home is made so that the wandering, traumatized soul of the dead is comforted, and so that soul can comfort the living. Crossings between this world and the next are granted, and transformations on earth facilitated. The anonymity of the animita makes its affect no less impactful. As Rebecca Kennerly remarks, "Roadside shrines call attention to themselves, insisting on performative engagement with them from those who mourn, those who are dead, those of us who pass by, and those who would have them removed"

(Kennerly 2002, 252). *Animitas*' insistence on engagement leads to changes in their devotees' lives. The dispositions of each party allow for relationships to develop, all marred by violent pasts within imperfect worlds. But, to quote Tweed yet again, "religions are about enhancing wonder as much as wondering about evil" (Tweed 2008, 72). The *animita* elicits mourning and sadness while comforting those who attend to it. Its effects on passersby are unpredictable and powerful; it indeed enhances wonder while it is inseparable from the evil and injustice which trapped it on earth.

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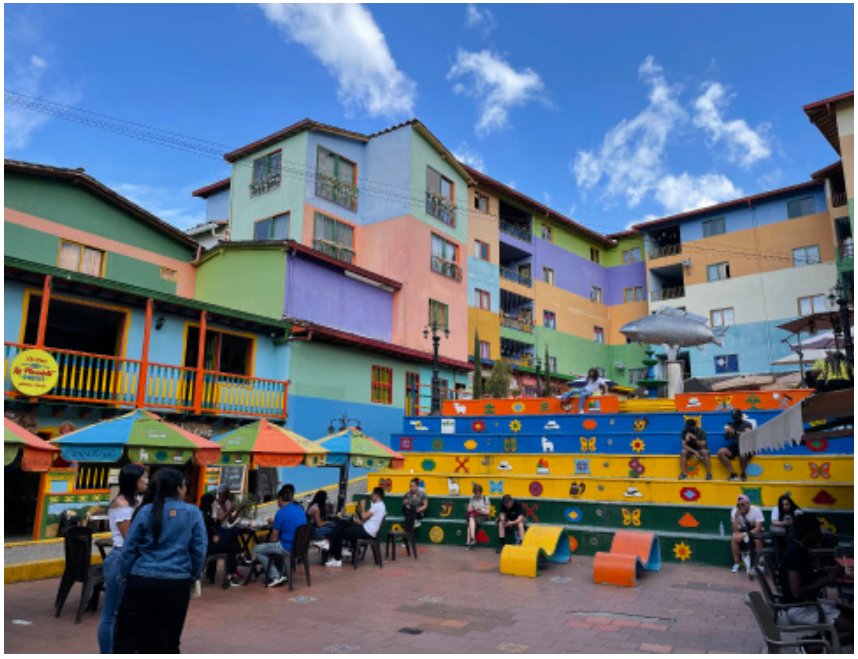

Guatapé | Juan Arévalo

Gabriel García Márquez: El Periodista y el Hombre

Juliana Castañeda

Gabriel García Márquez es uno de los colombianos más reconocidos en el exterior y uno de los escritores más relevantes en la literatura universal. Su fama mundial se debe principalmente a su novela Cien Años de Soledad, pero hay muchas facetas de García Márquez que son menos conocidos por el público general. Por ejemplo, su amor por el cine que lo llevó a escribir y producir guiones originales y adaptaciones, su obra de teatro de 1988 llamada Diatriba de amor contra un hombre sentado, y su ocupación vitalicia de periodista (Martin, 143). Más allá de la magia y el realismo que contiene la obra principal del Permio Nobel colombiano y que cautiva a miles de personas alrededor del mundo, una lectura de todos los textos que escribió en sus más de cincuenta años de carrera como escritor confirmarían la versatilidad y talento que le permitieron crear obras con toques modernistas, neorrealistas, costumbristas, mágicos, periodísticos, teatrales, humorísticos, románticos y políticos. Verdaderamente García Márquez fue un hombre como pocos en Latinoamérica que pudo dominar los géneros de novela, cuento y periodismo (Martin, 144). Por lo tanto, el presente texto busca convencer al lector de que la producción periodística de García Márquez merece ser valorada tanto como su ficción, teniendo en cuenta que el propio autor no hace una separación clara entre ambos puesto que se retroalimentan mutuamente. Después de una contextualización biográfica de García Márquez, se hace una reconstrucción de su estilo artístico usando como marco de referencia los textos agrupados en la antología El Escándalo del Siglo (2018) para resaltar el humor, la cultura popular, la fantasía/realidad, la política y la academia como ejes temáticos centrales de su producción periodística.

Nacido en la región Caribe de Colombia, García Márquez vivió en diferentes ciudades del país y del mundo durante su vida. En casi todas sus paradas se permitió escribir tanto ficción como no-ficción, pues uno de sus primeros acercamientos al arte y la labor de la escritura fue a través del periodismo y el reportaje. A lo largo de su carrera trabajaría para varios periódicos como El Heraldo, El Universal, El País, El Espectador y Prensa Latina, entre otros. Según él mismo afirmó en una entrevista, nunca dejó de ser periodista (citado por Bell-Villada, 267). En varias de sus obras narrativas hizo uso de sus conocimientos investigativos para crear novelas con reconstrucción periodística en la que "[he] stresses entertainment rather than information. Using exact times and many details of the actual events, the author creates a story that holds the interest of the reader well beyond the gathering of data" (McNerney, 137). Ejemplo de ello son Relato de un Náufrago (1970), Crónica de una Muerte Anunciada (1981) La aventura de Miguel Littín clandestino en Chile (1986), Noticia de un Secuestro (1996) y El General en su Laberinto (1990).

Gabo era un estudiante en la Universidad Nacional poco motivado con sus estudios de Derecho y con su estadía en Bogotá cuando, sin pretensiones artísticas o literarias, leyó en el periódico El Espectador algo que lo motivaría desde entonces y por el resto de su vida.

El escritor Eduardo Zalamea Borda publicó un texto afirmando que Colombia nunca había sido productora de cuentos cortos y que le gustaría ver una nueva generación que sobresaliera en el género. En respuesta a este reto, García Márquez escribiría sus primeros cuentos cortos en 1947. Con solo dieciocho años, el futuro premio Nobel tuvo dos cuentos publicados en uno de los periódicos más importantes del país en cuestión de semanas: La Tercera Resignación y La Otra Costilla de la Muerte (Martin, 12). A partir de allí y hasta 1955, Gabo publicaría en El Espectador los cuentos que componen su libro Ojos de Perro Azul (1972).

Ahí empezó también su acercamiento al periodismo. En 1948 dejó Bogotá para instalarse en Cartagena y empezó a trabajar en el periódico El Universal. Allí y en otros trabajos que tendrá a lo largo de su vida desarrolló los diferentes géneros y estilos particulares de su periodismo, desde crónicas hasta reportajes investigativos, desde comentarios políticos hasta reseñas cinematográficas. Más adelante, en El Heraldo de Barranquilla, escribiría 450 artículos, todos competentes, lucidos, confidentes, humorísticos y autoritativos; en general eufóricos y celebratorios (Martin, 20). Al respecto de estos primeros textos, Bell-Villada afirma que "he had gotten off to an auspicious start, for the personal column is a genre of which he would produce thousands of specimens over the years and excel in masterfully throughout his life as a writer" (47). Por ello es fascinante que uno de los mejores novelistas latinoamericanos sea también uno de los más destacados periodistas de la región (Martin, 16).

Además de sus muchos roles periodísticos en diferentes publicaciones alrededor del mundo, García Márquez también puede alardear de habar dirigido y fundado en 1951 el periódico más pequeño del mundo: Comprimido. "El disparate, sin embargo, fue total. La originalidad no era sólo el tamaño del periódico (24 pulgadas) que podía caber en un bolsillo y tenía, según dos lectores, su oficina en una caja de fósforos, también estaba en los títulos cortantes y burlescos de los temas (una vez más, la herencia zabaliana), en el enfoque comprimido y lapidario de los temas, mayores o menores, y sobre todo, en el profuso e inagotable humor de su director de 24 años" (García Usta, 60). El mismo Zabala escribió en El Universal sobre Comprimido: "Estará al margen de las actividades políticas y su finalidad es, de manera exclusiva, facilitar a la opinión pública una información rápida de los acontecimientos del día, en forma amena y sencilla … sus redactores se han propuesto hacer con él un novedoso tipo de periodismo, en el que las noticias tendrán la brevedad y la elocuencia de una píldora cargada de la más interesante actualidad" (citado por García Usta, 61).

Esa es apenas una de las muestras tempranas que el escritor colombiano dio de su genialidad y creatividad. Así como de su "keen interest in getting at a truth beyond bare-boned facts, which can, of course, be used to misrepresent the truth in a larger context" (McNerney, 132). Sus obras periodísticas y de ficción también demuestran ese "healthy skepticism of too much dependence on rationality" que lo hacía hostil hacia interpretaciones extremadamente racionales del mundo (McNerney, 134). Nadie podría decirlo mejor que él mismo cuando reveló en una columna de 1982 que su "primer propósito con estas notas

es que cada semana le enseñe algo a los lectores comunes y corrientes que son los que me interesan, aunque esas enseñanzas les parezcan obvias y tal vez pueriles a los sabios doctores que todo lo saben" (319). Allí también confiesa que el ejercicio de escribir semanalmente textos para periódicos y revistas es una actividad que ayudaba a no dejar de escribir entre novela y novela. "Más tarde, esa decisión artesanal se convirtió en un compromiso con los lectores, y hoy es un laberinto de espejos del cual no consigo salir" (319).

En 2018 se publicó una antología de sus textos en prensa y revistas de 1950 a 1984 editado por Cristóbal Pera bajo el título de El Escándalo del Siglo. Allí queda en evidencia la experiencia adquirida a lo largo de tantos años con su trabajo en diversos lugares del mundo para producir textos narrativos, de periodismo y de opinión, además de ficción. Estas columnas nos permiten reconstruir a Gabo, no solamente como un escritor, sino también como una persona comprometida a exaltar con humor e ingenio la cultura popular y lo fascinante de la realidad, a la par de cuestionar la política y la academia.

Desde los primeros textos que escribió el joven García Márquez queda en evidencia el talento particular que impresionó a muchos de los periodistas y escritores establecidos de la época. Ya en 1949 hubo alguien en un periódico local que le dedicó la nota del 30 de marzo para referirse a él como "el primer cuentista nacional" y anunciar que escribía "con ejemplar tenacidad, una novela de poderosa e inquietante respiración" (citado por García Usta, 30). Aunque García Márquez enfatizaba más la herencia que le quedó en forma de disciplina y práctica al escribir regularmente (Bell-Villada, 64), su trabajo como periodista también le ayudó a estar próximo a la realidad cotidiana de Colombia y a escribir claramente con una prosa accesible para el lector promedio, lo que le sería muy útil luego como narrador de ficción.

Bell-Villada afirma que "García Márquez is the poet of plebeian and street life. It is the world that he claims to know best and to deliberately have cultivated, and in truth few novelists can match the understanding, eloquence, and dignity he brings to his depictions of smugglers, street performers, prostitutes, cockfight gatherings, and other extra-official "people's" subjects" (64). Aun así, probablemente lo que más destaca la gente del escritor colombiano es su habilidad para narrar la magia que se mezcla con lo cotidiano. Aunque debe entenderse que a pesar de lo increíble que puedan parecer las historias de García Márquez, "no hay una sola línea en ninguno de [sus] libros que no tenga su origen en un hecho real" (García Márquez, 284). La verdadera magia garciamarqueana es, por tanto, su capacidad de asombro ante la realidad. Precisamente ese es uno de los principios estéticos que une su producción periodística con la novelística.

Esa mirada curiosa que fácilmente se traduce en deslumbramiento viene de su abuela y la manera en que ella contaba historias fascinantes como si fuera parte de lo ordinario. Qué sorpresa se llevó Gabo cuando leyó La Metamorfosis y descubrió el estilo kafkiano de narrar una transformación extraordinaria como algo mundano, "when I read that I said to myself, 'Holy shit! Nobody'd ever told me you could do this! So it can be done! Shit! That's how my grandma used to tell stories, the wildest things with a completely natural tone of voice" (citado por Bell-Villada, 72).

Más adelante, este enfoque sería reforzado por la mentoría del periodista Clemente Manuel Zabala en El Universal. Jorge García Usta cuenta que García Márquez heredó, y luego combinó con otras influencias literarias y periodísticas, la capacidad de Zabala "para acercarse al mundo con un humor singular, mediante el cual se observa el mundo como una sucesión de sorpresas o disparates, como un planeta habitado por seres extraños y excéntricos" (134).

Gabo afirmó que "un problema muy serio que nuestra realidad desmesurada plantea a la literatura es el de la insuficiencia de las palabras" (282) en una columna de 1981 para El País. Procede a explicar cómo el uso de una palabra aparentemente descriptiva puede transmitir ideas de dimensiones diferentes a los lectores latinoamericanos y europeos. Uno de los ejemplos que utiliza es el uso de la palabra rio que para los nativos del viejo continente no puede producir una imagen mental mayor que la del Danubio (que tiene 2790 km), mientras que a los suramericanos recuerda al Amazonas (que tiene casi el doble de longitud y en un punto es más ancho que el mar Báltico). Su conclusión de que "sería necesario crear todo un sistema de palabras nuevas para el tamaño de nuestra realidad" (282), apoyada por el comentario de que siente una "frustración de que nunca se me ha ocurrido nada ni he podido hacer nada que sea más asombroso que la realidad" (284) es algo que ya había planteado veintisiete años antes, cuando aún no era un fenómeno literario.

En una columna de 1954 para El Espectador, haciendo referencia a la noticia de un brutal asesinato, comenta que dicha historia verdadera sería fácilmente condenada por críticos literarios "por su exageración y por no parecerse a la vida" (61), pero dado que es factual "no les quedará otro remedio que condenar a la vida por su pobre imaginación y su excesiva adicción a los convencionalismos" (61). Su comentario final de que "convendría recomendar un poco de discreción a la vida real" (62) suena como un preludio para su discurso de aceptación del premio Nobel en 1983. Allí, dirigiéndose al público europeo, intenta explicar las diferentes escalas con que se puede medir la realidad (McNerney, 155) y aprovecha para hacer un cuestionamiento político sobre cómo Europa se ha relacionado con América Latina con relación a la literatura y el control social: "¿Por qué la originalidad que se nos admite sin reservas en la literatura se nos niega con toda clase de suspicacias en nuestras tentativas tan difíciles de cambio social?"

Las posiciones políticas de Gabriel García Márquez eran ampliamente conocidas aunque él no fuera un militante consagrado ni un crítico explícitamente dedicado. Sus textos suelen contener comentarios y referencias políticas y es verdad que en varias ocasiones fue mediador de disputas por su conexión y amistad con lideres de la región. Sin ser un escritor apolítico, García Márquez nunca dejó que sus textos o su figura se redujeran a una ideología o a ciertos intereses. El éxito de Cien Años de Soledad le permitió darse el lujo de hacer con más frecuencia "periodismo de abogacía" para reportar las últimas luchas del presidente Allende en Chile, la liberación de Angola, la situación de postguerra en Vietnam, o las acciones de los sandinistas en Nicaragua, con percepción narrativa, prosa elocuente e ingenio caribeño sin miedo a ser despedido (Bell-Villada, 58).

Muy al pesar de otros militantes más comprometidos con la izquierda política en América Latina, Gabo tenía otra visión sobre lo que sería su acto revolucionario: "Personalmente creo que el escritor, como tal, no tiene otra obligación revolucionaria que la de escribir bien. Su inconformidad, bajo cualquier régimen, es una condición esencial que no tiene remedio, porque un escritor conformista muy probablemente es un bandido, y con seguridad es un mal escritor" (202).

Al respecto, Gerald Martin lee la obra y la posición del nobel colombiano de la siguiente manera: "If you wrote with truth – your truth, what you felt, and the world's truth, what you saw – and applied your literary talent with every ounce of tenacity and commitment you could muster, the result would be the only justification you would need" (147). Esto no significa que a Gabo no le interesara la política, comentar sobre ella o analizarla. Al contrario, el tema está latente en todas sus obras y se puede decir que su curiosidad al respecto tiene la raíz en la lectura de Oedipus Rex. Su reflexión sobre "la obra que más le enseñó sobre lo que es el poder" resalta el fenómeno de los delitos impunes y las arbitrariedades en las más altas esferas de una nación como una enfermedad que se extenderá por todo el cuerpo social y que representará magistralmente en El Otoño del Patriarca (1975) (Bell-Villada, 74). No obstante, Gabo logró escribir libros que no se limitan por su política extraliteraria (Martin, 147) y dominó el arte de hacer periodismo y publicar columnas de opinión que fueran más allá de la pesadez política para entregarle a sus lectores atractivas piezas reflexivas con humor y autenticidad.

En cambio, sus esfuerzos creativos como periodista estuvieron dirigidos a temáticas más cercanas a la cultura popular y alejadas -críticas, incluso- de lo académico. Sus primeros textos como periodista en mayo de 1948 tratan de lo que presenciaba a su alrededor. El primer artículo hace referencia a la situación política de la época en Colombia, que estaba bajo estado de sitio, e implícitamente critica a la case dirigente. El segundo artículo menciona la música popular llamada Vallenato que tanto le gustaba y se excusa sarcásticamente con quienes la desprecian por sobrevalorar la "alta cultura" (Martin, 19). En palabras de Bell-Villada, su obra está llena de "pop-cultural phenomena he recurrently celebrates at the expense of the frock-coat and top-hat set, the solemn academicians and stuffy priests who look down upon African-based music, the upper-class ladies who on occasion even condemn it as the work of Satan himself" (65).

A la par que celebraba la cultura popular, siendo displicente con quienes rígidamente pretendían separarla de la alta cultura, Gabo se mostraba sospechoso de la academia y rechazaba las tendencias extremadamente racionalistas. Hablando acerca de lo que es la literatura y de cómo conseguir dominar ese arte afirmó: "Actually literature is a science one has to learn, and there are 10,000 years standing behind every short story that gets written. And to know literature you need modesty and humility … Ultimately you learn literature not in the university but from reading and rereading other writers" (Bell-Villada, 71).

En una columna de 1981 para El País se burla de ciertas formas de enseñar literatura en las que se quiere analizar en exceso aquello que los autores han escrito de forma sencilla y directa.

Usando ejemplos de personas conocidas y anécdotas que le han contado, Gabo cuenta cómo han querido buscar significados inexistentes en la subida al cielo de Remedios la Bella, en la tipografía usada para la portada de Cien Años de Soledad, en el símbolo del gallo en El Coronel no Tiene Quien le Escriba, e incluso en la estructura de El Otoño del Patriarca. Así se burla de un "sistema de enseñanza que induce a decir tonterías," impulsado por "el racionalismo oscurantista que nos inculcaron los malos profesores de literatura" y afirma que esa "manía interpretativa termina por ser a la larga una nueva forma de ficción que a veces encalla en el disparate" (267-8).

Un año antes había publicado en el mismo periódico una columna llamada "El fantasma del Premio Nobel" en la que cuestiona dicho galardón y a quienes tienen el poder de conferirlo. Primero introduce su deseo de que por fin sea premiado el argentino Jorge Luis Borges y luego procede a revelarle a los lectores las falencias que tiene el sistema alrededor del galardón. Con el rigor adquirido por su ocupación de periodista define tres secretos que hacen controvertible a la Academia Sueca, que es la encargada de conceder el Premio Nobel de Literatura. El primero es cómo se ponen de acuerdo los dieciocho miembros de la Academia, "nadie como ellos se parece tanto a la muerte", para escoger al ganador. Esto, además, teniendo en cuenta que en ese entonces sólo había una mujer en el comité y sólo un miembro era capaz de leer en castellano. El segundo secreto se refiere a la manera en que se consiguen los dividendos del capital original dado por Alfred Nobel: "dicen las malas lenguas que el capital está invertido en las minas de oro de África del Sur y que, por consiguiente, el Premio Nobel vive de la sangre de los esclavos negros" (243). Por último presenta el enigma sobre el criterio político que mueve a la Academia y que los ha puesto en la mira al tener que lidiar con las posturas políticas de Hitler, Churchill y dirigentes de la Unión Soviética. Este es apenas un ejemplo de la habilidad con que García Márquez mostraba su criterio y sus convicciones, siempre mezclándolo con sus habilidades narrativas y periodísticas que hacían resaltar su sentido del humor.

Nuevamente gracias a la influencia del periodista costeño Zabala, García Márquez adopta una postura relajada y humorística en sus columnas que no son ajenas a la ironía y el sarcasmo. García Usta describe al liberal Zabala como un escritor que imprimió su rigor, pasión y humor en sus textos sobre los personajes, las medidas y las ideas del conservatismo. "Sus notas sobre Laureano Gómez y otros dirigentes conservadores hacen parte del mejor periodismo político de este siglo. Y desde luego, su sentido de la burla política alcanza al propio lenguaje de la prensa conservadora" (20). De manera similar, Bell-Villada se refiere a García Márquez así: "His kind of writing — with its outrageous humor and endless irony that grow from a solid and well-rooted commonsense folk wisdom and political radicalism — seems to have emerged as a means of reaching out and becoming part of his community, and obviously he has achieved that worthy aim" (69). Este humor y compromiso con presentar un tema de manera entretenida se puede ver tanto en los personajes de sus obras de ficción y las situaciones que les suceden,

como en sus comentarios propios en las columnas de opinión que suelen contener ironía y greguerías.

Según Ramón Ayala Miró, "la greguería viene a ser una asociación de ideas que unas veces nos hace pensar en la metáfora y otras en el concepto" (citado por García Usta, 145). "En ocasiones se acerca a la imagen lírica, pero lo más frecuente es la cabriola irónica, la observación irracional o caprichosa, la divertida y sutil ocurrencia provocada por cualquier detalle insignificante, ya que como dice Ramón 'las cosas pequeñas tienen valor de cosas grandes y merecen la fijeza del escritor'" (ibid.). García Usta clasifica de manera general la manera recurrente en que García Márquez recurre a las greguerías: asociación humorística, descripción plástica arbitraria, referencia cultural arbitraria, descripción ingeniosa, metáfora innovadora, o símil inesperado. Algunos ejemplos contenidos en El Escándalo del Siglo son:

> "Considérese la situación de los pobres platillos voladores, a quienes, como a los fantasmas, la humanidad les falta al respeto sin ninguna consideración por su elevada categoría de elemento interplanetario." -Tema para un tema, El Heraldo, 1950.
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> "Dos que se casan estando la vida tan cara y el clima tan caliente. La hija del general Franco se casa con un caballero que será nada menos que «yernísimo» del dictador." - Tema para un tema, El Heraldo, 1950.
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> "La noticia no ha merecido -al cambio actual del peso periodístico- más de dos columnas en la página de las columnas departamentales." -Literaturismo, El Espectador, 1954.
>
> "Esto parecerá todavía más injusto cuando se piense que los mejores escritores son los que suelen escribir menos y fumar más, y es por tanto normal que necesiten por lo menos dos años y veintinueve mil doscientos cigarrillos para escribir un libro de doscientas páginas. Lo que quiere decir en buena aritmética que nada más en lo que se fuman se gustan una sima superior a la que van a recibir por el libro." -Desventuras de un escritor de libros, El Espectador, 1966.
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> "La Academia Sueca, que nunca ha hecho una aclaración pública ni respondido a ningún agravio, podría defenderse con el argumento de que no es ella, sino el Banco de Suecia, quien administra la plata. Y los bancos, como su nombre lo indica, no tienen corazón." -El fantasma del Premio Nobel, El País, 1980.
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> "Lo maravilloso no es que los fríjoles se muevan porque tengan una larva dentro, sino que tengan una larva dentro para que puedan moverse." -Algo más sobre literatura y realidad, El País, 1981.

En conclusion, Gabriel García Márquez es una figura reconocida universalmente por su literatura de ficción, y sin embargo su genio artístico también alcanza con creces el área del periodismo. A través de todos los textos de no-ficción que escribió en su larga carrera para periódicos y revistas alrededor del mundo se puede leer su personalidad y sus convicciones sobre temas como política, academia, realidad, fantasía, humor y cultura popular. Adicionalmente, su experiencia en periodismo alimentó sus habilidades narrativas y fue esencial en su formación como escritor. La combinación entre su formación periodística y su talento de narrador lo llevaron a convertirse en uno de los hombres más importantes para las letras universales. En otras palabras, "García Márquez's works are read as fiction, but his sources are factual. The absurd and inexplicable events of his short stories and novels are ironic representations of the absurdity of life" (Pelayo, 22). Por ende, la verdadera magia de García Márquez es encontrar lo fascinante en lo ordinario y transmitirlo claramente, con su característica elocuencia y humor.

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