

# Aspirational politics? Exploring repercussions of emerging middle classes in Latin America

16.-18.05.2019

Senatssaal & Kleine Aula,, Hauptgebäude LMU München, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz, 80539 München  
Convenors: Eveline Dürr, Raúl Acosta García

## Abstracts

### Keynotes:

**Sian Lazar (Cambridge University)**

#### **What does middle class social protest look like in Argentina today?**

Buenos Aires has a long tradition of powerful mass demonstrations, associated with a wide spectrum of society from workers to elites. In this talk I will trace ethnographically some of the ways that older traditions of worker protest interact (or contrast) with more 'middle class' street demonstrations and comment on how this shapes contemporary politics. To do this, I need to explore what 'la clase media' itself might look like in the city, how identifying people as middle class is highly contested, and what the middle classes' relationship is to the current government. I will then draw on this case study to briefly comment on comparisons and contrasts with similar processes in other countries of the region.

**Ricardo López-Pedrerros (Western Washington University)**

#### **A Class that Does (not) Matter: Rethinking Cold War Latin America from the Middle**

The last decade has seen the publication of important edited volumes or special issues in journals from different disciplines on the formation of the middle classes across the world. (Julian Go, 2010; López-Pedrerros and Weinstein, 2012; Rachel Heiman, Carla Freeman, and Mark Liechty, 2012; Parker and Walker, 2013; Adamovsky, Visacovsky, and Vargas, 2014). This paper seeks to bring together some of the arguments put forward by these scholars to initiate a critical interdisciplinary conversation on how to rethink the historical formation of the middle classes—as a social category, a cultural construction, a political project, a subjectivity, and a material reality—in Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century. The paper proceeds in two ways. First, it offers a transnational genealogy of the idea of the middle class in the Americas in order to explain why such class still appears as marginal—that is, as a class that does not matter—to what is considered a “proper” study of power relationships in Latin America. Second, by drawing on the Colombia case in a transitional framework during the Cold War, it demonstrates how the study of the historical formation of the middle classes opens up a multiplicity of methodological and theoretical questions to rethink major historical processes in Latin America: meanings of citizenship, the relationships between state and society, experiences of (counter) revolutionary change, the growth of affective labor, the naturalization of different forms of material inequality, the class and gender of de-coloniality, and political discourses about democracy. The paper is an effort to stimulate a broader discussion on how we materialize interdisciplinary approaches to critically question the role of the middle classes in our current neoliberal order now that scholars and policy makers alike have yet again sacralized the middle classes as the solution to the “crisis” of democracy, the expansion of unequal distribution of wealth, and the political repercussions of neoliberalism across the world.

### Panel 1: SECURITY

**Claudia Zamorano (Ciesas – Ciudad de México)**

#### **Securitized middle classes in Mexico City**

Hardt and Negri identify four new dominant figures of neoliberal subjectivity: “The hegemony of finance and the banks has produced the indebted. Control over information and communication networks has created the mediatized. The security regime and the generalized state of exception have constructed a figure prey to fear and yearning for protection—the securitized. And the corruption of democracy has forged a strange, depoliticized figure, the represented” (2012; 9). In all aspects, but especially in the securitization, this characterization portrays well that many works underline about the Latin American middle classes (Caldeira, 2001; Kessler, 2011; Capron, 2016). Focusing on Mexico City, this paper tries to answer: what are the particularities of the relationship between middle classes and security in this territory? What kind of individual and collective practices they produce? What expressions they have in the materiality of urban spaces? The work is based on several ethnographies made in Mexico City since the beginning of 2000. The results show a great diversity of the senses of security, order, and solidarity in that apparently homogenous mass that we call “middle classes”; as well as its expressions in new forms of citizenship, segregation, and otherness.

**Hendrijke Grunow (University of Konstanz)**

#### **Bourgeois bystanders in Bogotá**

The urban middle class in Colombia, and especially Bogotá, has for the past decade enjoyed a much more peaceful life than people living in rural areas of the country. Together with many regions where the conflict even today is very much alive, the urban centers were the biggest supporters of the plebiscite for a peace agreement between the government and the country's largest guerrilla group, the FARC. But with the victory of the “No”, especially in urban areas many took to the streets to manifest their will to peace and started to organize themselves in (neighborhood-)associations aimed at educating people about the agreement, thereby appropriating the peace process themselves as something that has to be shaped by the citizens as well as by the government. However, noticeably absent from these groups and initiatives are people from the upper middle class. Analyzing interviews gathered during several months of ethnographic fieldwork before and after the plebiscite, in this presentation I will show how they emotionally disconnect themselves from the conflict. An affect and emotion-centered approach to the material allows me to throw light on what peace feels like for the fortunate few and what it might take to get them involved.

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## Panel 2: IDENTITY

**Denisse Román Burgos (University of Aberdeen)**

### **An indigenous middle class? A critical inquiry to multiculturalism and its development in Mexico**

The Mexican democratization process reached an important peak with the presidential elections of 1988, when candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Solórzano, lead a national movement that called for democratization and denounced authoritarian practices within the party that governed most of the country, the Revolutionary Institutionalized Party. Within this juncture a generation of young professionals protested against the election results when victory was granted to official candidate Carlos Salinas de Gortari. A year later they founded the Democratic Revolution Party, which became the main political force in the southwestern state on Michoacán. In this paper I analyze the political trajectory of a group of these young professionals (school teachers and engineers, mostly) from an indigenous municipality called Cherán, since the events of 1988. I argue that their political demands were transformed by the politics of recognition that we know as multiculturalism and emerged during the past twenty years. Even though they call for state recognition and that it was actually granted to them through courts, they do so from a veiled class position. Indigenous peoples tend to be characterized as classless societies, even if such differences exist. I intend to shed light on these differences and to offer a critique to multiculturalism and its development in Mexico.

**Nell Haynes (Georgetown University)**

### **Envisioning an orderly Altiplano: middle-class discourses on El Alto, Bolivia**

During the last decade, Bolivia has undergone extensive social and economic shifts. This is, in part tied to the presidency of Evo Morales, the country's first indigenous-identified head of state. In many ways, the city of El Alto, long known as an "indigenous city" may be understood as a microcosm for understanding these larger shifts. Residents of the capital city of La Paz, which sits just below El Alto in a valley, have long thought of the neighboring area as a place of danger, filth, crime, and chaos. But as political, economic, and identity dynamics change throughout Bolivia, discourses about El Alto have shifted. This paper concentrates on discourses about El Alto that middle-class Paceños circulate on a daily basis, and through which they actively produce understandings of the intimate connections between city center and periphery. I use notions of moral geography to understand the valuing of space and how notions of "modernity," "development," and "orderliness" become positively assessed in the context of Bolivian middle-class identity. Though some Paceños continue to understand El Alto as a place of crime, filth, protest, and chaos, many others highlight the ways El Alto is "progressing" socially and economically. They orient their perspectives toward values of formality, cleanliness, order, and desires for their country to more closely reflect global indicators of development—as goes El Alto, so goes Bolivia. This makes clear how aesthetic, affective, and corporeal valuations of space are implicated in economic and social development, both producing new forms of identity and reconfiguring others. El Alto, in the minds of many, may be the antithesis of middle-class Bolivia, but it is indeed important in understanding the symbolic capital associated with being middle class in Bolivia today.

## Panel 3: HOPE AND PRECARIETY

**Moises Kopper (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies)**

### **A politics of hope: infrastructural citizenship and class mobility in Brazil**

This paper trails the making and remaking of material hope in the aftermath of Minha Casa Minha Vida, Brazil's largest public housing program. In recent years, low-income projects have become the battleground for experimental, post-neoliberal forms of democratic governance via inclusive consumption. I draw on long-term ethnographic encounters with community leaders, housing activists, planners, politicians, state officials and market representatives to document the embroiled terrains of communitarian politics and credit economies woven together by housing beneficiaries in search of the good life. In the wake of fraught urban interventions, transformed public-private infrastructures illuminate how desires for first-time homeownership shape local economies of worthiness and become the substance of emerging, yet ephemeral, collectives of consumer-citizens. I interrogate the tangled worlds of affective materiality and class aspiration that unfold as infrastructural citizenship congeals with the prospects of a booming credit economy, reopening the future as a powerful venue for ethnographic inquiry.

**Benjamin Junge (State University of New York)**

### **Precarious mobilities: citizen subjectivities and expectations of the state among Brazil's *classe popular***

This paper aims to characterize the political subjectivities of working-class Brazilians whose life conditions improved during the PT years, but became newly precarious with the ensuing crisis. Drawing from semi-structured interviews conducted in mid-2017 with 40 residents of a popular-class neighborhood in Recife, I identify recurrent patterns for how informants understand themselves as citizens (with duties, responsibilities, etc.) and for how their expectations of the state. More specifically, I explore how experiences of economic, educational, and geographic mobility during the PT years (in many cases tied to participation in the PT's signature social-assistance programs such as Bolsa Família, Minha Casa Minha Vida, affirmative action, etc.) relate to current forms of citizen-consciousness and understandings of inequality in Brazil. Throughout the analysis, I prioritize attention to how political subjectivities vary by generation. The paper concludes with a series of reflections on whether our data support a prevailing explanation for the intensification of anti-PT sentiment and openness for an extreme-right presidential candidate like Jair Bolsonaro—namely, that the PT failed to instill an awareness its accomplishments in the beneficiaries of its social-assistance program, who instead explained improved life conditions as stemming from personal effort (a meritocracy narrative) or religious convictions.

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## Panel 4: EMBODIED FRUSTRATIONS

**Ellen Moddie (University of Illinois)**

### **The outraged middle: the politics of the post-postwar generation of El Salvador**

The past decade saw an upsurge of middle-class activism in El Salvador—just as former revolutionaries came to power, and just as the first generation of Salvadorans with little or no memory of war was coming of age. The historically imagined futures of their parents and grandparents veer far from the expectations of youth in the precarious present. In 2011, these youth led protests that seemed to spontaneously burst onto the Salvadoran scene. Indeed, some protestors anointed themselves Los Indignados SV (the Outraged-SV [SV is the Salvadoran internet suffix]), linking themselves to Spanish 15-M movement. This paper examines stories of the 2011-12 wave of middle-class Salvadoran activism, recognizing the particular pointedness, and poignancy, of stepping out into the streets in one of the most dangerous places in the world. El Salvador is a country from which many thousands flee for their lives, and in which so many middle-class or elites people hide behind locked doors and thick walls. Who chooses to stay? Who dares to go out and demonstrate? Why? The paper takes up these questions against the backdrop of emerging worldwide youth and middle-class activism. It is based on 16 months of intensive urban fieldwork between 2011 and 2015.

**Pia Maier (LMU Munich)**

### **Psychologizing social inequality and political demands: the rising popularity of psychotherapeutic interventions in Nicaragua**

Locally-organized and internationally-linked political groups have a long history and significant role in Latin American political landscapes. While people from lower classes participate in political campaigns against violence and to promote healthcare and group rights such as those of women, children, and citizens, the leaders in these campaigns are often members of the middle class with disproportionate access to (higher) education. Recently, their demands are increasingly framed in a new language containing more references to psychology, (mental) health and illness. Likewise, programs introduced by international NGOs and committees as well as new laws passed by governments employ these same notions. This is, in part, due to the removal of taboo, the dissemination and commodification of psychotherapy, a service which is mainly offered by the Latin American middle class. This paper is based on ethnographic observations of and interviews with Nicaraguan therapists and counsellors. It focuses on the adoption and alteration of 'psy-language' for political purposes and calls into question the moral implications of this shift to more 'psychologized' political demands brought forward by the Nicaraguan middle class

## Panel 5: SUBJECTIVATIONS

**María Florencia Blanco Esmoris (Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Buenos Aires)**

### **The entrepreneur-self as a moral repertoire in middle classes: an ethnographic analysis in Buenos Aires**

In everyday life we attend to various moral repertoires that people use to organize and hierarchize the social world (Noel, 2009). Even though this may seem obvious, not so the ways in which different groups accomplish these as normative regulations in their lives (Anderson and Smith, 2007). Post 2001-2002 institutional crisis in Argentina, Argentine middle-classes started to reinforce the use of concepts like effort and savings as a legitimate moral scope related to the urban middle-class ethos (Visacovsky 2009, 2014). Nonetheless, in the last few years, categories related to "new" forms of the self – like wealth, sustainable, entrepreneurship and empowerment – have deeply permeate these groups' domestic everyday life scenes and start to portray some new moral imperatives in situated contexts (Viotti, 2011). From an ethnographic perspective I explore interrogations such as: what new forms of moral repertoires emerge in daily lives "at home"? How and through which practices people develop new forms of the self? To do so, first, I restore my ethnographic production conditions in middle-class family homes in Haedo (Buenos Aires Province). Secondly, I introduce different native concepts like "adequate"; "appropriate" and "good". Finally, I risk a hypothesis aimed to understand these new moralities and the "entrepreneur-self" concept.

**Claudia Stern (University of Edinburgh)**

### **Unravelling nationhood, class subjectivities and political radicalization through the fragmentation of the 'integral Chileans' in the 1970s**

The Chilean national anthem's allusion to the country as a "blissful copy of Eden" is an appropriate analogy to introduce how the local perception of paradise changed. The image of a joyful paradise stemmed from their democratic tradition and alleged stability, concepts which emerged during the golden ages of national capitalism, when democratic values and Chilean middle classes cultural and social capital became instrumental in shaping social and class identities. These distinctions led to the notion of the 'Integral Chileans' i.e., a profile that was aspired to by this social class since the 1930s. By the 1970s the radicalization of Chilean society was not indifferent to these idealistic middle classes profiles as Chile passed through three historical milestones that impacted the history of the country and its citizens: Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government (UP), Augusto Pinochet Coup d'Etat in 1973, and the subsequent military dictatorship. These milestones led to a profound rupture in the foundations of middle classes *ethos*. The break not only highlighted gendered and intra-generational differences, but also transformed the ways in which civic agency was expressed until democracy was interrupted. My presentation focuses on the 'Integral Chileans' fragmentation by unraveling the shifts from the ideal, educated professional to the idealistic proletarianized middle classes member who join the Chilean road to socialism as a part of his revolutionary bourgeois experience. Thus, this analysis exposes the local radicalization of the leftist 'Integral Chileans' along with its transformation and influence in a more regional arena.

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### Panel 6: ASPIRATIONS

#### **Adolfo García Jerez (Universidad del Valle)**

##### **Urban morality and middle classes from three scenarios: citizen mobilization, state bureaucracy and daily life in Cali**

On July 5, 2018, was the second time that the mayor of Cali presented to the local council the Plan Integral de Movilidad Urbana (PIMU). The goal of this plan was to reverse the existing "mobility pyramid" in the city. In conceptual terms, this plan also meant a paradigm shift and, with it, the establishment of a new moral framework or morality. However, this plan was not approved. It was rejected for the second time. This example allows me to reflect, following Didier Fassin (2015), on how these moral frameworks are produced, put into circulation, and consumed. It also allows me to reflect on who drafts this "public action regimes" (Thévenot, 2016) and the role of certain middle class groups in the configuration/opposition of these moral frameworks. For this, I will pay attention to three agents and three scenarios. Firstly, to the young bureaucrats who had to elaborate these justifications and defend them in the political field against, paradoxically, other bureaucrats. Secondly, to the pro-bike collectives as "moral entrepreneurs" (Gusfield, 2014), due to their contribution to the consolidation of that paradigm, to the invocation of the notion of "social rights" of the cyclist, and their connections with the political field. And, finally, to certain middle class sectors and how they have metabolized this paradigm based on their practices and visions of "good" and "bad" daily mobility.

#### **Raúl Acosta (LMU Munich)**

##### **Aspirational activism: re-shaping cities and political subjectivities in Mexico**

Over the last decade, Guadalajara and Mexico City have witnessed a series of changes in infrastructures and regulations, as well as in attitudes and practices of their inhabitants regarding mobility and public space. Large avenues and areas that used to be devoted to motorized vehicles have now been modified to include cycleways, pedestrian areas, small pocket-parks, or bus lanes. More people use the bicycle to commute or for errands, and motorists are more respectful with cyclists than they used to be. Such changes remain nonetheless partial, fragmented, concentrated in affluent areas of both cities, and are often linked to gentrification processes. The concept of 'aspirational activism', which I develop further below, builds on the middle class character of mobility and public space activism in both cities, which started by focusing on beautifying streets and parks. It also stresses the fact that this type of activism is not driven by ideological agendas, but by aspirations for a better quality of life in its material and ethical dimensions. From initial demands that prioritized policies for recreational cycling and public space, many of the participating activist groups incorporated social justice issues for commuting, environmental care, and health in their agendas. In performing their dissent about mobility and public space policies, activists were faced with ethical dilemmas that challenged them to address the inequalities they benefit from.

### SPEAKERS' BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

#### **In alphabetical order**

**Raúl Acosta** is Principal Investigator of "Aspirational Activism in Urban Latin America", and Manager of the Research Project "Mexico City: Ethical Conjunctures, Globalized Environmental Discourses, and the Pursuit of a Better City," at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich. He is the author of *NGO and Social Movement Networking in the World Social Forum: an Anthropological Approach* (VDM, 2009), editor of *El Diálogo como Objeto de Estudio* (ITESO, 2012), and co-editor of *Making Sense of the Global* (Cambridge Scholars, 2010).

**María Florencia Blanco Esmoris** is a PhD Fellow at CIS-CONICET/IDES, BA. in Sociology, Buenos Aires based Social Inequality and Urban Studies Researcher, Lecturer for Socio-Cultural Problems and Anthropology at Universidad de Belgrano. She is currently Working as a Research Fellow at the *Programa de Clases Medias* at Centro de Investigaciones Sociales (CIS-CONICET/IDES) directed by Prof. Dr. Sergio Visacovsky. Main Research and Interests: Social Inequality, Anthropology, Middle Classes, Urban Studies and Material Culture.

**Adolfo García Jerez** is Lecturer at the Universidad del Valle, in Cali, Colombia. He is author of *Disidencias Urbanas: Una Cartografía de Conflictos Espaciales* (Editorial Española, 2012), and several articles. He has been a visiting researcher at the LMU Munich, Universidad Mayor de San Andrés de Bolivia, and The University of North Carolina, in Chapel Hill. He has taught in the Universidad Pablo de Olavide and the University of Aberdeen.

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**Hendrikje Grunow** is an anthropologist with regional expertise in South America and a PhD student at the Department of Literature at University Konstanz. She graduated in Social and Cultural Anthropology and Latin American Studies at Free University Berlin, and is a member of MemoriAL – Interdisciplinary Memory Research Network.

**Nell Haynes** is an Assistant Teaching Professor in Anthropology at Georgetown University who focuses on the changing nature of indigeneity within global systems of economics, politics, art, and popular culture. Haynes focuses on the ways in which “authentic indigeneity” shifts as forms of self-expression and ways of identifying inevitably combine the local and the global. She approaches indigeneity, not as an essentialized subjectivity, but rather as an active form of identification that engages with phenomena including cosmopolitanism, digital media, performance, popular culture, and changing political economies-particularly as related to social inequalities and structural violence. She holds a Bachelor of Science Degree from Northwestern University in Anthropology and Theater. She earned her Ph.D. in Anthropology at American University in 2013 with a concentration in Race, Gender, and Social Justice. Haynes previously was a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Intercultural and Indigenous Research (CIIR) at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, where she published her first book, *Social Media in Northern Chile*. She is currently working on her second book, based on fieldwork in La Paz, Bolivia. The book explores how the pop culture spectacle of lucha libre featuring women as chola characters reflects and contributes to current debates over the nature of “authentic indigeneity” in Bolivia. Nell has also published in a number of edited and co-authored books, as well as prestigious academic journals.

**Benjamin Junge** is Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the State University of New York at New Paltz. He joined the faculty in 2007, after completing his PhD at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. Prior to this, he completed a masters degree in public health at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. Dr. Junge is a cultural anthropologist with specialization in the study of gender, sexuality, social movements, citizenship, religion, health, and class. As a Latin Americanist, his primary research site is Brazil, where he has conducted several studies about gender, citizenship, and grassroots politics. He is currently Lead PI on a three-year, three-city anthropological study of class mobility in Brazil, funded by the National Science Foundation. He has also carried out health research among indigenous Aymara communities in the Bolivian Altiplano, where he lived for six months.

**Moises Kopper** is a postdoctoral researcher at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne, Germany. Previously, he was a postdoctoral research fellow at the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the University of São Paulo (Brazil, 2016-2017); a research fellow at Princeton University (USA, 2014-2015); and at Universidad Nacional de San Martín (Argentina, 2011). Kopper earned his Ph.D. and master's degree in Social Anthropology from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS, Brazil). His research has been supported by grants from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Germany), The São Paulo Research Foundation (Fapesp, Brazil), the Council for Scientific and Technological Development (Cnpq, Brazil), and Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes, Brazil). Kopper's main research and teaching interests center on Ethnography and Social Theory, City and the politics of Infrastructure, Political and Economic Anthropology, Class and Social Mobility, Neoliberalism and Statecraft, Popular Culture, Housing Policies (with a regional focus on Latin America and Brazil).

**Sian Lazar** is Reader in Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, where she is a fellow of Clare College. The focus of her research is collective politics in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and El Alto, Bolivia. She is author of *The Social Life of Politics: Ethics, Kinship and Union Activism in Argentina* (Stanford University Press, 2017), *El Alto, Rebel City: Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia* (Duke University Press, 2008), and editor of *Where are the Unions? Workers and Social Movements in Latin America, the Middle East, and Europe* (Zed Books, 2017).

**A. Ricardo López-Pedrerros** is Associate Professor of History at Western Washington University. He is author of *Makers of Democracy: A Transnational History of the Middle Classes in Colombia* (Duke University Press, 2019). He is coeditor of *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History* (Duke University Press, 2012).

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### SPEAKERS' BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES In alphabetical order

**Pia Maier** is a PhD student at the Chair of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Konstanz and a researcher at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at LMU München. From 2014 to 2018, she was a member of the graduate school "The Problem of the Real in Modern Culture" at the University of Konstanz. She currently works on her dissertation "The trauma of others" and has done fieldwork in German and Nicaraguan workshops on trauma for helping professions. Her research interests cover the anthropology of emotion, subjectivity, health/illness, as well as therapy culture(s), empathy and the history of psychology, psychiatry, and trauma/PTSD.

**Ellen Moodie** is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Conrad Humanities Fellow at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her books include *El Salvador in the Aftermath of Peace: Crime, Uncertainty, and the Transition to Democracy* (Pennsylvania, 2010) and *Central America in the New Millennium: Living Transition and Re-imagining Democracy*, co-edited with Jennifer L. Burrell (Berghahn, 2013), as well as a Spanish translation for her book, *Las secuelas de la paz: Criminalidad, incertidumbre y transición de la democracia* (UCA Editores, 2017). She has written articles for *The Annual Review of Anthropology*, *American Ethnologist*, *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, and *Social Text*, as well as a number of chapters in edited volumes.

**Denisse Román-Burgos** holds a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology from *El Colegio de Michoacán* (Mexico). Her research interests concern local politics, factionalism, patronage networks, state formation and state reforms as she strives to explain and achieve a deeper understanding of the cultural dimension of local politics in terms of exchange, reciprocities, and the emergence of conflict, and its articulation with wider processes that demarcate concrete epochs. She is the author of two book chapters on the case of Cherán, a small municipality in western Mexico that was the first to gain recognition from Mexican courts as an autonomous indigenous municipality. Dr. Román is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow and Researcher in the project "Assessing the potential for civil organizations within regions affected by criminal violence to hold state institutions to human rights-based development", funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (United Kingdom) in collaboration with the University of Aberdeen (United Kingdom), the Centro de Estudios y Docencia Económicas (Mexico) and El Colegio de Michoacán (Mexico).

**Dr. Claudia Stern** will soon begin a Visiting Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities in the Centre for the Study of Modern and Contemporary History at University of Edinburgh, where she plans to develop an urban approach to her current research. At present, she is a Minerva Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute for Latin American Studies at Freie Universität Berlin. Her multidisciplinary research in modern Latin American history focuses on Chilean middle classes identities during the 20th century, analyzed through anthropological, cultural and sociological perspectives.

**Claudia Zamorano** is a Researcher at the CIESAS, in Mexico City. She is author of *Vivienda Mínima Obrera en el México Posrevolucionario: Apropiaciones de una Utopía Urbana* (Casa Chata, 2013), *Navegando en el Desierto: Estrategias Residenciales en un Contexto de Incertidumbre* (Casa Chata, 2008), and co-editor of *Por el Derecho a la Ciudad: Diálogos entre Academia y Organizaciones Sociales* (Casa Chata, 2016).