

Democratic Violence in Latin America

MARCH 12-14, 2025
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA



Welcome from the USF Humanities Institute Faculty Fellows

Welcome to the Conference on Democratic Violence in Latin America, hosted by the Humanities Institute at the University of South Florida, It's an honor to welcome this group of people to our campus for three days to learn about the ways in which "violence" exists in democratic settings. The participants define "violence" broadly and address a wide array of issues by analyzing some of these topics: environmentalism, drug trafficking, militarization, collective and public memory, political corruption, borders, popular culture, advocacy, migration, tourism, and many others. Violence, the intentional use of force to cause harm and, thus, the phenomenon democratic regimes attempt to eliminate, appears at odds with democracy. Yet, we continue to see violence exist within democratic contexts. The participants' analysis of Latin American political culture provides visions into what the future may hold for democratic governance. The conference consists of panels, plenary talks, and professionalization workshops. The plenary speakers will address these broad issues of democratic violence from their respective perspectives/disciplines. A huge thank you to the Humanities Institute team for helping organize this event!



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José Ángel Maldonado Assistant Professor English



Alejandro Márquez
Assistant Professor
Sociology, Interdisciplinary
Social Sciences

Schedule Overview

Wednesday, March 12

Weullesuay, Maich 12		
8:00am - 9:15am	Welcome Reception (coffee & bagels)	MSC 3707
9:30am - 10:45am	Plenary Talk: Nathalie Batraville "Haiti, the United Nations, and the Hegemony of Peace as Containment"	MSC 3707
11:00am - 12:15pm	Paper Sessions	MSC 3707
12:30pm - 1:45pm	Lunch (on your own)	
2:00pm - 3:15pm	Paper Sessions	MSC 3707, 3708
3:30pm - 4:45pm	Plenary Talk: Ralph Cintrón "Democratic Violence and Dependency Theory"	MSC 3707
Thursday, March 13	3 (7:30am pastries & coffee in 3707)	
8:00am - 9:15am	Paper Sessions	MSC 3707, 3708
9:30am - 10:45am	Plenary Talk: Stacey Sowards "Documenting Violence: Presence and Absence in Memories/Re-membering as Democratic Worldma	
11:00am - 12:15pm	Paper Sessions	MSC 3707, 3708
12:30pm - 1:45pm	Lunch (on your own)	
2:00pm - 3:15pm	Paper Sessions	MSC 3707
3:30pm - 4:45pm	Plenary Talk: Celeste Wagner "Reframing Gender Violence: Feminism, Media, a Public Sensemaking in Latin America"	MSC 3707 nd
Friday, March 14	Humanities Professionalization Workshop	MSC 3709
7:30am	Hot Breakfast & Coffee in 3709	
8:00am - 8:50am	Writing a Humanities Dissertation by Ralph Cintrón	
9:00am - 9:50am	Publishing an Academic Article by Stacey Sowards	
10:00am - 10:50am	am The Academic Job Market by Celeste Wagner	
11:00am - 11:50am	Dissertation to Book by Nathalie Batraville	

PLENARY SPEAKERS



Nathalie Batraville, Ph.D.

Concordia University

"Haiti, The United Nations, and the Hegemony Peace as Containment"

Those familiar with contemporary Haitian politics will know that those fomenting rebellion in Haiti today would not be met by the French military or the U.S. Marines, but rather by the United Nations' so-called peacekeeping missions. These missions suppress the uprisings of the disenfranchised and work to make wealth redistribution impossible and unthinkable. This talk revisits two historic rebellions against the UN and explores the ideologies and aesthetics that uphold the violent hegemony of peace enacted by this institution.

Nathalie Batraville is an associate professor at Concordia University's Simone de Beauvoir Institute, where she teaches in the areas of Black feminisms, queer theory, and prison abolition. A scholar and artist, her work seeks to generate and illuminate frameworks that challenge both state violence and interpersonal violence. Her scholarship has appeared in scholarly publications such as *Small Axe, The Journal of Haitian Studies, The CLR James Journal, TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies,* and *Tangence*. Her first book, *Disrupting Agency: Towards a Black Feminist Anarchism,* is forthcoming with Duke University Press. In it, she rethinks abolitionist frameworks from a Black feminist anarchist perspective. Through her ceramic art practice, she explores storytelling, plant life, desire, and rebellion.

Wednesday, March 12: Plenary Talk | 9:30am | MSC 3707 Friday, March 14: Dissertation to Book | 11:00am | MSC 3709



Ralph Cintrón, Ph.D. *University of Illinois Chicago*

"Democratic Violence and Dependency Theory"

It is time to revisit dependency theory as one explanation of Latin American violence. Analyses of Latin America's role in global capitalism reveal that during the colonial and modern eras, Latin America was relegated to the production of raw materials for European industries, which then became manufactured goods sold in the Latin American market. Here is the long history of trade imbalances, debt, and the rise of an entrenched elite class largely centered on agricultural production and not manufacturing. The liberal constitutions of Latin America that emerged during the 19th century and are still presently influential did not alter this economic structure. Today's paramilitary drug cartels are a curious continuation: They export at industrial scale a "finished product" that remains significantly rooted in the agricultural sector.

Ralph Cintrón is professor emeritus of English and Latin American and Latino Studies and Senior Researcher at the Great Cities Institute at the University of Illinois at Chicago. During COVID he was LALS's interim director. He is a former Rockefeller Foundation Fellow, Fulbright Scholar, honorable mention winner for the Victor Turner Prize in Ethnographic Writing from the American Anthropological Association, and a Fellow of the Rhetoric Society of America. He is the author of *Angels' Town: Chero Ways, Gang Life, and Rhetorics of the Everyday* as well as *Democracy as Fetish*. He is also the co-editor of *Culture, Catastrophe + Rhetoric* and Co-Pi of *60 Years of Migration: Puerto Ricans in Chicagoland*.

Wednesday, March 12: Plenary Talk | 3:30pm | MSC 3707 Friday, March 14: Writing a Humanities Dissertation | 8:00am | MSC 3709



Stacey K. Sowards, Ph.D. *The University of Texas at Austin*

"Documenting Violence: Presence and Absence in Memories/Re-membering as Democratic Worldmaking"

The importance of documenting, remembering, and centering the many violences that occur across our societies is evident in how we relate our histories to our presents and futures. Such documentation serves to remind us of state-sanctioned and other actor-level violence, accidental and purposeful. Through the work of caleño artist and photographer Oscar Muñoz's 2022 Invisibilia exhibit, I analyze his themes of presence/absence, memory/amnesia, and cohesion/fragmentation in how his photographs, sculptures, and other artworks document aspects of state, paramilitary, and FARC-related violence. Simultaneously recognizing the need to remember such violence and the desire to forget, Muñoz demonstrates the tensions residing within sedimented and fleeting memories that are blur private/public boundaries. As such, documenting violence in this way can illustrate the possibilities for democratic processes through the very act of remembering.

Dr. Stacey Sowards teaches courses in communication theory, rhetorical theory, environmental communication, gender and communication, and intercultural communication. Her research focuses on environmental, intercultural, and gender and communication in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and the United States. Her work in communication and rhetoric has been published as book chapters and journal articles. Other research projects focus on cultural and gender representations, and appear in journals such as Argumentation and Advocacy, Communication Studies, Philosophy and Rhetoric, and Communication Theory. Her book, on Dolores Huerta and the United Farm Workers, was published in 2019 with The University of Texas Press.

Thursday, March 13: Plenary Talk | 9:30am | MSC 3707 Friday, March 14: Publishing an Academic Article | 11:00am | MSC 3709



Celeste Wagner, Ph.D.

Rutgers University

"State Violence, Gender Justice, and Social Activism: Lessons from Latin America"

This talk will first examine the current state of violence in Latin American democracies, focusing on state violence and crime. It will analyze both the region's "anomalies" and the lessons to be learned from societal responses, while drawing connections to the U.S. Second, it will address a specific issue: gender violence in the Americas, focusing on Argentina and the U.S. Specifically, it will explore how activism and communication practices can raise awareness among citizens, drawing on interviews with feminist advocates, members of the public, and surveys conducted with the general population.

María Celeste Wagner is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Rutgers University's School of Communication and Information. She holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in Communication from the University of Pennsylvania (2022; 2018), and a Licenciatura (B.A.) in Communication from Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina, her home country. Celeste's research focuses on media reception and influence surrounding social and political issues, particularly gender inequalities in the Americas. Methodologically, her work includes individual and group interviews, surveys, experiments, and comparative analysis. Her dissertation has been honored with four awards from the International Communication Association. Her research has been published in the *Journal of Communication*, *Digital Journalism*, *International Journal of Communication*, *Media*, *Culture & Society*, *Journalism*, *Latin American Perspectives*, among others.

Thursday, March 13: Plenary Talk | 3:30pm | MSC 3707 Friday, March 14: The Academic Job Market | 10:00am | MSC 3709

Wednesday, March 12		
7:15am - 8:30am	Hotel Shuttle Pick-ups (see page 14 for details)	
8:00am - 9:15am	Welcome Reception (MSC 3707)	
Check-in	Remarks by: Liz Kicak (Director of the Humanities Institute),	
Bagels & Coffee	Diana León-Boys, Alejandro Márquez, and José Ángel Maldonado (Humanities Institute Faculty Fellows)	
9:30am - 10:45am	Plenary Talk: Nathalie Batraville (MSC 3707) Associate Professor, Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University "Haiti, the United Nations, and the Hegemony of Peace as Containment" USF Respondents: Tangela Serls, Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Kiran Jayaram, Anthropology Kersuze Simeon-Jones, School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies	
11:00am - 12:15pm	Paper Session: Anti-Violence Mobilizations, State Violence, and Human Rights (MSC 3707)	
	Sara L. McKinnon, Erin Barbato, and Leonor Hidalgo Ciro University of Wisconsin-Madison "Migration in the Americas: Addressing the Violence of Migration in Colombia, Mexico & the United States through a Legal Communication Network"	
	Oscar Mejía California State University, Los Angeles "Practicing P'urhépecha: Fighting Epistemic Violence"	
	Zachary Kuntz <i>University of South Florida</i> "The Rise of Soviet Transnationalism: Soviet International Education and the Development of an Ecuadorian Intelligentsia"	
	Ann Abney University of South Florida "Beyond a 'Minimum Duty': The Buenos Aires Herald Reporting on the Disappeared in Argentina"	
12:30pm - 1:45pm	Lunch on your own (see pg.13 or website for on-campus options)	

2:00pm - 3:15pm	Paper Session: Latin American Necropolitics (MSC 3707)	
	Antonio Tomás de la Garza California State University, San Marcos "The Long Way Home: Necropolitics and the Queer Arts of Survival in the Borderlands"	
	Livia Guimarães de Oliveira <i>University of South Florida</i> "'Shoot First, Ask Later': The Relevance of the Military Police in the Culture of Fear and Violence in Favelas of Rio de Janeiro"	
	Mario Guillermo Guerrero Universidad Nacional de Cuyo "Marginalization, Violence, and Environmental Exploitation: Challenges for Governance in Latin America"	
	Thomas Hallock <i>University of South Florida</i> "A Field Guide to Amnesia: Representations and Repercussions of the U.S. War against the Seminoles, 1812 to the Present"	
2:00pm - 3:15pm	Creative Writing Panel: Expressions on Violence, Memory, and Place (MSC 3708)	
	Alexander Rivera University of South Florida "Walk into / Nostalgia Steps / Taken Before You"	
	Natalie Scenters-Zapico, <i>University of South Florida</i> Ajibola Tolase, <i>University of South Florida</i>	
3:30pm - 4:45pm	Plenary Talk: Ralph Cintrón (MSC 3707) Professor Emeritus of English and Latino and Latin American Studies, University of Illinois Chicago "Democratic Violence and Dependency Theory"	
	USF Respondents: Murid Partaw, School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies Aaron Augsburger, School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies	
5:00pm	Dinner on your own (see page 13 or website for local restaurants)	
5:15pm	Hotel Shuttle Drop-offs (see page 14 for details) MSC Bus Loop (North end of MSC)	

Thursday, March 13		
7:15am - 8:30am	Hotel Shuttle Pick-ups (see page 14 for details)	
7:30am	Pastries & Coffee (MSC 3707)	
8:00am - 9:15am	Paper Session: Democratic Consolidation and Backsliding (MSC 3707)	
	Sara L. McKinnon and Adriana Ángel University of Wisconsin-Madison "Territorializing Democracy in Guatemala: Addressing Corruption Through Counterpublics"	
	Tessa Barber <i>University of South Florida</i> "Turning Tides: The Rhetoric of Left Populism and Democratic Backsliding in Evo Morales' Bolivia"	
	Julienne Gage Florida International University "The El Salvador that Might Have Been: A Reflection on the Power of Arts and Culture in the Contentious Postwar Era"	
8:00am - 9:15am Paper Session: Articulations of Violence in Hemisph Media (MSC 3708)		
	Olivia Cosentino University of South Florida "An Aesthetic of Exhaustion: Absence, Presence, and Violence in Mexican Non-Fiction Film"	
	Vicky Mogollón Montagne University of Cincinnati "Confession or Testimonio?: Narratives of Violence in Ethnography and Hemispheric Hip-Hop"	
	Martha Tejeda University of Oregon "Necesidad Album Cover Analysis"	
9:30am - 10:45am	Plenary Talk: Stacey Sowards (MSC 3707) Endowed Professor of Communication Studies, University of Texas at Austin "Documenting Violence: Presence and Absence in Memories/Remembering as Democratic Worldmaking"	
	USF Respondents: Joshua Scacco, Communication Studies Roxanne Watson, Zimmerman School of Advertising & Mass Communications	

11:00am - 12:15pm	Paper Session: Environment and Capitalism in the Emergence of Violence (MSC 3707)	
	Mailyn Abreu Toribio University of South Florida	
	"The Impact of Sugar Ecologies on Innovation and The Legacy of Racial Capitalism as Seen in <i>Mal de Caña</i> "	
	Nicolás Hernández College of Wooster	
	"Internal Rhetoric of Puerto Rican Institutional and Grassroots Energy Actors"	
	Peter Kyriacou University of South Florida	
	"Tourism dependency, political apathy, and democratic violence in the Dominican Republic"	
	Javier Mejía Florida International University "Environmental Justice and Mining Territories"	
11 00cm 10 15mm	Defense Dead Folk Hall Describes Describes	
11:00am - 12:15pm	Performance Panel: Embodied Perspectives: Remapping	
	the Ideologies of Cultural Representation in Latin America through Performance (MSC 3708)	
	Kelsy Adams University of Florida	
	"Tangled Threads: Unraveling Race and Femininity in Latin American Representations"	
	Sandra Cristina Roa University of South Florida	
	"Using Feminist Perspectives to Unpack Representations of Black Femininity in Latin America"	
12:30pm - 1:45pm	Lunch on your own (see pg.13 or website for on-campus options)	
2:00pm - 3:15pm	Paper Session: Responses to Gentrification and Narco Violence in Mexico (MSC 3707)	
	Jaime Guzmán California State University Northridge "Seguir la Parranda: Violent Sonic Gentrification and the Fight Against Banda Sinaloense"	
	Larry Morgan <i>Syracuse University</i> "Abrazos con Balazos: Rhetorical Occlusion and Militarization in the Fourth Transformation"	
	Ayla Mora California State University Fresno "Rhetoric of Resistance: A Case Study of Tancítaro's Autodefensas Movement Against Cartel Violence"	

3:30pm - 4:45pm	Plenary Talk: Celeste Wagner (MSC 3707) Assistant Professor of Journalism and Media Studies, Rutgers University "Reframing Gender Violence: Feminism, Media, and Public Sensemaking in Latin America" <u>USF Respondents:</u> Beatriz Padilla, Sociology and Interdisciplinary Social Sciences Adriana Novoa, History
5:00pm	Dinner on your own (see page 13 for local restaurant options)
5:15pm	Hotel Shuttle Drop-offs (see page 14 for details) Marshall Student Center Bus Loop (North end of MSC)

Friday, March 14		
Humanities Professionalization Workshops (MSC 3709)		
7:30am	Hot Breakfast (Scrambled eggs, Bacon, Turkey sausage, Breakfast potatoes, Bagels and cream cheese, Coffee, tea, water)	
8:00am - 8:50am	Writing a Humanities Dissertation by Ralph Cintrón	
9:00am - 9:50am	Publishing an Academic Article by Stacey Sowards	
10:00am- 10:50am	The Academic Job Market by Celeste Wagner	
11:00am - 11:50am	Dissertation to Book by Nathalie Batraville	

Places to Eat (on-campus)

Marshall Student Center (MSC)

On Top of the Palms	Mon-Fri 11:30am-2pm
Panera	Mon- Fri 7:30am-6pm
Chick-Fil-A	Mon-Fri 10:30am-8pm
Bento Sushi	Mon-Fri 10:30am-8pm
Blenz Bowls	Mon-Thurs 9am-7pm; Fri 9am-5pm
Food Court: Panda Express, Moes, Papa Johns, Subway	Mon-Thurs 10:30am-7pm Fri 10:30am-4pm
Kahwa Coffee Located in campus bookstore next to MSC	Mon-Thurs 8am-6pm; Fri 8am-5pm

Places to Eat (off-campus)

Places to Eat (on-campus)		
World of Beer 2815 E Fowler Ave, Tampa, FL 33612	Mon-Sat 11am-12am	
Blaze Pizza 5114 E Fowler Ave Suite 103, Tampa, FL 33617	Mon-Thurs 10:30am-11pm Fri-Sat 10:30am-11:30pm	
Angora Mediterranean Grill 2311 E Fowler Ave, Tampa, FL, 33612	Sun-Thurs 11am-9:pm Fri-Sat 11am-11pm	
Babushka's Temple Terrace 12639 N 56th St, Temple Terrace, FL 33617	Tues-Sun 11am-8pm Fri-Sat 11am-10pm	
Pho Quyen 740 E Fowler Ave, Tampa, FL 33612	Mon 11am-10pm Tues-Sat 10:30am-10pm	
SoFresh 2774 E Fowler Ave, Tampa, FL 33612	Mon-Sun 10:30am-9pm	
Taj Indian Cuisine 2737 E Fowler Ave, Tampa, FL 33612	Mon-Sat 11:30am-2:30pm, 5pm-10pm	
Lan Zhou Lamen Noodle House 2716 E Fowler Ave, Tampa, FL 33612	Mon-Sat 11am-9pm	
Zaky Zaks Authentic Shawarma 2778 E Fowler Ave, Tampa, FL 33612	Mon-Thur 11am-10pm Fri 3pm-11pm	
New World Tampa Brewery 810 E Skagway Ave, Tampa, FL 33604	Tues-Thurs 4pm-9pm; Fri-Sat 12pm- 10pm; Sun 12pm-9pm	

Hotel Shuttle Schedule

The conference is providing a courtesy shuttle ride on Wednesday and Thursday to and from the conference hotels and the Marshall Student Center (MSC). See schedule below for pick-up and drop-off times. The USF bus will be marked with a "CDVLA" sign.

Please try and make the first hotel pick-up to ensure you arrive at the conference in time for registration and opening events. However, if you miss the first shuttle, it will make a second loop after dropping guests off at the Marshall Student Center.

Wednesday, March 12 & Thursday, March 13		
Morning Shuttle	Evening Shuttle	
7:15am: Pick-up at La Quinta 7:20am: Pick-up at Home2 Suites 7:30am: Pick-up at Embassy Suites 7:45am Arrive at MSC	5:15pm: Pick-up at the Marshall Student Center Bus Loop North Side of MSC 5:30 pm: Drop-off at Embassy Suites 5:40 pm: Drop-off at Home2 Suites	
8:15am: Pickup at La Quinta 8:20am: Pickup at Home2 Suites 8:30am: Pickup at Embassy Suites 8:45am: Arrive at MSC	5:45 pm : Drop-off at La Quinta	

Friday, March 14

*Out-of-state graduate students staying at conference hotels in need of transportation to the workshops on Friday, please see Liz Kicak.



Map of Routes from Hotels to the Marshall Student Center (MSC):



Things to Do

Tampa Bay History Center

801 Water Street, Tampa, FL 33602

Exhibit: "Invisible Immigrants. Spaniards in the U.S. (1868-1945)"

The Tampa Bay History Center is proud to present the highly acclaimed exhibition "Invisible Immigrants. Spaniards in the U.S. (1868-1945)" for the first time in the United States. After touring in Spain for five years, the exhibition arrives stateside to reveal the hidden history of the Spanish American diaspora at the turn of the 20th century. This history has been carefully preserved through the legacy of thousands of Spanish immigrants, passed down from generation to generation.

Museum admission rates and more information: https://tampabayhistorycenter.org



Tampa's Downtown River O' Green Festival

Curtis Hixon Waterfront Park

Saturday, March 15 | 11:00am - 6:00pm

River O' Green is downtown Tampa's biggest Saint Patrick's Day celebration where we color the Hillsborough River Green to channel the luck of the Irish. There will be live performances featuring music, poetry, and traditional Irish step dancing as well as several food and beverage vendors with Irish themed bites and drinks, fun games including a cabbage toss, a Lucky Charms eating contest, Irish hurling, and more.



