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**Digitalizing Urban Latin America –
a new layer for persistent inequalities?**

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EDITORIAL CROLAR 5 (2)

Digitalizing Urban Latin America – a New Layer for Persistent Inequalities?

Frank Müller and Ramiro Segura

University of Amsterdam and Universidad Nacional de San Martín

Digitalization refers to a multifaceted process which has experienced a vertiginous expansion on a global scale in the last few decades. This issue of CROLAR aims to explore one these facets: digitalization of urban space in Latin America. Thus, the contributions submitted discuss how the advances in digital technology are connected to social inequalities in urban Latin America, and which social, political, cultural and economic opportunities and obstacles they offer for a more equal, just and participative urbanization.

It is commonly said – perhaps quite mechanically – that Latin America is the most urbanized and the most unequal continent in the world. Without losing sight of the occasionally dramatic dimensions of inequality in the continent, but also attempting to avert the risk of falling into self-evident generalization, it is worth noting that the expression “urban Latin America” refers, in this issue, to a heterogeneous spatial, social and cultural geography. Because, on the one hand, instead of presuming a “Latin American city” with well-defined boundaries and regionally shared characteristics, in the last few decades urban Latin American

studies have shown an heterogeneity and multiplicity of expressions of urbanism in the continent that hampers their reduction to a single city model. On the other hand, it is necessary to reflect on the heterogeneity of social, cultural and spatial realities grouped under urban census and administrative categories in each country of the region – which usually include from great megalopolises (that were often conceived from the model of the “Latin American city”), to medium-sized cities and small towns and villages with a few thousand inhabitants. Similarly to the cautions urged with regard to the idea of an “urban era” on a global scale, “the urban” in Latin America is much more plural than it could be assumed at first sight.

Digitalization is thus inscribed in a complex and inequitable reality that it requires to comprehend the specificity of situations and urban contexts of which it detaches itself and which it modifies. Hence, we begin to investigate theories and methods that allow us to understand the ways in which digital and urban are connected, as well as the spatial, social, political and cultural effects produced by digital technologies in an inequitable urban scenario, avoiding

hopeful technophilic promises as much as pessimistic technophobic prognoses.

In turn, it's worth questioning how digitalization – and its promises to improve quality of life, boost economic growth, and promote human development – could contribute to overcome persistent inequalities in the Global North and South, providing opportunities of reversal for some, consumerism as a lifestyle for many, but also disconnection and digital exclusion for the ever marginalized.

Bearing these questions in mind, the contributions contained in this issue review works that essay possible approaches and different responses for the digitalization process in Latin America, from works such as "I-Polis. Ciudades en la era de Internet", by Susana Finkelievich, in which a history, review and future prospection of the relations between urbanism and new technologies are laid out for Latin America, to books such as "Virtualização do corpo e sexualidades online: encontros gay, gênero e performatividade" by Kaciano Barbosa Gadelha, which investigates the role of digitalization in the transformation of sociability, corporeality and sexuality.

Between both these poles, a series of contributions concerned particularly with the uses of technology in surveillance, security and control of the urban space and their effects on urban life and relationships are found. In this respect, in section Interventions, the work "Hacking Team malware para la vigilancia en América Latina" by Gisela Pérez de Acha questions

the political applications of information from the Internet, emphasizing the need to update and strengthen legal boundaries on the use of information by the state.

In section "Review Articles", Claudio Altenhain reviews four works grouped in the field of surveillance studies in Brazil: "Máquinas de ver, modos de ser: vigilância, tecnologia e subjetividade" by Fernanda Bruno, "Vigilância e visibilidade: espaço, tecnologia e identificação" edited by Fernanda Bruno, Marta Kanashiro and Rodrigo Firmino, "Todos os olhos: videovigilâncias, voyeurismos e (re) produção imagética" by Bruno Cardoso, and "Securização urbana: psicoesfera do medo à tecnoesfera da segurança" by Lucas Melgaço. From the author's perspective, this set of works discusses digitalization of and from Latin America. Here, a series of specific processes – authoritarian regimes in recent history, systematic police violence, persistent social inequalities, ubiquitous fear of violation and high levels of urbanization – enables a locally- and culturally-oriented approach on the intersections between digitalization (more specifically, surveillance) and the urban space. Altenhain identifies the future challenge of producing from the South a theoretical vocabulary that allows not only specification of the dynamics in the region, but also essentially "provincializing" Euro-North American studies on surveillance.

In particular, with the work of Marcela Suárez "Mediaciones tecnofeministas en contra de la violencia a las mujeres en

México”, we have included a second review article in this volume. Suárez presents a critical review of the book “Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet”, by Manuel Castells. Her criticism is based on the feminist activism experience of the collective *Rexiste*, in Mexico, which has used new technologies and digital mediation strategies to intervene in urban and digital spaces in order to make the growing violence against women in Mexico visible. The author seems sceptical before the nearly deterministic hope with which Castells and others have applauded the possibilities brought about by technological innovations in communication to launch social struggles against power. In this direction, it points to a lack of analytical tools in Castells’ work to analyze non-human agencies and evidence the power relations within a feminist narrative of collective action. It shows that, far from constituting autonomous and neutral objects, it is necessary to recognize the agency that digital technologies – in this case, the drone – have in forming new spaces of intervention in cities. In this sense, Castells’ work could benefit from extending its analytical focus to the different types of technology and mediating actors that play an important role in urban spaces.

With concerns in line with the works abovementioned, this issue encloses two interviews. One of them is given by Nailton de Agostinho Maia about the Smart City and inclusion in Rio de Janeiro, a city ranked as fifth in the global scale of “Smart

Cities” and that presents, on the other hand, a powerful and profound spatial and social fracture. The other interview was carried out with Lucas Melgaço, Assistant Professor at the Department of Criminology of Vrije Universiteit Brussel, on policing, surveillance and new technologies. In both cases, some maladjustments and contrasts are found – at least in Rio’s case – between a set of policies and interventions around “smart urbanism” and the day-to-day experience of large sectors of the city’s inhabitants marked by inequality and marginality.

On the other hand, in section “Current Debates”, and stepping away from the focus theme of this number, we are glad to present the discussion of three other books: “Global Knowledge Production in the Social Science. Made in Circulation” by Wiebke Keim, Ercüment Çelik, Christian Ersche and Veronika Wöhrer, “Development Discourse and Global History: From Colonialism to the Sustainable Development Goals” by Aram Ziai and “Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur”, edited by Wil Pansters.

Lastly, we would like to thank the authors for their excellent contribution, as well as everyone else that has provided their support in the process of publishing this number.

Digitalizando la Latinoamérica Urbana – ¿Un nuevo estrato para las desigualdades persistentes?

Frank Müller y Ramiro Segura

University of Amsterdam y Universidad Nacional de San Martín

La digitalización remite a un proceso de carácter multifacético que en las últimas décadas ha experimentado una expansión vertiginosa a escala global. El presente dossier de CROLAR se propone explorar una de esas facetas: la digitalización del espacio urbano en América Latina. De esta manera, las contribuciones recibidas discuten de qué forma se relacionan los avances en tecnologías digitales y las desigualdades sociales en la Latinoamérica urbana, y cuáles son las oportunidades y los obstáculos sociales, políticos, culturales y económicos que ofrecen para una urbanización más igualitaria, justa y participativa.

Se suele repetir – de un modo quizás un tanto mecánico – que América Latina es el continente más urbanizado y desigual del mundo. Sin perder de vista las dimensiones por momentos dramáticas de la desigualdad en el continente, pero a la vez buscando evitar el riesgo de caer en la generalización autoevidente, vale destacar que la expresión “Latinoamérica urbana” remite en este dossier a una geografía espacial, social y cultural heterogénea.

Por un lado, porque en lugar de presuponer una “ciudad latinoamericana” de contornos

definidos y características compartidas regionalmente, en las últimas décadas los estudios urbanos latinoamericanos han mostrado la heterogeneidad y la multiplicidad de expresiones del urbanismo en el continente, difícilmente reductibles a un modelo unívoco de ciudad.

Por otro lado, porque debemos reflexionar acerca de la heterogeneidad de realidades sociales, culturales y espaciales que se agrupan bajo la categoría censal y administrativa “urbano” en cada uno de los países de la región, que habitualmente incluye desde grandes megalópolis (las cuales han sido pensadas muchas veces desde el modelo de “la ciudad latinoamericana”) pasando por ciudades intermedias y llegando a pequeños poblados de unos pocos miles de habitantes. De modo similar a las advertencias realizadas a la idea de una “era urbana” a escala global, “lo urbano” en América Latina es mucho más plural de lo que a primera vista se podría llegar a suponer.

La digitalización se inscribe, entonces, en una realidad compleja y desigual que requiere para su comprensión de

la especificación de las situaciones y los contextos urbanos en los cuales se despliega y a los cuales modifica. De esta manera, se abre la indagación sobre teorías y métodos que permitan comprender las formas en que se relacionan lo digital y lo urbano así como los efectos espaciales, sociales, políticos y culturales que producen las tecnologías digitales en un entramado urbano desigual, evitando tanto las esperanzadas promesas tecnofílicas como los pesimistas pronósticos tecnofóbicos.

Cabe preguntarse, en cambio, cómo y de qué manera la digitalización – y sus promesas de mejorar la calidad de vida, impulsar el crecimiento económico y promover el desarrollo humano – podría contribuir a la superación de desigualdades históricamente constituidas y reafirmadas a nivel local y global. O, por el contrario, indagar si la digitalización pudiera llegar a convertirse en un “nuevo estrato” de las desigualdades persistentes en el Norte y el Sur globales, ofreciendo oportunidades de inversión para algunos, consumismo como estilo de vida para muchos, pero desconexión y exclusión digital para los marginalizados de siempre.

Teniendo estos interrogantes en el horizonte, las contribuciones que integran el presente dossier reseñan obras que ensayan posibles abordajes y variadas respuestas para el proceso de digitalización en América Latina, desde trabajos como “I-Polis. Ciudades en la era de Internet” de Susana Finkelievich, en el cual se realiza una historia, un balance y una prospectiva

futura de las relaciones entre urbanismo y nuevas tecnologías en América Latina, hasta libros como “Virtualização do corpo e sexualidades online: encontros gay, gênero e performatividade” de Kaciano Barbosa Gadelha, que indaga sobre el papel de la digitalización en las transformaciones de la sociabilidad, la corporalidad y la sexualidad.

Entre ambos polos se encuentran una serie de contribuciones preocupadas especialmente por los usos de la digitalización en la vigilancia, la seguridad y el control en el espacio urbano y sus efectos en la vida y las relaciones urbanas. En este sentido, en la sección “Intervenciones” el informe “Hacking Team malware para la vigilancia en América Latina” de Gisela Pérez de Acha indaga en los usos políticos de la información de internet, enfatizando en la necesidad de actualizar y de reforzar los marcos legales regulatorios del uso de la información por el estado.

En la sección “Review Articles”, el artículo de Claudio Altenhain reseña cuatro obras agrupadas en el campo del estudio de la vigilancia en Brasil: “Máquinas de ver, modos de ser: vigilância, tecnologia e subjetividade” de Fernanda Bruno, “Vigilância e visibilidade: espaço, tecnologia e identificação” editado por Fernanda Bruno, Marta Kanashiro y Rodrigo Firmino, “Todos os olhos: Videovigilâncias, voyeurismos e (re)produção imagética” de Bruno Cardoso, y “Securização urbana: da psicosfera do medo à tecnoesfera da segurança” de Lucas Melgaço. Desde la perspectiva del autor este conjunto de

obras hablan de la digitalización sobre y desde América Latina, donde un conjunto de procesos específicos – regímenes autoritarios en la historia reciente, sistemática violencia policial, persistentes desigualdades sociales, omnipresencia del miedo al delito y altos niveles de urbanización – habilitan a un abordaje situado local y culturalmente sobre las intersecciones entre digitalización (más específicamente, vigilancia) y espacio urbano, con el desafío a futuro de producir desde el sur un vocabulario teórico que permita no solo especificar las dinámicas en la región, sino fundamentalmente “provincializar” los estudios de vigilancia euro-norteamericanos.

Por su parte, con el trabajo de Marcela Suárez “Mediaciones tecnofeministas en contra de la violencia a las mujeres en México” hemos incluido un segundo “review article” en este volumen. Suarez presenta una lectura crítica del libro “Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet” de Manuel Castells. La base de su crítica es la experiencia de activismo feminista del colectivo *Rexiste* en México, quienes han utilizado nuevas tecnologías y estrategias de mediación digital para intervenir en espacios urbanos y digitales para hacer visible la creciente violencia contra las mujeres en México. La autora se muestra escéptica frente a la esperanza casi determinista con la cual Castells y otros han aplaudido las posibilidades brindadas por las innovaciones tecnológicas de comunicación para lanzar luchas sociales contra-poder. En

esta dirección se señala la ausencia en la obra de Castells de herramientas analíticas para analizar agencias no humanas y visibilizar las relaciones de poder dentro de una narrativa feminista de la acción colectiva. Muestra que lejos de ser objetos autónomos y neutrales, es necesario reconocer la agencia que las tecnologías digitales – en este caso el dron – tienen en la formación de nuevos espacios de intervención en las ciudades. En este sentido, la obra de Castells podría enriquecerse al ampliar el foco analítico a diversos tipos de tecnologías y actores mediadores que están teniendo un papel importante en los espacios urbanos.

Con preocupaciones convergentes a las obras mencionadas, este dossier cuenta con dos entrevistas. Una de ellas a Nailton de Agostinho Maia acerca de Smart City e inclusión social en Río de Janeiro, ciudad que se encuentra en el quinto puesto en el listado de las “Ciudades Inteligentes” a nivel global y presenta, a la vez, una poderosa y profunda fractura espacial y social. La otra entrevista fue realizada a Lucas Melgaço de la Vrije Universiteit Brussel sobre policiaamiento, vigilancia y nuevas tecnologías. En ambos casos se señalan ciertos desacoples y contrastes – al menos, en el caso de Río de Janeiro – entre un conjunto de políticas e intervenciones orientadas hacia el “urbanismo inteligente” y la experiencia social cotidiana de amplios sectores de habitantes de la ciudad signados por la desigualdad y la marginalidad.

Por otro lado, en la sección "Current Debates", y saliendo del enfoque temático de este número, nos alegra presentar la discusión de otros tres libros: "Global Knowledge Production in the Social Science. Made in Circulation" de Wiebke Keim, Ercüment Çelik, Christian Ersche y Veronika Wöhrer, "Development Discourse and Global History: From Colonialism to the Sustainable Development Goals" de Aram Ziai y "Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur", editado por Wil Pansters.

Por último, queremos agradecer a las y los autoras/es por sus excelentes contribuciones, así como a todos y todas los y las demás personas que nos apoyaron en el proceso de publicación de este número.

Digitalizando a América Latina Urbana – Um novo estrato para as desigualdades persistentes?

Frank Müller e Ramiro Segura

University of Amsterdam e Universidad Nacional de San Martín

A digitalização remete a um processo de caráter multifacetário que nas últimas décadas experimentou uma expansão vertiginosa em escala global. O presente dossiê da CROLAR se propõe a explorar uma dessas facetas: a digitalização do espaço urbano na América Latina. Desta maneira, as contribuições recebidas discutem de que forma se relacionam os avanços das tecnologias digitais e as desigualdades sociais na América Latina urbana, e quais são as oportunidades e os obstáculos sociais, políticos, culturais e econômicos que oferecem para uma urbanização mais igualitária, justa e participativa.

Geralmente se repete – de um modo talvez um tanto mecânico – que a América Latina é o continente mais urbanizado e desigual do mundo. Sem perder de vista as dimensões por vezes dramáticas da desigualdade no continente, mas também tentando evitar o risco de cair na generalização auto-evidente, vale destacar que a expressão “América Latina urbana” remete neste dossiê a uma geografia espacial, social e cultural heterogênea.

Por um lado porque no lugar de pressupor uma “cidade latino-americana”

de contornos definidos e características compartilhadas regionalmente, nas últimas décadas os estudos urbanos latino-americanos têm mostrado a heterogeneidade e a multiplicidade de expressões do urbanismo no continente, dificilmente redutíveis a um modelo único de cidade.

Por outro lado, devemos refletir acerca da heterogeneidade das realidades sociais, culturais e espaciais que estão agrupadas embaixo das categorias censitárias e administrativas urbanas em cada um dos países da região, que habitualmente incluem desde as grandes megalópoles (as quais foram pensadas muitas vezes a partir do modelo da “cidade latino-americana”), passando por cidades médias e chegando a pequenas cidades e povoados de uns poucos mil habitantes. De modo similar às advertências realizadas à ideia de uma “era urbana” em escala global, “o urbano” na América Latina é muito mais plural do que se poderia supor à primeira vista.

A digitalização se inscreve, então, em uma realidade complexa e desigual que requer para sua compreensão da especificidade das situações e dos contextos urbanos

dos quais se despreja e aos quais modifica. Desta maneira, se abre a indagação sobre teorias e métodos que permitam compreender as formas em que se relacionam o digital e o urbano, assim como os efeitos espaciais, sociais, políticos e culturais que produzem as tecnologias digitais em um quadro urbano desigual, evitando tanto as esperançosas promessas tecnofílicas quanto os prognósticos pessimistas tecnofóbicos. Cabe perguntar, em troca, como e de que maneira a digitalização – e suas promessas de melhorar a qualidade de vida, impulsionar o crescimento econômico e promover o desenvolvimento humano – poderia contribuir para a superação de desigualdades persistentes no Norte e no Sul globais, oferecendo oportunidades de inversão para alguns, consumismo como estilo de vida para muitos, mas também a desconexão e exclusão digital para os marginalizados de sempre.

Tendo estas interrogações em mente, as contribuições que integram o presente dossiê resenham obras que ensaiam possíveis abordagens e variadas respostas para o processo de digitalização na América Latina, desde trabalhos como “I-Polis. Ciudades en la era de Internet” de Susana Finkelievich, no qual se realiza uma história, um balanço e uma prospecção futura das relações entre urbanismo e novas tecnologias na América Latina, a livros como “Virtualização do corpo e sexualidades online: encontros gay, gênero e performatividade” de Kaciano Barbosa Gadelha, que indaga sobre o papel da digitalização nas transformações

da sociabilidade, da corporalidade e da sexualidade.

Entre ambos os pólos, encontram-se uma série de contribuições relacionadas especialmente ao uso da digitalização na vigilância, segurança e controle no espaço urbano e seus efeitos na vida e nas relações urbanas. Neste sentido, na seção “Interventions” o trabalho “Hacking Team malware para la vigilancia em América Latina”, de Gisela Pérez de Acha, questiona o uso político da informação da internet, enfatizando a necessidade de atualizar e reforçar os marcos legais regulatórios do uso da informação pelo estado.

Na seção “Review Articles”, o artigo de Claudio Altenhain resenha quatro obras agrupadas no campo do estudo da vigilância no Brasil: “Máquinas de ver, modos de ser: vigilância, tecnologia e subjetividade” de Fernanda Bruno, “Vigilância e visibilidade: espaço, tecnologia e identificação” editado por Fernanda Bruno, Marta Kanashiro e Rodrigo Firmino, “Todos os olhos: videovigilâncias, voyeurismos e (re) produção imagética” de Bruno Cardoso, e “Securização urbana: psicoesfera do medo à tecnoesfera da segurança” de Lucas Melgaço. Na perspectiva do autor, este conjunto de obras falam da digitalização sobre e da América Latina, de onde um conjunto de processos específicos – regimes autoritários na história recente, sistemática violência policial, persistentes desigualdades sociais, onipresença do medo ao delito e altos níveis de urbanização – possibilitam uma abordagem situada local e culturalmente

sobre as interseções entre digitalização (mais especificamente, vigilância) e espaço urbano, com o desafio futuro de produzir no sul um vocabulário teórico que permita não somente especificar as dinâmicas na região, mas também fundamental “provincializar” os estudos de vigilância euro-norte-americanos.

Por sua vez, com o trabalho de Marcela Suárez “Mediaciones tecnofeministas em contra de la violencia a las mujeres em México”, incluímos um segundo artigo neste volume. Suárez apresenta uma leitura crítica do livro “Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet” de Manuel Castells. A base de sua crítica é a experiência de ativismo feminista do coletivo *Rexiste* no México, que tem utilizado novas tecnologias e estratégias de mediação digital para intervir nos espaços urbanos e digitais de modo a tornar visível a crescente violência contra as mulheres no México. A autora mostra-se cética frente à esperança quase determinista com a qual Castells e outros aplaudiram as possibilidades trazidas pelas inovações tecnológicas de comunicação para lançar lutas sociais contra o poder. Nesta direção, se registra na obra de Castells a ausência das ferramentas analíticas para analisar agências não humanas e visibilizar as relações de poder dentro de uma narrativa feminista de ação coletiva. Mostra que, longe de serem objetos autônomos e neutros, é necessário reconhecer a agência que as tecnologias digitais – neste caso, o drone – tem na formação de novos espaços de intervenção nas cidades.

Neste sentido, a obra de Castells poderia enriquecer-se ao ampliar o foco analítico aos diversos tipos de tecnologia e atores mediadores que estão tendo um papel importante nos espaços urbanos.

Com preocupações convergentes às obras mencionadas, este dossiê conta com duas entrevistas. Uma delas a Nailton de Agostinho Maia sobre a Smart City e inclusão social no Rio de Janeiro, cidade que se encontra em quinto lugar na lista de “Cidades Inteligentes” a nível global e apresenta, por outro lado, uma poderosa e profunda fratura espacial e social. A outra entrevista foi realizada com Lucas Melgaço de la Vrije Universiteit Brussel sobre policiamento, vigilância e novas tecnologias. Em ambos os casos, se registram certos desajustes e contrastes – ao menos, no caso do Rio de Janeiro – entre um conjunto de políticas e intervenções orientadas para o “urbanismo inteligente” e a experiência social cotidiana de amplos setores de habitantes da cidade marcados pela desigualdade e marginalidade.

Por outro lado, na seção “Current Debates”, e saindo do enfoque temático deste número, temos o prazer de apresentar a discussão de outros três livros: “Global Knowledge Production in the Social Science. Made in Circulation” de Wiebke Keim, Ercüment Çelik, Christian Ersche e Veronika Wöhrer, “Development Discourse and Global History: From Colonialism to the Sustainable Development Goals” de Aram Ziai e “Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The

Other Half of the Centaur”, editado por Wil Pansters.

Por último, queremos agradecer aos autores(as) por suas excelentes contribuições, assim como a todos e todas as demais pessoas que nos apoiaram no processo de publicação deste número.

FOCUS

Susana Finkelievich (2016)

I-Polis. Ciudades en la era de Internet

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Reseñado por Girolimo Ulises

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La relación entre las ciudades y las Tecnologías de Información y Comunicación (TIC) ha sido abordada desde diversos enfoques y disciplinas. Las miradas tecnofóbicas, en las que las ciudades eran asoladas por catástrofes tecnológicas y aparecían como víctimas de la tecnología, exhibieron los temores respecto al avance tecnológico, principalmente en la década del 80 y 90. Al mismo tiempo, un peso similar tuvieron las miradas tecnofílicas, que depositaban grandes expectativas en que las tecnologías resolvieran por sí mismas problemáticas que ni la política ni la sociedad habían sido capaces de hacer.

¿Qué se cumplió en la Sociedad del Conocimiento en los últimos 30 años con respecto a lo que se esperaba de ella en el universo particular de las ciudades? ¿Cuáles fueron las consecuencias del avance de internet y las TIC sobre el territorio social y físico urbano? ¿De qué manera es posible realizar una apropiación beneficiosa para la ciudad de la tecnología? ¿Cómo se relaciona el espacio virtual con el espacio real? ¿Podemos seguir pensando en un

espacio real? ¿Cuál sería entonces el irreal? Son algunos de los interrogantes que estructuran el libro.

La relación entre la ciudad y la tecnología no comienza con el despliegue de las TIC que se produjo en las décadas pasadas. Por el contrario, el propio surgimiento de las ciudades estuvo vinculado con el desarrollo tecnológico y de conocimientos que permitieron la radicación de una porción de la población en un territorio determinado. La ciudad es tecnología. Es el espacio en el que éstas se crean, se difunden, se transforman.

Existe un amplio debate respecto a cómo conceptualizar la etapa en la cual surge el informacionalismo, o al decir de Castells, el nuevo modelo de desarrollo informacional. Sociedad postindustrial, capitalismo informacional, capitalismo cognitivo, sociedad de la información, sociedad del conocimiento, son sin duda conceptualizaciones que, si bien no se refieren específicamente a los mismos fenómenos, caracterizan una etapa en la cual internet – no como tecnología sino

como forma de organización social – se esparce por todas las dimensiones de la sociedad.

Finquelievich retoma debates y producciones teóricas que adquirieron notoriedad a mediados de la década de 1990, y que marcaron un punto de inflexión en la temática. 1995 fue un año especial, dice la autora. No sólo fue el momento crucial de penetración de internet en América Latina, sino que además se publicaron dos libros fundamentales: “La ciudad informacional” de Manuel Castells, y “City of Bits” de William Mitchell. Previo a ello, en 1991 se publicó “The Global City” de Saskia Sassen. El abordaje de estos estudios, con matices, profundidades y objetivos diferentes, pusieron sobre el tapete la discusión en torno a la reconfiguración de las relaciones entre lo local y lo global, las transformaciones en las ciudades producto de la reestructuración capitalista que trajo aparejado el nuevo modelo de organización socio-técnica: el modo de desarrollo informacional. Incluso, desde un abordaje diferente en cuanto al estilo ensayístico, el trabajo de William Mitchell – de tinte netamente tecnofílico – anima la discusión sobre las tensiones y nuevas interacciones entre lo virtual, electrónico, digital y lo físico-material: entre el espacio y un nuevo territorio que podría denominarse como ciberespacio.

Sin desconocer los aportes teóricos de los autores mencionados, Finquelievich decide apoyarse en el concepto de Sociedades del Conocimiento para caracterizar el estadio que atraviesan

ciertas sociedades en las que la revolución tecnológica – focalizada en el procesamiento de información y la consiguiente creación, difusión, recreación y utilización de nuevos conocimientos – adquiere un rol central para alentar el desarrollo socioeconómico.

El trabajo se organiza en cuatro partes. En la primera, se abordan las rupturas tecnológicas, los puntos de inflexión que marcaron el quiebre de los modos de hacer técnicos y sociales preexistentes y ejercieron efectos sobre las ciudades. La segunda parte aborda los temores que trajo aparejado el desarrollo tecnológico en las ciudades: el descontrol de la tecnología, el desempleo tecnológico, la desaparición de la ciudad, y la vigilancia de los ciudadanos.

La tercera parte se sumerge en las expectativas y las promesas cumplidas como consecuencia del desarrollo tecnológico en la ciudad: la producción de conocimiento mediante la creación de medios innovadores, la incorporación de tecnologías para avanzar en la construcción del gobierno electrónico y los nuevos equipamientos urbanos (desde Centros Tecnológicos Comunitarios, pasando por los cibercafés hasta el surgimiento del concepto del coworking).

En la cuarta parte se indaga sobre las tendencias y fenómenos no previstos: la búsqueda de la ciudad inteligente, que parece ser una de las principales temáticas que impregnan las agendas

públicas sobre la utilización de internet en la ciudad; y la penetración de las redes sociales, sus tensiones y potencialidades en la generación de nuevas identidades, prácticas y vínculos socio-políticos que debilita los muros que separan al espacio físico del virtual.

Por último, la autora arriesga algunas conclusiones y una serie de caminos que todavía quedan por transitar. Una de las aseveraciones fuertes que plantea es que a pesar de la poca percepción de la influencia física de la Sociedad del Conocimiento en las ciudades, se han producido transformaciones profundas en las formas en las cuales las personas utilizan el espacio y tiempo social, y en las cuales se movilizan, trabajan, se relacionan con el gobierno, hacen política, se vinculan en la amistad y el amor, enseñan y aprenden.

Una de las hipótesis establece que los desarrollos tecnológicos que se producirán de aquí en más ejercerán cambios socio-espaciales más profundos que los registrados hasta la actualidad. La inevitable metropolización y densificación de las ciudades conducirá a la necesaria implementación de planes de desarrollo sustentables que difícilmente puedan prescindir de las TIC para hacer soportable la vida en dichas aglomeraciones.

A modo de cierre, se destaca como elemento transversal al trabajo la búsqueda permanente por evitar caer en el determinismo tecnológico. Hay un esfuerzo por complejizar la comprensión

y el estudio sobre las formas en las que ciudad, tecnología y sociedad interactúan. Una lectura aguda del trabajo arroja una guía completa de investigaciones futuras, ya que lejos de cerrar los debates, hay una búsqueda por abrirlos.

Kaciano Barbosa Gadelha (2015)

Virtualização do corpo e sexualidades online: encontros gay, gênero e performatividade

Berlin: Freie Universität Dissertationen Online¹/FB Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften, 233 p.

Reviewed by Nicolas Wasser

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Digitalization and technological tools and advancements are profoundly de- and reterritorializing urban spaces at a global level. Leading social media and online app platforms have redistributed both the sites of identity production and the circulation of bodies. How do digital communication and new forms of online-offline encounters affect subjectivity as well as the (im)materialities of space? And are traditional social theory concepts able to sufficiently comprehend these changes? Brazilian queer-feminist theorist Kaciano Gadelha faces these challenges, taking Bruno Latour's call for a reassembling of the social seriously (Latour 2005).

In his dissertation, defended at Freie Universität Berlin, he studies the universe of online gay dating and networks by critically reexamining the performativity of sexuality and gender. Gadelha, who is currently working on gender and queer studies at Universidade Federal do Ceará, endeavors to understand how

gay platform users are drawing new sexual cartographies by intra-acting with technologies, humans, non-humans, genders and desires. What emanates from these moving processes, the author concludes, are not simply new hybrids or fragmented bodies in the form of digitalized codes and pixels. Gadelha also observes an intensification of erotic forces that has given rise to virtual-material spaces and non-identitarian subjectivities.

The book is comprised of five chapters along with an introduction and concluding remarks. In its compact introduction, Gadelha emphasizes situated knowledge (Haraway 1991), which echoes his personal experiences of "being gay in a big Brazilian city" that had very restricted spaces for the LGBT community. His participant approach as a user of online gay dating platforms is interpreted as assemblages of connection and social "disconnection from normality" (15). Calling for a "technological perspective of gender" (19), Gadelha's research questions take two directions. On the one hand, he explores which "performativities of

¹ http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/FUDISS_derivate_000000017608/BarbosaGadelhaKdiss.pdf

gender and sexuality are being endorsed” (21) through online sites like Gayromeo. On the other hand, he is engaged with overcoming “constructivist reductionism” (21), thus seeking a symmetric agency of human, as well as non-human, actors and new technologies.

Chapter One outlines the theoretical apparatus essential for a technological perspective on gender. Gadelha’s main concern are the flaws of constructivist theory and namely the paradoxical insistence in searching for a “territory of identitarian purity” (60). In the author’s opinion, this could be corrected by acknowledging the hybrid conditions in which technological machines and power can produce sexually differentiated bodies.

Chapter Two describes the technological tools, functions and users’ interactions on Gayromeo. After a conceptual discussion about online gay communities, Gadelha exposes his participant research methods as a platform user; this included online and offline interviews carried out in Germany, Brazil, Mexico and Austria. A user’s looks and virtual navigations turn out to lend to a “digital subjectivity to bodies without faces, for example” (95). Compared to the outcomes of offline meetings, these subjectivities are filed in an online archive – possessing a virtual materiality that can be examined by other users independent of their location (99).

Chapters Three and Four explore the experiences of Gayromeo users through

the analytical keys of archive and repertoire as coined by performance theorist Diana Taylor (2003). Gadelha describes how many users experience the gay dating platform as something that liberates their sexuality in empowering ways. Also, Gadelha focuses on how masculinity and heteronormativity both change and coexist with online gender performativities (148). Several users, for instance, admitted to have changed their real age in their online profiles in order to seem more attractive to other users. Furthermore, the virtual plays articulate social markers of race or nationality, often idealizing “foreign territories” (165). Nevertheless, Gadelha insists that these markers should not to be seen as “identitarian segmentations”, but rather as “parodic effects” (175) of performative practices.

This sometimes surprising effort to de- and reconstruct an analytical distinction between online and offline, virtual and real, continues in Chapter Five through a theoretical discussion around processes of virtualization. Drawing upon Deleuze (2007), Gadelha highlights the virtual as a “perceptive realm” different from that of “the actual present, in which things are materialized” (176). The subject of the gay dating platform can chat or flirt with numerous users simultaneously, something that is not visible or known by other users. Furthermore, these virtual interactions take place in moments or spaces not previously defined as gay zones. These “new erotic geographies” and sexualities, Gadelha observes, have left behind static localization in favor

of an “aesthetics of navigation”, where “pulverized excitement” defines the erotic momentum of space (216).

This book is captivating by its theoretical acuteness and refined language. Gadelha skillfully discusses concepts such as performativity or heteronormativity, that have been put forward by queer and feminist studies, relating them to his empirical inquiry. He essentially widens the scope of reflection regarding technology, sexuality and the virtual with the guidance of recent approaches from (feminist) new materialism (see Barad 2003).

One point of criticism is certainly the partially fragile balance between empiric data and theory, as the reader is, at some point, left to speculate as to whether the narratives of Gayromeo users can be matched with the arguments of nonrepresentational analytics. Owing to Gadelha’s strong emphasis on flux and the hybrid, it becomes difficult to grasp the political implications that are so pervasive in the texts of feminist authors discussed. Whether online sexualities enable “affinity politics” (Haraway 1991) remains an open question. Finally, a historical or time-diagnostic contextualization of how the interplay of technological innovations and the articulation of gay identities and gender relations are linked to deep social and political transformations in urban spaces – as for example the works of Ernesto Meccia (2011) show – would have been useful.

Nevertheless, Gadelha’s book is highly inspiring in its efforts to overcome (de)constructivist understandings of (gender) performativity, space and agency. Thus, it presents an essential reading for all those interested in processes of digitalization and sexuality together with new materialist approaches to spatial and cultural effects of digital technologies.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

Localizing Surveillance: All Eyes on Latin America

Fernanda Bruno (2013): *Máquinas de ver, modos de ser: vigilância, tecnologia e subjetividade*, Porto Alegre: Editora Sulina, 190 p.

Fernanda Bruno, Marta Kanashiro & Rodrigo Firmino (ed.) (2010): *Vigilância e visibilidade: espaço, tecnologia e identificação*, Porto Alegre: Editora Sulina, 296 p.

Bruno Cardoso (2014): *Todos os olhos: Videovigilâncias, voyeurismos e (re)produção imagética*, Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ e FAPERJ, 321 p.

Lucas Melgaço (2010): *Securização urbana: da psicoesfera do medo à tecnoesfera da segurança*, São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 274 p.

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During the past decade or so, surveillance studies have established themselves as an autonomous branch of social research in Latin America. Given the fact that the field originated in Western Europe and North America (for a brief historical outline, cf. Lyon, Haggerty & Ball 2012), this is certainly a highly welcome development – not least since many Latin American societies display certain peculiarities which are likely to affect surveillance practices in one way or another.

In view of factors such as the recent history of authoritarian regimes and notoriously violent police, stark social inequalities and the pervasive fear of street crime, high levels of urbanization, or the often frail public infrastructure(s), carrying out surveillance studies in Latin America promises to yield outcomes which might change the field as a whole

by problematizing some of its tacit underpinnings.

De-centering entrenched accounts of state sovereignty, neoliberal governance, or the public-private divide are integral to its overdue provincialization, as urged by Murakami Wood (2009). For this reason, both pertinent research on Latin America as well as from a Latin American point of view might do a lot to advance this relatively new and fast-growing field of study. While the present article draws almost exclusively upon Brazilian authors, it is supposed to serve as a “directional reference” that might be extrapolated to other national contexts within the “Global South” and beyond.

Out of the four books, Fernanda Bruno’s *Máquinas de ver, modos de ser* is both the most general and the least empirical. The

author traces the intricate relationship between visibility and subjectivity, particularly in our present age of pervasive, automated surveillance and all-encompassing communication networks as the main facilitators of an ever-increasing production and distribution of digital images. The book is based on a collection of essays that have already appeared in various journals; however, it also contains some vignettes taken from her blog¹ so as to elucidate her train of thought.

The book's scope is a truly comprehensive one, but Bruno still manages to deliver a nuanced argument far from commonplace. Her core argument is that we live in an era of "distributed surveillance" (Bruno 2013: 17), drawing mostly on Deleuze's comments about the "societies of control" (Deleuze 1992), as well as on insights about "distributed agency" (Latour 1993) and techno-social actor-networks, which can be derived from science and technology studies. In a nutshell, her main argument holds that late modernity has brought about a new topology of subjectivity – an eversion, as it were, of the bourgeois distinction between interiority and exteriority, the public and the private (as famously elaborated in Habermas 1989), after which the inherited difference of surface and depth has ceased to capture anything substantial.

Correspondingly, contemporary practices of surveillance would draw upon an actuarial paradigm of risk and pre-

emption which has to be understood as performative rather than ideological, productive rather than repressive. CCTV cameras, for instance, enforce a regime of visibilities in which "'appearing normal' is more decisive than 'being normal'" (Bruno 2013: 96) – a techno-spatially enacted reconfiguration of subjectivity, as it were.

The numerical mode of governmentality described in the third chapter would, then, take this configuration a step further insofar as it dissolves its object into a huge pile of aggregated data; correlation and extrapolation would come to irrevocably supplant any notion of causality in governing individuals as well as populations and herald the advent of a thoroughly "post-theoretical" age (Anderson 2008). The author does not fail to mention the crucial role of the private sector in data mining for governmental purposes. Indeed, as if to prove her right, one of Brazil's major cellphone providers recently announced that it will cede its data to the COR, Rio de Janeiro's multi-purpose surveillance center – as part of a public-private effort to make the city more "intelligent".²

While *Maquinas de ver, modos de ser* is theoretically dense and well-written, it still treats surveillance as a somewhat "placeless" phenomenon – as becomes clear when consulting the bibliography, in which Latin American scholars

1 Cf. <http://dispositivodevisibilidade.blogspot.com/> . Last access on 09/13/2016.

2 Cf. "TIM disponibiliza big data a parceiros externos para desenvolvimento de soluções inteligentes"; <http://www.tim.com.br/sp/sobre-a-tim/sala-de-imprensa/press-releases/institucional/tim-disponibiliza-big-data-a-parceiros-externos-para-desenvolvimento-de-solucoes-inteligentes>. Last access on 09/13/2016.

represent an almost negligible minority. *Vigilância e visibilidade: espaço, tecnologia e identificação* is a more locally specific publication insofar as it is explicitly concerned with Latin American “cases” of surveillance and the regional peculiarities it may entail.

Among the contributions most pertinent to our understanding of surveillance in digitalized urban spaces, one might mention Nelson Arteaga Botello’s article on the implementation of CCTV cameras in Huixquilucan, an affluent but socioeconomically divided suburb of Mexico City. Botello observes that surveillance practices always oscillate between a logic of protection and a logic of social control – and that it is crucial to carefully examine the discourses uttered to justify and legitimize it so as to determine how both aspects are balanced against each other. In the case of Huixquilucan, the author argues, administrative dividing lines – largely coinciding with existing patterns of socioeconomic segregation – came to delineate two classes of populations, one of which depicted as transient and deviant and, therefore, as threatening the municipality’s “proper” citizens.

Botello shows how this questionable division was promoted by a coalition of local governmental officials, private security companies and neighborhood associations and, not least, how it was eventually “inscribed” into the surveillance scheme installed. In the given context, the article is especially insightful insofar

as it highlights a crucial, yet often ignored feature of surveillance practices – namely, that they frequently aim at disciplining and/or controlling a particular social group.

In a similar vein, Rafael Barreto de Castro and Rosa Maria Leite Ribeiro Pedro propose a “cartography” of the CCTV network implemented in Guarujá, a wealthy beach resort nearby São Paulo. However, while Botello’s contribution on Huixquilucan depicts the deployment of surveillance technology as a materialization of mostly pre-defined social interests, Castro and Pedro concede a broader margin of agency to the actor-network itself, that is: they go at greater lengths to describe its growth as an emergent and non-linear process that generates its proper truth-effects along the way. It is from this perspective that the authors conceive the system’s “expansive” development not as an intrinsic quality, but as a dynamic that unfolds incrementally – and which, nonetheless, gains sufficient momentum to make future scenarios without this kind of virtually unconceivable infrastructure. In this context, the way the system is couched in terms of “efficiency” and “modernity” by both the police and civil society is particularly insightful.

Meanwhile, in their article on identification and exclusion in Brazil, David Murakami Wood and Rodrigo Firmino draw attention to a frequently overlooked feature of contemporary surveillance practices: their ambiguous character between repression and inclusion. Accordingly, especially for socially marginalized Brazilians,

anonymity would be a threat rather than a promise, that is, the horror of oblivion weighs heavier than potential fears of the surveillance state. The authors exemplify their argument by referring to the case of Bolsa Família, a landmark welfare scheme which links the will to identification to the broadening of social rights. Keeping this ambivalent connotation of (state) surveillance in mind – particularly in such “disjunctive” (Holston & Caldeira 1998) societies as Brazil – might add some nuance to better understand the seemingly uncritical acceptance of surveillance in various countries of the “Global South”.

In *Todos os olhos*, Bruno Cardoso presents his doctoral thesis about CCTV in Rio de Janeiro. The starting point of his inquiry is simple, yet elegant: the author proposes an ethnography of the (surveilling) gaze – of the practices and devices through which it is brought into being, of what it reveals and conceals, and of its embedding in regimes of regulation and moralization. His thesis’ centerpiece consists in a thick description of the working (and watching) routines in two monitoring centers, established in anticipation of the FIFA World Cup and operated by Rio’s military police. Rich in ethnographic detail, the work puts particular emphasis on the many unresolved issues that impede the system’s daily operations. It is often placed on the interface between the human and the non-human actors constituting the surveillance network: a significant share of the policemen did not bring along the technical skills necessary to perform even the simplest computer operations.

Likewise, the “surveillance workers” entrusted with evaluating the camera’s images were mostly overcharged by the sheer amount of information they had to deal with. Besides, the reader learns that the “purely technical” infrastructure also did not work as smoothly as announced: with a major part of the surveillance network drawing upon radio communication, the heavy rainfalls common in Rio weaken the signal up to the point of disruption.

A major thread running through the study is the phenomenological similarity (and, at times, indistinguishability) of surveillance and voyeurism. Cardoso’s second ethnographic site being the monitoring room in Copacabana, the proximity of the famous beach as a locus of lax morals and sexual transgression clearly has a structuring impact upon the policemen’s (they are indeed predominantly male in both settings) watching practices – a fact which becomes manifest in the jokes and anecdotes by means of which the staff seems to negotiate this kind of dilemma. This ambivalence is also taken up in the book’s last part dedicated to the “super-abundant” online circuits along which surveillance imagery is distributed, thus satisfying and sustaining the desire for ever more “real” material – typically in the “genres” of sex and violence. However, the author also underlines how this kind of fetish generates a flourishing economy of simulacra in which the very distinction between “real” and “fake” images becomes increasingly contingent.

As compared to the other publications discussed, Lucas Melgaço's *Securização urbana* differs insofar as, being a geographical piece of work, it is mainly concerned with questions of spatiality or, rather, the production as well as productivity thereof. Consequently, practices of surveillance do not constitute the conceptual starting point; instead, they come in as an explanatory factor for the "securitization of (urban) territory" (Melgaço 2010: 66), which represents the main object of study. Besides the installation of CCTV cameras, Melgaço therefore also deals with the phenomena of "defensive" architecture (ibid.: 120) and the proliferation of gated communities. His case is the city of Campinas, a major town in upstate São Paulo. Despite being one of Brazil's richest cities, Campinas is characterized by stark socio-economic contrasts and high rates of violence as well as organized crime. Consequently, the fear of being victimized is pervasive among the better-off parts of its population.

It is here, in the "psycho-sphere of fear" (ibid.: 105), that Melgaço starts his inquiry which later leads him towards the "techno-sphere of security" (ibid.: 106) – the sphere of commodified protection against the lurking criminal threat. The concepts of "psycho-" and "techno-sphere" are derived from the work of Milton Santos, a Brazilian geographer advocating a dialectical concept of space as in-becoming rather than a static and a-historical "container" of social praxis. Melgaço is thus able to depict "securization" as a spatial dynamics which takes place both materially (by

the deployment of security devices) and immaterially (by the proliferation of crime-related fears). Santos' oeuvre also provides many of Melgaço's other basic terms – which is gratifying insofar as Santos was committed to come up with proper theoretical categories made to specifically fit the formation of territory in Brazil and in the countries of the "Global South", more generally (cf. in particular Santos 2004).

In the context of surveillance and digitalized urbanism, the most insightful chapter is certainly the one on the "informatization of the everyday", according to which territory, crime, and security are all subject to increasing techno-spatial mediations. Drawing upon Santos' notion of a "violence of information" (Melgaço 2010: 184), it indeed appeals to similar phenomena such as the imagetic circuits analyzed by Bruno Cardoso, albeit from a different theoretical starting point and much less in-depth. Generally speaking, the conceptual toolbox provided by Milton Santos entails a stronger emphasis upon processes of globalization and totalization. Besides, men seems to stand firmly in the center of his reasoning, which includes a more categorical differentiation between the social and the non-social "matter" of surveillance technologies. This is clearly different in Bruno Cardoso's thesis, where human and non-human actors interact more symmetrically and the notion of "alienation", recurrent in Melgaço's study, is absent for good reasons.

In short, the four publications discussed provide a broad – albeit far from exhaustive – idea of how surveillance studies could benefit from a more locally as well as culturally situated approach. More specifically, they might draw our attention towards the question of how the loci of surveillance emerge as provisional outcomes of complex techno-social mediations which are virtually impossible to apprehend in advance. Ideally, such an approach would abstain from “contextual” explanations (such as “culture” or “technology”) altogether.

Virtually all of the publications discussed here grapple with this challenge in one way or another, which makes them a valuable reading for scholars of surveillance way beyond Latin America’s geographical borders. Meanwhile, a desideratum for future research might consist in constructing a more emphatically “indigenous” theoretical vocabulary, that is: “provincializing” not only the “typical” cases and underlying grand narratives of Euro-American surveillance studies, but also the conceptual foundations it draws upon – even if they skillfully hide their proper origin within Euro-modernity (Law & Lin 2015). In this sense, a call for a more self-confident “theory from the South” (Comaroff & Comaroff 2011) would particularly entail more emphatically Latin American scholarship on European cases – an uncomfortably scarce phenomenon at present.

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Mediaciones tecnofeministas en contra de la violencia a las mujeres en México

Manuel Castells (2015): *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet*, Cambridge/Malden: Polity Press, 318 p.

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La violencia contra las mujeres es un problema latente en México. Según estadísticas proporcionadas por el Gobierno Federal y por ONU Mujeres, en el país de 1985 a 2014 hubo 47,178 feminicidios (SEGOB, 2016). Es preocupante que en los últimos cuatro años se han incrementado los casos de feminicidios de manera vertiginosa. Estos hechos no pueden entenderse de manera aislada. México está atrapado en altos niveles de corrupción, impunidad e incremento generalizado de violencia asociados al combate al narcotráfico. Por desgracia, dichos feminicidios no se han investigado con una perspectiva de género.

De hecho, la mayoría de ellos permanecen invisibles o sin castigo. En este contexto, colectivos feministas han utilizado nuevas tecnologías y estrategias de mediación digital para intervenir en espacios urbanos y digitales y así hacer visible la creciente violencia contra las mujeres en el país. Este es el caso del colectivo feminista *Rexiste*. Dicho colectivo está desarrollando redes socio-digitales para abrir nuevos espacios

de participación política. *Rexiste* produce lo que Castells llama “espacios híbrido” que significa la combinación de un espacio en un determinado lugar y territorio con un espacio de flujos en Internet (Castells 2015, p. 171).

En la segunda edición del libro *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet* publicada en 2015, Castells analiza las dinámicas, los valores y las potenciales transformaciones sociales de los movimientos sociales para articular resistencias. El libro parte de hipótesis derivadas de la observación de la naturaleza y perspectivas de los movimientos sociales con el objetivo de identificar nuevos patrones de cambio social e incitar el debate acerca de diferentes movilizaciones a nivel global. La primera edición de este libro fue en el 2012. Esta segunda edición cuenta con diez capítulos, siendo dos de éstos nuevos. En uno de ellos Castells analiza la formación de espacios híbridos en los casos de #Yosoy132 en México (2012), las protestas por la denuncia de corrupción en Brasil (2013-2014), los enfrentamientos

en Turquía (2013) y el movimiento estudiantil en Chile (2011-2013). El otro capítulo añadido analiza el impacto de dichos movimientos en términos de cambio político. El libro contiene una caracterización de las formas y significados de lo que Castells llama los *networked social movements*. Con este término el autor analiza el papel que tiene Internet en la movilización de la acción colectiva más allá de sus contextos locales. El libro está dirigido a investigadores, activistas, pensadores críticos, entre otros.

A través del análisis del caso del colectivo *Rexiste*, este ensayo tiene como objetivo problematizar los entendimientos actuales de las diversas tecnologías digitales como artefactos autónomos y neutrales para visibilizar las relaciones de poder que se reproducen. El objetivo es plantear reflexiones basadas en dicha obra de Castells para promover nuevos entendimientos del papel que las nuevas tecnologías digitales tienen en la apertura de espacios híbridos para articular la participación política y la impugnación de poder. Sin embargo, al cumplir dicho cometido, este ensayo también muestra los límites de la obra de Castells en cuanto a la falta de herramientas analíticas para analizar agencias no humanas y visibilizar las relaciones de poder dentro de los movimientos sociales. En este sentido, la obra de Castells puede ser complementada con la literatura feminista tecnoscintífica como detalle al final de este ensayo.

El ensayo toca tres temas discutidos por el autor relacionados con el papel que está teniendo Internet en dichos movimientos. El primer tema se refiere al papel de Internet en la emergencia de espacios híbridos. El segundo tiene que ver con la emergencia de estrategias de contra-poder. El tercero está relacionado con la conexión entre los diferentes movimientos sociales a nivel global. Al respecto, el autor señala que los movimientos en red tienen un elemento en común: la creación de redes autónomas de comunicación a través de la red y sistemas de comunicación inalámbricas. Esto promueve la emergencia de comunidades locales y globales a la vez, así como prácticas comunes debido a que sus acciones están conectadas.

Los tres temas propuestos por Castells serán analizados a la luz de las prácticas del colectivo *Rexiste* que lleva a cabo intervenciones en espacios urbanos con la ayuda de su así llamada hermana pequeña "Droncita". Droncita es, por un lado, un vehículo aéreo no tripulado (dron) que ha sido apropiado por el colectivo como tecnología socio-digital para tomar fotos y videos en protestas e intervenciones públicas a manera de crear narrativas visuales de contra-cultura. Por otro lado, Droncita es también un personaje de ficción femenino en la lucha por el cambio sociopolítico en México. De hecho, tiene su propia cuenta de Twitter y YouTube donde a través de sus posts desafía los discursos públicos de las autoridades. Droncita es así un actor híbrido que conecta y traduce, es decir, media los espacios urbanos y digitales.



Fuente: Captura de pantalla tomada por Marcela Suarez de la cuenta de Twitter de Droncita con autorización del colectivo.

El colectivo *Rexiste* junto con *Droncita* ha participado en varias intervenciones y movilizaciones públicas para aumentar la conciencia a escala global sobre los feminicidios y la violencia contra las mujeres, la desaparición de personas (como la de los 43 estudiantes normalistas de Ayotzinapa), violaciones a los derechos humanos, así como la criminalización de protestas civiles.

Una movilización importante fue la llevada a cabo el pasado 24 de abril de 2016 en la marcha en contra de la violencia machista en la Ciudad de México. La protesta empezó en la explanada de Ecatepec (Estado de México) que es el municipio que actualmente ocupa el primer lugar en defunciones femeninas con presunción de homicidio en México (SEGOB, 2016). Ahí, se reunieron diferentes colectivos feministas quienes pintaron con enormes letras blancas un *tag* monumental con la frase: „Estado Feminicida“. Desde arriba y a la distancia, *Droncita* tomó fotos de las letras a manera de acto simbólico en el espacio urbano para visibilizar la impunidad y la falta de investigación judicial en los casos de feminicidios. Además, en la cuenta de

Droncita en Twitter se dio un seguimiento de la marcha a través de videos. Las fotografías fueron posteadas en la cuentas de redes sociales con frases como „vivas nos queremos“ o „primavera violeta“. Después del mega tag en la explanada de Ecatepec, la movilización continuó hacia el Monumento a la Revolución en la Ciudad de México. Las y los manifestantes vestían de color violeta a manera de acto simbólico para ocupar el espacio público y reivindicar prácticas históricas de activismos feministas.

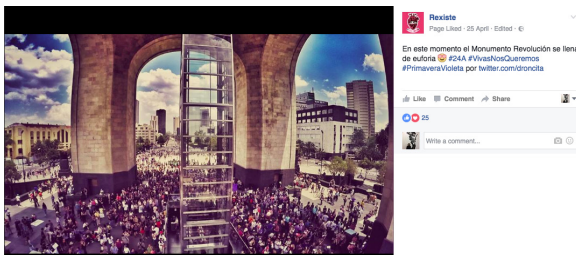


Fuente: Captura de pantalla tomada por Marcela Suarez de la cuenta de Facebook de *Rexiste* con autorización del colectivo.

¿Internet o una red de tecnologías socio-digitales?

Las prácticas de *Rexiste* muestran el papel que están teniendo las tecnologías digitales en la generación de nuevas formas de intervención en espacios urbanos y estrategias de contra-cultura. Si bien la obra de Castells se enfoca en el papel de Internet en la acción colectiva, la experiencia de este colectivo muestra que es una red más amplia de tecnologías digitales junto con agencias distribuidas

con las integrantes de los colectivos las que explican las movilizaciones y creación de espacios híbridos (urbanos y digitales). Entre ellas destacan por ejemplo software, drones, plataformas de redes sociales, tabletas, computadoras, entre otras. Rexiste, por ejemplo, está apropiando un dron como una tecnología socio-digital disruptiva para promover redes de actores heterogéneos. Esta apropiación es a la vez una innovación en la intervención en espacios públicos y protestas que también forma parte de los movimientos sociales en red. Esto hace un llamado a descentrar el enfoque común en Internet sobre el análisis de las tecnologías digitales y abrir el debate a la red de actores humanos y no humanos que movilizan la acción colectiva para intervenir en espacios híbridos.



Fuente: Captura de pantalla tomada por Marcela Suarez de la cuenta de Facebook de Rexiste con autorización del colectivo.

De espacios híbridos y mediaciones

La literatura de participación política y movimientos sociales hace un llamado para trascender la llamada „división digital“ (*off/on-line*) entre los espacios urbanos y virtuales. La idea es analizar las prácticas de los colectivos con el fin de rastrear las interconexiones mediante la exploración de las formas en que las tecnologías digitales son inseparables de nuestras actividades, materialidades, tecnologías

y prácticas diarias (Postill, 2012; Shah, Purayil Sneha, & Chattapadhyay, 2015).

Sin embargo, tanto en la obra de Castells como en la de los autores que proponen trascender el „digital divide“, todavía hace falta profundizar y discutir quiénes son los actores que hacen posible este continuum para trascender la división de espacios y mediante qué mecanismos los conectan. Es decir, quiénes son los mediadores.

El caso de Rexiste muestra que los diversos actores, agencias, materialidades y fenómenos culturales están conectados a través de Internet y que Droncita actúa como mediadora de la acción colectiva al conectar el espacio digital y los espacios urbanos. Desde su cuenta de Twitter y YouTube, Droncita convoca a movilizaciones, provee contraevidencia de abusos de poder y hace visible la creciente criminalización de la protesta. Además del espacio digital, Droncita también ha contribuido con innovaciones sociales inesperadas al permitir la construcción de nuevas y alternativas realidades y espacios públicos, a saber, el espacio aéreo que estaba reservado para usos gubernamentales, militares o comerciales.

Contra-poder y estrategias feministas

Otro de los temas planteados por Castells se refiere al contra-poder. El autor define a este como la capacidad que tienen los actores sociales de desafiar el poder de las instituciones a través de reivindicar formas propias de representación de sus valores e intereses. El colectivo Rexiste ha

creado estrategias de contra-poder, por ejemplo, al apropiarse un dron con un fuerte imaginario militar para usos sociopolíticos. Asimismo, las mismas imágenes del dron son también instrumentos de contra-poder pues permiten desafiar las narrativas visuales de los medios de comunicación y del gobierno en un contexto de creciente criminalización de la protesta.

Sin embargo, para analizar las estrategias de contra-poder tenemos que pensar en la tecnología que le da vida a Droncita no sólo en términos de su diseño, sus ventajas o riesgos como tecnología socio-digital. Si bien es cierto que dentro de los movimientos sociales se crean estrategias de contra-poder, es también necesario no caer en visiones triunfalistas de las tecnologías digitales. Rexiste pone en el centro del debate la necesidad de hacer visibles las relaciones de poder de género.

De hecho, la misma apropiación del espacio urbano y digital de este colectivo es a través de narrativas visuales, textuales y simbólicas feministas a manera de hacer visibles las asimétricas relaciones de género, los abusos de autoridad e impunidad, pero también los imaginarios sociales respecto al género dominante en los usos de tecnologías digitales. En la misma lógica, hay también límites en los mismos espacios digitales en términos de quién tiene acceso a este tipo de tecnologías y por lo tanto quién termina al final siendo representado. No es casualidad entonces que Droncita sea una personificación de una mujer-maquina

preocupada por impulsar cambios sociopolíticos en México.

Movimientos conectados

Por último, el caso de Rexiste corrobora el argumento de Castells respecto al carácter global de movimientos en la acción colectiva. Los drones están desempeñando un papel cada vez mayor como tecnologías sociales y disruptivas en los espacios urbanos a través del desarrollo de plataformas transnacionales políticas, comunidades virtuales, y acciones colectivas en red que demandan el derecho a „la vista desde arriba“ apropiando con ello el espacio aéreo como espacio público (Suarez, 2016).

Sin embargo, cada colectivo lo hace a través de diferentes estrategias innovadoras. Por ejemplo, un colectivo está apropiando drones para llevar a cabo contra-cartografías en Rio de Janeiro y denunciar el desplazamiento de comunidades locales debido a la violencia de empresas constructoras en el marco de los juegos olímpicos en esa ciudad (de Soto, 2015).

Por su parte, el artista TEC, parte de un colectivo artístico, realiza intervenciones en las calles de São Paulo y juega con diversas perspectivas visuales ofrecidas por el dron a manera de apropiarse espacios urbanos. Por último, las prácticas que han sido exclusivas de Rexiste interviniendo en el espacio público a través de pintar tags monumentales en plazas emblemáticas se han replicado en otros lugares tanto en

México como en Francia para denunciar abusos de poder.

A la luz de estas reflexiones se hacen visibles los vacíos en la obra de Castells que pueden llenarse a través de conexiones con la literatura feminista. Uno de ellos es la necesidad de incorporar en el análisis la gama de diversas tecnologías digitales y agencias distribuidas entre actores humanos y no humanos que dan paso a nuevas formas de intervención en espacios urbanos. Otro vacío que hay que atender es el del papel de los mediadores en los espacios híbridos, específicamente, quiénes son los actores que conectan espacios a través de procesos de traducción. Esos mediadores no tienen que ser precisamente resultado de agencias humanas.

Por último, es necesario pensar los movimientos sociales y el uso de tecnologías más allá de una visión determinista y triunfalista para analizar también las mismas relaciones de poder que se reproducen, especialmente en cuanto a relaciones de género y acceso y uso de las nuevas tecnologías digitales. Para ello será necesario hacer visibles otras divisiones relacionadas con el género, clase y etnicidad que son reproducidas por las nuevas tecnologías.

Para esto, se debe hacer referencia a otras obras que nos brinden los elementos para pensar los movimientos sociales, los activismos y el uso de tecnologías digitales desde posiciones no privilegiadas, es decir, desde visiones feministas como las que

sugiere Feigenbaum en su artículo „From cyborg feminism to drone feminism: Remembering womens’ anti-nuclear activisms“ (2015). En este artículo la autora mapea la historia del activismo feminista a manera de conceptualizar la influencia actual y futura de las tecnologías de los drones en las prácticas de los movimientos sociales (p. 270). A través de hacer referencia al feminismo como una práctica activista, la autora destaca el paralelismo entre la metáfora de ciborg de Haraway con el de dron desde que es también una tecnología que nace de las estructuras de poder del militarismo y sistema capitalista patriarcal pero en una nueva generación en la era de los algoritmos (p. 280). Estos elementos enriquecerán el repertorio de análisis de los espacios en conceptualizar y discutir el papel de mujeres-máquinas como Droncita como actor importante en las dinámicas sociopolíticas de las ciudades globales.

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SPECIAL SECTION

“A realidade de um tiroteio é muito mais forte que qualquer curso de IT”

Nailton de Agostinho Maia on Smart Cities and Social Inclusion in Rio de Janeiro’s Favelas

Interview by Frank Müller
University of Amsterdam

Rio de Janeiro, May 2016

“Smart Urbanism” refers to technological innovation and digitization of urban environments. It usually implies normative assumptions about the relation between social and technical improvements. Smart Urbanism, as its proponents argue, enables more effective solutions to problems like traffic congestion, criminality and environmental degradation via more elaborated surveillance, monitoring and faster and rationalized decision-making based on “big data analyses”¹. The question for whom, how and why smart urbanism provides all these improvements has evoked broad academic attention.²

In the Urban South, where access to infrastructure and technology can be considered highly unequal, the implications of Smart Urbanism as the international ideal for policy-making needs detailed and space-sensitive analyses. As Latin America’s “smartest city”, Rio de Janeiro has been celebrated for its efforts in access to the

internet, big data collection and overall connectedness. With the aim of facilitating access to digitization and as one of the central drivers for this appraisal, Ships of Knowledge (Naves do Conhecimento), also known as Squares of Knowledge (Praça do Conhecimento), have been installed in eight marginalized neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro. These multimedia libraries are offering courses in digital literacy, software and hardware to the general public, all free of charge.

The Ship of Knowledge unit in neighborhood Nova Brasília, located in the area known as “Complexo Alemão”, in Rio’s northern zone, is a case in point. This area is considered one of the most crime-driven conglomerate of neighborhoods, where police brutality against the youth, drug trafficking and low chances for social ascendance form part of the social reality of most inhabitants. The following interview with Professor Emeritus of Education and coordinator of this publicly financed multimedia library since its inauguration in January 2012, Nailton de Agostinho Maia, addresses the relationship between social opportunities and

1 Rob Kitchin (2014): The real-time city? Big data and smart urbanism, in: *GeoJournal* 79, 1-14.

2 Simon Marvin, Andrés Luque-Ayala and Colin McFarlane (2015): *Smart Urbanism: Utopian Vision or False Dawn?*, New York: Routledge.

technological innovation in the particular context of marginalization. He argues for the central position digital inclusion occupies in individual and collective emancipation and social mobility.

Frank Müller (F.M.): O Rio de Janeiro mantém o quinto lugar na classificação das Cidades Inteligentes no mundo. Como você explicaria este sucesso?

Nailton de Agostinho Maia (N.A.): Isso verdadeiramente assusta! Eu trabalho em uma Nave que está inserida nesse contexto de prover um espaço de tecnologia de acessibilidade e acesso às redes. Como um cidadão e não como especialista, eu diria assim: Se é que o Rio é no quinto lugar, o mundo vai muito mal. O primeiro ponto é, quem é que tem acesso? Acesso para que? Tem uma população no RJ, eu diria 2/3 da população que não está incluída nos direitos à cidadania. Ela está muito distante das condições do bem-estar social - porque tem outras necessidades, que são mais básicas e não estão disponíveis. A "cidade inteligente" não cuida de seus jovens, por exemplo.

Então, por que é que a cidade é inteligente? Inteligência está ligada à condição humana, só nós damos o nome da "Cidade Inteligente". Se o humano tem essa inteligência, primeiro tem que favorecer à vida humana, do cidadão, com a possibilidade de compartilhar a vida boa e simples para todas e todos. E com isso de fato automaticamente se chegaria a uma cidade inteligente. E eu acho que essa ideia é mistificada, e isso traz perigos: o

Rio de Janeiro acabou de criar um decreto da Prefeitura em que diz que jovens e crianças que pegarem um ônibus na zona norte serão barrados se não tiverem dinheiro no bolso.³ Eles não podem ir até o lugar onde eles quiserem ir, praticamente na praia, porque não estão incluídos na "cidade inteligente", porque não podem participar da "cidade inteligente".

O que vejo hoje na cidade é que a tecnologia é uma realidade e é necessária. Mas então, se na cidade todos tivessem a possibilidade de participar, de ter acesso, e interação (respostas), isso realmente poderia ser uma "Cidade Inteligente". Mas, por exemplo, se aqui na comunidade tem uma senhora que precisa falar com um médico, a rede de tecnologia poderia ser um instrumento fantástico para promover o encontro e solucionar com os cuidados médicos necessários. No entanto ela não tem as condições de falar com ele porque não tem acesso, porque não existe um programa inteligente para as populações pobres, porque não há médico para orientação. Como essa cidade está no quinto lugar na lista, quando as pessoas estão morrendo por não serem atendidas pelos médicos?

F.M.: Como as Naves do Conhecimento podem contribuir para melhorar essa situação?

³ Agostinho se refere a um debate sobre ações policiais que no ano passado incluíram detenções arbitrárias de até 200 jovens que, andando de ônibus, estavam no caminho da Zona Norte, onde moram, às praias da zona sul. www1.folha.uol.com.br/vice/2015/08/1673548-pm-do-rio-impede-adolescentes-da-periferia-de-ir-as-praias-da-zona-sul.shtml e www.ebc.com.br/noticias/2015/08/pezo-diz-que-retirada-de-jovens-de-onibus-e-para-impedir-crimes-nas-praias, ultimo acesso: 21/10/16.

N. A.: Se tem essa Nave aqui que é fantástica – mas ela é surreal! A 50 metros deste ponto, você vai ver jovens armados. Qual é a grandeza desse lugar aqui num contexto assim? Que espetáculo é esse? Eu poderia dizer: isto é uma maravilha, olha toda essa tecnologia... Mas eu vou dizer, isso aqui é um lugar em que se tenta mascarar uma cidade que deve muito no campo social, de um país que tem dívidas sociais, que se está recuperando, está tentando corrigir 500 anos de dívida social. Que não é fácil.

Se os professores assumirem este modelo de tecnologia sem essa consciência crítica, sem uma fundamentação humanística frente a qualquer tecnologia, pensar na Cidade Inteligente como tecnologia, na tecnologia pela tecnologia, o problema começa. A fundação humanística tem que vir antes. A minha formação é essa, ver as coisas com reflexão crítica. A tecnologia tem que servir nessas questões humanísticas e não pode ser um fim em si mesmo.

F.M.: Como a Nave está se organizando para dar preferência às questões sociais frente à tecnologia?

N.A.: É um ponto importante. No Rio de Janeiro existem 8 Naves. Aqui, em Nova Brasília, tem uma ONG que faz a gestão desse equipamento, se chama Centro de Criação de Imagem Popular (CECIP). Ela tem 30 anos trabalhando aqui no RJ, trabalha com equipe profissional de arte, cultura e tecnologia, com fundamentação humanística. Entre os seus fundadores

estão Claudius Ceccon e Paulo Freire. Nessa linha se faz a gestão da Nave. A gente procura espaço para mostrar que é possível fazer um trabalho público de qualidade.

F.M.: Parece essencial a relação entre a Nave e a comunidade. Como vocês se acercam aos vizinhos e moradores da comunidade?

N.A.: Aqui em Nova Brasília o CECIP tem a metodologia de “Preciso Conhecer”, o CECIP não inventa nada, não constrói nada sozinho. Nós chegamos aqui em 2011, o projeto começou em janeiro de 2012. Chegamos antes do que aqui se começou a construir. É uma maneira nossa de trabalhar. Eu fui convidado, na época, fui dispensado da universidade em que atuava há 30 anos, tive uns conflitos com a nova geração de gestores, trataram a educação como mercadoria, acho que eu não estava preparado para isso, e aí o CECIP me convidou para este projeto, o que foi muito bom. E a maneira era conhecer e aprender aqui, então cheguei aqui muito antes de começar construir, passei tempos conhecendo aqui os grupos. O CECIP participou muito antes de inaugurar a Nave, começou a dialogar com as pessoas e a prefeitura sobre como ia a ser o processo aqui, que cursos daria, qual autonomia teríamos para fazer o trabalho.

Em 2012 se chegou a inaugurar com as lideranças da comunidade já conhecendo um pouco mais o CECIP. Teve muita conversa, muito diálogo, um entendimento que a educação é um lugar neutro.

neutralidade não num sentido de que não há ideologia. Neutralidade num sentido que todas as ideologias devem estar presentes, mas tem uma que normatiza o espaço: aqui tem o CECIP com a sua metodologia. Mas isso não pode excluir o diferente, isso foi muito importante. Porque a gente está num território, no qual há forças oficiais, e forças não oficiais.

F.M.: Vocês estão em contato com a UPP4 e as associações de moradores, por exemplo?

N.A.: Temos tido sempre quando necessário, no início muito mais, algumas reuniões com a polícia aqui. As associações de moradores passaram a confiar nesse espaço, o espaço e as pessoas passaram a ter uma legitimidade. Temos um reconhecimento de todas as forças do território, elas nos apoiam muito. Tem os que consideram que poderia ser de outra maneira, mantemos o diálogo permanente com todos, como método e o posicionamento com as atividades que a gente faz aqui.

A gente acredita muito que se há uma transformação possível e necessária ela se dará muito mais por desenvolvimento de pensamento crítico por meio da arte, da educação, da cultura e tecnologia. Arte e cultura podem subverter! Todos os nossos cursos têm um pensamento, não são só técnicos. O humano não é só técnico, o humano é inteligência, é pensamento,

e pensamento é relacionar coisas, é produzir conhecimento e crítica. Quem se relaciona faz crítica. Se a gente vai ensinar Adobe Indesign ou sistema Cisco, ou mesmo inglês técnico, a gente gostaria de pensar essas coisas em conjunto com o pensamento crítico. É importante saber-se no mundo. E isso é uma grande tarefa.

F.M.: Nessa ideia entram também ideias de como melhorar o lugar onde moram os frequentadores, quer dizer, a questão urbana? Vocês têm cursos para discutir os problemas do entorno da comunidade?

N.A.: Tudo o que acontece aqui dentro é pensado nessa linha de que tudo aqui tem que ter sentido, e o sentido aqui para gente é exatamente pensar a vida boa e simples, falando filosoficamente. É dizer, pensar as mudanças necessárias, pensar o cotidiano, pensar a família, a vida, o lugar. Diante disso, tudo o que se imagina aqui não é solto, em algum momento se vai juntar às pessoas para falar. Quando eles vão fazer um *site*, eles vão pesquisar quais são as necessidades para fazer um *site* para a comunidade. A gente recebe alunos de vários lugares, a maioria é daqui, mas vem de outros lugares também, porque a nossa meta também é a mistura.

Mas, o importante é a identificação com a comunidade: dentro do pessoal que trabalha aqui tem 50% de moradores do Complexo e 50% moradores de fora. Mas antes de começar o projeto, a gente teve uma meta que era que ao terminar o contrato, que todos os trabalhadores sejam moradores daqui, mas com um entendimento de que se houver

4 UPP (Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora/ Pacification Police Units) refers to a policing program which, starting in late 2008, has been implemented in low-income communities (favelas) of Rio de Janeiro.

necessidade que não se encontre no local, se contrate profissionais de fora da localidade. Tudo isso faz parte dessa preparação de discutir a relação com a comunidade. Não tem um mês que a gente chegue aqui para dar aula sem que tenha havido um tiroteio na madrugada ou durante o próprio dia. Então como atender às crianças aqui, sem conversar sobre isso? Sem conversar sobre que cidade é essa?

Como nesse contexto social e geográfico você consegue não discutir a violência urbana, e também as oportunidades dos jovens? Por que é que nas escolas não se discute, por que para os jovens da periferia as oportunidades são sempre de trabalhar em mecânica, de trabalhar em portarias, de trabalhar como cabeleireiro, num salão de beleza ou numa sala policial, no exército militar? Nada contrário aos cursos, mas por que só esses? Por que é que não tem recursos para ser piloto de helicóptero, não tem curso de filosofia, de pensamento crítico? São necessários para fazer melhor as coisas técnicas. Eu acho que um cabeleireiro será melhor por quanto mais ele tiver um pensamento crítico. Mas as oportunidades dos jovens ficam muito nessa linha. E nós estamos aqui para apresentar os conhecimentos das novas tecnologias com o pensamento reflexivo, crítico. Antes de formar programadores é necessário discutir essas questões humanas, fundamentais.

F.M.: Se a tecnologia chega no segundo lugar, depois da realidade social, como a

tecnologia pode servir para mudar essa realidade?

N.A.: A realidade de um tiroteio é muito mais forte que qualquer curso de IT ou discurso filosófico que se possa dar. Aqui tem coisas fantásticas. Ninguém escolhe o lugar de nascimento, mas ele decide as possibilidades que a criança tem. E isso é a coisa surreal, que o estado deve ajudar. No início houve muito espanto de todos, dado a diferença do que se tem neste espaço e a realidade do lugar. Como se trabalha isso? O equipamento foi construído com dinheiro público, então isso aqui é de todos nós. Essa conversa que se faz com todo mundo que chega aqui. Se é de todos nós, devemos cuidar, nós somos responsáveis, não foi dado. Ou seja, atuamos para esclarecer o sentido público da coisa pública. Temos no Brasil uma cultura de clientelismo, de fazer política dessa forma, você deixa uma coisa em troca de votos, principalmente quando chegam as eleições. É um modelo que a gente ainda não chegou a superar. Aqui no Rio, e no Brasil em geral, se tem uma classe média que não quer mudanças, e que faz de tudo para que essa população não se misture economicamente e socialmente. Eu sou a favor de começar com mudanças da consciência, do pensamento.

F.M.: As crianças têm essa consciência da polarização social, das injustiças que a sociedade urbana impõe sobre a vida delas?

N.A.: A gente faz essa discussão aqui, o resultado é limitado por um silêncio

perigoso, a opressão está por dentro da pessoa: o pobre, o desfavorecido economicamente, ele é crescido, nascido para não falar, não ver, não escutar.

Você tem o equipamento, bom. Mas é do governo. Se as pessoas que entram aqui experienciam que o espaço pode funcionar para todo mundo, isso cria um sentido público. E eu acho que é essa consciência que a gente tocou aqui nesse espaço.

F.M.: Seria essa uma cidade inteligente, então, onde a tecnologia incentiva o diálogo entre vizinhos e classes sociais?

N.A.: A tecnologia é fundamental para a vida em sociedade. Acredito que a tecnologia pode servir à ascensão social se ela for usada com intenções libertárias, de emancipação, prestar o serviço para as pessoas, ampliando o diálogo e criando uma consciência sobre as condições que reproduzem a injustiça, como a opressão policial, a violência, a exclusão de certos segmentos do povo do mercado liberal, e mesmo de um pensamento crítico sobre a sociedade.

“Smart Cities for whom, for which Citizens?”

Lucas Melgaço, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Interview by Frank Müller

University of Amsterdam

Rio de Janeiro, May 2016

So-called “smart” solutions are changing the way we experience and talk about security in urban environments. The shifting relations between new technologies of information and security therefore deserve increased academic interests. It is in this vein that Lucas Melgaço is skeptical about the positive impact of technophile surveillance policies in cities around the globe. Despite the profound differences regarding practices and discourses of crime and security, Melgaço does outline some similarities between cities of the Global North and those of the Global South (a dichotomy whose explanatory capacity seems today, more than ever, doubtful). These, he argues, deserve taking into account the academic works of authors like Brazilian Geographer Milton Santos, whose thinking - among that of many other researchers - has been marginalized out of the “English-speaking bubble”.

Frank Müller (F.M.): Which most important changes in the field of policing and surveillance in the last decade do you observe? Which technological innovations have been important for research in security studies and criminology? And

(how) do these change the way we live in the cities?

Lucas Melgaço (L.M.): When one thinks about the connections between policing and surveillance, the first image that comes to mind is that of Closed-Circuit Television Cameras (CCTV). It is not uncommon to think of CCTV systems as centralized in the hands of the state, something Orwellian or alongside the Big Brother idea. However, present and future scenarios seem to indicate a different model. Nowadays, besides these videos, there is an almost infinite number of images generated by a large variety of public and private surveillance cameras, as well as by other technologies such as drones, digital cameras, smartphones, body cams and so on.

What calls my attention today is exactly the possibility of integrating and converging data from all of these different sources. Take, for example, the case of the man in the hat, Mohamed Abrini, the terrorist at the airport in Brussels that did not explode himself. The police asked the general public to send all sort of images they possessed from the date of

the attack. With the images they received (mainly footage from diverse types of private CCTV cameras), they managed to retrace his steps after the event (a video compilation can be found at [youtube.com/watch?v=eha_KqdSvCI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eha_KqdSvCI)).

Although this is an example in which information is still centred in the hands of law enforcement agents, the sources involved are multiple and are not limited to those produced by the state. More than a specific technology, I believe that “data integration” seems to be the new keyword to understand the near future in terms of policing and surveillance. Such integration is obviously not limited to images, but includes a wide range of data generated in our daily digital life.

The main challenge for law enforcement agents will be to find ways of making sense of all this different data that are now referred to as Big Data. We do not only have a myriad of information available, but above all, there is the possibility of connecting dots and telling stories. This is at the same time exciting, if one thinks in terms of the possibilities for police investigation (although the increase of surveillance has shown to be very ineffective in preventing recent terrorist attacks), and terrifying, if one thinks about the risks to privacy or the chances of reinforcing racial profiling, xenophobia or other forms of prejudice.

F.M.: Smart Urbanism/ Smart City – what do you think of these concepts? Do they have an analytical use for you? Are they

more of a globally circulating label that fuels inter-urban competition?

L.M.: Once I heard that Rio de Janeiro, maybe the most complex and unique of Brazilian cities, could become the first Smart City in Latin America. As part of the city’s “preparation” to hold mega-events – such as the World Cup and the Olympic Games – considerable funds are being spent in equipping the city with high-tech urban technology. The best example is the creation of the Integrated Command and Control Centre (CICC).

Among the many functions of the CICC, there is traffic management. However, if one analyses the efficiency of public transportation in Rio, the precariousness with which traffic information is handled becomes obvious. To give but one example, many of the bus stops in Rio de Janeiro do not give any information about the bus lines that serve that spot. Moreover, there are even stops where there is absolutely nothing, not even a pole indicating that there is a bus stop there.

I find this example didactic, as it shows how the Smart City label is embedded with a certain fetishism of the digital, a fetishism that does not necessarily make the city “smarter”. Thus, a city can be at the same time digitized and “dumb”. We have to ask ourselves what are the interests behind the use of such labels. I agree with you that the main motivation behind the term is that of marketing cities. But most importantly, we must ask: Smart Cities for whom, for which citizens?

F.M.: However one understands those terms, which are the implementations for urban transformation, considering urban planning, governance and surveillance, for instance? Is the situation in Europe similar or different from Latin American cities?

L.M.: Despite being sceptical about the uncritical use of the Smart City label, it is undeniable that cities are changing and becoming more and more digitized. This digitization changes the way we see urban planning, governance and surveillance. One of the main novelties here is the spread of the internet through two main ways: smartphones and the internet of things.

Although smartphones are still expensive and therefore not accessible to all, they are becoming increasingly cheaper and ubiquitous. If in the past we had to sit in front of a computer in order to connect to the worldwide web, today even the expression “connecting to the internet” seems to be losing its utility.

We can always be connected, always be on the internet and, most interestingly, we can bring the internet with us wherever we go. See, for example, the role of the internet in some favelas of Rio, where locals are using social media and smartphones to report all sort of injustices, including police brutality. The second point I wanted to highlight is the fact that once just normal physical structures, like an elevator, for example, today can become part of this so-called internet of things. The elevator

can calculate the number and weight of users, the most frequent accessed floors and so on. It is a physical object that is also a sensor.

The same can be said about our homes. Think about all the gadgets you have at home and how they are collecting your private data. Or even think about how much data and traces a person leaves during a normal journey from home to work: all the CCTV cameras that capture one’s movements, the logs generated by the use of mobility cards, the geolocated data generated by phones embedded with GPS etc.

A new digital layer is covering the “physical”, “tangible” space. For urban planners, it would be interesting, for example, to see how this digital layer is being unequally spread across cities, how certain neighbourhoods are more digital than others, how poor neighbourhoods are finding alternative ways to be connected and digital, and how smartphones are being used, for example, to record acts of police abuse and violence.

In terms of governance (although I have some issues with using this term as a proper concept), I believe there is a new trend of citizen empowerment. Such technologies may boost citizens’ participation in democratic decisions. It must be highlighted, however, that there is a dialectical situation, that is to say, there are two confronting trends: one of data integration and centralization of information in the hands of hegemonic

forces, as I presented before, and one of more democratic and bottom-up initiatives, where ordinary citizens are empowered by new information and communication technologies.

F.M.: Thinking of the attacks in Brussels in the spring of 2016, in Paris last year, in London or Madrid, and of the increasing militarization of urban space: What can researchers in the vague field of urban security studies learn from research in Urban Latin America, particularly in Brazil? And even more precisely, what can they learn from the studies of conflict and insurgency in the urban peripheries of that continent?

L.M.: This is a difficult question. At first sight, I don't see how one can learn from each other, since the situations in Brazil and in Europe vis-à-vis criminality are very different. Terrorism, for example, is a word absolutely absent in the security discourse in Brazil. This may be changing now in light of the mega sporting events, but it is still not a major priority for the authorities. Brazilians fear different things. Brazil is a divided country where the rich fear the poor, and the poor fear the police. However, in one point they may be indeed comparable and you have already mentioned it in your question: the militarization of urban space.

The militarization of favelas in Rio de Janeiro proved to be a complete failure. It is not only an ineffective strategy against criminality, but also an initiative that criminalizes and punishes the poor even

more. In Rio, militarization is happening mainly in poor neighbourhoods (as the rich can count on private initiatives), whereas in Brussels, you can see that it is more prevalent in the wealthy and central neighbourhoods of the European Union headquarters. In Rio, they try to fight a more predictable target, drug-trafficking criminals. In Brussels, however, they have to deal with the unpredictability of terrorist attacks.

I just don't see how the presence of military officers in a crowded public space or in some of the metro stations could prevent a terrorist from carrying a hidden bomb and blowing himself up. Militarization of public spaces did not solve the problem in Brazilian favelas, and it is not going to solve the problem of terrorism. Such militarization just proves that there is a lack of decent public policies for social inclusion. Moreover, both the intelligence of drug cartels and terrorist networks will not simply surrender to flat law enforcement actions, but may have to be fought through complex strategies that include social policies and counter-intelligence strategies. Thus, the presence of military forces on the streets is no more than a "security theatre". In that sense, we could say Belgian and Brazilian urban militarization appear to be similar in at least one aspect: they are part of a "security spectacle".

F.M.: You wrote an article on the discrepancy of the reception of Milton Santos' work in Europe and North America on one side, and Latin America on the other side. Which are the most important

contributions of his work from which urban studies in the “North” can learn from - in what sense is it helpful? How does his work help you in your understanding of new phenomena, such as Smart Urbanism and Big Data, for contemporary security issues?

L.M.: You are being very optimistic by saying there is an actual “reception” of his works in Europe and North America. People from what you are calling the “North” (a dichotomy that does not explain the world of today anymore) may have heard about Santos, but his work is not in fact being used. You don’t see his works being quoted or his concepts being applied. Santos’s contributions to urban studies, to geography and, broadly, to human sciences, are very vast. He did not only launch one good idea, one important concept, as many important authors have done, but he put together a set of interconnected concepts that form a very strong theory.

For Santos, geography is the “philosophy of the techniques”. Only this is already enough to show the sophistication of his ideas. His periodization of space through the idea of different technical ages is very useful to understand the world today. In spite of him having passed away in 2001, much before terms like Big Data and Smart Urbanism were in vogue, his theory remains vivid today. Right now, I am finishing an article where I make use of his brilliant concept of “convergence of moments”, that is to say, the possibility of two people sharing the same “moment”

even if they are set apart. I am applying this idea to understand the use of live streaming (like those promoted by the collective Mídia Ninja during the vinegar protests in Brazil) as an act of resistance during street protests.

This is what is outstanding about his theory. Many of his concepts, if not most of them, are still applicable to the understanding of this ever-evolving reality. It is a pity, however, that Europe and North America are imprisoned in this English-speaking bubble.

INTERVENTIONS

Gisela Pérez de Acha (2015)

Informe: Hacking Team malware para la vigilancia en América Latina

Website: derechosdigitales.org, 82 pp.

Reviewed by Carlos Alba Villalever

Freie Universität Berlin

When we connect to the internet, the internet connects back to us. Every day we willingly give out our personal information and those of friends and acquaintances, on whom we constantly report to services like Facebook or LinkedIn in order to remain “connected”. Data about us is continually harvested, aggregated and analyzed, not only for commercial purposes, but also for mass surveillance, policing and control. The private data we leave behind as much on the internet as in our own electronic devices – search history, e-mails, text messages, phone calls, locations, address books, calendars, documents, pictures, videos, and even records of the food we eat – tells a story about us that is made up of facts that are not necessarily true. As State sanctioned surveillance practices motivate the systematized recollection of all these data and feed a growing international market for spying tools, we are losing control over the narrative of our lives by becoming increasingly vulnerable to abusive policing justified by unwarranted scrutiny.

In this context, the information that whistleblowers and activists convey to

us about surveillance practices plays an important role in holding the authorities and companies involved accountable. A good example is this report, written by Mexican lawyer and activist Gisela Pérez de Acha and issued by Derechos Digitales, a Chilean NGO present in all Latin America that focuses on advocacy issues concerning fundamental human rights in the digital sphere.

In this case, the work of Pérez de Acha avails itself of a trove of more than 400 Gigabytes of data delivered to WikiLeaks by hacker Phineas Fisher that exposes the dealings of Hacking Team, an Italian information technology company specialized in surveillance and “offensive security” products for governments around the world. Through a series of leaked internal e-mails, invoices, files and source codes from Hacking Team, her report exposes the details of negotiations between this company and thirteen countries in the Latin American region: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama and Argentina, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay

and Venezuela. Her emphasis is on the first seven countries, as for these there is actual proof of Hacking Team's products and services having been purchased, while for the other six there is only proof of communication between parties.

Hacking Team's dealings with these governments mainly involve licensing of a piece of software called "Remote Control System" (RCS), which can infiltrate almost any electronic device from a distance and take control of most of its features. RCS can turn a device's GPS, microphone and cameras on and off to track one's movements and to listen to, watch and log their activities. It can intercept, record and alter all incoming and outgoing communications, as well as access any file stored in the device and record every single character typed into it - without its owner ever knowing it.

The report has a straightforward structure. The summary provides a brief overview of the work's problem, objectives and findings. A succinct introduction presents the context of the report and draws the main lines of questioning - namely, what the purchase of Hacking Team's software implies for Latin American democracies, how the software is utilized, its reach and potential dangers, whether its use is legal or not and whether or not there are sanctions in the second case. Two parts made up by five chapters focus, first, on the details about the human and technical aspects of how the RCS works. Secondly, on the ethical and legal issues around the use of unregulated surveillance and

communication interception technologies by nation states. The work's conclusion states that the legal frameworks necessary to regulate the use of surveillance software by the police exist, but are outdated and should be enforced with greater care.

The report engages in two main discussions: the (in)security of information, especially with regard to controlling the sale and trafficking of so called "dual use technologies" (which can have both a civilian and military purpose) - in this case Latin American States' use of proprietary hacking tools to spy on the population; and the region's legal frameworks surrounding the respect for digital human rights, particularly concerning the right to privacy, freedom of speech and due process.

The overall analysis of the report focuses strongly on the second discussion by bringing forward the discrepancies between the use of spying software and the protection that the legal frameworks of each of the referred Latin American countries should provide. It analyzes the legality of using RCS through three lines of questioning: 1) in the context of judicial investigations or the activities of intelligence organizations; 2) with regard to the rules and regulations that allow geolocalization of people through their devices; 3) as compared to the use of search warrants. In this sense, the report shows a markedly normative character that seeks to put forward the illegality of producing, purchasing and using hacking/spying software. More specifically, it argues that even though interception of

private communications is regulated in all of the alluded countries, RCS escapes judicial order not only because it is much more invasive than traditional surveillance techniques, but because its features are hardly contemplated by the letter of the law. Thus, its use jeopardizes the right to privacy, freedom of speech and – especially – to due process.

Ultimately, the report pushes for an open discussion to draw out the adequate norms, legal regimes and sanctions that have to regulate these technologies. It also states that intelligence services, which have far greater legal leeway to spy on the population, should be bound by a framework that specifies well-defined controls and responsibilities, clearly established capacities and application parameters, transparent and openly discussed criteria to decide who might be a “suspect” or whose devices can be spied on.

The report is interesting in many respects; its strongest suit is the detailed legal overview it makes for each of the alluded Latin American countries. Another strong point is that it evidences a growing strategy for mass State surveillance of the public – namely, the hacking of personal electronic devices - and puts a strong emphasis on the extent to which it can be detrimental to any individual. It exploits primary sources that are very rich and seldom used and gives salience to hacking, leaking and information (in)security. However, it is not devoid of problems.

The main concern is the overall normative approach that it presents. Not only does it rely too heavily on the letter of the law to make its assertions and fails to provide and analyze concrete examples of the use of RCS, but, more importantly, it is completely oblivious to the existence of a very broad information security community that incarnates the “civilian side” of these “dual use technologies”. A very active community that develops, uses and analyzes both proprietary and free and open source software for penetration testing and signals’ intelligence, and that constantly spurs debate and exposes the (in)security of information against the backdrop of a worldwide market that feeds from it, as well as against overbearing State espionage.

CURRENT DEBATES

Wiebke Keim, Ercüment Çelik, Christian Ersche y Veronika Wöhrer (2014)
Global Knowledge Production in the Social Sciences. Made in Circulation
Farnham: Ashgate, 267 p.

Reseñado por Sabina García Peter
Freie Universität Berlin

En un esfuerzo por proveer conceptualizaciones actuales en torno a la idea de 'circulación', presentar estudios empíricos novedosos sobre la circulación internacional del conocimiento en las ciencias sociales y dar respuesta a la pregunta acerca del tipo de conocimiento que se produce en los procesos de circulación, es que en 2014 se publica el presente volumen.

Los editores, cuatro jóvenes investigadores e investigadoras, pertenecieron al proyecto de investigación "Universality and the Acceptance Potential of Social Science Knowledge: On the Circulation of Knowledge between Europe and the Global South" (2010-2014), acogidos por el Instituto de Sociología de la Universidad de Friburgo, Alemania, bajo la dirección de la socióloga Wiebke Keim. El volumen es el resultado de las discusiones y los debates que se generaron en el marco de este proyecto, y que contó con la visita de investigadores e investigadoras de distintas partes del mundo, varios de los cuales participan en la publicación.

La compilación incluye trece artículos, agrupados en cuatro partes, más una introducción y una conclusión que guían el desarrollo de la misma. A diferencia de lo que ocurre en muchos volúmenes compilatorios, destaca un verdadero esfuerzo por contribuir colectivamente al desarrollo (auto-reflexivo) de una temática común, por encima de las particularidades del trabajo de cada investigador e investigadora – sus objetos, disciplinas y lugares geográficos de estudio e investigación.

El volumen comienza con una introducción cuyo propósito no es solamente presentar el contenido del libro, si no posicionarse dentro de los debates académicos más actuales que son, como señalan los editores, producto de encuentros, intercambios y colaboraciones científico-académicas internacionales. Ésta es la única referencia respecto al tipo de conocimiento que aborda el libro, a saber el conocimiento científico-académico. Durante la lectura introductoria destaca la importancia otorgada al concepto de 'circulación', sin embargo, no se problematiza lo que es el

objeto mismo de circulación, es decir, la idea de 'conocimiento', aunque se señala que el foco está puesto en la sociología como disciplina académica.

Esto último representa, a su vez, una de las limitaciones del volumen, ya que una dimensión importante en la circulación de conocimientos es no sólo la asimetría existente entre y dentro de lugares geopolíticos que ocupan distintas y desiguales posiciones dentro de la comunidad científica internacional –caracterizadas en el libro como asimetría Norte-Sur–, sino también las asimetrías existentes entre disciplinas y actores productores de conocimiento que, a su vez, están atravesados por distintos ejes de desigualdad.

En este sentido, si bien las contribuciones reconocen la existencia de asimetrías materiales y de poder que afectan la producción del mismo, poco se ahonda en las diferentes formas en que dichas asimetrías se materializan y las distintas dimensiones que atraviesan, las cuales van más allá de la dimensión geográfica.

Ahora bien, los editores son claros en términos de los objetivos y la contribución del libro: se trata de re-pensar las distintas ciencias sociales que se desarrollan en forma paralela con escasas referencias las unas sobre las otras, presentando en forma conjunta distintas visiones y proyectos (11), a la vez que intentando ser coherentes con su discurso al incluir contribuciones de autores del Sur global.

La primera parte del libro se titula 'Desafíos actuales respecto al tiempo, el espacio y los conceptos de la circulación: sugerencias'¹. Los desafíos en relación al tiempo y el espacio son presentados por Mary E. John y Leandro Rodríguez. La primera, al sugerir la utilización del término 'posnacional' ("postnational") – en reemplazo de términos como 'global' o poscolonial' – para dar cuenta de la conformación de la actual agenda de investigación dentro y más allá de los estados nacionales; el segundo, al analizar la interacción de los niveles micro y macro en la práctica de las relaciones entre centro y periferia, a partir del caso particular de la circulación de las teorías de Luhmann en Hispanoamérica y el papel de esta circulación en la (re) estructuración del campo de la sociología.

Las otras dos contribuciones hacen una referencia directa a los desafíos del concepto de circulación: Nicolas Guillot – desde una perspectiva más empírica que pone en el centro la historia de las teorías sobre relaciones internacionales – y Wiebke Keim – quien dedica su capítulo a la conceptualización del concepto de circulación – critican la noción de circulación propuesta por Bourdieu en su artículo 'Les conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées' (2002) y proponen una conceptualización que vaya más allá.

La segunda parte, denominada 'Redes de las ciencias sociales a través del Sur'²,

1 "Current Challenges regarding Time, Space and Concepts of Circulation: suggestions"

2 "Social Science Network across the South"

es un esfuerzo basado en la empírea por poner el foco en las posibilidades de 'aprender más allá de la periferia'³ como una forma de reflexionar –desde el Sur– sobre las posibilidad de un diálogo Sur-Norte, a partir de las redes y cooperaciones desarrolladas, tanto desde una perspectiva histórica (Devés Valdés) como actual (Valdés; Webster).

'Perspectivas alternativas desde el Sur'⁴ es la tercera parte del libro encargada de presentar formas alternativas de hacer sociología en una escala global, más allá de los cánones hegemónicos actuales de la disciplina, donde se plantean nuevas formas de preservar y diseminar el conocimiento (Sitas), la importancia de la relación entre arte y movimientos sociales en contextos metropolitanos (Damodaran) y los alcances de basarse en teorías y desarrollos del neoliberalismo desde el Sur global para estudiar las consecuencias de éste último a nivel local y global (Connell y Dados).

En la cuarta parte, 'Nuevas disposiciones epistemológicas de las ciencias sociales después de las críticas al eurocentrismo y el giro poscolonial'⁵, Rehbein se enfrenta a la pretensión de universalidad y verdad hasta ahora dominantes en el contexto de un mundo multicéntrico (y multiperiférico) donde los dominantes y dominados no pueden ser vistos como grupos homogéneos. Bhambra, por su

parte, aprovecha el contexto de la crítica poscolonial para dar cuenta de tres formas en que la sociología ha intentado compensar su negligencia respecto a incluir a aquellos que son representados como los 'otros' en la construcción de la modernidad –modernidades múltiples, sociología multicultural y cosmopolitismo–. Para finalizar, Savransky sugiere que sólo la experiencia de vacilación ("hesitation") permite transformar la tarea de construir una ciencia social 'global' en una aventura cosmopolítica.

El libro finaliza con una conclusión donde se retoman tres reflexiones generales elaboradas colectivamente a lo largo de la obra, a la vez que se plantean una serie de desafíos para el futuro : la necesidad de ahondar en un abordaje teórico-conceptual de la circulación internacional del conocimiento en las ciencias sociales; la necesidad de establecer los arreglos internacionales de cooperación que son necesarios para permitir una circulación del conocimiento no hegemónica; y el desafío epistemológico que implica abandonar la presuntuosa idea de universalidad sin caer en un relativismo absoluto.

En definitiva, se trata de un libro tanto actual como importante y necesario en su temática, toda vez que ofrece reflexiones interesantes para cualquier persona involucrada en la producción y circulación de conocimientos.

3 "learning across the periphery"

4 "Alternative Perspectives from the South"

5 "Epistemological rearrangements of the social sciences after critiques of eurocentrism an the postcolonial turn"

Aram Ziai (2015)

Development Discourse and Global History: From Colonialism to the Sustainable Development Goals

London and New York: Routledge, 244 p.

Reviewed by Maximiliano Vila Seoane

University of Bonn

Post-development researchers advocate the end of international development because they understand it as a tool of domination of the Global North over the Global South. How do they arrive to this Manichaeic assessment? Generally, researchers in this tradition employ discourse analysis to unveil power relations implied in concepts frequently used in the development industry, such as sustainable development. At first sight, these concepts are quite broad and positive. However, post-development researchers assert that, upon closer scrutiny, other not-so-Samaritan patterns emerge.

Aram Ziai's book is part of this tradition as it examines the changes in development discourse, by means of a Foucauldian discourse analysis, in order to unveil its structure, aims and implicit power relations. The book has 15 conceptually clear, engaging and well-written chapters, where the author argues in favor of discourse analysis for development research in response to criticism that has challenged the previous sloppy application of the approach (Pieterse 2011). Ziai is well

suited for the task; he is a Professor of Development and Postcolonial Studies at the University of Kassel, in Germany.

Compared to previous post-development works, Ziai skillfully adapts and applies concepts from Foucault's discourse analysis, offering historical and more nuanced statements about development discourse. In effect, in chapter 2 Ziai describes his post-structuralist approach to discourse analysis, which considers discourses infinite, unstable and dynamic in time.

Within this framework, the aim of the book is to analyze the discourse of international development organizations by studying their reports and projects from two Foucauldian-inspired perspectives: archeology and genealogy. Archeology refers to the systematic study of regularities in discourse production. In chapters 3-6, Ziai claims that development broke with the colonial discourse in several ways. For instance, it focuses on nation states and no longer overtly speaks of racism. Nevertheless, it also

presented several continuities, such as the assumption that the Global North is superior to the Global South, imposing its own values and models of a good society and accepting that these models can be achieved thanks to objective and apolitical experts that have the know-how needed to develop the underdeveloped. However, Ziai asserts that these models and knowledge hide the unequal global structures that might produce the problems development industry aims to solve.

For these reasons, Ziai describes development as Eurocentric, authoritarian and depoliticizing, which leads him to firmly believe that the concept should be abandoned. In chapters seven to 14, Ziai conducts a genealogical analysis of development discourse in order to reveal its historical changes and the associated dynamics of knowledge-power relations. Throughout the chapters, Ziai shows the continuity of the authoritarian, Eurocentric and depoliticizing features of the original version of the discourse.

However, he recognizes some tension around new concepts, such as “participation” or “climate change”, which cause interference with the rules of formation of the initial development discourse created after World War II. For example, in chapter 14, Ziai argues that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) have elements beyond the original structure of development discourse. On one hand, they embrace globalization – understood

as economic liberalization – with an inherently positive view on free trade, disregarding its consequences. On the other hand, they include issues previously ignored, such as inequality and climate change.

Perhaps to compensate for the overall pessimistic perspective of development, Ziai recognizes that development discourse can be adapted and may be transformed by Global South elites in progressive ways contrary to the interests of those who created it. Nonetheless, Ziai prefers the contestation of the discourse instead of appropriations in order to overcome the structural limits he detects in development. However, it is fair to say that the space for these is minimal in the book.

Overall, Ziai makes a strong argument in favor of discourse analysis in order to reveal the assumptions taken for granted by development organizations and experts who continuously claim to hold the truth to achieve the good life in countries which, in many cases, they might barely know. This is important for researchers working in Latin America, where the influence of such objective and apolitical organizations and experts is still quite present. Therefore, the approach could be useful to examine the features of discourses and its local adaptations in the region. Likewise, it can be employed to study discourses that contest development, for example, the *Buen Vivir* in Bolivia and Ecuador.

Despite its theoretical lucidity, the book is less clear on the methods of analysis employed. There are few methodological notes or references to literature explaining how discursive structures were analyzed, which would have helped the reader to extend the analysis to other organizations and discourses. Additionally, the conclusions of most chapters seem to neglect evidence that might contradict its arguments. Simply selectively using documents from international organizations is a reductionist strategy to analyze and assess the work of these organizations, which makes many of the conclusions of the book not empirically convincing.

Moreover, it is true that discourse analysis based on ethnographic research can deal with the critique of losing sight of materiality, but it is certainly not the case of this book. For example, Ziai claims that progressive change can only take place if we change discursive structures, which in his view would involve replacing development with global social policy or social change.

However, this proposal seems unrealistic even within Ziai's theoretical framework, because a change in names neither directly alters the practices of powerful actors, nor of all the institutions dedicated to profit, and replicate the contradictions of development that the book so well describes. Therefore, discourse analysis of the way of speaking is important, but it is definitely not enough to analyze the geopolitical and geoeconomic power

imbalances that sustain development discourse, let alone change them. Accordingly, other types of research methods – such as case studies or ethnographic research, which are more sensitive to the effects of other material factors – would have further strengthened (or disproved) much of the arguments of the book (Pieterse 2011). Such strategies are indispensable because what organizations say they will do does not always align with what they ultimately implement in practice.

Nonetheless, I would still recommend the book to researchers, activists and readers interested in learning about critical discourse analysis of international development organizations of the USA and Europe, who could get inspired for conducting more empirically grounded research.

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Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth-Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur

Stanford University Press: California

Reseñado por Carlos Pérez Ricart

Freie Universität Berlin

¿Cuánto hubo de violencia y coerción en el proceso de construcción del Estado mexicano en el Siglo XX? Esa es la pregunta central que articula la compilación de artículos escritos por una cohorte de historiadores, antropólogos, politólogos y sociólogos coordinados y convocados por Wil. G. Pansters. Cada uno de los once capítulos del libro hace contrapunto a la idea, más bien dominante en la bibliografía, de que la violencia proveniente del Estado o de grupos cercanos a éste debe ser entendida como fenómeno aberrante del sistema político mexicano. Por el contrario, en este libro, se propone que la violencia y coerción son, precisamente, ejes constitutivos del sistema: un prerrequisito para la institucionalización del régimen posrevolucionario.

El libro participa, cuando menos, en tres debates académicos de manera paralela. En el primero, sienta las bases mínimas para un debate teórico capaz de analizar críticamente los temas de violencia, coerción y construcción del Estado para el caso mexicano. En ese sentido, todo *mexicanista* debería sentirse convocado, o

al menos interpelado, con lo escrito en los once capítulos que componen el cuerpo del libro.

En segundo término, la compilación ofrece una importante contribución a la discusión sobre el papel de la violencia en los procesos de democratización en América Latina en contextos de adopción de políticas neoliberales. A lo largo de varios de los capítulos se señala lo que otros ya han apuntado para el resto del continente: los procesos de democratización en América Latina no estuvieron acompañados de una disminución de la violencia y coerción. Por el contrario, la alternancia política provocó el desplazamiento, descentralización y – vaya paradoja – democratización de la violencia. A lo largo del libro se presenta evidencia empírica a este respecto.

Por último, el debate sobre la relación entre Estado, crimen organizado y sociedad. Ante el reto de interpretar aquella violencia que emana de actores ligados a las instituciones formales, en el libro se discuten, interpelan y ponen a prueba un conjunto de conceptos

como son el de “violencia para-estatal” del mismo Pansters, “lado oscuro del Estado” [*dark side of state*] de John Gledhill, “áreas marrones del Estado” [*brown areas of the state*] de Guillermo O’Donnell, “zonas grises del Estado” [*gray zones of the state*] de Javier Auyero o “instituciones crepusculares” [*twilight institutions*] de Christian Lund. (La lista la hace Pansters en p.24). Si bien al editor y a sus contribuidores les interesa cómo esas zonas emergen, se expanden o se reducen en México, cualquier interesado en entender la nebulosa relación entre crimen organizado, Estado y sociedad en otras geografías, encontrará en el libro casos para el análisis, el contraste y la comparación.

Además de la introducción de Pansters y la conclusión escrita por Kees Koonings, el libro está compuesto por tres apartados que articulan, por partes iguales, nueve capítulos. El primer bloque –dedicado a los “pilares coercitivos del Estado”– lo encabeza el capítulo del historiador Paul Gillingham; en éste se cuestiona el carácter pacífico de la así llamada *pax priista*. Para hacerlo, Gillingham inquiere en el empleo de la violencia selectiva por parte de Crispín Aguilar – pistolero del líder regional Manuel Parra en Veracruz. La figura de Aguilar funciona como la del representante de la violencia para-estatal teorizada por Pansters en la introducción.

En su capítulo, Diana Davis describe el papel de la policía en las transformaciones políticas que van del periodo revolucionario a nuestra época. En extremo ambicioso,

cumple el objetivo con poca fortuna; no por falta de destreza sino por límites estructurales: la falta de archivos disponibles. Cierra el primer bloque de artículos David A. Shirk quien trata el tema de la frontera norte como zona de ambigüedad y caja de resonancia de las crisis políticas del Estado mexicano.

El segundo bloque está dedicado a la “zonas grises del Estado”. En su capítulo, Alan Knight propone una exploración preliminar a la relación Estado-crimen organizado en el México del siglo XX; el historiador inglés logra desentrañar el papel mafioso de las estructuras estatales en la cadena de producción y exportación de drogas. Se echa de menos, sin embargo, una búsqueda más amplia por teorizar sus casos. Esa falencia la suple en su capítulo Mónica Serrano.

La académica mexicana analiza el vínculo entre el fin de las capacidades regulatorias del Estado y dos transiciones relevantes: la desarticulación del sistema de sustitución de importaciones, y los primeros brotes de alternancia política en el país. Lo que le sigue es un buen análisis de cómo la desarticulación de ciertos arreglos institucionales del sistema político modificó también la naturaleza del narcotráfico en México.

José Carlos Aguiar toca el tema de la “otra guerra” iniciada en los últimos años: el de la guerra contra la piratería – una serie de políticas públicas destinadas a proteger la propiedad legal e intelectual de productos de corporaciones transnacionales.

El Mercado de San Juan de Dios en Guadalajara le sirve como sitio para su investigación etnográfica.

El tercer y último bloque de artículos versa sobre corporativismo, clientelismo y comunidades indígenas. Marcos Águila y Jeffrey Bortz analizan el uso de la violencia en la relación entre Estado y sindicalistas en dos momentos diferentes: la década de los años veinte y la de los años sesenta: son momentos en que el Estado se presenta de manera distinta y, en consecuencia, aplica la violencia de formas disímiles. En ambos casos, sin embargo, la conclusión es parecida: el uso de la violencia estatal no siempre fue legal, no siempre fue justa, y no siempre favoreció a los trabajadores.

En su capítulo, basado en algunas observaciones etnográficas realizadas en una zona cañera de Michoacán, la antropóloga Kathy Powell afirma que distintas formas de coerción y violencia son constitutivas a las relaciones de poder sobre las que se apoyan las relaciones de patronazgo; más aún, sostiene que en un contexto neoliberal, éstas se intensifican.

En la misma línea que Powell, otro antropólogo, John Gledhill, subraya, en su texto sobre la relación entre Estado y comunidades indígenas, cómo los discursos multiculturales aceptados desde el Estado ayudaron y ayudan a perpetuar situaciones de marginalidad y exclusión en comunidades indígenas – su trabajo etnográfico en Ostula, Michoacán, sirve como base a sus afirmaciones.

El excepcionalísimo mexicano – si lo hubo – ha terminado, concluye Kees Koonings. La violencia de hoy, como la de ayer, sigue siendo política y tiene consecuencias políticas. Ni la transición política ni la apertura económica contuvieron las lógicas del pasado; en muchos casos las profundizaron. En esa idea se capta bien el sentido de un libro urgente y recomendado tanto para el gran público como para especialistas. Esperemos que su aproximación transdisciplinaria, historicista y sin esencialismos haga escuela en la bibliografía que busca entender las bases sobre las que se asienta el Estado mexicano de hoy.

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