

This article was downloaded by: [Robert Mckee Irwin]

On: 27 December 2011, At: 07:44

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954
Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH,
UK



Cultural Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors
and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rcus20>

CULTURAL STUDIES IN GRADUATE PROGRAMMES IN LATIN AMERICA

Robert McKee Irwin & Mónica Szurmuk

Available online: 22 Dec 2011

To cite this article: Robert McKee Irwin & Mónica Szurmuk (2011): CULTURAL
STUDIES IN GRADUATE PROGRAMMES IN LATIN AMERICA, Cultural Studies,
DOI:10.1080/09502386.2012.642543

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2012.642543>



PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae, and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Robert McKee Irwin and Mónica Szurmuk

CULTURAL STUDIES IN GRADUATE PROGRAMMES IN LATIN AMERICA

The cases of Colombia and Argentina

In this article, we describe the eccentric location of Cultural Studies in the Latin American academy: while it remains marginal in terms of institutional recognition, it is nevertheless important in terms of the interest it arouses in professors and students alike, and in the amount and quality of publications in the area. The field's general flexibility appeals both to many established researchers, who employ its methodologies to expand the scope of their investigations, and to many students, who become frustrated with disciplinary rigidity and with the difficulty in carrying out academic projects with overtly political underpinnings from the traditional disciplines of the humanities and social sciences. While student demand is clearly strong in much of Latin America, the response to the rise of Cultural Studies in the Latin American academy has taken two general forms: (1) an opening up of spaces within existing disciplines (anthropology, communications, literature, etc.) for the more interdisciplinary or politicized work and (2) the foundation of new programmes in Cultural Studies. We use as examples the case studies of Argentina and Colombia, countries that have a completely different academic history and tradition. We survey the diverse ways in which Cultural Studies has entered institutional spaces in both countries. Colombia offers the case of an academy that appears to have welcomed the institutionalization of Cultural Studies, at least superficially, while Argentina appears to have resisted ceding the field institutional space. Nonetheless, its presence in both countries is strongly palpable; it is clearly a force too strong to be suppressed by resistance from the traditional disciplines.

Keywords Cultural Studies; Latin America; Colombia; Argentina; discipline; graduate

Introduction

As the editors of a recently published *Dictionary of Latin American Cultural Studies*, we have been struck by a paradox regarding the location of Cultural Studies in the Latin American academy. While Cultural Studies remains

Cultural Studies 2011, iFirst article, pp. 1–21

marginal in terms of institutional recognition (existing programmes, funding from state sources), it is undoubtedly central in terms of the quantity of publications produced, the interest aroused in students and prominent scholars in the field, the funding granted to projects by private and international organizations. We will call this place *eccentric*, a location outside the privileged spaces of recognition of the state educational systems, but nevertheless important in terms of the interest it arouses in professors and students alike.

The particular configuration of Cultural Studies in Latin America is not easy to define due to its lack of institutionality. However, several characteristics stand out: (1) its lack of discipline, for example, its insistence of challenging the limits of thinking, knowledge and research methodologies as they are organized by academic disciplines; (2) its rejection of concepts of scientific objectivity and explicit assumption of a leftist political agenda; and (3) its general flexibility in its treatment of culture, broadly defined, in political, social, economic and esthetic terms. The field's general flexibility appeals both to many established researchers, who employ its methodologies to expand the scope of their investigations, and to many students, who become frustrated with disciplinary rigidity and with the difficulty in carrying out academic projects with overtly political underpinnings from the traditional disciplines of the humanities and social sciences (see Szurmuk and Robert, 2009). While student demand is clearly strong in much of Latin America, the response to the rise of Cultural Studies in the Latin American academy has taken two general forms: (1) an opening up of spaces within existing disciplines (anthropology, communications, literature, etc.) for the more interdisciplinary or politicized work; and (2) the foundation of new programmes in Cultural Studies.

This latter possibility tends to occur in universities in which the disciplines have not already established institutional strength at the graduate level. In these institutions, programmes have quickly attracted large numbers of applicants, often making them a favourite among administrators. Traditional disciplines, however, not willing to compete for resources with programmes that would clearly attract large numbers of students, have stubbornly resisted supporting the Cultural Studies project. In institutions with well-established graduate programmes in fields such as literature, anthropology, sociology, history and communications, few Cultural Studies programmes have been established. Instead, these disciplines at best allow senior scholars with sufficient institutional influence or stature in their areas to carve out niches for themselves within existing programmes. The argument used most often against formally institutionalizing Cultural Studies is that it is an example of the worst of academic fashion imported from the US academy, that it lacks its own methodology and that it is not academically rigorous (see Castro Gómez 2003).

Cultural Studies is indeed the first major intellectual endeavour in the humanities and social sciences in Latin America that grew out of a conversation between the region and the United States. Cultural Studies entered the Latin American academy through the work of regional intellectuals who spent time in the universities of North America. So while it is a foreign import, it entered the region in a transcultured, and translated form, through the readings of mainly British Cultural Studies carried out by prominent Latin American intellectuals such as Néstor García Canclini, Nelly Richard, Beatriz Sarlo, and José Manuel Valenzuela Arce, among others, as well as through dialogues with Latin Americanists located in the United States. These intellectuals have made important contributions to graduate programmes in Cultural Studies (or in similar interdisciplinary, culture oriented fields) in Mexico, Chile and Argentina.

Cultural Studies erupted into the Latin American cultural world after the end of the dictatorships, with the advent of both neoliberalism as a major trend in economic policy and the rise of the global narcotics trade, and in moments of reflections on democracy not only in the countries emerging from totalitarian rule but also in Mexico, a beacon of political stability in the region. As an interdisciplinary endeavour with many different theoretical practices, it is fair to say that most Latin American intellectuals in the humanities and qualitative social sciences came into dialogue (or actively refused to come into dialogue) with some configuration of Cultural Studies by the end of the millennium. Authors who were translated and read widely in the region include Stuart Hall, Andreas Huyssen, Frederic Jameson and Edward Said, although it is also true that the classic texts of the Birmingham School had had readers in the region for some time. Some Latin American authors working in the region inscribed within a wide net that could be understood as Cultural Studies included Jesús Martín Barbero, Néstor García Canclini, Daniel Mato, Nelly Richard, Beatriz Sarlo and Renato Ortiz. Other authors wrote from metropolitan centres of North America (e.g. George Yúdice, Walter Mignolo, Jean Franco). The large presence of Latin American intellectuals in the US academy, and the intersection of their interests with current debates on multiculturalism, democratization of culture and minority cultures sparked a lively debate that encouraged a diverse corpus of Cultural Studies.

A surprising proliferation of graduate programmes in Cultural Studies in Latin America began to take place in the context of an explosion of graduate education in Latin America at the turn of the millennium. Enrolment in graduate programmes in the region grew 31 percent between 1994 and 2000 (Rama 2007, p. 4). In Colombia, for example, there were 572 academic programmes in 1990 and 2229 in the year 2002, representing a 24 percent growth rate (Rama 2007, p. 4). In Argentina before 1980, there were a total of only 200 graduate programmes (Jeppesen *et al.* 2004, p. 34); between 1994 and 2002 the total supply of graduate programmes grew from 793 to 1941 (Barsky and Dávila 2004, p. 11). The new graduate programmes, including

those in Cultural Studies, are often transnational and both faculty and students cross national borders to collaborate in programmes (Rama 2007, pp. 10–12).

In this article, we survey the diverse ways in which Cultural Studies has entered institutional spaces in two countries, Colombia and Argentina. Colombia offers the case of an academy that appears to have welcomed the institutionalization of Cultural Studies, at least superficially, while Argentina appears to have resisted ceding the field institutional space. Nonetheless, its presence in both countries is strongly palpable; it is clearly a force too strong to be suppressed by resistance from the traditional disciplines.

Cultural Studies in Colombia¹

The case of the institutionalization of Cultural Studies in Colombia is unique in Latin America. Three of the nation's most prestigious universities, all located in Bogotá, within a period of three years established masters programmes in Cultural Studies, making for the case of the most concentrated and rapid institutionalization seen anywhere in Latin America. While the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana was the first to formally experiment with Cultural Studies at the graduate level, launching a specialization in its Facultad de Ciencias Sociales in 2002, the first masters programme was established at the Universidad Nacional in 2005. In 2007, the Javeriana upgraded its specialization into a masters programme, as well, and the Universidad de Los Andes, inaugurated its own masters programme in 2008.

Despite the apparent ease of accommodation of Cultural Studies into the Colombian academy, we should be careful not to overstate our case, the institutional status of Cultural Studies remains fragile in each of these three institutions. At the Universidad Nacional, which relies on faculty whose primary appointments are in other departments (sociology, anthropology, literature, performing arts, communication, international relations, history, etc.), faculty participation in pedagogy and advising must be negotiated on a case by case basis with individual faculty members and their departments. At the Javeriana, whose masters programme boasts no formally affiliated faculty aside from the director, Marta Cabrera, classes are taught through the voluntary participation of faculty from the Javeriana's Instituto Pensar, which was a protagonist in establishing the programme but which has no formal obligation to assure course coverage or advising, and through the use non-permanent faculty, contracted on a semester by semester basis. The Universidad de Los Andes – which is the only programme among the three that is formally attached to an undergraduate programme, a programme in foreign languages and sociocultural studies – actually has several faculty members with primary obligations to Cultural Studies, but still struggles to cover all its course offerings since those faculty members all have undergraduate teaching

obligations. In general, all three programmes struggle constantly to maintain intellectual integrity and appropriate faculty participation. Because very few professors are formally trained specifically in Cultural Studies, all three programmes must make a great effort to find professors with sufficient knowledge of the field to teach and advise students in a way that assures curricular cohesion. While the intellectual project of Cultural Studies is sufficiently flexible to accommodate different mixes of approaches, theories and methodologies, it is not feasible to allow programmes to take haphazard forms based only upon the limited availability of faculty. While these programmes may employ visiting professors or faculty whose primary affiliations lie elsewhere, all three depend heavily on local faculty affiliates. Therefore, the long-term stability of Cultural Studies in Colombia will depend on the ability to hire appropriate faculty with long-term contracts and with formal affiliations and obligations to the programmes.

One imagines that these issues will work themselves out over time. As it becomes apparent that a job market in the field of Cultural Studies exists, and as students move through these masters programmes, with some inevitably continuing on to obtain PhDs (although for the moment they would need to obtain them abroad if they wished to pursue a degree in Cultural Studies), the pool of qualified professors will eventually grow. And as it seems that all three programmes have quickly come to prosper by generating strong pools of student applicants practically from their inception, it would be logical to imagine that additional resources, including increased faculty lines, will eventually become available. This will be essential for the Javeriana and the Uniandes, which admit a new cohort of students each semester. The Universidad Nacional, meanwhile, despite high levels of demand (more than 60 applicants in the most recent admissions cycle), has had to admit students on a biannual cycle due to its limited faculty resources.

In any case, our aim here is to explore the circumstances that made possible the rapid institutionalization of Cultural Studies in Colombia, which include factors related to national and municipal cultural policy, the current status of the social sciences in Colombia's higher education system, as well as a certain intellectual excitement that came to be associated with the field of Cultural Studies through the organization of several high profile events and due to the Colombian academy's increasing participation in international – especially Anglophone – academic circuits, even as the intellectual project of Cultural Studies has been soundly rejected by many within the Colombian academic infrastructure.

The 1990s saw several significant policy shifts in Colombia that gave new importance to the notion of culture as a social and economic resource. At the national level, by the last decade of the millennium, culture had taken on a great political resonance in Colombia. Ana María Ochoa (2003) identifies two key events of those years (1) the ratification of a new Constitution that recognized the 'pluriethnic and multicultural' nature of Colombia national

culture (no longer officially viewed as a national unity); and (2) the introduction of culture into the 'politics of development' of the country and a general empowerment of the cultural sector with regard to competing for government funding through the high profile establishment of a new Ministry of Culture in 1997 (p. 18).

This new conceptualization of culture that was incorporated into the rhetoric and the policy of the national cultural bureaucracy of Colombia reflected the 'growing use of culture as an expedient for both sociopolitical and economic betterment' (Yúdice 2004, p. 23), ideas whose application was even more pronounced at the local level in the case of Bogotá in the same period. Antanas Mockus was elected mayor of Bogotá and served from 1995 to 1996 (and again from 2001 to 2003), promoting an agenda in which a 'culture of citizenship' [cultura ciudadana] was a key element. According to Doris Sommer (2005), Mockus's cultural policy profoundly transformed the city,

During more than a decade before Mockus assumed office in 1995, general chaos had kept the capital off limits for tourists and had tormented residents. The situation seemed hopeless, given the level of corruption that turns investment against itself. More money for economic recovery deepens the pockets of drug dealers, and more armed police escalate the number of guns and the level of violence. What intervention could possibly make sense in this stagnant but volatile situation? I have asked this question of economists and political scientists who admit they are stumped by the challenge. But Mockus took action by engaging culture to connect the body and soul of the city. (p. 263)

This new protagonism of culture as a policy tool became apparent in everyday life in Bogotá as the mayor's office promoted a reclaiming of public spaces and the combating of a culture of crime and fear through cultural events and acts, and was backed up by investment, with the annual budget of the Instituto Distrital de Cultura y Turismo, Bogotá's main cultural agency, rising 437 percent between 1994 and 1997 to a level that has been, for the most part, maintained (Lodoño Botero 2003, p. 25). Mockus's experimental efforts put culture at the centre of a plan to revive the city's spirit that has transformed what was one of the world's most violent cities into a dynamic and fun place to visit and live (López Borbón 2003, Sommer 2005, pp. 263–264).

This new creative and intensified use of cultural policy that has renovated Colombia's self-image, while by no means resolving relentless problems with drug trafficking, kidnapping, violent displacements and poverty, has instilled in a generation of young Colombians the idea that culture can be an effective tool for political and social intervention. Whether or not cultural interventions are more or less abundant or effective in Colombia now than in other epochs, culture has certainly become a more visible policy resource, bestowing Cultural Studies theory, including theory related to post-colonialism, race,

gender and sexuality, communications media, cultural policy, among other themes, with an intensified and palpable relevance to everyday life in places such as Bogotá. Governmental officials certainly have paid attention to cultural theory, with senior cultural administrators at both the national and municipal levels participating in academic events in which they have dialogued with leading figures in Latin American Cultural Studies such as George Yúdice and Catherine Walsh, as well as other local and international Cultural Studies scholars (see Gómez Rincón 2003, Silva 2004), and playing key roles in supporting the establishment of the masters programme in Cultural Studies at the Universidad Nacional.

Cultural Studies, of course, need not assume its own institutional space in the form of a standalone graduate programme (as we shall see in the case of Argentina). In the United States, there are very few programmes dedicated solely to Cultural Studies, which much more often has entered traditional disciplinary programmes, transforming them, making them more interdisciplinary and flexible (Irwin and Szurmuk 2009, Del Sarto 2008); in Australia, while departments are not so common, degree programmes are (Bennett 1998).

In Colombia, two of the three masters programmes in Cultural Studies have disciplinary links, but none are affiliated in any significant way with a discipline. At the Universidad Nacional, the masters degree in Cultural Studies is offered through the department of sociology, but few of its faculty are sociologists – indeed the current director, Marta Zambrano, has her primary appointment in the department of anthropology. The masters in Cultural Studies at the Universidad de Los Andes is managed from the Department of Foreign Languages and Sociocultural Studies, which actually incorporates Cultural Studies into its undergraduate as well as its graduate curriculum. Most of the professors whose participation is central to the functioning of the graduate programme are from the department, while additional professors from other areas have taught for the programme as well; meanwhile, the majority of the professors in the department, many of whom are linguists or specialists in foreign languages, do not participate in the graduate programme at all. In the end, the graduate programme is not linked in a determining way with foreign languages or linguistics. Finally, while at the Javeriana the masters programme was founded with the support of the Instituto Pensar, itself an interdisciplinary endeavour, it bears no official affiliation with this or any other academic unit, and in fact operates independently of the four departments within the Faculty of Social Sciences of the university, namely sociology, anthropology, history and literature. In other words, all three programmes, whatever slant they may have at any given moment based on faculty availability and participation, are billed as interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary programmes that do not conform to the paradigms of any traditional discipline.

In interviews with students enrolled in these programmes, it became clear that this distancing of Cultural Studies from traditional disciplines along with

the theoretical and methodological flexibility of Cultural Studies as an interdisciplinary project were key factors that brought these students to pursue degrees in the field. We must underline the caveat that we are by no means evaluating the traditional disciplines in the Colombian academy; we are merely reporting the impressions of students, specifically a group of students that has chosen not to pursue their advanced degrees in a traditional discipline, but in Cultural Studies. Those students that we interviewed, all of whom are currently enrolled in Cultural Studies masters programmes, hold undergraduate degrees from a wide range of disciplines, including anthropology, literature, sociology, education, psychology, philosophy, political science and art, among others. Among students surveyed, one of the main reasons articulated for choosing Cultural Studies and not an advanced degree in their field of undergraduate study was the perceived inflexibility of the disciplines. Students complained of ‘rigidity’, ‘isolation’ and ‘closedness’, as well as a tendency to present certain theory as disciplinary ‘dogma’. They believe that professors in the disciplines are not open to or interested in supporting research in areas of interest to them such as gender and sexuality, race, domestic violence, displaced communities, the rhetoric of advertising, visual culture or cultural policy. They believe that some ‘old school’ scholars remain entrenched in older paradigms of Colombian higher education, in which advanced degrees were geared mainly toward producing teachers, but not toward training researchers. Some programmes appear, in their opinion, to be geared more to forming *experts* than to training *scholars* – and many of these students, engaged as they are with cultural initiatives in the city, in the schools, in indigenous communities, in social movements, in neighbourhood organizations and so on, were most interested in training as *public intellectuals* – identifying if not with Cultural Studies, with something similar (see Mato 2005). They sought a degree programme that would permit or, ideally, promote greater creativity, reflexivity and intellectual agility – a space for the ‘undisciplined thinking’ (Mendieta and Castro Gómez 1998) and ‘new cognitive maps’ (Martín Barbero 2005) promoted within Cultural Studies.

Students found themselves asking questions that could not be answered easily or completely from within what they perceived to be the rigid spaces of the disciplines, and appreciated the freshness and newness with which Cultural Studies presents itself. They were attracted to Cultural Studies’ image as a space of non-conformity, a space from which to question public policy, global capitalism, everyday manifestations of prejudice – and disciplinary thinking. The issue of non-conformity is especially important to many students who not only engage as ‘cultural citizens’ in their communities, but also insist on maintaining a political commitment in their academic work; these students believe many disciplinary spaces to be hostile to politically motivated research. Traditional disciplines in Colombia often assume what Santiago Castro Gómez has called an academic ‘ground zero’ [el punto cero], that is, a pretension of scientific objectivity (cited in Humar Forero 2008, pp. 71–72), which not only

does not allow for creative or critical thinking, but also leaves no room for politically compromised intellectual work. This political wariness may have less to do with a belief in the promise of objectivity in the social sciences than it does with a paranoia that any academic work identified as Marxist or leftist might lead to accusations of a professor's possible covert membership in 'the intellectual wing of the FARC', the leftist guerrilla group (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) who has been carrying out violent acts, many directed against the Colombian government, including kidnappings and assassinations, for over 40 years, and which is seen as public enemy number one by Colombia's current president, Álvaro Uribe. Cultural Studies, which encourages politically engaged scholarship, but generally is critical the dogma of orthodox Marxism, instead assuming a broadly leftist – and in many ways hard to pin down – critical perspective, drew the attention of these students.

It must be added that there has also been something of a 'buzz' factor contributing to the early success of these three programmes. Around the same time that culture was being reformulated and accentuated as an important policy tool in Colombia, Cultural Studies arrived in Bogotá with some fanfare. Beginning in the latter half of the 1990s, Colombia's Ministry of Culture, Bogotá's Instituto Distrital de Cultura y Turismo, the Universidad Nacional's Centro de Estudios Sociales, the internationally funded and Bogotá based Convenio Andrés Bello, and the privately funded Fundación Social joined forces to organize a series of highly attended academic events centred around the theme of Cultural Studies in Latin America. The excitement that these events generated had to do with a body of innovative, interdisciplinary and often politically charged work being realized by Latin American scholars of diverse disciplines in the humanities and social scientists, many of whom presented their work at these forums, among them, Colombia based Jesús Martín Barbero, Néstor García Canclini, Beatriz Sarlo, Nelly Richard, Walter Dignolo, Renato Ortiz and José Joaquín Brunner, to name a few. According to Zoad Humar Forero (2008):

Cultural Studies ... erupted in Colombia, intervening directly in the political reflections that came about concerning the notion of culture in a country that was declared multiethnic and multicultural in its 1990 [sic] constitution. In other words, the theoretical reflections of Cultural Studies arrived in Colombia within institutional contexts that permitted the blurring of the unequivocal line between academic knowledge and political strategies. (74–75, translation ours)

Cultural Studies took centre stage in Colombian academic spaces at a moment at which culture came to be understood in distinctly political terms, which made the study of culture, cultural theory and cultural criticism areas that seemed especially relevant. Along these lines, in 1998, with the re-inauguration of the interdisciplinary Instituto Pensar at the Javeriana, this

university began organizing its own events, also focused on themes closely related to the growing body of knowledge that was coming to be known as a particularly Latin American brand of Cultural Studies.

These dynamic debates, which produced a number of publications, and gave rise to several very active research groups within diverse institutional spaces, eventually led to the launching of the specialization in Cultural Studies at the Javeriana in 2002, and the foundation of the various masters programmes in Cultural Studies over the following few years. Meanwhile, the Universidad Central launched its own interdisciplinary masters programme in contemporary social problems [‘problemas sociales contemporaneos’] in 2006; while this programme does not identify with Cultural Studies as such – for example focusing on what it calls ‘social theory’ as opposed to ‘cultural theory’ – many of the lines of research it offers incorporate a Cultural Studies perspective (‘communication-education’, ‘cultural knowledge and identities’, ‘youth and youth cultures’, ‘gender and culture’).

All of this activity around the foundation of new graduate programmes in the social sciences itself produced a certain level of excitement, and when it quickly became clear that there existed an eager population of potential graduate students who were frustrated by the current structure of disciplinary study in Colombia, administrators – undoubtedly motivated less by the intellectual contributions of Cultural Studies than by market forces, so important in the contemporary neoliberal academy – became convinced that Cultural Studies graduate programmes were viable, or perhaps even essential. Thus, despite vociferous internal opposition in all three universities, the proposals for new graduate programmes managed to garner sufficient administrative support to allow for their implementation. To the extent that these three universities, among the most highly respected in the nation (indeed the Spanish Cybermetrics Lab’s ‘Webometrics Ranking of World Universities’ ranks the Universidad de Los Andes, the Universidad Nacional and the Universidad Javeriana first, second, and fourth, respectively in Colombia, with the Universidad de Antioquia of Medellín ranked third, http://www.webometrics.info/rank_by_country.asp?country=co), compete with each other for students and for reputation, there is a sense that if one university was running a successful graduate programme in a new research area, the others could not allow themselves to fall behind.

Of course there was and continues to be resistance in all three universities. Some resistance comes from the disciplines, unhappy with the attention that this new area of study has garnered, and protective of resources. However, there is also a certain wariness, well known in debates around the concept of Cultural Studies worldwide, that Cultural Studies may be less a new paradigm of inquiry than an intellectual fad, or that it is a fashion pertaining first and foremost to the Anglophone context from which it initially arose and in which it has most flourished. Many of the Latin American scholars involved in the debates that eventually gave rise to the foundation of these programmes have at

different moments disassociated themselves from the concept of Cultural Studies, preferring to align themselves with other notions, such as sociology of culture (Sarlo 1997) or cultural critique (Richard 2010) or intellectual practices in culture and power (Daniel Mato 2005, see Del Sarto 2008, pp. 56–58). Meanwhile, it can be observed that many of the current protagonists in Cultural Studies in Colombia received their doctorates from Anglophone institutions. Among the 18 faculty of the Universidad Nacional currently affiliated with the masters programme in Cultural Studies, eight received their doctorates from Anglophone universities. Of the 10 faculty who currently teach in the Javeriana's masters programme, five studied in the United States or Australia, the director, Marta Cabrera, actually holding an Australian Ph.D. in Cultural Studies. Among the six core faculty of the masters programme at the Universidad de Los Andes, five received their doctorates in the United States.

This foreign infusion is partly due to the lack of doctoral programmes in the humanities and social sciences in Colombia. The Universidad de Los Andes currently offers four doctorates (in anthropology, history, political science and psychology), the Universidad Nacional three (geography, history and philosophy) and the Javeriana only one (the recently launched interdisciplinary Doctorate in Social and Human Sciences, whose relationship to the intellectual project of Cultural Studies remains to be seen). Virtually all current faculty in the three programmes who hold doctorates earned them abroad, mainly in Europe (France, Spain, Germany, Moscow), the United States, or occasionally in Latin America (Cuba, Venezuela, Ecuador). Dialogue with the metropolitan centres of the international academy is inevitable. However, the intellectual energy that brought about the launching of these three programmes came from debates protagonized by Latin American thinkers, including several who teach at the universities in question, most prominently Jesús Martín Barbero and Santiago Castro Gómez. Moreover, students enrolled in these programmes, all of whom quickly become well versed in Latin American debates on the topic, express no doubts about Cultural Studies' relevance to the Colombian context.

In summary, a cluster of regional developments (lively interdisciplinary critical debates around a variety of themes related to culture among Latin American and Latin Americanist scholars) combined with local circumstances (new visibility of cultural policy and, as George Yúdice puts it, 'the expediency of culture', which led to a range of intellectual concerns that did not translate readily into existing paradigms of disciplinary inquiry) gave rise to an intense critical energy around the somewhat amorphous academic paradigm that was coming to be known as Latin American Cultural Studies in Colombia. Once this energy began to translate into institutional practices, it took on its own life within these spaces, resulting in the surprisingly intense process of institutionalization of the field in the city of Bogotá.

Argentina²

The Argentinean case is an interesting counterpoint to that of Colombia. At first glance, there appear to be only a handful of programmes in Cultural Studies in the country, and many scholars are quick to dismiss Cultural Studies as an import from the United States and a 'light' intellectual endeavour. Yet, Cultural Studies is very present in intellectual discussions, in what is published, and in the training of graduate students. An example serves us to illustrate our point.

We attended one of the monthly seminars at the Ravignani Institute of Argentinean History at the University of Buenos Aires where a recently defended doctoral dissertation in literature was discussed. The dissertation was a study of the narratives of the 1879–1880 Campaign of the Desert, the military campaign whereby the central government of Argentina occupied Patagonia, displacing the indigenous populations and effectively circumscribing the borders of the national state. The texts analyzed included personal journals of military personnel and scientists, military correspondence, maps, telegrams and photographs. Only a handful of the written texts could be included within the category of 'literature'. The discussant, a historian who specializes in urban history, started off by stating that this was clearly a Cultural Studies dissertation, and alluded to the variety of methodologies and sources used. In the ensuing discussion, the term Cultural Studies was used repeatedly to highlight the originality of the work, yet many of those present prefaced their questions with disciplinary preoccupations ('As a historian, I would have read these sources differently') and several concrete questions were asked requiring the author to draw disciplinary boundaries and define what was 'literary' or 'historical' or 'sociological' about her work. What became apparent was that while Cultural Studies was seen as the strength of the dissertation, it also seemed to be a liability; a strength inasmuch as it gave the text an originality of approach and methodology that made it interesting, a liability in that it placed the author outside the disciplinary borders imposed by the strict discipline-based system of evaluation and promotion still in place in the National Council for Science and Technology (Conicet). Interestingly enough, most of the scholars present in the seminar are very well known internationally, their work is read and taught as Cultural Studies, some lecture often in the United States, and several have won the Guggenheim fellowships. Their published work is indeed inscribed within Cultural Studies, yet there is a certain discomfort that makes them retreat into the disciplines. What is Cultural Studies in this context? How do these scholars train their graduate students?

As we shall see while there is a proliferation of publications in the area of Cultural Studies, very few programmes actually take on comprehensive graduate training in Cultural Studies. Unlike the case of Colombia, where Cultural Studies has been institutionalized, in Argentina, a country with a greater number of Ph.D. programmes, many of which are strong and well

established, it functions within the limits of schools in traditional disciplines (mainly communications and sociology). There have been new programmes established at the masters level, and students enrolled in Ph.D. programmes can usually take a variety of Cultural Studies classes offered by faculty from Argentina and abroad. While this has produced exciting work, it is indeed a very fragile model because it relies on faculty who have no obligations to the continuity of graduate programmes, and students still need to work within disciplinary constraints to get funding, recognition and positions. A major obstacle to the institutionalization of Cultural Studies is the inflexibility of the 'cátedra' system, within which most graduate students must house their graduate projects.

Graduate training in national universities created before 1970 has traditionally taken place within the structure of the cátedra. Each compulsory subject in an undergraduate curriculum is taught through a cátedra composed of senior scholar in the field and a group of scholars at various stages in their careers – from advanced undergraduates to Ph.D. holders. Recent graduates or advanced undergraduates enter a cátedra as *ad-honorem* teaching assistants and gradually accede to the paying positions. In addition to their pedagogical and mentoring functions, cátedras very often carry out collective research projects. This traditional system has come under harsh attack at various moments, and new universities created after 1970 have been organized not into cátedras, but into departments or schools. Yet, both undergraduate and graduate teaching in the country's most traditional and prestigious universities is still organized around cátedras, whose rigid system relies heavily on the authority and direction of a chairperson. Younger scholars who do Cultural Studies tend to have subaltern roles in cátedras and therefore cannot effectively introduce changes in curriculum, which is controlled by the chairperson.

The cases of the cátedra in popular culture in the School of Social Sciences at the Universidad de Buenos Aires led by Pablo Alabarces, and that in literary theory at the Universidad de Tucumán headed by Ricardo Kaliman provide interesting examples of how Cultural Studies training can take place in these more traditional settings. Both Alabarces and Kaliman describe their experience as a test of the limits of the system, as they have gradually introduced more Cultural Studies readings into both their graduate and undergraduate classes without eliminating disciplinary nomenclature. Undergraduates who take their classes get a taste of Cultural Studies, and those who are interested enrol in more advanced classes taught by faculty in the cátedra. Students applying for Ph.D. scholarships from the state-run Conicet can house their projects within their cátedras, but always respecting the disciplinary classifications of Conicet (i.e. without actually labelling their projects as projects in Cultural Studies). It is clear that while this system has allowed these scholars some wiggle room, it is far from ideal in terms of students acquiring a graduate training in Cultural Studies.

The introduction of Cultural Studies in Argentina coincided with the process of re-democratization, and the reorganization of the University system which had been ravaged during the military *régime*, and which had not functioned within patterns of normalcy since the purges of 1966 when many of the most prestigious faculty members were expelled from national universities. During the 1976–1983 dictatorship, Argentinean universities were subjected to a myriad of abuses that range from the disappearance of professors and students, to school closures, and the almost complete lack of freedom of professors to choose bibliography and teaching materials. Cultural Studies entered academic debates in Argentina in the late 1980s and early 1990s laterally, through new projects of rereading national culture, and within heated debates around issues of memory, human rights and violence.

When the dictatorship came to an end in December 1983, the university system was in shambles, especially in the humanities and the social sciences. It was, therefore, necessary to reorganize by hiring new professors, regularizing the situation of professors who did not have regular appointments, and restructuring the system of graduate training. The 1995 law of higher education required that university faculty have graduate degrees (Follari 2002). An array of MA programmes were created all over the country including some with a Cultural Studies emphasis. In some cases Cultural Studies was an umbrella term used to assemble a variety of disciplines in the humanities, but without being based upon a clear theoretical foundation in Cultural Studies. This was the case in many universities in less populated areas of the country such as the MA and Ph.D. programmes in social and Cultural Studies at the Universidad Nacional de La Pampa. Cultural Studies areas opened up as specializations at the Universidad de La Plata. An area of the prestigious Institute Gino Germani in the Universidad de Buenos Aires was renamed 'Cultural Studies'; there, although the faculty involved do not see their mission as one of forming students in Cultural Studies, they do have an ambiguous but undeniable relationship towards Cultural Studies as a project and individually tend privilege a particular focus such as cultural criticism, consumption studies or media studies, all of which might easily be classified as subfields of Cultural Studies.

Given the rigidity of the *cátedra* system, it is not surprising that the handful of programmes that have been established in Cultural Studies are located either completely outside the national university system, or in the newer national universities that are not organized around *cátedras*. In 1995, Beatriz Sarlo and Carlos Altamirano founded a master's programme in sociology of culture and cultural analysis at the Fundación Banco Patricios, the foundation of a private bank that sponsored several theatres, a series of graduate programmes and a cultural centre. While some first generation students remember discussions regarding the possible naming of the programme using the term Cultural Studies, Beatriz Sarlo (1997, p. 90) has claimed this was never the case. When Banco Patricios went under in 1996, the programme was transferred to the

then recently created Universidad Nacional de General San Martín where it still functions today. Carlos Altamirano and Beatriz Sarlo left the programme, and it has since been directed by art historian Gastón Burucúa, art historian Laura Malosetti Costa and anthropologist Alejandro Grimson.

In the ebullient cultural climate of re-democratization, Argentinean expatriates and exiles who had been in exile during the dictatorship, such as Néstor García Canclini and Ernesto Laclau (Canclini in Mexico, Laclau in England), were invited to lecture on issues that were central in Cultural Studies. The 175th anniversary of the Universidad de Buenos Aires celebrated in 1996 was an occasion to showcase some of the new theoretical developments produced abroad and the collection of inexpensive books published by the university's press that reproduced the lectures put a young public in contact for the first time with authors whose books had been banned or unavailable during the period of military rule.

Since 2002, Conicet has increased the funds available for graduate study dramatically, giving recent university graduates the chance to embark in graduate study full time. Full time doctoral students are encouraged to enrol in master's programmes to have a more structured curriculum in their first two years of a Ph.D. fellowship. The programmes in sociology of culture and cultural analysis at the Universidad Nacional de San Martín, in communication and culture at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, and in social sciences and humanities at the Universidad de Quilmes are all among the most popular. Other students interested in Cultural Studies may prefer to enrol in a disciplinary-based MA programme and work within a Cultural Studies oriented cátedra. A student who is writing a Ph.D. dissertation in colonial literature and works in Alabarces's cátedra explains her interest in Cultural Studies in this way:

I was drawn to Cultural Studies through popular culture studies. I started reading new things. What interests me about Cultural Studies is that it allows me to ask broader questions. It opens up new areas of research, new texts; it allows me to think both synchronically and diachronically with a variety of materials. (translation ours)

Her sentiments are representative of the opinions of many of the graduate students who seek a Cultural Studies orientation in MA programmes, in work in cátedras, and in assorted Cultural Studies courses offered by visiting faculty. We interviewed sociology majors who enrolled in the MA programme in sociology of culture and cultural analysis to learn methodologies of analysis for film, history majors enrolled in PhDs in history who simultaneously enrolled in the interdisciplinary MA programme in social sciences and humanities at the Universidad de Quilmes to learn how to use non-traditional historical sources such as literary journals and film criticism. The influx of students from other parts of Latin America – mainly Chile, Colombia and Mexico – who enrol in MA programmes in the country provides a diversity of opinions and

experiences that enriches these programmes. One of the most common reasons given by graduate students for their interest in Cultural Studies is their desire to work on projects dealing with the present (popular radio, cartoons, cultural industries, film) or to use non-traditional sources in their research.

One solid graduate programme in Cultural Studies within the cátedra system indeed exists at the Universidad de Tucumán, in the north of the country under the supervision of Ricardo Kaliman. Kaliman holds a chair in literary theory, and directs a group project on culture in the Andes. His research group includes a recent Ph.D., and 10 scholars at different levels of their training, most of whom hold doctoral fellowships from Conicet. The students whom we interviewed from this group all expressed a dissatisfaction with the rigidity of disciplinary training, and a desire to work in a transdisciplinary manner, focusing on different aspects of popular and folk culture – from traditional medicine to soap operas; from folk music to youth culture – in their own geographical area. Kaliman, who did his Ph.D. training Latin American literature in the United States with a specialization in Cultural Studies, has carved a niche for his research and teaching within the programme of literature in the School of the Humanities. He has served repeatedly on committees that grant doctoral fellowships and support for scholars at Conicet within the humanities, yet most of the doctoral students he directs are judged within the fields of sociology or anthropology. While he feels comfortable with the term Cultural Studies, he prefers sociology of culture because he feels it captures ‘the most important contributions of the original rethinking of cultural materialism that in the 1960s generated enlightening perspectives of the processes in which the cultural manifestations of diverse social groups are developed within a context of structural inequalities’.

Two master’s programmes in Cultural Studies exist in the country, one at the Universidad de Morón, a private university in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, which aims to ‘train students in the general problematic of a continent that shows, at the beginning of the Third Millennium, a series of functional difficulties to integrate fully in a cultural and economic process, that at least until now, seems unstoppable, and is called “globalization”’ (<http://www.unimoron.edu.ar/Home/CarrerasCAR/PosgradoCA>, translation ours).

Courses taught include socio-political history, Latin American geopolitics, ethnography and Latin American folklore. Because it is outside the official system of support of Conicet, it does not employ faculty involved in research and as it is still very new, it is hard to say whether this programme will have an impact in the training of graduate students.

A very interesting new programme is in its beginnings in the north of the country in the province of Santiago del Estero. It started in 2008 as a specialization but there are already plans to turn it into a master’s programme in collaboration with the Universidade de Brasília in Brazil. The programme currently housed at the Universidad Nacional de Santiago del Estero is run by a conglomerate of eleven public universities located in Argentina’s ‘Norte

Grande' and strives to create alternatives to the hegemony over culture and education exercised from Buenos Aires. It also illuminates areas of knowledge not privileged in the centre of the country, such as race, folklore, indigenous populations and connections with neighbouring countries. The Norte Grande programme does not restrict the scope of its students to researchers but also emphasizes possible specializations in administration, an area that in other parts of the country falls within the scope of numerous arts administration programmes. The programme undertakes to train students to 'develop strategies of advising governmental and non-governmental associations' as well as to plan actions to defend cultural patrimony, promote innovation and create webs of communication between institutions and cultural producers. Possible careers in outreach, arts administration and cultural tourism are mentioned on the web page, together with more traditional occupations such as teaching and research (http://www.eie.unse.edu.ar/estudios_culturales.htm, translation ours). Faculty in the Norte Grande programme come from the 11 participating universities as well as from the Universidad de Buenos Aires, and most of them are involved in Conicet-funded research.

There are as yet no Ph.D. programmes in Cultural Studies in Argentina, but most universities allow a fair amount of leeway in terms of the types of projects students may undertake; therefore many of the PhDs dissertations written today in Argentina could nonetheless be considered to fall within the realm of Cultural Studies. Because courses of study are so free, students can take several classes in Cultural Studies and many do. Conicet, however, does not include area studies in the categories available to describe both research and teaching so choosing a traditional discipline for a Ph.D. is a choice most students would not forgo.

Conclusion

While the local histories of Argentina and Colombia are quite distinct, each saw a pronounced interest in culture, cultural criticism and cultural theory in the 1990s that led to often politicized and interdisciplinary lines of intellectual interrogation whose parameters coincided significantly with both the now well known British Cultural Studies and its sometimes problematic transformation within the US academy. The generation of high profile debates around the ideas prevalent in Cultural Studies, translated to the particular circumstances of Latin America, provoked a level of interest in Cultural Studies in both nations that required some kind of a response from the academy. Student demand to challenge traditional disciplinary boundaries and to engage in often methodologically creative Cultural Studies style research agendas has indeed been unstoppable.

In Colombia, this has given rise to a virtual boom in Cultural Studies as a new institutional paradigm, fully endorsed by the most prestigious institutions

of the academy. In Argentina, traditional disciplines and the *cátedra* system itself have made it difficult for Cultural Studies to make visible inroads in the form of degree programmes; nonetheless, the presence of Cultural Studies within existing structures is undeniable and formidable. While in neither country have institutions – including funding institutions such as Argentina’s Conicet that has yet to legitimize Cultural Studies as an academic field, or the university administrations of Colombia that have so far denied Cultural Studies graduate programmes the resources they need for long-term survival – fully conceded Cultural Studies the status of traditional disciplines such as anthropology, literature or history, Cultural Studies is thriving – albeit *eccentrically* – in both.

Notes

- 1 We are indebted to faculty from the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana: Juan Carlos Segura, Carlos Arturo López and especially director Marta Cabrera; the Universidad de Los Andes: director Alcira Saavedra, Chloe Rutter-Jensen, Gregory Lobo, Juan Ricardo Aparicio, along with administrator Julia Morales; and the Universidad Nacional: director Marta Zambrano, for discussing with us the history and administration of their programmes. We also thank the following graduate students who agreed to be interviewed from the Javeriana: Érika Casteñeda, Tania Lizarazo, Ruth Vargas Rincón and Daniela Díaz Soto and the Universidad de Los Andes: Ángela Lozano, Diana Pardo, Marcela Rojas Peralta, Catalina Vallejo, Sonia Abaunza Galvis and Ángela Vera Ruiz about their interest in and experience with Cultural Studies (see Lagos *et al.* 2010).
- 2 For sharing their experience as faculty and graduate students in Cultural Studies we are indebted the following: at the University of Buenos Aires, Pablo Alabarces, Valeria Añón, Ana Wortman and to the graduate students in Ph.D. seminar ‘Pensar la cultura: nuevos enfoques, nuevas lecturas’ (September–November 2009); at the Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Alejandro Grimson; at the Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, Dora Barrancos and the students in the Ph.D. seminar ‘Debates actuales en los estudios culturales latinoamericanos’ (June–September 2009); at the Universidad de Tucumán, Josefina Doz Costa, Ricardo Kaliman, and Denisse Oliszewski; and to Beatriz Ocampo of the Universidad Nacional de Santiago del Estero.

Notes on contributors

Robert McKee Irwin is Chair of the Graduate Group in Cultural Studies at the University of California, Davis where he is Chancellor’s Fellow and Professor in the Department of Spanish. He is co-editor, with Mónica

Szurmuk, of *Diccionario de estudios culturales latinoamericanos* (2009). Other publications include *Mexican Masculinities* (2003), *Bandits, Captives, Heroines and Saints: Cultural Icons of Mexico's Northwest Borderlands* (2007), the Mexican edition of Eduardo Castrejón's *Los cuarenta y uno: novela crítico-social* (2010) and the co-edited volume *Hispanisms and Homosexualities* (1998). He is currently completing a collaborative project on the international reception and impact of Mexican 'golden age' cinema.

Mónica Szurmuk is Research Professor at the Institute of Latin American Literature at the University of Buenos Aires, and the National Council for Science and Technology (Conicet). She is co-editor, with Robert McKee Irwin of *Diccionario de estudios culturales latinoamericanos* (2009). Other publications include *Mujeres en viaje; Escritos y testimonios* (2000); *Women in Argentina, Early Travel Narratives* (2001), available in Spanish as *Miradas cruzadas: Narrativas de viaje de mujeres en la Argentina 1850–1930* and the co-edited volumes *Memoria y ciudadanía* (2008) and of the forthcoming *Sitios de la memoria: Mexico post-1968*.

References

- Barsky, O. & Dávila, M., eds. (2004) 'Las tendencias actuales de los posgrados en Argentina [Current tendencies in graduate programmes in Argentina]', in *Documentos de trabajo 117*, Buenos Aires: Universidad de Belgrano, 1–35, [online] Available at: http://www.ub.edu.ar/investigaciones/dt_nuevos/117_barsky.pdf
- Bennett, T. (1998) 'Cultural Studies: a reluctant discipline', *Cultural Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 528–545.
- Castro Gómez, S. (2003) 'Apogeo y decadencia de la teoría tradicional. Una visión desde los intersticios', *Revista Iberoamericana*, vol. LXIX, no. 203, pp. 343–353.
- Del Sarto, A. (2008) 'Historias en curso, reconfiguraciones de los estudios culturales latinoamericanos', *Hispanic Research Journal*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 45–63.
- Follari, R. (2002) 'Argentina, el acceso a los postgrados como urgencia reglamentaria', in *A bússola do escrever*, eds L. Bianchetti & A. M. Machado, Florianópolis, São Paulo, Cortes/Da UFSC. Available at: http://www.clasco.net/documentos_aportes/42.pdf (accessed 5 December 2011).
- Gómez Rincón, M. B. (ed.) (2003) *Políticas culturales urbanas, experiencias europeas y americanas* [Urban Cultural Policies: European and American Experiences], Bogotá: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá.
- Humar Forero, Z. (2008) 'Atravesando disciplinas, la institucionalización de los estudios culturales en Colombia', *Hispanic Research Journal*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 65–85.

- Irwin, R. M. & Szurmuk, M. (2009) 'Cultural Studies and the field of "Spanish" in the US Academy', *A Contracorriente*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 36–60.
- Jeppesen, C., Nelson, A. & Guerrin, V. (2004) *Diagnóstico y perspectiva de los estudios de posgrado en la Argentina* [Graduate Education in Argentina: Diagnosis and Perspectives], Buenos Aires, ISEALC-Unesco.
- Lagos, I., et al. (2010) 'Palestra: Estudios culturales en las Américas: compromiso, colaboración, transformación', *Tabula Rasa*, 12, [online] Available at: <http://www.revistatabularasa.org/numero12.html>
- Lodoño Botero, R. (2003) 'Bogotá necesita una política cultural pública [Bogotá needs a new public cultural policy]', in *Políticas culturales urbanas, experiencias europeas y americanas* [Urban Cultural Policies: European and American Experiences], eds M. Bárbara & G. Rincón, Bogotá, Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, pp. 22–27.
- López Borbón, L. (2003) *Construir ciudadanía desde la cultura, aproximaciones comunicativas al Programa de la Cultura Ciudadana (Bogotá 1995–1997)* [Building Citizenship From Culture: Communicative to the Programme of Cultural Citizenship], Bogotá: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá/Instituto Distrital de Cultura y Turismo/Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales.
- Martín Barbero, J. (2005) 'Transdisciplinariedad, notas para un mapa de sus encrucijadas cognitivas y sus conflictos culturales [Transdisciplinarity: notes for a map of its cognitive crossroads and cultural conflicts]', in *Cultura, identidades y saberes fronterizos* [Culture, Identities and Border Knowledges], ed. J. E. Jaramillo Jiménez Bogotá, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, pp. 59–71.
- Mato, D. (2005) 'Estudios y otras prácticas intelectuales latinoamericanas en cultura y poder', in *Cultura, política y sociedad, perspectivas latinoamericanas*, ed. D. Mato, Buenos Aires, CLACSO, pp. 471–497.
- Mendieta, E. & Castro Gómez, S. (1998) 'Introducción, la translocalización discursiva de Latinoamérica en tiempos de la globalización', in *Teorías sin disciplina (latinoamericanismo, poscolonialismo y globalización en debate)*, México: Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 3–25, [online] Available at: <http://waltermignolo.com/txt/publications/articles/Teoriassindisciplina.pdf> (accessed 1 March 2010).
- Ochoa, A. M. (2003) *Entre los deseos y los derechos, un ensayo crítico sobre políticas culturales* [Between Desires and Rights: A Critical Essay About Cultural Policies], Bogotá, Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia.
- Rama, C. (2007) *Los posgrados en América Latina en la sociedad del saber* [Graduate Programs in Latin America in the Society of Knowledge], Caracas, Fondo Editorial IPASME.
- Richard, N. (ed.) (2010) *En torno a los estudios culturales: localidades, trayectorias y disputas* [Around Cultural Studies: Localities, Trajectories and Disputes]. Buenos Aires/Santiago: CLACSO/Editorial ARCIS.
- Sarlo, B. (1997) 'Cultural Studies questionnaire', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 85–91.

- Silva, A. E. (ed.) (2004) *Bogotá para vivir 2001–2003* [Living in Bogotá 2001–2003], Bogotá: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá.
- Sommer, D. (2005) 'Art and accountability', *Review Literature and Arts of the Americas*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 261–76.
- Szurmuk, M. & Robert, M. I. (2009) 'Introducción', in *Diccionario de estudios culturales latinoamericanos*, eds M. Szurmuk & R. M. Irwin, Mexico City, Siglo XXI/Instituto Mora, pp. 9–42.
- Yúdice, G. (2004) *The Expediency of Culture*, Durham, Duke University Press.