3. Photography collectives and anti-racism in Peru and Argentina

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This chapter examines the context, format and content of a set of photographs by Adrián Portugal, a member of Supay Colectivo de Fotografía based in Lima, Peru, and two photographic productions by Colectivo Manifiesto, based in the city of Córdoba, Argentina.[1] Although different in purpose, these interventions into systems of racialised social representations are manifestations of anti-racism, which challenge the stereotypes and practices that mark groups of the population as different, undesirable and even dangerous. With their images, these photographers deliberately reinforce ideas, aesthetic expressions and forms of living in Lima and Córdoba, which challenge the status quo by actively defying clichés about 'the other', the urban poor. As Sassen (2013, p. 213) states, the incompleteness of cities makes them 'a space where the powerless can make history'. By recording acts of 'innovation under duress' performed by 'the powerless' (p. 210), these photography collectives embrace a role as trustees of history-making actions that need to be recorded and, in doing so, they inspire political imaginaries about the social transformations that could take place in their countries (Pinney, 2016).[2]

The documentary photography that both collectives practise is at the crossroads between the arts, photojournalism and political activism. Both Supay and Manifiesto use collaborative forms of production and open-access platforms to disseminate their work, in order to intervene actively in their societies' system of representation. Both collectives are part of a large network of numerous photographers in the region and beyond, who are engaged in a high degree of reflexivity about their practice and social position. Having taken a critical stance against social injustice and discriminatory practices,

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1   The collaborative work for this article was possible in the context of the RISE–MSCA H2020 project 'Cultural Narratives of Crisis and Renewal', http://www.culturalnarratives.co.uk (accessed 4 March 2019).

2   This is how Pinney (2016) summarises the ideas of Didi-Huberman (2008) and Azoulay (2012) when discussing whether documentary photography can play a politically liberating role.

they use their lenses to document the presence, concerns, actions and lives of the disenfranchised and emerging groups of people in urban and rural areas, unashamedly practising a partisan photography and siding with and serving social movements (Marzo, 2006; Azoulay, 2010; Carreras, 2010; Gonzales Granados, 2016).

A fascinating and complex ideological landscape is currently emerging in Latin America (Hershberg and Rosen, 2006; Goodale and Postero, 2013). On the one hand, discourses of solidarity, civic engagement and the quest for social justice became official during the emergence of the so-called Pink Tide regimes, attracting the support of young people, but also generating opposition from more radical autonomous movements. On the other hand, even though aspects of neoliberalism have had a strong cultural grip on Chile, Peru and Colombia since the 1990s, some Latin Americans consider neoliberal discourses around cultural diversity or women's rights to be too progressive (Vich, 2014). It is true that the questioning of racism and racist practices is 'part and parcel of the effective management of cultural diversity' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 3), and most Latin American countries have experienced constitutional changes recognising cultural diversity and outlawing discrimination based on race or ethnicity. However, none of this guarantees the transformation of the pervasive and widespread racist values, attitudes and practices found in all social echelons and among state officials, nor does it protect indigenous peoples from dispossession and abuse at the hands of the state. Furthermore, the legal sanctioning of discrimination tends to consider individual cases, meaning victims of discrimination, have to face the state alone with their complaints.

The range of anti-racist practices in this context is broad. At one end, it involves adopting an egalitarian form of life that aspires to eradicate racial prejudice and hierarchies based on phenotype, and to challenge the racialisation of cultural difference in everyday life. At the other end, it involves active participation in campaigns and organisations denouncing racial discrimination and defending the rights of indigenous groups and Afrodescendants. They all aim to care for and heal the wounds of racism, by taking a clear stance against it (Mbembe, 2016). The photographic interventions of Supay and Manifiesto stand in different places in this spectrum of anti-racist practice. Nevertheless, they also share important features. Both collectives are socially diverse; their members are typically not activists in any specific identity- or class-based movement in the cities where they live and work. However, in their production they are critical of practices of exclusion that link class and phenotype, and they engage in photography projects that stir criticism or destabilise prejudice or common racialised discriminatory assumptions about the 'urban poor'. In spite of their differences, they are representative of a generation of Latin American photographers who join in the production of challenging narratives about democracy and citizenship. Their work contributes to the struggle against

racism as their photography affirms the presence of groups of the population 'where they are not supposed to be'.

This chapter first presents documentary photography as the central activity of the collectives studied. There is a discussion of conditions of production for documentary photography and the role that photography plays in contemporary social movements. Then two cases are presented: the series *Retratos de peruanos ejemplares* [portraits of exemplary Peruvians] by photographer Adrián Portugal from Colectivo Supay, and the intervention of Colectivo Manifiesto around the Marcha de la Gorra [March of the Cap] in 2014 and 2015. For each case, the context is first outlined for anti-racist expressions in neoliberal Peru and Argentina. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the role that photography collectives may play in transforming ingrained racialising practices by intervening in and expanding the repertoire of images in the visual cultures of both countries.

Documentary photography collectives

A passage from the pioneering book *Podría ser yo* (Jelin et al., 1987) describes a moment when a woman stops photographer Alicia D´Amico as she is about to take a close-up in her kitchen: 'Will you even photograph the dirt on my pans?' The woman's discomfort challenged the photographer's interest in the detail of what the woman might consider the intimate, imperfect, dirty, concealable details of her kitchen, usually free from an external gaze.

This scene provokes reflection on the photographer's gaze and on who is seen and what is put on display in the traditional repertoire of themes in documentary photography. By revealing the conditions of production of an image, Jelin and Vila elicit a reflection on the tensions and exchanges in the encounter between the photographer and those who pose, or are inadvertently recruited, for that fleeting moment.

Reflection about these interactions is relevant for a practice that has 'the real' as its point of reference. This referential condition – this weight, says John Tagg (2003) – assigns documentary photography a ubiquity in the fields of science, law and, particularly relevant here, the narration of the social world. A second dimension of the documentary condition that deserves attention involves the establishment of a canon, an aesthetic and a way of articulating one image with another, a way of recounting and describing worlds, which, even though it is situated in time and bound to follow technological developments, still conforms to the identifiable narrative forms of photojournalism. And the third dimension concerns the circuits in which images are consumed, which also define the documentary condition. For most of the 20th century, the outlets were magazines, competitions and festivals. The spread of online platforms in this century has produced a proliferation of outlets for documentary photography, where images circulate freely. This has also generated an eclectic

array of uses of documentary photography, as it becomes part of art projects, relational interventions and even advertising.

Over the 20th century, documentary photography evolved as a practice amidst numerous debates that found parallels in discussions of the use of photography in anthropology. Dominated by a 'hermeneutics of suspicion' about the medium and the role of power relations in regimes of representation (Azoulay, 2010), the debate has moved to the current focus on the act of taking photos, understanding photography as an event of performative engagement. According to Azoulay, the photographic event includes four elements: the photographer, the camera, the objective and the spectator, creating among them a double temporality. One relates to the camera and the other to the photograph (or its hypothetical existence). For the author (2015, p. 18), 'an ontological description of photography has to suspend the simple syntax of the sentence divided into subject, verb, predicate and adjective – *photographer photographs a photograph with a camera*' and, instead, promote a political ontology, 'an ontology of the many, operating in public, in motion. It is an ontology bound to the manner in which human beings exist – look, talk, act – with one another and *with objects*', thus a photograph is the 'act of many', 'a trace of a space of human relations'.

From its origins, documentary photography favoured social issues and showed an interest in promoting change in situations of disaster, poverty, stagnation and humanitarian crisis (Edwards, 2015; Freixa Font et al., 2015; Ritchin, 2013). This tradition started very early on and developed in both the post-war European context and in the United States – within the framework of projects such as the Farm Security Administration. The reception of documentary photography in Latin America had specific features. Up until the 1980s a considerable corpus of documentary photography adopted a tone of denunciation and criticism of the wealth and power that disadvantaged the exploited and the disenfranchised, in common with other aesthetic expressions such as literature and film (Lindstrom, 1998; Rosenberg, 2016). The intention was to prick consciences, produce knowledge, and promote action associated with the struggles and activism of social organisations and calls for revolution. Thus, images presumed wide audiences that included the protagonists captured in them, and they operated with a logic in which it was common sense (Caggiano, 2012) to produce stories about the exploited and disenfranchised.[3]

However, the uncomfortable realities that became visible to wider audiences were soon part of a miserabilist paradigm that generated visual repertoires which, by typically portraying barefoot boys and girls, disorderly neighbourhoods,

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3   Reflective work about the role of visual representations also took place, as in the case of 'Cine de la Base' by Raymundo Gleyzer. This group, which emerged as a distribution team for the film *Los Traidores* (1973) by Gleyzer and Melian, considered that screening the film was in itself a political act, for it sparked discussions that would lead viewers to action, and at that time in Argentina this meant involvement in guerrilla groups).

violent gestures, sad faces, and violent and defiant looks, transformed poverty into a spectacle and a commodity (Rosenberg, 2016). In the 1970s, Luis Ospina and Carlos Mayolo – filmmakers from the Cali group in Colombia – famously took a decisive stand against this type of representation. *Agarrando pueblo*[4] is a short fake-documentary film that presents the making of a documentary – a film within a film – about poverty in Cali, caricaturing a filmmaker working for a German production company. Although they focused on what they called '*pornomiseria*' cinema,[5] their criticisms extended in principle to documentary practices more generally, both in photography and in moving image. The criticism raised the question of who is behind the lens.

Participatory photography is a form of documentary photography that developed in the 1970s to intervene in regimes of visual representation and, by the 1990s, it was part of the experience of grassroots urban and rural organisations in various parts of the world. In these contexts, members of community organisations receive cameras to produce images of their surroundings that are relevant to them, in an attempt to provide access to the subjectivity of those not normally behind the camera lens. On the one hand, Martha Rosler (2007, pp. 266-7) recognises that this type of image production provides an opportunity to access 'what the subjects want to show themselves', although she is also sceptical about the efforts put into many of these projects to foster the development of the communicative abilities that can bring 'the photographer' to the fore. More importantly, she is concerned about how relying on the mere fact of giving the camera to project participants underestimates the decisive influence of the institutions sponsoring the projects, and of the contexts of reception. On the other hand, based on her study of Talleres de fotografía social (TAFOS) in Peru, Tiffany Fairey (2017) agrees with the need to question the romantic view behind these projects, but also recognises that the long-term impact on the participating communities and the individual photographers is unpredictable in its potential for social change. These perspectives make evident how documentary photography becomes a privileged arena where politics, aesthetics, expression and perception come together, because of the value attributed to the photographic image as historical evidence, political tool and cultural and artistic manifestation (Poivert, 2002).

The development of digital technologies and the widespread use of online platforms for the dissemination of images and social uses of photography has raised the issue of how to create visual stories. Antigoni Memou (2013)

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4   See the full movie with English subtitles at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=szqPmaZ7KdQ

5   If poverty had stimulated independent cinema to denounce and analyse injustice, the market transformed it into an exotic attraction for the very system that generated it. Its profitability hampered any possibility of analysing poverty, instead reinforcing demagogic approaches to social injustice (Mayolo and Ospina, 1977). For more information, see Luis Ospina's website: https://www.luisospina.com/archivo/grupo-de-cali/agarrando-pueblo/ (accessed 4 March 2019).

explains how various events in the world of social movements have converged to produce this shift. Among them are the unmediated access to the world that online platforms provide, and the crisis of the mainstream press, which is perceived to have lost independence and to serve particular interests. These circumstances have granted photography enormous currency for contemporary social movements, particularly those sharing alter-global or anti-globalisation agendas.[6] This agenda has shaped an interest in politics for a whole generation of young people, inspiring them to become social actors (Glasius and Pleyers, 2013), and this includes artists from diverse disciplines.

In a global context in which political parties have also lost appeal for the new generations, collectives – associations of five to twenty people united around friendship, similar ideas or interests in particular activities – have emerged as an alternative means to channel political interests and artistic practice. Photography collectives have appeared across the globe, challenging earlier forms of photographic work, proposing new dynamics and modes of production of images and a different pedagogy. Although it is not the first mode of collaborative production in photography, such collectives are now a very vibrant phenomenon in Latin America, and have aroused increasing interest in the last 15 years.[7] New technologies call for the integrated use of video, sound and text articulated together in multimedia formats. Editing then becomes the fundamental task in the process of producing photographic images. This has brought to the fore a grammar where selection, culling and sequencing have displaced the importance of the defining 'precise moment' for a photographic shot, proposed by Henri Cartier-Bresson.

Going back to the need to create visual stories, contemporary Latin American documentary photography collectives work to articulate their members' diverse views into a single story, giving special importance to the logic of placing one image next to another for the plural construction of meaning. They decide on the sequence of images through collective deliberation, discussing and negotiating their interpretations and opinions. While it is not possible to generalise, in the practice of the collective photographic projects that we have studied, photographers understand the production of the visual stories they create as much more than the sum of their parts (pictures, text, audio). Their commitment is to produce a narrative with multiple voices, transforming the

6   Memou (2013, p. 86) points to the Zapatista movement as a key inspiration in the quest for 'winning the game of visibility' and creating a counter narrative about social movements through photography.

7   Since 2010 the Spanish curator Claudi Carreras has organised three versions of E.CO (Encounter of Collectives) with Ibero-American photography collectives in Madrid, São Paulo and Santos. The network of Latin American photography collectives has also met in Argentina and Uruguay, hosted by MAfIA in Buenos Aires in 2014, and by REBELARTE in Montevideo in 2016. Collectives have also collaborated in special projects, such as the alternative coverage of the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, organised by Media Ninja, or the national coverage of La Marcha de la Gorra 2016, organised by Colectivo Manifiesto.

individual act of looking into a debate or conversation between different gazes (Freixa Font et al., 2015). Editing becomes a central task: it is the moment when the collective narrative emerges, when they share images from each camera in one folder, processing and sequencing them after intense deliberation and collective experimentation, gaining depth and complexity. Sharing images and building a common language is also linked to the global spread of common-pool peer production, which relies on the sharing and coordination of the creative energy of a collective and avoids hierarchical structures (Benklers, 2006). As part of a wide and dense network of cultural agents in Latin America, contemporary photography collectives quickly process social events to produce and swiftly share and circulate aesthetic representations (Sommer, 2006; Scheper Hughes and Dalla Dea, 2012). They are part of alternative online photojournalism endeavours, such as Media Ninja in Brazil. Colectivo Manifiesto is a frequent collaborator of *La Tinta*, an online news platform in Argentina, and photographers from Supay collaborate with *Ojo Público* and *La Mula*, which are investigative journalism platforms in Peru.

Racism and anti-racism in Peru

At a meeting held with indigenous leaders and activists in Manaos, Brazil, in 2000,[8] indigenous Brazilian sociologist Azelene Kaingang from Matto Grosso said that the most serious challenge to racism is a non-racist indigenous person. Stating that racism needs two sides in order to exist, she further explained that if your everyday practice and ways of being in the world contest the belief that race defines social hierarchies and is a justification for disenfranchising certain people, the symbolic power that racists hold loses ground. According to Bonnett (2000), the possibilities of challenging racism in this way, by simply making anti-racism part of a way of life, are even stronger when the state has officially questioned racism and its effects in society, as in the case of Peru.

Two completely different regimes explicitly targeted racism in Peru. The progressive military dictatorship of 1968–75 carried out an agrarian reform under the motto: *Campesino, el patrón no comerá mas de tu pobreza* [peasant farmer, the landowner will no longer feed off your poverty]. They made Quechua an official language and gave centre stage to indigenous and Afrodescendant cultures, celebrating diversity and linking development with liberation from all forms of oppression, including the colonial and neocolonial heritage and the oligarchic regime. The next time issues of race occupied a central role in official political discourses was during the presidential elections of 1990, when Fujimori said he was a *chinito*[9] confronting a *blanquito* (Mario

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8   The meeting took place as part of the project 'Envisioning the Challenges of Indigenous Peoples in the New Millennia', funded by OXFAM America and the Ford Foundation.

9   In Peru people featuring the epicanthic fold are called *chino* [Chinese] regardless of ethnic background or origin.

Vargas Llosa) to become a 'president [who is] just like you'.[10] The 1993 constitution condemned racial discrimination, and it was during Fujimori's second regime that racism was considered a punishable crime.[11] In 2000, during a vibrant speech about the liberating force of market economy, Beatriz Boza, director of the consumers' protection agency Instituto Peruano de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual (INDECOPI), stated that consumers should recognise that money had to have the same purchasing power for all Peruvians. In January 2017, during the presidency of Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, law decree 1323, article 323, established incarceration of at least two years for public servants who committed discriminatory acts based on race or ethnicity. Furthermore, Kuczynski's minister of culture, actor and film director, Salvador del Solar, embarked on a personal campaign criticising racism in football matches and in the media, retweeting posts from such anti-racist sites such as 'Alerta contra el racismo' [racism alert] and others, to denounce discriminatory actions as they occurred. An exception to this trend took place during the second presidential period of Alan García (2006–11) when the racialisation of political opposition came back into official discourse in a dispute about granting local and foreign investors access to indigenous territories, which had tragic results and generated overwhelming resistance (Drinot, 2011). But perhaps this hiatus made evident that, despite the restructuring effect of 1970s agrarian reform on the oligarchic order, and the top-down implementation of cultural diversity policies from the 1990s, the incorporation of indigenous and Afrodescendant Peruvians into the official national imaginary has not been fully achieved. To date, for many Peruvians the only possible language that can be used towards indigenous or Afrodescendant Peruvians is that of violence and exclusion. Officially defunct or not, racism has not ceased to be the ultimate justification behind overt and violent dynamics of dispossession and disenfranchisement.

The way in which *cholos*[12] resist racism in Peru is by trespassing on (or rather, ignoring) the limits it is supposed to impose on them. '*Se acabó la vergüenza*' [the time for being ashamed is over] is an expression often found in YouTube comments when praising the success of musicians, sports people, writers or cooks of apparently indigenous origin, who have become famous in the mainstream media. It reflects nicely a historical sense of transformation

10 Fujimori's campaign made the white educated elites 'the other' pitted against 'the people', the latter encompassing *cholos*, *indios*, *negros*, *pobres*, *provincianos*, i.e. people with no access to power (Oliart, 1998).

11 And yet it was the same regime that implemented an abusive programme of involuntary sterilisations among indigenous women (using deceit or force) to bulk up numbers in order to mark the success of a national health policy designed to give women access to reproductive rights (Oliart, 2008).

12 This polysemic term is used in Peru to name a culturally mestizo person of indigenous origin, or a supposedly mixed-race person whose cultural behaviour is closer to her indigenous roots. It is used as an insult, as an expression of endearment, and as a proud sign of cultural identity.

that yields multiple forms of self-representation where people occupy social and cultural territories that were previously denied to them because of their assumed (and 'undesirable') closeness to indigenous origins. Supay Fotos and Adrián Portugal actively contribute to the visual repertoire that celebrates this transformation.

Supay Fotos

Six photojournalists, who met in the course of their work in Lima more than a decade ago, became friends and formed Supay Fotos collective, creating their webpage supayfotos.com in 2007.[13] They were all graduates of communication studies from two private universities in Lima. The practice of photojournalism had given them unique access to areas of the city, and to cultural and social activities that would otherwise have been unknown to them, alerting them to a wide array of micro-universes that sparked their curiosity and passion. The collective became a platform to share and work on photography projects that reflected their individual interests, and also to elaborate collectively on the experience of encountering these diverse and compelling worlds. The mainstream media were not an adequate outlet for the exploration of the different visual language that emerged from that experience. Working as a collective, the Supay Foto members found the autonomy needed to edit their own images and they took on the challenge of developing a common language through joint projects. Publishing their work on the webpage allowed them to enter the international circuit of festivals and exhibits in the Americas and Europe, with both individual and collective projects. Ernesto Benavides, Max Cabello, Roberto Cáceres, Marco Garro, Adrián Portugal and Giancarlo Shibayama are well recognised as documentary photographers who combine working for national and international magazines with helping to produce visual campaigns for public and private institutions, as well as creating their individual and collective exhibits and publications. The collective language they have developed conveys a close, attentive and lucid approach to difficult aspects of Peruvian life, such as socio-environmental conflicts around mining, post-conflict memory, human trafficking or youth marginality. However, while being critically engaged with these and other issues, their language is at the same time playful, refreshing and celebratory of defiant collective and individual expressions of urban and rural popular culture.

The way Supay Fotos members describe how photojournalism granted them the chance, first, to be in all corners of Lima and, later, to travel around the country, reminds us of Jan Masschelein's (2010) definition of walking as a transformative process. Drawing on Michel Foucault, Walter Benjamin and Judith Butler, Masschelein defines it as 'a displacement of the gaze that enables

13   Material for this section comes from diverse interviews with Supay in the media, available online, and from Oliart's interviews with Adrián Portugal (in April 2015 and June 2017).

experience not just as a passive undergoing (being commanded), but also as blazing a trail or path, a kind of cutting a road through' (p. 45). This experience of walking, of being there, leads to 'being or becoming attentive, to expose oneself open to the world […] so that it can present itself to us'. To walk is a liberating experience that allows us to gain a critical distance, expose ourselves to the present, 'a concrete space of practical freedom: a space of possible self-transformation' (p. 47).

The photographers of Supay were born between the 1970s and the 1980s. At the turn of the century, many members of their generation participated in Peruvian politics for the first time in the massive street protests opposing the authoritarian and corrupt regimes of Alberto Fujimori (1990–5, 1995–2000). Rather than an alternative political programme, what mobilised thousands of university students was an ethical standpoint. They rejected the corruption of the state apparatus, authoritarianism and its attack on institutions of the state, the manipulation of the press, the repeated human rights abuses, and the electoral fraud. Thousands of university students joined other social and political actors and took to the streets. Adrián Portugal, a member of Supay born in 1977, said he 'started participating in street protests at the time of the marches against Fujimori. It was all so evident, the outrage was generalised, there was a sense of urgency, you had to be involved.' The deep crisis of the regime ended with a transitional government, general elections and a sense of empowerment for the people who participated in the protests, a few artists among them. After the end of the armed conflict (1980–93) and the return to democracy, the work of many artists from the generation of the Supay Fotos photographers shows a sense of freedom and renewal in their relationship with Peruvian society. They want their work to reflect a different relationship with the national territory and ways of circulating in it; they also want to question established aesthetic boundaries between social and cultural groups and to negotiate a different relationship with indigenous Peruvians (Oliart, 2014). The work of Supay Fotos is respectful, inquisitive and critical; it shows 'attention, presence and generosity' (Masschelein, 2010, p. 48). And it is with these attributes that they approach the people and places they photograph.

Adrián Portugal and his 'Portraits of exemplary Peruvians'

Adrián Portugal's individual work focuses on urban popular culture and people's enjoyment of specific activities that generate a world around them. According to him, these worlds, organised around activities that people enjoy collectively, are spaces of freedom that generate their own sense of order. When discussing his work, Portugal explains how choosing and presenting a topic constitutes 'a declaration of principles, a viewpoint about a particular theme' that comes through with more clarity in the editing and mounting process. This elaboration of a theme, where Portugal says he finds his voice, is different

from his attitude and body language while taking photos, 'where your ego disappears, [it] needs to disappear'. One of his most celebrated works is the series 'Agua Dulce', a beach frequented by people living in some of the poorest districts south of Lima. Other projects in his portfolio include break-dancing boys in the city centre, a beauty contest in Cantagallo (a Shipibo community that has been settled in Lima since 2000) and his book on Iquitos, the largest city in the Peruvian Amazon. The pages that follow discuss two of the eight images that form part of another of Portugal's projects, the series 'Portraits of exemplary Peruvians' which he introduces thus:

> In school, they teach us that exemplary Peruvians are the heroes who gave their lives for the country. They come to us as people from another era: they belong in history books. This series suggests the idea that there are exemplary Peruvians around every corner. How would you recognise them? They are common people who, in a country like ours, full of violence and beauty, pursue a dream and try to build it in their own terms. Thanks to some inexplicable personal qualities, they transform the world that surrounds them. It is true, they are not that common. They embody strength and fantasy. Even if they have not won wars, every day they win a fight against the poisonous side of our cities: pettiness, boredom, routine. If we look at them closely, we may come to admire them.

The pair of Portugal's heroes discussed here are 'Pachacutec' (see fig. 3.1) and 'Bailarina' (see fig. 3.2) or 'cumbia power', as the photo circulating online has been dubbed. The first photo shows a dweller of Pachacutec, a settlement in the middle of the desert north of Lima, dressed as an Inca (presumably Pachacutec) amidst a protest in Lima, who is demanding that the authorities pay attention to his remote neighbourhood.[14] The second photo shows a young, strong and committed woman, dancing cumbia for a large audience. Both 'exemplary Peruvians' are surrounded by their communities in acts of support and celebration.

Pachacutec is carried on the shoulders of the crowd, while performing a defiant act of either showing the way to the celebrating crowd, or pointing at the enemy. Ciudadela Pachacutec is in the district of Ventanilla, in the Province of Callao, bordering northwest Lima (it takes about two hours to get to central Lima from there). It comprises 136 associations of dwellers occupying the sandy hills formed by branches of the Andes reaching down to the sea, crossing the desert from the east. It was accorded the status of *ciudadela* [small city] in 1989. Some of the associations in Pachacutec, however, do not have legal recognition due to their illegal occupation of the desert. Even though they will not be considered in the planning of roads and services, such as water or electricity, until their legal status is resolved, residents of these precarious settlements continue building their houses. This fact makes access to services much slower

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14 The name Pachacutec or Pachacuti Inca means 'he who overturns time and space' (Cameron, 1990, p. 58).

Figure 3.1. 'Pachacutec' by Adrián Portugal from the series 'Retratos de peruanos ejemplares', 2005 (by permission of the artist).
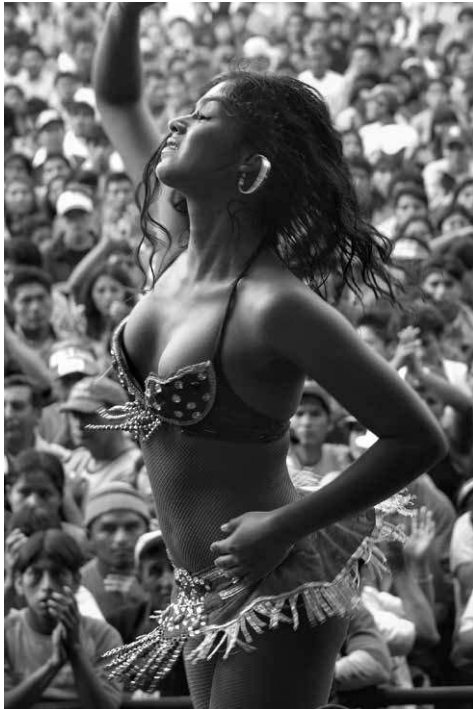
Figure 3.2. 'Bailarina' by Adrián Portugal from the series 'Retratos de peruanos ejemplares', 2005 (by permission of the artist).

and is a constant source of conflict and complaints among residents, but the situation also demonstrates the form Lima and Callao has taken the growth of since the 1940s. The urbanisation of Lima-Callao has been chaotic, informal, and marked by socio-spatial inequality and segregation. Its current shape and size are, in great part, the result of the autonomous agency of its inhabitants. In fact, about 60 per cent of Lima-Callao housing is the result of *autoconstrucción* [self-build] and it is estimated that some four million people live in illegal settlements, with ongoing processes of formalisation (Metzger et al., 2014). The people living in informal settlements in Lima are usually depicted as recent migrants from rural areas in the highlands, who moved to Lima pursuing the promise of a better life. Some political and cultural actors share an epic narrative of that process, with a language that reflects the physical and cultural conquest of the centre by the marginalised and oppressed. But recent research shows that new settlements such as Pachacutec are the result of learned modes of *autogestión* [self-management] and occupation of land, led not by recent migrants, but by new generations of people born in Lima and Callao, with no other means of accessing housing. They are vulnerable members of the precariat, but kow how to use resources to find a place for themselves in the city and to fight for it. Adrián Portugal's Inca Pachacutec, carried by a dense mass of mostly young supporters from Ciudadela Pachacutec, contributes to this renewed vision about informal Lima. They are not recent migrants; they are young *limeños* determined to fight for a place to live on their own terms.

A big and dense crowd of mostly young supporters also surrounds the cumbia dancer. Cumbia is the most popular music genre in Peru. A recent survey (Instituto de Opinión Pública, 2017) on musical tastes indicates that 40 per cent of the population favours this genre over others. It finds that cumbia followers are mostly under 40, from the less privileged groups in society, and with secondary or technical education. The survey shows that cumbia has also gained audiences among people of higher income and education levels. This could reflect the post-conflict cultural process, described by Fiorella Montero-Diaz (2016, p. 191; see also her chapter in this volume), in which people from the white upper classes of Lima want to 'integrate with the broader Peruvian population' through the consumption of certain genres of music, including cumbia, previously looked down on in a racist fashion.

In cumbia concerts, young female dancers are normally on the margins of the band, acting as adornments. Portugal's portrait makes the dancer the focal point: she is not at the side of the frame; instead the image captures her giving her all to the dance, with detail that takes us from the make-up and dressing process to the energy and sweat of a passionate performance. This image expands the contemporary visual repertoire of Peru's racially fragmented and sexually conservative society. The combination of violent racism and machismo defines an ambiguous relationship with the body of mestizo women, imagined as at once sexually uncontrollable and subordinate, available for pleasure, but

denied recognition or social respect, as argued by Marisol de la Cadena (2000) and Mary Weismantel (2001), among others, and as documented and analysed by Peruvian narrators of Lima and provinces in the 20th century (Barrig, 1981). In this image the photographer is an accomplice of the dancer; he fully embraces her own presentation, in its beauty, strength and vulnerability.

When asked, Adrián Portugal said that he could accept an interpretation of his photographs as being anti-racist, but that is not his starting point. The reality of racism is indirectly addressed by presenting the anti-racist stance of the protagonists of his images, embedded in their struggles for citizenship rights, or occupying a space in the city and the country that they had to take almost by force. In both images the tension between the strength and the vulnerability of the protagonists is evident. The personal investment in an effective appearance in front of an audience is also revealed. Unlike the conventional portraits of heroes in history books – typically posing alone against a solemn background – which Portugal contrasts with his exemplary Peruvians, these young heroes are surrounded by a multitude that they belong to, although some still question and reject their presence, which affects their lives in a significant way.

Race and anti-racism in Argentina

After the restoration of democracy in 1983, Argentina continued to implement the neoliberal economic policies started by the dictatorship and developed other political and cultural reforms of the type being applied in Latin America following the Brady plan.[15] These included the promotion of multiculturalism and the guaranteeing of rights for ethnic minorities. In the three decades that followed, progressive policies and discourses have alternated – or coexisted – with racist ones. Argentina is a signatory of the 1965 UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. In 1988, law 23,592 defined racial discrimination as a criminal offence and as an aggravating circumstance in legal indictments and in 1995, the National Institute Against Discrimination and Xenofobia was established (Sutton, 2008). In 2000 Argentina signed the 169 ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, and in 2003 President Néstor Kirchner passed migration law 25,871 which, according to Alejandro Grimson (2017, p. 124), represented a significant step in 'the struggle against xenophobia, racism and prejudice', although it was repealed by President Mauricio Macri soon after he came to power in 2015.

Grimson (2005, p. 28) explains that by the 1990s when the failure of neoliberal policies became evident, 'ethnicity had a new role to play in the re-imagining of Argentina'. Until then, the accepted narrative was that Argentina was a predominantly white country that had circumvented *mestizaje* due to the

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15 The Brady plan was designed by the US Treasury in 1989 as a way of solving Latin America's debt crisis.

disappearance of both indigenous peoples and Afrodescendants in different historical circumstances (Sutton, 2008). Exaggeration of the numbers of immigrants from Bolivia, Paraguay and Peru, together with official attacks on the presence of recent migrants, linking them to precarious jobs and criminality, became a resource to rationalise the failures of neoliberalism in Argentina. After the severity of the crisis of 2001–2 these arguments were no longer plausible, and the Néstor and Cristina Kirchner regimes campaigned against them (Sutton, 2008). But racist arguments that blame the poor for poverty, precarity and crime have continued and have become contentious. Media representations, local authorities and social media frequently juxtapose 'migrants from neighbouring countries', as they are usually referred to by the press, with the Argentinian poor, racially marked as *negros*, and represent them all as dangerous, uneducated parasites on the state. Thus, a *negro* could be any person deemed non-white or not European enough. This creates a paradox and a tension in the racist politics of visibility and invisibility of the poor and 'non-white' people in Argentina. Widespread narratives about the nation invisibilise the Afroargentinian population, but the everyday use of the term *negro*, which conflates class and non-whiteness, makes the non-white poor hyper-visible (Adamovsky et al., 2016, p. 3; Peñaloza, 2007). The fact that anti-racism in Argentina found official support at different moments in recent years, becoming part of the official political discourse, backed by transnational organisations, has fuelled vibrant oppositional manifestations to policies that racialise segments of the population. La Marcha de la Gorra is an expression of that opposition.

Colectivo Manifiesto

Colectivo Manifiesto is a group of 12 male and female photographers in the city of Córdoba, who have worked as a collective since 2013.[16] Their main commitment is to produce coverage for events that the mainstream media ignores or silences, but that responds to the concerns and demands of diverse social movements. Some of their work involves interventions in public spaces where these movements undertake activities. According to Manifiesto's website, the creation of the collective responded to its members' similar aesthetic and political perspectives, and to their shared experience of supporting and participating in the same 'student protests, in the struggles for land and housing, in the festive celebrations in our neighbourhoods, in resistance to the extractivist multinationals', and documenting police brutality. 'We come from different fields such as literature, social communication, design, cinema, architecture and, of course, photography.' They characterise their organisation as 'independent and horizontal'. They are committed to producing quality images that are challenging as well as meaningful, breaking 'the artist's solitude

16   See https://colectivomanifiesto.com.ar.

and becoming a collective and rebellious voice'. They want to use photography as a tool to make visible alternative social and political narratives that contribute to the 'dream that another world is possible'. They position their work outside the mainstream and the centre, Buenos Aires, and locate the origins of the group in the streets of Córdoba, amidst struggles resisting or confronting power. Everyone's positionality and subjectivity preceded the collective; it is what enabled its formation, despite their diverse trajectories and occupation.

La Marcha de la Gorra

Since 2014, Colectivo Manifiesto has actively participated in the Marcha de la Gorra, a street protest that has taken place every November in central Córdoba since 2007. Over the years, the march has increased in size and visibility, attracting thousands of students, social organisations and citizens, who gather in repudiation of a provincial legal framework that regulated, among other things, police procedures.[17] The Código de Faltas [code of infractions] lists forms of behaviour considered offensive, even though these do not figure as crimes in the penal code. The code has existed since 1980 and has different versions in different provinces, but they all allow the preventative detention of individuals by the police. In Córdoba, the code was embraced by Governor José Manuel de la Sota (1999–2007, 2011–15), as the main support for his security policies. The article of the code targeted by the Marcha de la Gorra allowed preventative detention for the infraction of *merodeo* [loitering]. The vagueness of the definition of this offending behaviour produced a broad spectrum of arbitrary police practices, including harassment, arrests and physical punishment, which mostly targeted young men, considered potentially dangerous due to their appearance, including dress style, skin colour and type of hair (Bonvillani, 2016). Disguised as a vaguely phrased preventative legal instrument, this repressive technique affected mostly poor, young male adults (Lerchundi and Bonvillani, 2014, p. 45).[18] The Código de Faltas was repealed and replaced in 2015 by the Código de Convivencia Ciudadana [code of citizen coexistence]. Loitering in urban areas might be considered suspicious, but it is no longer an offence. However, a new infraction vaguely described as 'suspicious behaviour' allows for similar arbitrary detentions, mostly affecting the same young demographic.[19] In legal terms, a few articles of the old and new provincial codes violate the guarantees established by the national constitution

17   In 2017 the Marcha de la Gorra was held for the first time in Buenos Aires, two weeks later than the 11th Marcha de la Gorra in Córdoba, under the slogan 'Cuando la gorra crece, nuestros derechos desaparecen' [When the cap grows, our rights disappear]. The march was repeated in other cities with provincial versions of the same code of infractions.

18   Reports vary over the years but figures indicate that above 70 per cent of detainees are males between 16 and 30 years of age; of them, 50 per cent were charged with loitering.

19   Similar procedures are used in the UK, the USA and France, targeting mostly young men of distinct racial groups.

and the international treaties ratified by Argentina (Guiñazú, 2008; Job, 2011; Bolatti et al., 2013), including the International Convention Against Racism, which has constitutional status.

The Colectivo de Jóvenes por Nuestros Derechos [youth collective for our rights] is the main organiser of this march. It has become a political and cultural manifestation typical of the current communicative style of youth politics in Latin America – performative, celebratory, rich in visual displays, which include the body used as canvas, and featuring varied artistic expressions, such as dances, *batucadas, murgas*, theatre, choirs and graffiti (Reguillo, 2000). *La gorra* [the cap] works as a double metonym. It represents the young people who wear it, which makes them subject to suspicion, but it is also a derogatory nickname for the police.[20] Alongside the young people who feel vulnerable to arbitrary detentions, participants of the march include members of social, political and student organisations, and victims of police abuse or their relatives; many double up on the roles of militants and victims of the police. Young participants have asked for the repeal of both codes, denouncing the serious consequences that the detentions have on their life experiences, and claimed their right to circulate in the city.

In 2014 Manifiesto produced portraits of participants of the Marcha de la Gorra against a white background. They invited participants to step aside from the march to pose for the improvised studio they had installed on the sidewalk. In the days following the march of 2015, Manifiesto displayed the previous year's portraits, both in public spaces and in social media. In a conversation with Triquell in 2014, members of Manifiesto mentioned that they wanted to play with Richard Avedon's portraits of the American West (1985), using a white cloth background as a means of decontextualisation, but making the context from which they came very evident by the use of ad hoc t-shirts, banners and other paraphernalia. Further visual productions from the march have continued this focus on the faces and bodies of those participating in the march, taking them away from the collective to demonstrate each individual's commitment to the cause (a clear example is the impressive collaborative video produced in advance of the march of 2017 with images from the previous year projected onto symbolic walls in Córdoba).[21]

When Manifiesto published a Facebook album containing those images, they triggered an interesting political micro event. An anonymous user shared them on an anti-left Facebook page called 'Me lo contó un zurdo' [I was told by a lefty] making a deliberately equivocal use of Manifiesto's images and

20 The mottos 'My cap is none of your business' and 'Why your cap and not mine?' have figured in different versions of the march, alluding to the antagonism between the wearers of both caps.

21 See the video at https://www.facebook.com/latintacba/videos/1960758790864915/?hc_ref =ART96e8c1MATEjI7OLozIc9ccn9iv-NGMu4Aq4rHc_XgE8rJG6DjTTVu4JbKorjGyB8 andpnref=story (accessed 28 Nov. 2018).

starkly disputing their meaning.[22] Taking advantage of the decontextualised format of the images, they inserted texts that reproduced a multi-layered set of assumptions and representations that can be decoded in the context of sharp criticisms of populism, and the supposed abuse of the welfare system by 'the poor', a category loaded with racist connotations. A young female, who in the eyes of the author of this intervention probably does not fit the physical stereotype of a *villera* [shantytown dweller], is described as a middle-class progressive girl dressed as a poor person. However, in the same image, and in crass language, other stereotypes emerge. She is the violent mother of an unwanted child and a hypocrite who probably lives on state benefits but will not admit it. A young male's portrait shows him wearing a hoodie and a cap, and the texts around him curiously combine a robber's threats and the kind of justifications for criminal behaviour, such as blaming society for his fate, that are commonly contributed to the left. All the texts are saturated with spelling errors and stereotypical accents and *villero* expressions. The violent language used in this intervention is precisely situated in the context of 2015, reflecting the middle-class discourse against social welfare policies such as universal payments per child, the assumption being that women from the *villas* would have children as a strategy to receive this benefit. It accuses the left of being naïve and complicit with criminals who abuse the state and of being unable to grant security to ordinary citizens.

This contentious use of Manifiesto's portraits brings us close to the relationship between stigma, discrimination and physical appearance. The photographs shared on a social media platform and presented without any kind of textual anchoring, facilitated their manipulation, deepening the distance between producers and spectators, but at the same time, they produced a political event exposing social relations to the public, mediated by these photographs that, once in the public domain, can be moved in unforeseen directions (Azoulay, 2010). Besides being used as a way to support the march and denounce racism, they were appropriated to engage in a debate about the 'real nature' of the people portrayed, with contents that reaffirmed negative stereotypes about young men and women who live in the poorer areas of Córdoba.

Agustina Triquell interviewed Manifesto members Marcos and Mar shortly before the second intervention. They stressed their stance of working with photography as a tool for change and political action. They shared images of the 2014 march, portraying social activists and university students, young victims of the Código de Faltas, and dwellers in the areas where the code is severely enforced. There was no room for an equivocal interpretation of the circumstance in which those images were taken. The march appeared as the theme, with the demonstrators in a metonymic relationship to it. During the interview, they shared their idea of using these images for an urban intervention,

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22 In 2017 the page showed 3,700 followers and, on average, posts received comments or likes from close to 100 people.

Figure 3.3. The two portraits by Colectivo Manifiesto, as altered by anonymous Facebook users.

while framing them with a text that would leave no room for ambiguities. The message on the public street should be as clear as possible. The choice was a text written in the plural first person: *'El miedo que te venden lo pagamos nosotros'* [we have to pay for the fear they sell to you]. A few days before and during the march of 2015, six different images reproduced around ten times each, were carefully displayed in different spots in the city, mainly downtown, on bus stops and walls, in different sizes and formats (panels of 3 x 2 metres or 0.8 x 0.6 metres). The framing aimed at establishing a dialogue between passers-by and the photographs on the walls. The installation transformed the city into a palimpsest where a complex set of gaze exchanges could take place: high definition images of young people staring straight at the camera, the eyes of the spectators, and the gaze of the person behind the camera.

The visual economy that links the agents described above with you, the reader, now regarding the images, later entered the context of the Anthropology Museum in Córdoba, where it encountered yet another audience and was framed as an intervention that openly questioned racism in Argentina. In 2016, Ludmila da Silva Catela, the museum director, invited Manifiesto to exhibit their images as part of the bicentenary celebrations of the 1816 Declaration of Independence from Spain. The collective faced the challenge of considering how to enter into dialogue with the weight of an anthropological tradition in the use of photography, anthropometry and the visual recording of 'the other'. Although the previous title '*El miedo que te venden lo pagamos nosotros*' was

centrally displayed in the main exhibition area, the museum exhibit title was 'Black on white, 200 years of racism'.

In this new public space, Manifiesto used a different strategy to convey their message. Photographs of the participants in the march were displayed in different formats and sizes in the museum's central corridors. Some of those facing the central stairs of the building could be seen from anywhere. Members of the collective added their own portraits to the exhibit, and some photos were next to texts from the protagonists. In alliance with the collective, the museum engaged in an intervention that made evident the politics of the visibility and invisibility of Argentina's African heritage, with a parallel display of their own historical material in the exhibition rooms. Thus, the whole museum highlighted the discussion about the construction of blackness in Argentina that associates dark skin with poverty and, more recently, with immigration from other Latin American countries. The exhibition received important local press attention and, according to Da Silva Catela, the museum received large numbers of visits organised by teachers who attached great importance to the open discussion of the historical and contemporary issues that the exhibition had brought together.

On being attentive and anti-racism

Achille Mbembe (2016) states that as part of its unstable nature, racism generates thoughts of fear and confusion, becoming an endless source of suffering and catastrophe. To Mbembe, the critique of racism entails ethical and political dimensions that are conducive to the actions of caring and healing. These actions should transcend the politics of difference and should be embraced by a universal community, which defies the idea of race and its denial of commonality. Mbembe's stance allows for a reflection on the role that the photographers of Manifiesto play in defying prejudice and resisting the racialisation of poverty and marginality in Argentina, even if they, the photographers, are not considered 'Black'. And it helps us in thinking about the role that Supay Fotos may be playing in producing images of Peruvians which break away from visual repertoires emphasising racial difference over a shared universal humanity, becoming part of a process of healing the wounds inflicted by racism on Peruvian society.

Manifiesto and Supay have different projects. Their contexts are different, as well as their aesthetic language, their purpose and practice. However, both groups combine photojournalism with unique projects of documentary photography that serve similar pedagogical and political purposes. They want us to be part of the play of gazes that takes place in their photos, they compose narratives to guide our reflection on the issues that matter to them because they matter to others, even if those issues are not part of the official political agenda. Both use the internet to provide free access to their images and narratives.

By preparing their images through careful editing, they generously share their gaze and their experience of documenting actions and issues, enriching the visual repertoire attached to struggles in favour of rights to dignified housing, access to land and water and protection of the environment, and against police brutality and racism. Through this they extend the political dimension of these struggles and grievances to the level of representation (Memou, 2013). Following Masschelein (2010), theirs is a pedagogy that involves paying attention. Attention is what allows us to share their experience. And – going back to Mbembe – one of the meanings of being attentive is to care.

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