Territory and Central American and Mexican Youth in the Cinematic Work of Julio Hernández Cordón

Territorio y juventud en América Central y México en el cine de Julio Hernández Cordón

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Abstract

Julio Hernández Cordón is a film direct who over his decade of work has directed seven feature-length films. His most well-known films, critically acclaimed and lauded in international film festivals, are Gasolina (2008), Te prometo anarquía (2015), Cómprame un revolver (2018). His films have recounted Mexican, Guatemalan, Costa Rican, and Nicaraguan stories; that is, he engages the narratives of Meso-American youth. This article attempts to show how Hernández Cordón's approach, with dynamic long shots and a constant avoidance of national iconography, proposes a representation of Central American and Mexican youth through the construction of space as a visible element between the screen and the spectator. The result is a representation of an absent State, denounced politically by the middle class and revealed through the avoidance of identitary and patriotic icons, transgressing political borders.

Keywords

Central American film, Mexican film, liquid borders, regionality and territory, Julio Hernández Cordón, absent State, middle class pastimes.

Resumen

Julio Hernández Cordón es un director de cine que en diez años de trabajo ha realizado ya siete largometrajes. Los más difundidos y aplaudidos por la crítica y los festivales internacionales de cine son quizás Gasolina (2008), Te prometo anarquía (2015) y su más reciente Cómprame un revolver (2018). Sus filmes han contado historias mexicanas, guatemaltecas, costarricenses y nicaragüeñas, es decir una narrativa sobre la juventud mesoamericana. Este artículo busca mostrar cómo el dispositivo de Hernández Cordón, con largos planos dinámicos y su constante huida de los elementos icónicos nacionales, propone una representación de la juventud centroamericana a través de la construcción del espacio como dimensión evidente entre la pantalla y el espectador. El resultado es la representación del Estado ausente denunciado políticamente por las clases medias y la evasión de íconos identitarios y patrióticos volatilizando las fronteras políticas.

Palabras clave

Cine centroamericano, fronteras líquidas, regionalidad, Julio Hernández Cordón, Estado ausente.

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1. Introduction

Julio Hernández Cordón is a film director who over his decade of work has directed seven feature-length films. Among the most popular given their international dissemination and production size are Te prometo anarquía (2015) and his most recent Cómprame un revolver (2018). His films have recounted Mexican, Guatemalan, Costa Rican, and Nicaraguan stories, Central American countries of little film production and for whom he has become, in a certain degree, their representing international film director. This filmic characteristic ties in his triple nationality, Mexican-American-Guatemalan, allowing us to apply a noun with an adjective that is so popular now, that of transnational filmmaker. Although he prefers, instead of this label, the title of Mesoamerican director and in this way erase the nationalist limitations.

His filming strategy is to write short scripts -of some 70 pages- that are filmed with long shots-sequences, without professional actors and almost fully financed by his own friends and actors. In this article, I am interested in showing how Hernández Cordón's device, with those long dynamic shots and his constant avoidance of national iconography, proposes a representation of the Central American youth via the construction of space as evident dimension between the screen and the spectator and as definition of a transnational territory. It is necessary to clarify that in order to understand the notion of representation you must be aware of the current debate of the cinematographic studies implying the idea of the image as a mechanical transposition of the reality created by the mediation between reality and its capture. Considered is the position of the cinema as medium determined for its technology, the media and the understanding of the discourses of other artistic manifestations and, therefore, fed by symbols and it -cinema-, at the same time, creator of imaginaries (Freitas, 2006: 112-113; Benet, 2014).

Appropriate here are three analytical proposals: on one hand, the notion *horizon of civi*- lization developed for film studies by Andrea Noble in order to explain the desire of natio-nalist modernity. This comes from two categories developed by Koselleck (1993: 356) for the analysis of the social and cultural processes, "space of experience" and "horizon of expectations", one that refers directly to the lived experience and the other to the desires for an unsatisfied reality. Noble uses these categories of past-future time to add the cultural reference contributed by the image, thus the horizon of civilization consists of the representation and measurement of the desires for progress of a country and in the construction that these images build of these civilizing desires (from an evolutionist perspective) and modernizing desires (from a historical perspective) (Noble, 2005: 30). The second tool is the proposal by Antoine Gaudin (2014) on the proprioception construction in film with emphasis on the image-space. According to French theory, it is an image circulating between the history of the screen and the spectator, generator of moods and feelings. The analysis of the image is inserted in the comprehension of the contemporary social and cultural processes avoiding the separation between film theory and historic references. Therefore, both proposals serve as frameworks of reference to understand a nuancing filmic discourse of national borders. A third analytical support of this work, although not coming from film studies or cultural history, is the concept of liquid borders of sociologist Zymunt Bauman. With this image, that of an evasive and moldable material, Bauman proposed an explanation to the contemporary globalized world and a la artificiality of the political borders. These theoretic elements are the analytical tools of our proposal to explain the films of Hernández Cordón and are, in fact, diluted in the argument developed here. Finally, this article is based on a conference that Hernández Cordón held during the 2017 Toulouse Latin Film Festival (where they presented a retrospective of his work) and of an interview we had with him in Mexico City in August 2018. Therefore, it closely follows the explanations of the director himself¹.

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The study of films and filmmakers that can be classified as independent for their production methods, signature stylists from the perspective of creation in breaking or distancing themselves from certain filmic conventions, and marginalized to circuits of dissemination located within cultural film channels, film clubs, film repositories and festivals rather than in commercial networks is part of the work led by Julie Amiot for almost 5 years now. Her groundbreaking research work Faire et penser le cinéma du monde hispanique (Making and thinking Hispanic cinema), presented in December 2017, seeks to understand the channels of production and the supposed stereotyped pre-configurations and representations of regions still considered underdeveloped or developing. The international colloquium organized in Sorbonne University in the summer of 2018 "Amérique latine / Espagne /Europe: fonds institutionnels et coproductions cinématographiques depuis les années 1990" took the time to take a tour of these films from both the perspective of productions and the visions that these international co-productions have been creating of Latin American societies. Among the conclusions reached, one that stood out was that of the autonomy of representations contrary to the common affirmations of the supposed imposition of narrative models that seem to have become denominations of origin like that of "French cinema in Latin America". The work of Cordón, that has benefited from co-productions and international financing, supports these affirmations: regional cinema with autonomous interpretations of local society.

In effort to show as clearly as possible the aforementioned, this article has been organized into two parts: the first is dedicated to a brief tour of the filmography of the Mesoamerican director; the second to show the representation of the Mesoamerican youth subdivided -in order to breakdown his work- in three strategies that illustrate and construct this discourse: use of the static shot and closed frames without empty space but rather with air in the frame and smooth backgrounds; the break with the conventions of classic film at times of sentimental breakdown and gender definitions; and, most importantly, the use of long shots and sequence shots in the cities a based on vehicles as dynamic factors in the scene.

2. Julio Hernández Cordón, filmography

Julio Hernández was born in 1975 in the United States of America. At age two he went to live in Mexico and studied filmmaking at the Centro de Capacitación Cinematográfica (CCC). Later he went to Guatemala and spent 2 years in Costa Rica. He has 3 passports: one from Mexico, the United States and Guatemala, but he does not feel like a citizen of any of them. This would appear not to be a problem or a source of comment, however when he was accompanying his first feature film, Gasolina, produced in Guatemala in 2008, in film festivals he appeared in the programs as: "Director from USA". It so happens that in Guatemala people complained and asked why he denied his Guatemalan nationality. He then understood that if he wanted to continue filming without receiving nationalist criticism, he would have to find a formula to avoid, precisely, the nationalist belonging. It is partly for this reason, and also partly as a joke, that he decided to define himself as a director of Mesoamerican films, alluding to the geographic and cultural definition that anthropologist Paul Kirchhoff coined in 1943. His proposal consisted of defining, based on shared cultural elements, a region that covers the meridional area of Mexico and the countries of Guatemala, El Salvador, Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, in other words a large part of Central America.

He is one of the filmmakers that has triggered development of the Central American industry in the last decade. Of the countries in the region, the case of Guatemala is important because it has been starting point, motivator and organizer of the Festival Internacional de Cine Ícaro (1998) and the "Casa Comal" initiative (non-governmental organization dedicated to promoting audiovisual media). The first film school, la Escuela de Cine y TV de Casa Comal a imagen de la Escuela Internacional de Cine y Televisión (EICTV), was opened in Cuba. Therefore, it is no coincidence that Guatemala is where he made his first feature-length film that also received support from the young Cinergia (Promotional Fund for audiovisual projects of Central America and Cuba, 2004) (Durón, 2012: 248-252).

Gasolina was chosen by the 2007 Cine en Construcción workshop and a year later won the Horizonte Award at the Festival of San Sebastián. This was followed by his docu-fiction in 2010, Las marimbas del infierno, film that won the Grand Prize at the 2011 Miami Film Festival and in 2018 became the inspiration and model for the same award. A year later he made 2 other films: Polvo and Hasta el sol tiene manchas. both still in Guatemala. Up to this point all his films were low budget and the last three categorized within the docu-fiction experiment although with different aims: the two films from 2012 were a political denouncement, Polvo against the disappearances of the guerrilla and racism, and Hasta el sol tiene manchas against presidential election fraud; while Las marimbas del infierno was based on tragic stories of men from the city. Now with a higher budget and more technical resources, he returned to Mexico to film Te prometo Anarquía (2015) nominated for the Ariel Awards of the Mexican Academia of Film Arts and Sciences. Two years later, with 25,000 USD, his second largest budget, donated by the film's starring actors -female friends of Hernández Cordón- he recorded in Costa Rica Atrás hay relámpagos. Finally, in 2018, he goes to northern Mexico to film Cómprame un revolver, selected by the Director's Fortnight of the 71st Cannes Festival. All of his work he has written and co-produced himself.

The issues, to summarize his film work, are the cities, groups of young people, the trapped middle class, entertainment and the need for money. They are stories written based on his personal experience of a:

childhood immersed -remembers Hernández Cordón- in the threat of a third world war, of calamities, of catastrophes, of always having to be alert and cautious: although the threat seems to have already passed, life in Mexico and Central America is, and was, a place where the present is taken day by day and the future is always uncertain (Hernández, 2018).

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In this way, his work has been directly influenced by his personal experience that now extends to the family environment and has brought his two young daughters to act in *Cómprame un revolver* (educational story to explain the tough times in regards to violence in Mexico).

3. Mesoamerican representation of youth

We are interested in showing how the films of Hernández Cordón create a sensation and representation of liquid borders, which show the porosity to which Bauman (2001: 21, 103 and 84) alluded to explain globalization and the artificiality of the state borders including natural and national sovereignty. It's about blurring the lines of common places that have become references of nationalisms, to escape from the exoticism and from touristic cinema to be more concerned with showing the homogeneity of Central American cities, including Mexico. To show this, if we put a collage of fixed images of Hernández Cordón's films you could not distinguish from city or country the streets and building were. The same thing happens during the film. If the flags or referential dialogues at very specific times were not used, it would be impossible to deduce the nationality. It is evident that the work of Hernández Cordón seems to fall in the versions that cry out for the delocalization of patriotic and national references as a result of globalization of the culture of the masses (Giménez, 1996: 9-10). From the first group of elements, there certainly are arguments, but the work of the Mesoamerican director is precisely to link the notion of territory to that of culture in the sense of regional identity created, more than for racial principles, for being the space that shares similar social processes (Palacios, 1983: 56-60).

This construction is not, therefore, identifying-nationalist, but rather regional. Hernández Cordón accompanies youth walking down the street, leisurely youth and ignored by the State, middle-class and not overly worried about money to survive but rather wanting money in order to do something regardless of what the activity is:

Yes, my films are about leisure, of not having anything to do. It is what usually happens in Central America, that there are few spaces for young people, not just in terms of leisure or recreation but also work and study-oriented. And leisure creates impunity. Many delinquent acts perpetrated by young people is out of boredom, due to a lack of spaces, where they can occupy themselves. So, they get involved in things that they perhaps they need as adrenaline in order to break with a certain daily routine (Hernández, 2018).

Hernández Cordón creates this liquidity in the borders based on three strategies that are a

naturalist and realist representation -principles touched on from a camera that tells stories based on the rawness of the environment- of the region. This is not to say that it aims at scientific objectivity and objective representation of reality, but rather it is about the components of the docu-fiction: story about real people, acted out by themselves but with a montage and a story added.

3.1. Static shot and closed frames: the making of a photographic collage

This first resource is more evident in his first three films very influenced by the daily life of Hernández Cordón and by his childhood memories, but also by the impossibility of renting studios and repeating takes that would raise film production costs. The walls in the street and house offered him the flat scenery, practically without backgrounds, and the maze of streets were the natural scenes of stories told within the same shot.

Figura 1: Gasolina, 2008. Autorización de difusión Julio Hernández Cordón.



Fuente: Autorización de difusión Julio Hernández Cordón.

Figura 2: Las marimbas del infierno, 2010.



Fuente: Autorización de difusión Julio Hernández Cordón.

In *Gasolina* the esthetic resource is the static shot -heritage of its photographic phase – and the characters move through the field of the static camera. The shots are long and set the scene for a story (beginning, development and end) mainly told by the movements of the backgrounds and of shots created via the movements of agents in the frame and not by the camera. Hernández Cordón:

I was inspired by the fixed shot, I wanted to make a film like the photos that I like, and I was looking at modern contemporary photography. So, I wanted to break with the theory of the golden ratio. Upon being a low budget film, I have the freedom to do what I want. And it is a film from Guatemala... Guatemala film history does not have a very long tradition and so you can go about inventing. For that reason, it needed a peculiarity that would differentiate it from other films. And I wanted to do different things from what I had learned in film school (Hernández, 2018).

In Marimbas del infierno, you can see the importance of the fixed frames on faces with air and the decomposition of the negative space of the frame and of the three-part structure creating the sensation of being an Andean image and taken during the spontaneous movement of the camera. This resource of spatial decomposition of the frame and its capture "non-premeditated" would achieve the blurring national recognition. In Hasta el sol tiene manchas the exercise of eliminating the negative space of the frame is even more evident, in part, once again for lack of money and secondly, because the strategy is deliberately a fundamental part of the discourse of the political critique in the sense of showing how you can carry out political campaigns from a simple apartment and the ingenuity of a few characters. The docu-fiction Polvo maintains the closed and shared frames between walls, trucks and faces, but here the filmmakers already walk with the camera to tell a second story -the other is the one Hernández Cordón himself films- of the search for the disappeared people in Guatemala.

By putting the characters against the walls and creating a vertical split frame (face/wall) the visual weight lies in the profiles of the mestizo-indigenous-native Mesoamerican faces and in the flat background continuously made of concrete. These first four film shot in Guatemala and the three more that followed them in Mexico and Costa Rica, although with much more dynamic photographs, all insisted on racially exposing the

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faces of the characters in closed spaces, which after long silences bring the viewer to think of that famous *collage* of pictures and fuse the different layers of the material without national distinction.

3.2. Rupture of the emotional, genre, and national stereotypes

Something has already been said about his idea of the fiction-documentary: real stories acted out by the characters themselves but adapted to a script also coming from his own personal history. In order to write the stories, he spends a long time with the people, he gets to know them and sees their environment with the good and the bad. Based on this he decides what you can take and balance to later write the script. The script must align with the naturalness of the characters and at the same time make them into actors of the fiction and of their own life experiences. Therefore, he does not ask them for voice inflections or gestural exuberance or movements within the frame. This search for naturalness and realism challenge the conventions of classic cinema.

Figura 3: Polvo, 2010.



Fuente: Autorización de difusión Julio Hernández Cordón,

On one hand, you can indicate the break with the roles of gender like in *Atrás hay relámpagos* (2017). This was the first movie with female main characters and the made them play a kind of gender guessing game, purposefully omitting the determinisms –although it is evident that his understanding holds qualities of the feminine and masculine: I wanted to make them do what the boys do, I never wanted them to put on makeup or style their hair. This unisex style seemed interesting and sexy to me. I have always been seduced by the idea of being with girls who I can do things I want to with. Like there are no elements of differentiation of sex. I don't like the idea of them being fragile, but rather I am the fragile one... I thought, 'if I were an adolescent what type of girls would I fall in love with'. I think they are the type of girls who I would have fallen in in love with (Hernández, 2018).

Figura 4: Te prometo anarquía, 2015.



Fuente: Autorización de difusión Julio Hernández Cordón,

In classic cinema, the effusiveness to define emotions and sexual genders is so common that it has brought about the stereotyping of attitudes and dramatization of certain feelings that are considered universal and assigned to men and women. The concept of stereotype² determines characteristics of social and racial groups, and therefore defines the borders between them and those that are outside, but these and their elements do not have identical values during different historic moments. The stereotypes are -following the analysis of Núñez Seixas (2013: 12-19)- operational categories in codification of the collective imaginary. In this sense, the archetype of the Latin American indigenous has historically determined a supposed indifference to modernity and a passive character, suffering and lazy. That cinema and this stereotype require the professional actor to use certain conventions in the inflexions and emphasis of the voice to accentuate the features corresponding to both drama and the stereotype. Hernández Cordón, in contrast, brings his non-actors to react in the opposite way and expand the confines of the indigenous stereotype to a racial commonality:

"if I see a crash, I'm not going to say 'no, God help me'. I don't run, or cry or any of that, which is what often happens in the films... I believe we contain our emotions more than that, except for people from the Caribbean. I believe the acting in my movies is natural because it is more contained. No one says I love you in a loud way but rather quietly ... in films there is a lot of performance for these phrases" (Hernández, 2018).

The proposal is aim for small moments of breakage and constrained to the private realm, more than the public and expressive, also placing the dramatic weight, thanks to the closed frames, on the faces of the characters receiving the message more than those who are emitting. The reaction proceeds in this way in the manner in which the characters tell the story and not so much in the narrated event. It would then seem that the device emphasizes the indigenous stereotype that is so widely used, however, this racial restriction is broken by Hernández Cordón and is passed to a context of belonging to the social class -the middle- and to a cultural territory, the Mesoamerican.

If they boys of *Gasolina* are capable of burning an indigenous on the highway and watch it without making a sound; if a marimbero player is robbed of his marimba, his source of work and his great passion, but his world does not collapse and he begins to play rock with an almost toy-like marimba (Las marimbas del infierno); if some young people are able to organize 50 people to donate blood and some drug dealers steal the entire truck but the youngsters don't break down but rather after a brief search are calm enough to escape on skates (Te prometo anarquía); if some girls find a dead body in the trunk of some cars parked in a the yard and are calm enough to organize a group to go out and search for the family of the deceased (Atrás hay relámpagos); and finally, if some girls are capable of living innocently in on a baseball field sieged by drug traffickers anxious to get their hands on fresh feminine meat and they have time to go play in the desert with their group of friends (*Cómprame un revolver*): if all these groups of young people do not break down in the face of evident tragedies, it is because, perhaps, the archetype of the Central American and Mexican indigenous have surpassed political borders and racial limits and, then, the stereotypes with their respective iconographs have been updated. The horizon proposed for any of these characters does not show any future but rather simply the desire to survive although they are almost indifferent to life.

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3.3. The dynamized space via long shots

In generally non-motorized vehicles, the groups of young people travel the Central American cities. Using long shots or shot sequences, Hernández Cordón builds a dynamized space. These long shots are constantly in movement and the sound is always diegetic to "fill the frame of atmosphere and reality" (Hernández, 2018). This resource places it, as has been said, in the streets of the cities or on roads in the middle of the country. The films of the Mesoamerican director make these streets roamed by the middle class of Mexico, Guatemala and Costa Rica because for him it is mainly the middle social class that walks the streets.

The urban scene of these countries is similar and, given that the subjects of focus are the middle-class youngsters accompanied in their day-to-day activities that do not walk the streets of the attractive tourist scene, the sense of regionality is more reinforced than that of nationality on the screen. With the movement, he achieves "exorcizing the spaces" and moving through shared spaces without limits of identity (Hernández, 2018). For example, in Te prometo Anarquía -being the only one with filming sites in the USA- the streets do not have any glamour but rather are a river and a parking lot. Thus, the feeling of it being about the people that inhabit the places and not of tourists is preserved. Once again, the collage goes beyond the borders.

Imagen 5: Atrás hay relámpagos, 2017.



Fuente: Autorización de difusión Julio Hernández Cordón.

We consider this to be the main characteristic of Hernández Cordón's cinematographic proposal and main justification to explain his idea of Mesoamerican cinema (in the sense of surpassing political borders and creating cultural territories). It seems necessary to introduce the notion of Antoine Gaudin (2014) of "cinema of image-space" (2014) and the proprioceptive construction: is an image circulating between the story on screen and the spectator, generator of moods and feelings. Image-space, whose characteristic is being a dynamic phenomenon produced by the film not only based on the notion of a void filled by man, or a geometric mold to fill or a conditioning scene of emotions, but rather as a surrounding dynamic subject. The image-space is a spatial phenomenon that involves the body of the spectator and its sensory flow. This proposal includes then two forms of apprehension of space: that represented by the film (recognizable and concrete, to which we are culturally educated) and that inscribed in the body of the film which is the main one in the issue of an approach to the image and puts us into the situation. This proprioceptive effect in the viewer facilitates the urban immersion weighing the regional influences in favor of the sensations of movement.

This strategy began in Gasolina mainly due to the budgetary problems and therefore, to the need to make shots more efficient: fixed shot in three frames, 2 closed on faces and another open de conjunto. This way relocating of lights and camera wasn't necessary. For this reason, the camera was static, the movement came from the movement in depth within the shot by the characters. Hernández Cordón comments: "I began to move the camera in Te Prometo Anarquía, but it was more panning..." (Hernández, 2018), and now with more time and budget for 6 weeks of filming he experimented with long shots now in movement from vehicles, whether by tracking, using the uneven ground for feelings of verticality and speed like he did skating down the highway in Te prometo anarquía or the lateral and frontal travelling of the bicycles in Atrás hay relámpagos.

Imagen 6: Cómprame un revolver, 2018.



Fuente: Autorización de difusión Julio Hernández Cordón.

Precisely in Atrás hay relámpagos there was a much more dynamic proposal. The types of characters create the sensation of movement. The film is about a group of Costa Rican kids on bikes that ride through the streets doing tricks. The story is told using long sequences of shot on bicycles or using street tracking. One example is the beginning of the film -a "punch" beginning like Hernández Cordón likes- with an almost 8-minute sequence shot: the protagonists dance and horseplay in a supermarket, with a hand-held camera and pull panning that follows the actresses on a 50-meter tour without cuts with a dynamic internal time eliminating the reference of real time in the viewer and without giving him a minute of rest the face of a foreseen cinematographic slow period (extended moments of dramatic calmness), the latter being an element that was used in the sequences of Gasolina. This dynamicity of shots continues in Cómprame un revolver, although the sensation of speed decreases by coherence with the main characters and the space to transit. The children and their escapades do not coincide with the first phase of the Mesoamerican director, but the presence of heavy armored vehicles driving through the desert and the boat on the river once again sets the rhythm of dynamizing vehicles of the scene.

The proprioceptive exercise, after creating an image circulating between the screen and spectator, comes from the very nature of sequences in movement of characters dynamized by vehicles. Being stories about middle-class young people risking death and violent environments, this dynamism surround the spectator concerned more by the movement than by the cruelty or ambiguity of the violence. Drug trafficking, racism, disappearances, leisure, unemployment and, finally, the absent State, are situated as common situations throughout the region.

4. Conclusion

The films by Hernández Cordón have all been made with low budgets and with amateur actors, for the simple reason that the large part, which is to say those of Guatemala (Gasolina, Las marimbas del infierno, Polvo, Hasta el sol tiene manchas) are produced in a context that lacks professional actors, where there still is no film industry and the showing is monopolized by Hollywood. His films still have not been shown in commercial theaters (perhaps Cómprame un revolver would be the exception). They are only seen in independent film circuits or, like in Mexico, in the programs of the film repositories (Te prometo anarquía, for example, was the most popular film in the forum of the Cineteca Nacional in 2016).

However, this type of manifestations emphasizes the shared feeling of an absent State whose protection is generally that of violence -both political and social- on marginalized people. This indication and denouncement against the State, in the work of Hernández Cordón, is not only supported in the marginalized people like in *La jaula de oro* (Diego Quemada-Díez, 2013) (Pugibet, 2017: 23), but rather in the Mesoamerican middle classes. The volatility and porosity of the political borders, of the identifying and patriotic icons, made clear by Bauman (2001: 20-23) in his work on globalization, has only made sense after the classist differentiation: the elites, seeking to distinguish themselves via a cosmopolitan contact in terms of a differentiating mark from the rest of the world and who give more value to having relationships with other elites from "over there", outside their borders, are those who made the borders liquid. This does not mean returning to the de-territorialized proposals of the globalized world and eliminator of cultural borders, all the contrary. Its filmic device and his work in general make on think of the cultural heritage of regions comprised of different territorial factors that are not anchored to the history of political borders.

Notes

1. Here we site only the interview in Mexico City that reviewed aspects that came up in his conference in Toulouse, this time in greater detail.

2. "A stereotype is a combination of beliefs shared regarding the characteristics of members of a social category or human group in the widest sense of the term, beliefs that affect the attributes and the personal profiles, the forseeable conducts and, likewise, the socio-spatial position of members of this community" (Núñez, 2013: 11)

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